

Militant

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Tories rob Liverpool

The biggest demonstration of mass opposition to the government's policies since 1926. 25,000 council workers, dockers, transport workers on buses trains and ferries, hospital staff, and thousands of workers in the private sectors—all striking in support of Liverpool council's stand.

That is Liverpool's answer to unemployment and government cuts. Let this anger, this power, be a warning to those who are turning our city into a wasteland.

Merseyside faces an enormous crisis as a direct result of the policies of private industry and this Tory government.

Our city has lost 34,000 jobs in the last three years, and in the ten years prior to that lost 90,000—a quarter of its total employment. We've got nearly 100,000 people on the dole queues. Yet redundancies continue.

We've got 22,000 people on housing waiting lists and 15,000 unemployed building workers. We asked the government for £115m Housing Investment Programme money. They gave us £36m, they have robbed Liverpool of £120m in grants since 1979.

Liberals

The result of government cuts was that Liberal/Tory councillors carried out cuts in jobs and services, they raised rents and rates. We lost 4,500 jobs from the council alone. Rents and rates are among the highest in the country—in one of the poorest areas.

We were elected on a manifesto which pledged to reverse those trends. On that promise we got a swing to Labour last May totally against the national trend. That is our mandate from the local Labour Party and the people of Liverpool.

The budget we propose is clear and unequivocal. It



says on the one side that these are the promises we made before the May elections—and we intend to keep them. On the other side of the page we're saying we're not prepared to put the consequences of government cuts on to the backs of the working class—and don't believe any Labour authority, locally or nationally should do so.

Those are the only two choices we have. Choices which will face many Labour authorities next year. Clearly there will be a major shortfall between the two sides of the page.

We've had legal advice that our budget puts us in breach of the law for "wilful

misconduct". That makes us liable for surcharges (having money or property seized-ed) and being barred from office, if our budget goes through.

Mass support vital

We have said from the outset that we are not seeking to create fifty one martyrs. The active support of the people of Merseyside is the most vital factor if we are going to wage a successful struggle in defence of Liverpool.

This government will only concede to forces as powerful and determined as its own. And we are giving them our answer with a show of strength on the 29th.

Whatever happens in the council chamber, this campaign has only just begun. If the budget goes through; if a coalition of Liberals and Tories or Labour renegades patch up some compromise; if there is a no-budget budget day; we are into uncharted territory.

Whatever happens this is only the first round of a fif-



By Derek Hatton

(Deputy Leader, Liverpool City Council)



teen round fight. Our campaign will continue right into the May elections—when we are confident of a much increased majority—and beyond.



Campaign continues

If the Tories try to bring in commissioners or are so frightened of Labour's success they cancel the May elections they will provoke a massive movement of opposition. With the support of the rest of the labour movement, including the national leadership, Merseyside will show the Tories can be beaten.

Defend council services

LONDON Transport workers brought the capital's bus and tube services to a halt last Wednesday. 12,000 workers marched in Birmingham on Tuesday, 4,000 in Leeds.

The week of protest against government attacks on local services will be heard even more loudly in London on Thursday where up to 50,000 are expected to march. Other events have been taking place around the country all week.

The Tories have launched a three-pronged attack on local authorities in a dictatorial attempt to curtail council accountability and services.

Cuts and 'capping'

The most devastating effect is the cut in money to local authorities, by up to 10% in real terms over the next three years. That could mean 12,000 fewer teachers, 3,300 fewer firemen, over 46,000 fewer home helps, 11,600 fewer residential places for the elderly, mentally handicapped and children—just a sample of what monetarism means. To make some councils impose these cuts on local people they are also threatening to use 'rate-capping' powers to stop local authorities increasing the money raised from the rates in order to maintain services.

They intend to abolish Labour's strongholds the GLC and Metropolitan County Councils, 'saving' 9,000 jobs and £120m.

Privatisation

But they also plan to make a killing by hiving off public transport bodies like LT. That would mean 30% fare increases, 8,000 jobs lost in London and privatisation of the profitable parts. That's why LT workers stopped London on Wednesday—they are defending the service as well as jobs.

This assault on local government is an attempt to weaken the political opposition to the government's savage economic policies. It marks a new stage in open class government. It will in turn provoke an even wider wave of opposition, as splits in the Tory party have already shown.

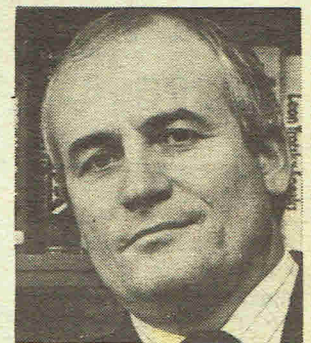
But democracy does not exist in abstract. The only power that can stop these attacks rests in the people whose jobs and living standards are threatened. The labour movement must follow the example of Liverpool and organise a clear case alternative to Tory attacks.

By Ian Ilett
(Vice-chair, Bethnal Green and Stepney CLP, personal capacity)

JOIN LABOUR'S FIGHT

"LIVERPOOL council's campaign has aroused enormous sympathy and support. Labour's polices in the city have won new respect and enthusiasm from tens of thousands of people.

"I appeal to all those who wish to see our campaign succeed to join the Labour Party. Only the mass involvement of working class people in the campaign and in the party will enable us to keep on course. So join us now!"



Tony Mulhearn,
President, Liverpool District Labour Party

Support the Marxist Daily Building Fund—see page five

Militant

Three signs of a changing mood

NINE MONTHS ago the Tories were on the crest of a wave, after their general election victory. The labour movement seemed to be reeling. But in just a few short weeks, tens of thousands of workers have shown a determination to fight back, pointing a way forward for the working class.

★ **THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY** of miners are now involved in making a stand for jobs. The same young miners, who, we were told, all had expensive mortgages and were unwilling to put up a fight are in the forefront of the struggle. Once miners are united in their action, there will be a groundswell of support for them from all the other sections of the organised trade union movement.

★ **THE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL** conference of the Broad Left Organising Committee (BLOC) in Sheffield last week gave a glimpse of the urgent desire for a fighting socialist leadership in the trade unions. The fact that over 2,000 delegates attended and half as many again had to be turned away at the last

minute shows also the huge scale of the support for such ideas among the ranks of the trade unions.

★ **IN LIVERPOOL** almost the whole community is behind the Labour council's struggle for jobs and services in the city. Liverpool workers have every right to feel that the Tory government have had it in for them. With some of the worst housing, poverty and unemployment in Western Europe, the Tories are trying to force them to endure even more cuts. The Labour council, because it has expressed its honest determination not to do the Tories' dirty work, has received the backing of the majority of workers.

Tory victory fading

Set against these developments, the Tory victory is fading like a mirage in the distance. The Tories' election victory was never more than the indication of a temporary mood within society. All the conditions that existed in June 1983 have now been altered. The real underlying mood of the

working class today is better represented by the fight of the miners than by the balance of MPs in the House of Commons.

The Labour Party and trade union leadership, therefore, must take the fight to the Tories more boldly and decisively. Neil Kinnock and Len Murray should have both gone to Liverpool to support the fight stand being taken by the council.

Possibility of Labour government

If the Labour leadership showed half the determination of the miners, fighting for their livelihood, half the courage of Liverpool council fighting for their city, or half the purposefulness of the BLOC delegates in arguing for socialist policies the Tories would not last another nine months.

There could be a real possibility that this government could be brought down and replaced by a Labour government basing its policies on socialism and the needs of working people.

THE COUNCIL are doing a fine job. At first I wasn't that convinced, but I swayed. But then I came to one of the meetings and all the speakers got up and I was convinced. I had an idea they were doing the right thing, but I wasn't absolutely sure it was the right thing for the working people in Liverpool, but now I'm absolutely convinced.

Mike Hunter, GMBATU

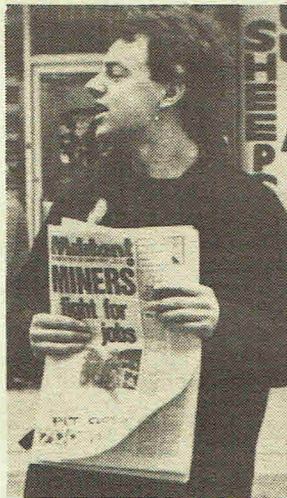
THE TORIES have a well orchestrated plan nationally. Locally, if you ask around no one knows the name of a local Tory councillor, and if you ask for a Liberal one you'll only get Sir Trevor Jones. Half the time you get David Alton, MP, mistakenly assumed to be a Liberal councillor. They

don't put anything truthfully. I think Trevor Jones has long ridden on the back of Liverpool, and he's done very well out of it, and he'll continue to do so if he's allowed to get back in.

Eddie Bridge, GMBATU branch secretary

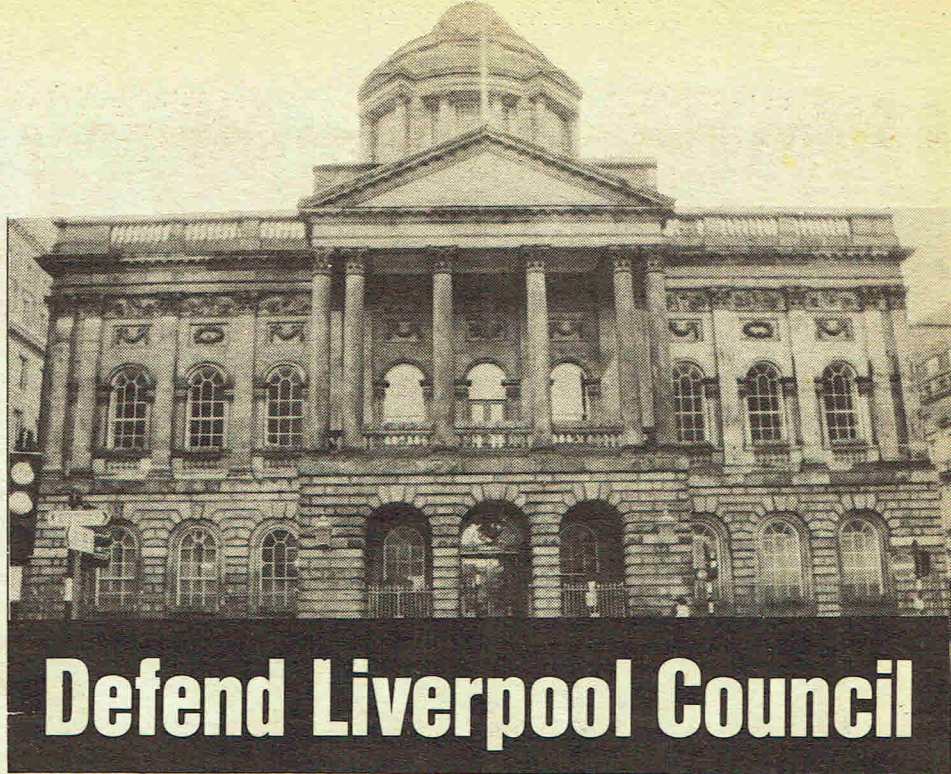
THIS IS the first time anything like this has happened. This is a test-case. If it retains jobs and keeps rates down then it can't be bad. If they can get the money that's what we're after. Because at the end of the day whatever happens if they make people redundant the money's got to come from somewhere to give them the dole. It's as simple as that.

Dave Ramsey, GMBATU



THE MEETING on Monday was brilliant. I think we're going to have a hard fight, but I think we're going to win. I'm very disappointed in Neil Kinnock, to say the least.

Eddie Lloyd, USDAW, Glaxo's



Benn pledges support at mass rally

TONY BENN MP pledged 100% support for Liverpool City Council at a packed public meeting at St Georges Hall, called by the Merseyside Campaign Committee on Monday night 24 March.

2,000 people heard speakers from a wide-cross section of the Labour movement on Merseyside reaffirm their commitment to the council's stand and appeal for a massive turn-out on Thursday 29.

Speakers included: MPs, Bob Parry, Eddie Loyden, Terry Fields and Bob Wareing; Derek Hatton, Deputy Leader of the council; Bill Jones of the T&GWU, representing the JSSC; Pat Harvey for the Community Groups; Judy Cotter for the Unemployed Workers' Centres; Keva Coombes—Leader of Merseyside County Council—all got a warm reception.

Leadership must show support

Derek Hatton said that for too long Labour leaders had sat on the fence. Part of the struggle was to get national leadership to show support. "The equivocation of the Labour leadership and the

A PART of the text of the statement passed unanimously at the mass meeting of 2,000 people:—"Recognising that Liverpool City Council is in the front line of the struggle, we re-affirm our support for the stoppage and demonstration on Thursday March 29. We further resolve to organise demonstrations and industrial action in the event of the following: (a) government commissioners being sent in to run the city; (b) troops being used to do the jobs of local authority workers; (c) the suspension of the May elections; (d) local authority workers not being paid; (e) any councillor being surcharged, barred from office or having his home seized for voting to defend jobs and services. Conference finally call for a day of action demonstration to be the most successful in the history of Merseyside."

press attacks, have only strengthened our resolve." John Hamilton received his standing ovation for a fighting speech in which he

pointed out the hypocrisy of playing to the Tories "rules of the game". He finished saying, "We'll change the rules. We'll defeat the rules."

Cheryl Varley, speaking for the Labour Party Young Socialists, gave one of the best received contributions of the night. She warned the seven rebel councillors, "the youth of Liverpool will never forget that you betrayed them."

Terry Fields MP, made the financial appeal party organisations, shop stewards committees, even CND groups. A boxing club donated £7.00. £10 came from a football club. One of the best donations of the night was £50 from the tobacco workers union members at BAT, in dispute at the moment.

Tony Benn got a standing ovation. He praised Liverpool's campaign. "It is the graveyard of capitalism, but the birthplace of socialism." He said that no gains for working class people have ever been made without people taking risks and going outside the law.

A resolution confirming support for the council and expressing disappointment at the refusal of support from the parliamentary leadership was passed unanimously.

By Paul Traynor

Vauxhall condemns council renegades

BRIAN LAWLESS deputy chairman Vauxhall neighbourhood council spoke to *Militant* at a demonstration against the visit of Tory minister Patrick Jenkin to the Athol Street water sports centre in Vauxhall, Liverpool:

We held a public meeting the day after Vauxhall ward voted to support councillors Orr and Morgan who have gone against the Labour council and District Labour Party policy, as well as supporting councillor Paul Luckock who intends to support party policy on budget day.

Our public meeting of

over a hundred residents voted unanimously to support the council.

We are also demonstrating against Patrick Jenkin's visit. Vauxhall has the highest male unemployment in the country; we've got the worst housing conditions outside Belfast in the whole of Western Europe; we've got the lowest car ownership. People are just sick and tired of what Toryism means here.

Cold campaign, warm reception

FIFTEEN UNEMPLOYED YS members were out for two hours in the freezing cold gathering names for the Liverpool charter petition and selling *Militant* in Liver-

pool city centre. Paper sales were brisk and the petition got a warm reception. The following comments were from people, not party members, etc who stopped to sign the petition:

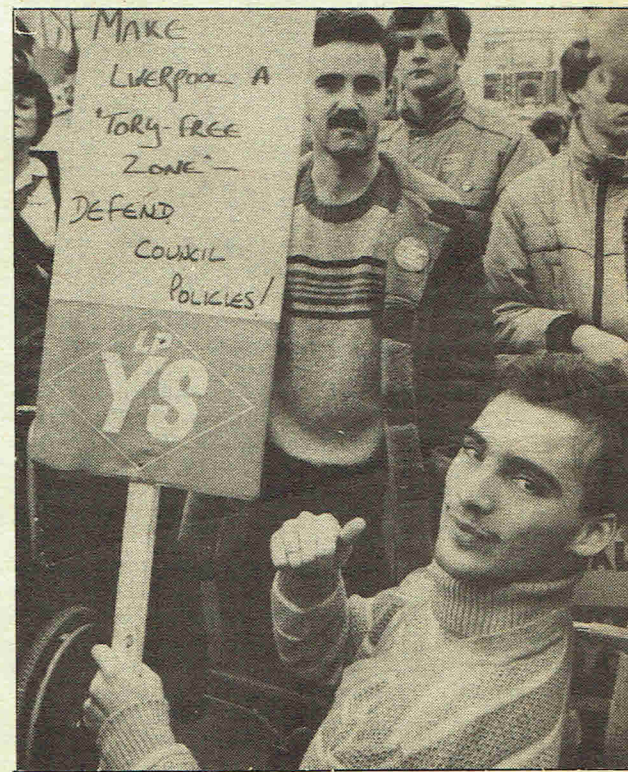
Colin, unemployed; "I think they're the only Council, the only political force that's going to do anything for people like myself, y'know, unemployed". Mrs. Daly, retired:—"They're bringing more work for the young people and they're trying to save jobs for the people who are in work. They're more for the people all together."

Patricia Darling, Liverpool 4 and Pauline Bell, Liverpool 8:—"we got made redundant by Mrs. Thatcher from the tax office. We were cleaners there, and then we were lucky. We got jobs with the Labour Council, cleaning again. We're on strike on the 29th and are right behind the Council—remember we're the lucky ones."

Milk Cup Final

WE ALL got down at 6 am to leaflet people going to the Milk Cup Final. A second shift started at 7 am. So it was well covered. A lot of people were more interested in the stickers. The red for Liverpool and the blue for Everton went down great. Everybody was taking a leaflet and reading them in the queues. We had two big banners supporting the city council for the game and went singing political songs through the suburban areas. Even on the way back we were talking to people about the council campaign.

By Mick Mayers



All sections of the community have backed the council. (Above) On last November's demo.

Liverpool democracy attacked

PEOPLE TALK about the rule of law and parliament but this government was elected in 1982 with a reduced majority from 1979; a big majority of the population didn't vote for them.

In Liverpool there was a swing to Labour in the council elections despite a national swing against. In the general election there was a two and a half per cent swing to Labour in Liverpool. In my constituency, Broadgreen, we had a four and a half per cent swing.

That is an indication that the programme we have gone out on at local authority and parliamentary level is one that people have been prepared to support.

Even in the *Liverpool*



By Terry Fields MP

Echo we have a statement from a Tory so-called 'dossier' that the policies of Labour have been known at least since 1981. An article by Derek Hatton in the *Echo* then indicated what Labour would do.

In Liverpool there have been a whole series of public

meetings, mass rallies, reaching all sections of the community. Despite the press lies, the unions and the mass of the rank and file are coming fairly and squarely behind Labour.

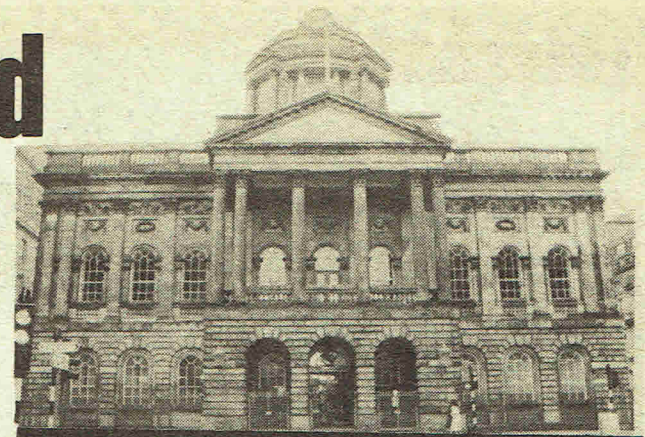
Over the past months there has been a wide programme of activity by Liverpool city councillors who have gone to every Labour-controlled authority in the country.

In the last week I and other people have addressed a number of meetings in London to explain Liverpool's situation, and received magnificent support. We have got Labour MPs from the London area, from the Campaign Group of MPs, London councillors and

local authority workers to come to Liverpool before the 29th to support the council.

When all this is going on it is a scandal that we have got people on the council prepared to stab the movement in the back. What is even more scandalous is that they have had the opportunity over the past months, indeed since last May, to raise any reservations about the policy, and got support from certain Labour Parliamentary spokesmen.

Liverpool's five Labour MPs are solid in support of the city council. We were elected to fight for the people of Liverpool, not to carry out the dirty work of the Tories.



Defend Liverpool Council

Council convenor

BERNIE HOGAN, deputy convenor of the G&M 200 branch at a lobby of the Labour Group meeting on the evening of Friday 23rd:

"Kinnoch 'talks' about socialism. The Labour Party in Liverpool—of which I am proud to be a member—is trying to practice it. And then we're told we're breaking the law. We want to defend jobs, we want no cuts, we want houses.

"When Heseltine came to Liverpool the end result was lots of trees, no houses, and Trevor Jones, the Liberal council leader got a knighthood.

"All we are saying in Liverpool is that we want back what you've taken off us. If that means breaking

the law—and I've never been to gaol in my life—I will go to gaol for the policies I support.

"At the Labour Group meeting on Friday 23rd the real attitude of one of the rebel seven councillors was made clear. Councillor Roderick passed lobbying stewards and shouted at them: 'There's no way I'm voting for an illegal budget. Do you think that I want to end up on the dole like you lot. I'm not that bloody stupid.'

"He said he wasn't taking a 'swipe' at the stewards, because 'some of them were quite intelligent'. At the meeting he argued for a rate increase of around 42%".

The real madmen

UNITED BISCUITS plan to spend £3.24 million to close their Liverpool plant making 2000 redundant.

A social audit on United Biscuits done by Merseyside County Council found that it will cost the state £20 million to keep the workers on the dole.

British American Tobacco, another multinational, informed the Liverpool plant's stewards at their last meeting that it would cost them £13 million to make 1100 redundant at four weeks pay for every year.

Over the next 12 months if each of the 3100 workers pick up a minimum of £25 a week state benefit it will cost the state a further £4.25 million.

Add up the amounts of money it will cost to make the 3,100 redundant and it comes to well over forty million pounds and that's only for two factories.



The end of Tate and Lyle.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

By Derrick Jones

(Walton LPYS and GMBATU)

WE'VE GOT a whole series of activities planned to take us up to the demo on the 29th.

We've got daytime meetings at a YTS scheme and factory gate meetings which our unemployed and student members cover. They also spend their time making placards and so on. Our street meetings with theatre go down really well.

On Wednesday, the day before the demo we've got a campaign bus going around the estates and factories. We'll be holding meetings, knocking on doors, and using the megaphones to attract attention. We want to get over to everyone why they should be out on the 29th.

On budget day we're having a float and getting up at 6 am to visit factories where there are picket lines, giving them our support. We'll be flyposting and loudhailing to get people into the town centre.

We're hoping that the bus crews, who voted to strike for the day, will work from 10 am to 12 pm just to ferry people into town for the demo.

The LPYS is growing really fast on Merseyside, people are applying to join left right and centre—we got 28 branches in the area already.

Shareen Blackall, West Derby LPYS

I WORK for the City Council in a college. I was talking recently to a girl trainee who was really interested in joining the union. She went back to her mates—there are six of them on a YTS catering scheme at the college. They serve meals and one of them was made to work till 10 at night on Fridays and Saturdays.

One of the girls asked where their union applications were, and another said: "If we join a union does it mean we can come out on strike on the 29th?"

Mick Hogan, GMBATU and LPYS

AT A factory gate meeting management stopped people coming out and threatened to dock their pay. Worse, they called the police. First two policemen came on push bikes, then a panda car.

We started talking to them and they ended up taking

leaflets and stickers. Two put stickers inside their helmets. The sergeant took some car stickers.

One of them had just come back from the picket lines in Nottingham. He asked us what we thought of the miners' strike and picketing and ended up buying a *Militant*.

Andy Wallwork, Broadgreen LPYS

WE WENT out cavassing in Vauxhall ward and absolutely everyone signed our petition supporting the council. Mostly women came to the door—it was amazing—they all support the council. We didn't get one refusal. We asked if they were coming to the demo and a number said they were bringing the whole family, babies in prams and all.

Paula Leigh, Riverside LPYS



BAT convenor

CHRIS WILLIAMS, Tobacco Workers Union Exec member and Convenor of the closure-threatened British & American Tobacco plant in the Vauxhall area of Liverpool:

WE'VE HAD moral and physical support from the city council. They're very useful from a local and national point of view. They've offered us facilities, attended meetings, encouraged people on the shop floor.

We've had representatives from the city council, county council and local MPs. Terry Fields in particular has done a fair job in raising the awareness of the members about the fight against redundancies on Merseyside and has helped keep the spirit going in the factory.

He has made a very important point to us—that we don't make the same mistake as United Biscuits and seek from a multinational company alternatives to current production. The fight has to be based on what we are doing now. Terry is the local hero as far as I'm concerned and for many of my



Chris Williams.

members. I'm not being parochial but he is someone who is recognised as being willing to fight for the working class. I attended the House of Commons the other week when Bob Parry was putting a motion on BAT. To be frank it's just a cess-pit. The sooner we get people like Terry Fields, who are willing to fight for our class, the better.

Photo: Tommy Carroll

"Communists" refuse to back Labour

AT A time when workers are rallying in support of Liverpool council one political group in the city has been noticeably reluctant to stand shoulder to shoulder with Labour in the battle against the Tories.

At a Merseyside Communist Party meeting last Thursday, 22 March, CP General Secretary Gordon Mclellan argued that Liverpool's struggle was not the most important going on. Liverpool was not the only city battling against the Tories and should "follow the example of Ken Livingstone and

work from the grass roots up—with the widest consultation between the council and the people."

"Some way", he said "must be found as an alternative choice presented by the Labour Party..."

Tory policy

The only concrete alternative he mentioned, showing complete ignorance of Liverpool's situation, was in discussion with some trade union leaders they had proposed a "limited" rate rise and that Liverpool should follow the

example of Sheffield.

What this means in practice was shown when leading local Communist Party member Jim Ferguson, President of Liverpool NUT, moved a resolution fully in line with Tory policy, at the City Council Joint Shop Stewards Committee. He called on the council to introduce a 70 per cent rate increase "to save jobs". Fortunately he got short shrift from the meeting.

Concern was expressed at the Liverpool District Labour Party Municipal Policy conference about the attitude of the Communist Party in fail-

ing to campaign for support of the council's defence of services and jobs, and constant use of the threat of non-cooperation in the long overdue reorganisation of education in Liverpool, as a weapon in negotiations.

Real campaign

An article in the Liverpool *Echo* on March 12, reported that CP area secretary John Blevin has written to organisations in the city calling for a 'real' mass campaign for defending services and jobs in the city. A Communist

Party leaflet actually called for consultation "with sections of the Tory Party itself."

He doesn't mention whether such a "real" campaign will include a 70% rate increase.

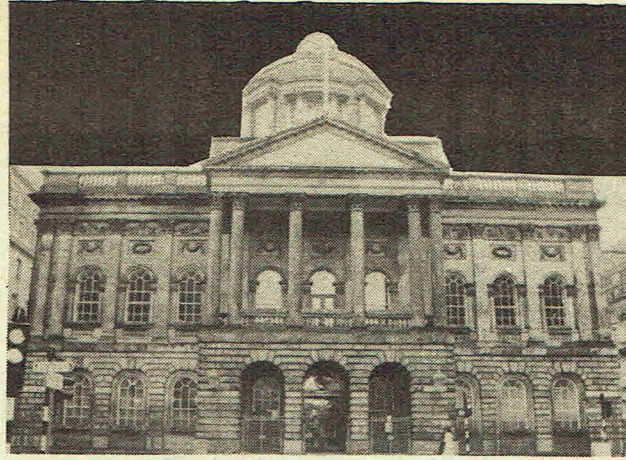
He claims that the campaign has not been sufficiently broadly based, particularly in failing to involve community organisations, and that the drawing up of the budget has been 'secretive'.

ty's community workers.

Unity needed

He explained that the campaign committee had organised series of meetings in local community centres and made every effort to involve community groups. "This campaign" he said, "has been the most broad based campaign ever seen in Merseyside, because it is concerned with central issues—with the saving of Merseyside." That message of unity must be heard throughout the labour movement.

By Tony Aitman (Broadgreen Labour Party)



The Town Hall crisis

Bankrupt by capitalism

Liverpool budget

THE BUDGET proposed by Liverpool Labour Party on 29 March is fully consistent with the programme they were elected on. It will not impose on the working class cuts made by the Tory government.

The budget does not propose a wild binge of spending. It has been fixed to maintain existing jobs and services. Any financial shortfall is entirely due to government policies.

The media have highlighted various 'alternative' budgets, but they do not mention the crucial fact that each begins by accepting government cuts. They only vary in the way they want the working class to pay for these cuts.

Liberal fraud

The Liberals' 'alternative' budget calculates that the city will need some £234 million next year. It is argued that this figure is based on last year's expenditure plus an allowance for inflation. With the government spending limit set at £216 million, the Liberals would have to cut £18 million.

Sir Trevor Jones, Liberal leader, has stated that this can be financed by "not filling vacancies". He says that would provide a saving of £8

By Eddie Doveton
(Secretary, Coventry SW CLP, personal capacity)

million. If his calculations were correct it would mean a job loss of 2,000 in the council workforce. This in a city which has already suffered 90,000 job losses in a decade—4,400 directly from council workers between 1975 and 1982—thanks to Sir Trevor and his friends.

Even this statement is misleading however. In a similar period when the Liberals and Tories had a freeze on jobs, there was only a reduction of 500. In their last year of office, jobs were reduced by 111. On these figures a saving of £8m could only be made by implementing large-scale compulsory redundancies.

Figures fiddled

They further propose banning overtime "a saving of £1 million" and then suggest a rate rise of some 9% (a saving of £4 million). The figures quoted by Sir Trevor Jones leave some £5 million unaccounted for.

Tony Byrne, Labour's finance chair in Liverpool, says the Liberals have not included several key factors in their original calculations. Firstly they have "forgotten" to add on to the council's expenditure the £6 million of proposed Liberal cuts for 1983/84 not implemented by the Labour Party.

Secondly, they will no longer be able to use the repairs and renewal fund to offset spending and this would require them to find a further £7 million. Along with other factors the council would actually require a minimum of £257 million, not £234. If you add £8 million to pay for the Liberals promise of 5,000 MSC jobs, the council spending adds up to £265 million.

£49 million Liberal cuts

That would mean cuts to the tune of £49 million, and compares starkly with £18 million stated by Trevor Jones.

On their own figures, jobs and services would suffer greatly, but the more accurate figure of £49 million, would mean both massive job losses AND double figure rate rises.

A more honest assessment of the cost of agreeing to Tory demands was given by



Above: City housing office in Liverpool; Below: Rates office. A Liberal/Tory budget would mean massive increases in rents and rates. Photos: Tommy Carroll.

Tory minister Patrick Jenkin who proposed to Liverpool's council leaders a combination of job losses, an end to the capital programme and a rate rise of 70%.

Labour budget the only way

The national Labour leadership has talked at times about a rate increase of 60% as part of a solution "within the law". Such proposals are not very different from the demands of the Tories themselves. They would be disastrous for living standards and jobs in the city. Many employers would close in the face of such an increase in costs.

The reality of Liverpool's situation is that there is no alternative to Labour's proposed budget without either massive rate rises, or large-scale job losses and a loss in services.



Tories across the water

LIVERPOOL CITY council are making a stand against the Tory onslaught whilst a mile across the River Mersey, in Tory-controlled Wirral (by 2 seats), in the last 12 months we have suffered heavily from cuts, lost jobs and poorer services as the Tories diligently carry out the boss's instructions.

Last summer they privatised the refuse and cleansing service. As a result workers were made redundant. Some were offered jobs with the private contractor on less wages, more hours and no sick or holiday entitlement. Workers in the leisure services have lost their jobs and services have been cut.

The biggest scandal in Wirral, however, is housing, the basic fundamental need for everyone. Last November Nigel Lawson announced further cuts in Housing Finance. The result was the suspension of home improvement grants in areas of the Borough which suffer most from bad housing.

People could not apply for grants from the council in order that essential repair and renovation work could be carried out. The housing investment programme has been slashed from £20m to

£9.4m. This means that no new family houses will be built for the fourth year running. Even this meagre amount is only with permission to go and borrow the money from financial institutions. 39% of this money is expected to come from building societies and banks.

The Tories have just pushed through a 90p increase in Council rents. Since 1978 rents have increased by 154%. 55p of this extra burden on the working class is to maintain a balance of £1m in the revenue account. A 1% increase in interest rates means an extra £938,000 in debt charges paid to the banks and finance houses. A total of £10m debt charges on a £25m working budget is the result of Tory lunacy.

Militant supporters have always campaigned for the public ownership of the financial institutions and a massive programme of public workers in order to give the unemployed jobs and improve living standards for everyone. This is the only way forward for the working class. Look across the water to Wirral.

By Councillor Geoff Barker
(Wirral, Merseyside)

An international disease—New York

WHAT IS called 'the crisis of the inner cities' does not just hit Liverpool. Across the Atlantic and all over the world the same vicious circle of industrial decay is being drawn.

The creation of cities without jobs or hope means that needs spiral upward while there is ever less money to pay for them. The crisis of capitalism reflects itself as a crisis of the council budget.

William Tabb's book, *The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis* uses the example of New York to explore these issues.

Cycle of boom and slump

He shows that the cycle of boom and slump inherent in capitalism also produces a boom in local authority spending during an upturn in order to attract private investment and jobs.

Slump means retrenchment and hardship for people dependent on public spending. The question is

posed—who is to pay for the crisis?

A new feature of local authority finance all over the world has been increased subsidies from central government. In New York city for instance "state aid increased 250% from less than \$50 per capita to \$250, and federal aid rose 706%" in the 1960s.

As a result, by 1969 nearly 50% of New York's funds came from state and federal aid. After all standards of health, welfare care and the level of wages, which make up most of any local council's spending, are decided nationally. So local authorities are gradually losing control over their budgets.

Faced with an impending fiscal crisis in New York, reform Mayor Lindsay raided the capital fund, which can be financed by long-term borrowing, to keep up current payments. The problem is that this only puts off the day of reckoning.

Seeing that the city's finances were running out of control a consortium of bankers virtually took over all the functions of

democratic local government. This brought to the fore the big businessmen who held real power in the city as they imposed savage cuts.

They played the role of a kind of local government IMF a 'financial sheriff'. Between January 1975 and May 1976 the city payroll was cut by 15%, nearly 50,000 people. The inevitable result was dirty, unswept streets and a crime wave which was a record, even for New York.

Nor did the bankers' intervention solve the fiscal crisis. "In early 1976 it was disclosed that the city's deficit had increased by more than a quarter of a billion dollars, largely because of higher interest rates." But the banks were doing all right.

Federal money or federal troops

Central government had mixed feelings at the prospect of bailing the city out. The state governor said, "It appears to me you would either have to put in federal money or federal troops. I

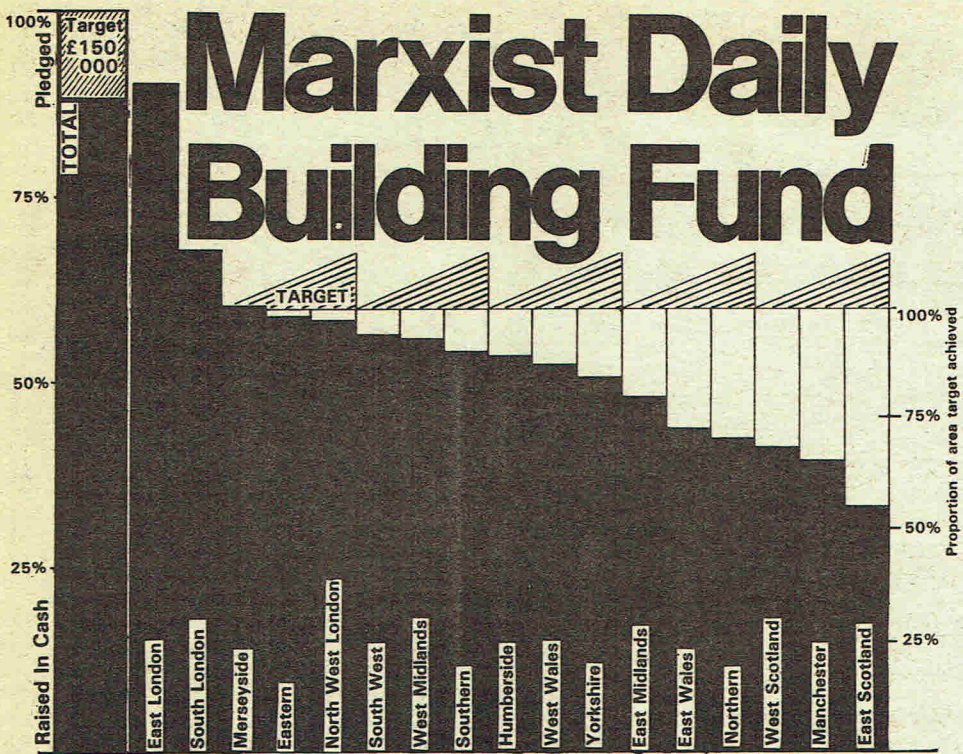
don't know what the cost of that would be." They were also caught up in the wider economic crisis.

The real beneficiary of this 'reconstruction' was big business. Multinational corporations can cynically shop around the municipalities, demanding 'rate holidays', freeports, free enterprise zones and other concessions 'to attract jobs to the area.'

The Rubik Cube of local government finance even hits them though. As a result of bankers' rule in New York, by 1980 one in four of the city's buses was in the repair sheds at any given time. By then it was reckoned that "employee lateness from transit delays in New York cost \$166 million a week, a figure one third as large as the city's corporate income tax."

Liverpool is not a financial freak. The same pressures to cut the 'social wage', to make workers pay for the crisis are being exerted all over the capitalist world. It's the bosses system that is bankrupt, the working class must liquidate it.

By Mick Brooks



SUCH HAS been the fantastic reponse to the Building Fund over the last two weeks that we are absolutely confident that we can raise the full target of £150,000. We have had £30,105 in the last fortnight and £22,601 in the last seven days alone.

What a testimony to the commitment and sacrifice of the Marxists in the British labour movement. With a total to date of £132,269 who can doubt the power of our ideas?

Our political opponents should take note if they ever thought we would fail to achieve what is an amazing goal, new premises for a Marxist newspaper.

Our visit to the bank to discuss a loan has given us an extra couple of weeks in which to raise the remaining £17,731. But given the indications from all the areas this should be no trouble. Remember, the more we raise now, the less we will have to borrow from the bank.

In fact, in a number of areas over the last week such has been the success of the campaign that we should be able to raise a further £50,000 on top of the target over the rest of the year, taking us to £200,000 by the end of 1984. This would, of course, help us with loan

to 55% of their target.

As well as the many new donators such as Richard Vivian, £50, we are receiving large sums from readers who have already contributed once, if not twice. D K Drysdale added £100 to his £60 and a further £100 came from C and J Wilson, Perth, on top of £250 already given.

From the West of Scotland this week we have had a further £1,854. Tremaine MacDonald, a school student on the Scottish LPYS Regional Committee, sent £65 that he has been saving for months. Jim Laferty sent £100.

We have received a number of donations from labour movement organisations who see the importance of establishing a Daily Marxist paper. East Hull Women's council raised £7. An appeal sheet at the East Midlands Regional Labour Party Conference collected £80. Worsley LPYS have given £20 and South Ribble and Preston LPYS branches have each given £5. NUPE, Hull Education Branch sent £10 and £20 was donated by South Hounslow Ward LP.

If we continue to build on the support we already have then the future can only bring us success.

By Nick Wrack

repayments and installation of necessary fittings.

There is no holding back any area as they all see the possibility of meeting their targets.

No-one wants to be last area

Since last week's chart we have had £2,376 from Manchester including £300 from Dominic Byrne. Unemployed readers there have found ways of raising money to donate. Pauline in Salford, has sent us £25 'in anticipation of a successful parachute jump'. John Knight, Stockport, has raised £20 through a sponsored cycle ride forty miles through Cheshire ('the hilly part' he says). Teresa Bond, a single parent of Oldham, has given £26.

£1,211 has come from the East of Scotland taking them

ADS

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

Cassette tapes with two issues of *Militant* (one each side). Available fortnightly. £3.50 per quarter, £13 for year. Write to: 'Militant Tapes', 26 Aston Terrace, Harehills, Leeds 8, or phone (0532) 493440.

FOR SALE: Classical Guitar with case £35; Stereo record player and speakers £25; Selection of LPs (good condition) from £1.50. All proceeds to Building Fund. Contact: S McCaig 82 Holmleigh Road, Stamford Hill, N16.

Tonbridge and Malling LPYS Kent YTURC meeting. Speakers Helen Gasking (Regional Committee LPYS) and Derek Still (Tonbridge borough councillor). Monday April 2nd 7.30pm Red Cross Hall, Elm Lane, Tonbridge.

SEND YOUR Shell Petrol "make a million cards" to Helen Mullineux, 7 Station Road, London SW12 9AZ. All proceeds to the fighting fund.

WANTED—Room in shared flat or house near centre of London. Contact Mike, 67 Ness Rd, Burwell Cambridge. Phone Newmarket 741471.

"The Workers Press—Lenin and Trotsky". £1 including postage, bulk copies over 10 at 75p. Available from World Socialist Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

BRADFORD Industrial Forum: "What future for the trade union?" Fox and Goose, Canal Road, Bradford. (5 minutes walk from Forster Square). 7.30 pm Thursday April 5. **Militant Readers Meeting:** "Support the miners!" Labour movement and NUM speakers Room 1, Central Library, Bradford. 7.30 pm Wednesday 11 April.

MAY DAY GREETINGS: get your labour movement organisation to place a greeting in the May Day issue of *Militant*:
3 column cms (up to 15 words) £8, one sixteenth page £13, one eighth page £25, one quarter page £50. Deadline for copy, April 18.

SPRING ISSUE—MILITANT INTERNATIONAL REVIEW—JUST OUT

Articles on: Andropov and after
Lenin's last struggle
1983 Belgian General Strike

Buy it from your local Militant seller, 75p or order from World Socialist Books 90p (incl. p&p), 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

MEETINGS

For events in your area contact your local Militant seller.

BLACKBURN Tuesday 17 April, 7.30pm. Regency Hall, Northgate, Blackburn.
Speakers: Peter Taaffe, (Editor, *Militant*) and Terry Fields MP.

OLDHAM: 'What we Stand For', Thursday, 5 April, 7.45 pm. Speaker: John Hunt (LPYS National Committee, personal capacity) at Mare and Foal Pub, Ashton Road, Oldham.

SHEFFIELD: Speakers: Dave Nellist MP; Lynn Walsh (*Militant* Editorial Board, expelled from the Labour Party) on 2 April at 7.30 pm at the Graves Cinema, Sheffield University Students' Union, Western Bank, Sheffield 10.

HARTLEPOOL: Marxist discussion groups. Held weekly. Ring Malcolm Fallow, Peterlee 867789.

LIVERPOOL Monday 9 April 7.30 pm St Georges Hall, Lime Street, Liverpool. Speakers include: Peter Taaffe (Editor *Militant*), Derek Hatton, LPYS representative, Terry Fields MP.

HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING: Marxist discussion group-held every Monday, 7.30pm. Programme for March and April includes: What is Marxism; Is Russia Socialist?; Parliamentary road to socialism—is it possible?; Role of the state; The Marxist view towards terrorism and violence. For further details ring (0783) 653994.

LINCOLN: Marxist Discussion Group. Every Tuesday at the Victoria Pub, Union Road, Lincoln, 7.30 pm. For further details tel: (0522) 27922.

FIIGHTING FUND

This week: £2,696

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 7 April
Eastern	975		2500
East Midlands	957		2900
Humberside	578		1500
London East	1587		3250
London West	754		2050
London South	1328		2650
Manchester & Lancs	904		3520
Merseyside	1138		4000
Northern	1217		3350
Scotland East	799		2150
Scotland West	833		3000
Southern	1983		4300
South West	574		2000
Wales East	798		1880
Wales West	739		1650
West Midlands	1051		3500
Yorkshire	1827		4100
Others	1202		2000
Total received	19243		50,000

WHILE the rich supporters of the Tories are rubbing their hands with glee after the recent budget the supporters of *Militant* have been budgeting for the future.

This week £2,696 has been sent in to ensure that our ideas continue to echo throughout the labour movement. At the Scottish Labour Party Conference in Perth the ideas were well received with one YS delegate given a standing ovation and £230 being raised for the Fighting Fund.

'Forth to socialism'

In Edinburgh energetic readers did a sponsored walk

to the Forth Road Bridge. Not without causing a few grimaces their march 'Forth to Socialism'(!) raised over £50. With just two weeks left to the end of the quarter on 8 April we need every area to organise some kind of fundraising event to help us to meet our target.

Cheaper entertainment

Organise a party, a 'meal for the *Militant*'. Now that the price of beer has gone up and VAT is charged on fish and chips it will be cheaper to go out to a *Militant* social than sit in with the television.

Put your money to the best use possible. Donate to the Fighting Fund.

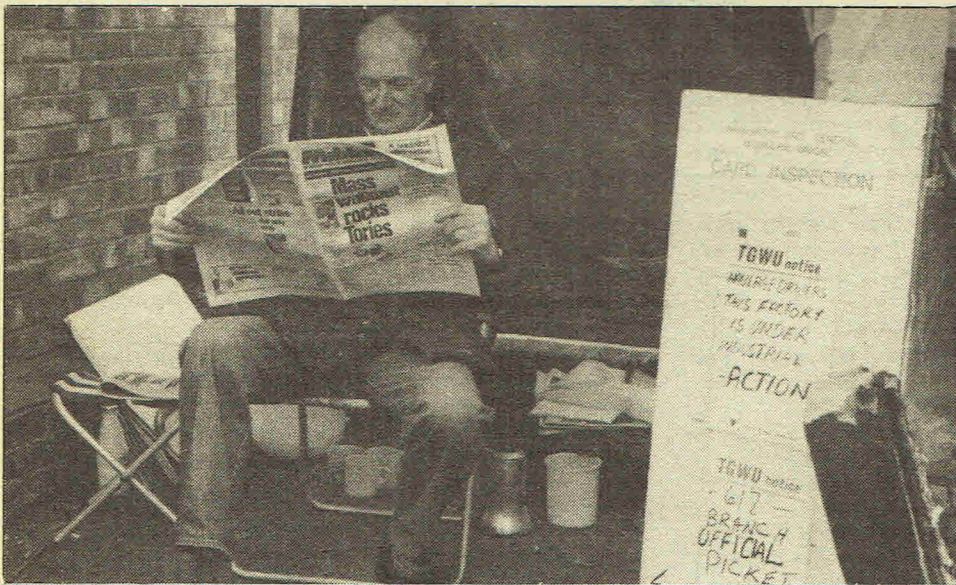
By Nick Wrack

OUR THANKS this week to:—

Kevin Pattison, Leeds POEU £40; J Bunn, Peterborough NGA £15; D Evans, Bristol AUEW BAC £5; M Harris, Bristol unemployed £1.25; Carol Holt, St James LP Bethnal Green £2.85; Dave Jeffries, Derby GMWU £1; Liverpool Broadgreen LPYS £10; Bournemouth Jumble Sale £12.43; *Militant* Readers' Meeting £110.66; 'What the *Militant* stands for meeting at Cowes, Isle of Wight, Labour Club £16.50; Alec Thraves' curry night £15; Home Brew Evening, Swansea £19.30; Liverpool University *Militant* Supporters £20.

THE WINNER of the Cardiff 'Benn/Chesterfield' Sweep—J James (Cardiff).

SELLING Militant



On the picket-line in Bootle

Photo Lezli-An Barrett

THE UPSURGE of militancy connected with the miners dispute has also provided an upsurge in our sales. The sellers in West Glamorgan report excellent sales with Maesteg selling 43 in an hour and Resolven 44.

In East Wales the response if possible has been even better with a record 35 being sold in Blackwood on Saturday, and 44 in a morning in Newport. The best sale was 113 sold in Newbridge (deep

in Neil Kinnock's constituency!) where sellers sold to people going to a rugby match!

The effect of the *Militant Miner* poster has also been tremendous. Not only has it been seen on many TV reports about the miners it has also been proudly displayed in many windows in the South Wales coalfield. Supporters have been active helping with information about DHSS and there has been a great interest in the LPYS.

In Cardiff's Crumlin/Oak Dale 60 papers were sold door to door and in Holyland (Barnsley) 20 in as many minutes. Now is the time to defend your future, get the message across with *Militant*. Support Liverpool, support the miners, sell *Militant*. For details of how you can become a seller contact: 'Militant Circulation', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN or phone 01-986 3828.

Pacifism cannot stop war

DAVE FARRAR begins a three-part analysis of the British peace movement 1914-84, with a look at pacifism before the Second World War.

PEACE HAS always been a vital issue for workers and often this opposition has found the channel of pacifism.

In Britain during the First World War the Independent Labour Party had a strong pacifist position with its leader James Ramsay MacDonald opposing the war. Conscientious objectors, such as Bertrand Russell individually opposed the war and refused to fight for King and country. Unfortunately, the labour movement failed to adopt a class opposition to the war. The Socialist International policy of opposition by a general strike was never more than a pipe-dream.

Class action

With the victory of Bolshevism in 1917 and the hope of world revolution the British Labour movement opposed British military intervention in Russia and physically stopped the 'Jolly George' from sailing with military supplies. In the following years such a clear class approach was submerged by pious beliefs in the League of Nations, but it never totally died out.

At the 1933 Labour Party Conference one resolution pointed out: "The deepening of imperialist and capitalist rivalries was a direct cause of war...workers had no quarrel with workers of other countries. We pledge ourselves to take no part in

war and to resist it and examine the possibilities of a general strike in the event of war and urges approaches to secure international action by workers in other countries on the same lines."

League of Nations

This resolution reflected the same mixture of class antagonism, mixed in with utopian pacifism as did the resolutions of the Socialist International twenty years earlier.

While Lenin had pointed out that unless capitalism was overthrown, there would be more world wars, Stalin put his trust in fixing up a deal with the capitalist powers in the West. In 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations, and the left in Britain followed a similar strategy.

Pacifism was also seen as an alternative to mass class action. A pacifist mood also developed in the middle class and even sections of the upper classes; there was the famous Oxford University Union resolution in 1933 that, "this house will in no circumstances fight for its King and Country."

In 1934 a "Peace Ballot" was organised in which eleven and a half million people took part, though interestingly enough to the

question, "do you think aggressors should be stopped by war" people voted yes by three to one. Amongst women there was especially active opposition to war with the Women's Co-operative Guild giving out white poppies on Armistice day.

Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia and the inability of the League of Nations to act showed its total limitations; Lenin had called it a "thieves kitchen".

The defeat of the Spanish revolution and the annexation of Austria foreshadowed the coming war. Workers were terrified of the vast stocks of arms kept from the first world war. There were enough poison gas supplies to wipe out the world population six times over.

Labour's pious condemnation

The response by the leaders of the labour movement in Britain though was to support a conference in 1938 in support of the League of Nations. At the conference were representatives of the Labour Party, the TUC, the Co-op, the Liberal parties and the Churches. They restricted themselves to pious condemnations of war without seeing that war was "politics by other means".

Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland made World War II inevitable and immediately caused confusion amongst the left in Britain. The tiny Independent Labour Party called for a general strike but the majority of workers saw the war as a defence against fascism and opposition to the war was overwhelmingly thrown out by a vote at the TUC.

Workers' power crucial

As Trotsky pointed out if you had the power to stop the war you had the power to take power from the bosses.

The Communist party slavishly switched its position after Stalin formed a pact with Hitler. At first they opposed the war. Then with the invasion of Russia in 1941 they did a somersault and the CP became His Majesty's Communist Party, opposed strikes and lost all pretence of a class attitude to the war.

Trotsky's attitude

Two years before the Second World War started, Trotsky had pointed out that pious pacifist declarations and international con-



The horrors of trench warfare, 1914-18, led many to vow that such slaughter never return. (Above) German machine guns on the Vistula.

ferences were no substitute for class action to stop war:

"It was not long ago that pacifists of various stripes believed or pretended to believe that a new war could be prevented with the aid of the League of Nations, show congresses, referendums, and other theatrical enterprises, the majority of which were financed from the budget of the USSR.

"What has remained of these illusions? Of the seven great powers, three—the U.S., Japan, and Germany—are out of the League label.

"The melancholy partisans of the Geneva institutions, yesterday the 'hope of mankind' have reached the

conclusion that the only way to save the League consists in not confronting it with any important questions. In 1932, when the famous disarmament conference was opened, the European armies numbered 3,200,000 men. In 1936, the number had already risen to 4,500,000 and continued to grow uninteruptedly.

"What has happened to Lord Cecil's referendums? Who will receive the next Nobel Peace prize? The Geneva disarmament policy has ceased to be even a worthy object of caricature." Trotsky *'Pacifism, Fascism and War'*—1937.

'Johnny got his gun'

THIS IS a war book very different from any you will have read before. We never see the battlefields, hear the exploding shells or come across more than one soldier.

Nor is it a simple appeal to pacifism. But it still shows us the ferocity of war, and makes us ask what working

people have to gain by fighting the battles of the rich.

Only his mind remains

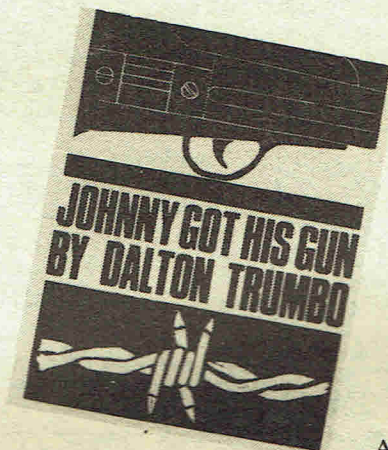
It opens with a young soldier slipping in and out of consciousness in a military hospital. When his condition stabilises he realises that he is badly hurt.

His hearing is gone. He

cannot feel his pulse and, after this shock, consoles himself that at least he is alive. Then he feels hot needles on his arm and in terror realises that it is being amputated.

But this is only the beginning. Young Joe becomes a symbol of all that war can do to a man. He has lost all his limbs, half his face, his hearing and his sight.

Literally all that is left is his mind, and with angry



determination he sets out to examine what causes war and how it can be avoided. His horrifying isolation comes over in every page.

Johnny got his gun

by Dalton Trumbo, Journeyman Press, £3.75. Reviewed by Dennis Tourish

All the while Joe attempts to stay sane. He works out his own calendar, based on the hospital routine.

On special days he 'takes a walk' in Paris, imagining

the splendours and sights he now will never see. And his anger grows and grows.

Eventually, Joe finds a way of communicating and asks that he be taken on a tour of the country, as an exhibit of the horrors of war. He wants to counter by his presence the romanticised, sanitised delusions which were all that he had ever known.

The response of the hospital authorities to this suggestion, and Joe's response to them, make up the last pages of this book. Anyone who reads it will never forget it. For sheer class anger it stands on a peak of socialist literature.

LEFT and RIGHT

Health authorities charge road accident victims

Road accident victims are now being sent enormous bills, up to £1,500, by many health authorities as a charge for treatment received. It is all part of the drive to secure economies in the NHS.

Up until 1980 there was a legal provision for such a charge; but as the fee was only £1.25 few authorities bothered collecting. The Tories increased the charge to £10.90 and allowed authorities to send bills up to £1,525 if a patient is admitted after an accident.

Officially these bills should be addressed to the victim's insurance company, but many authorities ignore this and don't inform the driver either. "Our bills go directly to the driver," Stephen Yorston, York's health authority treasurer, told the *Sunday Times*, 18 March. Another treasurer explained: "The whole lot should come from the insurance companies, but it's the driver we go for."

It doesn't matter who is to blame for the accident, the bills go out, often with no explanation. "If somebody was in a particularly bad situation where he or she actually couldn't pay, the health authority probably wouldn't prosecute" one health treasurer explained comfortingly. It's a far cry though from the principals of a free health service, isn't it?

Tebbit finally comes clean

Some Conservatives are so worried about the anti-democratic prejudices of the present government that they are busy checking Minister's press releases and making some fresh discoveries into the bargain. The following letter from two Conservative members of the GLC appeared in the 19 March issue of *The Guardian*:

"Sir,—One has to make allowances for Mr Norman Tebbit, but his latest outburst (Tebbit Says London Is In Hands Of Marxists Bent On Revolution, March 15) was so bizarre that we sought a copy of his speech from Conservative Central Office.

"By jingo, he said it. He really said it—and he said something else which your report omitted: 'The Labour Party is the party of division. In its present form it represents a threat to the democratic system and institutions on which our Parliamentary system is based. The GLC is typical of this new, modern,

divisive version of socialism. it must be defeated. So we shall abolish the GLC...'

"There we have it. The first frank admission that what some of us have been saying all along is true; namely that the government is intent upon abolishing the GLC in order to prevent the electorate of London from voting for a party of which the government disapproves."

George Tremlett (Twickenham), Bernard Brook-Partidge (Romford), Conservative members of the GLC, London SE1.

Jumble clothes boom?

One store in Hull is doing good business. It is a store of jumble-sale clothes and it gives out about 400 articles a day. To qualify as a customer though, you have to go through the social security maze. Clothing is only issued if customers are unemployed with a letter from a social worker or probation officer.

The store is about the only thing that is booming in Hull. But some people have made a profit from old jumble. One hat, bought as part of a £10 job lot, turned out to be a 400-year old night cap and was sold for £2,700 at Christie's recently.

(Thanks this week for a Left and Right to Alan Shadworth, West Hull LPYS)

Peace debate attracts 200

OUR YOUNG Socialist branch initiated a 'great debate' locally on nuclear arms.

The response was overwhelming—about 200 people packed into a hall to hear the speakers from YCND, the Liberals, the Tories and of course, the LPYS.

The debate was initiated by our LPYS branch after letters had appeared in the local paper on the nuclear issue. As, secretary of the LPYS, I wrote in challenging all major parties to an open and democratic debate.

Response at first was patchy—the whole debate rested on the participation of the Tories.

However, the local Tory party finally agreed, after a lot of haggling, to provide a speaker and, importantly, agreed along with the Liberals and the CND to pay towards the cost of the hall. A room in the local Leas Cliff Hall was booked. Leaflets were printed by the LPYS advertising the debate and the local paper was kept fully informed.

This was one of the most important factors in the success of the debate—articles were printed most weeks in the lead-up to the event and this inspired comrades to send in regular press releases,

so that we got a column in the 'local societies' part of the paper, which also publicised other events we are planning.

On the night of the debate itself, LPYS members and *Militant* supporters set up a bookstall, still wondering what the response would be. We were completely taken aback by the level of support. Ten minutes before the start, the hall was packed solid. Curtains at one side of the hall were opened revealing more chairs.

Packed out

These were quickly snapped up, yet people still piled in.

The Tory speaker, Nicholas Bennett, who is on their parliamentary candidates list, spoke about the need to 'negotiate from strength' and all the usual rubbish. The response from the audience was completely hostile—the only person who attempted to clap at the end was a local *Militant* supporter, who obviously felt sorry for the poor bloke!

Willie Griffin, LPYS National Chairman, outlined the socialist position on nuclear disarmament and pointed out that it is only the Labour Party that can end the threat of war. He received

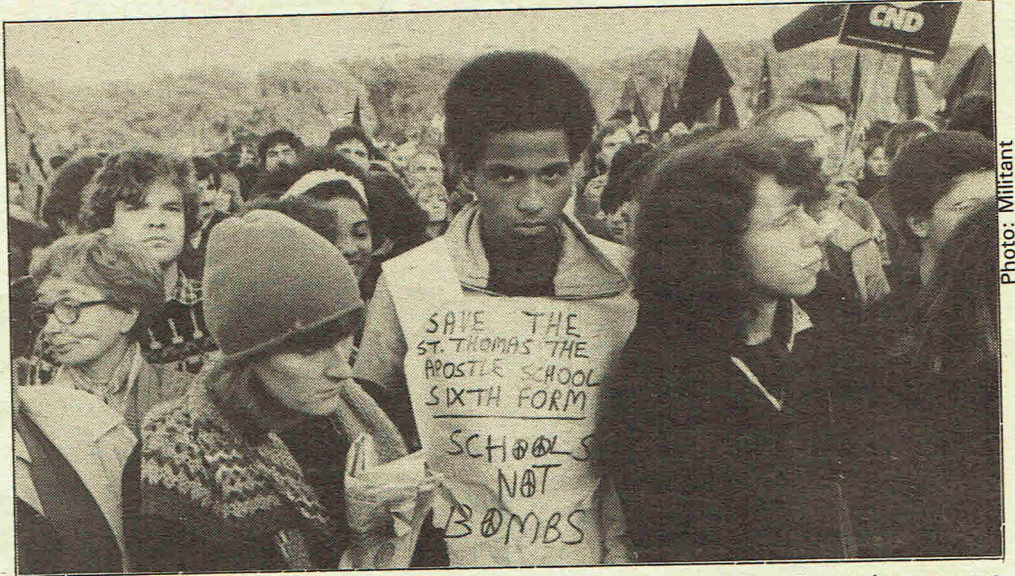


Photo: Militant

The October 22 CND march in 1982. Thousands of young workers are opposed to nuclear weapons.

strong applause when he called for support for the NUM in their battle against the government: "If the Russians can't control Solidarity in Poland, what chance would they have against the strength of the NUM?" he asked.

Liberal Lawyer

The Liberal speaker, John Macdonald QC, resplendent in pin-striped suit, explained that the best thing we could all do for world peace was to travel across to America and campaign for Gary Hart as President!

During the debate from

the floor, the strength of feeling against the local Tories was demonstrated with speaker after speaker attacking them, not only on the question of nuclear weapons, but linking it with issues from Christ to Liverpool Council!

There must have been, at the very most, ten Tories there and two of them spoke during the debate, concentrating most of the time on heckling and sneezing very loudly during other people's contributions.

LPYS members received tremendous support from the floor when they put forward

a class position. A number of people asked to join the LPYS, while there were excellent literature sales.

This sort of debate can be repeated up and down the country with really the minimum of effort. Most local papers have letters' pages and they very often get round to the nuclear issue, one way or another. So come on; if it can be done in Folkestone it can be done anywhere!

By Martin Cock
(Folkestone LPYS)

Russian lessons

AT A meeting of the Campaign Group of Labour MPs recently the Soviet Ambassador was invited to address the group.

His 'Marxist-Leninist Excellency' delivered a speech on the world situation and the struggle for peace. When pressed on the internal situation in the Soviet Union, however, his comments were a little more interesting.

Steve Morgan, the LPYS representative on the Labour Party NEC, stated that the LPYS had consistently defended the planned economy in the Soviet Union and the gains of the 1917 revolution.

Steve however, stressed that Lenin had laid down a number of pre-conditions for the maintenance of workers' democracy in the USSR—no differential pay greater than four to one; election and immediate right of recall of all officials; rotation of positions; no standing army, but an armed people.

In view of this Steve asked the Ambassador to explain why the 'Leninist' state of Poland had recently used a standing army to suppress

a trade union movement of ten million workers, and to comment on the strikes which have taken place in the Gorky and Togliati car plants in the USSR.

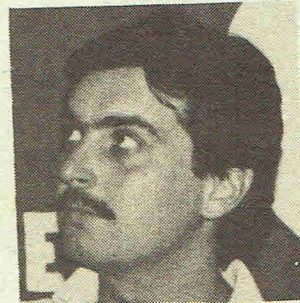
Furthermore, he asked, why the writings of Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the Russian Revolution, was banned in the USSR. Was it true, he added, that sons and daughters of Soviet officials had been disciplined for forming groups to discuss the ideas of Trotsky?

Ask Poland!

The Soviet Ambassador replied that on the first point, Poland was a sovereign independent state whose affairs the USSR didn't interfere in and that the question would have to be addressed to the Polish ambassador. Strikes, he added, were unnecessary in the USSR.

He said that Trotskyism was not banned; any Trotskyist is able to stand up and address groups of people he maintained.

However, he added that no Trotskyist is allowed to join the Soviet Communist Party and would be expelled



Steve Morgan questioned USSR Ambassador.

from it because Trotsky did not agree with the basic principle of the party, that socialism can be built in one country.

Steve replied that on this basis, they would have to expel all Leninists from the CP, because Lenin never believed that socialism could be built in one country.

The Ambassador challenged Steve to produce evidence of this! Having left Lenin's Collected Works at home, Steve replied that he would be only too pleased to produce the evidence if the Ambassador guaranteed that it would be produced in the pages of *Pravda*.

The Ambassador declined to give any firm commitment on this, but it is hoped that he will accept Steve's invitation to debate the issue at the LPYS summer camp this year.

was I doing?

Later that month I got a job working in a factory in Kent, through a relative. What a choice! A job 350 miles away or the dole.

The first thing that I did when I got settled in Tonbridge was to join the local CND and Tonbridge LPYS. I am not prepared to stand aside and let the Tories cut or take away everything that's been fought for by the working class of this country.

I'll keep fighting for socialism, as it's the only way the working class people will get a fair chance in life.

By John Foster
(Tonbridge and Malling LPYS)

Join the LPYS

I FIRST became interested in the LPYS when I was approached by two members of Arbroath Young Socialists at a local CND meeting.

At this point I had no knowledge of the LPYS and went to the meeting purely out of interest. I expected a small group of people with nothing better to do than brag about the Labour Party. At that time I had no intentions of encouraging the Labour Party as it stands.

But when I actually went I was amazed at what I heard from the YS speakers. What I found was a growing organised group of young people who were fighting for the real needs of youth and the working class, and who

were not afraid to expose the major faults, not only of the Tory Party, but of the Labour Party as well.

The LPYS are actually trying to change the Labour Party and point it in the right direction—in the direction of the rights and needs of the working class.

I urge all young people who want some kind of decent future to go along to an LPYS meeting and voice their opinion, and if they find that what the YS are saying related to them, then try to become active and help themselves by helping the LPYS.

By Wendy Paton
(Arbroath LPYS)



Labour Party
Young Socialists
Conference
'84

22nd annual national conference

at Spa Royal Hall, Bridlington Easter weekend, April 20-23.

Debates include YTS, drug abuse, unemployment, racism and nuclear disarmament. Speakers include: Tom Sawyer (NUPE Asst. Gen. Sec.), Dave Nellist MP, and top labour movement figures. Entertainment includes discos, live band, plays and the feature film *Reds*.

Visitors tickets: £6

Details from LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17 1JT

On yer bike

I WAS born and brought up in Hartlepool, once a steel town, now a town of hopelessness and despair. I left school in 1978 and went straight on the dole.

But rather than do nothing, I went to college—part time so I could claim some money for doing it. After studying for two years at college and after countless interviews while at the college, I got a job in 1980. I got this a week after leaving college but after only seven months I was made redundant. Back on the dole again.

After two and a half years I was still on the dole. Having nothing to lose, I set off for London on the Peoples March for Jobs '83. This was a really good experience as I learned a lot from people who shared my views.

I returned to Hartlepool on June 6. Back to signing on.

Four months later I went on the massive October 22 CND march in London with the local peace campaign. Not many people bothered to come from Hartlepool; the sense of apathy really annoyed me. But then, what

us?

about

what

BLOC

Fightback is launched



Enthusiastic applause from TGWU delegates for a conference speaker.



A section of the crowded conference hall also held, with a further hall used for abc

THE CONFERENCE of the Broad Left Organising Committee in Sheffield on Saturday was a magnificent success. Over 2,200 delegates packed into the city's Octagon centre.

Such were the numbers that two overflow meetings had to be arranged. Indeed, nearly 500 people who had turned up hoping for last minute tickets had to be turned away; there was just no room.

This overwhelming response shows that the ranks of the movement are looking for a fighting force of the left within the trade unions, to begin the process of constructing a leadership that is prepared to take on the Tories. The conference will act as a launching pad from which to build and strengthen the Broad Left movement.

The current miners' struggle set the tone for the one-day conference. **Phil Holt, BLOC secretary and POEU National Executive**, opened discussions at the conference applauding the miners' determined stand:

"Already the action of the miners has forced the courts to back off, when many other trade unions have retreated from this fight. A victory for the miners in this battle will be the beginning of the end for this government and will uplift the whole working class."

Hitting out at the pessimism of the TUC leadership and some sections of the left, he said this conference showed the true potential that lay within the labour movement.

This theme was repeated by many of the platform speakers

such as **Joe Marino of the Bakers' Union** and **Alan Quinn, TGWU General Executive**, and others such as **Sheffield city leader, David Blunkett**, and **Joan Maynard MP**, outlined the Tories' assault on the labour movement.

However, a section of the conference repeatedly declared that the ranks of the movement were in fact 'demoralised' and that the working class had swung to the right. As such, it was the wrong period in which to build the Broad Left movement, they said.

Many delegates answered this point. **Alistair Tice, NUPE**, explained that certainly trade union membership had fallen by nearly two million, but this was mainly through mass unemployment, unlike in the '30s when union membership fell by half though widespread demoralisation of ordinary workers.

He added that many of the Tories' 'social reserves' had gone—the sections of society that scabbed during the 1926 general strike were now amongst the most highly unionised and were forging militant traditions.

Geoff Barker, SOGAT, explained that the right wing leaders were finding themselves under increasing pressure: "In the NGA dispute we saw one of the greatest acts of treachery by the right wing TUC leaders this century. But now the chickens have come home to roost—with the GCHQ dispute, one of those right wingers, Alistair

Graham, suddenly found his union and his job on the line, and was calling for solidarity action. He had a different tune to play then!"

Kevin Roddy, CPSA National Executive, attacked those who wallowed in defeat and pointed out that there "had never been a golden age of struggle" for the working class. They had always had to fight long and hard for the smallest of gains. The movement's major impediment at present was its crisis of leadership.

At the end of the day, the conference adopted the declaration presented by the platform. This stated: "We pledge ourselves to struggle to transform the trade unions at every level into fighting organisations ready to defend living standards, working conditions, job prospects and democratic rights."

It pledged a co-ordinated fightback against the Tories' anti-union laws and called for a 24-hour general strike as the first step in solidarity action in the event of the seizure of union funds, or the arrest or fining of any individual trade unionist.

After the conference, **George Williamson, BLOC Organising Secretary**, told *Militant*: "We have been overwhelmed by the response we received and are now looking to further broaden the scope of BLOC. We will be urging all individual Broad Lefts not already involved with BLOC to affiliate."

"In the build up to this year's TUC congress, we are looking to build the maximum unity possible of the left in the trade unions."

Reports:

Bob Wade, Ian Illet, John Pickard

Photos: John Woulfe

"THIS HAS been a tremendous lesson. BLOC is a movement that will grow and grow. If people are prepared to turn out on a Saturday like this in large numbers, the possibilities are enormous. The grass roots of the movement should be more in touch with struggles like Hindles, in union to fight the employers."—**David Hobbs**, Bradford AUEW, 12 months on strike at Hindle Gears.

"THE BLOC conference has been bloody good. It's easy for isolated activists to get demoralised, but a conference like this shows what the strength of the left in the unions can be like."—**Kate Packham**, Brighton Trades Council.

"WE'VE COME here on a listening brief. We felt it was about time the trade unions started the fight against this government. The recent NGA dispute should have been the rallying point. But you find that general secretaries are on a good wage and find it far easier to capitulate."—**Ray Denne**, shop steward at British Airways, TGWU 13/54.



Tony Benn MP.

TONY BENN MP was cheered when he thanked all those "flying canvassers" who went to Chesterfield to help secure his election victory. He said: "There were 18 candidates in the election—the eighteenth being **Rubert Murdoch**. But we beat the Tory press and we beat the **SDP/BBC Liberal Alliance!**"

He outlined the attacks on democratic rights by this government and called for the defence of councils such as **Liverpool**. He added the infringement of workers' rights was taking place on an international scale too, with the arrival of **Cruise missiles** and the invasion of **Grenada**.

He said the future lies with socialism—as such we must build our forces: "In that sense we do not want sectarianism or witch-hunts. In the movement we must argue our case, not denounce it out or expel it out."



Sheffield. An overspill meeting for another 500 delegates was held in a hundred visitors with standing room only.

KEVIN MULLINS (COHSE executive) and delegate from NW Leeds branch:

"I was disappointed with the attempt by a fringe group to disrupt the conference but I'm pleased that I've met other members of my union. The conference is bound to encourage new people on the left to get involved in their union branches. The Broad Left is not just an election machine, but the right wing must be put under pressure. The Broad Left should fight for delegates to the union regional councils. We have to build regionally and nationally to build a fighting union leadership.

"The Broad Left is strong in my union in Yorkshire. We have regular meetings and discussions. We have already begun to have an effect at a regional level, and I have been elected to the National Executive."

TERRY CONSTABLE, Sussex TGWU District Committee:

"I think the conference has been very good indeed. But there's a man who was a fool today. His name is Todd. He should have been here and seen where his base really lies. I think that there's real danger that George Wright, the right wing candidate in the elections for TGWU general secretary could now win it."



Frank Slater, Yorkshire NUM.

FRANK SLATER of the Yorkshire NUM was well received at conference when he urged solidarity with the miners. He bitterly attacked the leadership of the Notts area NUM. He said: "I have never seen so much confusion as that in the Notts area. If we had leadership like that in Barnsley we would have burnt down the headquarters by now!"

He condemned police action, describing how he had been put in a cell with other miners for 14½ hours.

He continued: "This is not about wages, we're not being greedy. This is about our jobs—we can't go back to work, we've got no jobs to go back to. And you look at the photos in the press and see those on the picket lines—all young kids, all our futures. These young lads are more determined than ever now, a bulldozer couldn't get them back to work, not until we win."

Union delegations

THE NUMBER of delegations from all the major unions shows the wide support for the aims of BLOC within the movement. The following major unions had these numbers of delegates present: National Union of Mineworkers—100; Transport and General—196; AUEW—135; National Union of Public Employees—114; Civil and Public Services Association—134; NALGO—178; ASTMS—78; EETPU—30. It was estimated that only two of the unions affiliated to the TUC were not present at the BLOC conference.



Terry Fields MP.

TERRY FIELDS MP received a standing ovation after a rousing speech to conference. He attacked the "cowards and traitors" of the movement who had derailed many battles.

"There is enormous anger building up within the rank and file. There is also a new generation of young shop stewards being pushed forth untainted by decades of betrayals—this new generation are being moulded in a different time. Events in society today are far sharper.

"Despite unemployment we still remain strong. Yes, there have been defeats but that must make us more resolute to ensure we have a leadership that is accountable to the members, and not comfortably sitting by with an advanced standard of living as at present."

DAWN CASTLE, of the North West Midlands CPSA, spoke about the situation facing her members in North Nottinghamshire in the current miners dispute:

"At first some of the members were not too sympathetic to the miners, with comments like, 'Well, they've got to shut down the pits' and so on. But since the massive police presence in the area, that mood has changed, with most people behind the counter now wearing NUM stickers.

"Our main battle at present is to get management to agree to setting up special strike centres to deal with claims—there's 43,900 miners in our area. In the British Leyland strike we set up a centre in the factory, but because the pits are spread out we said we should put the centres in Miners' Welfares. But management said no, saying they'd be no volunteers to man the centres because of the 'picket line violence'. This is nonsense, because nearly all our members are related to miners in some way. Management are just carrying out government orders and making sure the miners get the run around when they try to claim social security."

RALPH QUIGLEY, Keighley AUEW No.1:

"I've got a lot out of this conference. It will be a shot across the bows of the leaderships in all the trade unions and particularly the TUC. They will be a bit more fearful of the membership in future."



Kevin Pattison, Yorkshire POEU.

KEVIN PATTISON, POEU Yorkshire Political Committee:

"It's about time an organisation like this came into being, to pull together all the battles both in the private and public sector.

"The POEU privatisation battle proved that you can't fight in isolation against the power of the government.

"I reject the claim that the POEU battle proved Broad Lefts are therefore of no use. If you go to the ranks and say 'we need a fighting union' and then refuse to stand for election, they won't take you seriously. You have to put an alternative to the right wing. You will not always be successful, but you must take part in the struggle if you are to gain any credibility in the eyes of the members."



Bernard Matthews TGWU members, Henry Hudson, Convenor, Bill McBeath, Chairman JSSC, and AJ Rudd, Branch Secretary.

AJ RUDD, branch secretary, **Henry Hudson**, Convenor, **Bill McBeath**, chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee, all members of the TGWU at Bernard Matthews in Norfolk told how they had won back between 300–400 workers to the union that had left following a dispute in 1981:

"We've had about an 80% response. We've done it by going round talking to people, or they've come to us with problems and we've said they must join the union for us to represent them. One recent success has been recruiting the



Frank McCallan, NIPSA National Executive.

FRANK McCALLAN, National Executive member of the Northern Ireland Public Services Alliance:

"Coming from an area with a smaller number of trade unions, I found this conference exhilarating. It raised the question of the methods adopted by Broad Lefts—there's no argument against Broad Lefts being open bodies campaigning within the union. The days of the old semi-secret Broad Lefts have gone and shouldn't be encouraged to return. Broad Lefts should be open campaigning bodies encouraging the membership at every level."

BILL TAYLOR, Durham NUM:

"The conference has been champion. I'm only 27. I've got 20 years left in the industry so I'm fighting for my job—we can't move, there's no other future there, no life with the dole. A few of us went to Seaham pit where they were working. They said they 'sympathised' with us, but we said: 'It's not your sympathy we want, it's your support.' That's when they decided to come out.

"Every colliery in the North East is solid now. In every single case we've always been able to address the men in the canteen.

"I think I must have been to every canteen in every colliery in the region!"

Catching Gangs—they're the 34 lads who catch the turkeys. They'd gone three years without a pay rise. Since they joined, they got a good increase.

"We've seen advantages since the old National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers went into the TGWU. The TGWU is a union geared to modern industry, whereas the old NUAAW had fallen by the wayside a bit. For example, you didn't have shop stewards, but the branch secretary would fill the role."

Donations raise over £2,500

THE CONFERENCE collection raised a magnificent £2,507—half of which was donated to the NUM strike fund.

However, the collection was marred by persistent heckling from an ultra left grouping, who demanded all the money go to the miners. They were answered from the platform by Frank Slater of the Yorkshire NUM. He pointed out that the miners were more than pleased to receive 50% of the collection, which was more than they had expected.

He added: "Don't forget, we are

only one section of the movement. We are not the only ones having the problems. This body needs money to organise too, so keep yourselves on the road."

However, some self-important sectarians then heckled Frank, which shows you just can't win with some people. Even so, the majority of delegates took the issue seriously and dug deep into their pockets. Donations such as £100 from the POEU, £130 from the GMBATU and £75 from NUPE came forward in a steady flow of donations from the floor.

USA, El Salvador, Australia, Chile

USA boom time - but only for some

CORPORATE America registered a dazzling year of profits in 1983.

General Motor's net income grew fourfold to \$3.37 billion, Ford's earning was a record \$1.87 billion, Chrysler \$317 million, Firestone Tyre and Rubber made \$144 million, General Electric's profit rose 11% to \$2 Billion.

Even the Postal Service registered an operating surplus of \$616 million for the year's end. The *Wall Street Journal* reported, "if you liked the profit picture in 1983 you will love it in 1984. Most economists estimate that after tax, corporate earnings rose about 15% in the year just ended and expect them to surge another 25% or so in the current year."

Of course not all Corporate America is flourishing; some industries remain hopelessly depressed. Steelmakers lost an overall \$2 billion last year and are operating at less than 60% capacity.

Long hours

Plants continue to close causing massive unemployment amongst steelworkers and few hopes of ever returning to the mills. Just recently US Steel announced further plant closures costing 15,400 jobs.

In the same breath, they blamed the workers for their downfall. Yet it was not the workers' paychecks that stopped the bosses modernizing the steel industry. Their own greed and negligence sent them on a search for bigger profits in countries where labour is easier to exploit.

There are steel mills in the US still operating with open hearth furnaces; just one example of the gross negligence of the American Steel bosses.

But, boom or bust for the US bosses, the workers always get the rotten end of the deal.

The booming auto industry has many employees on a 7 day work week. The UAW has calculated that during 1983 auto companies had scheduled enough overtime to provide 55,000 jobs. Overtime is usually compulsory and most companies

America will fire workers turning down extra shifts. Of course it is cheaper for Auto bosses to pay time and a half than to hire more workers and pay full benefits. Said one worker, his seven day work week "is like going to prison. You get on edge after working seven days a week for so long. Sometimes I have to ask my wife what day it is."

By Marcy Barnett
District 65 UAW
AFL-CIO
(Personal capacity)

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For many US auto workers the five day, 40-hour work week is a myth. For two years you are land off with few, if any, benefits, then next year you work 72 hours a week. "It isn't the American dream", says Allen Brett, tool and die maker at Chrysler. "We're going into the 21st Century working the same hours our grandfathers worked".

Meanwhile hundreds of thousands still remain hopelessly unemployed. "More than 110,000 of our members in the auto industry have not been called back to work," says UAW (Auto Workers) president Beiber, and thousands more in supply industries as well.

With automation, companies can make more cars with no corresponding increase in employment. GM boasts it can produce as many cars today as four years ago with 100,000 fewer workers.

Unemployment

Outside auto and steel, it is just as gloomy. Twelve states still have double figure unemployment. The official unemployment rate is down to 8.1% but millions of jobless Americans remain uncounted and without a bit of aid or relief benefits. The unemployment rate for youth is approximately 20%, for minority youth 30%, and for black youth alone 50%.

The bosses have decided that the education process for the working class must begin long before entering a factory or standing in an unemployment line. So groups like the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Free

Enterprise Institute, the American Economic Foundation, Exxon, Standard Oil, and many others have invested millions of dollars on new educational material for the state schools.

An example of their material reads: "In Sunny Village, everybody works in a bakery making bread that sells for 50 cents a loaf. The workers want twice as much pay. To pay them, the bakery raises its prices to \$1 a loaf... That's inflation. But if the workers baked twice as much bread, they could get higher pay and the price wouldn't go up".

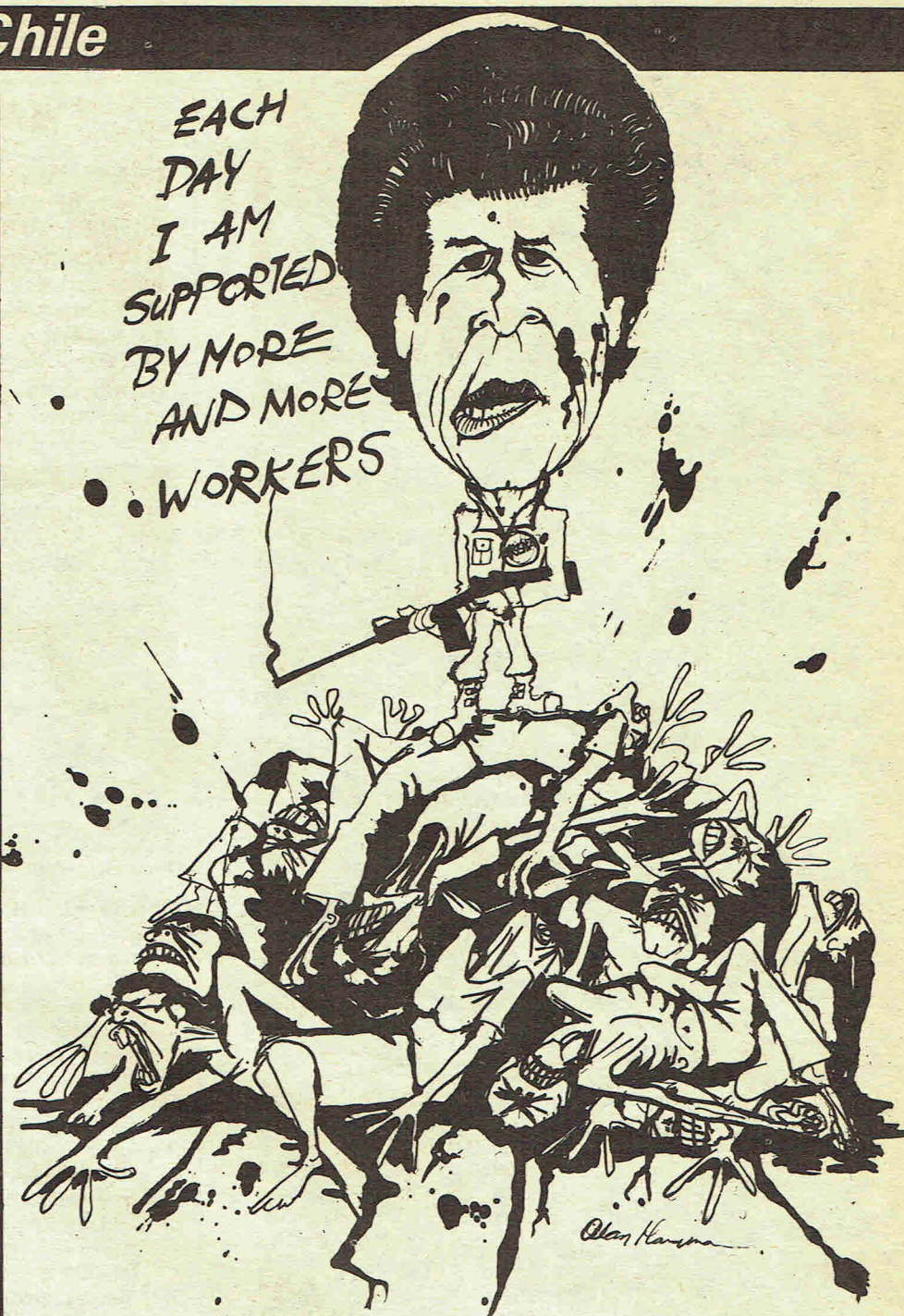
Workers' party

"Economics for Young People" is another example of the more and more blatant attempts to indoctrinate working class youth, preaching the wonders of "free enterprise with no mention of plant closings, layoffs, unemployment, or pollution caused by the profits-at-any-cost free enterprise economics. The only monopolies mentioned are labour unions; the multinational companies that exercise control over much of the economy are left alone." (Solidarity February 1984).

Another text book says great improvements in working conditions were given to workers by the corporations, and never mentions the great labour struggles to gain a decent living.

The Corporate giants will invest as many millions as necessary to keep the working class in its place, but through their greed they have begun digging their own graves. There is no such place as "Sunny Village, USA." America has been plundered by its bosses leaving a trail of poverty, hunger, and joblessness behind.

America has the technology and resources to feed, employ, educate, and provide a decent standard of living for all. But neither party of big business, Republican or Democratic, will ever solve the problems of dying industries, excessive overtime, permanent unemployment, which they have helped bring on. The working class must begin to formulate its own political programme and build its own Party.



El Salvador's death squad ballot

THE PRESIDENTIAL elections in El Salvador on 25 March are widely seen as a totally unreliable guide to the real views of the people.

Army personnel have openly intimidated people into support for the ARENA group led by the vicious Major Roberto D'Aubuisson in charge of the right-wing 'death squads'. In a recent opinion poll, about half said they would only vote because they had to.

Polling was supposed to be compulsory and voters' hands were marked with visible substances so if anybody did not vote, there could be another job for D'Aubuisson's death squads. The government figures for the electorate are 1.5 million, but there are only 800,000 registered voters.

The plans seemed to have dissolved in chaos,

partly because the voting procedures were incomprehensible. But more importantly the guerilla movements' slogan "Your vote does not count" were only too obviously true.

Suspicious that a gigantic rigging operation was underway were fuelled by memories of the 1982 election when a computer "went wrong" at midday and restarted in the afternoon with a large increase in voting.

Salvadoreans have been more absorbed with directly expressing their feelings.

The guerillas have launched a new offensive. Prisoners at two political jails are on hunger strike, but more significantly, there has been a wave of industrial disputes. Even the staff for the Electoral Council organising the election have struck. Coffee workers, the Central

Reserve Bank, and a number of factories have been out.

The strikes are for a 10% pay claim, after a wage freeze which has lasted for four years of steadily sinking living standards. They have also been calling for the release of members of the FSR union congress raided by police in January.

The results of the election were not known at going to press but whatever the outcome. El Salvador has been assured neither "democracy" nor stability.

A NEW wave of bitter opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship has begun in Chile, with a massive day of protest by trade unions and opposition groups planned for 27 March. Reports and an analysis will appear in future issues of Militant.

Australia: A year after Hawke's victory

IN MARCH 1983 a Labor Government was elected in Australia with the overwhelming support of the workers.

After a year in office, Prime Minister Bob Hawke is still very popular, some opinion polls show him to have the support of 73% of the 15 million population. The honeymoon period is quite long lasting even though allegations of corruption lost Labour some support in New South Wales state election last week.

This is despite a wage

restraint agreement made with unions in the first few months of government similar to that of the British Labour government in 1975, which has made wage increases practically non-existent. Hawke has kept on excellent terms with the power brokers of big business.

His popularity partly stems from the one real gain for the workers, the introduction of the Medicare system in February, with an increased tax levy of only 1% to pay for 85% of basic medical care. Due to the decrease of spending on

private medical insurance, inflation is expected to drop by 4.5% in the coming year.

In this shortlived international economic recovery, the Labor government can seem to do no wrong, with inflation expected to drop, unemployment down to 9.2% in January, a growth rate of 4%, interest rates to go down and a strong Australian dollar.

Hawke and his cabinet are hinting at an early election possibly late this year in the hope of returning to office before the economy inevitably goes into a slump

again.

The unions have been co-operating with the government for 12 months now with only 488,600 workers involved in disputes against 1.1 million the previous year. But with a likely rise in profits, even the capitalists are warning about possible disruption to the accord in the last half of 1984, especially from key unions such as the metal workers, who will want part of the growth.

Behind the scenes, Bob Hawke is also heading for trouble within his own par-

ty. The cabinet are ignoring ALP (Australian Labor Party) Conference Policy on issues such as uranium mining and foreign issues. At the same time there has been a "centre fraction" formed in the Parliamentary section, headed by former ALP leader Bill Hayden.

Australian politics is changing. The Liberal/National Party coalition opposition are in complete disarray after the leader of the National Party resigned. There has even been talk of a completely new conservative party forming.

Australia is a resource-rich country and was hit very late by the international slump. The Labor govern-

ment has only been seen as a change of clothes for the international capitalists who control the economy. Hawke's government is supported by big business at present. Why? Hawke explained the employers "knew they could trust me completely" (*Financial Times* 18 January).

But the crisis will not miss out Australia, and it is only a matter of time before workers see the complete incapacity of Hawke's policies to keep them out of the crisis, and become determined to transform the ALP and its leadership.

By Sally West

Israel

Waking from the Zionist dream

THE Parliamentary defeat of the Likud coalition in Israel makes an early general election certain. There are deep social divisions, more serious than at any time in the history of the state.

Economic crisis, increasing class polarisation, the invasion and

occupation of Southern Lebanon, the occupation and settlement of the West Bank—all these factors will begin to reveal themselves in Israeli politics in the next period.

Here ED BOBER analyses the background to the Israeli election call:

THE ENORMOUS burden of arms expenditure over three decades and the general world economic climate, more unfavourable than ever since the end of the post-war boom have conspired to increase the economic problems of the tiny Israeli state.

The international debt has now grown to \$25 billion. Inflation is running at 400% and has been in double figures since the beginning of the 1970s.

Confidence in the Israeli currency, the Shekel, has completely evaporated, as it has been progressively devalued. Workers have preferred to take American dollars, pounds sterling, francs or anything in its place. There has been a virtual *de facto* 'dollarisation' of the Israeli economy, with shops often quoting prices in dollars because of the unreliability of Shekel prices.

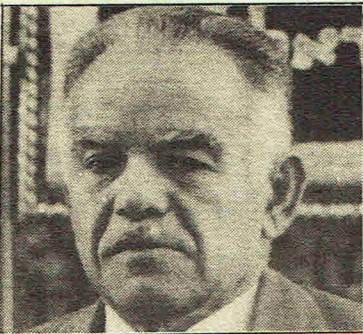
Now half a million Israelis, of the four million population live below the official poverty line. Real wages were cut by 15% last year. There has been a massive collapse in living standards since the Likud coalition came to government after Labour's defeat in 1977.

Unemployment is expected to go up from 4% to 7% of the workforce as a result of the latest round of austerity measures.

The predictable reaction of the Likud coalition to the economic crisis was an attempt to pass the burden of economy measures on to working people. Recent special budgets have increased food prices by 18%, electricity by 29% and fuel by 15%.

After almost six weeks of uninterrupted cabinet crisis earlier this year the government agreed to hold wages down below rises in the cost of living. This would lead to a cut in living standards by a further 10%, and to a widespread closure of factories.

In response to these attacks Israeli workers were involved in waves of strikes and demonstrations. 70,000 public sector workers came out on strike in January and February this year.



Prime Minister Shamir

Practically all sections of workers were involved to one degree or another, including civil servants in the Ministries of Defence, the Interior, Labour and Welfare, Transport and Agriculture, electricity supply industries and dock workers. The Histadruth, the trade union federation, threatened an all-out national strike which was only averted by a \$30 a month wage increase.

Faced with massive cuts in their own living standards Israeli workers are no longer prepared to



Israeli tanks move into Lebanon. Occupation costs \$1 million each day.

support unconditionally the military adventures of the Likud and the massively expensive programme of settlement on the West Bank, both of which increase the economic burdens on the state and the sacrifices workers are expected to make.

In recent public opinion polls 72% of all those interviewed thought the West Bank settlement should be at the top of the list of 'economies' in any government austerity programme, closely followed by defence spending. A majority of Israelis now believe that the government should withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon, an occupation that is costing \$1 million a day.

In an attempt, therefore, to make the government more 'even-handed', the Likud even announced a cut of 10% in defence spending, bringing that part of the government budget down to 37% of the total. In addition there was a virtual freezing of the West Bank settlement programme.

Both were humiliating about-turns by Likud showing the pressure on the government and the deep disenchantment within Israeli society.

All the illusions in Zionism, held by many Israeli workers in the past are now fading. Israeli capitalism offers workers nothing but more wars, greater instability, and economic sacrifices. Even the poorer 'oriental' Jews, once the bastion of support for the Likud, have now swung away from that party on economic issues and sections now support Labour.

The disillusion can be seen in the massive 'Peace Now' demos, and the declining army morale, unprecedented for Israel. 1982 even saw officers of the Israeli army participating in peace demonstrations in Tel Aviv and refusing to obey senior officers' orders because they were not happy about the conduct of the war in South Lebanon.

A growing number of Israelis also realise that the Zionist policy of West Bank settlement—building up an expensive infrastructure of services used at present by only 35,000 settlers, at the expense of the 750,000 native Palestinians—is untenable in the long run. West Bank Arabs will continue to fight for their legitimate democratic and national rights and there can be no long-term solution based on the present brutal and arbitrary military rule over three-quarters of a million people.

West Bank unrest

The disquiet in Israel over Likud's West Bank policy is reflected in the Labour Party's own policy. Although the latter party bases itself on many of the same Zionist premises as does the Likud, nevertheless, its policy of "territorial compromise" is a symptom of the bigger pressures against the settlement policy.

Exactly the right conditions are now maturing in Israel to make it possible to win workers by tens of thousands away from the psychological and political grip of Zionism. But only socialism and workers' unity offers a way forward for Jewish and Arab workers.

In this situation, the developing class struggle, and splits in the ruling class, the Israeli Labour Party could make enormous gains if it were to put forward a programme that would draw behind it the mass of the Israeli workers. With a correct programme it could also draw behind it the Palestinian Arabs.

Arab workers often work in the same factories and workplaces as Jewish workers, although in most cases in the most unskilled and menial jobs. Nevertheless, the Arabs form an important part of the Israeli working class.

In the building industry Palestinian workers from the West Bank alone constitute more than 50% of

the total workforce, and more than 60% in the area around Jerusalem. If a decisive socialist lead was given, it would be possible to win Jewish and Arab workers together on class lines in a massive movement.

But unfortunately, the leaders of the Labour Party have not adopted a policy of mobilising mass support for a socialist programme. Instead they have generally resorted to wheeling and dealing in the parliament (Knesset), trying to form new coalitions with various small minority parties now tied up with the Likud.

The Labour leadership shows a complete lack of understanding of how to approach policies from a class point of view. Yet there is such a mood in Israel at the present moment that could force out this Likud coalition. It is possible, in the next election despite the Labour leadership, that Labour will win in any case.

One Tel Aviv resident who came to Palestine before the foundation of the Jewish state and is now advertising his flat to get out of the country told *The Times*: "You can be certain that once our flat is sold my wife and I are getting out as fast as we can. I don't want to go through that mess again at my age. In Lebanon, with the economy, Mr Begin, the former prime minister brought the country to its knees. I am not surprised he resigned he must have done it out of shame."

That illustrates the attitude of people who in the past, when Israel seemed to be going forward believed that despite class differences Israelis were united in one movement for a greater Israel.

Now Zionism has come to the end of the road and an enormous class chasm is opening up. These are the tremendous opportunities offering themselves for a workers' party with a programme for the socialist transformation of society.

A satellite of imperialism

TROTSKY EXPLAINED in the 1930s that there was no prospect of Zionism succeeding in establishing its ideal of a 'safe homeland' for Jews, if society remained within the framework of capitalism.

On a planet where the productivity of land is low, where many people are starving and scratch out a meagre living, sometimes even in semi-desert, there is no possibility of carving out a 'new land' for a people without creating the conditions for more instability, social upheaval, and wars. The history of Israel since its foundation by Zionism in 1948 shows Trotsky's perspective to be completely vindicated.

Israel only came into being with the assistance of the major capitalist powers and at the expense of the freedoms and interests of the native Palestinian population, the majority of whom—750,000 at that time—were expelled from the new state.

Denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians has been at the hub of the constant conflict between Israel and the Arab states in the last 36 years, leading to five major wars. Israel as a result, become an almost permanently armed camp, with massive arms expenditure weighing like a millstone around the neck of a small economy.

Israel could never have survived without massive economic aid from imperialism. In the 21 years from 1948 to 1969 Israel received \$7.5 billion more in imported goods than she exported, thanks to grants, loans and aid from the United States.

Heavy subsidies

The *Financial Times* explained that "Israel receives in straight grants from the outside world even more than it borrows. Israel runs a current account deficit which reached a record level of \$5.1



Riots in Hebron, 1983. Conflicts reaching boiling point.

billion or nearly 25% of GNP last year (1983).

"Such deficits put anything seen in Brazil, Chile or Mexico in the shade... the grants make the Israelis the most heavily subsidised people on earth. Indeed the level of

unilateral transfers per Israeli is higher than the total income of the people in half the world's developing countries."

Thus, the basis for the creation of a semi-modernised country in the middle of the third world was

precisely the huge amount of capital that was imported during the post-war boom period. But it has made Israel's economy virtually a satellite of imperialism.

Letters

Write to *Militant*, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Get back to the roots

Dear Comrades,
I would have thought that a "people's paper" like the *Militant* would rise above the whining and moaning about league football. As an active athlete, involved with sport at local level, I am becoming increasingly fed up with the amount of esteem bestowed upon football and footballers.

There is altogether too much in football. Many players get paid too much money, they are given too much importance and the admission charges are too high. I could go on and on. We have been having a "sport for all" campaign in this country, but to what avail? Most big health centres cost far too much to join and are simply a money-making venture.

A better idea would be to remove the money from professional football and plough the profits back to

where it came from—the grass roots level. I would like to see schemes where the football grounds could be open to local clubs. Maybe some top footballers could give something back to the people that have made them such heroes, and coach youngsters. For myself, I would prefer to see a town with ten local teams rather than one big team with a bunch of highly paid prima-donnas.

Socialists should see sport at its true level—pure entertainment. Top sports people are merely entertainers not gods. That they happen to be more skilled, or faster, or stronger than most other people is irrelevant really. They are no more important to the well-being of a nation than anyone else.

In Czechoslovakia, top sports people are paid the average living wage, about £60. Maybe our top sports people should consider that?

Yours fraternally
Sylvia Adenkins
Chester

Labour Chancellor chosen

Dear *Militant*,
Last week's budget gave most people very little to smile about. But my Tuesday was not totally depressing.

My two daughters were engaged in a conversation about the Chancellor. When

the youngest asked why he lived in Number 11 Downing Street, I explained that the house went with the job and that when a Labour government is returned Neil Kinnock could pick his Chancellor and he or she could live in Number 11. "Oh", she said, "I expect he'll pick Tracy Ullman"!!

Yours in some doubt,
Kay Thraves
Swansea

Protest at Birmingham search

Dear Comrades,
I am writing to protest in the strongest possible terms at the disgraceful treatment I received when attempting to see Neil Kinnock speak at Digbeth Civic Hall in Birmingham on 15 March.

Because I was carrying a bag which amongst other articles included copies of *Militant*, I was not allowed to enter the hall on the orders of the Assistant Regional Organiser. None of the other 1,000 or so in attendance were asked to leave their bags in the foyer and there was no other bag there.

I was ordered to leave my bag with the Labour Party stewards or leave. As it is no one's business what is in my bag, I rejected the former and asked for my ticket money back (50p). Such was the parlous state of our party's funds that the stewards

had to borrow the money from a steward employed by the Digbeth Civic Hall!

To add insult to injury, I had already been in the meeting and heard the Chairman talking correctly about the need for unity in the labour movement! You can not build unity through ejecting Labour Party members from their own meetings.

Instead of attacking socialists like me, who worked ten hours a day for 2-weeks in June '83 to get a Labour candidate elected, why do we not hear about punitive action against even prominent Labour Party members who openly supported SDP candidates in the last election? Maybe then the Labour Party will have more than 50p in its coffers!

Yours fraternally
Dermot Carney
Erdington CLP

Christmas jeer

Dear Comrades,
I watched *Did You See* on March 17 (BBC) which featured the 'Brass Tacks' programme on Liverpool. One lady expressed how moved she was about their struggles to exist yet on the other hand couldn't understand how one person in the programme was contemplating buying her son a motorised bike that cost over £100, even though it was for Christmas.

Trust this well-fed lady to pick up this point. What she should realise is that many people today go without all

year (or the year after if they borrow) in order that on at least one day in the year we can try and forget the struggle we have to go through to exist.

For many more people who still depend on charities for gifts for their children, Christmas is a depressing time. But then that lady's comments are what you expect from people who are totally ignorant of what it's really like and for them doesn't bear thinking about.

Yours fraternally
J Chesney
Manchester

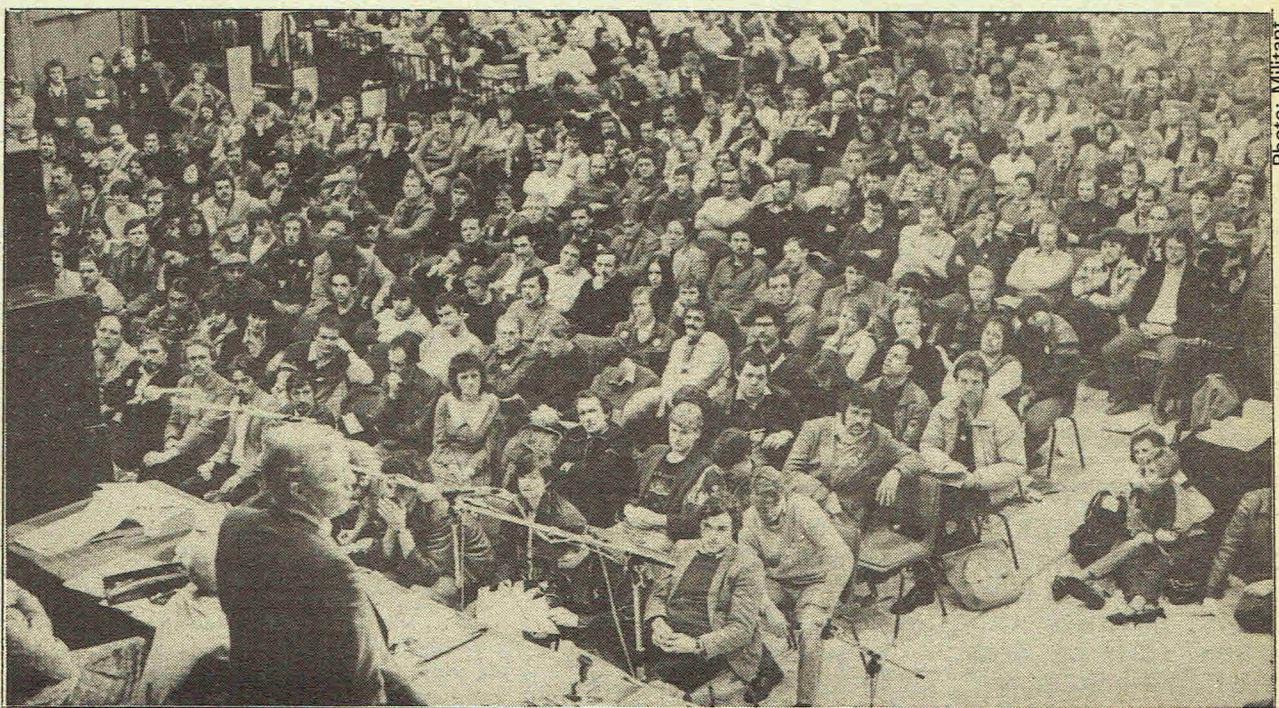


Photo: Militant

Part of the massive audience at the Broad Left Organising conference in Sheffield last week.

BLOC blocked by TUC

Dear Comrades,

At the February meeting of Deeside Trades Council I proposed we should send a delegate to the BLOC conference in Sheffield. There then ensued a heated debate on the proposal.

First it was said I had no right to bring up this matter during "any other business" and even Lord Citrine was quoted! One delegate commented: "What has the House of Lords got to do with the working class movement?"

When it was agreed that it

should be debated the BLOC conference was attacked because it was "against the leadership of the TUC." This was greeted with less than fraternal comments about Len Murray. Eventually it was agreed by a majority that I should be the delegate to BLOC.

However at the March meeting of the Trades Council the new secretary, elected at the January AGM, said that he had contacted the TUC who had said the BLOC conference was unof-

ficial and not approved by them, and so we should not send a delegate. I argued against this and it was agreed by 11 votes to 4 to confirm me as delegate. A proposal that the decision should be suspended (ie. until the April meeting and therefore after BLOC conference) until a letter was received from the TUC was defeated.

Since then however, I have received from the secretary a photostat of a letter from the TUC, expressing their disapproval of the BLOC con-

ference, together with an accompanying letter which says: "The position of the Trades Council is such that it cannot fund your expenses to Sheffield or recognise you as its delegate."

I have of course written back to the secretary saying that the Trades Council has twice voted to send me as delegate, the second time having been informed of the TUC's position.

Fraternally
Dave Clark
ASTMS

Polmaise story wrong?

Dear Editor,
I would like to point out the inaccuracies and innuendoes in Willie Campbell's Industrial Report in the *Militant* about Polmaise Colliery on 24 February. I can only assume that Willie Campbell does not know the facts:

Of how the Scottish Executive of the NUM campaigned at pithead meetings for other action than what was stated in Willie Campbell's report. Also at branch meetings where they could not get a clear mandate for all-out strike action in the Scottish coalfield. It was referred back to the branches

after John McCormich, the Polmaise delegate and the Bogside delegate had spoken at various pithead meetings and still could not get a clear mandate.

Then the innuendoes about the NUM Scottish Executive being Communist dominated, when in fact it is about equal with Communist and Labour members with nobody dominating.

This report in the *Militant* descends into the role of the gutter press and is intended to discredit the NUM Scottish leadership, and should be confined to the WC where it deserves to be.

Yours
Thorpe Becker
Scottish NUM member

Harassment behind the bar

Dear Comrades,
Last summer I started a part-time job working behind a bar in a local pub. I had only just moved to the area, so I thought working behind a bar would be a good way to get to know people, I also needed the extra money.

Everything was fine, a cash-in-hand wage, friendly people and a good night's out. That is up until when the landlord (who is married with a son and daughter older than me) started a get over friendly.

When everyone had gone home after an evening's drinking I had to clear tables, empty the ashtrays and wash the glasses. As I was washing the glasses the landlord used to come up behind me and grab my bottom. At first I thought it was a joke and laughed it off (what else could I do?) But then he started touching other parts of my body. Then it got to the stage when

it was not only the landlord doing it but also the head barman.

Whenever I complained the landlord kept on reminding me that he was doing me a favour paying me cash-in-hand. In other words he thought he had the right. As I was really broke and I needed the money to pay my rent I had to put up with it and give into the harassment.

It eventually came to a crunch when I couldn't put up with it any longer so I turned round and told him to eff-off. Of course he gave me the sack and told me I was not a suitable worker anyway.

There must be women all over the country who get this kind of treatment at work and are too frightened to do anything in case they lose their jobs.

Yours fraternally
Louise Everidge
Bath LPYS

The right to work

Dear *Militant*
The hypocrisy of the ruling class has rarely been so apparent as during the current miners dispute. For example, a quote from Sir Michael Havers, the Attorney General, saying the police would be "doing no more than maintaining the law enabling you and me to go to work".



Sir Michael Havers.
Another quote, this one from Mr David Hall, the

Chief Constable for Humberside: "... anyone who wishes to work should be allowed to do so."

Exactly! This is what the dispute is all about—the right of miners to keep their pits open and preserve their threatened right to work. Who do the likes of the Attorney General and Chief Constable think they're fooling when they profess to be protecting our right to work—do we see them in the press commenting on the next factory to close? Do we see them fighting to save hospitals from closure? Of course not. Their interests are the interests of the minority ruling class.

We must fight such hypocrisy with support for the miners, the health workers, communication workers, all workers threatened by the Tories and their lackies.

Yours fraternally
Mark Anderson
Cardiff LPYS

Ballot point

Dear Comrades
"Tebbit's Law" was introduced to cripple the trade union movement and their rights, which can be seen nowadays all over the country, whether it's at GCHQ, the NGA or the NUM. This law is clearly having an appreciable effect towards the dismantling of the trade union movement.

At the present time there have been rows going in some NUM branches about the need to have a ballot.

Those who are in favour of a ballot say that everyone should have a right to express his opinion about a strike. But this issue is not as simple as that. The fact is while union officials are

dealing with such a crucial issue they are considering the matter on broader terms—various factors, long-term effects, etc. After having discussed this union officials decide a policy, and members are supposed to follow their leaders' guidance.

Those who are arguing in favour of the individual's right (ballot) are missing one important point. What happens when an ordinary member gives his vote is that he only takes account of his own benefit and he doesn't consider the matter in a wider sense. This is where the problem lies.

Yours faithfully
R Usmani
Preston

Socialist strategy to save the pits

FOR TWO generations the nationalised industries have been cynically used to provide cheap services and fuel to private industry.

Last week the *Financial Times* produced figures which fully support the miners' claim that "British coal is the cheapest deep-mined coal in the world." The *Financial Times* (22 March) stated that their research found that the subsidy given to British mines "is less than half its nearest rival" in the EEC.

In 1982 the West German government gave a subsidy of £8.6 per tonne; the French £17.2 per tonne; the Belgians £17.7 per tonne; and the British government just £3.2 per tonne.

As the *Financial Times* stated "If the UK were to enjoy the same levels of subsidy as that granted in other EEC countries, the industry's finances would in themselves show a profit."

Militant has supported the demand for subsidies at least equivalent to those paid to the coal industries abroad. But we believe that the labour movement should go further. The demand should be for full and adequate financing in order to allow for safe conditions, adequate investment and a living wage.

The call for 'subsidies' invariably leads to the Tories and the millionaires' press denouncing 'hand-outs' to miners. But who is really being subsidised?

Bankers' benefit

It is not the miners, who have always had to fight hard for a living wage and decent conditions, but the bankers who are extracting massive interest repayments, and the suppliers, distributors and contracting companies who are all taking rich pickings from their trade with the NCB.

The constraints on the functioning of the NCB must also be ended. If it was not for the millions paid in interest charges the mines would show a profit. And some of this debt is a deliberate political act by the Tories.

To try and stop the effectiveness of a miners' strike the government has built up stocks of coal. In reply to a question from Dave Nellist MP, Energy Secretary Peter Walker admitted, that it cost the NCB over £100m interest charges to store the current 22 million tonnes of coal above ground.

The banks are making a financial killing from the bleeding of the coal industry and the preparation of action against the miners. As a first step these debts must be removed.

But that is not not the only private threat to the mines. Supply and distribution firms make vast profits out of the NCB.

All these firms should be nationalised and integrated into the NCB. Existing contract labour should be recruited to the NCB on NUM rates of pay.

At present the mines and other nationalised industries are forced to operate as completely separate competing entities. They are even allowed to adopt a policy for pricing, marketing and the buy-

ing of raw materials which can threaten the future prospects of another nationalised industry.

Miners, railway workers, electricity workers, gas, steel and water workers, workers in all other nationalised industries, should join together in a campaign to force a rational integrated plan of production covering all nationalised industries, under the democratic control and management of the working class.

But the fate of the mining industry is not tied to the existing nationalised industries alone, it is tied to the economy as a whole. Through Clause 'S' of the 'Objects' in its rule book, the NUM shows the way forward.

'For the abolition of capitalism'

The NUM is committed "to join with other organisations for the purpose of, and with a view to, the complete abolition of capitalism."

Miners can give a lead to the entire labour movement by campaigning boldly for the implementation of that clause.

Often in the past, due to their history of struggle and long socialist tradition, it has been to the miners that other workers have looked for inspiration and guidance.

The need now is for miners to adopt clear, bold socialist policies and then campaign for active fighting unity on the basis of these policies. In this way the miners could lead the whole labour movement in a drive to throw the Tories out of office.

- Immediate programme of full and adequate investment in all pits and workshops as identified by the NUM.
- Maintain every mining job. No redundancies. No selling jobs. No manning losses.
- Share out the work round the pits. A 4-day week for all miners with no loss of pay.
- NUM veto on all pit closures.
- A living basic wage for all miners with automatic increases to compensate for all increases in the cost of living.
- Open NCB books to trade union inspection.
- Workers' control and management of the NCB. The board should consist of one third elected by the workers in the industry through the unions, one third elected through the TUC to represent the working class at large, and one third to be appointed by the government.
- Cancellation of NCB debts.
- Nationalisation under workers' control and management of the mining industry suppliers and distributors.
- Integrated fuel policy under workers' control and management.
- An integrated plan for all nationalised industries.
- Nationalisation under democratic workers' control and management of the top 200 monopolies with compensation based upon proven need.
- Drive out the Tories.
- Bring to power at the earliest possible moment a Labour government committed to socialism.



Pickets discussing with miners at Thurcroft colliery near Rotherham early in the dispute.

Photo: John Harris (FL)

Notts history shows unity essential

"DIVIDE AND rule' has long been a tactic used by the bosses in Britain's coal industry.

In the past the private owners tried to set one area against another. Today the managers of a so-called 'publicly-owned' industry are setting miner against miner, Nottingham against Yorkshire.

But Notts miners above all others should be aware of the dangers this involves. For from 1926-37 there was a separate, breakaway Notts miners union.

How this came about and the dangers it created are illustrated (below) by GRAHAM NAYLOR (Bilthorpe NUM), in part of an article first published in *Militant*, 12 June, 1981:

BEFORE THE first world war all miners negotiated wages at district levels. The war saw these centralised, meaning equal wage rises throughout the coalfields. Many miners wanted to retain central negotiation and to help eliminate cut-throat inter-district selling of coal which in turn caused low wages.

Spencer, a leader of the Notts miners, aware of Notts' prosperous position spoke against. But the South Wales motion for central negotiations was carried.

Later in 1918 Spencer, with another Notts Miners Association (NMA) delegate Frank Varley, once again spoke against central

negotiations. Spencer's stand won him no friends. He was nominated by Notts for the position of General Secretary of the Miners Federation of Great Britain (forerunner of today's NUM), but came last of five candidates.

At the NMA council meeting of March 1921 they voted against district agreements in favour of national unity of the mining industry. They also said that in the event of a strike of the MFGB should consider the most practical way of working the pits in the operatives' interests. After a 3-month strike again the miners were defeated.

By 1923 South Wales was

calling on the MFGB to consult districts on terminating wage agreements. The general idea was to seek higher wages collectively. Varley and Spencer were against any termination that might cause a stoppage.

However, a national ballot was undertaken: those in favour of termination 510,303; against 114,558.

In Notts the voting was: for termination 11,392, against 5,059.

Improved terms

Prior to the ballot the NMA council voted to adhere to ballot decisions and recommended Notts to vote in favour of termination. But this did not prevent Spencer from making a public statement against termination. After this show of national militancy the owners offered improved terms and Varley and Spencer recommended that they be rejected and better terms sought!

After the 1921 strike the NMA lost a good many members. But what was flourishing at the time was 'non-political unionism'.

Two characters were campaigning for this.

Some said they were financed secretly by the owners. The strong hold of these people were the Bolsolver and Barber Walker pits. These people later formed the nucleus of Spencer's breakaway union.

By 1926 Notts was at a crossroads. Before the historic strike Varley was publicly saying "failing all negotiations they would rather sit and starve than work and strave."

But by June 1926 when the general strike of all workers was well over, Varley had an article published, totally without the knowledge of the NMA, stating that the miners should return to work on reduced wages.

Spencer went about negotiating for a local colliery which wanted to return to work, an act for which the MFGB showed him the door. This inspired him to form his own union which the owners readily agreed to.

They instigated the new 'Industrial Union' of which you had to be a member before returning to work.

This was a new slant on the 'good behaviour' certificate and once again the militants found themselves unable to obtain work, some for as long as 13 years.

Spencer shown the door

It was a terrible period for Notts miners that had to be endured until 1937 when because of a dispute at Harworth Colliery and pressure from government quarters the Spencer union was forced to merge with the moribund NMA but with Spencer still in charge for at least five years. Then again Spencer was shown the door, this time for good.

So what do we learn from all this? The answer is simple. The strike of 1972 showed that when men earning equal wage rates under one union stood together and fought the Tory government, they won. There was no chance for the management to split the union.

It is only by unity between the areas that today we can stop closures and maintain our wages. 9

INDUSTRIAL REPORTS

MINERS: Spreading the strike

Yorkshire

YORKSHIRE MINERS, apart from picketing in Notts, have been to visit dockers on Humberside and spoken at meetings organised by the LPYS throughout the region.

A delegation will take banners and appeal sheets to the Liverpool demonstration and will visit factories in Liverpool, Bradford and the Leeds area. NCB offices in Doncaster have been picketed in the last few days despite a huge police presence.

Pupils at Edlington comprehensive school in Doncaster staged a demonstration in support of the miners. A 14 year old student said "I'm not just fighting for my dad's job but for my job as well".

"The latest tactic has been a French style blockade of the A1, travelling up and down in convoy at 5mph. It's taken the police hours to clear the tailbacks. Police are now arresting pickets on any pretext. One miner from Kilness was arrested for returning to Notts after police had taken his car registration number.

The South Yorks County Council have refused to meet the costs of police officers undertaking

ing picket line duty outside the county and called on the chief constable to reduce the level of policing where possible. The authority already faces possible government penalties if it overspends. As South Yorkshire Labour councillor Mike Smith has pointed out, the costs of the police operation could help keep the mines open.

Dodworth

Gary Marsden youth rep Dodsworth NUM near Bansley spoke to Simon Duerden.

"We're not getting the support we need from the Notts lads. If they don't give their support, there's a danger they won't get other areas when they need it—and they will.

"Mac Gregor's trying to play one area against another, but I'm sure if we get all our members out, with solid support from the other unions we can win. If MacGregor gets his way there'll be no Barnsley left, it will be wiped off the map. The only industry left is the mines. We appeal to the Notts lads and the rest of the movement to help us win."

Lancashire

PICKETS FROM Yorkshire coalfields met with a tremendous response from most miners at Sutton Manor in Lancashire.

After voting in the area ballot that day, the men went home and stayed home. No coal has been produced here since 13th March.

In the ballot men at this pit voted narrowly against strike action, but the mood has been changing since to one of support for the stoppage. The decision of area conference last week was to stop work through the area for one week as a show of unity.

Round the clock pickets are checking movement of coal.

Pithead meetings are now necessary with men from striking areas being allowed to address men not yet on strike to state their case and gain wider support. We need a national stoppage to make certain that the NUM does not go down the same road as the NGA and the civil service unions.

By Steve Sullivan
Sutton Manor NUM
(personal capacity).

WEDNESDAY 14 March 5.30 pm. It was no ordinary day. When the bus arrived at Bold colliery one of my workmates shouted "its those effing Yorkshiremen".

I interrupted and said "No, they're miners fighting for jobs and I'm going to join them" and so Bold miners defied instructions from the area and president Sid Vincent and not only

refused to cross picket lines but willingly formed our own flying pickets.

We are now picketing power stations. We owe a lot to our brothers from the Prince of Wales Yorkshire for giving us a lead.

By an NUM member
(Bold colliery)

Staffordshire — it's your fight too

"YOUR JOBS and future depend on this strike", pickets, mainly from South Wales told miners at Leahall colliery, South Staffs.

The area leadership had told miners "you can go into work if you want to". LPYS members from nearby constituencies travelled about 10 miles to the picket line to give support to the strikers.

When we arrived at 5.30 am, there were at least 150 pickets around the entrance to the colliery, trying to reason with miners not to cross the picket line.

"It's your fight too, we've got to unite. You've got to fight for your kids' future, even if you don't care about your own," they said. But after 300 police formed a physical barrier between pickets and the workplace, discussion was impossible. Wherever the pickets went, the police were sure to follow, military fashion.

One incident was straight out of a Keystone Kops movie. A platoon of police marched along in front of a group of us. The sergeant called out "Section B"

to which one picket authoritatively added "halt". One column carried on and the other stopped. They concentrated into each other crushing the coppers in the middle!

One miner told of an incident at nearby Littleton colliery, where two pickets were fined £200 each for spitting at a scab



Pickets at Longannet Power Station in Fife.

PHOTO: Rick Matthews (IFL)

Wales: Solidarity in action

IN A tremendous expression of solidarity, 220 men at Porth Bus Depot of National Welsh Bus Company stopped work for 3 hours in solidarity with the miners. Brychan Davies of Rhondda LPYS spoke to Carwyn Jones, Porth Branch Secretary, GMBATU.

"We struck for the afternoon because of the actions of National Welsh. Until Sunday we had been transporting pickets to different parts of the country.

Management threat

"On Monday Tower Lodge asked for 2 buses and the company refused. We took this up immediately, firstly because we hadn't had any trouble with police but mainly because this is a government decision and an attack on basic union democratic rights, i.e. the right to trade union organisation and to picket.

"We told management that

unless they withdrew this decision we would strike on 22 March and possibly other dates as well.

"A well attended meeting of union representatives was addressed by the NUM and agreed to strike all day Saturday.

"As a result of Thursdays action management withdrew the ban and we can once again transport pickets. But we are prepared to respond again if management reintroduce the ban. We will seek support from other National Welsh Depots and would call for the convening of a meeting of representatives from all the company's depots.

"The issue is over our futures as well as that of the miners. If pits close round here a third of the jobs with the bus company could be quickly lost and the depot would probably close.

We support 100% the campaign of the NUM to stop pit closures and we will give any support we can. We call on other unions to support in a similar fashion to us. Their fight is our fight to prevent the death of a community."

SUPPORT FROM the National Union of Seamen, is, as usual, solid in South Wales. The NUS has always maintained close links with the NUM and we have guaranteed 100% co-operation to help miners save their industry.

In South Wales we will keep a close eye on the movement of coal into private wharfs, and especially into steelworks. Already, it appears that British Steel Corporation (BSC) are attempting to safeguard the delivery of coking coal, by contracting Third World ships with non-NUS members manning them. Theoretically, this is designed to stop any solidarity action because NUS officials have no authority to board these ships unless re-

quested to do so by the crew. BSC Port Talbot had originally programmed the British ship Ravenscraig to deliver coking coal from Gdansk in Poland. But this was conveniently changed to a cargo of iron ore and a Third World ship stepped in to take the delivery of coal. Full support from the T&G, NUR, ASLEF and other unions at Port Talbot must be forthcoming to overcome BSC's tactics.

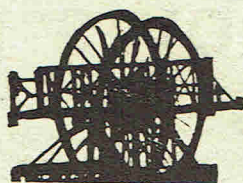
This solidarity action is now taking place at Swansea docks, where all unions have stopped the movement of coal.

By Joe Barlowe
(Full-time official,
NUS, West Wales)

LPYS, LABOUR Party and Militant meetings have given support to the miners in many areas. Over 70 people attended an Aberavon LPYS meeting in Blaengwynfi and 27 attended a Militant miners' meeting in Ystrad Mynach.

In South Yorkshire a meeting

of 200 was organised by the Labour Party in Beighton, over 150 at a Dinnington YS meeting and 23 at a small meeting in Barnsley where they were joined by strikers from a Slazenger factory. In Clowne, Derbyshire a meeting at very short notice attracted 28 people.



Durham miners

BRIAN TAYLOR spoke to Militant on how he and another miner Dave Weston brought out the Vane Tempest mine in Durham: "A bus-load of us went to the pit, but by the time we got there the shift had gone in and there were only a few men standing about.

"The lodge officials weren't prepared to help us. After wandering around for a few minutes we went over the heap, through the baths and into the lamp cabin, where about 30-40 men were waiting to go on shift. We asked for their support and they turned back.

"As we came out, we were shouted back: the lodge secretary was trying to tell the men to go back in. We went back in again and argued with him. In the end the miners came out arguing with the lodge secretary themselves.

"We were accused by an official who came out, of 'trespassing'. But eighty per cent of the Vane Tempest men were with us. Some wanted to come with us and picket. As far as I know these lads are now picketing their own pit."

Ashington meeting

40 PEOPLE, including 25 miners, attended a successful Militant Readers' Meeting in Ashington. Before the meeting the whole town was plastered with posters. Picket lines were visited and some 4,000 leaflets distributed. The meeting was addressed by John Cunningham from Ell-

ington NUM and Jeff Price, USDAW Broad Left Presidential candidate.

A lively meeting followed, with some disagreement on whether to call for a national ballot and on keeping the struggle within the law. By the end the clear majority in attendance agreed that the miners had no alternative but to fight and should now look to extending the struggle to involve other workers.

Northumberland

THE NUM branch at Whittle Colliery, is leading the struggle in Northumberland, the first pit out on strike in the area with a 2-1 majority in favour.

Within days the strike was consolidated, with picket rotas organised and moves made to assist another pit. Over half the 600 members have so far been involved in picket duty. A squad of 50 plus, mainly young miners are flying pickets.

The whole area is behind the pit. 'Save the pits' posters are in the clubs, shops and on the picket lines. One pub in Shillbottle has even reduced the cost of a pint by 10p for miners.

One miner commented, 'the save the pits posters should now be used as a national NUM poster for this strike.'

Little has been seen of the police in this area. In the early days a transit van full of police

and dogs arrived to be told by a local miner, "if you bring that dog over here we'll eat it." They left it in the van.

The leading role of Whittle NUM goes back to well before the strike. The branch leadership has for years campaigned to involve members in all decisions from day-to-day issues to all-out strike action. Regular weekend schools have been organised to discuss topics in the mining industry.

The nerve centre of the strike is Red Row, a small mining village which owes its name to the 1926 General Strike, where the community is drawing together behind them. Efforts must now be made to extend the political and organisational leadership shown by this group of miners at Whittle to other pits in Northumberland and nationally.

Warwickshire

MINERS PICKETING Coventry Colliery are now overwhelmingly local men, with pickets from Kent present to show the need to fight together.

"This is about jobs—wage rises are only useful if you have a job and are getting a wage packet". "The press have been disgusting, if you read what the Sun says and then do the opposite you can't go far wrong".

These comments from pickets and the good reception to sales of Militant in the pit village of Keresley, on the outskirts of Coventry, give the lie to the Tory

press claims that Warwickshire miners are all opposed to strike action.

The heavy police presence is now a double-edged sword. Many miners who voted against striking have been disgusted by the role of the police. At one Warwickshire pit, the police are allowed to use the canteen to have a cup of tea, but pickets are not. A small incident, but it has infuriated many miners.

By Pete McNally and
Tony Cross

SCOTLAND: Fight Tory laws

THE MINERS' dispute has shown brutally the true nature of Tory Britain, and destroyed any remaining illusions that working people may have had in regards to the supposed impartiality of the police, and courts.

During the NGA dispute, Lord Denning publicly declared that the Tories could use anti-union laws against that particular print union, because it was not one of the heavy battalions such as the TGWU, the

AUEW or the NUM and therefore had little industrial muscle.

The Tory government knows that even Thatcher's anti-union laws are inadequate against the organised might of the miners and their allies. That is why the Tories have demanded a 'get tough' policy from the police, a policy which has been taken up so enthusiastically by police chiefs that they themselves would appear to be in a breach of the law. Secondary picketing is not a criminal act.

Surely, no mining industry employee can contemplate con-

tinuing work in these circumstances.

This battle has developed far beyond the struggle for jobs and living standards in the coal-mining industry into a wider battle against anti-union laws and police repression, in defence of basic union rights and above all into a battle to overthrow the most undemocratic and dictatorial government this country has ever seen.

By Chris Herriot
(NUM Monktonhall colliery)

For a national campaign

"THERE SHOULD be a national campaign mounted immediately taking up, especially in 'moderate' areas, all the issues. The campaign must include public as well as pit head meetings. They should explain no pit is safe under the Tories and there are only ten weeks of stocks not six months as the Tory press would have us believe.

"If the triple alliance in the areas really built and a campaign launched in the ISTC and NUR

to explain how the steel mine and railway workers are all interconnected, this will be a major battle with the Tory government, with the possibility of a general strike and the downfall of the Tory government."

Alex Shanks
Youth delegate SCEBTA,
Montonhall colliery, personal capacity, spoke to Militant

Kent women answer the lies

OVER 300 angry local people from the pit village of Aylesham in Kent attended a joint NUM/Labour Party Young Socialists meeting last week. All three Kent pits are threatened. If they go, so do the shops, the pubs, the community.

Jack Collins the Kent miners' leader and Steve Morgan LPYS rep on Labour's national executive gained a great echo from the audience and the meeting set the tone for the Kent miners' wives demonstration in Leicestershire, where they aimed to talk to the men and their wives.

The Leicestershire miners' leader Jack Jones had disgusted pickets by telling them through the *Leicester Mercury* that "violence will be met with violence". Kent miners picketing had been peaceful. After pickets persuaded one colliery to come out the previous week, the area leadership had told them to go back.

The following Saturday morning the Kent wives started out. No signs of police at Dartford Tunnel. "They didn't want to face us bloody women". Leaflets are handed out at all motorway cafes. It started to snow. "Good, they'll have to use more coal". The women told us of their problems, some building societies were not msking arrangements about mortgages, families were cutting logs to heat homes, others with children still had to pay £7 a week for school meals and £3 fares.

On the march, to a mixed reception. Cheers from the women for miners' wives from Yorkshire and for Leicester

West LPYS banner, but some local women were swearing at the demonstrators. But they started to discuss with them, countering the illusion spread by the press that the Kent women got £26 a week and that transfers were available for all the miners.

Eventually, it became obvious that the main fear was whether the miners would win. Leicestershire had lost three pits in a year and many miners had to travel 50 miles each way to work. The Kent wives explained that once all the miners were out, rail, steel and seamen would fall in behind. On the way home they felt something had been achieved.

By Robbie Segal,
Geraldine Jones and
Anne Ursell.

Flying canteen

YOU'VE HEARD of flying pickets and flying policemen but now we have a flying canteen! Leicester West LPYS have organised a mobile tea-urn to go round the early morning pickets in Leicestershire.

This plus overnight accommodation we have give to the pickets from Kent is our practical aid to the miners. One picket told us, "someone sells the *Militant* at our pit every week, but I have always walked past it before. After the help your lot have given, I will buy it from now on".

By Steve Score
(Leicester LPYS)



Kent Miners wives march in Coalville in support of the miners strike. 24 March.

"Miners aren't safe anywhere"

Interview with Kent miners wives, Kay Sutcliffe and Annette Miller. "We organised this demonstration in Coalville in solidarity with men and women in pit areas throughout the country, after the anger against those miners wives who have gone on TV against the strike. Kent men had already been picketing Leicestershire."

"We hoped to talk to the men and wives so they didn't sit back and think their pits were safe.

No pit is safe. The NCB sent letters to every miner in the country to intimidate them. The first thing you see is the list of redundancy payments proposed to try to entice younger miners with £1,000 for a years service."

Illusions in Belvoir

"In the 1969 struggle the Kent miners took a cut in wages to bring the Notts and Leicester-

shire men up to standard wages and investment; now these areas have far higher overtime and productivity. Leicestershire miners have illusions in Belvoir work but it's not safe anywhere. In any case we want a decent basic wage, and a shorter working week, not a lot of overtime."

Feature on mining p13

Notts—the problem—and the fightback

MINERS FROM St Johns NUM Lodge, South Wales spoke to ALEC THRAVES.

"LAST WEEK we went to Thorsby colliery to explain our position to the Notts lads. The police presence was unbelievable! 18 pickets to about 200 police, all protected with shin pads, truncheons ready and riot gear in the back of the police vans.

"We couldn't cross the road, let alone approach men going into work. The media were there but did not bother filming when Notts miners joined us on the picket line. They were just waiting for any trouble. The lads from the pit asked the police if they could speak to the men going into work as it was their 'legal' right to picket their own work place.

"This was refused. When we asked for his name and number the copper replied, 'Listen son, I've got no number, no name and you've got no rights. Now shut it!' We are convinced if we could speak to the lads they would come out and support us.

The media talk about the pressure on men who want to go into work, but they don't say that the Board and the scabs are pressuring the

Notts men who have come out in solidarity with us. The Board are threatening ten days notice if the local boys do not return to work, and scabs are making abusive phone calls to miners' wives and painting red crosses on their gates to try and intimidate them back into work.

We are confident that Notts miners recognise the role of the police as Thatcher's union busters and will respond to our appeal to join us to defeat the board and save our industry."

THE NOTTINGHAMSHIRE Miners Forum (the local broad left body) met last weekend, to fight for a more determined leadership in the area. They agreed to produce a campaigning leaflet in support of the strike.

It calls for a united fight and shows graphically that no pit is safe, drawing attention to Mac Gregor's closure of Cortonwood colliery now rather than five years time, on the "humanitarian" grounds that it would be easier to transfer to other pits now than in five years time!

The leaflet points out the threat to young miners' futures and the short term nature of the redundancy schemes. The Forum will now meet weekly.

Police checkpoint

"IS THIS Sutton-in-Ashfield or Gdansk? It's a police state" are typical comments on Notts. picket lines as miners discover this isn't such a 'free' country after all.

You can see convoys of 20 or 30 policemen speeding from one pit to another. There are hundreds, even a thousand, police at some pits, one for every miner. They easily outnumber pickets and in many cases are not allowing them to picket at all, and their powers seem unlimited to bend or break the law as they see fit.

Paul Kilakowsky at Sutton pit in Notts said men working there who live in Derbyshire are being issued with identity slips to get through border 'check points' set up by the police. This kind of intimidation has backfired and persuaded some Notts miners to stop work.

Kevin Cocker NUR said drivers at Mansfield bus depot were also angry when they heard what happened to two Welsh drivers. When they arrived with two coach loads of Welsh pickets, the police signed their tachographs so they could drive in their rest time. This is illegal

Coal stocks are low

Yorkshire miner in a discussion at the BLOC conference:

"AT LINLEY in Notts pickets were succeeding in turning the men back. The police only showed up in large numbers when the Linley lads put on their own picket.

"Now that they're there", the police said, 'your picket is intimidation'...one actualy said to us—like in a cowboy film... 'you've got until 3 o'clock to get out of the county'."

Stan Pearce Durham NUM member.

"The Coal Board's estimates for stocks are rubbish. When a coal heap gets over 8 ft. high it begins to

smoulder underneath, because of the pressure. At least 20 per cent of coal stocks are useless. At the Hawthorn complex last week they shifted 1000 tonnes of coal to put it through the washer. Only 300 were any good.

"60 per cent of all open-cast is in the North East—and they've all stopped delivering. Near to us the Monkton coke workers—they're members of our union—have damped the coke works down. On the very first day of the strike domestic coal ran out in our area. Local private coal merchants immediately put 90p on a bag of coal."

except in emergencies. One driver refused saying "if they arrest me we'll be here for a week then".

In Chesterfield workers are angry that police are being put up at Ashgate maternity hospital, closed last year because of the cuts. But the most disturbing events have been at Thorsby colliery where Yorkshire pickets had their windscreens smashed by the police who then arrested them.

In an interview on local radio Frank Slater from Maltby South Yorks. said "the police are infiltrating picket lines to provoke trouble. They caught one of them using his radio at Thorsby.

This strike has shattered many illusions that the police are neutral, their aim is to defend the law, but as one picket put it "its MacGregor's law".

In brief

Weir Pumps

THE STRIKE by 1,000 shopfloor workers at Weir Pumps, Glasgow is solid. The management have refused to budge from their 5% offer. They've sent the 1,000 strikers letters threatening dismissal and are not processing tax rebates. At a mass meeting last week the strikers voted to continue.

A real mood of anger against the management has developed. The local press has tried to suggest a split between members and the shop stewards' committee and this has also hardened the mood of anger.

"The workers only want their share of the improved profits of the company. The management probably thought it would be over by now. Well they are wrong. We've booked a local hall for mass meetings for the next six weeks. We're prepared for a long struggle to achieve a just pay settlement." Messages of support and cash to Robert Tweedie, 57 Chalmers Drive, East Kilbride.

By Isobel Steward
(Cathcart LPYS)

BBC Television

AS THE scenery strike at the West London studios of BBC Television enters its sixth week the solidarity of the 750 workers involved is still absolutely solid. This is even after a threat of dismissal on Wednesday 28 March.

On that day the Entertainment Trades Alliance will expect all its branches to respond to any strike call in support of the union members sacked. As Tony Hearn, General Secretary of ABS has said we then enter a whole new ball game which will either make or break the newly formed ETA (amalgamated ABS, NATTK union).

This week will prove a turning point in the history of trade unionism in the BBC, leading either to greater strength or to a serious defeat.

All messages of support: ETA (ABS Section), Room AGO 15 Annexe, BBC Television Centre, Wood Lane, London W12 7RJ.

By a member of the
Entertainment Trades
Alliance

Phillips Rubber mass picket

MANAGEMENT AT Phillips Rubber have sacked striking workers and intend to take on new staff. There will be a mass picket on Monday 2 April at 7am. at Dantzic Street (off Corporation Street) Manchester.

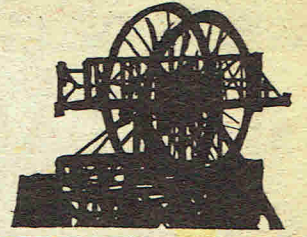
Southampton Airport

MANAGEMENT have sacked seven striking firemen at Southampton Airport and advertised their jobs in the local press. The firemen were striking for safer equipment and better conditions.

Militant

Strike reports

See pages 13, 14, 15



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Full support for Miners

THE STRIKE by the miners in defence of their jobs is now spreading and strengthening with every hour.

It is all the more disgraceful, therefore, that several right wing union leaders should be attempting to sabotage the fight by their media campaign for a national ballot.

These right wingers, in collaboration with the Tory Press, are trying to exploit the feelings of those miners who may still feel aggrieved at the lack of a ballot. But to hold a ballot now, when the strike has gained such support, would be disastrous: it would hand victory on a plate to the *Sun*, the *Daily Express*, the BBC, the Tories, and the NCB—to all those who would see the miners divided, weakened and without jobs.

Ordinary miners may have lingering doubts about the question of a ballot, but there should be no illusions about the motives of this clique of NEC right wingers: it is not a ballot they want as such—they want to sabotage the fight for jobs.

They are no great lovers of democracy and least of all of miners' "unity". Some of them are the very same people who in the recent past defied TWO national ballot results and a national conference decision in order to bring in the divisive incentive scheme.

The Right wing must be pushed to one side. The strike is gaining momentum. Already this week two more areas—Lancashire and the Midlands—have joined the strike, reflecting the growing pressure on the NUM leaderships in those areas.

Undoubtedly the provocative police tactics have

By Martin Elvin.

tipped the scales in many miners' minds to join the strike.

The overwhelming majority of mineworkers have voted with their feet. The moral weight of that fact is now weighing heavily on the shoulders of those miners still at work.

In Nottinghamshire, where the media has tried to paint a picture as black as coal itself, there are now large numbers of miners who believe that they too should join the fightback.

Virtually all coal movements have been halted and open-cast miners in the TGWU have agreed to ensure no coal is moved. Transport firms have ordered drivers not to cross picket lines, for fear of future blacking. Picketing has been extended with NUM pickets being set up at coal depots in London.

Already the strike is hitting industry. The British Steel Corporation has announced cuts in steel output at Scunthorpe and the National Coal Board at last admit that supplies of coke for iron foundries have dried up. The CBI say that cement, chemical, engineering and steel industries will be af-

ected if the strike continues.

The miners are now locked in their most critical battle for many years. The Tories claim that they are merely reshaping the coal industry to ensure a brighter future. This is rank hypocrisy. The drop in demand for coal over the past few years flows from the recession which this government's policies have aggravated. A continuation of such policies can only lead to further industrial decline—even the so-called super pits will face closure in the future.

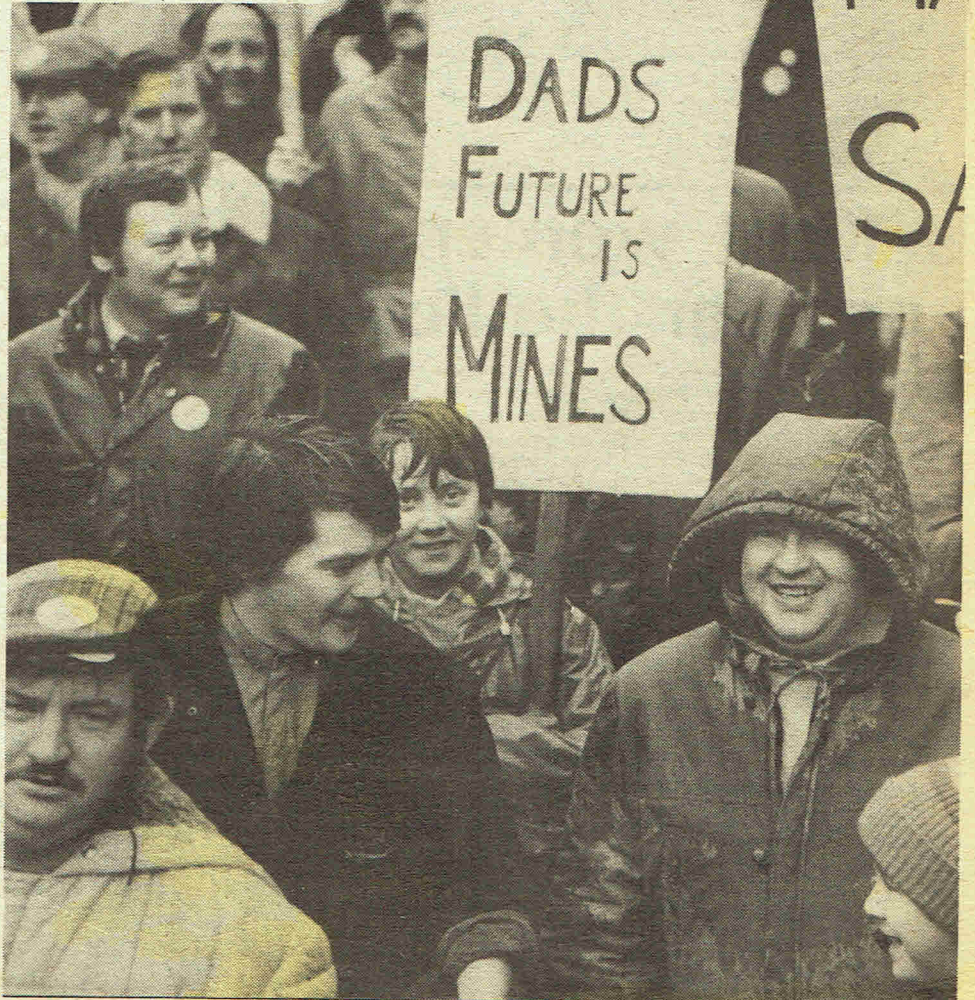
The Tories are desperate to defeat the NUM now, to break the power of mineworkers and open the way to wholesale closures of pits. The stakes are high and therefore clear national leadership is vital.

In many areas weekly mass meetings are being held to ensure the involvement of every member in either picketing, fund raising or the conduct of the strike. In Kent and Barnsley, miners' wives and families are being drawn into the struggle.

In Durham there are moves to set up a federation to co-ordinate the picketing between every pit and every area, and involve every member.

A similar approach needs to be adopted towards money raising for the strike fund. Yorkshire NUM members have been visiting factories to raise cash.

- ★ No pit closures.
- ★ No job losses.
- ★ Reject the Tories' bribes.
- ★ For retirement at 50, with replacement from the overflowing ranks of unemployed youth.
- ★ For a massive programme of investment in the coal industry.



Fife miners' march for their future. Photo: Rick Matthews (I.F.L.)

The Durham area have produced leaflets to explain the case and which argue for solidarity action.

Marches and demonstrations should be planned in all areas including such places as Nottinghamshire and should involve other trade unions.

In the face of police obstruction to the right to picket in many areas, new methods have been applied, with miners taking their case direct to the workers—canvassing for support on the doorstep, in pubs, clubs and welfare.

It is essential that all these area initiatives be drawn together by the national NUM leadership to give the action cohesion and direction.

A central part of this strategy must be to invoke the Triple Alliance of miners, railworkers and steelmen's unions.

Steps such as these could ensure victory for the NUM and could force this government to make the cash available for a programme of proper investment into the industry, and a decent wage for miners.

When right wing defied ballot results—

MINERS ARE justified in their suspicions about national ballots, given the record of the right wing in ignoring them in the past:

NOVEMBER 1974: Miners voted by over 61 per cent against productivity incentive schemes in a national ballot. The vote against included 77% against in Scotland, 83% in Wales and 83% in Yorkshire. The right wing in the union, however, continued to campaign for such an incentive scheme.

JULY 1977: NUM National Conference confirmed a vote against such schemes.

OCTOBER 1977: Yet another national ballot voted against productivity incentives by 56 per cent, including 83 per cent against in Scotland and Wales and 77 per cent against in Yorkshire.

Despite all these decisions, right wing leaders broke the solidarity of national unity and began separate negotiations in their own areas—Nottinghamshire, South Derbyshire and the Midlands—for area incentive schemes. By picking off area at a time, the NCB got its incentive scheme introduced.



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