

TUC Congress

Workers-UNITE against Tories

THE TUC Congress has voted to support the victimised miners and for a campaign to reimburse the NUM for the money 'stolen' by the Tory courts. This decision, against the recommendations of the General Council, is a clear victory for the overwhelming majority of ordinary trade unionists who backed the miners in their heroic year long battle.

The General Council and the various General Secretaries anticipated a defeat for the NUM motion. The capitalist press was rubbing its hands at the prospect of another snub for the left. But it was the lasting impact of the miners' strike upon the trade union membership which broke into the smoke filled rooms. The various delegations felt the pressure from below, and sufficient votes were swung around.

It is only this pressure that can explain the abstentions of the university teachers, of BIFU and the NUT, who are of course involved in their own dispute. The ASTMS delegation overturned Clive Jenkins' view and backed the miners. It is clear that union delegations at the TUC and Labour Party conferences are no longer prepared to be the tame poodles of their union leaders, they are increasingly reflecting the feelings of the members outside.

LP Conference

Now the TUC has a clear mandate. But the amnesty campaign must go on, particularly at the Labour Party Conference. The arguments of the fainthearts and cynics must be hammered. How can anyone believe that for Labour to clearly show that it will fight for ordinary trade unionists and defend them against victimisation, will lose votes?

An incoming Labour Government will owe its victory to the miners. It must be made to honour the debt. Trade union and Labour Party members should remind Neil Kinnock that the Party decides what will be included in the election manifesto. They will not accept his reaction to the Con-

gress vote "it will be on the basis of my view of the Manifesto that we will fight the next election...I think I can best be left to make my own decisions." There can be no 'divine right of leaders' tolerated by the Labour Party.

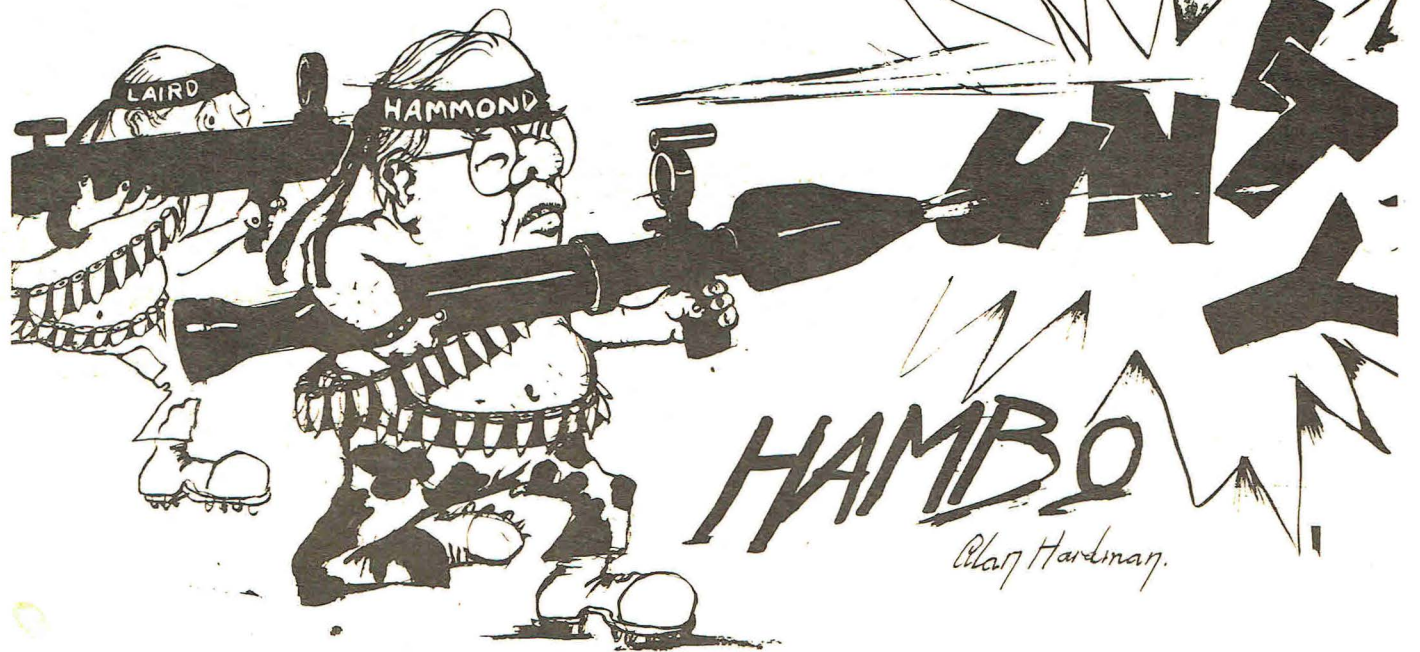
Now rank and file trade unionists must keep the TUC to its word. A real campaign must be organised for the return of all the NUM's funds, for the reinstatement of all sacked miners, and really for the release of those imprisoned for fighting the Tories.

If the TUC leaders were prepared to rally behind the NUM, if they put into action their commitment at Congress to a day of action when the first GCHQ trade unionist is sacked, then this Congress could mark the turning of the tide against the bosses and their government.

But in the midst of this came the threatened suspension of the AUEW. The shameful acceptance of Thatcher's 'blood money' for ballots, can only undermine the opposition to the rest of the Tories' anti-union package.

If ever there was a need for a fighting trade union leadership it is now. Left-wing activists in the AUEW and the EETPU must step up the campaign for a new leadership in their unions, to bring them back into the fold of the working class movement. They cannot allow the fundamental principles of workers' solidarity upon which their organisations were built, to be hijacked by right wing leaders.

No doubt the Government



JOHN TOCHER, Broad Left candidate for president of the AUEW, the election for which begins next week, gave Militant his view of events at the TUC. "The AUEW's aims and objectives as defined by the constitution commit the union to membership of the TUC and to maintain cordial relations with other unions, they don't empower the executive to split the TUC. "The AUEW was part and parcel of the Wembley conference decisions and all other congresses which have discussed the Tory trade union legislation. The AUEW never argued at any of those congresses that they should be allowed to accept government money because of the large number of ballots we hold. "The national ballot was not held on the basis of an explanation of the national committee's view of the issue. The NC censured the executive in April but the executive do not intend to re-ballot until October—that is a provocation to other unions. "The employers and the Tories are rubbing their hands with glee. I am angry. The whole tradition of the AUEW is being dragged through the mud. They must all be defeated."

and employers will seize on any sign of a split in union ranks, to hit working people even harder. Trade unionists must be on the alert, prepared to force their leaders to rally support for any group of workers being

picked upon. The Thatcher government only knows one law—the working class must be made to pay. The reshuffling of her ministerial pack will just mean more of the same. The chosen ones are the 'good

Emergency £50,000 Libel Appeal
RIGHT-WING Labour MP James White is suing *Militant* in a libel case. We stick to what we said. We appeal to all trade unionists and Labour members to help defend us. See page 2

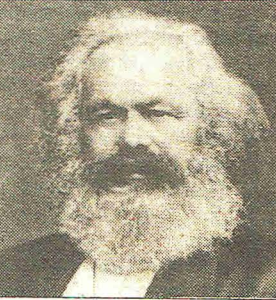
communicators.' They can sell Tory cuts, Tory attacks and Tory unemployment better than the others. Workers can expect no relief from the new Tory team.

Powerful force

But the organised working-class is still the most powerful potential force in the country. Despite unemployment there are 9.8 million trade unionists. Along with their families they represent the overwhelming majority of the population. Fully mobilised in the struggle for jobs and trade union rights they would be invincible. The responsibility rests with the Labour and Trade Union leaders to organise this force in a united struggle of all workers against the Tories and for the return of a socialist Labour government.

Marxist Weekend School

London 14/15 September



Book now! See page 2

Militant appeal to fight law suit

OUR RIGHT to put the workers' case is under serious threat! We are therefore urgently appealing to trade unionists, Labour Party members, and Young Socialists to send us cash to defend Militant.

Because *Militant* publicised the truth about an industrial dispute in a firm near Edinburgh, owned by James White, right-wing Labour MP for Glasgow Pollok, the paper is facing an astronomically expensive libel action.

The dispute was early in 1983 (see *Militant* 639 29/2/83). The case is listed to be heard in the High Court early in October. *Militant* thoroughly checked all the facts and we are still sure that our report was true. The workers involved have since given us full statements and are determined to back us up with evidence in court.

White is taking a separate libel action against the *Glasgow Herald*, which also reported the dispute. They are also strongly defending their reports.

Militant offered James White the right to reply in our pages, but he declined to put his case.

We are confident of our case and will be vigorously defending ourselves in court. But libel actions are extremely expensive, and our legal expenses will cost us tens of thousands of pounds.

However sound our case, moreover, a successful outcome in the courts cannot be guaranteed. *Militant's* existence as a fighting, socialist paper, could be threatened by crippling costs and damages.

Supporters of the *Militant* are therefore launching a defence fund to raise £50,000—we need this now to fight the case.

White acted like a typical boss. he and his wife made handsome profits from his vehicle delivery business. His workers were low paid and worked excessively long hours to make something like a living wage. Some depended on Family Income Supplement and housing rebates.

When these TGWU workers rejected his 5 per cent pay offer as totally inadequate, this TGWU-

sponsored MP told them: "You'll do it my way or not at all." Most of the workers turned up and agreed to work according to their contracts. But they weren't given any work and they were not paid.

When we reported this, White claimed it was part of a plot to remove him as MP. In fact, long before the dispute a majority of his constituency Labour Party were extremely dissatisfied with his performance as an MP.

White is suing the five members of the Editorial Board personally and the Cambridge Heath Press Ltd, which formerly printed and published the paper, but which ceased to trade some time ago.

Militant has defeated all previous attempts to cripple the paper. This attack too, can also be defeated. In fact, through our defence campaign, many more workers will be made aware of the key importance of *Militant's* industrial reports. Thousands of activists are already well aware of the key importance played by publicity for the workers case and a socialist answer to Tory lies during the course of industrial

battles.

But we can only defeat this attack with your support. *Militant* has no rich benefactors. It depends on cash support from its readers and sympathisers.

We appeal to you to send donations urgently to the *Militant* Defence Fund, 5 Cremer House, Deptford Church Street, London SE8 4SB.

John Dennis action dropped

THROUGH HIS solicitors, John Dennis, former Labour Party students organiser, has informed the *Militant* editorial board that he is calling off his libel action against the paper.

He was suing over *Militant's* reports of political bias in the accreditation of delegates to the 1984 conference of the National Organisation of Labour Students, and also of the rigging of National Committee elections. We believe

that our reports were correct and were prepared to defend them strongly in court.

However, Dennis's solicitors inform us that he is not in a position to continue because he can't deposit £4,000 into the court. Dennis was ordered to do this, if he wished to continue, after *Militant* applied for "security for costs".

Some of the press have been bleating that this is "so unfair". But this action was taken because Dennis was being supported financially by the right-wing National Union of Labour Organisers, who refused to give us a guarantee that they would pay our costs if Dennis' action failed, as we were confident that it would.

Clearly, NULO wanted the luxury of a legal attack on *Militant*, without the obligation to face the consequences if it were unsuccessful.

We will now be consulting our very capable legal advisors with a view to having Dennis' action dismissed and recovering our costs from him.

TUC unity cracks—right break policy

THE 117th TUC opened this week in Blackpool on a strong note of unity. A motion from the Civil Service unions unanimously reaffirmed the TUC policy of a 24-hour Day of Action if any union members are sacked at GCHQ.

This was backed by David Basnett of the general and municipal union (GMBATU) and even Eric Hammond of the electricians union (EETPU), in their calls for the movement to campaign in support of the call for a 24-hour day of action.

The statements from Hammond that he would ensure a massive 'yes' vote in any ballot on the question,

would be remembered by all the miners who were denied this solidarity during their whole year-long strike.

But the debate on single union agreements which immediately followed shattered the unity of conference for the rest of Monday and much of Tuesday. The disgraceful behaviour of the EETPU, as even Roy Grantham of APEX was forced to admit, in reaching "sweetheart" deals with companies like Hitachi and the notorious Eddie Shah attacks the very heart of trade unionism.

At a time when real unity against the bosses is desperately needed, the 'unity' of single union agreements is in reality capitulation to the capitalists

at a time when they are in full flood of class war against the workers.

Shah does not want to reach an agreement in order to make workers' organisation better, but to smash the printers' closed shop of the NGA and SOGAT '82 as a prelude to an onslaught on the whole print and media industries. The EETPU's part in this treacherous backstabbing cannot be excused.

The favourite word of the first day of this congress was 'campaign', spurred on by the failure of the NUR guards ballot, the general secretaries are beginning to understand what supporters of this paper have been saying for years, that mass campaigning work must be done amongst the trade unionists based around congress policy.

In the debate on the Tory union legislation Congress threw out the EETPU motion and adopted a composite from the TGWU reasserting the principles of the Wembley special conference of 1982. If any one union is under attack the rest of the TUC would come to their assistance. Ron Todd of the TGWU made the most telling speech, calling upon the TUC not to be a "garden party, but to resume their role as the general staff of the labour movement."

Backing for miners

THE TUC's annual conference has given a tremendous boost to the campaign against victimisation of miners by the National Coal Board.

The NUM's motion, seconded by the National Communications Union (NCU) was passed even though it calls for a review of all cases instead of immediate release for all jailed miners. It was also one in the eye for media speculation who were hotly predicting its defeat. The *Daily Mail* had already drawn up posters proclaiming "Unions spurn

Scargill" before the vote was announced. They now have to eat their words.

To Alan Mardgum of Durham area NUM "Willis was just sitting on the fence again—disgraceful, he was even arguing against Labour Party policy in an attempt to save them from embarrassment. He was just typical Willis. No logic to his arguments at all."

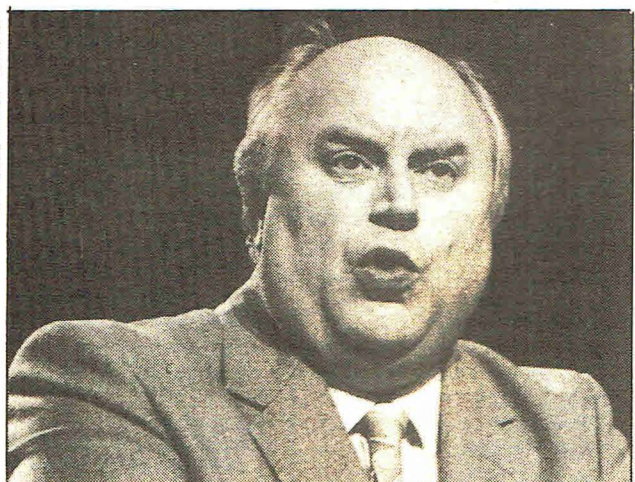
Undoubtedly this decision, even though by the slender majority of 64,000 votes puts pressure on the Labour Party conference at the end of this month to

follow suit. Labour's conference in Bournemouth must be the scene of a massive lobby of NUM members, their families and supporters, to get a vote in support of sacked miners.

● Miners' Amnesty Campaign lobby of Labour Party conference 8pm onwards, Monday 30 September. Bournemouth International Conference Centre, Exeter Road near the West Promenade.

Chris Herriot
(Sacked Monktonhall miner)

Photo: Dave Sinclair



Norman Willis. Delegate Alan Mardgum of Durham area NUM commented: "Willis was just sitting on the fence again."



Thirty Young Socialists and members of the Socialist Links with South African Youth campaign organised a lobby of South African mining companies recently.

Photo: Militant

Book now for Marxist School

THIS YEARS Marxist Weekend School will take place in London on 14-15 September at the London University Union, Malet Street. Anyone who has been to the school before will vouch that it is an excellent weekend of socialist education which will help to equip activists with a theoretical understanding of the direction the movement should take in the coming months.

The main rally at the school will be on the impending revolution in South Africa with South African socialists speaking.

In addition to the main courses of seminars there will be the anti-nuclear film, *Atomic Café* and videos on the Rus-

sian Revolution, the fight to save St Johns Colliery and the Youth Trades Union Rights Campaign.

Each of the courses will consist of three seminars dealing with the historical experiences of the working class and their relationships to events taking place today. Each course will be accompanied by detailed reading notes/study guide which will be sent out on receipt of bookings—book now and give yourself time to prepare.

Bookings are already coming in from as far afield as St Maws in Cornwall and Dundee in Scotland, Don't miss out, book now and make your plans for transport.

SA exploiters lobbied

ON 27 August Anglo-American and Consolidated Gold Fields' London offices were lobbied by 30 supporters of SOLSAY (Socialist Links with South African Youth campaign).

The lobby started outside Charter Consolidated, Anglo's holding company and then went onto Consolidated's Moorgate offices. Derek Richards of the London Labour Party Young Socialists' Regional Committee spoke to one of the holding company's

managers M A Young. He told Young of the support the black mineworkers had from the LPYS and how Marxists in the labour movement have collected £2,000 already from workers and young people in Britain for the strike fund.

The LPYS members made it clear that Consolidated should take equal responsibility with the S. African state for any butchery of black workers. Young said that he had "every confidence in the ability of their

S. African management," and in reply to questions about the parent companies' attitude to the threatened dismissal of strikers by GFSa he said they had "no position".

The lobby details were given to the South African press. SOLSAY hope that the reports will encourage the NUM members in their fight.

By a Militant reporter

Toxteth campaign calls for unity

PORTERS recently distributed a leaflet in the Liverpool 8 District calling for workers' unity to combat racism and the Tories, especially in defence of the gains in jobs and services won by the City council.

The leaflet was well received by the majority of people, both black and white, who recognised that the council had taken steps to improve conditions in Toxteth after decades of terrible neglect by Tory, Liberal and right wing Labour administrations.

In contrast supporters of the increasingly isolated Black Caucus responded by making statements that only demonstrated their anti-socialist outlook.

In a leaflet they claim that: "Militant has again viciously attacked black organisations" But the Militant leaflet dealt with facts: "The majority of black organisations have declared their support for Sam Bond" (the Principal Race Relations Advisor to the City Council).

This is despite threats of intimidation and violence against blacks and whites by supporters of the Black Caucus.

The caucus accuses Militant of making "unsubstantiated allegations about pouring money into our organisations". The facts again: Liverpool City Council has given up to £1 million to black groups and institutions, including those who support the Black Caucus such as the Charles Wootton Centre, South Liverpool Personnel, the Liverpool 8 Law Centre, and the Community Relations Council.

The council will continue to give grants in the hope that conditions can be improved in Liverpool 8. But most working class people also support the idea that the community needs to monitor the use of these funds so that priorities are decided by working class people, not by self-appointed 'leaders'.

The Black Caucus have shown their anti-socialist attitude in their latest outburst. Militant has explained that the enemies of the labour movement (the Tories, Liberals and press) have united with the Black Caucus in vicious attacks on Sam Bond and on the council to divert attention from the real

issues of defending jobs and services.

The press, police chiefs and others suggest riots are imminent and try to blame the city council for it. And now that Liverpool council is waging struggle to prevent the Tory government from imposing mass redundancies and cuts, the Black Caucus supporters have openly joined the enemy camp: "Liverpool Black Caucus members have warned the city's Labour leadership not to look for their support in the rates fight with the government." Black Caucus spokesman Steve French said: "Labour have a cheek coming into the area, expecting our support." *Daily Post* (30 July).

The working class of Liverpool 8 and especially black people stand to suffer most from a defeat of the council.

The unity of black and white workers is essential and so is the unity of the trade unions and Labour Party. Yet the Black Caucus have now joined the chorus of right wing witch-hunters who call for Militant's expulsion from the trade unions and Labour Party, a sure recipe for division and defeat.

Their latest leaflet describes the Militant tendency as "the enemy within the labour movement." This is the phrase that Thatcher used to vilify the miners.

The Black Caucus gives special emphasis to a call "to remove the Militant cancer from our ranks". It's not the first time they have called for Militant's expulsion, but this time it's in print.

Trade unionists who until now had doubts about where the Black Caucus stood, or who were afraid of appearing racist by opposing the caucus should now see clearly that they are a unrepresentative clique who are prepared to endanger the unity of the working class and labour movement to pursue positions for themselves.

They are witch-hunters who are even prepared to resort to physical attacks to silence opponents.

The trade union and labour movement should break all links with the Black Caucus and instead join the city council in consulting with the black community in an effort to unite black and white workers against Thatcher.



Photo: Dave Sinclair

Liverpool council is fighting to protect services and jobs—like those of 100 YTS trainees taken on by the council on trade union rates of pay, pictured here.

Militant takes on fascists

Militant Supporters are leading a campaign to drive the fascists off the streets of Liverpool.

Labour Party and LPYS members who regularly collect petitions in support of the council have noticed a handful of British National Party members selling their racist filth.

On one occasion a fascist threatened a Militant seller with a rice flail, just a hint of the methods fascists would employ to "win arguments" if they were allowed to gain any influence.

The National Front and BNP are today tiny squabbling grouplets but they have increased their activities in Liverpool recently with racist fly-posting, paper sales and some activity at the football grounds.

Militant supporters have organised to prevent the BNP paper sellers for the past month. Last week about 80 Militant sellers alongside Labour Party and trade union members stopped any fascists from appearing on the streets.

Among those present were Sam Bond, Principal Race Relations Advisor to the City Council and members of Liverpool 8's black community. Shoppers supported our actions, with the memory of Hitlerism revived for older people by the recent anniversaries of World War Two.

Liverpool council has a clear policy of no platform or facilities for fascists. Equally importantly the council are creating and defending jobs, building and improving houses and giving a leadership to the fight against racial discrimination.

By Militant reporter

Three weeks to solidarity rally

ON SATURDAY 21 September, the Merseyside Trade Union and Labour Movement Campaign Committee is holding a rally in Central Hall, Liverpool, to build support for the stand being taken by Liverpool City Council.

The aim of the Conference is to organise a co-ordinated strategy to defend Labour Councils under attack, and to show the Tory Government that Liverpool City Council will not bow down to Tory cuts at the expense of working people.

Liverpool City council has refused to comply with Tory spending targets which would mean cutting 6,000 jobs and slashing essential services. Instead, the council has agreed a budget which protects jobs and services, and is demanding that the Tories refund £30 million of the money they have stolen from the City over the past five years.

The whole of the labour

movement must rally behind Liverpool. As an indication of the solidarity built between Liverpool and the NUM during the year long miners' strike, Cortonwood NUM branch was the first to apply for credentials. Since then, delegations have been notified by TU branches, CLP's, YS branches, Labour Groups and unemployed centres. Keep up the campaigning, and we should be able to match last year's National Fightback Conference in Liverpool, which was attended by over 2,000.

There is less than three weeks to go, so don't miss the chance of attending this major event—send off your applications now.

For applications and more information, contact: Andy Pink, Central Support Unit, Liverpool City Council, Rm 41, Municipal Buildings, Dale Street, Liverpool L69 2DH. Telephone: 051 227 3911 ext 517, 525, or 629. Please enclose your name, address and organisation.

Wide support for council fight

SUPPORT FOR Liverpool Council has come from East Kilbride at a meeting of 350 council workers who were addressed by Liverpool council shop steward Mick Wainwright.

Delegations of stewards from outside East Kilbride were also present. The meeting was arranged by East Kilbride Labour Party Young Socialists who approached a shop steward at

the council cleansing depot.

Mick Wainwright explained to the meeting the importance of the National Local Authorities' Co-ordinating Committee, which was set up to bring together council workers from all regions of the country to fight Tory cuts, ratecapping and privatisation.

● The newly established Bolsover Unemployed Group

has also backed Liverpool council at a recent meeting. The group aims to put pressure on their local council to provide facilities for the unemployed and to create jobs. Anyone interested in the group should contact Toni Bennet, Chesterfield 826 032.

By Paul Shawcroft and John Hane

Southwark youth festival success



Photo: John Woulfe

OVER 8,000 young people made Southwark Council's first Youth Festival a great success. The festival was put on by the council and the Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign, and much of the organising work was done by a small enthusiastic team of local Labour Party Young Socialists. With young bands and speakers it was truly a festival organised by local young people for young people. The audience was overwhelmingly working class, unlike many of London's free festivals. There were stalls giving information about the council, local youth groups and organisations, and trade unions. The YTURC marquee buzzed with activity all day. Dozens of people joined the School Students' Union and their bulletins sold well. Hundreds of people signed up to join the LPYS. A speaker

from SOLSAY (Socialist Links with South African Youth) appealed for support for South African youth in struggle and over £80 was collected for the South African miners. Bands included the Rage, Mats Melah, Luddy Sams and Deliverers, Sway, Spliffington and the Hellshire Raiders. The sound system was joined during the day by Mikey General, Tippa Irie, Pato Benton and Lorna Gee. Porky the Poet and Big J livened up the proceedings with renditions about everyday life. The Neurotics, a band who did a lot of benefits for the miners, got a great response, as did the Faith Brothers, who brought on Junior to sing a number with them. Chalice UK rounded off the day with a surprise from the lead singer who proclaimed the band's support for YTURC and read a poem written for the day. (Full report next week)

SIX DAYS after disturbances outside Toxteth police station Kenneth Oxford, unelected Chief Constable of Merseyside, has slandered Militant supporters by suggesting that the incident may have been the result of outside political influences. He said that a Militant leaflet distributed in the area (see article above) may have created the situation.

The disturbances followed the arrest of a local youth in connection with a murder investigation.

Since that incident Oxford has come under pressure. The Police Federation has claimed that police in Toxteth are demoralised by their so-called 'softly-softly' policing method.

On the other hand, while the local community want crime controlled, the situation once again raises the question of democratic accountability over the police and their methods.

Margaret Simey, chair of the Merseyside Police Committee has now belatedly also claimed that 'outside political influences' are responsible for the disturbances. She should know from her experience and her own public comments in the past that it is social conditions, and heavy handed policing directed by Oxford over the years, that has created tension and suspicion of the police.

Militant

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No truck with Tory laws

AS WE go to press it seems that the AUEW executive will refuse to comply with a TUC ruling to stop taking the tainted money of the Tories on offer to finance trade union ballots. This threatens the most serious split ever in the British trade union movement.

But it seems that frantic behind the scenes activity at the TUC may have resulted in some fudged compromise which would leave the AUEW with the £1.2 million it has already received from the Tories, and leave open the possibility of money being taken again by the AUEW.

Any such compromise deal would directly contradict the decision of the TUC on Tuesday against the use of this money. It will also be a severe blow to all those in the trade union movement trying seriously to combat these laws, including those unions who have already been the victims of these laws and who have as a result seen their funds plundered.

This money handed over by the Tories was meant to give a cloak of respectability to their legal assault on the unions. By touching that money the AUEW leaders have appeared to accept these vicious anti-working class laws, and thereby undermined the collective opposition of the trades union movement.

The AUEW leaders say they have a binding mandate. They conducted a one-sided ballot, not spelling out fully to their members the dangerous implications of the acceptance of this money.

In any case they should not have been organising this ballot on a fundamental issue in direct violation of TUC policy. The leaders of the EETPU who have also decided to accept this Tory money enthusiastically have proclaimed that they would leave the TUC, regardless of any damaging consequences, if the AUEW are suspended.

If the attitude of the right wing leaders results in a split, they will be responsible. There has never been a greater need for unity inside the trade unions. But this must not be bought by cheap manoeuvring on fundamental principles. Such unity can prove extremely fragile when action is required.

The Tory press has presented the issue as if trade union democracy hinged only on the use of Tory-sponsored ballots, although they are quick to dismiss results that do not suit them. *Militant* is not opposed to ballots. Marxists favour the widest possible consultation and involvement with the rank and file before all decisions.

In some industries a long democratic tradition exists of mass meetings where the majority is indicated openly by a show of hands.

In addition, provocations by management often demand an immediate response and make a formal ballot impossible. Marxists believe, for instance, that the leaders of the NUR should have immediately called a strike once men were sacked for standing by union policy. A ballot should have been held afterwards, with the men already

on strike. The hesitancy of the NUR leaders was in sharp contrast to the ruthlessness of British Rail. This undoubtedly undermined the confidence of some guards and influenced the recent ballot result.

If there exists in the unions a tradition of campaigning, explaining the issues to the rank and file, what is at stake and what action is needed, then there is no reason why anyone on the left should fear ballots. Ballots, where they take place, should be conducted on the workers' own terms, based on workplace meetings and discussions.

But the decision on whether to ballot or not should be the independent decision of the union. It should not be imposed by the capitalist state. It is a scandal that some right wing labour and trade union leaders are equivocating on this question and suggesting that these laws on balloting may be retained in some way by an incoming Labour government.

These laws must be repealed unconditionally. All confiscated money must be re-imbursed. There must be no weakening of the stand of the TUC against these laws. Any sign of weakness will only encourage the Tories to a new attack on union rights and living standards.

The rank and file should also demand that all those under attack from these laws must be defended. The shameful refusal to back the NGA and the miners must never be repeated.

If ever again fines are imposed on a union or union members under these Tory anti-trade union laws then the TUC must organise an immediate one-day general strike as the first step in an all-out campaign to defend trade union rights.

Sheffield right face legal moves

THE CAMPAIGN calling for the reinstatement of the five members of Sheffield Attercliffe Labour Party who were unconstitutionally expelled by letter, appears to be having affect.

Party members in Sheffield believe that the right wing who instigated this witch-hunt are now split and divided over their action.

Now, after long consideration, one of the expelled, Alan Hartley, has taken legal advice. If the right wing had not acted in such an unconstitutional manner, such drastic action as going to the law would not be necessary.

According to the rules a party member facing expulsion has the right to hear and answer the charges against them at the party's general and executive committee meetings. Furthermore the

Labour Party's National Executive recommended in 1983 that anyone accused of being a so-called 'member' of the Militant Tendency should have written evidence of their involvement presented to them while they could have written and oral representation prior to the party considering their expulsion.

Rights denied

Yet none of the five expelled were given any of these rights. The general committee meetings which decided on the expulsion passed a generalised resolution, then party officers picked five names and sent them letters saying they were expelled.

The campaign for the five's reinstatement is continuing. The party branches to which the five belong have

voted overwhelmingly to accept their continued membership. Also many local Labour Party members have noted that one of the five, Geoff Bright, as an officer in the National Union of Railwaysmen worked hard in helping to secure the NUR's magnificent vote in the recent ballot on keeping the political levy.

A *Militant* readers' rally has also been organised as part of the campaign to get the five reinstated.

● Sheffield Attercliffe *Militant* Readers' Rally. Speakers: Peter Taaffe (Editor *Militant*), Derek Hatton (Liverpool City Council), Cllr Paul Green and Geoff Bright of the NUR. 7.30pm at the Leadmill, Leadmill Street, Sheffield on Monday 16 September.

Manchester 'theme march' planned for 12 October

GREATER MANCHESTER Labour Party Young Socialist branches and the local Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign (YTURC) are organising a major demonstration and rally on October 12—with the slogan "We can't wait till '88, Tories out now."

It will be a demonstration with a difference. Each contingent on the march will take up a different aspect of the Tories' attacks on youth. For example, some LPYS branches will be approaching the health workers to gain support for their theme of defending the health service, Salford LPYS will be taking up the Youth Training Schemes, while Stockport YTURC will be campaigning for Liverpool City Council.

The Lancashire area NUM are backing the march.

The march will end up at Manchester Poly with a play performed by Rochdale LPYS while "Thatcher" will be on trial for 50 offences against working class youth.

By Andy Divall
 (Vice Chair, North West Region LPYS)

I.O.W labour expels three

THREE LABOUR Party members on the Isle of Wight have now been expelled for selling *Militant*.

At the general committee meeting of the IOW Labour Party on August 29 the three—Vic Dale, Gerry Dominey and Pat Westmore—were expelled after being accused of membership of the *Militant Tendency*.

The 'evidence' against them was based on the hear say of a small clique of party officers. All three are long standing members of the Labour Party—Vic Dale has been a Labour Party member for seven years, Gerry Dominey for seven years and Pat Westmore for 12 years.

Following the suspensions, on Monday, the party's secretary suspended the LPYS branch, after the YS voted to remove their general committee delegate who

voted for expulsions. This is a sad step backwards for a Labour Party that in the past has been prominent in its opposition to right-wing inspired witch-hunt.

However, the matter is far from closed. IOW *Militant* supporters have launched a campaign demanding the reinstatement of the three.

On the Tuesday before the general committee meeting on 27 August 30 people attended a *Militant* Readers' Meeting to hear Keith Dickenson of the *Militant* Editorial Board, also expelled from the Labour Party, speak on the need for unity and the tasks of the next Labour government.

Meanwhile Sandown and Shanklin branch of the IOW Labour Party, which has opposed the expulsions, is calling a special meeting to discuss the issue.

Bristol witch-hunt thwarted

BRISTOL NORTH West Labour Party saw one of its best attended general committees ever on Thursday 29 August, after delegates turned out to stop an attempt by the right-wing to launch an attack against local *Militant* supporters.

The party's chairperson and secretary had announced their resignations, blam-

ing the 'activities' of local *Militant* supporters.

However, at the meeting on Thursday the majority of delegates were not prepared to back the two officers and their resignations were accepted without debate.

Protests grow against Welsh right wing

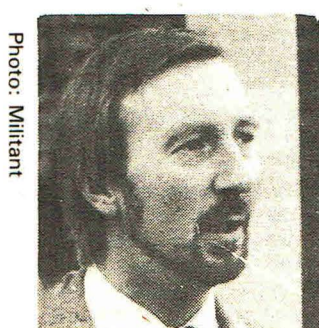
THE SOUTH Wales Miners are giving full backing to Chris Peace, expelled member of the Wales Labour Party executive.

This is part of the growing opposition to the exclusion of Peace, a *Militant* supporter, from the executive. He was expelled after a right wing campaign spearheaded by George Wright, Welsh regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers union, and Ray Powell, MP for Ogwr.

The Transport Workers' Union, the TGWU, in Wales

has also expressed opposition to witch-hunts. Also Ray Powell's ward Labour Party, the Bridgend Town branch, passed a resolution calling for party unity around socialist policies and an end to witch-hunts.


Yet in the face of such opposition, the right wing are continuing their assault. Ian Wells, a Labour Party ward secretary in Maesteg, has now been summoned to the executive of Powell's Ogwr Labour Party. The right wing leaders say they want to investigate his *'Militant*



Chris Peace

activities'. The right-wing have even come up with a bizarre idea.

George Wright is now calling for a referendum of all Labour Party members in Wales on the *Militant* issue. Besides the enormous financial and administrative burden this would inflict on the Labour Party, the movement has far more important tasks in the fight for a return of a Labour government than using all its resources to satisfy the petty, decisive methods of a few right-wing individuals. The ranks of the movement in Wales will reject this ludicrous idea.



Militant Third National Rally

21st Birthday celebration
Sunday 3 November, 1985
Royal Albert Hall

Speakers include: Jack Collins (Kent NUM)
 Peter Taaffe Ted Grant Harry De Boer

All tickets £3 (Cheques to "Militant Rally")
 ('Crèche available, but places must be booked)

Booking Form:
 We would like Tickets and enclose
 (Payable to *Militant* rally)

Name

Organisation

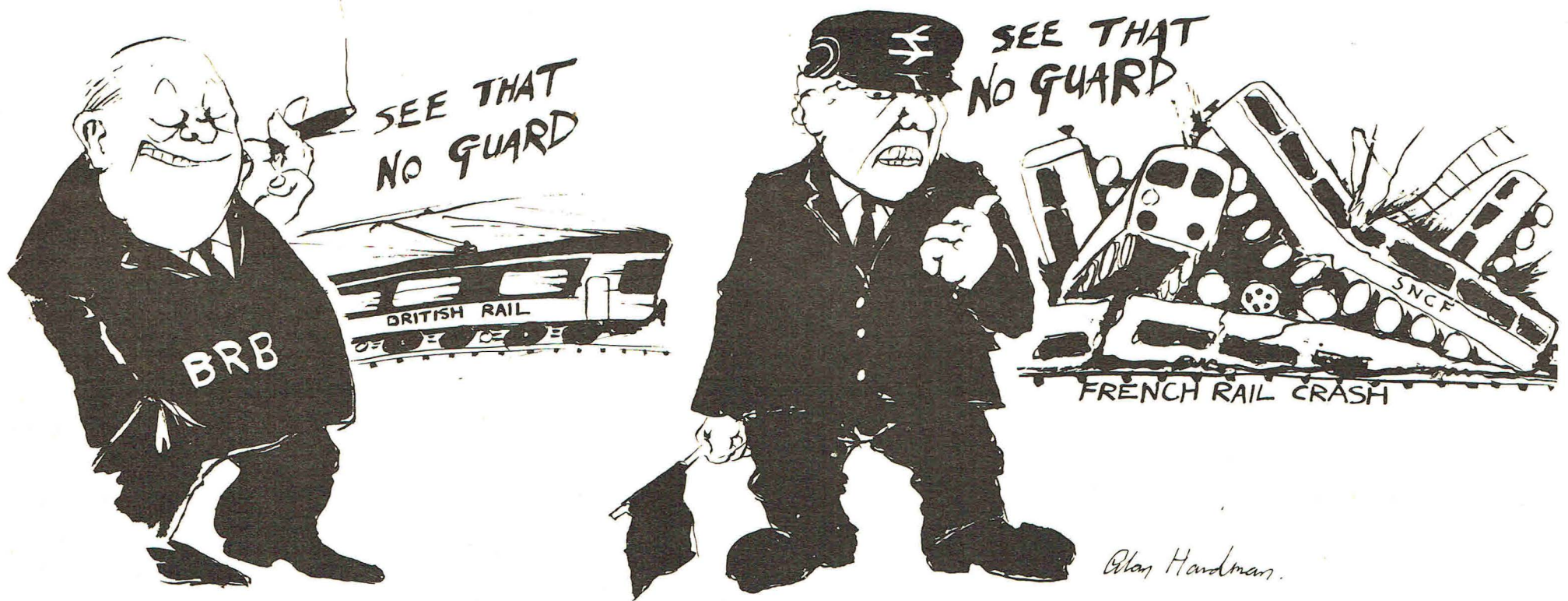
Address

CRÈCHE: Places must be booked in advance. We will be bring the following children

Name Age

Address

Please return to:
Militant Rally, 3-13 Hepscoot Rd, London E9



Why the guards voted no

DESPITE THE 'no' vote in the recent guards' ballot, the battle in the rail industry, is far from over.

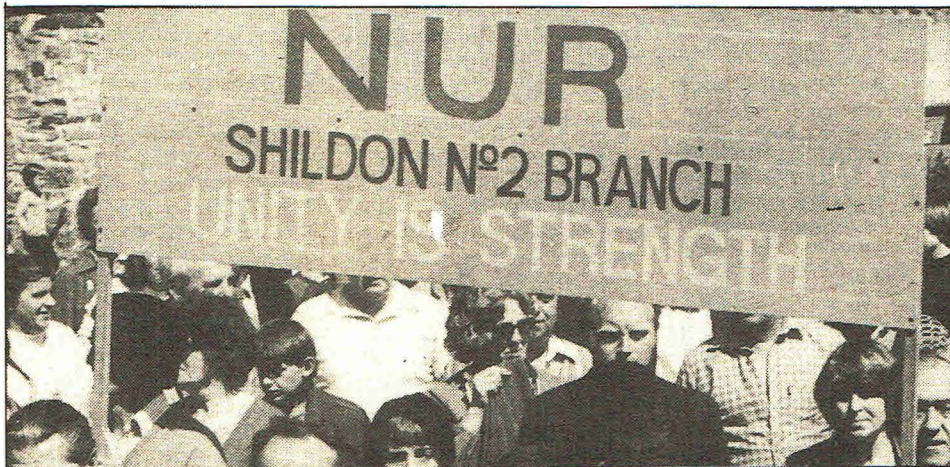
The closeness of the vote shows that a large number of guards were prepared to take action against the British Rail Board proposals for Driver Only Operation (DOO) of trains. The widespread local action by guards and others in the face of management intimidation showed the mood that was building up. Even now many ASLEF members are still refusing to work trains without a guard, despite sacking threats.

It is now vital that every rail worker draws the lessons of the recent events. Why did the ballot result go the way it did?

Undoubtedly a factor was the BRB's unprecedented intimidation campaign against guards and others already taking action. Added to this was their carrot and stick methods; hollow promises of a guaranteed job, lies about the real number of jobs at risk, letters to individuals and depots on the one hand assuring staff they were safe, but warning that any action would cost jobs.

In the face of this the response of the NUR national leadership was insuff-

Photo: John Smith (IFL)



Message from NUR members during the fight against BR engineering closures—all the union's power must be used to save the industry.

icient and indecisive. When members were sacked the entire membership, not just guards should have immediately been prepared for all out strike action—basic union rights were under attack.

There was no clear indication of what type of action was planned in the event of a 'yes' vote. NUR leaders spoke of limited or guerrilla action, which would have been totally inadequate in the circumstances and fuelled any doubts that existed.

No workers go into battle lightly nowadays and clear decisive leadership is vital, especially in the wake of the miners' strike. No group of workers has been more af-

ected by the struggle than the rail workers, with the close links of the two industries and unions.

In the few weeks leading up to the ballot the NUR did conduct a campaign with General Secretary Jimmy Knapp and other senior officers touring the country addressing mass meetings. But unfortunately it was a case of too little, too late. This should have started a year earlier. It's been NUR policy to oppose DOO since the union's 1983 annual general meeting.

As *Left Lines* the journal of the Broad Left of railworkers, warned in June this year: "Since 1982 the issue of DOO has been fudg-

ed. There has been no centrally co-ordinated campaign. There is very little time to correct this lamented situation". To their credit Broad Left supporters on the railways have been producing material and campaigning consistently against DOO from the very outset, despite slender resources compared to the NUR.

Some members may have been doubtful bearing in mind that the General Secretary had spoken out against resolutions opposing DOO at the 1983 and 1984 NUR conferences.

Despite the NUR's belated campaign, unfortunately it didn't prove possible to reach all guards and spell out

the issues sufficiently. In depots directly affected, especially freight guards, a willingness to fight exists. But at some other depots and particularly among some passenger guards the implications of DOO are not even understood as yet.

The NUR suffers from years of neglect following the former leaderships of Greene and Weighell. There has been little national action by all members since the 1920s.

The full combined power and unity of the membership (particularly vital in a scattered industry) has never been felt. Up until recently there have been years of retreat, job losses and poor pay.

Despite the welcome changes at the top in recent years their is still much to be done at local level.

Compare those inactive areas with the Southern Region. There 87 per cent of guards voted 'yes'. This is a Region with a greater tradition of industrial action.

Although a set-back, the ballot result is not an end to the matter. It should give urgency to the need to build up the confidence and determination of the membership to resist the BRB's attacks.

By Martin Elvin

A rank and file view

WHAT WENT wrong? One reason is that some local and national union officials did not campaign for a 'yes' vote.

There are worrying reports coming in from around the country, about branch secretaries and guards' representatives who actually campaigned for a 'no' vote. Reports of branch secretaries going on holiday and not informing head office, so that important campaigning correspondence and leaflets were left at home unopened. Reports of officials just sending out ballot papers to the members with no union leaflets being put with them to explain the issues.

Even though the NUR has a good leader in Jimmy Knapp (I'm not saying he's perfect) Weighellism, the ideas of the old right wing leadership, are still present in the veins and arteries of the NUR. Inactivity (which sums up Weighellism) is something which is apparently acceptable in some areas. It is a sickening fact that some NUR branches have not met for ten years... and just think of all that's happened in the past ten years.

What of British Rail management? Some people seem to think they will now back off and let things cool down. This is unlikely. BR have taken a leaf out of MacGregor's book, using the iron fist style of management with no holds barred. They will not allow the NUR to regroup but will try and impose Driver Only Operation and any other productivity schemes they have lined up.

There is no doubt that Wednesday 28 August must go down as one of the blackest days of our union's history. However even though it is a major disappointment, we must not allow it to destroy us. We must fight back and learn the lessons of recent events. We must not forget the guards who have been sacked or suspended. We must support them and be prepared to fight to get them re-instated.

By Keith Stafford
(Secretary, Sunderland NUR no 1 branch)

Life in the brake van

WHEN WORKING a rare midday turn, a rail freight guard's five year old son refused to believe that his dad was going to work: "You can't be, its not dark". The everyday reality of a guard's life is already clear to the five year old child.

There is no other shift system in British industry equivalent to the 24 hour system worked by train crews. Due to the preponderance of night running of freight services, freight guards get the worst of a bad situation.

The 24 hour system is one week am turns and the following week pm's. Doesn't sound too bad? But am means anytime between 00.01 to 12.00 and pm's mean almost permanently being at work when the rest of the world is asleep. Hours of the day that most people only have nightmares

about—1,2,3 in the morning—are common start times.

Late notice, periodical operating notices, weekly alterations, daily alterations. All these have to be studied. In addition equipment has to be checked hand—lamps, detonators, and of course the books. In fact the books carried by the freight drivers weigh-in at more than a stone.

The guard is in charge of the train. In colliery sidings, steelwork sidings and wind-swept marshalling yards, he will be preparing his train. The weather makes no difference, wind, rain or snow.

The climax—the actual journey—might be two or three miles from the pit to marshalling yard. No main line glory for the freight guard. Instead a filthy cold break van. Belting along in pitch dark trying to observe the train.

For a take home pay of perhaps £80 the guard accepts not only the hours and bad conditions but total responsibility for the safety of the train. If anything happens, from a flapping wagon sheet to a major derailment the guard will have to answer for it. And things do happen.

Of course the job is not all bad. There is the freedom from the factory routine, the marvellous comradeship of the other guards and generally a great pride in doing the job properly. *Better than the dole queue.*

That however, is little consolation when you arrive home at nine in the morning, having started at one. The kids want to play, domestic life is full swing. Yet all you can think of is sleep.

By Geoff Bright
(Tinsley NUR)

Reinstate sacked guards

THE SPECIAL General Meeting (SGM) of the National Union of Railwaymen next week must be used to launch the fight back.

The immediate issue is the sacked guards. *There must be no negotiations over Driver Only Operation (DOO) or any other issue until the board agrees to the unconditional reinstatement of every sacked guard. The SGM must prepare for action by every NUR member to win back the guards their jobs.*

The NUR put forward an unanswerable case against DOO. Regardless of whether railworkers are bludgeoned into acceptance by the board's intimidatory stance, that opposition must be retained. On the question of safety alone, as the French rail disaster last week showed, DOO is fundamentally wrong.

In the wake of the ballot result, the SGM must also be

used to spell out the wider issues facing the industry. DOO is just one part of the board's strategy. Following the strict financial guidelines of their Tory pay masters, they want to 'solve' the industry's problems through cutting jobs, pay and driving down conditions, regardless of redundancies, safety or the needs of the public.

All the issues—whether on pay, productivity or jobs—are interlinked. The issues cannot be fought in a piecemeal fashion. As the Broad Left of railworkers has consistently argued, the rail board must not be allowed to wear the membership out with one sectional struggle after another. The board should be forced to face the might of the combined union membership in one united, major struggle to halt the decimation of the industry, once and for all.

ads

CLASSIFIED: 15p per word, minimum 10 words.
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per column centimetre. Three weeks for the price of two. *Militant* meeting ads free.
 All advertisement copy should reach this office by Saturday.

WANTED—FOREIGN stamps, football programmes and cigarette coupons for FF. K McKay, 5c Cedar Place, Barr Head, Glasgow G78 2JT.

COMRADE WITH secretarial skills, typing, shorthand etc, needed to work with other comrades on long term political project located in London. TU rates of pay. Write to: PO Box 654, London SW2 4LF.

LPYS 'Fighting for our future' T shirts (red, yellow and green on white). Available now from Lesley Phillips, 5 Alverstone House, Kennington Park Road, London SE11 5 TS.

M, L, XXL for £4 or for £4.50 get an enormous baggy one! Cheques to: 'London LPYS Campaign Fund' and add 25p p&p.

PARLIAMENTARY Selection: Enfield North CLP invites applications for prospective parliamentary candidate. We recognise that white middle class males are already over represented in the PLP. This equal opportunity Labour Party particularly welcomes applications from members of ethnic and minority organisations within the labour movement. Closing date for nominations, first post 6 December. All replies to Secretary, Enfield North CLP, 324 High Street, Ponders End, Enfield, Middlesex

MILITANT RAILWORKER Marxist Discussion Group open to all NUR, ASLEF and TSSA members. "South Africa". The Cock Tavern, Phoenix Rd, Euston, London. Tuesday 10 September, 7.30pm.

Books on Southern Africa

Inqaba No. 16/17 with supplement on South African perspectives: *Workers revolution or racial civil war* . . . 75p
 SALEP—Mineworkers direct links campaign 1985 . . . 20p
 SALEP's socialist education work—why does the Labour Party NEC want to ban it? 40p
 Zimbabwe Trade Unionist Defence Campaign—Jailed by Mugabe 30p
 Luckhardt—Organise or starve! History of SACTU £3.50
 Mac Shane—Power! Black workers, their unions and the struggle for freedom in South Africa £4.95
 Please add 25% postage to all orders under £5, 10% to all orders £5-10. Orders over £10 post free. Order from World Socialist Books, 3-13 Hepscoth Road, London E9 5HB.

ACCOMMODATION in London (permanent) urgently required. Anyone with a spare room in shared flat? Tel: Ginny Armstrong (H) 519 6375 (W) 242 2548.

SCHOOL STUDENTS UNION: recruitment leaflets—£8 per 1,000, stencils for leaflets—70p each, posters—£5 per 50, activists pamphlets—20p each (orders over 20, 15p each), Badges—20p, Stickers—£10 per 1,000. All prices include p&p. From YTURC, c/o 109 Rannoch Road, London W6.

MAKE some Fighting Fund for your area! *Militant* "No Slave Labour On YTS" stickers now available. Price: £1.50 for 100—but they must be sold for a donation! Send order to *Militant*, 3-13 Hepscoth Road, London E9 5HB. Cheques/POs made payable to *Militant*.

CASSETTE TAPES with two issues of *Militant* (one each side). Available fortnightly. £3.50 per quarter, £13 for year.

Now available on cassette: all centre-page articles from issue 730-755. Send either seven blank C-90 cassettes or £6.30 payable to *Militant* tapes, 18 Blandford Grove, Woodhouse, Leeds 2. Phone: (0532) 455936.

TROTSKY Commemoration Meeting on C-90 tape: Dave Hemson—the Struggle in South Africa. Ted Grant—the life and ideas of Trotsky. £1.25 plus 25p postage. From World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Road, London E9 5 HB. Also available: C-90 The Rise of Bolshevism Tape 1. The 1860's to 1890's by Alan Woods. To accompany the articles in the MIR. Also £1.25 plus 25p P&P.

WEST MIDLANDS Labour Unity Conference. Saturday 21 September 10.30am to 4pm. Speakers include Dave Nellist MP, Derek Hatton, deputy leader Liverpool Council and Ian Schofield (Senior Steward, Rover). Venue Dr Johnsons House, Bull St, Birmingham city centre. £2 per delegate to P Pritchard, 115 Ridgeway, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17.

Militant Meetings

ABERYSTWYTH: Weekly *Militant* discussion groups. Details, phone Alan Huyton on 615911.

CARDIFF *Militant* Public Meeting. 'Unite to defeat the Tories' Speakers: Terry Fields MP, Andrew Price (Cardiff South CLP, personal capacity) Rebecca Sullivan (President SU, Rumney College of Technology) Chair: Dave Bartlett (Cardiff South CLP, personal capacity). Bryn Haford primary school, Uphill Road, Llanrumney, Cardiff. Monday 9 September 7.30pm.

GLASGOW MILITANT Public meeting. "Liverpool—How to fight the Tories." Speakers—Derek Hatton (deputy leader, Liverpool Council), Larry Flanagan (Glasgow City Councilor). Tuesday 17 September, 7.30pm, McLellan Galleries, Glasgow.

MILITANT Marxist Discussion Group meetings held monthly in Swindon. Phone Martin on 24796 for details.

NOTTINGHAM MILITANT Readers meeting: "Fight for jobs and services." Speakers—Vinny McGrane (Liverpool Council), Graham Till (Sec NUR Midland District Council), Albert Hall institute, Derby Road, Nottingham. Thursday 12 September 7.30pm.

ORGREAVE: Sunday 15 September, 7.30pm *Militant* Miner public meeting. Speakers: Geoff Bright (Tinsely NUR and expelled member of Sheffield Attercliffe Labour Party) and Gary Ironmonger (NUM delegate, Cortonwood, personal capacity). Red Lion, Catcliffe, near Orgreave Coking plant.

MILITANT Liverpool Broad-sheet 'Defend our City' 25p (including postage) Orders of 10 or more 10p each. To Circulation Department, 3-13 Hepscoth Rd. London E9 5HB.

Conference greetings

GET YOUR LPYS, trade union or Labour Party to place a greetings ad in our Labour Party Conference edition. Hurry, the closing date for copy is 18 September.

Make cheques payable to Militant Publications and send with your greetings to 3-13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB. Rates: 3 column centimetres £6; 6 col. cm. £12; sixteenth of a page £20.

BACK THE PAPER THAT BACKS YOU!

FIGHTING FUND This week £904

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Scotland West	399		3750
2 London West	263		2650
3 London South East	203		2100
4 London South West	98		1200
5 Southern	351		5400
6 East Midlands	177		3050
7 Lancashire	75		1300
8 Eastern	170		3500
9 Merseyside	359		6550
10 Northern	231		4750
11 Yorkshire	219		5800
12 London East	83		3250
13 Manchester	96		2850
14 Scotland East	98		3150
15 South West	63		2150
16 Wales West	95		2950
17 Humberside	32		2100
18 West Midlands	94		4700
19 Wales East	5		3000
Others	765		5800
Total received	2971		70000

We need your cash now

THE MIRROR tries to portray itself as 'Labour's' daily voice. In reality it stands for the same system as all the other capitalist papers.

How can workers trust a paper owned and controlled by a millionaire even if he does call himself a 'socialist'? We can believe that about as much as we can believe the anti-socialist attacks in his paper. The recent lockout of staff at the *Mirror* and *Sporting Life* shows Maxwell's anti-union stance.

We can have no faith that such a paper would put forward the real case for Labour any more than any of the other Fleet Street papers do. Instead we must rely on a truly genuine workers paper. The *Militant* has no millionaires, 'socialist' or otherwise, behind it. We depend entirely on the donations of our readers and supporters and those union and Labour Par-

ty branches which send us contributions.

These give an accurate reflection of our support in the movement. We have consistently shown that the determination and financial sacrifice of *Militant* supporters is second to none. Yet despite our successes we are still desperately short of the money needed to carry out all the work we have to do.

With so many events in the labour movement it is impossible for us to cover them adequately with our present resources. We need a daily *Militant*. Millions of workers have still not seen our paper, and we need to reach them with the ideas of Marxism. But to do this we need your financial help.

After one month of this quarter, the money is coming in very slowly and we need every single area to step up their fund raising activities. We cannot afford to leave everything until the last

minute as our work has to be paid for now.

We appeal to all our readers to send us a donation. Ask your friends and workmates. Every worker has a stake in getting rid of Thatcher and the rest of the Tories. Help us in that fight by raising money for the only workers paper with the programme to end bosses rule.

By Nick Wrack

THANKS TO: T Oram East Ham £26, D Moscrop Bristol £15, I Mayhew Hounslow £13.88, R Mitchell/J Golding Hammersmith LPYS £7.25, Mrs Lennox Camden £5, Mark Dolan Islington UCW £4.75, Rob Driscoll Blidworth £2, Carol Store, Woodhouse Mansfield £1, Horace Naylor NUM £1.50, George Harding POEU Wythenshawe 75p, Sean Longden Camden student £5, Chorley/Coppull Miners' Support Group £2.50, AUEW (Blackpool) £15, British Aerospace workers £1.70, Vauxhall LPYS £20.

Marxist Daily Building Fund

	£
Eastern	2996
East Midlands	3338
Humberside	1716
London NE	3479
London NW	4127
London SE	2110
London SW	2184
Lancashire	606
Manchester	2658
Merseyside	5181
Northern	3371
Scotland East	2238
Scotland West	2546
Southern	4070
South West	902
Wales East	1946
Wales West	1546
West Midlands	2118
Yorkshire	1794
National	1302
Total	50224

This Week £207

THE TORIES are being given a bloody nose in the unions' political levy ballots. The latest to declare a massive majority was ASLEF which recorded a devastating 93% in favour of keeping their fund.

Apart from the campaign being waged by the union executives, these results show the change in the consciousness and determination of the working class to defend their unions and get back at Thatcher.

They show the hatred and bitterness building up against the Tories' system and disprove the lie that working

people are not prepared to back the Labour Party.

But the Labour Party and trade union movement can not just take this support for granted. It has to deliver the goods by fighting for the rights and conditions of the working class.

The Marxists alone predicted this movement of the working class. And in the future, we will need a Marxist daily paper to carry up-to-date reports and analysis of events at home and abroad, and articles to make sure the movement's leaders don't forget the interests of their supporters.

The holiday period meant a slackening off in donations to the Marxist Daily Building Fund, but as this weeks paper shows there hasn't been a lessening of labour movement activity.

We have to get our income back up to the level we need to intervene effectively and to be able to put money aside to produce a more regular paper in the near future.

The donations this week include £50 from D. Smith and an instalment of £30 from P. Vizard both from the East Midlands. £50 has been donated by a Hackney reader and £45 collected by supporters in Tyneside. These donations have to be multiplied several times over to clear our debts and produce a more regular paper—soon!

Get Militant

WHO SAYS the summer is a quiet time for socialists? Many *Militant* sellers have taken advantage of fewer Labour and trade union meetings to get out with the paper.

In Dover sellers have systematically gone around

the large Bucklands estate, delivering back copies and getting new readers. As that estate houses miners, seamen, SOGAT members, etc, it is a key area for spreading the message of Marxism.

Mark Heywood from Ox-

ford writes: "Two weeks ago, two of us in Oxford decided to sell 40 papers each in one week. On the first Monday we sold over 20 papers in the town centre and got £2 for the fighting fund. When we told other sellers, the mood spread, and in that week we did four town centre sales, three factory sales and several others.

"One day at BL Cowley, we had only been there two minutes when one car worker said: 'Yes, I'm militant', and bought a paper for a pound. By the end of week we had doubled the number of papers usually sold in the area. Amazing for August!"

But now of course, it is September, so what about the schools and colleges? The FE colleges started back

this week. In Strathclyde, seven colleges have been picked out for a particular push with the paper. "These colleges," writes Douglas Blackstock "have a student population of over 26,000 including YTS trainees, apprentices and young unemployed. Together with the canteen workers, cleaning staff and lecturers there is a massive potential.

"Already at Langside college eight were sold in the first ten minutes".

The poly and university freshers' weeks are looming up soon. Every area should be planning to use *Militant*, and ordering extra papers. And don't forget the special sales drive during Labour's conference week, with the *Militant* coming out on 27 September.

Fight racist terror

EAST LONDON has seen a horrifying increase in racist attacks this summer. In Leyton an Asian family narrowly escaped with their lives recently after their home was set on fire.

Leyton Labour Party member Geoff Burrows who lived nearby described what happened:

"I was woken by the noise at 4am. There were screams and breaking glass. It was so noisy I thought there was a fight. When I got there about half a dozen neighbours were already on hand.

"Most of the family were already out. One boy refused to jump he was so terrified. A neighbour had to climb a ladder and throw him to me. Then the police and six fire engines turned up. The house was well ablaze by then, there was no way you could have got through the front of the house."

The subsequent treatment of the victims, the Kayani family, highlights the complete failure of the police to deal with these attacks. Whereas thousands of extra police were found overnight to protect a handful of scabs during the miners' strike, black and Asian workers have received little protection from the fire bombings, beatings and stabbings meted out by small clandestine bands of racist terrorists.

After being released from the hospital the Kayani family were taken, children included, from the council hostel they had moved to, to the police station. Here they were split up—with no regard to which members of the family could speak English—and kept for eight hours.

When Mrs Kayani made a

Photo: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)



Slum housing in Whitechapel, in London's East End. Black and Asian workers, already facing the worst jobs and housing conditions are now suffering from increasing racist attacks.

plea for milk for her two and half month old baby, the police officer showed her coins, indicating he wanted money to buy it, even though all the family had fled in their night clothes.

Like criminals

As Mr Kayani said afterwards, their home and all their belongings had been burnt down, wasn't that enough? Yet they were treated more like criminals rather than victims.

This unsympathetic treatment was not confined to the police. At the council hostel where they were 're-housed' the manager tried to squeeze all 14 occupants of the house into one room with only five

beds.

Following the fire, Labour councillor Armajit Devgun called a meeting which passed a vote of no confidence in the police. Unmesh Desai of the Newham Monitoring Project described the growing escalation of racist attacks in East London. Since the murder of the Khan family in Walthamstow in 1981 there have been 24 serious attacks mainly in the boroughs around Newham. Newham itself has seen a strong campaign against racism, mobilised around the Newham 8 and Newham 7 issues, and backed by the labour movement.

In the latest attack in the area, two black youths were

stabbed in Barking after National Front and British Movement thugs (apparently recently reformed) turned up in the town centre and declared a 'whites only zone'.

● Over 60 people attended the first public meeting of the Leicester Anti-Fascist Defence Committee. The committee was formed after arrests at a counter demonstration against the British National Party meeting in the city. The meeting was addressed by Alan Horne, one of the arrested, Linda Douglas of the LPYS and Keith Vaz, Labour candidate for Leicester East.

DHSS reviews will face mass protests

THE NOTORIOUS 'Fowler reviews' of social security look set to be implemented in the next term of parliament. Despite the present period of sham consultation, which ends on September 16, the Tories have turned a deaf ear to the many protests from welfare rights groups, DHSS trade unionists and Labour MPs.

For example, when Liverpool Broadgreen MP Terry Fields tried to arrange for a group of claimants from Liverpool to meet Norman Fowler, he was told the Tory minister was 'too busy.' Nor could Fowler's junior ministers find a suitable date before 16 September.

The Tories are trying to dress up their proposals as the "biggest review of the benefits system since Beveridge." But there will be nothing beneficial from them—in plain terms they will mean increased misery for millions of working class people.

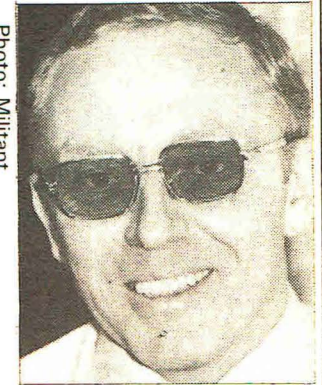
Maternity and death grants—albeit at pitiful levels already—will be abolished. Instead claimants will have to apply to a 'social fund.' Instead of a grant it will be a repayable loan. And the DHSS will have cash limits set on the fund—so don't die or have a baby at the end of the financial year!

Recipients of housing benefit will have to find 20 per cent of their rates bill under the new proposals. Besides their ratecapping legislation, the Tories will put further pressure through this measure on Labour councils that try to save services by pushing up the rates.

The scrapping of SERPS, the State Earnings Related Pension Scheme will leave millions at the mercy of private pension schemes or

facing the pitiful inadequate level of state pension.

But opposition is growing to Fowler's review. Already in the North West Terry Fields has spoken at numerous meetings, linking up with the Merseyside Campaign against Social Security Cuts. These meetings are continuing, and Terry Fields will address a major demonstration in Liverpool on September 7, which will also feature bands such as the Lotus Eaters and the Redskins, and comedian Alexi Sayle.



Terry Fields MP

He will also address a similar rally in Runcorn on September 14. The day before industrial action and demonstrations by DHSS staff are planned throughout the North West.

In the build up to the protests, Terry Fields will be joined by Broadgreen Labour Party and LPYS members in canvassing his constituency, and on September 4 there will also be a special lobby of the TUC, urging support for Liverpool City Council and supporting the other main lobby of the day against DHSS cuts.

A special video on the issue is being produced by the Open Eye video project, to be used by labour movement and community organisations.

Photo: Militant

Fury grows at police gun death

A WAVE of anger has swept through the Kings Norton area of Birmingham following the killing of five-year old John Shorthouse.

He was shot dead in his bed when the West Midlands Police Tactical Firearms Squad carried out a dawn raid on his family's home in this mainly working class area of the city.

Tuesday's *Birmingham Evening Mail* graphically demonstrated the desperation of the police chiefs to divert this anti-police feeling. "Shattered life of officer in killing" was the heading that leapt from the front page. If the police and a deferential media had their way they would have people believe that John Shorthouse was guilty of not ducking quick enough and thereby shattering the nerves of this "family loving" police gunman.

A police spokesman said on television: "But no-one seems to realise just what the man who pulled the trigger is going through".

In the same television bulletin local people expressed revulsion and outrage at police tactics: "If the father was only a suspect why had he and his wife been forced to lie flat on the floor whilst the house was searched?"

By Bill Mullins

said one.

The family's local publican said: "Many of the regulars, including older people are now violently anti-police. I can't guarantee the safety of any policeman who comes into the pub".

Within two days of the shooting 300 people had signed a petition calling for a public enquiry and over £600 had been raised in 11 local pubs.

A policewoman was hospitalised after police were called to a fracas outside a local shop. The crowd that had gathered turned on the police when they arrived.

The John Shorthouse killing is not the first time this sort of thing has happened. In 1980, 16-year old Gail Kinchin was shot dead by police in Rubery, Birm-

ingham when she was being held as a human shield.

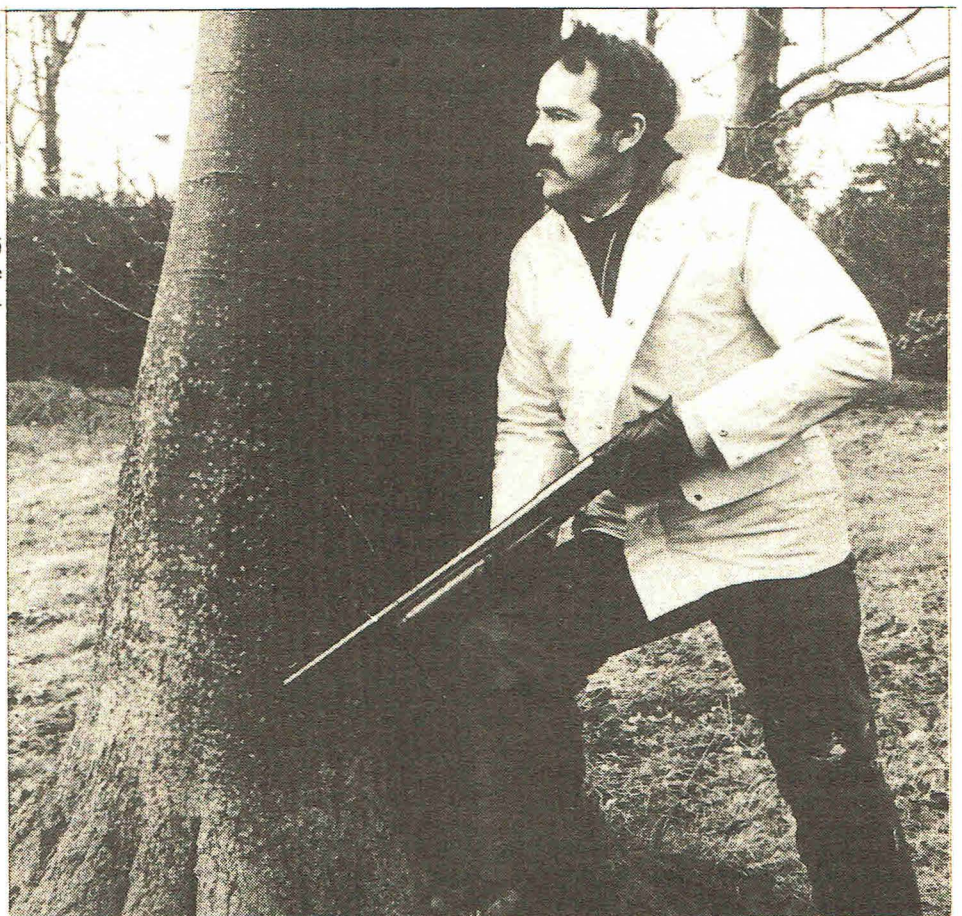
A later incident occurred when bullets were fired into a bed occupied by the two children of James Hazel in Winson Green, Birmingham.

A whole number of other incidents have taken place, in Pensnett, Dudley, Kingshurst and Solihull, where police have battered their way into the homes of innocent people with sledgehammers, terrifying the occupants.

After all this the Chief Constable, Geoffrey Dear, had the gall to accuse the people of Kings Norton, who had voiced their anger at the shooting of "uninformed, irresponsible behaviour". "After all" he said "the police involved only had handguns, not shotguns."

The crocodile tears by the police for the dead boy didn't extend to the father. He wasn't told of his son's death until 11 hours later. In court the police had opposed bail and Mr Shorthouse was remanded in custody.

Photo: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)



An armed policeman on siege training. There is no public control over armed police.

Chile Coup: 12 years on

TWELVE YEARS ago this week, on September 11, 1973, the Chilean Popular Unity Government, under president Salvador Allende, was overthrown by a military coup. Allende himself was murdered and as many as 50,000 Chilean socialists, communists and trade union leaders were tortured and killed.

This most bloody regime led by General Pinochet, was

applauded by the capitalist class internationally for having 'saved Chile from Marxism'. In Britain, sections of the Tory Party and newspapers like *The Times* welcomed the coup.

Nightmare period

After September 11, the Chilean working class entered the blackest nightmare period in its history. Without any

organisations of self-defence, workers' living standards as well as their democratic freedoms, were utterly crushed.

But in the recent period, as a testimony to its enormous resilience and courage, the working class has begun to move again and to fight for its rights.

To commemorate the date of the coup and to pay tribute to the heroism of the Chilean

workers, we publish this week an article by Paul Hannick (London Region LPYS) on the present conditions of the class and the perspectives for the regime in the future.

Solidarity and assistance

The article is based on a document recently produced by the Chile Socialist Defence Campaign, which was set up

by the Labour Party Young Socialists in 1980 to provide direct solidarity and assistance to those workers, especially the youth, who are opposing Pinochet's regime.

The Labour Party NEC have, disgracefully, dissociated themselves from the Campaign, and CSDC are therefore appealing to the labour movement to send resolutions of protest to the NEC.

PINOCHET, THE Chilean dictator, is now sitting on a time bomb. Twelve years of repression, murder and intolerable living conditions have created the basis for a social explosion on a scale never witnessed in the history of Chile.

The brief world boom between 1983 and 1985 which was supposed to have improved the debt crisis hitting all the Latin American countries and raised living standards, has totally by-passed Chile. The economy has not only worsened over the past months, but recently Pinochet has been forced to introduce a further round of austerity measures and cuts in living standards because of the economic crisis.

For a population which is already suffering from 30 per cent unemployment, and a 22 per cent fall in living standards between 1981 and 1984, this could well be the last straw. Enormous discontent is brewing below the surface, laying the basis for an enormous movement of insurrectionary proportions.

The "economic miracle"

Between 1975 and 1979, Chile was a showpiece for the economic policies of monetarism, based on the destruction of the trade unions, the ending of import controls and the ruthless slashing of state expenditure on social welfare. The main aim of the "Chicago boys" (the American economists who propagated and carried out the ideas of monetarism in Chile) was to create a Latin American Hong Kong, an economy of easy profits based on cheap labour and sweatshop conditions.

However the economic "miracle" developed no investment in industry, which is the basic strength of any economy, but it went instead on finance, speculation and a construction boom, financed with a debt that in 1984 was the biggest *per capita* in Latin America.

With the onset of the last world recession, the economic miracle and showpiece collapsed. Accord-

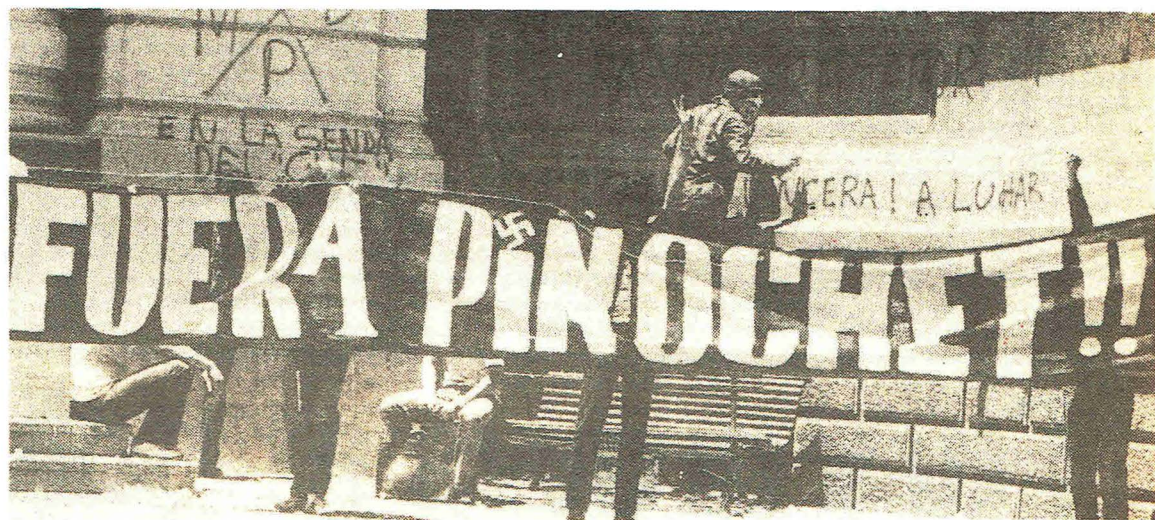
ing to official figures, one quarter of all workers in Santiago lost their jobs between 1981 and 1982 and during the same period Gross National Product fell by 12 per cent. Unemployment shot up from around 10 per cent in 1980, to 30 per cent. In the shanty towns, however, unemployment is far higher, especially amongst the youth where it reaches 90 per cent or more. This figure also hides the fact that 8 to 12 per cent of the workforce are on government employment schemes. A recent article stated that 80 per cent of the population earned less than £84 per month.

Chile now shows all the symptoms of a society in terminal decay. Homelessness has now reached a staggering one third of the population, which means there are usually three or four families living in one small shack. Diseases such as typhoid that were supposedly eradicated at the end of the last century have reappeared. There has even been an outbreak of gangrene in the hospitals. In the shanty towns the level of poverty has reached horrendous proportions with people eating dogs and cats to stay alive. Child prostitution is widespread.

Recently the IMF gave Chile a \$1.95bn loan over two years. This, however is considerably less than what was hoped for and as a result a further squeeze is being made on the already savaged economy.

Elderly Chileans living on state pensions will no longer receive periodic increases to compensate for inflation and the government has tried to suspend the distribution of free milk to poor children aged between two and five. At the same time the already pitiful pay on the PEM (unemployed work) scheme is being cut from 5000 to 3000 pesos a month (from £21 to £12.85). This will mean virtual starvation for the poorest workers.

If this has been the economic situation during the world boom, the effects of the next recession will spell unthinkable misery for the vast majority of Chileans. It is precisely these continued economic attacks and at the same time the in-



The workers movement is increasing in confidence and organisation in its struggle with the Pinochet regime.

tense repression by the regime on anyone who shows dissent, that are creating the basis for a huge explosion. A recent article in *The Sunday Times* estimated that over the past year 750,000 people had been arrested and probably the vast majority of these had been maltreated by the police. This is approximately one in twelve of the population!

Thousands demonstrate

The willingness to struggle by the workers and particularly the youth in Chile has never been in question. The protests organised in 1982 and in particular in 1983, saw thousands of young people participating and battling against the armed forces. Through the protests, the shanty towns became virtual no-go areas for the riot police. Thousands upon thousands of workers demonstrated their willingness to struggle against Pinochet in demonstrations, protests and strikes. A recent wave of strikes rocked the country. In one particular strike, the riot police sent to control the picket lines actually organised collections for the strikers in the barracks. This is an indication that the crisis is affecting the police ranks as well.

These enormous social movements have brought great

divisions and tensions within the junta itself, where Mendoza, the head of the police forces—who was regarded as one of Pinochet's most reliable supporters—was forced to resign over the clear involvement of the police force in the torture and murder of three Communist trade unionists. The investigations into involvement of the police force in these murders, has now led to the biggest crisis facing Pinochet since 1973. Twenty-four top generals and colonels have been demoted by Pinochet in the biggest purge of the armed forces since 1973. The incredible thing, however, is that the CNI, the secret police, gave the names of the individual policemen involved. This act is a clear indication of the fact that even Pinochet's own thugs and murderers now see that the regime has no future and are afraid of the enormous movement from below that will develop to bring them to justice after Pinochet falls. This has now led to an open and clear opposition between the police and Pinochet and shows the first major crack in the unity of the junta.

Now Chilean magazines and newspapers are full of stories of possible coups against Pinochet.

The Christian Democrats and the National Party, the two major capitalist parties, have since 1982 been pressurising Pinochet to move

aside and allow the creation of some sort of caretaker government to eventually call elections.

This so-called democratic stance is very different to the position that these parties took after the military coup in 1973, when both uncritically welcomed Pinochet and the subsequent destruction of the workers' organisations.

A programme for the workers' parties

The apparent change of heart of these new found "democrats" is because they see the pressure and anger that is building up from below and they realise that they must move to remove Pinochet and establish some sort of democratic government, based of course on capitalist power. Otherwise an enormous explosion could result which would go beyond removing Pinochet and do away with the bosses' system at the same time.

However, they also know that given the hatred that exists towards Pinochet, the news that Pinochet was stepping down or that he had been deposed by a 'palace coup' would also open the floodgates to an enormous movement of workers onto the streets. For this reason, they have so far drawn back from acting decisively to remove Pinochet from power.



But their dream of a gradual transition to a capitalist democracy with the agreement of Pinochet has now totally failed and they have enormously discredited themselves in the eyes of the majority of the workers.

In this situation enormous opportunities exist for the workers' parties, the Communist and Socialist Parties, to lead the movement against Pinochet. The most active workers are now looking for

unemployed, the youth, the women at home and, crucially, middle class layers. In previous strike movements the Chilean workers have already shown valuable initiatives in the formation of 'Cordones' or local workers' councils. These would play a decisive role to co-ordinate different industrial areas and to incorporate the other less organised layers of the movement.

If there have not been up to now



In the face of a determined movement by the working class, resolved to 'go all the way,' even the armed forces would split.

a struggle which stops at nothing less than the removal of Pinochet from power.

In Chile, the Communist Party and the other parties of the working class have adopted the call for a 'popular insurrection', reflecting the sentiment amongst wide layers of workers. However, unfortunately, the CP leaders have distorted this sentiment to give credence to the method of individual terrorism. They have adopted an opportunist mixture—on the one hand attempting to have agreements with the Christian Democrats, yet at the same time supporting a campaign of bombings and killings of members of the armed forces.

It is clear from the experience of the past period that aimless protests in themselves have not been sufficient to overthrow Pinochet and that a far more decisive confrontation is necessary. But this has to involve a decisive struggle of the entire working class, beginning with a general strike headed by the industrial workers, miners and other workers. This would also involve all oppressed sectors of the Chilean population including the

general strikes with the clear purpose of overthrowing the Pinochet regime, it is the responsibility of the leaders of the CP and SP, especially the former, which at this stage is stronger. Such movements as have taken place have reflected the pressure of the workers determined to struggle, but they have been given no programme or perspective of socialist change. The strikes have been more in the way of 'safety valves' rather than serious attempts to mobilise the working class, to give it organisational experience and political confidence in preparation for a decisive struggle.

Terrorist blind alley

It is therefore the responsibility of the leaders of these parties if sections of youth, especially among the many unemployed, grow impatient and turn away from the workers' movement, towards the blind alley of terrorism. But it is only the labour movement that can mobilise the power to break Pinochet. Fully mobilised behind a programme of social transformation and fully determined to 'go all the way', the workers' organisa-



Unemployment among youth in the shanty towns is as high as 90 per cent. Not surprisingly these youth have been in the forefront of the struggles.

tions would have a huge effect on the crumbling edifice of Pinochet's state.

More than fifty per cent of the armed forces are conscripts, taken from the shanty towns and the land. Young unemployed can therefore find themselves one week behind a barricade and the next week in the army.

Within the army the ordinary soldiers are treated with contempt and kept in terrible conditions by the officers. In any society, social crisis will find its reflection within the army, but in a far more exaggerated form. A seemingly disciplined and ruthless army can break in the middle in the face of a determined workers' movement.

Such was the case in the Iranian revolution in 1980, where one of the strongest armies of the world cracked and broke in the face of an insurrectionary movement of the masses.

The workers' movement is the only force that has the power to overthrow Pinochet. Moreover, the socialist transformation of Chile, based on workers' democracy and workers' internationalism, is the only means by which the masses would be able to consolidate any form of democracy, after Pinochet's exit.

No government, whether it is a national government, a government headed by the capitalist parties or one headed by the workers' parties, will be able to provide the basis of a stable democracy with increased living standards, if it remains within the framework of the capitalist system. If a bosses' government replaced Pinochet, it would inevitably be forced to attack the living standards of the workers to defend the profits of the bosses.

However, unfortunately, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, are putting forward policies that limit calls only to protests and they insist on an all-party front against Pinochet, that is an alliance of all those parties which would like to see Pinochet go.

This would include almost all the political parties in Chile, including even the right wing National Party who until recently fully supported Pinochet, and the Christian Democrats who are the main bosses' party in Chile.

During the Popular Unity government of Allende, the CDs did all they could to destabilize it and eventually openly supported the military take-over in September of 1973. In fact, on the 12th of September, the day after the coup, as thousands of workers were being shot and tortured in the na-

SMASH PINOCHET

Public Meeting to commemorate the military coup of 11 September 1973 in Chile.

Wednesday 11 September, 7.30pm, Camden Town Hall, Bidborough Street, London NW1 (opposite St Pancras Station).

Speakers: Tony Benn MP.

Terry Fields MP.

Frances Curran (LPYS NEC).

A Chilean socialist from the interior.

A comrade from SALEP.

Chair: John Hird (LPYS National Chairman)

Organised by London LPYS and Chile Socialist Defence Campaign.

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE OF CHILE.

Picket the Chilean Embassy (12 Devonshire Street, London W1).

Nearest Tube: Regents Park 11

September 12-2 pm.

ALL LPYS MEMBERS URGED TO ATTEND. BRING BANNERS AND MEGAPHONES

tional stadium, the Christian Democrats sent a letter of congratulations to Pinochet offering him their services.

However, as recent events have shown, Pinochet has turned down all requests to relinquish power. In fact in a recent article published in a Chilean magazine, Pinochet described how he actually 'threw in the bin' the latest letter he received from the Democratic Alliance—the main bosses' parties' political organisation for discussions on the introduction of democracy.

Correct leadership

The Christian Democrats are in a quandary between a dictator that won't budge and being incapable of organising a campaign to be rid of him.

In effect they now play the role of holding the movement back because the leaders of the CDs refuse to mobilize a campaign against Pinochet, and because the CP doesn't want to prejudice its chances of an alliance, they refuse to pose an alternative. In other words, the the CP leaders are try-

ing to hand the leadership of the working class movement to the major bosses' party on a plate! The price of a pact with the Christian Democrats would be to keep the mass movement within the restrictions of their political programme which means within the rotten capitalist system.

It is the task of the workers leaders to break all those workers and middle class layers from the CDs, not to sow illusions in them by making pacts with them and giving them credit for the struggle against the regime. It is the job of the workers' leaders to point out the material benefits of socialism and the dead end of capitalism which is all the CDs and the National Party represent.

The future holds many opportunities for the Chilean workers. With a correct leadership they will brush aside this monstrous regime and move to emancipate themselves from the oppression they have had to suffer. In striking a blow for themselves, for the socialist transformation of Chile, they will be striking an immense blow for the entire international working class.

Japan

Japanese 'miracle' is over

JAPAN IS the third most powerful economy in the world. Second only to the USA and the USSR, it is the world's biggest importer of raw materials and exporter of machinery and capital, and accounts for 10 per cent of world production.

By John Throne

In 1945 Japanese capitalism was economically and militarily crushed. In the following two or three years huge movements of the working class threatened its very existence. From being smashed by the Japanese militarists in the 1930's, the unions were reborn—by 1946 they had ten times as many members as they had in their pre-war peak. Massive movements for general strikes, workers' control and nationalisation took place.

At this time in this area the Chinese revolution was unfolding, and in India the masses were forcing British Imperialism to withdraw politically and militarily. US Imperialism, in a military dictatorship led by General MacArthur, set about putting Japanese capitalism on its feet again. Land reform was carried through to give a base to the conservative forces in Japan, US loans and grants were made available and a massive onslaught was launched against the trade unions.

In 1947 in Japan 700,000 workers were sacked for union activities and the national union federation was split.

False policies

At the same time the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), the main workers party, was enticed into a coalition government with the main capitalist party—its programme being set aside. The Communist Party, (JCP), although it had a powerful base amongst sections of the working class, posed no real threat to Japanese capitalism, at one time even hailing MacArthur as a 'Liberator'. The false policies and leaderships of these workers' parties made it possible for US imperialism to re-establish Japanese capitalism.

Japan's foreign policy since the end of World War Two has been dictated by the US, who provided the defence. Japanese defence spending has been less than one percent of the Gross National Product per annum. In the US the figure is 6 percent. This huge saving for Japan has been ploughed back into car, TV, radio and motor cycle production etc. and has been one powerful reason for Japan's economic success.

Over the post war period a higher percentage of Japan's Gross Domestic Product has been ploughed back into investment (eg. 30 percent between the 1960's and early 1970's) in comparison with its rivals, while less was invested abroad.

The effects of this are shown in the highest life expectancy figures in the world—74 for men and 80 for women. This is an increase of eight years on average since 1960. Japanese manufacturing workers have a higher wage today than their counterparts in Western Europe (except Switzerland).

Yet prices in Japan are very high. A Japanese worker works four times as long as a US worker for the same basket of food. Housing is also more costly and only three out of ten houses are connected to the sewerage system. The figure in Britain is 97 per cent. And London



Ex-Premier Tanaka—convicted of accepting \$2 million bribes in the Lockheed corruption case.

workers have 15 times more park space than workers in Tokyo. The tension on workers is very great and increasing. Such statistics show the vast contradictions accumulating in Japanese society.

The enormous growth in the economy and living standards which have resulted from the threat of revolution in the area as well as the post war boom in general, explain the relative quiescence in the struggle between the labour movement and the employers. However, this should not be exaggerated; 30 per cent of Japan's 40 million workers remain organised in trade unions.

Similarly, considerable support has remained for the JSP and JCP. In the 1983 general election it exceeded 29 per cent.

However, serious economic problems are clearly beginning to surface. Protectionism and increased obstacles to world trade are increasing on all sides. A collapse of 1929-31 proportions will take place at a certain stage. And no economy of the advanced industrial countries will suffer more severely than Japan. This is because no advanced industrial economy has more outgrown its national limits than Japan. 83 per cent of the economy's energy is imported. Its vulnerability to a disruption in oil supplies is staggering.

It is no less vulnerable when exports are considered. In 1984 60 per cent of the GNP went on exports. A full scale trade war would be catastrophic for Japan.

The recent upswing has seen a very dramatic increase in Japan's dependency on exports. In previous upturns net foreign demand accounted for on average only 2 per cent of the growth in GNP. In the latest upswing the percentage of the growth of GNP accounted for by net foreign demand has exploded to 42 per cent. Japan's home market is saturated—just at the time when protectionism is becoming more and more a reality. The Japanese 'miracle' is over.

From a high of 30 per cent of GDP re-invested the figure is now between 6-7 per cent. At the same time investment abroad has rocketed. With the lifting of exchange controls four years ago Japanese capitalism has now moved ahead of the US in international bank lending. At the same time direct foreign investment in Japan was down 40 per cent between 1983 and 1984. The massive investment in plant and machinery which put Japanese cars, machinery, electronic products etc into every High Street in the capitalist world no longer exists.

All these factors are the ingredients making up an explosive economic crisis.

The budget deficit in Japan at six per cent is higher (as a percentage of GNP) than that of the US. The



Japanese trade unionists, members of the local authority white collar union, on a May Day march in London during a recent visit—despite the boom 12.5 million Japanese workers are organised in trade unions. Photo: Militant

national debt of Japan has gone up over five times from 12 percent of GNP in 1970 to 67 percent in 1983. In other major industrial economies there was a tendency for a doubling and in many cases a stabilisation of the national debt over this period. A member of the ruling capitalist party, the Liberal Democratic Party accurately assessed the situation: "An earthquake could come suddenly".

Neither is there a way out for Japanese capitalism in the much talked of 'mega-market' of China's 1,000 million people. The so-called reforms now taking place in China are already leading to rising inflation and increased antagonisms between China's richer farmers and traders, and the poorer peasants and workers.



Camera production worker.

These tensions will become unsustainable in the near future and the 'reforms' will be reversed. China's total hard currency reserves have fallen. From October last year to this August, they fell from \$17 billion to less than \$10 billion. Neither politically nor economically can the Chinese bureaucracy transform the Chinese economy, the ninth largest in the world, into a giant consumer market which can allow Japanese capitalism to push off its impending crisis into the long term future.

Unemployment in Japan is currently at 2.8 per cent, low when compared to other capitalist countries. This is partly due to the 'Life time job' policy agreed to by Japanese employers under the pressure of the working class. It is estimated that anything from 3 to

10 per cent of workers in big firms are in 'kept jobs'. With the fall in profits and the loss of markets abroad, unemployment will explode to 10, 12 per cent or more.

Real wages growth between 1970 and 1973 was 9.5 per cent in total. In the following ten years it averaged only 1.5 per cent per year. In the years after the 1974/75 recession to the present, productivity rose by nearly ten per cent per year as the workers were pushed into new work practices, speed-ups increased and new machines were introduced. Real wages growth is at present non-existent.

In industry the much talked of co-operation between workers and management is backed up by widespread coercion by management, sometimes going as far as physical assault. To their shame many union leaders co-operate in this intimidation, especially of union activists, wherever objections to wages, conditions and work rates are raised.

However, once it is clear that the economic growth of past decades is over, all the accumulated bitterness and anger of the workers will surface. With it will surface all the fighting traditions of the past. The coming explosions will see union membership reach and surpass the previous peak of the late 1940's of 46 per cent of the work force organised. The 74,486 unions into which the 12.5m workers are at present organised will be transformed from being mainly company based unions into nationally unified unions.

At the same time the old right-wing union leaders, so similar to the US trade union tops both in their methods and in their acceptance of the employers' propaganda, will be cleaned out and replaced with a fighting leadership.

On the political front spectacular changes will also take place. The Liberal Democratic Party has been in power uninterrupted for over 35 years. It is not so much a party as a coalition of five main factions and numerous smaller ones, all of which in themselves have factional rivalries. It has managed to stay together and in power due to the effects of the economic boom and the false policies of JSP and the JCP. Also it has the assistance of the electoral system in which one rural vote is equal to 3.5 urban votes. However, the LDP is seen as corrupt from top to bottom. The

leader of its largest faction, Tanaka, has been convicted of accepting \$2 million in bribes. With the ending of the economic boom and the movement of the working class, the most likely development is for this cracked shell of a party to be shattered to pieces.

It is possible a situation similar to what happened in Spain in October 1981 could happen in Japan. In Spain the governing party was the Union of the Democratic Centre (UCD). It entered the election with 34 per cent of the vote and 168 seats; it ended up with 6.8 per cent of the vote and 12 seats and in a state of disintegration.

The main opposition party, as well as the main traditional party of the working class, is the Socialist Party. It will be mostly to this party that the working class, the youth and the middle layers will turn. The perspective is for a majority, possibly for the JSP alone, but certainly for the JSP and JCP combined in the coming period, as happened in Greece, Spain, France and Portugal.

Nationalisation

The task posed in front of such a left government will be to end the dictatorship of the giant corporations like Nissan, Mitsubishi, Sony etc. over the lives of the Japanese working class, middle layers and peasants. This can only be done by carrying out the demands of Japanese labour in the years after World War Two; for big business to be nationalised under workers' control and management.

If this is carried out, and it is particularly the task of the activists in the JSP and JCP to organise around this programme, then the second most powerful economy in the capitalist world can be transformed into a healthy workers' state. This would open up the road for a successful socialist transformation of the entire Pacific basin area and precipitate a movement towards workers' democracy in the deformed workers' states of China, Vietnam, Kampuchea etc.

Such a development would give meaning to Reagan's statement about the future of the world lying in the Pacific basin area, but of course it would not be in the way he and his big business backers mean, nor in a way of which they would approve.

France's war on the Rainbow

ON 10 July, the *Rainbow Warrior*, a ship belonging to the environmental group Greenpeace was sunk by two explosions in Auckland Harbour, New Zealand. The ship's photographer died and 12 other crew were fortunate to escape.

The *Warrior* had been on its way to monitor French nuclear tests in the Pacific. Two French intelligence agents have been arrested and clear evidence exists for their agency's involvement in action against Greenpeace. Yet last week's Tricot report in France astonishingly cleared the government and intelligence services of any blame!

The report conceded that five French agents had been spying on, and trying to infiltrate, Greenpeace, but it concludes that the agents did not sabotage the boat.

The man who conducted the inquiry, Bernard Tricot, was former chief of staff to General De Gaulle who was right wing French President from 1958 to 1968. Tricot was chief aide for Algerian affairs when French imperialism was fighting a vicious battle to maintain power.

Whitewash

The Mitterrand government say he was chosen because he would have no reason to try to whitewash a "Left" administration.

But this eminent bourgeois has every reason to defend the state services, both at home and abroad. As with the ruling class in Britain, the French capitalists rely on their state machinery to defend their interests. And the Greenpeace incident shows how far they seem prepared to go.

The couple arrested on murder charges are acknowledged agents of the French overseas intelligence unit DGSE, (similar to the MI6). They were using false passports. Half a dozen

By Roger Shrivs

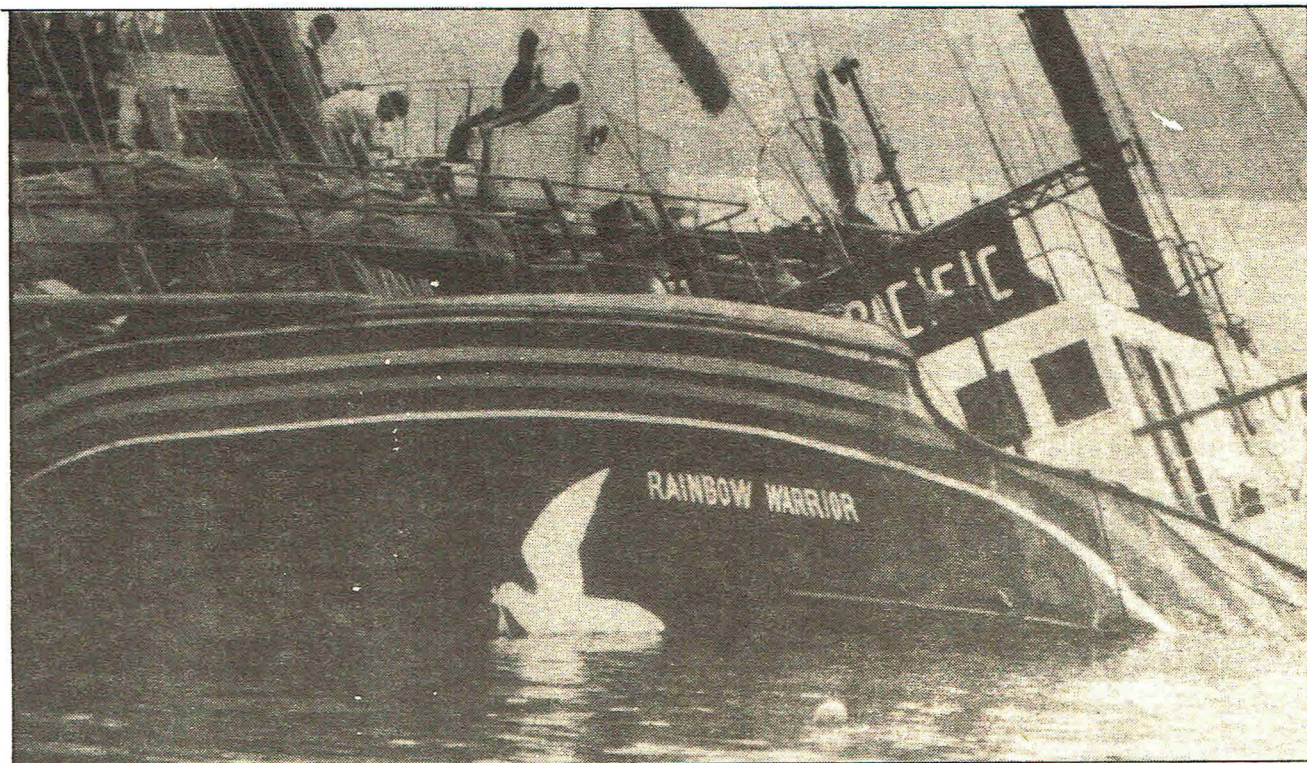
other secret service agents were in the vicinity around the time of the attack. The yacht used by some of the agents has mysteriously disappeared.

The DGSE had been given special funds to infiltrate Greenpeace, and one woman agent had reputedly done so. Even the Tricot report acknowledges that intelligence had been given orders to "anticipate and think of ways of countering" Greenpeace's activities.

But Tricot accepts the official line that the agents were merely gathering information and taking photos. If that was the case why were the agents involved specialising in underwater combat—such as attaching limpet mines to vessels? Tricot believes the story that one of the arrested agents had "a bad back" and that the other had left the underwater combat team in 1983.

Both Tricot and government ministers have been forced to confess that the report may not have explained everything, and that some informants may have lied. But the government have willingly accepted Tricot's 'innocent' verdict. Three agents who gave themselves up to Paris police have been released.

New Zealand prime minister David Lange thought the report "utterly incredible, putting a cloak of innocence on... a gross piece of espionage". The press in France has been incredulous. The left wing *Liberation* had a headline: "Tricot washes whitest". The right wing



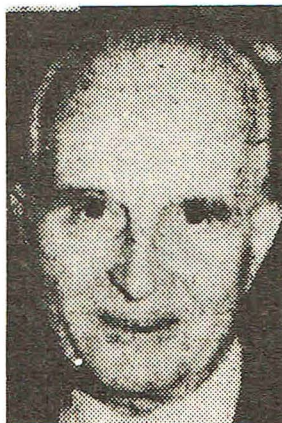
The scuttled Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour

press have used the incident to attack the now very unpopular Mitterrand government, though they and the right wing politicians are wary of exposing the real nature of French intelligence.

Murder agency

In 1982 the former intelligence service SDECE, notorious for its involvement in coups and political murders, particularly in France's African "spheres of influence", was reorganised as the DGSE.

The name of SDECE stank. The former right wing Giscard d'Estaing government supported the puppet regime of the Central African Republic. When its ruler, the vicious self-styled 'Emperor' Bokassa fell, millions of francs worth of Bokassa's diamonds suddenly came into SDECE (and Giscard's) hands. The agen-



Tricot—"washes whitest"

cy had been active in Chad, one of the world's poorest countries, to protect France's regional oil and diplomatic interests.

But the change of name has not changed their nature. Nor has the change of government so widely welcomed by French workers in 1981 changed

France's foreign policies. Dictators like Habré in Chad and Mobutu in Zaire still got French support. Mitterrand sold arms to Iraq in the Gulf War between the two dictatorships. Colonial policy, such as in New Caledonia, is still determined by French capitalism's strategic needs, which also decided government action on Greenpeace.

Capitalism maintained

Mitterrand's miserable international record mirrors his home policy. No government which fails to break the grip of capitalism at home can hope to somehow maintain an "enlightened" foreign policy. The capitalists inside and outside the country will soon bring the government back into line. The state forces in particular owe their allegiance to the capitalist "Republic"

rather than to a supposedly left government. The government's promise of greater parliamentary supervision of the intelligence services will have little or no effect. The real decisions are being taken by multinationals and military chiefs.

Even though *Rainbow Warrior* was a British registered vessel, the Thatcher government has turned down demands for an investigation into the cause of the sinking.

This is no great surprise. The sinking of the *Warrior* has many lessons for British workers, on the lengths to which the capitalist state will go in defence of its interests. Nobody looking at Britain's colonial history and at Ireland and the miners' strike today could doubt that British capitalism would be just as ruthless as its French counterparts.

Air crashes - Safety or profits

THIS YEAR has witnessed some of the most appalling air disasters in the history of civil aviation. Already it is the worst year for safety with a total of 1,400 killed in 15 accidents, more than the total of 1,299 fatalities in 1974, worst year prior to this one.

The biggest disasters, involving Boeing 747 'Jumbo' jets accounted for most of the deaths and as yet the cause of the first, the Air India flight which crashed off the coast of Ireland, has yet to be explained.

Design faults

The immediate cause of the Japan Airlines crash and the fire at Manchester Airport on a Boeing 737 which killed 54 people, seems to be due to design faults or to structural failure in the aircraft. But serious questions of safety, especially on overcrowded charter flights, have been raised.

In the case of JAI Jumbo, which went out of control after part of the tail disintegrated, the pilot com-

plained of lack of hydraulic power needed to control the moving air surfaces. This could have been due to a design weakness in the Jumbo's tail, where hydraulic pipes for all four systems on the aircraft pass close together. It is possible that all four were damaged in this case allowing the hydraulic fluid to drain away, leaving the aircraft with no controls whatsoever.

In the case of the Boeing 737 at Manchester the explosion which caused the fire was started most likely by a failure in the combustion chamber of the port engine which sent pieces of metal into the wing, rupturing the fuel tanks and igniting the fuel. There have been seven previous engine fires on 737s involving this type of engine built by the US company Pratt and Whitney.

This has led the US Federal Aviation Administration to make two orders regarding safety, one last October and one this July just a month before the Manchester disaster. None of this, however, had been reported to the airlines, in-

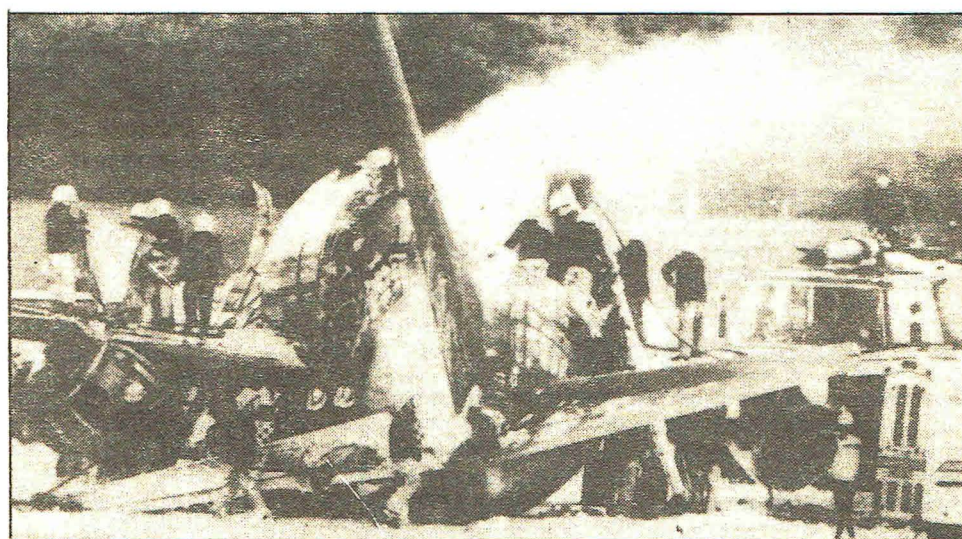
cluding British Airways which has a fleet of 34 737s together with its package tour subsidiary British Air-tours which has nine.

But the Manchester fire has highlighted a far more serious question about air safety, that of overcrowding on charter flights in aircraft designed to carry fewer passengers.

In the early half of this year many tour operators suffered because of the low number of bookings. Profit margins are being squeezed and there is an increasing temptation to cram in more seats on charter flights.

Overcrowding

The 737-200 which is the type in the Manchester fire is designed to accommodate 115 passengers. The one which caught fire had seating for 130. There were reports that people were climbing over each other in the panic to get out of the smoke filled aircraft. It has since been revealed that two of the emergency doors on the aircraft were unusable. Incredibly it is common practice



The fire on board the Boeing 737 at Manchester Airport in August

in charter aircraft to block off emergency exits in order to fit more seats in.

The gap between the seats is also very small and the aisles are often very narrow making rapid escape from a burning aircraft difficult. It is also often made worse by too much hand luggage being allowed in the cabin. The emergency procedures, which the stewards and crew learn, are therefore useless.

As the pressure increases on the tour operators to fill aircraft to capacity, safety is beginning to take second place. Nor, say the airlines can they afford to ground large numbers of aircraft for inspection if design faults emerge, unless they are forced to do so by the authorities.

If all Jumbos were grounded for instance, to investigate possible design

weaknesses which may have led to the two crashes this year, half a million airline seats a day would be lost. The loss of profits for the airlines, even for a short period would be too much to contemplate—even if that means more deaths.

By Ben Eastop

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism. Write to *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB

Support for SA miners

Dear Comrades,
At the last meeting of Bradford ASTMS A199 the following resolution was passed:

"This branch expresses complete support for the struggle of the black miners organised in the South African NUM and calls for the full implementation of their demands by the Chamber of Mines.

"We further condemn the imposition by the apartheid regime of a state of emergency which increases the already vicious repression against the majority in struggle against apartheid and the employers.

"We call for the widest support and links to be made between the British labour movement and the South African non-racial democratic unions. We support the fight of these unions, the United Democratic Front and all workers in South Africa against the state of emergency, for democracy and socialism."

In the discussion, the memories of our own miners strike were brought out and how the South African NUM had given a donation to the British miners. It was decided to donate £50 to the South African NUM to help them in their battle against apartheid and the employers.

Yours fraternally
Pete Watson

Looking after their own

Dear Comrades,

It is a long standing tradition in most factory shop floors that when a worker retires, the rest of the floor club together and throw a small party. At my workplace, Plessey's it is also traditional for management in all their 'generosity' to present to the worker a bouquet of flowers and a telegram from the chairman of the company, Sir John Clarke.

However, on this occasion one of the girls on the shop floor, after 19 years service, was forced to retire a year early due to ill health.

Because of this management did not feel obligated to buy any flowers or make any presentation. Needless to say, the rest of the workforce were up in arms about this, and promptly told management to stick their presentation.

When management realised that the ten pounds it would have cost for a bunch of flowers could amount to fifty times that in lost production, (nobody worked that afternoon.) they quickly tried to minimise the damage.

The managing director (who just happens to be the chairman's son) dutifully went down to the party, believing that his almighty presence alone would appease the workers' disgust.

He was in for a slight shock. For when he attempted to present the lady who was retiring with some flowers that the workers had bought they all told him in no uncertain terms to get stuffed. Perhaps the drink had something to do with their blatant rebuff. But their message nevertheless was quite clear: The workers always look after their own.

Yours fraternally
Paul Young
Tooting LPYS

Politics—hobby or necessity

Dear Comrades,

Two events have greatly angered me recently, for entirely different reasons.

When I delivered my regular copy of the *Militant* to the door of a man I know, his wife answered. She had been reading the paper fairly regularly for the past few weeks.

This woman has four kids

at school and two at present on the dole (aged 16 and 17). Her eldest daughter has just finished a year long YTS with nothing to show for it except training in how to wash hair and sweep floors—supposedly now a hairdresser.

During the entire year her daughter had to be subsidised because her £26 didn't cover uniform and other essentials.

The husband has not worked for seven months

and gets £31 a week from the DHSS. Their only other income is the £22 she gets as a part time cleaner.

This family is by no means untypical of the existence millions of families suffer every day, with all the humiliation and despair involved.

With the anger I felt about this still fresh in my mind I attended a GMC of my local Labour Party. There, I was showered with abuse by a prominent right winger who,

screamed "The reason we lost the last election was because of the *Militant*-Tendency and unless we expel them all we'll lose the next one too."

When the guy was confronted outside he hurled obscenities at us, got into his car and drove off... in his 'C' registered Volvo 740 fuel injection, which had recently cost him £13,860!

Yours fraternally
Colin Fox

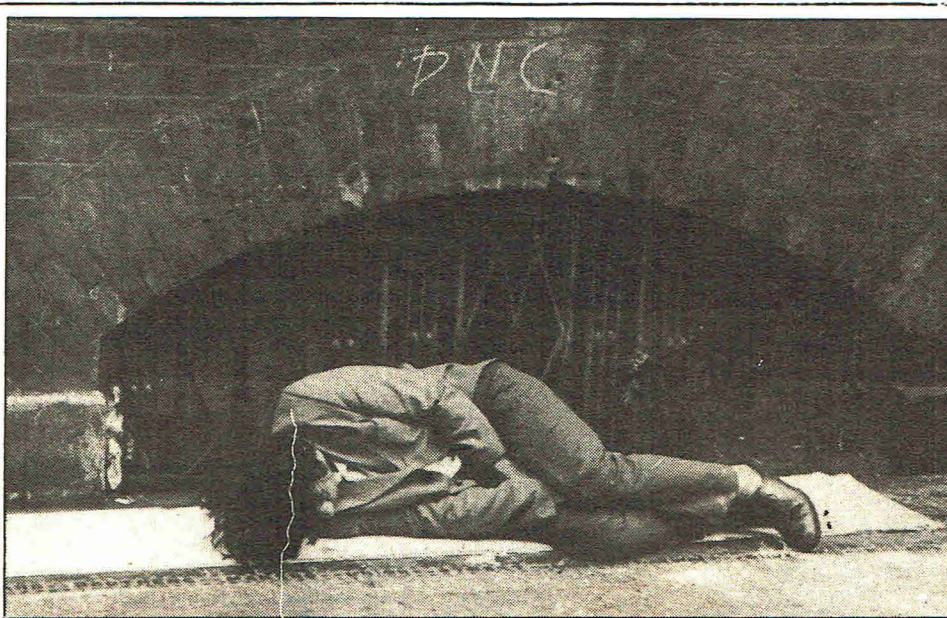


Photo: Carlos Guanta (Reflex)

A 'lightweight geodetic box' for some, but thousands of homeless would settle for anything

A new pad for Thatcher

Dear Comrades,

I've just read an article in *The Sunday Times* (August 11) about Thatcher's choice of a new home, which came complete with what would apparently be an ideal home for the Prime Minister.

Comrades will be pleased to hear that this is a lightweight geodetic box structure supported on four self-levelling legs and could be picked up by a military helicopter, should things get

too uncomfortable for Thatcher. It also has solar panels, an onboard motor, a 'helipad' doubling as a roof, built in water purification unit and a 'padded, acoustic interior.' Alright for some isn't it? And very nice. I must say.

To quote *The Sunday Times*: "Unlike the majority of future-gazing exercises, this one is based on realisable concepts. The components to build it already exist."

They doubtless do. So if this mobile pad can be built for the likes of Thatcher,

why can't a decent, non-mobile home be available for all those that want a place to live? And for that matter, why can't a place like this be built for everyone?

My own thoughts on this 'house' are that, from the drawing in *The Sunday Times*, it looks like this house ought to be built on the moon. In which case it would be an ideal home for Thatcher, and a few people associated with her.

Yours fraternally
Kevin Blake
Folkestone and Hyde
LPYS



Polish riot police practicing their 'liberal' community policing techniques.

International links à la Maxwell

Dear Comrades,

If printers at the *Mirror* mount picket lines, they'd better watch out for riot police, tear gas, prison camps and worse!

According to an article in

the *Financial Times*, Robert Maxwell has recently published an interview with the bloodthirsty Stalinist, General Jaruzelski.

In it, Maxwell seems to show some concern that Jaruzelski has a tendency to liberalism. He tells him: "The Polish printing industry is now in deplorable shape and needs reorganisation" and that "Poland needs more firmness and

even brutality in its labour policy."

Perhaps Maxwell's competitors in the press would like to make as much fuss about this as they did about Arthur Scargill's comments on Solidarity... or perhaps they'll keep a united front against their common enemy—organised workers.

Yours fraternally
Tony Cross
Coventry

Polluting bus stops

Dear Comrades,

Earlier this year during the run-up to the school students' strike, myself and two other *Militant* supporters were cautioned by a policeman when seen displaying posters for the event. We were all very surprised when we each received a summons from Shef-

field City Council.

At court, before our case was heard, there was a case of air-pollution being taken. A local company were pleading 'guilty' to a charge of producing dense black smoke far in excess of the legal limit. The fine for this offence: £200 plus £25 costs.

For our 'crime' of polluting a bus stop with a couple of posters, we were each fined £50 with £20

costs.

What I find disgusting is not the treatment handed out by the capitalist courts, but the decision of a so-called 'socialist' council to prosecute unemployed Labour Party members for trying to fight the Tory proposals aimed at crushing youth.

Yours fraternally
Neville Wright
Hillsborough CLP
(personal capacity)

RUC interrogation

Dear Comrades,

While hitching home from my holidays I was stopped by the RUC. As usual I was carrying my *Militant* FF card and some papers. I was taken to Caledon RUC station. At the station I was thoroughly searched and after half an hour I was transferred to Dungannon RUC Divisional Headquarters.

At Dungannon I was questioned for an hour by two Special Branch detectives. Initially one of them accused *Militant* supporters of organising violence on miners' picket lines last year. I was interrogated about '*Militant*'s organisation and membership' in Northern Ireland. I stated that *Militant* was only a newspaper. But not satisfied with this they took down all the names and telephone numbers I had with me.

This incident shows that the repressive apparatus of the state is being used against trade union activists and socialists. The labour movement must campaign against such harrassment and against all repressive legislation.

Yours fraternally
Aidan Campbell
Derry YS

Fighting his way to the top

Dear *Militant*,

It's a hard life being an ex-minister of Felipe Gonzalez, 'socialist' government here in Spain.

Miguel Boyer, ex-minister of the economy, resigned when Felipe refused to push aside Alfonso Guerra his right-hand man, in an internal cabinet power struggle.

No unemployment for Miguel, however. Immediately afterwards, he was appointed President of Banco Exterior. Miguel is taking some time off at present, from all these hectic events. He is holidaying in Marbella with Isabel Preyster, ex-wife of Julio Iglesias and ex-wife of the Marquis of Grinon at her luxurious villa rented for a cost of £3,000. Miguel is tipped to be husband number three, all the scandal magazines are naming them 'couple of the year.'

Such is the calibre of the majority of Felipe's ministers. In the meantime, the problems of the two million unemployed remain unresolved in a country which has a health and social security system far inferior to Britain, if you can imagine that!

Yours in international comradeship
Maureen Boyd
Madrid

LEFT and RIGHT

Hard day on the golf course

THE GOVERNMENT in Ireland heard last week the findings of an official working party that looked into the absenteeism at work. The biggest offenders? Yes that's right—management.

Illuminating message

Canadian artist Kyzystof Wodiczko has been making an impression on London this week. Using light projections he has already turned Nelson's Column into a US missile. However, the authorities were infuriated on Saturday night when he projected a huge Nazi swastika onto the grandiose South African embassy.

Quote of the week

JEREMY HANLEY, Tory MP for Richmond and Barnes, told the *Account* magazine in August: "When I was elected to the House of Commons my salary dropped by two thirds. After tax my parliamentary income is equal to my kids school fees. Working outside the House is an economic necessity."

JOCK PENMAN, chairman of the joint convenors committee at Rosyth Naval Dockyard—the biggest industrial employer in Scotland with 8,000 workers—is leading the fight against Heseltine's privatisation plans for the yard.

Jock spoke to Bruce Wallace about the struggle and his role as a Marxist trade unionist:

"I've worked at Rosyth for nearly 20 years and I've been a shop steward for eight years now. I became convenor of the 900 electrical fitters in 1983. This year I was elected chairman of joint convenors committee.

"When I was a shop steward the convenor was elected by the shop stewards themselves. The shop stewards committee was run by a brother who is now a full time official and the committee did not really function properly.

"I began to criticise the set-up. My main line of argument was that the whole structure should be more democratic, that the convenor should be more accountable both to the SS committee and to the rank and file themselves. These demands seemed to catch the ear of a new layer of younger shop stewards who were critical of the existing state of affairs.

"I argued that all full time negotiators should be accountable as well (in the yard most trade unions have full time efficiency bonus scheme negotiators) and that there should be an end to the 'perks' which these positions bring.

"Most of our officials would use their position to work completely unjustifiable overtime. Some

worked every Sunday and still do. Every full-timer doesn't have to clock in like the rest of the men.

"I demanded that all full-timers should revert to the clock and work the average amount of overtime as the rest of the men and further, that all officials should be elected by the members themselves.

Re-election

"My SS committee was won over to my position. The sitting convenor, seeing that his support was waning, agreed to face re-election by workplace ballot of the membership. He thought that the rank and file would not grasp the issues and that they would vote for the biggest personality. I made sure that the issues were taken to the shop floor. Many of the men were flabbergasted when they heard of the perks the full-timers get and supported the call for more democracy in the union structure. In the end I beat the sitting convenor into third place.

"As soon as I went on the committee I wasn't satisfied with the way it functioned. Many of the convenors were unaccountable. I had given an undertaking that I would only implement the decisions of my SS committee, so why shouldn't the rest do so? Furthermore the committee had failed miserably to give a lead to the men in the fight against privatisation.

Union struggles at Rosyth yard

"I demanded that the committee should hold mass meetings of the men to explain the necessity of struggle, that all decisions of the convenors be ratified by mass SS meetings and that we take the issues out to the broader movement, that our stewards visit the factories and pits in our area to mobilise a conference which could call a one day general strike in Fife if Heseltine tried to privatise any part of the yard.

"All this was met with a stoney silence. Nevertheless earlier this year the chairman of that the committee resigned and nobody would nominate someone for the job. The majority then said the committee would have to disband if we couldn't have a chairman! In the midst of the biggest fight we have ever had to face the old right-wing proposed we disband the committee.

"Somebody said that as I was so critical of the committee I should volunteer for the job. I agreed expecting to be vigorously opposed by the right-wing. Yet not a word was uttered against me. It was a case of being sucked into leading 8,000 workers because of a vacuum of leadership at the top.



Young Rosyth yard workers give enthusiastic support for the half day strike on 22 April. Photo: Rick Matthews (IFL)

"Since then mass meetings have backed the call for a proper fight, as the mass SS meetings have. Unfortunately the same cannot be said for many of the convenors. 36 engineering apprentices have been given notice that they will be sacked when their time is out at the end of August. The AUEW im-

mediately implemented an overtime and shiftworking ban. If either the AUEW convenor or the convenors' committee had called for an extension of the ban throughout the yard, it would have received a tremendous response from the men. No such call was given.

"The rank and file will fight if they are given a lead but the convenors committee keep abdicating their responsibility. The only way to create an alternative leadership is to build the Rosyth Dockyard Broad Left. The BL is small at present but we are attracting support. We meet regularly to discuss strategy and tactics for the fight and encourage stewards to mobilise grass roots support and oust some of the more useless officials.

Broadside

"The BL produces a regular bulletin, *Broadside*. This publication has produced outright alarm in the right-wing. It puts forward demands for the democratisation of the union structure in the yard. We also practice what we preach. I clock-in like the men and don't work unlimited overtime like some of the other convenors.

"Since I began reading *Militant* I can see the issues more clearly. I look around me and see other convenors running around like chickens with their heads cut off. I can see the perspectives of the *Militant* coming true every day; it's one of the things that keeps me sane."

Save Penrhawceiber colliery

SINCE THE end of the miners' strike, the National Coal Board have begun the round of proposals for pit closures. Amongst those earmarked for shut-down is the Penrhawceiber colliery in the Cynon Valley, South Wales, an area already hit by mass unemployment.

Frank Cuthbert spoke to Penrhawceiber NUM Lodge secretary Jimmy Evans about the closure.

Why do the Coal Board want to close Penrhawceiber? Purely on 'economic grounds' as they say. But the evidence produced by

economist Andrew Glyn (for the NUM during the strike) shows the colliery is a viable proposition to the government. It's a resource that the country can ill-afford to lose. For example, this week we have increased the production two-fold

compared to earlier months.

Obviously we had our problems in the earlier months, because we were installing the face, and we were only working on one face. The colliery's losses were therefore relatively high which were expected by the coal board. But now we are coming on stream to what was projected earlier in 1983.

And the men at the pit voted to support the union stand in opposition to closure?

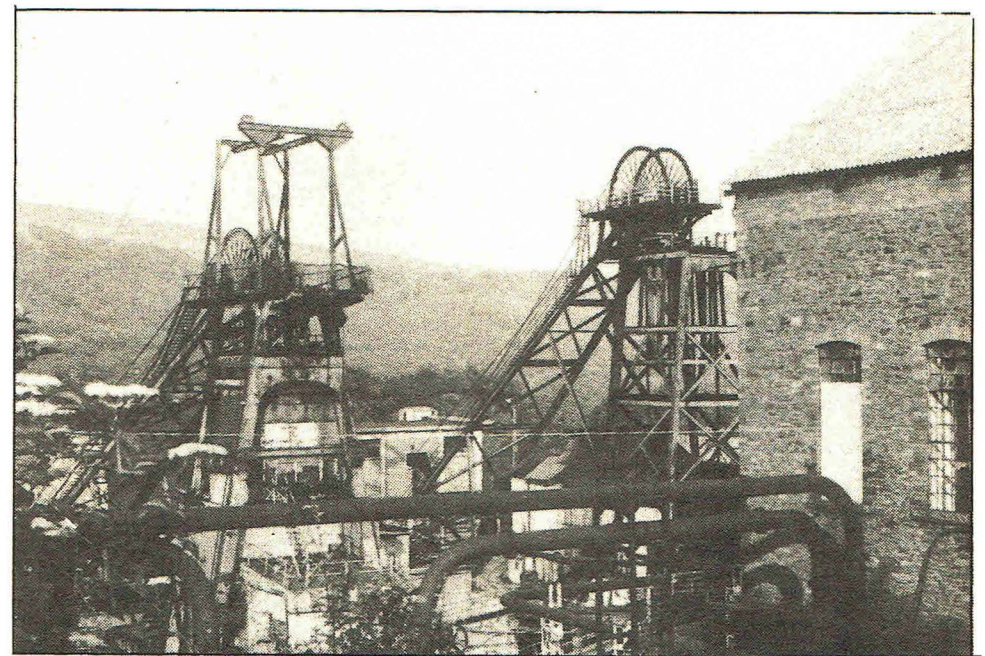
We had a general meeting of the membership on 10 August. The vote for opposing the closure was in the region of two to one.

What does the NCB propose to do with the men who work at the pit?

There are 465 NUM members at the colliery along with NACODS, COSA and BACM (management) members, totalling around 550.

They say that there are jobs available in six other collieries, and those that want redundancy can have it. But the point is the Cynon Valley has the highest male unemployment throughout the whole of Wales, about 28 per cent. The NCB say that there are jobs available elsewhere, in the Merthyr Colliery for example, but the Cynon Valley can ill-afford to lose 550 jobs. We are the most deprived area at the present moment, anyway, and its now the period that youngsters leaving school are looking for work.

Not only that, but it will



Penrhawceiber colliery, threatened with closure.

obviously have an effect on neighbouring collieries in the other valleys. It would not be creating more jobs in other places. It would be a one-for-one basis; a man would be made redundant in the Deep Navigation or Merthyr collieries and a man would be transferred in from Penrhawceiber. Where do Merthyr Valley's school leavers go?

If Penrhawceiber were to close then the only pits left in the Cynon Valley would be the Lady Windsor right at the base of the valley, and Tower up at the top. What other opportunities are there for jobs for young people in this central part of the

Cynon Valley?

There are no jobs available. There are very few jobs anywhere in South Wales. The unemployment rate in all the valleys is high but the Cynon Valley is probably the highest in Wales, there is no other industry in the Cynon Valley. There is one little factory just down the road which primarily employs just women. There are no jobs for males.

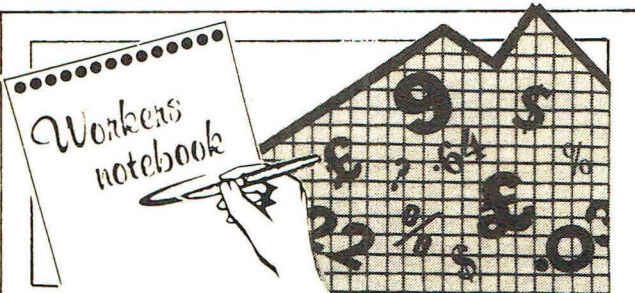
Do you think this closure vindicates the NUM's recent stand and the 12 month strike?

It may well be the NCB are now being vindictive. There again, we are prepared to take the NCB on and we will

endeavor to prove them wrong. This colliery could be a viable one and we will do everything in our power to oppose the closure.

What would your message be to those miners in different parts of the country who are considering breaking away from the NUM?

Anyone, in whatever part of the country should stay with the National Union of Mineworkers. Any divisions in the membership will create havoc and the NCB would use it, with their tactics of divide and rule. We must have unity and my advice to anyone is—stick with the national union.



FRIENDS IN high places are helping the coffers of the SDP. David Sainsbury, financial director of the supermarket chain and Sir James Spooner are spearheading the party's drive for backing from big business. Sir Spooner holds directorships in the Vantona Viyella (textiles), Hogg Robinson (insurance), Morgan Crucible (manufacturing) and John Swire (shipping) companies, who between them have donated £12,000 so far to the SDP. The SDP's other major financial backers are the Commercial Union, General Accident and Norwich Union insurance giants, who are obviously hoping to insure against a landslide Labour victory.

THERE WAS a massive increase in the number of working days lost through strike action last year. Whereas in 1983 the figure was 3.8 million, in 1984 it was a staggering 27.1 million. The momentous miners' strike—the biggest mass strike in British, US and European history—accounted for 22.5 million days, but the remaining figure still shows an upturn in the class struggle.

INDUSTRIAL REPORTS

Northern Ireland ambulance win

A SEVENTEEN-day strike of ambulancemen in Northern Ireland has ended in total victory for the workers.

The strike started in the Western Health Board in Derry and quickly spread to other areas. For the first time controllers and drivers were on strike together.

Over the last six years cut-backs by the government have led to undermanning and a deterioration in the ambulance service. As M. O'Connell a shop steward said: "People seem to think there is an am-

bulance with their name and address on it, ready to collect them any time they are sick.

"In reality every Thursday and Friday night. There are only two ambulances on duty to cover an area from Limavady to the Glenshane Pass as well as Derry City.

"Over 150,000 people live in this area. If both ambulances are out on call and an accident happens we have to call an ordinary taxi to bring them to hospital."

Morale in the service has reached an all time low as

management have taken an increasingly dictatorial stance on discipline and other matters.

For months the men have been trying to hold a meeting with the Board Manager to iron out grievances, without success.

The boot is on the other foot now. One of the stewards said: "We won hands down and management have been forced to eat humble pie".

By Aidan Campbell
(Derry YS)

British Telecom pay shareholders — make them pay workers

BALLOTING OF National Communication Union members on their pay offer started on August 27, with a recommendation to reject and to take industrial action.

Before the union started to ballot, all supervisors in British Telecom (on the instructions of Headquarters) were instructed to hold meetings of their staff, to persuade us to accept the offer.

Many supervisors don't like being used as management propagandists, especially as they haven't seen their pay offer yet, and their offer depends on what the NCU get.

BT management's 'final' offer of 6.75 per cent commits the union to co-operation on all aspects of new technology, flexibility of labour, abolition of nationally agreed grading ratios and upgrading of clerical grade job descriptions, resulting in reduced promotion prospects and all for no extra

money.

What management don't mention is that profit per employee rose by 53.3% last year, and nothing will have to be borrowed to finance this year's massive investment programme.

After five years of pay rises which hardly kept pace with inflation and savage attacks on working conditions, NCU members are eager to hit back at management.

BT say they can afford no more, yet £275 million has been set aside for shareholders dividends. They money is there, the NCU must force it out of management by delivering a resounding vote in favour of industrial action.

By Clive Walder
(NCU Brighton Clerical Branch, personal capacity)

No civil service 'good behaviour'

FOLLOWING THE threat of industrial action against attempts to introduce 'merit pay' in the DHSS (see *Militant* 760) Broad Left supporters on the executive of the Civil and Public Services Association have succeeded in getting the plan shelved till at least April 1986.

While this is a victory there is no room for complacency. The opportunity must be seized to prepare opposition to future management plans to resurrect the scheme. The executives of the civil service unions—the CPSA and SCPS—must campaign in the 1986 pay negotiations for a substantial

increase to take civil servants out of the low pay bracket and not make them susceptible to management's incentives schemes, which will be used to cut jobs and conditions.

Four regions—London North, North East, North West and Midlands—were chosen by management for the pay merit scheme. These regions must send resolutions to their regional committees and the CPSA executive for, as a first step, a meeting of reps from all the selected offices to discuss the issues and formulate their response.

'Society' Broad Left backs up GCHQ

THE FIGHT for trade union rights at GCHQ is still alive and kicking. That was the message recently given by a Society of Civil and Public Servants member from Cheltenham at a union gathering in Cardiff.

He was full of praise for the SCPS Broad Left leaflet at the Eastbourne National Conference which persuaded the NEC to issue a categorical denial that they would ever

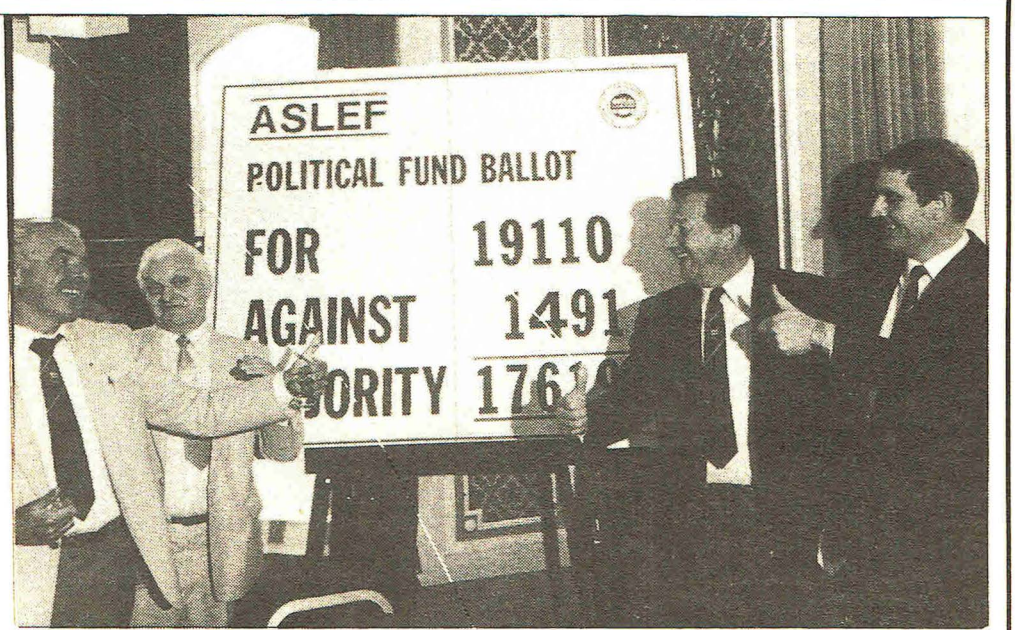
entertain a 'ring fence' at GCHQ.

A so-called 'ring fence' around all members who had currently declared themselves to the exclusion of other joiners or potential joiners was ruled out of order by the SCPS Broad Left intervention at Conference.

SCPS Broad Left believes that there must be no question of any kind of climb-

Ballots back Labour

The best result yet in the union political fund ballots came with ASLEF's resounding vote in favour. The seamen and Transport Salaried Staff have also voted in favour. The Tories attempt to break unions' Labour link has rebounded badly



down over GCGQ. We utterly reject suggestions of repayment of the £1,000 and the so-called 'ring fence' as topics for 'negotiation'.

In the event of any trade union member at GCHQ being disciplined or sacked SCPS Broad Left calls on all members to participate in immediate action.

Council of Civil Service Union leaders must ensure that this action leads up to an all-out Civil Service strike and this Civil Service action is augmented by a one-day TUC—led General Strike.

By SCPS members in Cardiff

Silentnight lobby TUC

TRADE UNION members representing the 500 sacked Silentnight bedding workers were in Blackpool this week, lobbying the TUC conference for support for their 13 week-old strike. An emergency resolution in support of the strike is on the conference agenda.

Last Friday a delegation of pickets visited Liverpool. Gerry Cumiskey, a Silentnight shop steward, said how impressed they were by the work that had been done by Liverpool council: "We were very warmly received and we made contact with a number of union stewards who pledged their support".

Labour MP Dennis Skinner and Euro MP Bob Cryer also spoke at a rally held in Keighley last Saturday.

Charlie Gee, FTAT convenor at Bar-

noldswick, Lancashire, commented: "We are pleased to see the class struggle is being taken up by the Labour Party and trade unions nationally, and this has increased our determination to fight the vindictive bosses at Silentnight".

He added that one result of the strike was that 20-odd workers at the previously non-union Lay-e-zee factory in Batley, West Yorkshire, have now joined FTAT.

Messages of support and donations to: FTAT Cravendale Branch no 92, Ann King, 10 Rainhall Crescent, Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancashire.

By Linden Stafford
(Skipton Labour Party)



The steel union, ISTC has consistently failed to mount a militant fight against closures—the same mistake must not be made over Gartcosh and Ravenscraig.

Scottish steel battle plan needed

THE SCOTTISH TUC steel conference convened to discuss the announced closure of Gartcosh also announced that Thatcher is to visit the Ravenscraig steel plant in Motherwell.

By Patric Muir
Motherwell South LPYS

350 delegates attended, speakers ranged from Hamish Morrison who is the chief executive of the Scottish Council for Development and Industry to the Reverend Maxwell Craig. These two speakers indicated the nature of the campaign—broad-based and non-political.

Ravenscraig convenor Tommy Brennan said: "My members hold all sorts of different beliefs and I will

not allow political point-scoring to jeopardise this campaign."

He asked of Thatcher: "How many times must representatives of all our political parties, church leaders, commercial and industrial investors gather to say 'no'?"

As he spoke the announcement came through of BSC's decision not to invest £90 million in new coke ovens at Ravenscraig but instead buy time by installing sylvate welding techniques in the existing ovens.

Much concern was raised from the floor of the conference about these remarks, Jimmy Arlie of the AUEW voiced the concern of the majority when he asked Brennan if he didn't think his statement had been ab-

surdly naive when BSC's actions were clearly at the political behest of Thatcher's Tory government?

Johnny Walker of ASLEF demanded: "Greater identification of the steel workers themselves", pointing out that their own performance in self-defence in the recent past left a great deal to be desired.

It requires no crystal ball to forecast BSC's intention to close Gartcosh in 1986 and Ravenscraig in 1988. It is vital therefore that the lessons of past campaigns and the steel leaders' role in the miners' strike be learned.

The workers leaders' must see that slavish co-operation in increased productivity and output has failed to save the industry from the bosses axe.

The future of these steel

plants and indeed of the steel industry in Scotland lies in a campaign of industrial action. It must also be backed by a massive political drive to remove the dead-hand of right-wing control in the steel plants and national union which handed workers on a plate to management.

BSC warning

THE 1984/85 Steel Corporation accounts warned: "The underlying trend confirms our view that we could be reaching a plateau in the profit attainable...to achieve commercial viability...further changes in our plan configuration cannot be avoided". That means closures—to add to the 100,000 job cuts in the last five years.

Swan Hunter occupy for shipyard future

THE OCCUPATION of Swan Hunter shipyard on the Tyne began on Monday.

Over the weekend the men had made proper arrangements by welding the main gates together and taking over the gatehead so that no one could get in without their knowledge.

A mass meeting had been called for Monday morning and by 7.30pm practically every worker from the yard was there. A huge banner proclaimed: "Now under workers control".

It was a very orderly meeting with no one looking for trouble but underlying this was a mood of determination, a feeling that this time they wouldn't give in without a fight.

Management have said that they are prepared to discuss the situation with union representatives, but only on the conditions that the occupation is ended.

Previous talks with the management have proved futile, hence the occupation, and without concrete proposals from the bosses this struggle could prove to be

By Lynne Collins
(Secretary Wallsend Women's Section)

long and hard.

Unless the dispute can be resolved within the next few days, shipyard workers will be looking to the rest of the Labour movement for support.

Already there have been offers of help from Wallsend women's section and the LPYS as well as local trade unions.

The labour and trade union movement throughout the country, particularly other shipyard workers should begin preparations now to aid the Wallsend workers if they proved to be needed.

Shipbuilding has already been decimated by past job losses and closures. Without a fightback Wallsend could be faced with the collapse of shipbuilding on the Tyne.



Main gate at Swan Hunters in Wallsend—workers are staying in, not coming out this week

Llanelli guards victimised

ALL BRITISH Rail guards here at Llanelli are still sacked, irrespective of the individual discussions with management.

Management encouraged these discussions with a view to undermining the position of the national union.

The mood is still determined, however. The issue is far from dead as far as the rail industry is concerned—ASLE&F members have been threatened with the sack today for refusing trains under driver only operation. 150 trains nationally failed to run.

We've got to stick together. The BRB are using sacked guards to hold the NUR to ransom over productivity to bulldoze their cost cutting through.

Reinstatement has been linked to produc-

tivity and that affects all railworkers.

Productivity means working harder for less money, job losses and low pay rises.

Llanelli is all freight, management have kept the yard shut purely to keep the guards sacked as a blackmail tactic.

The Rail Board have used DOO to weaken and split our ranks for a final onslaught on the rail industry.

The real issues should be explained and discussed amongst all our members in the run up to the SGM on 12 September. It's Llanelli today, you tomorrow.

By Wayne Saunders
(Llanelli NUR)



Back the miners

Unity meetings

ARTHUR SCARGILL was on the stump in Notts and Derbyshire over the weekend of 24/25 August.

He spoke to a meeting of about 500 in Hucknall, Notts, on the Saturday. With about a fifth of the audience composed of miners who worked through the strike Scargill attacked the hypocrisy of the Coal Board and those engineering the split.

They may talk about a new breed of high paid miner in order to defeat the NUM, he told the meeting, but there will be very few of

them. And, he warned, the Monopolies and Merger Commission Report had said that Notts miners were already 20 per cent overpaid.

One working miner asked Scargill if those who had worked during the strike would be discriminated against by the union. Scargill's response was unequivocal—"We don't practice apartheid in the NUM."

On the Sunday he spoke to 250 at Newhall Labour Club in South Derbyshire, along with NEC member Bob McSporrnan.

Lynk and Prendergast, both speakers pointed out, have so little confidence in their ideas they have refused to defend them on public platforms and have tried to stop meetings with NUM speakers—so much for freedom of speech!

Scargill summed up the need for unity: "If the NCB bosses, the Tories and the media want a breakaway, there can't be a better reason for staying in the NUM."

He was given a standing ovation and most miners put their names down to be sent further details of the NUM campaign.

Reports from Gary Freeman, Clive & Glyn Jones.

Women against closures

AUDREY JONES, a Lancashire delegate to the Women Against Pit Closures national conference gives her views of the conference to another Lancs delegate DELIA HAZRATI.

"I WENT to the conference so we could put our viewpoint about how women against pit closures should be run; how to continue the fight against pit closures; to win reinstatement of the sacked miners and freedom for imprisoned miners; and to keep the NUM national.

"I thought some delegates gave good ideas about how WAPC should be run. I think scab wives should get

involved. We need to find out all the reasons why they went back and learn from them. The 'conference' reminded me of a rally. There needed to be more debate.

"The imprisoned miners and pit closures are issues that need something done now. I would like to see more done—like the women going out to the closing pits and getting in touch with the miners. A national and area lead is needed in Lancashire.

"I think another WAPC conference in September would be a good idea to get all areas together on pit closures and for all of us to bring ideas together."

rebuilding of the Triple Alliance, but not just between the leaders, but from the bottom. We saw that in the strike—the steel workers at Teeside collected for us and supported us down the line, but we didn't get the same from the leadership.

I want to maintain the links with the other trade unions locally. Durham NUM, if I had my way, would start building those links straight away.

We need a Labour government that has a real fuel policy, which is prepared to

invest and expand the coal industry. We must be prepared to play our part in getting it. The NUM must also have a part in determining policy.

I remember Harold Wilson once came to the Durham Gala, he promised us all sorts. Days later in Parliament he announced the building of a nuclear power station at Seaton Carew. We have got to make sure we have a leadership prepared to carry out their promises.

Mirror stand-off

MAXWELL'S MIRROR confrontation may be over for the moment but it must serve as a serious warning about the future of the print industry.

Maxwell has temporarily withdrawn his threat to shift production of Mirror Group Newspapers out of Fleet Street. The deal, on balance, represents a victory for the NGA.

But the speed with which the crisis blew up shows the knife edge on which labour relations in the print rest.

Two things held Maxwell back. He does not yet have alternative printing facilities for the MGN titles. Refusal to make a deal with the NGA this time would have meant ceasing publication for months, possibly a year or more.

The refusal to print the Mirror papers by NGA members at the Worthy Grove plant in Manchester he is in the process of purchasing probably just held Maxwell back from taking the plunge into all-out confrontation.

If he had succeeded in getting them to print his papers Fleet Street could now be entering the most decisive battle in its history.

NGA national officials appear to have just held the line in Manchester and subsequently made a fairly good deal over the *Sporting Life* at which the dispute began.

This title, on which Maxwell claims to be losing millions, will be sold and the three hundred workers transferred to other jobs.

More crucial however, are Maxwell's continuing plans to move out of Fleet Street. A new docklands site has been mentioned, the old *Reveille* site in Southwark and even the existing BNPC plant in Park Royal, site of a bitter dispute over printing of the *Radio Times*.

One thing is certain. With the hot breath of Eddie Shah's new daily on their necks the Fleet Street proprietors are preparing battle plans to destroy the heart of print unionism.

It is high time we saw similar preparations by the print unions and the entire labour movement. Unless a united strategy is agreed soon the future looks grim.

THE LABOUR Party Young Socialists and Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign are organising a series of public meetings during September in the Durham area on 'A strategy for the NUM'.

Speakers will be: Dave Hopper (Secretary, Wearmouth Lodge NUM, and Area exec.) Billy Stobbs (NUM NEC member for Durham) LPYS speaker

DATES AND VENUES
7.30pm Tues 10th, Sacriston Community Centre, Sacriston
Wed 11th, Chopwell (venue to be arranged)
Thurs 12th Sunderland (venue to be arranged)
11am Saturday 14 Sept
Speakers: Arthur Scargill, Dave Hopper, K. Miles (YS) Peterlee College, Peterlee
Tues 17th Stanley (venue to be arranged)
7.30pm Wed 18 Washington Miners Welfare, Spout Lane, Washington
Thurs 19 Chester-le-Street (venue to be arranged)

Durham left campaign

BILLY STOBBS, the miners' NEC member for the Durham area who is a left candidate, along with David Hopper, for the two full-time union posts up for election in the Durham Area, talked to Kevin Miles about some of the issues of the strike.

WE HAVE seen the young lads politicised and that's something we have got to

develop.

We are opening up our lodge meetings. In Easington we are now organising meetings on Saturday mornings so everybody can attend.

I want to develop the young lads' interests by setting up youth committees both at lodge and at area level. It's very important to maintain the education of younger members.

The women as well, there has been a change there. They are now much more away of their power. I was strongly behind the proposal to give the women associate membership of the union, in fact the Durham area voted for it at the conference.

We must also strengthen our links with other trade unions. We need to get together to beat the Tories.

I'd like to see the

Militant

Liverpool council fights

See page 3

Liverpool cash to run out

THE CONFRONTATION between Liverpool Council and the Tory government over the city's finances sharpened this week.

The District Auditor is now apparently about to send surcharge notices to the individual Labour councillors and in addition, the council have indicated that their finances will run out in January.

Disqualification?

The District Auditor is expected to send notices of surcharge and disqualification from office to all 81 Labour councillors in Liverpool and Lambeth by the end of the month. This follows the refusal of these councillors to set a rate earlier in the year, with the result, the auditor claims, that the two councils lost a quarter of a million pounds of revenue.

Liverpool council has also informed its workforce

through their trade union representatives that the cash available to run the council is likely to run out in January. From Friday emergency measures are to be implemented to manage the financial catastrophe forced on it by the vicious financial cuts of the Tory government.

In consultation with the trade union Joint Shop Stewards' Committee a contingency fund has been established to ensure that finance is available to maintain emergency services. The staffing of these services will be decided on by the unions.

These measures drive home the full extent of the crisis facing the city. The Labour councillors are all personally threatened with bankruptcy and disqualification from office. The 30,000 employees and their families have their livelihoods threatened, as well as those workers who rely upon council services and contracts.

But, correctly, the council

refused to change its declared policy of no redundancies and no cuts. Liverpool has enough unemployment and social problems as it is, without the council meekly accepting Tory dictates to create more.

Solidarity action

But the council will not stand alone. From all over the country messages and letters of support have been received. Labour Parties in Lancashire and Wales have set-up support committees to prepare for solidarity action in support of the councillors.

The Liverpool Family Support Group set up to provide help for councillors and their families, organised a successful lobby of the TUC this week. In order to build up support nationally, a pre-Labour conference rally will be held in Liverpool on 21 September. Many more councils will face vicious Tory cuts next year and it is crucial that a na-

tional campaign be organised now behind Liverpool.

The resistance of local authorities has already worn down one Tory minister, Patrick Jenkin. Now Liverpool must be backed sufficiently by the movement, including the official TUC and Labour Party leadership, to see off his successor, Kenneth Baker.

By Dave Cotterill

MERSEYSIDE TRADE union and labour movement campaign committee conference, "Defend local councils under attack". Saturday 21 September 11am. to 4.30pm. Central Hall Liverpool. For conference credentials contact Andy Pink, Conference Organising Secretary, Central Support Unit, Liverpool City Council, Room 41, Municipal Buildings, Dale St, Liverpool 69 2 DH. Telephone 051 227 3911 Ext 517 or 525. (See details P.3).



Liverpool councillors on the march in June.

Photo: Philip Gordon (Reflex)

South African miners—keep up the support

THE SOUTH African National Union of Mineworkers' strike has been suspended after mass dismissals and evictions from mine hostels.

Intimidations, arrests, and gun-toting policemen with tear gas and rubber bullets are apartheid's only "industrial relations".

The miners do not regard the suspension as a defeat. They had already forced huge gains out of Anglo-American where the NUM is most organised.

Gains won

Around 28,000 black mineworkers originally braved intimidation this week to strike against the other mining companies which refused to improve their pay offer to the miners. The action by the still very new NUM was one of the most significant developments in this last year of black revolt.

With the growing

rebellion in the black townships, among the youth in particular, this movement is gaining extra muscle through linking up with the growing trade union movement.

The NUM's rapid growth in very difficult circumstances is a living tribute to the self-sacrifice and heroism of the mineworkers and the union's dedicated leadership nationally and locally. When the NUM threatened strike action over pay, against the state of emergency and the threatened repatriation of mineworkers from outside South Africa, the bosses in the Chamber of Mines were split.

In particular the Anglo American company retreated and offered almost the full NUM demand. Others, particularly Gencor, Gold Fields of South Africa and Anglovaal offered little or no further increase.

When the NUM called out

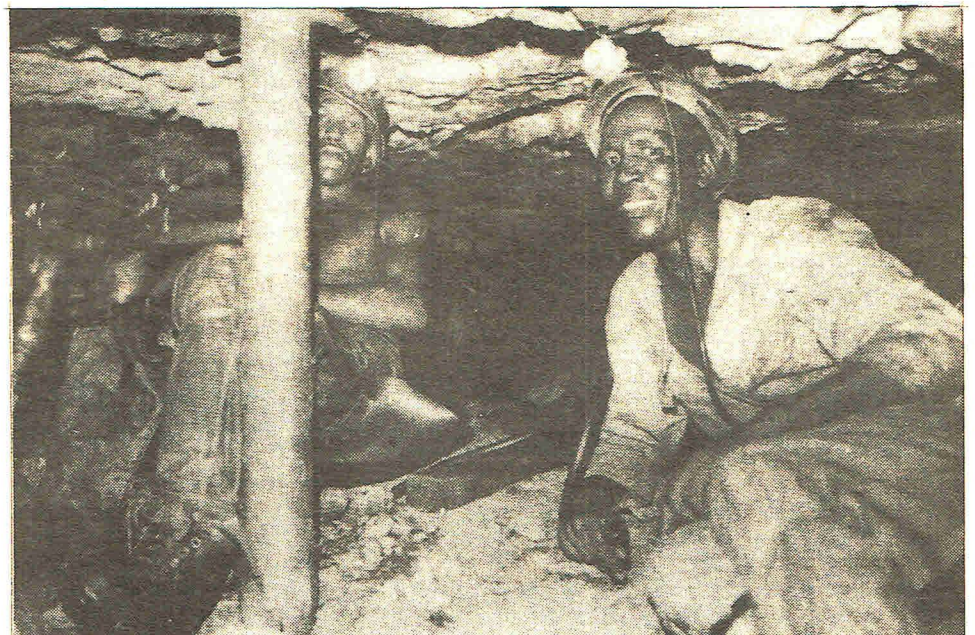
workers in the recalcitrant companies, the bosses planned to crush the strike. But more than 6,000 miners came out at the Beatrix mine in Orange Free State, despite the use of tear gas.

At the very profitable Kloof mine, the management of Gold Fields (a subsidiary of British-owned Consolidated Gold Fields) boasted how they had stopped the strike by "isolating" about 200 pro-strike leaders. Many were arrested by the compliant state machine.

Sackings and evictions

Rubber bullets were used against "disturbances". The NUM report that miners were being "escorted" to work at the point of a policeman's gun.

At the Deel Kraal mine, also owned by Gold Fields, management sacked 4,600 strikers. Other mines were starved of food and water,



Black mineworkers have faced enormous repression during the strike.

and miners were evicted. The NUM say they underestimated the degree of repression they would face. The miners, living in the hostels, were isolated from the support of their families in the townships and of the rest of the organised workers in the cities.

The NUM will still need full support. The union will be fighting to fully organise

all the miners of South Africa. But the economic crisis and apartheid's political weakness could push the regime and the ruling class to new depths of repression.

Fighting union

The NUM request for financial assistance must be kept up, to build up a

fighting mineworkers' union in the battle for freedom and socialism.

Donations should be sent to National Union of Mineworkers, PO Box 10928, Johannesburg 200, South Africa. The NUM's bank account is Barclay's Bank, Bree Street East, Johannesburg. Number 8001 659 294.



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