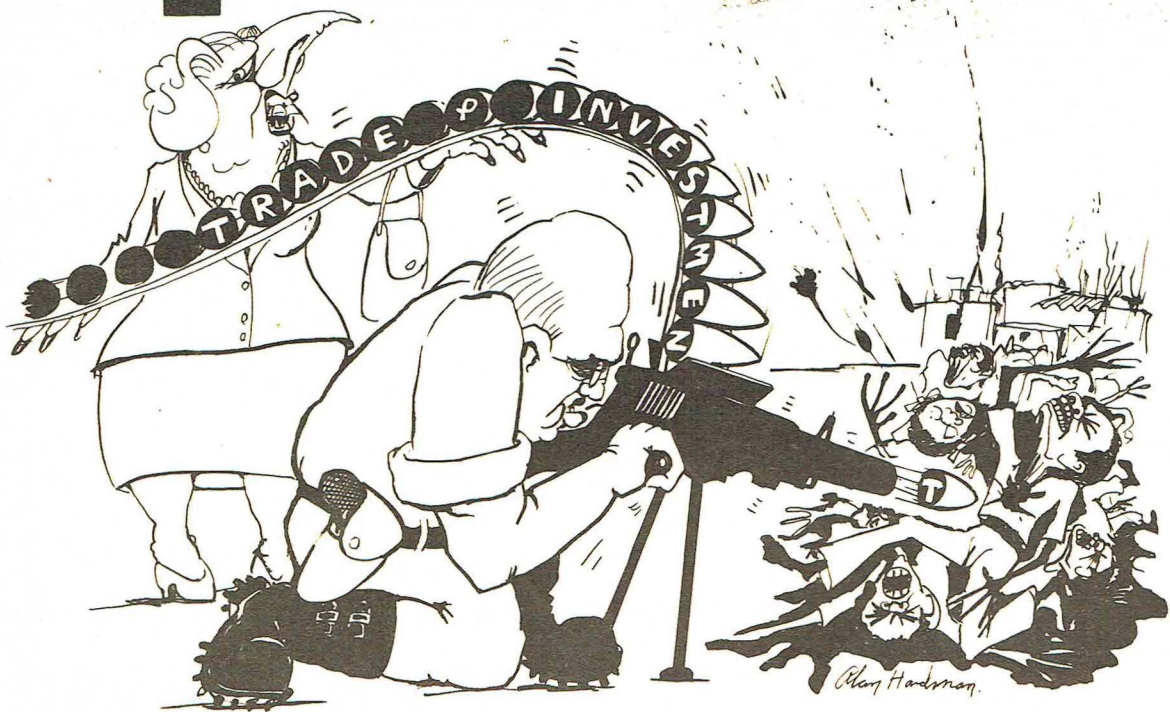


# Workers sanctions to fight apartheid



**MILLIONS OF** workers and youth defied the South African regime's new state of emergency, in the magnificent 16 June general strike. Despite the detention of the strike organisers and army and police saturation of the townships, it was 90 per cent effective in the industrial heartland of the Transvaal.

Called by trade unions, community organisations and the African National Congress to commemorate the savage murder of protesting school students in Soweto ten years ago, it was the largest political strike in the country's history.

Unlike the last state of emergency which

was concentrated against the youth activists, this clampdown has been aimed at the democratic trade unions too.

Possibly hundreds of union leaders from general secretaries down to shop stewards have been detained, a fact which television and Fleet Street have suppressed, to keep British workers ignorant of the real intention of Botha's crackdown.

The South African state is determined to break the momentum which was building up after 1.5 million celebrated May Day with strike action. The combined force of the organised workers and the revolutionary youth on 16 June was seen as a deadly danger by Botha.

The upsurge of revolution in south Africa and the worsening repression is building

strong support for sanctions in Britain. The latest opinion poll shows 51 per cent in favour.

In Parliament last Thursday I put forward an Early Day Motion warmly supporting the general strike and the demands for a non-racial education system, for one-person one-vote and calling on the international labour movement to take action against the South African regime.

The labour and trade union leaders must make a clear call for solidarity action, and fully support any workers threatened as a result.

We must follow the lead of the Dunnes strikers in Dublin who struck to stop the sale of South African products and became a focus for union action. In the past few

## South African trade union leader speaks

**MOSES MAYEKISO** has just been elected general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (MAWU). He is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the giant trade union federation COSATU and is also chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee.

He narrowly missed death recently when his house was fire-bombed while he was away at a meeting. Here he gives an exclusive interview to *Militant*:

*In the light of the state of emergency and the national general strike what do you ask of the international labour movement?*

The message of the stayaway, which was the biggest in South African history, is that the workers in South Africa will not be crushed by Botha's state of emergency. The international labour movement must be serious and take action to turn the screws on the South African regime. Botha won't be moved by a mere slap on the wrist.

If the international labour movement came to the assistance of the workers in South Africa, Botha would not proceed with his rash attacks against the workers and the trade unions.

### Action by workers

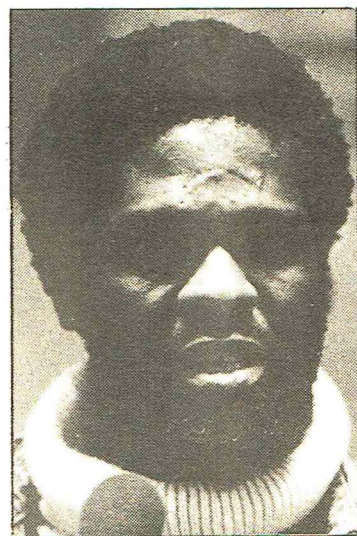
*The recent meeting of EEC foreign ministers once again failed to come to any agreements about what action to take against South Africa.*

*Do you think that any of the capitalist governments can be expected to take serious action against South Africa?*

It depends on the extent of their investments. Some countries, like Denmark, have stopped trading with South Africa, but those with huge investments will scream and scream about apartheid, but they will not pull out their investments. Internationally, the workers of South Africa can rely only on the working class.

*Big business claims it is against apartheid, yet they oppose one man one vote in a unitary South Africa. Why is this?*

Big business would like to see apartheid reformed but they only want petty reforms. The capitalists can put pressure on Botha to bring about some



Moses Mayekiso

changes. Botha is controlled by big business in the final analysis. The capitalists oppose one man one vote because they are afraid they would lose everything.

Apartheid was created by capitalism, eg the pass laws and the migrant labour system. The capitalists don't want fundamental change.

The capitalists speak against apartheid because of pressure. They don't care about the suffering of the workers.

*On June 16 Tony Bloom of Premier attended a commemoration church service in Johannesburg and afterwards spoke out against the state of emergency and the policies of the government. Can the liberal capitalists ever be regarded as allies in the liberation struggle?*

Never. The capitalists are the exploiters and plunderers of the country. They are the enemy of the working class.

*What kind of society are South African workers fighting for?*

Everybody is talking about socialism.

★ Moses Mayekiso has written to thank socialists in the Broad Left Organising Committee and SALEP for financial help for BTR strikers. See feature, page 5.

months Southampton dockers and Portsmouth hospital workers have also taken action.

We now need action at Heathrow against SAA, in BL, in the docks and elsewhere to suspend all trade with South Africa at the very least until all trade unionists are released, and the emergency lifted.

No confidence can be given to the capitalists' approach to sanctions. The Tory government is the main supporter of racism and exploitation in South Africa. Their only real concern is how best to safeguard the £12 billion British capitalists have invested in apartheid and capitalist misery.

By Dave Nellist MP

Continued on back page

# NEC's show trial

**FOUR MORE** Liverpool socialists have been expelled from the Labour Party in another marathon NEC meeting. 23 hours which Labour's leaders could have spent leading the fight against the Tory government was used instead in a show trial of party members with a long record of struggle for the working class.



**Derek Hatton  
EXPELLED**

DEREK HATTON, deputy leader of Liverpool City Council, was thrown out of the party without even the right to defend himself. Even legal representation was

denied to him. He was at crucial meetings of the City Council Finance Committee grappling with the financial crisis into which the Tory government have plunged the council. He saw his duty to defend the workers and tenants of Liverpool as more important than defending himself from trumped-up charges by Labour's NEC.

These meetings had been fixed for the second week in June by a resolution passed by the finance committee on 14 May before the defendants were notified that the NEC hearings would be on 12 and 13 June.

A move to get an injunction to restrain the NEC was refused by the High Court. His solicitor explained that Derek Hatton's appeal against surcharge and disqualification could be jeopardised if the

NEC found him guilty of disciplinary charges.

But the right wing ignored this and produced the 'evidence' against Derek Hatton. They claimed that he was involved in the establishment and encouragement of the Merseyside Action Group, which general secretary Larry Whitty said "in my submission is primarily there as a *Militant* supporters' front". What kind of court is it that accepts 'submissions' as 'evidence'?

On the charge of procedural irregularities by the Liverpool District Labour Party, the 'evidence' centred on the recommendations from the DLP to the council Labour Group on who should chair the committees. But when asked by Tony Benn and Frances Curran, the right wing

were unable even to try to answer why the other DLP officers had not been charged, including John Hamilton, leader of the group and DLP treasurer who actually moved those recommendations. In any case this democratic control over councillors is not an offence in the eyes of party members.

## Responsibilities

The only reply from Neil Kinnock was that councillors have legal responsibilities which they cannot give up to others that do not.

Opposing the expulsion, Tony Benn said that even Hugh Gaitskell had never tried to carry out expulsions on this scale. Yet the NEC voted 12-6 to expel Derek Hatton from the Labour Party.

## Lobby confrontation



Right-winger Gwyneth Dunwoody turns on Terry Fields MP at the Lobby

## Condemned by gossip

THE REPRESENTATIVE of the Labour Party Young Socialists on the NEC, Frances Curran, condemned the NEC's coldly calculated attempt to incriminate people. Roger Bannister was called before the inquiry to answer allegations made by an unknown person. Subsequently his answers were produced in transcript and submitted by Larry Whitty as the only evidence to expel him.

The democratic traditions of the party have been trampled underfoot and replaced by super-grass methods. This NEC should hold its head in shame for using methods like this.

But whatever methods the NEC takes, they will not convince the hundreds of Liverpool party members who will continue to fight for socialist policies.

## Madame Guillotine

RICHARD VENTON was surprised to notice that as he spoke to the NEC, Gwyneth Dunwoody was pre-occupied with her knitting—like the women who sat knitting while the French revolution guillotined its opponents. Did this mean she was hoping for a more drastic sentence for him than expulsion?

## Picton recruits

WHILE THE National Executive is trying to expel ten Liverpool party members, ten have just been recruited at a *Militant* public meeting in the city's Picton Ward. Fifty people heard expelled councillor Tony Mulhearn and donated £32 to the fighting fund. This is a ward where the local Labour Party has voted narrowly not to oppose the expulsions.

## Ian Lowes supported

THE GLASGOW No 40 branch GMBATU, covering cleansing workers, has voted unanimously to protest at the role of the union's leadership in the expulsion of Ian Lowes from the Labour Party. They also decided to support those branches threatened with investigation by the union.

## Militant

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## Ideas can't be purged

ON THE same day the brutal South African regime declared a state of emergency, Labour's NEC were engrossed in the expulsion of Derek Hatton and other Liverpool socialists. The NEC had no time to discuss the South African revolution, not even sanctions or solidarity action.

Tony Benn has summed up the prevailing mood of Labour workers: "They want to get rid of Thatcher; they want to rally round their leader for that purpose". The NEC are abusing these genuine feelings to try to suppress Marxist ideas.

If an idea has no relevance to the mass of people it will die anyway. However if it corresponds with what increasing numbers perceive to be their needs, then no amount of persecution can break it. The South African government enacted special legislation outlawing socialist publications and socialist organisations. Yet as the heroic black working class recognises the indivisible link between apartheid and capitalism, it is to socialist ideas that they turn.

Far less in the labour movement can ideas ever be purged, whatever happens to individuals who put them forward.

The Labour leadership wish to prove themselves trustworthy to capitalism and its kept press. They are intent on purifying the party of socialist commitments, and of those who will stand in defence of them.

Most of all the Labour leaders, unprepared to introduce full socialism, foresee rising opposition from the working class as a result of trying to operate capitalism in crisis. And the economic problems they will inherit will be far worse than 1974-79. They intend a pre-emptive strike against Marxism which will become a catalyst for resistance to any retreats by a new Labour government.

If Labour once again presides over wage restraint, public spending cuts and rising unemployment, then after a short time massive opposition will break out in the unions and the party, not least from those who had high hopes in Kinnock and the other leaders.

In Australia the right wing Labour government, under its prices and incomes accord, secured from the unions last year acceptance of less than the full inflation-indexed pay rise. Now union leaders are being forced to oppose prime minister Hawke's demand for a further cut in real wages. Half a million workers have already struck for a day in protest.

If under a Kinnock administration the ideas of right wing reformism are put to the test and seen to fail, then within and without the Labour Party and in the unions, the ideas of *Militant* will gain ever wider support. Workers and youth will be looking inside their organisations for those ideas that provide an alternative to the ravages of capitalism.

Only *Militant* in the labour movement even talks of complete socialist change. Its ideas for nationalising the 200 largest monopolies, of a planned socialist economy to overcome the laws of capitalist crisis, will appear as the only practical solution. On this basis for every one Marxist expelled from the party a hundred new converts will take their place. With every party member forced to reassess their ideas, those expelled members will be restored with honour.

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## "No return to days of intolerance"

PAT WALL, Labour's recently endorsed parliamentary candidate for Bradford North, has spoken to party members:

You will no doubt be as pleased as I am that the long running saga of Bradford North constituency is resolved.

I cannot say that the past five months have been easy. The long delay has allowed our opponents the opportunity for malicious propaganda of a Labour Party once again divided amongst itself. And I'd add that the expulsions in Liverpool, of *Militant* supporters and

others throughout the country are far more damaging than anything that has happened in the past.

I speak with long experience. I recall clearly the days of the '50s and early '60s of expulsions, suspensions, intolerance and the monstrous proscription list of organisations and journals, the attempt to expel Nye Bevan, the removal of the parliamentary whip from Michael Foot and others, for voting against the Tories.

I was the first prospective parliamentary candidate to be summoned before the NEC for over 20 years.

While I am deeply resentful about being summoned I have no complaints about the interview itself. It was conducted in a civilised, comradely manner.

At no time did I give any political assurance. My political views are of long-standing and I remain a conscious Marxist. I made it clear that I was opposed to the decisions of the 1982 and 1983 conferences aimed at policing the party and would continue to fight within the party for their reversal.

After all we have as much right to press the NEC to campaign for the implement-

ation of Clause 4 part 4 of the constitution as they have to demand others to obey Clause 2.

In Bradford we have a united movement. We have captured the District Council from the Tories and we have the most left-wing parliamentary candidates in the post war years. I look forward to working with Max Madden and Bob Cryer, to produce an overwhelming Labour victory.

By a Militant reporter

# expels four more

**THE PARTY** membership has fallen by 10,000, said Richard Venton, later expelled. But some people, not content with presiding over a loss of 10,000, are determined to make it 10,010 and then reduce it further by demoralising the members.

The Tories, he said, are in extreme difficulties, as are the Alliance. The Tories' difficulties should be Labour's opportunity—yet we are attacking one another. The Alliance campaign in Liverpool relied heavily on quotations from our party leaders, and in particular the deputy leader, against the Liverpool Labour Party to try and damage Labour and defeat its candidates.

Untold damage had been done to the morale of the party membership. He told the NEC that they were attempting to expel socialists in order to then ditch socialist policies in advance of the Labour victory at the next general election.

The Liverpool Labour Left had produced a circular headed 'Members meeting'. This was a group within the Labour Party which is separate and distinct but whose members are not up for expulsion. A paragraph in the circular headed 'Our man in Hardman Street' refers to Peter Kilfoyle who is supposed to be a party official. Yet the NEC seem to be turning a blind eye to and even collaborating with this group.

Another such group was Labour Solidarity. As Eric Heffer commented afterwards, the only difference between Labour Solidarity and *Militant* was that *Militant* had been more successful in convincing people, especially the young.

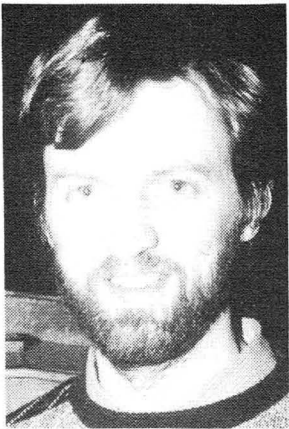
## Free speech

The Freedom and Fairness Campaign is supposed to be about freedom of speech, Richard Venton said. "If you start expelling people for speaking at *Militant* readers' meetings it is the thin end of the wedge". Those who have spoken at such meetings include Audrey Wise, Eric Clarke, Tom Sawyer, Dennis Skinner, Eddie Loyden and Arthur Scargill.

He also pointed out that Neil Kinnock spoke on a platform with Eric Hobsbawm, theoretician of the Communist Party, and at a 'Forward with the *Morning Star*' meeting, Peter Heathfield, Tony Benn, Ken Cameron, Bob Litherland MP and Barbara Switzer appeared. He reminded the NEC of former general secretary Jim Mortimer's statement that to write for, read and sell a newspaper is not grounds for expulsion.

"If you produce a Labour daily, I promise I'll write for it every day. You are not going to make the Labour Party a safe haven for the *Sun* scab who is the parliamentary candidate for Stevenage, and expel socialists at the same time", he said.

"I support the general policies of *Militant* and I am not afraid to say so. It will be a sad day for the Labour



Richard Venton

## EXPELLED

**SO IMPRESSIVE** was Richard Venton's defence statement that Tony Benn asked him for a clear and unequivocal undertaking to publish the text of what he said, because, in his judgement, it put the NEC on trial and the whole movement should read it.

Richard Venton forced the NEC to drop its prejudicial statement that it is "a matter of record and beyond dispute" that he was the editor of *Mersey Militant*. This was amended to leave only that he "contributed articles" which is not any kind of offence.

It was an incredible waste of the Labour Party's time and money, he said, that these kind of trials should be held. About £100,000 has been spent on the inquiry and the hearings. When did we see such a campaign on YTS, Chernobyl, and the print workers?

Party if I am not allowed to express the views I hold as a socialist." He said the articles he had written for the *Mersey Militant* expressed nothing else but the aspirations of the rank and file of the Labour Party.

He appealed to the NEC to drop the witch-hunt: "convince me that this is not a show trial, that this is a democratic party and then I will be able to go back to the Liverpool working class and cheer a victory for democracy, for socialism and for the future well-being of the Labour Party."

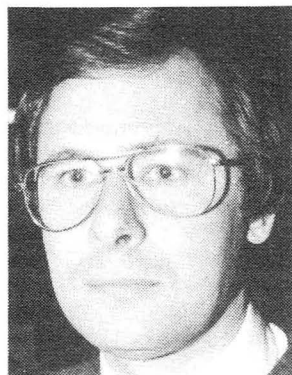
## Election

"If you expel me, it will be a political purge, because you want to rid the party of socialists before the election of a Labour government which will have to match its words with deeds."

After his expulsion, by 13 votes to 7 Richard Venton said: "It is absolutely disgraceful that when South African workers are rising in struggle against the jackboots of Botha, that the NEC should be using jackboot methods. Why are the Labour leaders not in parliament fighting for workers? I will continue to fight to build the Labour Party, as the only force capable of transforming society".



Angry words for Neil Kinnock from the lobby outside the NEC



Roger Bannister

## EXPELLED

**ROGER BANNISTER** told the NEC that his record was of serious work and loyalty to the Labour Party—not just for himself, but for other party activists. His expulsion should be stopped because on the basis of such flimsy evidence anybody in the party could be expelled.

He described his work in NALGO during the ballot for Labour Party affiliation when he had always worked within the union arguing for the Labour Party; in NALGO that is not always an easy task.

He drew the NEC's attention to articles in the *Morning Star* by Tony Benn and *Marxism Today* by Jo Richardson, and Joe Ashton's regular articles for one of the most disgraceful organs of the capitalist press, the *Daily Star*. His rights within the party are not being threatened.

## Activists

"If the NEC expel me today," he said, "those left wingers on the NEC should be warned that a process will be started enabling the expulsion of any activist who promotes ideas contrary to the NEC irrespective of their loyalty to the Party. If you can expel somebody for writing for a socialist newspaper, or for attending a *Militant* meeting or rally, then there are thousands of party members you can expel."

**IN ITS** haste to expel Terry Harrison, the NEC flouted the procedure agreed at the start. He was charged with both "membership of the *Militant* tendency" and offences connected with the running of the District Labour Party.

His legal representative said that no verdict should be reached on the first charge until the second had also been dealt with and this was agreed to. Yet after the NEC had heard the first case, they voted, by 12-5, to expel him and have yet to hear the second charge.

During the hearing Terry Harrison recalled his record in the party, from leading a strike of 7,000 apprentices in 1964 to when he was the European candidate for Liverpool in 1979.

He had joined Labour in 1958, supported Clause IV



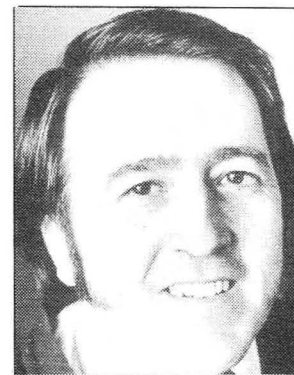
Carol Darton  
REPRIEVED

**ONLY IN** one case did the NEC draw back from a guilty verdict. All charges were dropped against Carol Dar-

## Edinburgh party's protest rises

**RANK AND** file Labour Party members in Edinburgh are becoming increasingly defiant against the council's ruling Labour Group. 300 members attended a special aggregate DLP meeting to oppose the decision of Labour councillors to elect soft-left LCC member Mark Lazarowicz as leader against the DLP's choice of Alex Wood.

The majority of speakers from the floor opposed the



Terry Harrison  
EXPELLED

and believed Labour was the only party capable of carrying out the socialist transformation of society. He had worked loyally for previous Labour MPs who had defected to the SDP. He had always been tolerant of other

points of view. The charge, he said was an attempt to steal his good name. "I have invested my adult life in the cause of the Labour Party. It upsets me to think that I cannot earn my living writing for *Militant* when other people, some in this room, can earn a very much higher income than I can from writing for papers which are opponents of the Labour Party."

"I accept all the rules and constitution of the party," he said, but no way am I prepared to compromise my views. At the end of the hearing, Terry Harrison was in defiant mood: "I still regard myself as a member of the Labour Party. I will campaign for my readmission. I am confident that I will be back in the party."

ton, when Alex Kitson, Sam McLuskie, David Blunkett and Michael Meacher could not stomach such absurd charges as those against this Labour Party member for only seven months.

It was alleged that she was involved in the Merseyside Action Group, which, without a shred of evidence, was said to be a front for *Militant* supporters. She said afterwards that the charges were based on vicious lies by the 'Black Caucus'. Yet Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley were still prepared to vote against the dropping of charges.

Party members wanted to know why the councillors had not declared their intentions at the DLP meeting only three days before the Labour Group AGM. The excuse that it was only after the DLP that the councillors realised that a majority of them were

points of view.

At the end of the hearing, Terry Harrison was in defiant mood: "I still regard myself as a member of the Labour Party. I will campaign for my readmission. I am confident that I will be back in the party."

IT WAS really touching the way the inspector on duty at the lobby of the NEC leapt to the defence of Sam McCluskie when he was being victimised by two traffic wardens.

McCluskie's car had been left unattended on a yellow line for over half an hour. The traffic wardens were just writing out his ticket, when the inspector rushed up and led them away. The wardens said afterwards was that 'he told us that he was taking care of it' and they didn't issue the ticket.

Delegates to the DLP met immediately after the aggregate and passed a resolution by 49 votes to nine which: "totally condemns those members of the Labour Group who ignored the wishes of the Edinburgh District Labour Party".

By Andy Clachers

## Liverpool City Council

# Fighting for equality

**THE COMMISSION for Racial Equality (CRE) intends to launch a "formal investigation into alleged racial discrimination by Liverpool City Council." This has received widespread coverage in the press where, not accidentally, it has been linked with the Labour leaders' purges in Liverpool.**

The present Labour council inherited from the previous Liberal administration an almost totally white workforce. The number of blacks employed by the city council is still totally unsatisfactory, with only 300 black staff out of a total of 31,000. The low representation of blacks is repeated throughout institutions and workplaces in Liverpool. In the Liverpool Health Authority for instance, only 470 are black out of a workforce of 16,000.

### Boycott

As the city's major employer, the Labour council has been determined to set an example and increase the intake of black staff, and implement 'contract-compliance clauses' with its contractors.

But at each stage the council has been blocked by the local NALGO leadership which is still boycotting Sam Bond, the Principal Race Relations Advisor. Meetings on race relations have been 'picketed' and prevented from going ahead both by NALGO and the Black

By Colin De Freitas

Caucus, and yet it is the very same people who have put pressure on the CRE to investigate the council.

The basis for this investigation is 'evidence' collated by the Merseyside Community Relations Council, which is dominated by the Black Caucus. MCR's senior community relations officer was an applicant for the post now held by Sam Bond.

It was reported in *Tribune* that Liverpool NALGO was the only branch of the union to oppose the external advertising of posts. This prevents a large number of applicants, and would be black employees from getting a job with the council. Other NALGO branches in different parts of the country allow external advertising to encourage more blacks to apply for vacancies.

The CRE is a conservative organisation run by middle class professionals, who are appointed and funded through the Home Office.

It owes its origin to the Race Relations Board, which

was set up in the sixties and has done very little since. It has rightly earned the contempt of the black population.

In its statement on the council, the CRE makes not one single reference to its substantial achievements in relation to the ethnic minorities in Liverpool. For instance, three of the seventeen priority areas in the council's urban regeneration programme are in Liverpool 8, the main centre of the black community.

### Home helps

This has resulted in 850 new homes in the area, with a further 460 in the pipeline. As part of the council's 'education for all' programme, they have appointed 17 race advisors in the 17 community schools, the only local authority to do so.

When the Liberals were in power, only 0.3 per cent of those in receipt of meals on wheels and home helps were black. That figure is now 13

per cent, a higher proportion than the black population itself. Not many councils would be in a position to make such a boast.

It was these achievements that resulted in the increase in Labour's vote in Granby ward in the recent local elections, at the expense of the Black Caucus' so-called independent candidate.

It seems that this government department is taking its initiative from Labour's leadership, creating a 'season of inquiries' into the Liverpool City Council as one means of attacking *Militant*.

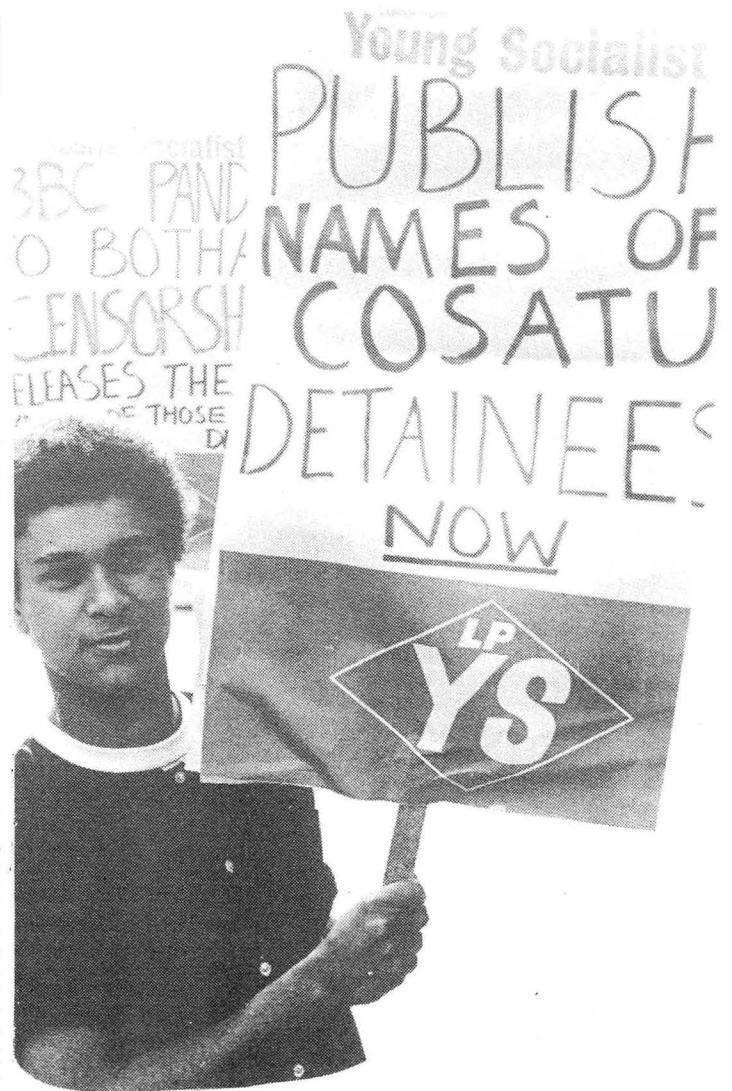
They see it as a possibility to undermine the labour movement in Liverpool without any real interest for the plight of Liverpool's black population. Needless to say they will find willing partners for this task in Liverpool from among the Black Caucus. For their part they hope that the inquiry will recommend the removal of Sam Bond and offer a few highly paid jobs for themselves.

## Murdoch's bill for union-bashing — £300,000 a month

**RUPERT MURDOCH** says he can't afford to keep the *Sun* and *Times* workers he has sacked. Yet the cost of hiring coaches and security guards to protect his Wapping workforce is £100,000 a month. Late deliveries of

newspapers cost News International £14,000 a month and the additional cost for TNT road haulage is about £200,000 a month—not to mention the extra cost of ratepayers' money for policing the area.

Over 40 London LPYS members picketed the BBC on 17 June against BBC's collaboration in South African press censorship. The next day the BBC approached the Southern African Labour Education Project (SALEP) asking for a list of detainees.



to freedom of expression. In other words it's all right to have freedom not to belong to a union, but not if you are a union activist and exercise your freedom to strike.

By Soraya Lawrence

# Knighthood for Thatcher's hatchet man

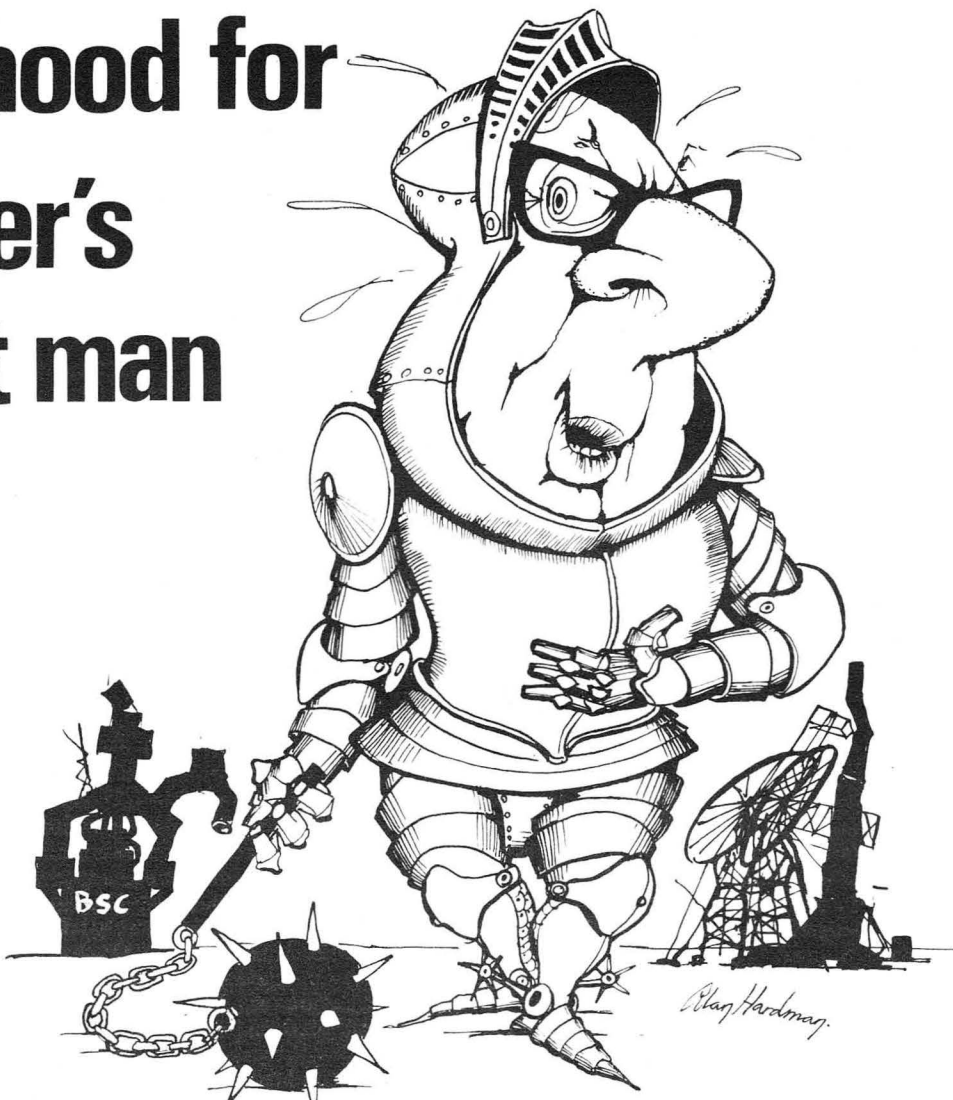
**IAN MACGREGOR'S** knighthood for services rendered to the Tory government has been condemned by the miners' president Arthur Scargill.

He told 1,000 Yorkshire miners, at a commemoration rally last Saturday, that Joe Green, killed on picket duty at Ferrybridge power station fighting to save jobs, was a martyr, while MacGregor has received a knighthood for destroying lives in the mining communities.

### Saving jobs

Neil Kinnock, speaking at the South Wales Miners' Gala said: "If you fight to destroy the coal industry you get a knighthood from Margaret Thatcher. But if you stand up to fight to save your job you are put in the prison of unemployment, kicked out of the industry and your union's funds sequestered".

Neil Kinnock's concern for jobs is at odds with his actions against Liverpool city councillors who have 'stood up' to save jobs. They have been disqualified from



office by the courts, their livelihoods threatened by surcharge and then 'kicked out' of the Labour Party.

He will be reminded of his role in condemning the striking miners and the Liverpool city councillors when Derek Hatton heads the Monkwearmouth delegation who will be leading this

year's Durham Miners' Gala on 12 July.

Meanwhile in the High Court, a decision last Wednesday to return the assets of the NUM to the union was held up for another fortnight while an appeal is heard against the decision that the receiver, Michael Arnold, should re-

main in his post until various charges against the union are heard. While the courts deliberate over union members' money, the receivership is costing the union £5,000 every week.

By Anne McKay

## Keep fascist sacked

LAST WEEK Lewisham borough council sacked a fascist activist who worked as a librarian.

Malcolm Skeggs is a leading member of the fascist British National Party. In the past he has been a National Front parliamentary candidate.

Members of the white-collar union NALGO wanted Skeggs to be sacked. He was in direct conflict with the council and unions' anti-racist stance in a borough with a large black population.

A few months ago a NALGO member working with Skeggs (who always refused to join any union) confronted him using the library photocopier to copy fascist propaganda. The NALGO member walked out, saying he was not prepared to work with a fascist. He was backed by a special meeting of NALGO library staff. Pressure from union members ended with

the council agreeing to sack him for his activities and for refusing to accept Lewisham as an equal opportunities employer.

Skeggs then miraculously "discovered" trade unionism and joined the minority white-collar NUPE Officers' Branch whose leaders now back Skeggs' complaint against the council, a slap in the face for black and Asian NUPE members. The mood of most workers is for Skeggs to be dismissed, though most people are wary of scenes like those at North London Poly over the Patrick Harrington affair.

Racism must be fought by a campaign showing the need for class unity, but active fascists cannot be allowed to thrive in local authorities and hijack the resources of local union branches.

By a NALGO member

**BLOC**  
BROAD LEFT ORGANISING COMMITTEE

### Fight privatisation

Saturday, 12 July

Digbeth Civic Hall Birmingham

Speakers include Dave Nellist MP

Only bona-fide trade union delegates accepted. £3 per delegate. Apply to BLOC, PO Box 464, London E5 8PT. Coaches from London: advance booking only. Fare £6 return. Contact: J Grikeitas, 25 Stirling House, Simmonds Roads, London SE18 6UP.

# Building international workers' unity in BTR

WITH THE world-wide attention focussed on the movement of the South African working class on the tenth anniversary of Soweto, it is a crucial time for raising the issue of South Africa in the labour movement.

To Marxists, international solidarity is not just a question of sympathy, but one of mutual support and common struggle. The 13 month-long battle at Sarmcol, a South African subsidiary of the British multinational BTR, provides a clear focus for building solidarity links in the interests of British as well as South African workers.

Previous issues of *Militant* have highlighted the heroic

struggle by 1,000 members of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), sacked by Sarmcol after legally going on strike for union recognition in April 1985.

From the start MAWU appealed for international union support. Among the many donations has been £200 from the Dunlop workers in Leicester, whose convenor and two stewards are interviewed on this page.

Over £200 has been raised at the GMBATU conference. The Labour Party Young Socialists have launched a national campaign to support the BTR strikers, which has included the leafletting of BTR's Letchworth plant and Dunlop in Newcastle. The LPYS in Scotland are holding rallies and youth festivals in support of the Sarmcol workers in Edinburgh on 25 June and Glasgow on 27 June.

These excellent examples should be followed in all areas to build the campaign and discuss the further action to be taken.

The clearest lesson of the

struggle has been the need for direct co-operation and links between BTR workers in different countries facing attacks by the same employer. This is underlined by the report on the struggle of Dunlop workers in Nigeria, reprinted here.

The present moves towards a BTR combine committee of workers' representatives in Britain, extended to form an international combine committee, would give workers an instrument of communication and common struggle that would strengthen them enormously in the future.



BTR workers on the march. During April, Dunlop workers went on strike in support of their BTR comrades, and are now planning further action.

IN BRITAIN, BTR has recently taken over Dunlops, forming each of its previous divisions into separate companies with overall BTR control.

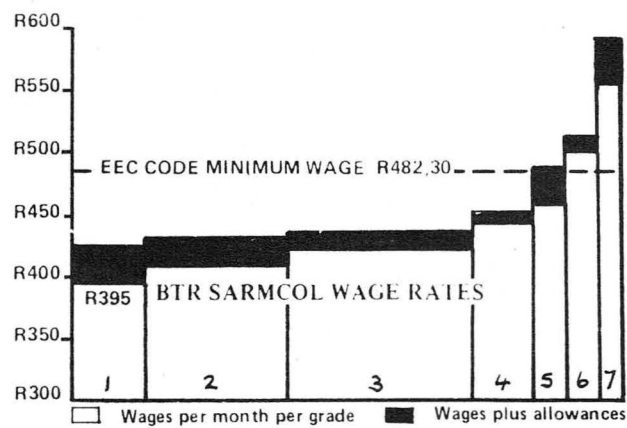
GEORGE LUCAS, TGWU convenor and stewards BOB SINGH and DAVE RICHARDSON at the Dunlop factory (now 'Metalastik') in Leicester, discussed the changes since the BTR takeover with STEVE SCORE and CLARE BARABLE.

BEFORE THE takeover, Dunlop wrote to all employees saying that they had agreed with BTR that all terms of employment would be protected. But once the takeover had gone through, the old redundancy agreement was withdrawn. This was worth three times as much as the legal minimum.

We then had a national ballot in all Dunlop divisions, and the shopfloor workers voted by 56 per cent to take strike action if necessary. At this plant they voted by 85 per cent to take strike action.

But our national union officers told us they had agreed with the company that new agreements could be negotiated in each division. When we took that to the management here, they told us we could only discuss it when redundancies occur.

However, the staff union (AUEW-TASS) is now in a redundancy situation, and they tried to talk to the management. All they got, on top of the state



This graph shows the poverty wages paid by BTR to Sarmcol workers—even less than the 'Minimum Living Level' required by the EEC code of conduct.

minimum, was £50 if you had worked here five years and up to £200 if you had worked 20 years.

The myth that you can negotiate at local level is a load of rubbish. In the Grimsby factory the management are saying exactly the same things. Because there was no redundancy agreement they got no volunteers from the staff. So now 50 members of the staff have been sent letters telling them they are redundant.

## Ballot

Because of these staff redundancies, we balloted the shopfloor with the proposal that we would not accept any enforced redundancies. We got 93 per cent reaffirming our previous branch decision.

BTR's attitude is shown by the fact that when one of them comes here from head office, they aren't prepared to talk to the workforce. It's like the old days of 'tip your

hat to the boss'. These people won't have anything to do with trade unions.

If they can break the agreement over redundancies then they can do the same thing to all the others. They are cutting everything, even the canteen. Over 900 people work here but they have cut the canteen down to seat 40. They have used the rest of the space to move offices in from over the road.

What is the mood of the workers?

The shopfloor workers feel that there will be further attacks in every direction, including pay. The mood is shown by the 93 per cent vote over enforced redundancies, even using government approved ballots!

We think that at the end of the day we will be forced into strike action and the shopfloor is prepared for it. Everyone is uneasy.

What action has been taken to unite the workforce throughout the BTR combine?

We have sent out letters to all factories where we have contacts hoping to get a response for a national shop stewards' combine.

BTR oppose national negotiations at the moment. All problems are supposed to be resolved at a local level. But the long arm of BTR is always there. You can only negotiate what BTR HQ allow you to.

The policy of BTR is to keep each group of workers isolated. But management's terms are always nationally directed. BTR would deal firmly with any local management who stepped out of line.

## Combine

We would be a powerful combine if we got together. There was a Dunlop's combine committee at one time, which ended in 1978. We were able to co-operate on things like a transfer of work from one factory to another. Work was only accepted if it was agreed with the shop stewards in the factories it came from.

This prevented us from breaking strikes in other factories. This can also work internationally.

One of the issues which could be raised by a combine is the dispute at BTR Sarmcol in South Africa, which we have already supported locally. A combine committee can be extended on an international level. A multinational company cannot be dealt with on a national basis, there has to be international union links.

## Nigerian workers determined to fight

IN NIGERIA Dunlop workers have also felt the crack of BTR's whip. The following is an edited version of a report first carried in the Nigerian Marxist paper *Workers' Vanguard*:

IN THE light of an increase in profits (at BTR) from 12.07 million naira during the whole of 1984 to N10.9 million in the first six months of 1985 and massive increases in tyre prices, members of the Footwear, Leather and Rubber Products Workers Union (FLRPWU) felt justified in claiming a 20 per cent wage increase.

A month after the claim was lodged in December, management wrote back to say: "the demand for a 20 per cent increment and many of your demands are in conflict with current government rules". These "government rules" include the freeze on wage increases imposed by the Productivity and Incomes Policy since 1982.

### Price increases

The same "government rules" forbid price increases on commodities without official approval. Yet Dunlop tyres sell for five times the controlled price! The "government rules" as usual protect profit at the expense of workers.

Management's letter ended with a promise to "give a first reaction within a month". Actually their response came six days later, on 18 January, and took the form of a lockout of 1,000 workers at the company's Ikeja plant.

As a result of effective grassroots mobilisation and a militant leadership which refused to give in to company intimidation, the workers were able to obtain the reopening of the factory on 30 January. On 13 February the Ministry of Labour's Industrial Arbitration panel was forced to order the company to pay full wages for the duration of the lock-out.

It is rumoured that the company intends to appeal to the National Industrial Court, but Dunlop Branch Secretary and National president of FLRPWU, Comrade P Asanba, said management can: "take the case to the moon. The workers are determined to battle on till final victory."

Since colonial times Dunlops and Michelin of France have made fortunes from tyres and motor accessories in Nigeria. From time to time they create crises in order to make super profits. Michelin shut down its Port Harcourt plant for six weeks in 1985 under the excuse of 'lack of raw materials', yet Nigeria is a leading producer of rubber. Through these tricks tyre prices have risen 300 per cent in three years.

The conspiracy of multinational companies is aimed at sabotaging the Nigerian economy and increasing workers' exploitation. The conspiracy will not end until such companies are nationalised and placed under the democratic control and management of the workers. This should be one of the fighting slogans of workers in Dunlop and the entire working class of Nigeria.

## LPYS campaign

THE LPYS have put forward the following programme of action for discussion with BTR and Dunlop workers:

- For a national conference involving workers' representatives from all unions in BTR plants in Britain to build support for the BTR workers in South Africa;
- Regular collections for BTR workers in Britain in solidarity with the strikers in South Africa;
- Build an international shop stewards' combine committee involving representatives of every section of BTR workers to

build solidarity and joint action for the future.

Full support for this programme has already been expressed by AEU Shepherd's Bush branch. It should now be taken up wherever possible in GMBATU, TGWU, TASS and other unions organising the BTR and Dunlop workforce.

MESSAGES OF support and donations to the strikers at BTR Sarmcol should be sent to: MAWU, PO Box 9451, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa.

## Visit BTR plants!

ARE ANY of these BTR companies in your area?

Graham Building Services; Pilkington Tiles; Pascon; Tilcon; Newey & Eyre; Summers Electric; Charlton Leslie; Facile Technologies; Permal; Serck; Audico; Worcester valves; Gascoigne Group; Climex; Apex Belting; BTR Farnington; Hi-Flex; Clarkson Group; Dust Control Equipment; Vokes; BTR Industrial Products; Leyland and Birmingham; Lonstroff-BTR; Peter-BTR; Hansen Transmissions; Vacu Blas; BTR Keenon; Fatati; Empire Rubber; Hertfordshire BTR; Rubber & Wheel/Lestor; International Radiator Services; Beaufort Air-Sea Equipment; Pretty Polly; Rest Assured.

Dunlop; National Tyre Services; George Angus & Co; Dunlop Semtex; Dunlop Slazenger.

LPYS branches are urged to contact shop stewards at these factories, to produce leaflets, hold public meetings about the Sarmcol strike, and organise collections for the strikers at BTR/Dunlop plants.

# Stalker stalked by MI5?

**THE DEPUTY Chief Constable of Manchester, John Stalker, has been suspended, quite a rare event for a top policeman.**

The residents of Broadwater Farm estate in Tottenham have seen no such action after the death during a police raid of Cynthia Jarrett last autumn.

Lancashire's top cops were only "advised" about their behaviour after evidence suggested that they were using agent provocateurs. These men allegedly set up crimes and then arranged for the arrest of the people lured into criminal activity by their own agents!

Stalker is suspended following allegations that he consorted with convicted criminals and was frequently seen with Tory politicians but more serious suspicions of corruption elsewhere have been ignored. Stalker was not disciplined for his force's well-documented involvement in the brutal treatment of students after a demonstration against Leon Brittan last year, or for his visit to Pinochet, in Chile some years back.

He has most likely incurred the wrath of his superiors for his work in the inquiry into the Royal Ulster Con-

stabulary's "shoot to kill" policy after a number of "suspected terrorists" were shot dead at RUC road blocks.

Stalker's report was not the whitewash the RUC wanted, it pointed accusing fingers at top RUC officers for approving the policy. He concentrated on the point-blank shooting of 17-year old Michael Tighe in November 1982, who had no criminal or paramilitary record, and no RUC intelligence file.

Stalker believed that military intelligence were either actively involved or acted as a back-up unit.

Many believe that MI5 helped set Stalker up because his report exposed their role in advising the RUC how to knock out suspect drivers at close range. Stalker was obstructed by RUC officers at all levels of his investigation.

Whatever the full story, the police hierarchy are turning on one of their own for showing too nasty a glimpse of "normal" policing in Northern Ireland.



The Royal Ulster Constabulary attack peaceful demonstrators in 1984. Is Stalker being victimised for exposing the RUC and MI5 tactics?

Photo: Derek Speirs (Report II)

## Tie the Tories in Notts

**SHOW YOUR anger at the Tories' policies of low pay and unemployment in Nottingham on 21 June.**

The Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign, supported by East Midlands LPYS, has organised a demonstration through Nottingham City Centre.

### YTS or low pay

The Tories have been a disaster for youth in the East Midlands. Over-all unemployment has now gone over 200,000, pushing 70,000 school leavers into slave-labour on YTS. Those at work don't escape attacks on living standards; two-thirds of Britain's textile industry is in the East Midlands, contributing to the lowest pay average in the whole country.

So far the response to the

campaign has been magnificent, with donations from 18 different CLPs, wards and DLPs and from 11 trade union organisations, including £10 from the NUR Midland District Council and £25 from North Derbyshire NUM.

Five thousand posters and 10,000 leaflets have been printed to publicise the rally and all the press and radio stations have been sent a press release.

Two 12-year old lads were watching us sticking up our 'Tories out' posters. One of them went to pull them down, but the other said, "hold it, that could be our only chance of getting a job".

By Richard Wheeldon (East Midlands, LPYS NC)



The Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign in action.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (Report II)

## Sell Militant

LAST WEEK'S lobby of Labour Party headquarters proved that the inquisition inside was very unpopular with the people on the streets outside.

On Thursday a magnificent total of 200 papers were sold to passers-by, and many also signed our petition and gave money to the fighting fund. Friday too saw dozens sold.

One new seller who lives locally sold 21 on the first day and 32 on the second, including a sale at the Elephant and Castle.

Most people who passed by knew who we were and why we were there. This shows the potential for

new sales around the country. This week especially provides us with a golden opportunity for building estate sales.

### New heights

In the World Cup period, sellers in Lambeth have been braving the heat and high altitude selling in their local tower blocks.

Recent media coverage has meant a better response than usual. In Hounslow 25 papers were sold on a street sale, while at Oakdale Colliery in Neil Kinnock's constituency, 20 were sold. All in all a good week for the reds!

## Left and Right

### Small change

**ADNAN KHASHOGGI** is reportedly the richest man in the world, having made billions through commissions on arms sales. He is just as nice as he sounds. He paid a woman £350,000 to provide himself and friends with call girls. His ex-wife Soraya sued him for £1½ billion for a divorce settlement.

He has a £50 million yacht with its own disco, cinemas, helipad and sauna. Even his £40 million aircraft has four bedrooms, three bathrooms, a kitchen, meeting rooms and cameras to see what's happening on the ground.

So it's not surprising that when Italian customs did not understand why he was carrying £100,000 in lira as loose change in his briefcase he finally said: "Look, if you want the money just keep it". One day some more left government than the present one in Italy will take him up on the offer, and they won't just take the war profiteer's small change.

### Maid in Russia

LIKE THE privileged everywhere, the pampered bureaucracy of the Soviet

Union don't like the messier side of looking after children. Nannies are coming into fashion—for those who can afford them of course, and wage differentials are high in Russia.

All the egalitarian principles fought for by Lenin and Trotsky are forgotten. But the ghost of Lenin occasionally seems to haunt the consciences of this elite. They never use the words 'maid' or 'servant'. Advertisers in the Russian press ask for housekeepers. Another ad asks for a houseworker to help what Kinnock would call a yupski complete his self built dacha.

### New pest in Budapest

ANOTHER STALINIST state which will have won new capitalist admirers in the last year or two is Hungary. Their state bank put up money for Eddie Shah's ill-starred ventures. Now the Hungarian government has given a contract to another scab operator Murdoch for his satellite TV service Sky Channel to provide the Hungarian people with constant soap from a dirty source.

## Support YTURC

THE YOUTH Trade Union Rights Campaign (YTURC) is a national body of YTS trainees, young trade unionists and unemployed youth.

YTURC was launched by the Labour Party Young Socialists with trade union backing. Supporters include Labour MPs like Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner, labour movement leaders like Arthur Scargill, Derek Hatton and Ken Livingstone and leading musicians like Paul Weller and Billy Bragg.

YTURC aims to build a mass campaign amongst working class youth to fightback against Tory attacks and prepare for the return of a socialist Labour government.

YTURC and the LPYS are campaigning for:

- ★ £115 at 18 (in line with Labour Party/TUC policy for a minimum wage to end low pay)

- ★ 35-hour week. No loss of pay (to reduce unemployment and share out the work)
- ★ Union rates of pay and conditions for all workers including YTS
- ★ A guaranteed job after education or training
- ★ A minimum grant of £35 a week for all in full-time education.

## March and rally

**Youth Trades Union Rights Campaign East Midlands Region March and Rally. Nottingham Saturday 21 June. Assemble: Forest Fields, 11.30am. Depart 12.00pm.**

Rally: Victoria Leisure Centre, Bath Street, Sneinton, Nottingham (50p entrance fee to help cover costs) Creche all day!

Speakers: Linda Douglas (LPYS rep on NEC elect), Jim Mason (Wapping print striker), Paul Astbury (Liverpool councillor), Dave Nellist MP, Tony Cox (YTURC secretary), John Dunn (North Derbyshire NUM, personal capacity), NUR speaker.

Plus! Film/speaker from South Africa: Nimrod Sejake, exiled trade union leader. 'Victory to the South African Revolution'. Disco/bands in evening, including: Broken Home, Tar Babies, 7.00pm.

# Social peace to public disorder

## The rising price of doing porridge

ONE side-effect of the Tories' policies has been to send the price of imprisoning soaring.

The past five years have seen an 85 per cent increase in spending on prisons. With a £360 million building programme for 16 new prisons by 1991 this is the largest growth area for government spending.

The Tories have decided on a novel way of making the workers pay for the system's crimes. Two-thirds of the prison budget goes on staffing so they are attacking the wages of prison officers.

This is what produced local industrial action at a number of prisons and the threat of national action earlier this year by the Prison Officers Association. The prisoners' protests cost £4½ million in damage.

The Home Office is reducing wages by cutting overtime. Lowering wages this way means cutting manning levels at a time when more staff are needed in explosive conditions.

A prison officer at Wormwood Scrubs told *Militant* there are already only nine officers there to guard 250 prisoners—in the maximum security wing.

And though wages of £16,000 a year have been quoted in the press he told us the basic is only £5,700.

The pressure on officers, working up to 70 hours a week combines with the overcrowded conditions to produce tension and pressure on prisoners and officers alike.

By Anne MacKay

UNDER THE party of 'law and order' crime has risen by 40 per cent since 1979.

The fundamental cause is crystal clear. From the days of virtually full employment in the 1960s to mass unemployment in the early '80s recorded crimes have doubled.

Despite a drop, even by official standards, in the detection rate—from 41 per cent of recorded crimes in 1979 to 37 per cent in 1983 the prison population has risen dramatically.

Britain's prison population now stands at about 47,000, second in Europe only to Turkey.

This reflects the overall rise in crime and poverty, but also increasingly repressive and heavy handed policing methods in the new mood of Thatcherite Britain.

11,000 miners were arrested during their year long strike. Hundreds have been arrested at Wapping.

7,500 peace protestors have been arrested since 1981, largely

around the women at Greenham Common.

Now we have para-military operations in the New Forest against a few harmless hippies and midnight swoops against Animal Rights activists.

It's hardly surprising the courts are clogged up like coastal routes on a bank holiday and jails erupting in protests by prisoners and prison officers alike.

*Militant* looks at aspects of British 'justice'.



Prisoners in Cardiff protest

Photo: John Harris (IFL)

## Three to a cell twenty-three hours a day

A MINER arrested during the strike, Nick Platek was remanded in Winson Green for eight days. He tells *Militant* about conditions in this old and terribly overcrowded Victorian monstrosity.

"They were bad enough for a week let alone for months or years.

"There were three prisoners to a cell twelve foot by nine. They were locked up for 23 hours a day with a one-hour walk in the yard, round and round in circles. This 'privilege' was sometimes withheld.

"Inside the cell you have to eat, wash and go to the toilet, which consists of a plastic bucket. For the week I was there we didn't have a shower at all due to lack of staff to supervise.

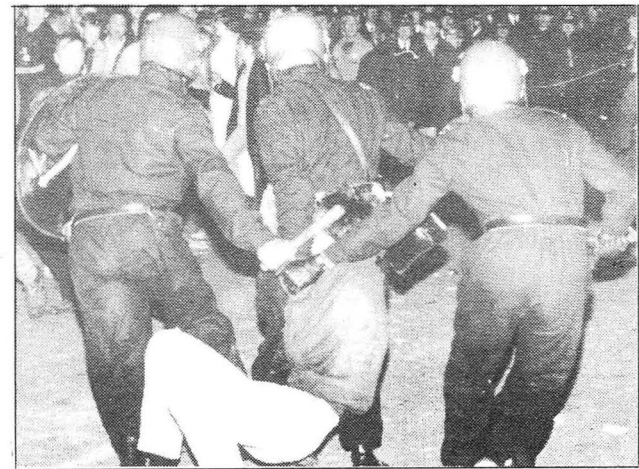
"Large numbers of prisoners are on remand waiting to be tried, or overflows from Borstals. The numbers and length of time in remand makes a joke of being innocent until proven guilty.

"Others are there because they can't afford to pay bills or huge fines—up to 40 per cent I'd guess from my experience. In our cell one bloke was in

for non-payment of child maintenance.

"Visits are rare. Already prisoners are only entitled to one visit a month—and this is an area of 'unnecessary' spending the government wants to cut back on.

"Facilities such as libraries, sports facilities, workshops and educational facilities lie idle due to lack of staff to supervise them, or workshops are found 'non-profitable.'"



Wapping: police in action

Photo: Howard Jones.

## Threat to democratic rights

IN THE wake of the apparent insanity which gripped the Tories and the press over a tiny group of hippy hang-overs, Douglas Hurd, Home Secretary, stated last week that he was holding discussions with: "the police, the National Farmers Union and the Country Landowners Association whether some further strengthening of the law is required and, if so, what form that change should take.

The Public Order Bill already going through parliament will strengthen police powers over public order offences such as breach of the peace, threatening behaviour and disorderly conduct, and extend these powers to cover private land.

### Riots

However, the Public Order Bill was not intended as primarily "hippy-bashing" legislation. The introduction to the White Paper of 1985 explained: "In addition to taking into account the riots of 1981 the government has been concerned to learn the lessons from other recent instances of major public disorder. These include not only the events of Southall, but earlier disturbances such as those at Grunwick's in 1976-77.

"During the review the most serious disorders have



Picket at Bristol docks—the target for Tory laws?

been associated with the 1981 riots and the 1984-85 miners' dispute; but many other public order problems have arisen, as a result of demonstrations by animal rights protestors, the Stop the City campaign, the anti-nuclear movement, the National Front, and the continuing disorder associated with football hooliganism."

It seems that Britain has become a very disorderly place—even without the hippies!

The Bill seeks to amend and update the Public Order Act of 1936, itself necessitated by the turbulent events of the 1930's, and in particular the anti-fascist marches organised by the labour movement in London's East End. The Home Secretary in 1936, Sir John Simon stated that: "It seems to me that it is a police subject. It has to do with the

regulation and control of the streets".

The Public Order Act of 1936 and the remodelled and updated proposals today are aimed primarily against the labour movement. The present government want to make sure that the new legislation is enacted before the next election. One of the main areas of concern is over demonstrations and rallies.

Present police powers to impose conditions and enforce blanket bans on demonstrations apply only to processions and marches. The power to impose conditions will, if the bill is enacted, be extended to cover 'static demonstrations' held in the open air."

**Veronica Patterson continues this look at the Public Order Bill next week**

## Fighting Fund

This week: £2,475

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Humberside	808		2300
2 South East	674		2400
3 London West	625		2900
4 London East	686		3550
5 Manchester/Lancs	796		4150
6 Scotland West	742		3850
7 East Midlands	553		3050
8 London South West	234		1500
9 London South East	320		2250
10 Merseyside	941		7000
11 Eastern	421		3450
12 Wales West	408		3350
13 West Midlands	465		4500
14 Scotland East	295		3200
15 Southern	262		3100
16 Northern	216		4550
17 South West	112		2150
18 Wales East	83		2150
19 Yorkshire	238		5600
Others	5293		5000
<b>Total</b>	<b>14172</b>		<b>70000</b>

RANK AND file miners showed their opposition to the witch-hunt last weekend at the South Wales Miners' Gala when £80 was collected on a petition against the South Wales Labour Party conference's decision to reverse its opposition to witch-hunts.

Why not take your petition sheet round your workplace, school, college, around your dole office or local housing estate.

Show Neil Kinnock that for each *Militant* supporter he expels, tens of thousands will sign our petition and boost our fighting fund. Outside Walworth Road last week supporters managed to collect £60!

However, you don't need

a petition to ask for a donation. Shaking collecting tins outside factory gates, on Saturday sales and anywhere else for that matter, provides cash.

Supporters in Yorkshire collected £1.80 outside a Post Office strike meeting and supporters in Bootle collected £1.50 outside the Girobank.

Don't forget to bring your rattling tins and stickers with you for the anti-apartheid demo on 28 June. Sell stickers, badges, sandwiches, etc on the coaches.

Thanks for: £85.27 from Glasgow supporters raised in their coach to Manchester low-pay demo; £63.25 from Jimmy Hall, Ribble, from a sponsored half-marathon—

any more fitness fanatics out there?! £14 from Shipley supporters on a World Cup sweepstake. Thanks to Charlie Hegarty, Strathclyde NALGO £7; £182 raised at *Militant* readers' meetings in Uxbridge, Acton and Hounslow; £117 collected at the Sogat '82 national conference, £2 from K Leach, £5 from Jean and £2 from R Knight all from Leyton. £22 after expenses from Oldham readers' meeting; £107 collected at Bakers' Union and FTAT conference; £50 from East London beer and wine sales. Thanks also to Betty Traun in New York for \$100.

By Ruth Campbell

# Bermondsey: revivini

**BERMONDSEY'S strong Labour traditions go back to the beginning of the century when West Bermondsey elected its first Labour MP, Dr Alfred Salter.**

By Bob Law

It was a reflection of the growing strength of the organisation of dock workers and the struggles of workers in the surrounding factories.

In Salter's day much of the slum housing was cleared by the Labour council, and replaced by houses with gardens built by union labour. A system of health care was established long before the NHS was set up.

Like Liverpool council today the Bermondsey Labour party had become a thorn in the side of the establishment, and with its radical policies, had made itself unpopular with the Labour leaders.

In 1964, when Labour was in control of the new Southwark council, the Labour Group was able to carry out moderate reforms in the boom years of the sixties. But with the onset of recession and economic crisis the reforms and house building came to an end. The right-wing Labour council under the leadership of John O'Grady could no longer deliver. They became increasingly entrenched and isolated, relying more and more for support on a clique in the party and a dwindling core of supporters outside.

## Move to left

The disaster of the 1974-9 Labour government had repercussions throughout the party, not least in Bermondsey. A minor revolution took place which, after a bitter battle, swept away the old guard including right-wing MP Bob Mellish.

The change was spearheaded by a new influx of mainly middle-class professionals, whose strategist was Peter Tatchell. They were supported by those workers in the party still committed to socialist principles, who opposed the Mellish O'Grady clique.

Party meetings were stormy affairs. Chairs were waved in the air by elderly party members and often the meetings would break down altogether. But eventually the right were overturned. Mellish was furious and berated the party for throwing out 'good long-serving members'.

The party's new commitment to reselection meant that a showdown with Mellish was imminent. But the battle lines were confused by personal acrimony and other allegiances. The right supported left winger Arthur Latham, and the left backed Tatchell who won by a narrow margin.

Tatchell's victory heralded a period of disaster for Bermondsey Labour Party. But the blame lies with the national leadership. The Tory press picked up on statements by Tatchell calling for 'extra parliamentary action'.

Under pressure from



**JOHN BRYAN, Labour's parliamentary candidate for Bermondsey spoke to *Militant*.**

‘The Tories have taken £130 million from Southwark council since 1980. Southwark is the tenth poorest borough in the country and that's according to the government's own figures. We have more handicapped people than anywhere else in the country.’

The three main problems in Bermondsey as I see them are unemployment, housing and drugs. In Bermondsey today it is virtually impossible for anyone reaching the age of 20 without coming into contact with drugs in some way or another. Of course the fact that Bermondsey has 25 per cent unemployment doesn't help. The national average is 17 per cent.

On the housing front, the waiting list in Southwark is 12,000. A few years ago 10 per cent of council homes in Southwark had gardens; this has now gone down to two per cent. This is a direct result of selling council houses; all the best properties have gone.

Bermondsey is a strong, proud working class community. By organising in the Labour Party, trade unions and organisations like the tenants' associations (which are really part of the labour movement as a whole) the area will be able to survive and fight off the indifference and heartlessness of the Thatcher government. ♪

Mellish, Michael Foot, then leader, publicly attacked Tatchell in the House of Commons and refused to endorse him as Labour candidate for Bermondsey—despite the fact that Tatchell's policies were little different from Foot's. When eventually Foot backed down and the NEC endorsed Tatchell, Mellish resigned and forced a by-election. The interests of the party were not at the forefront of Mellish's action as he claimed, but primarily it was to hit back at Tatchell and the left.

Coupled with the attacks by the Party leader the effects were ruinous. The final blow was added when on the eve of the by-election the NEC expelled the *Militant* Editorial Board. Labour was seen as hopelessly divided and decades of Labour tradition were broken.

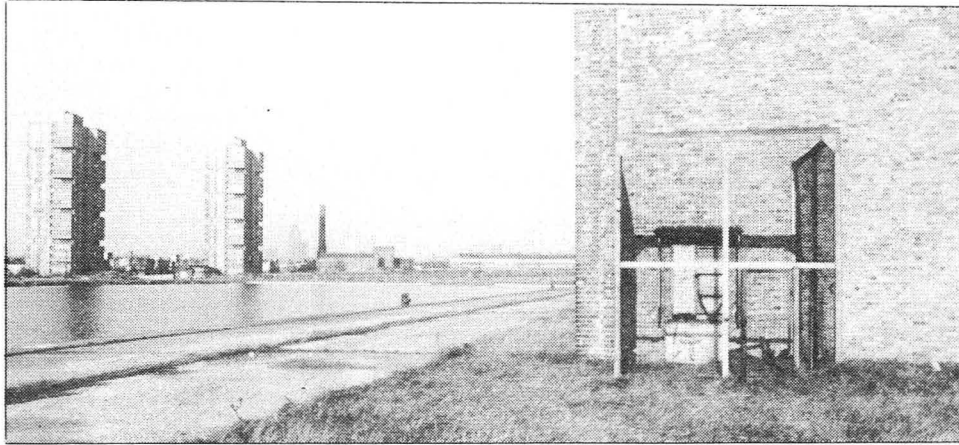
The first attacks on Tatchell had the effect of uniting the party against the right wing. It was this unity which put pressure on Foot to back down over the reselection. But the damage was done, the people of Bermondsey regarded the party as a joke, and the Liberal Simon Hughes was elected with a big majority.

The turmoil in the party continued as it turned in on itself allowing the Liberals to make further headway and win every council by-election since 1983 until the recent local elections. The Liberals' success was like that of Labour in the early years, based on persistent consideration of local issues and problems.

But by this time the radical tinge of the new generation, which replaced the old right-wing leadership, had been tarnished by a couple of years in the

council chamber. The party was thoroughly demoralised and the only ones prepared to make a challenge against the Tories and their Liberal allies were those loyal working class members who had stuck to their principles and supporters of *Militant*.

It was this new alliance which proved to be the most



Top: disused Surrey Docks in Bermondsey

Above: Bob Law (centre), vice-chair of Bermondsey Labour Party canvassing in the recent local elections.

potent and this year John Bryan, a Marxist and at the time deputy leader of Southwark council, was selected as the new parliamentary candidate for Bermondsey.

At the annual general meeting earlier this year *Militant* supporters were elected as chair, vice chair,

assistant secretary, women's officer and trade union liaison officer.

The confidence of the party is restored and it is now on a war footing to defeat the Liberals. Although the Liberals won 15 council seats in the local elections to Labour's eight, the gap in the total vote between

Labour and the Liberals is narrowing. Labour came within 50 votes of winning the ILEA seat. Party activists are convinced that John Bryan can win the seat from the Liberals. Bermondsey Labour Party will then play its full role in getting rid of the scourge of capitalism once and for all.

## House-building programme is vital

**THERE ARE 63,000 council-owned dwellings in the south London borough of Southwark. The borough has the highest number of council tenants awaiting transfers in London. It has the highest number of properties unfit to live in; the highest number of pre-war units requiring modernisation; the most empty properties awaiting modernisation; and the record for the number of properties empty during the year.**

You name the type of housing misery and Southwark has the record for it. While thousands live in terrible housing facilities and want action to improve them or to leave, there are 12,000 others on the waiting list, needing decent housing at reasonable rents.

It is a situation that cries out for decisive action. And yet Southwark tenants and homeless can expect no help from the Tory government. The Tory record of housing aid to the borough is one of cuts and cuts again, and their promises are for more cuts.

Look at the figures; the Tory government provided £43.6m in housing allocations in 1982-3; £33.2 million in 1983-84; and £26.7m in 1985-6. And what do they promise for this year? £31.7m—but that includes money for GLC housing; for 1987-8 the allocation will be down to just £21.3m.

This places the newly-elected Labour council in Southwark in a very difficult position; a growing housing

crisis and yet less and less money from the government. What can they do?

Well, they plan to spend £59m during the current year; mostly on renovating existing properties. Only £4.5m of that is available for new house building. They have made up the difference between what they plan to spend and what the government has given by using up money stored up from sales of council property in previous years, current sales of run-down property to the London Docklands Development Corporation (who no doubt are doing it up to sell-off as luxury units to the better-off—the council cannot afford to do it themselves); and by taking out loans.

In 1987-8 the housing programme will be reduced to just £31m.

Obviously this programme is totally inadequate to meet the needs of Southwark's existing tenants and those on the waiting list. It means at best just 300 new dwellings a year for the period of the four year council. By Spring 1990, Southwark would only have housed 10 per cent of the present waiting list! It would take 40 years to clear it at present rates of building!

There is an urgent need for a full-scale housing programme aimed at making serious inroads into meeting Southwark's housing needs. That means, at the very least, building 1,000 new dwellings a year, while renovating empty properties speedily to provide extra accommodation for those on the waiting list, and moving out tenants

from properties that cannot be renewed.

Such a programme cannot be implemented without more finance and that means a major campaign to force the government to provide more housing and allocations. A socialist council should be leading and organising that campaign, in conjunction with the council unions, the tenants and the wider labour movement. It should be trying to forge a battling alliance with other Labour councils like Liverpool and Lambeth who have been prepared to resist government cuts to maintain and improve council services in the face of the Tories.

There is no point in holding back from a fight with the Tories in the hope that a Labour government, in say 1988, can provide extra funds. Why should Southwark's people have to wait anyway? And there is no assurance from Labour's leaders that they will restore housing money taken by the Tories. On the contrary the Labour leadership talk of a strict public spending programme.

Liverpool council is renowned for its house building programme, nearly 4,500 houses (not flats) in just two years. That is the sort of socialist housing programme that Southwark must emulate now.

By Bob McKee

(Burgess Ward LP, Bermondsey)



# ng Labour's traditions

**MICK MOORE, London region committee member for the Labour Party Young Socialists, spoke to Alice Herron who has lived most of her life in Bermondsey.**

*What do you think about unemployment, which is now 25 per cent in Bermondsey?*

"My father used to have to line up at Spa Road for a day's work. Is that what the people want again because it seems to me that this is what it is coming back to.

"I am a coach driver for Southwark council but I feel that instead of putting this out to contract all these jobs should be done through direct labour.

"There are so many things to be done for this borough. But if they keep putting all the work out to contract then there won't be any work for the people in Bermondsey.

*How do you feel about Mrs Thatcher?*

"Well, Mrs Thatcher is doing nothing for the likes of us here in Bermondsey. I've never been so politically minded as I have in the last couple of years.

"Labour has got to come back in. They should have more meetings, to put over what they have to say. You'll probably get some of these jobs like the Liberals there, but you can always put these sort of people down. I mean he's photogenic that bloke up there (Simon Hughes), but that's all they are.

"This was one of the richest boroughs. But what have we got now? This is what Mrs Thatcher is doing. She is trying to put us right back into the Victorian ages. Unless you get these people back again (Labour) then she will crush us, and so will he up there (Simon Hughes). Because he's only a second-rate conservative.

"I don't suppose he really lives up there. He's just bought that house up there as a front. He doesn't really know anything about Bermondsey. They're making cuts at Guys hospital now. What do think about that?

"Well it's wrong, very wrong. They've closed down St Olaves hospital, I can't understand it. That used to be immaculate inside, and I used to work there as a nurse. When you walked inside that hospital you thought you were walking into an hotel. Now they are thinking of closing parts of Guys, so where else are they going to send us? You see it's the poor class again, hitting back at us.

"Mrs Thatcher, if she wants to go and have her veins done, or get beautified up, then she can sign a cheque and she's there.

*What about your life in Bermondsey?*

"Well when I was a little girl we didn't have school meals. My mother used to have to work from six in the morning to ten at night. She had to go to a little shop round the corner to order up a meal so that we had something hot for dinner. We used to have to take the plate back to the shop.

"As for holidays we never had a holiday. My father just couldn't afford it. They worked hard. They came out on strike for more money. These are the things which gave us what we've got today.

"This government wants to squash that. They want to say that you have no right to ask for anything. But we've had these

things and we are not going to let go of them now. We've got those rights but if we lose them we will be back to worse than what it was when I was a girl.

"She wants to squash the unions, but that is wrong. We might not have got what we wanted but we always came away with something.

*Have you ever had any involvement in the unions or the Labour Party?*

"I'm in NUPE. I've never had any involvement in the union, but if I wasn't in it I wouldn't be where I am today. I must fight to keep the unions going. I must fight for our rights. If they win and say that you can't go out on strike, that's stupid. It is like these print workers. You don't see a policeman patrolling the streets when you want one because they are all over at Wapping. Now Murdoch's got his army.

## Printers

*What do you think about the stories that the violence comes from the printers?*

"Well, I don't believe that. My son-in-law goes to Wapping and he has told us that the police horses charge them. They won't let you see on television how peaceful the picket is, they just show you the police charging.

*The issues affecting people in Bermondsey are very similar, from young to old, like the issues of housing. How do you feel about the other problems, like youth unemployment and the massive drugs problem?*

"I feel that drugs is due to unemployment and boredom. I suppose that if they are high on drugs then they are happy. But it's sad really. This is their only bit of pleasure. Southwark council should do more for the youngsters. I know they do this youth training but what is £25 to them?

*What do you think about John Bryan standing for Labour?*

"Oh, I think he is lovely. There must be more meetings. Even if Simon Hughes wants to come on the platform with him. We can give him a fight on the platform.

*We are trying to get that at the moment but he won't come.*

"Yes this is it, he's so scared he's like a rabbit. This is what John Bryan wants to do. He knows Bermondsey, he knows what we want. We just want to live a normal life."

*How have you seen Bermondsey deteriorate over the years?*

"I used to be proud to live here. They should do these flats up. I know they haven't got a lot of money but they shouldn't let them deteriorate. They should look after our youngsters, the ones that want their own flat.

*What about the industrial decline?*

"The docks should never have gone. We had the chocolate manufacturers, we had factories galore. We were the richest borough, but now that's all gone. But where's all the money gone? Those flats in Downtown are for the tourists, not for our kind of people.

"Bob Mellish promised that those flats would be for the people down there. He's made his pile—he's sold Bermondsey and this is why people went against Labour.

*That's why he's in the House of Lords now?*

"Yes that's it. You'll never hear him mention Bermondsey now. He sold us out".



John Bryan marching with Labour Party Young Socialists to South Wales NUM headquarters to defend the union's funds during the miners' strike. Below: Bermondsey housing estate. Photo: John Woulfe



**BERMONDSEY IS an area of old pre-war housing estates and some of the newer large modern concrete developments. The Harold Estate in Pages Walk was built around 50 years ago and shows many problems of old estates which have not been maintained for years. George McLellan has lived on the estate for the past five years.**

"The main problem is trying to keep warm in the winter. This winter we had to move our kids into our bedroom and we slept on the living room floor. The other problem is the length of time it takes to get repairs done. I had a crack in my front door, officials came round and measured it and three years later I got a new door. What we lack is a strong tenants' association. We did have one, but someone did a runner with the money and ever since people have been wary of forming another one.

"There's a lot of unemployment on the estate but most of the people are good people and look after one another. It's just the living conditions".

Another estate about the same age, but quite different is the Vauban Estate. Maggie Lough is a member of the of the

Vauban Tenants' Association and has lived on the estate for seven years.

"Before the improvements were done these were 'hard to let' flats with a high turnover of tenants. People didn't care about their environment, the estate was run-down and we had gangs of kids hanging around in Spa Road with nothing to do.

Sometimes they would sit on the stairs having a quick puff of tobacco or something stronger.

"The modernisations have made a big difference. The TA played a big role in this. We sent round a questionnaire to find out what people wanted and held meetings on the estate. Southwark Council has a policy of co-operating with

Tenants Associations and John Bryan our local councillor was very supportive and pushed on our behalf. These days tenants are staying and people take a pride in the estate. Old estates shouldn't be allowed to run down. I think that they are structurally sound and I prefer them to the newer ones."

## Young workers exploited

**TERRY RICH, 17, who lives on the Evelyn Lowe estate in Bermondsey and works as a window cleaner spoke to Militant.**

Terry explained that he left school last year to go to college—the City and East London college—on a residential care course.

"I had a good chance of getting accepted after passing several interviews but when I found out that I would only get £130 a term (about eight weeks) I realised that I couldn't afford to go to college. My mum was on the dole."

In his class at school most of his mates went to college, a few joined the Army or Navy, and only

three got permanent jobs.

Terry got his job a year ago at the job centre.

"Most of the jobs were around £45 a week doing general labouring work and that was before tax. This window cleaning job was advertised at £65 per week. But when I got there the governor said it was for £50. I got £5 extra after a month, and another £5 after the next month, until it was up to £65. Now I earn £75 but I only bring home £58.

### Dirty jobs

"The work is very hard. It is Monday to Friday starting at 6am. Most of the time it is hanging out of

windows six or seven flights up.

"On Saturdays I clean the office floors, stairs and toilets. This is really horrible, as I am the youngest I get all the dirty jobs.

"The governor gets a fat profit for doing nothing. For one job in Wembley which took three of us two hours to do, he got £210.

"I first found out about the Labour Party Young Socialists six months ago but I didn't get involved. I thought it was a bunch of trendies. But during the election campaign I joined up to fight back against the Tories.

By Mike Suter



Photo:  
Morris Zwi  
(Reflex)

# Emergency in Botha's state

**BOTHA'S NEW and harsher, State of Emergency is a desperate, and in the end, futile attempt to halt the workers' revolution.**

By Basil Hendrickse  
(Inqaba editorial board)

For the first time since the attacks on the workers' political and trade union organisations after Sharpeville over two decades ago, the regime has been forced to impose a nationwide emergency unlike the selective measures of July 1985.

More significantly, this crackdown sees the most serious attack on the independent democratic trade union movement since the early 1960s.

Among more than 2,000 detained are officers and members of both COSATU (650,000 members) and CUSA (150,000), at national, regional and shopfloor level.

The crocodile tears of the world's capitalist press over the horrors of apartheid cannot hide the fact that they have suppressed these facts, and assisted the regime's attempt to prevent an outcry from the international labour movement. They have not even demanded explanations over the case of an ITN reporter/camera-man hacked to death by state-organised black vigilantes.

Whilst the media concentrates on creating a climate of hysteria about Botha's alleged "retreat into the laager", the real class calculations underlying his policy remain obscured.

The state of emergency in July 1985 was followed by a series of "reform" measures, including the intention to abolish the hated pass laws, the discussions with the Commonwealth "Eminent Persons' Group" (EPG) about releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, unbanning and entering into negotiations with the African National Congress. This is now followed by the renewed crackdown. These apparent contradictions in Botha's policies have completely confused these empiricists.

However even though the ruling class are in a cul de sac, there is a thread of consistency and political calculation in Botha's policies and conduct.

The July 1985 emergency was imposed to stop the insurrectionary movement in the townships and show the black workers and youth that the regime would retreat so far and no further; to tell the whites that the regime would not capitulate in the face of a challenge by the blacks; and to prepare for the next round of reforms.

Whilst some more "reforms" were announced later, the movement in the townships continued unabated. The formation of COSATU at the end of November—the most powerful working class organisation in SA's history—gave enormous new confidence to the whole movement.

In the first months of this year not only did township organisation scale new heights with the spread of street committees and people's

courts, but there was a burst of industrial struggles, including factory occupations. Meanwhile the ferment of organisation and insurrection spread even into rural areas, bringing into action bitterly oppressed farmworkers and Bantustan inhabitants.

Now the increasing (though still small) support for the neo-fascist AWB, and a more general swing of white opinion towards the parties right of the Nationalist Party, show that Botha has not succeeded in reassuring the whites either.

Yet the regime is forced to zig-zag between repression and reform, and combinations of the two. On the one hand, against the revolutionary upsurge from below, mere state repression (despite the reserves of firepower still at its command) is not sufficient to restore "stability". The rise of a barbarous state-supported black vigilante reaction itself reflects the relative weakness of the white-based state machine: it supplements its rule by fostering "black-on-black" division.

But the ruling class cannot afford to fully concede any central demand of the masses—least of all one-person-one-vote in a unitary state. Such a concession would lead to all-out struggle between the forces of social revolution and an intransigent mass ultra-right reaction.

## Balance of forces

Underlying these insoluble problems is the rapidly sharpening crisis of the capitalist economy: job losses and rising inflation, disinvestment rather than new investment.

For Botha and the capitalist class there is no alternative to the zig-zagging pursued in defence of their system. But no policy based on capitalism can work.

**The demands of the black working class can be achieved only through the abolition of capitalism, the dismantling of the state and the socialist transformation of society. This cannot be brought about by negotiation or reform but only through an armed insurrection and conquest of power by the working class.**

The conditions for this victory will emerge only over a protracted period of struggle—five, ten or more years—in which the working class builds and unites its forces to their highest level, while the ruling class splits again and again as a result of its impasse—thus speeding up the disintegration of white society and white power.

The regime makes much of the fact that it has not yet used all the firepower at its disposal. This is true—and in the future it will be driven towards using its full force in attempting to defend capitalism.

But reality always has two sides—the full power of the working class has also by no means been fully mobilised yet. In the revolution of the past 21 months, hundreds of thousands of workers were newly awakened to political life. But millions more have yet to join the ranks of the proletarian army—including, in the end, sections of white workers and workers in uniform whose support or



Mourners at the funeral of a trade union shop steward who died in police custody. Photo: Morris Zwi (Reflex).

neutralisation will be necessary to defeat the state machine.

Bloody repression, involving possibly the killing of tens of thousands, is inevitable in the future. There will inevitably be setbacks, but only of a temporary character. After a period of recovery, the workers' movement will resume the battle.

**The balance of class forces today is weighted decisively in favour of the working class in SA and internationally. By repression alone it is not possible to crush the proletariat.**

But the bourgeoisie does not and, because of its class position, cannot understand this. It has to choose between alternatives dictated by circumstances, twisting and turning between repression and reform. Like a man sinking in quicksand, the more they wriggle the deeper they sink.

The reforms announced earlier this year have only whetted the ap-

petite of workers and youth. In the homelands, the abolition of the pass laws gave an enormous impetus to the process of political awakening amongst the rural proletariat.

## Workers' movement

The youth movement, sensing the stalemate in the townships' battle against the state, displayed a brilliant tactical sense, by retreating from the insurrectionary objectives of the township movement towards forging closer links with the organised workers' movement. At the Easter conference of the NECC they gave their support for a three-day national general strike on 16 June. The regime became alarmed.

The brilliant success of the May Day general strike pointed to an even greater success for the 16–18 June stay-away. The active involvement of the organised movement of the working class frightened the

regime most of all.

But temporarily, the momentum for reform seemed to increase as the EPG began their shuttle diplomacy between Pollsmoor prison and the government. Rumours spread of Mandela's impending release and the possible unbanning of the ANC. From Lusaka the ANC leadership indicated they might accede to the EPG proposal to 'suspend violence' to enter negotiations—i.e. to abandon the goal of overthrowing the state. Botha called upon all non-Communists in the ANC to return to South Africa.

But then, the government began to change its attitude. The EPG was denounced as "meddling foreign interference", all contact with the ANC was denounced and a systematic propaganda campaign began against the ANC, involving the unprecedented publication of quotes by ANC and CP leaders and their documents.



Photo: Morris Zwi (Reflex)



Photo: Reflex pictures

Top: Young blacks in Tsakane township defy police anti-riot vehicles  
Below: Apartheid's traditional division of labour—white supervisor, black labourer

Just as the EPG initiative appeared near to agreement to negotiate, the regime launched military raids on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Their targets were of no military value; they were staged for political purposes.

Similarly, the break-up of the Nationalist Party meeting by the AWB in Pietersburg was partly "tolerated" by the government to give the ultra-right maximum publicity so the regime could back away from reform. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, despite being prevented from speaking, was pictured smiling from ear to ear, and could not wait to say "we told you about our problems with the ultra-right on the question of reform".

### Provocation

Despite some increase in support, and the fact that at least one police station reportedly refused to send requested reinforcements, the AWB is far from able to challenge the government at will. Several days later at Ellisras, riot police were drafted in for a show of strength and the AWB could only put up a token resistance.

The AWB has not the remotest chance of taking power. Greater strength will polarise the whites, and force the regime to act against it. Not daring openly to enter the townships and attack workers' meetings, the AWB confines itself to attacks on the NP. It shows the beginnings of the disintegration of white society. Its supporters are mostly in Treurnicht's bourgeois Conservative Party, and enlarge its political base (while storing up problems for Treurnicht in the future).

**However the AWB's support in the police highlights the impossibility for the capitalists of achieving a negotiated settlement with the ANC. How could any ANC leader enter office in a government resting on an AWB-inclined police force?**

Having broken with the EPG initiative, the regime then tried to defuse the build-up towards 16

June, initially by intensifying support for black vigilantism. This tactic was pursued with particular barbarity in Crossroads.

Relying on demoralised, mostly older men from the rural areas, thugs, lumpen elements from the working class itself, with the support of white police and soldiers, the regime unleashed butchery, arson and pillage. The purpose, within the general policy of divide and rule, was to create a climate of opinion for drastic government measures to end "black on black violence" and bring the situation under control because "the blacks are getting out of hand".

Workers and youth straight away saw the State of Emergency as a provocation, and said they would defy any attempt to prevent the commemoration of 16 June. Botha could not have made them more determined to ensure the success of the stayaway if he had tried!

COSATU's leadership called for a week-long strike to demand the lifting of the emergency, and for commemorations to proceed without harassment from the state.

Unfortunately the confidence of the regime had been strengthened by the reaction of the leadership of the movement to the regime's preparations for the crackdown.

The original call for a three-day stay-away at Easter, to which representatives of COSATU had been a party, was reduced to one day without explanation, when everything pointed to enormous support for the three-day call. This was interpreted as a sign of weakness by the regime. Weakness invites aggression.

The regime decided to probe the movement even further. It armed the 'wit-doeke' (vigilantes) in Crossroads, and razed three settlements to the ground. When there was no response from the movement, COSATU in particular, the regime, as could have been predicted, went even further and KTC camp was forcibly removed. It is not certain that the regime

wanted to use the emergency to attack the trade unions. Not only had some employers agreed to regard 16 June as a public holiday, but the May Day general strike, the biggest in the world on that day, and the biggest in South African history, had been allowed to pass without incident.

Possibly the attack on the unions was precipitated by COSATU's call for a week-long general strike. Unfortunately—though the possibility of a crackdown was publicised by the press in advance—the COSATU call came too late, and the emergency measures prevented it being publicised.

This attack confirms *Inqaba's* perspective that peaceful co-existence between the unions and the regime is not possible in the long term, that unions would be more and more compelled to involve themselves openly in political struggle, and that the regime would be compelled at a certain point to attack them.

But Botha has blundered by attacking the unions. Like all the policies of the capitalist class, it will produce an opposite effect to what is intended. The detention of scores of union activists and leaders will force him to start releasing detainees sooner than he might have planned.

### Radicalised

More importantly, this attack will radicalise the unions. The position of the reformists, who recovered quickly from their setbacks at the launch of COSATU, will be seriously undermined and COSATU will shift even more to the left. The peaceful social democratic existence which the reformists planned for the unions, in which they would subordinate themselves to the politics of the nationalist middle-class, has been brought to a rude end.

Possibly after 21 months of almost unrelenting struggle, in which the reality of the stalemate



Photo: Jillian Edelstein (Report)

South African Air Force—part of brutal, well armed state machine

**READ *Inqaba ya Basebenzi*, journal of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress. Price £1 plus 20p postage. Subscriptions: £4 for 4 issues (Surface mail—all countries). £7.90 airmail—all countries. Orders from: Inqaba, BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX.**

**LABOUR PARTY Young Socialists Solidarity Rally Soweto 1976-86 "Support the struggle against apartheid" Saturday 21 June 2pm to 5pm at Brixton Recreation Centre London SW2 (by Brixton tube) Speakers from LPYS, Lambeth Anti-Apartheid movement and Southern African Labour Education Project. Plus Roy Jones (a miner who visited black workers in South Africa during the miners' strike).**

has begun to sink in, this crackdown will lead to a cooling of the movement for a period. But this is only one possibility in the situation. Even if this occurs, it will be very short-lived, highly unstable and volatile.

Whatever the regime's plans, it cannot afford economically to isolate itself from the world; it must bend to the pressures not only of the black working class at home, but the labour movement internationally.

So the government will be forced to shift once more from the right foot onto the left. The meeting between Botha and Tutu immediately the emergency was declared suggests this. Botha is telling the bourgeoisie internationally and at home that he has not abandoned reform completely, that he has matters under control.

The big stick of the crackdown may even be the prelude to the carrot of reform. Not even the release of Mandela, almost certain in the long term, can be excluded in the next period. It is mainly the fear of the explosion that this would unleash, and uncertainty over whether even Mandela would be able to control this, that prevents his immediate release.

The regime will continue to veer between reaction and reform. The fundamental reason is the impossibility of a negotiated settlement—from which the regime will recoil again and again, back to reaction, and so forth.

The impossibility of immediate insurrection; the impossibility of a negotiated settlement—events, by impressing these lessons on increasing layers of the movement, are preparing it for taking up revolutionary tasks.

New obstacles emerge, with which the movement must deal. The regime's use of vigilantes has ensured that their elimination is one of the most urgent tasks of the movement in the next period.

But, ultimately, this force of reaction is weak. Firstly, it cannot be brought together fully with the white petty bourgeois reaction, which can retain its cohesion only through the appeal to defence of white racist privilege.

The black reaction is based, not on the black petty bourgeois as a

class, but on black collaborators mobilising lumpens and backward sections of workers, and resting on the strength of the state. The more the black workers rise to their feet and the weakening of the state power is revealed, the more that black vigilantism will be undermined.

Meanwhile, through the experience of the vigilantes and white "death squads", the need to arm the workers is beginning to be understood. How different matters could have been in Crossroads if the movement had even a small armed militia at its disposal and under its control!

### Build ANC on a socialist programme

The bomb attack on Durban hotels, in contrast, far away from the battle at Crossroads, makes no contribution to the arming of the movement, nor does it raise the self-confidence and understanding of the class. Instead it gives the regime added arguments to justify, in the eyes of whites, the imposition of the state of emergency, and weds the white workers even more firmly to the regime.

Yet the task is to split the whites, both by arming the black workers (to show them determined and capable of defeating the state) and, under the banner of a socialist programme, making a class appeal to white workers and middle class, offering them the choice of joining with the black workers against their common enemy, the capitalist class, or to be defeated along with their capitalist masters.

The immediate tasks are a co-ordinated armed defence of the black communities against armed attacks by vigilantes and death squads—and preparation for a systematic campaign to split the whites. The goal must be for an armed insurrection by the working class leading to workers' democracy and socialism.

For these tasks, the ANC must be built as a mass force on a socialist programme. This is the priority facing workers and youth in the immediate future.

# Long wait for the loo

Dear Comrades,  
Last week whilst the selling the paper I met an old lady. She was nearly 70, partially blind, couldn't walk very far and was more or less house-bound. For the last fifteen years she has been waiting to have a bathroom installed. She has to go down to the bottom of the garden to use the outside toilet.  
Until recently the local council was run by Labour. In fact after seeing that it had done

nothing to help her, her neighbours decided not to vote Labour again. She, however, continues as a staunch Labour supporter.  
Old traditions die hard—it's a shame those Labour councillors haven't kept up the traditions of the party.  
Yours fraternally  
Lucy Slater  
Camberwell

# Goldings' job-share scheme



John Golding. Photo: Militant

Dear Comrades,  
John Golding MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme revealed recently that his wife Llyn has been "doing the job for years".  
Appropriate then that Llyn Golding should be selected to fight the seat at the next election.  
For the uninitiated to the fantasy world of the "Golding Dynasty" it must be pointed out that husband John has now taken on the job of General Secretary of

the National Communications Union.  
Will John step down before the next election and force a by-election? As Llyn becomes an MP who will be "doing the job" of General Secretary of the NCU?  
Only in future pages of *Militant* will you find the answer to these burning questions.  
Yours fraternally  
Andy Bentley  
NUR, personal capacity

# Is the purge winning votes?

Dear Comrades,  
Like so many democratic socialists within the Labour Party I was pleased to see the Labour Party reach 40 per cent of public support in the latest MORI opinion poll, its highest in many years. Unlike many of my colleagues in the LPYS I fully support the expulsion of Tony Mulhearn and Ian Lowes

and urge the NEC to push ahead with the inevitable expulsion of Derek Hatton and other *Militant* Liverpool Labour Party members.  
I believe our massive resurgence of public support as indicated in the MORI poll (and other recent polls) is a direct response to Neil Kinnock's action over *Militant*. Unemployment has

been officially over three million since 1983, we never hit this popularity after Libya and Westland. Inflation is at its lowest point for over 20 years. In my mind our new support is due to the action concerning *Militant*.  
Yours fraternally  
Allan Fisher  
Gravesham Labour Party  
Young Socialists

DESPITE THE views expressed by Allan Fisher, the following give an example of the views of the many people who have written to *Militant*, about the witch-hunt:

Dear *Militant*,  
Although I've been a Labour Party supporter for 40 years, and an activist for 20, I am utterly appalled at the witch-hunt being conducted within the Labour Party executive. It seems to me that Labour isn't really serious about winning elections.

Last election it was the hounding of Peter Tatchell that occupied their minds, they threw away the safest seat in the country rather than let a real socialist become an MP. I get your paper every week.  
Yours sincerely  
R Totvanian  
Holloway

Dear Comrade,  
I recently bought a copy of *Militant* and was impressed and totally agree with the views portrayed by *Militant*. I would therefore like to become a *Militant* supporter.  
Yours fraternally  
J Melia  
Strathclyde

Dear *Militant*,  
I would give anything to see the Thatcherite government expelled from parliament, and through you, I believe there is some kind of hopefulness.  
Yours sincerely  
M Hinton  
West Midlands

Dear *Militant*,  
*Militant* is a newspaper I have never read. I am sure that thousands of other people like myself are at a loss to understand what it stands for.  
But as it is run down by all the media there must be something that they would sooner keep from the working class. I am one of many who are sick of these national papers, I wonder if you could forward me a back-copy or two, so I could come to my own opinion.  
Yours sincerely  
J Farrell  
Widnes, Cheshire

# Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

Militant,  
3-13 Hepscoot Road,  
London E9 5HB

# Tory students court fascists

Dear Comrades,  
The discovery of a letter from Mr Delaire Staines a Tory student leader in Hull, inviting the British National Party to join the Tories in anti-left activity (*Militant* 801) comes as no surprise to students at Humberside College.  
Mr D Staines is editor of a newspaper called *Tory Militant* which describes itself as the voice of "shock troops of the New Right Enlightenment". The paper describes members of the college's Conservative Association, which publishes it as "Contras", the terrorist organisation invading Nicaragua.  
The Tory student was also found to have "FCS" songs on his computer file, one of them advocates the killing of Iranians, Vietnamese and Greenham Peace Women.  
Since the publication of his letter to the fascists Mr D Staines has denied that he is a racist and has explained the letter as a "Trojan Horse" to root out racists in his branch.  
Last week *Militant* sellers held their first paper sale at the college, in half an hour eight *Militant*'s were sold.  
Yours fraternally  
Ray Duffill  
North Hull LPYS



The ugly face of fascism, attractive to sections of the Tory Party

## Classified ads

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

- Littleton NUM strike plates. Price £10 each. All proceeds to sacked and victimised miners. Contact WE Jones, NUM Office, Littleton Colliery, Cannock, Staffordshire.
- For a national minimum wage. New sticker out soon. Order now for low pay demo in Manchester and low pay rallies. Cost £1 per 100 + 50p p&p from fighting fund department, 3-13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB.
- Marxist Summer-camp in Sweden 6-12 July. Come to Raa Vallar campsite in Helsingborg, Swedens door to Europe a stones throw away from Denmark! Enjoy the beach, the socials, the football and the political discussions! Seminars on South Africa, Nuclear power, socialist youth work and much more. One day visit to Copenhagen. Cost: around £15 if you bring a tent and costs for food and travel. Write to: *Offensiv*, Box 21076, S-100 31-Stockholm, Sweden. Phone: 08-34 87 38.
- Wanted Co-op Stamps. Loose, part, or full books. Proceeds to FF. Send c/o Circulation Dept. 3-13 Hepscoot Rd, London E9 5HB.
- NUPE social, Bermondsey LP rooms, Lower Road (near Surrey Docks Tube), Saturday 21 June, 8.30pm. £1.50 at the door.
- Maggot Thatcher T-shirts. Original design, quality white T-shirts, s, m & l. £6.50. Also your own idea for £10. Details from Terry, 10 St Johns Terrace Road, Earlswood, Redhill, Surrey.
- Richard and Lila Evans are pleased to announce the birth of their second daughter Cheryl on 23 May 1986.
- Hartal disco: Rock Against Rajiv. Saturday 21 June, 8-12pm, Florence Nightingale Pub, Westminster Bridge Road, London SE1

### Militant Meetings

- Bermondsey Monday 23 June 7.30pm. Spa Road Library Hall, Spa Rd, SE16. Speakers: Peter Taaffe (*Militant* Editorial Board), Dave Nellist MP, Ruth Hirdman (Guys Hospital) and Barry McCarthy (Bermondsey LPYS).
- Stoke "The coming revolution in South Africa". Monday 23 June, 7.30pm. Shelton Arts Centre, Stoke. Speaker: Nimrod Sejake.
- Wroxhall Marxist discussion group. 2 Mountfield Rd, Wroxhall, Isle of Wight. Every Sunday. Phone Vic Dale on IOW 854759 for details.
- Merseyside LPYS rally and social in aid of black workers and youth in South Africa. Speakers from SALEP. All proceeds to BTR workers. Saturday 21 June, 7.30pm. Liverpool Polytechnic, Haig Building, Maryland Street.
- Coventry *Militant* Supporters Annual Picnic, Sunday 22 June, meet 11 am, Pool Meadow bus station for outing to Coombe Abbey. Food, drink and sports. Tickets £1.50 (£1 unwaged) Phone: (0203) 441655.

# History of American Labour struggle

CHANNEL 4 is showing a series of TV programmes on American labour struggles. Unfortunately at 11.30pm, (ensuring a small audience) but it is well worth staying up for if the first in the series, *Union Maids*, is anything to go by.  
*Union Maids* showed the magnificent strength forged in the struggle for union rights between the wars. Working conditions often involved 12-14 hour days, exhausting speed ups, even loss of limbs for as little as 37½ cents an hour.  
A fight for union recognition, better pay or even for better safety regulations often meant pitched battles with the police. Men and women alike had to defend themselves with bats, bricks and bottles. Police fought back with sawn off shotguns! Building the union wasn't easy. Mimeographed leaflets had to be hidden under the women's clothes to smuggle them in and out of factories, sneaking union papers in the washroom was common.  
Management used every tactic to defeat the unions. Yellow Dog contracts were forced on workers. "Either sign away your union rights or pick up

your cards". That was the choice. Stool pigeons spied on union meetings and thugs with guns were sent in to try and scare the women off.  
Women such as these saw themselves as radicals and socialists. The struggle for union rights was part of the struggle for a society where "the means of production would be owned by the people and the fruits of their labour would be divided on a more equitable basis. There would not be this tremendous disparity—hov.ls for some and palaces for others, different scales of education for children, there wouldn't be war".  
**Organised**  
Workers felt their own strength organised together in the CIO, men, women, black and white. Sylvia, a black woman commented:  
"I've changed. I learned you can't go anyplace unless you go together, workers together, fighting for the same thing is the only way you are going to get anywhere".  
Hopefully this series will do a little to show the willingness of the

American working class to struggle. The tremendous enthusiasm for a better society had never lessened in the eyes of these women:  
"There is some tremendous potential in people, in labour people, in working people, in union people and I think that they are very democratic. There is a tremendous militancy that is below the surface and it will rise and come up and I don't think the American people will let down this country and I don't think no fascist bastards will go and take over either".  
**By Ruth Campbell**  
FURTHER FILMS to be shown in the Channel 4 series on American history will be:  
*With babies and banners*, 19 June, a film about the women workers' occupation of General Motors in 1936.  
*Free Voice of Labour*, 26 June, About a movement of Jewish Anarchists.  
*The Wobblies*, 3 July. Probably the best in the series and not to be missed. It tells the story of the union's drive to organise America's unskilled workers.  
All the films are shown on Thursdays, Channel 4, at 11pm or later.

# Strike wave in Pakistan

THE STRUGGLES described in this report from a Pakistani correspondent (written in late May) have gone without mention in the British daily press. The eight-week-long strike by government clerks, described here, has now been called off by the union leadership after some of the demands were met. But the rank and file emphasised that they are ready to continue the struggle. Mobilisation and rallies among different sections of workers continue.

THE NATIONWIDE strike of civil service clerks has brought big pressure on the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq.

Throughout the country, government centres have come to a standstill. Large demonstrations, rallies and pickets have been organised in all the major towns and cities.

The strike was called by the All-Pakistan Clerks' Association (APCA), the largest civil service union. Support has come from clerks in other unions, as well as workers on the railways, in local government, textiles and other industries.

## Worst paid

Railway clerks have come out on strike in support of APCA's demands.

The clerks are among the worst-paid government employees. Over the past nine years of martial law there has been almost no increase in their salaries, while the senior civil servants have been given big pay rises in order to buy their loyalty to the military regime.

APCA is now demanding

the upgrading of basic pay scales and better service conditions.

The strike has sent tremors throughout the government. The Federal cabinet and all four Provincial cabinets have fully discussed the strike and how to combat it. The clerks have been threatened by the authorities and some have been arrested.

But these attacks only hardened the strikers' determination. At a meeting of APCA in Islamabad it was resolved to continue the strike and to hold public rallies and demonstrations throughout Pakistan.

An additional demand was raised: the sacking of the Chief Secretary of Punjab (a top state bureaucrat) for making provocative and threatening statements.

A massive demonstration was organised in Lahore on 20 May, involving tens of thousands of clerks. Similar action was planned elsewhere.

The tremendous vigour of the movement is reflected in the dry statement by the Chief Minister of Punjab that 380,000 "members of the ministerial staff" were



WAPDA (hydro-electrical) workers demonstrate in Lahore. The WAPDA workers have now given the authorities a three-week ultimatum to meet their demands on wages and other conditions. If this is not done, electricity will be cut off.

"agitating throughout the country", with 245,000 campaigning in Punjab, 80,000 in Sind, 23,500 in Baluchistan, etc.

As a result, Prime Minister Junejo agreed to meet a delegation of the strikers.

General Zia's government has been faced with massive political and industrial protest since the lifting of martial law. Millions have flocked to the rallies of Miss Bhutto up and down the country.

The workers, particularly white-collar workers, have launched a wave of strikes and protests.

In the past six months young doctors and nurses—a totally unorganised sector—

have successfully been on strike. In Baluchistan, 14,000 teachers have been on strike for the past 30 days, and their movement is still getting stronger. There was a successful one-day general strike in Liyazi, a working-class district of Karachi (see *Militant*, 18 April).

## Crippling

Now the regime is faced with several other potentially crippling strikes. Telecommunications workers in Lahore have staged a two-hour stoppage for the third time, and this is likely to spread throughout the country.

On the North-West Frontier and in Baluchistan, ac-

tion by telecommunications workers and drivers caused widespread disruption. All the ministers, including the Chief Ministers of both provinces, had to drive their own cars and answer their own phones.

On 21 May, hundreds of WAPDA (hydro-electrical) workers marched in Lahore, carrying red banners to protest against inflation and demand better wages and conditions.

There is no doubt that workers in Pakistan have rebuilt their confidence, shattered under nine years of military suppression of which they were the main target. More and more will come into struggle.

Benazir Bhutto's mass

rallies have marked an important phase in this process, and showed the strength of the movement against the regime. But rallies on their own will not topple Zia or the system of exploitation which he enforces.

Miss Bhutto and the PPP have natural sympathy and support among the workers and peasants of Pakistan. This massive movement now needs to be organised on a revolutionary programme of political and social transformation, linked to the struggles of the working class.

Only the organised power of the workers can make an end to the present system, and free the Pakistani masses from the misery and poverty they suffer.

# Haiti in ferment

FOUR MONTHS after the flight of Haitian dictator Duvalier, the revolution which overthrew him is still moving forward.

By George Collins

Duvalier is gone, but ex-Duvalierist Regala remains kingpin of the military regime headed by General Namphy. For the impoverished masses, there has been no improvement, and the outlook is totally uncertain as capitalist society breaks down.

Prices are skyrocketing. Those lucky enough to find jobs earn a basic wage of £3 per day—not enough any more to buy a container of beans. The slums are almost without food. The transport of goods depends on a few lorries, carts, donkeys, and what women can carry on their heads.

Economic collapse mirrors a collapse in state power. Namphy's government is suspended in mid-air. Massive protests swept the island in March and again in the first week of June. The demands: food; jobs; and dismissal of the leading Duvalier elements in the government, in particular Regala who commands the police.

Nine were shot dead by police and troops in the June struggles. In scenes reminiscent of South Africa, the funeral of one dead youth



was transformed into a huge political demonstration against the regime.

In short, an enormously explosive revolutionary crisis is now concentrated in this tiny nation of three million people.

The regime has almost no reliable institutions at the present stage, and little control over the country. The army is divided, and the badly-paid soldiers are pulled to the side of the masses.

Haiti's second city of Gonaives—in the words of one commentator, "a massive and pitiless slum... a teeming, putrid town"—is without police and in the hands of the masses. Gonaives is where the revolution started, and it is now the centre of the revolutionary peasants' movement.

On 10 June the movement in the capital, Port-au-

Prince, culminated in a general strike which shut the city down. In Gonaives, the barricades went up on the ninth, manned by youth armed with machetes, sealing off the city.

It is a sign of the balance of forces that the head of state Namphy sought a meeting with the leaders of Gonaives, but could not have it. A mass meeting in the city could not agree on the terms of the discussion.

The Haitian revolution is crying out for clear direction and leadership. Politics at present is dominated by swarms of exile 'leaders' who have returned since February, setting up 22 'parties', many claiming to be socialist.

The crisis of leadership is summed up by Rene Theodore, sole survivor of the Communist Party's politbureau, who was welcomed



Left: In the slums of Haiti. Above: Ex-Duvalier supporters fleeing the people's revenge.

by a crowd of 1,000 on returning after 22 years in exile.

Not only does Theodore defend voodoo as a "profound national value" at a time when the masses are killing voodoo priests for their role in supporting Duvalier; not only does he praise the Catholic church for "leading" the revolution; he has condemned the 10 June strike as a "grave political error".

Theodore's basic programme is one of abject passivity: "Communism isn't for now. We don't want to share out poverty. We have to wait until the country is wealthier".

One might ask: if capitalism could make Haiti "wealthier", what would be the justification for socialism? But Theodore's

ideas are far behind the understanding of the activists that only revolutionary change can end their misery under the present system.

The ferment in Haiti is shown by the widespread demand for "communism" among the youth and even the peasantry. It is clear that they cannot have the CP's total bankruptcy in mind as the means of transforming their lives.

## Polarising

Amidst all the confusion, society in Haiti is polarising into the twin camps of revolution and counter-revolution. Namphy's neo-Duvalierist regime, and capitalism itself, are hanging

by a thread.

Before February there were widespread illusions that the US might remove Duvalier and bring democracy. Now the youth have a slogan: "If the Americans invade, it's going to be war!"

Socialist transformation cannot take place in tiny, impoverished Haiti by itself. But with the ideas of Marxism, youth and worker activists will find the ways of linking up with their class brothers and sisters internationally, especially in the USA.

On this basis they can take forward their struggle as part of the revolutionary movement building up in Central and Latin America, which could be the prelude to world revolution.

**Around the coalfields**

# Yorkshire fighting on

**THATCHER'S** madness continues to sweep across Yorkshire's heavy industry. In the last month or so massive job cuts have been announced in coal, rail, and steel. Four thousand more mining jobs are to be lost in the next year.

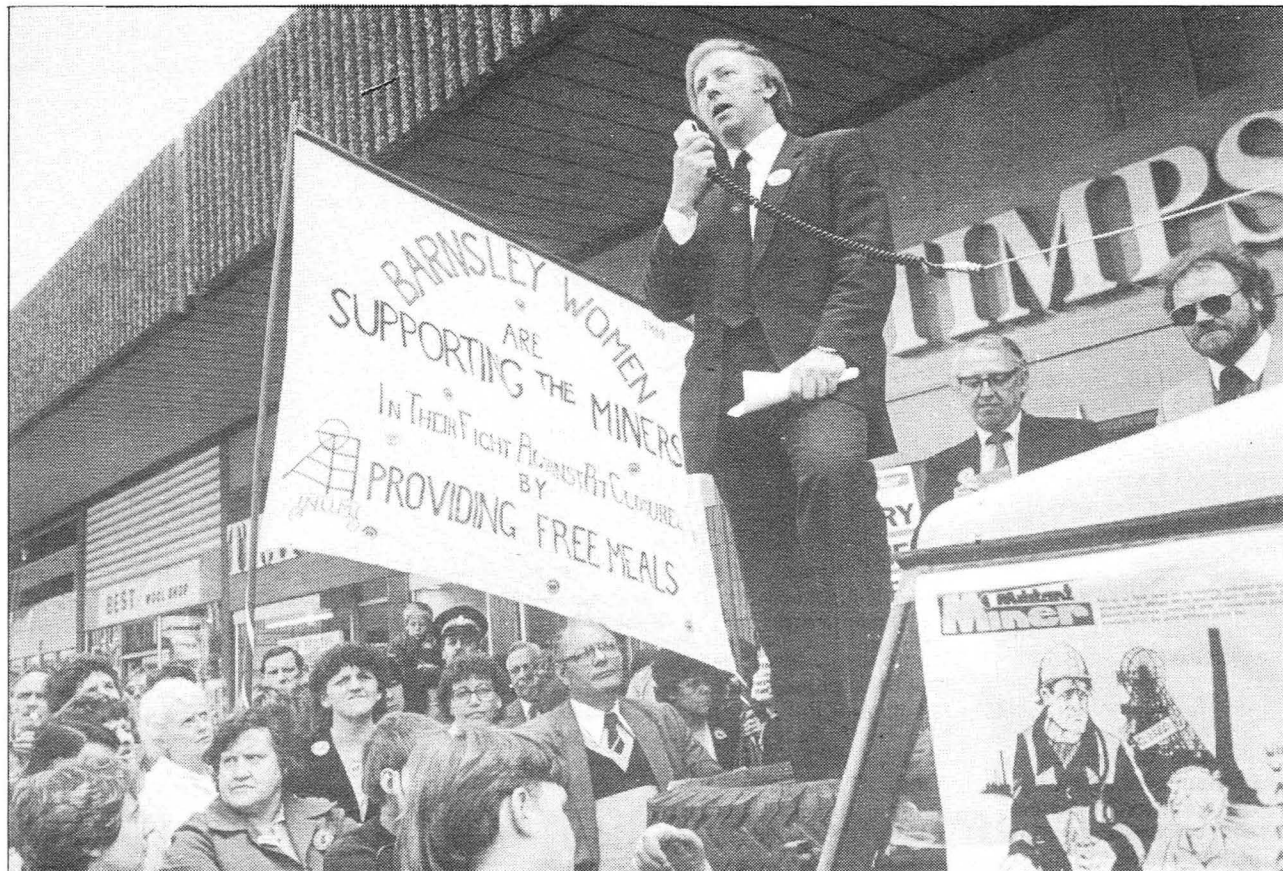
Kinsley Drift pit continues its valiant battle against closure. The National Coal Board are attempting to shut Cadeby and are threatening to close South Kirkby, Woolley and Park Mill.

1,500 jobs, half the workshops, despite the fact BREL's Doncaster workshop despite the fact that it made a profit of £2.26 million last year. This is obviously a prelude to privatisation.

The Brymbo-Wrexham steelworks is also under threat and if this plant closes it will have a knock-on effect on other steel plants in South Yorkshire. "Coaltown is now a Doletown" was the headline in a local paper last week.

In the Barnsley area the unemployment rate is now 21.2 per cent, one in five. Between April 1985 and April 1986 a staggering 23.7 per cent increase in out of work claimants was registered. Perhaps Lord Young wasn't thinking of Barnsley when he made his infamous 'You've never had it so good' speech.

Whole communities are



being ravaged by unemployment. Youngsters face nothing but the dole queues or slave labour on YTS. Even Barnsley football club are in danger of going bankrupt.

### Success

But workers are fighting back. The successful battle against closure at Darfield Main and Kinsley Drift's continuing fight can be used

as the basis of a co-ordinated fightback amongst the three industries.

Similarly, Sheffield Forgemasters' successful ten-week battle shows what can be achieved.

A joint campaign against closure and job losses needs to be launched in the Yorkshire area. Not only at the top of the unions, but amongst the rank and file as well. Leaflets and meetings

must be organised to explain the issues and the alternatives to the workforces and local communities. Roll back the tide of redundancies and prevent the decimation of Yorkshire's industrial base. A united fight back would be a successful fight.

Last Friday Ian MacGregor was given a knighthood and was interviewed at a tennis tournament in Bournemouth. Let's be charitable and assume he

was working nights. On the same day a good union man was killed whilst working at Houghton Main colliery.

Who is really the 'enemy within'—the workers who risk their lives and health every day or parasites like MacGregor and his class who are honoured for devastating our jobs and industries.

**By Simon Duerden**  
(Barnsley Labour Party)

## Kilnhurst closure threat

**AS PART** of the redundancies in South Yorkshire coalfields, my pit, Kilnhurst is slashing 117 jobs, reducing us to 200 men.

Fewer men have put in for redundancies than management want. To make matters worse the redundancies have been broken down into categories.

Among the higher paid facemen, more have applied for redundancy than management want. Whereas among outbye workers who are lower paid, few want to take redundancy.

### Outbye

This stems from the long period when the Coal Board haven't been training anyone to work on the face. As a result young lads have had to remain on outbye work and there is now a very high level of young miners working in an area where the NCB want redundancies.

We need to know what will happen to these lads. One of the rumours is that they may be transferred to another pit. This is not acceptable to anyone.

One thing is certain, we'll not see the NCB starting face training which would give the outbye workers who want to work on the face the chance to do so, and would also reduce the outbye manning levels to their targets.

**By JG Ironmonger**  
(Kilnhurst NUM)

## South Wales miners Executive shame gala and their history

**THE SOUTH** Wales Miners' Gala is normally a show of strength and working class unity but this year's event was soured by the action of the Area NUM Executive (SNUM).

In previous years all socialist newspapers have been allowed to sell and hold stalls. This year was no exception—unless you were a *Militant* supporter!

Prior to the day SNUM Executive made the unprecedented decision to refuse us a stall. *Militant* supporters in the NUM produced leaflets exposing this decision and the fact that the SNUM delegation to the Wales Labour Party Conference supported the witch-hunt resolution there, against the policy determined at the previous Area Conference.

In the week running up to the Gala these leaflets were distributed at the South Wales pits and were well received by the rank and file. However, at one pit, Abernant, the lodge chairman reported paper sellers to the management. They were ordered to leave and not return. At the same time sectarian groups were allowed to stay!

At the Gala itself *Militant* supporters were prevented from selling the paper whilst other papers were freely on sale. I was initially barred from the field by miners' agent Emyln Jenkins even though I had my papers in a bag. "*Militants* are not allowed at the Gala" he said.

Unable to sell papers, *Militant* supporters petitioned the miners and their wives for support. The response from the rank and file was excellent. Over £75 was raised from copper collections and many petitioners were being asked for LPYS and *Militant* stickers and papers.

This is further evidence of the unfortunate drift of the South Wales leadership to the



LPYS members and *Militant* supporters were prominent in the defence of South Wales NUM Headquarters when threatened with sequestration. President Emyln Williams congratulated them in *Militant*.

right—in the opposite direction to the membership. This movement comes in the wake of the marvellous presidential campaign mounted by Ian Isaac in November of last year under the slogan of a 'Miners' President on a Miners' Wage', winning one in four votes.

### Leadership's record

Attendance at the gala was well down on previous years. This could well have been because the invited speaker was Neil Kinnock. Many mining communities retain a bitter memory of the neglect of the Labour leadership during the year-long strike and the absence of many Welsh MPs from the picket lines.

Normally the guest speaker is decided by the rank and file through their area conference. Without a conference taking place last year, the executive decided to invite the Labour leader. This year's conference overwhelmingly voted for Arthur Scargill to address next year's gala with Kinnock in an ignominious position trailing Brenda Dean of SOGAT in popularity.

## Scottish tribunals ignored

**THE LAST** industrial tribunal for Scotland's miners sacked during the epic struggle of 1984/85 has closed. Both "winners" and "losers" are still outside the pit gates.

Ninety Scottish miners remain sacked after losing their tribunals or failing to get a tribunal hearing. A further 40 remain sacked despite winning and being recommended for re-employment and compensation.

Richard White of Edinburgh highlights one case which shows up the full injustice of it.

24 year old Alex Herriot, a face-worker at Monktonhall Colliery Midlothian, and Newton Grange strike committee activist, was sacked after an incident on a picket line at Newbattle workshops.

### Accident

He attempted to speak to a previous close friend to dissuade him from his first attempt at scabbing. Because the man was ashamed his head was down, eyes downcast, and the two bumped into each other.

Alex Herriot was promptly dragged off by the police, charged with breach of the peace while the scab entered work. This led to him being sacked. At his tribunal his sacking was held to have been correct for the 'intimidation of a working miner'.

Two years later he has been told he is "too old" (at 24) at a recent job interview. His wife Bessie has been forced to take a low-paid sweat-shop job. His father and his brother also remain sacked.

## Kinnock on reinstatement but Scottish non-campaign

**NEIL KINNOCK** has given an unequivocal commitment to reinstate all sacked miners. At a meeting of 50 Scottish victimised miners in London to lobby parliament he declared that every miner would get reinstated 'within days of a Labour government coming to power.'

When approached after the meeting, Kinnock said that reinstatement would extend to those who had lost their industrial tribunal and even those jailed would be reinstated on their release.

Yet men who had lost their tribunal hearing were not allowed by the Scottish NUM leadership to attend the lobby.

The man behind the reinstatement campaign in Scotland is Area Vice-president and Communist

Party chairman, George Bolton.

He has concentrated on enlisting the support of the churches, chief constables and 'democratic' institutions. Industrial action is considered 'divisive' and 'a thing of the past'. Discriminating between individual cases is seen as necessary to gain support from 'respectable' bodies.

Meanwhile those miners neglected in the campaign are beginning to feel more and more isolated. The NUM must adopt a principled stand of demanding reinstatement with full compensation for all sacked miners.

**By Chris Herriot**  
(sacked Monktonhall miner)

### The Miners' unfinished war

**New pamphlet Out now!**

Militant Miner publication. Price 50p plus 25p p&sp. From World Socialist Books, 3-13 Hepscoot Rd, E9 5HB.

# Industrial Reports

## Nalgo leaders prepare for cuts climb-down

THE NALGO national executive did a complete turnabout at the union's annual conference in Bournemouth this week by changing their recommendation and opposing existing policy on joint trade union council campaigns against cuts.

No reason was given for the U-turn, but it was undoubtedly because the NEC felt embarrassed at opposing the Liverpool branch on their resolution promoting the climb-down.

The Liverpool branch promoted rate rises as an acceptable alternative for Labour councils, passing the burden of cuts onto rates rather than organising a fight-back.

Many of the arguments of the Liverpool branch took the form of an attack on the Liverpool council for their role during the recent financial crisis. They implied that the council had embarked on the campaign needlessly.

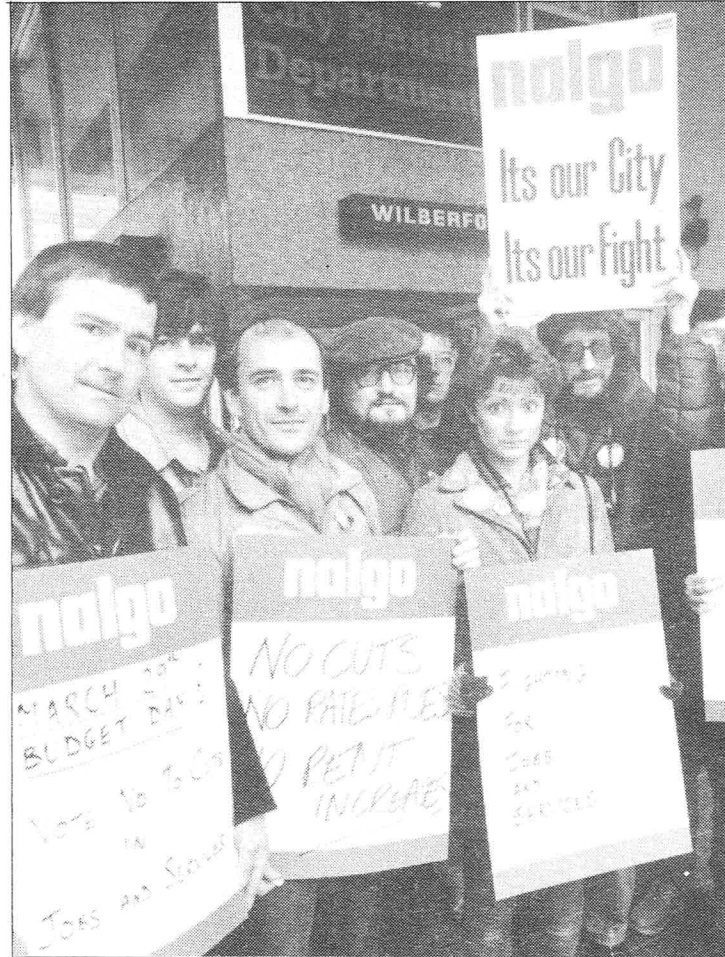
No reason was given for the NEC's U-turn although Jim White said that the NEC was to be flexible about deficit budgeting strategy.

The alliance of the so-called 'left' Liverpool branch with the right wing NEC is an indication of the shifting ground in the labour movement. As a result of this climbdown Labour councillors who were urged by Nalgo to 'go illegal' will be isolated from an important section of the local authority workforce and the Tory government will undoubtedly take heart at today's vote.

On the other hand, conference reflected the real interests of the members with a vote to give £5,000 to the Liverpool and Lambeth appeal fund and against the executives' recommendation to refuse to co-operate with minority controlled councils in the wake of councillors being disqualified.

By Roger Bannister

Knowsley Nalgo, expelled member of the Labour Party)



Nalgo conference previously supported the Liverpool strategy for resisting cuts but the leadership failed to mobilise its members nationally or even in Liverpool in action when the crunch came.

Photo: Militant

## News in Brief

### Newcastle cuts

OVER 200 social work staff in Nalgo and Nupe staged a half-day strike last Friday against cuts proposed by Labour-controlled Newcastle City Council.

The council want to save £284,000 by cutting 28 social work posts. This is in addition to the 12 posts which were cut in 1984.

Staff and consumers from all over the city lobbied the social services committee and most area offices were closed for the morning.

Pickets at one office where eight staff went into work were pleased when the postmen showed solidarity by refusing to cross the picket line.

Other cuts in social services include the closing of an old peo-

ple's home, reducing meals on wheels service, closing area offices for several hours each day and cutting back on grants for holidays and telephones for the elderly and the disabled. At the same social services meeting they were considering establishing a YTS scheme.

Afterwards Nalgo members agreed to take selective industrial action and refused to do certain duties. This is in addition to the 'no cover' action which has been operating in many offices for some months because of lack of staff.

Many feel that rather than outdo the Tories by reducing the rates as much as possible, some of the £2.8 million extra grant given by the government should have helped to protect services.

### Out of the Paddock

CLEANERS PICKETING outside the Paddock Hotel in Salford told LOUISA GRAVES how they ended up on the outside—turning away custom and deliveries. She talked to Alma Kay, Glenys Gilmore and Anne Bunting.

It started three months ago when they were asked to take a cuts in hours by one and a half so that they worked alternate mornings, three one week, four the next.

They were then offered two and a half hours but they couldn't complete the work in the time allowed.

On Thursday 5 June they were told to report to management at Boddingtons' brewery in Manchester.

At the meeting with a Mr

Shivers they were told to accept a cut in their wages or face the sack.

They have resisted the brewery's attempts to cut their hours to less than 16 a week because it would mean loss of statutory rights.

Boddingtons' have refused to meet the women's TGWU official and claim that they have been made redundant. But by bringing in cleaners from Liverpool management have admitted that the jobs are still there.

They are getting good support on the picket. The Dray Lads have refused to deliver beer. Bin men and painters and decorators are honouring the picket and many customers are refusing to drink there until the women are reinstated.

## Hosiery and Knitwear conference

# Women's involvement in fighting low pay

THE DEBATE on women's participation was one of the few contentious debates in the first two days of the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers (NUHKW) Conference.

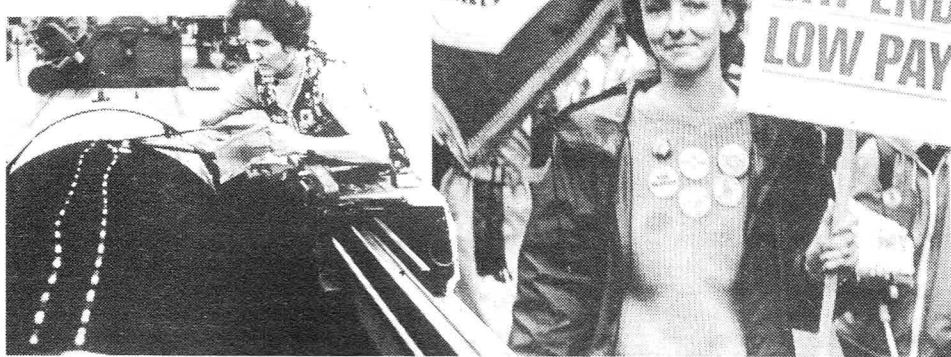
By Margaret Creear

This year 68 of the 159 delegates were women. 70 per cent of the membership is female.

The North West District resolution sought to build on the growing confidence and willingness to participate women have shown in the last few years by providing creches at union events and by allowing the organisation of meetings in works time, particularly District Committee meetings.

The debate became very heated when a male delegate opposed creches, explaining the "responsibilities of parenthood", by which he clearly meant motherhood, as he went on to say his wife hadn't gone out to work but stayed at home to look after the children.

More serious opposition came from full time officials who argued that paying loss of earnings would be financially crippling for the union. But one District Officer who supported the resolution pointed out that at worst this would only need 0.5p per week on subs.



North West Labour Women's Organisation held a successful demonstration against low pay in Manchester last month.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

In replying the vice president said workers were finding it increasingly difficult to get time off work for union activity and Lord Young was proposing reducing what rights already existed. This was just one example of the line taken by the leadership in reply to many issues; the bosses are being awkward therefore we should limit our demands on them.

Unfortunately by rather odd procedure the provision of creche facilities was carried but not the part referring to meetings in works time.

The main theme running through the conference was the problems of low paid workers and the growing hopes that are being pinned on the minimum wage.

There was opposition to the use of piece rates, the 'replacement for slavery'.

Workers were being subjected to constant retiming as output went up. As one delegate put it, after every pay increase 'out comes the watch and five per cent becomes three and a half per cent'. The resolution calling for a 10 per cent pay rise was unfortunately remitted.

### Minimum wage

There's no doubt about the growth of support for a national minimum wage. Joyce Ambrose from the North West attacked the argument that low pay protects jobs. 75 per cent of job losses over the last few years had been of the low paid. She called for a national minimum wage of £110. Many delegates expressed their support for a figure around this level.

The NC put forward a statement they intended to

submit to the TUC calling for a national minimum wage for their industry of 75 per cent of male earnings which would be about £98. The North West managed to carry, on a card vote, that before voting took place there should be a major debate in the conference.

The hosiery and knitwear union was the first to ballot for a political fund. The turnout was 82 per cent, and an overwhelming vote in favour. But the issue of affiliation to the Labour Party has not been raised this year although several delegates referred to the need for a Labour government.

This will have to be tackled in the near future. As one officer, Bas Morris from Leicester put it, 'Even the cost of a loaf of bread involves political decisions.'

### Manchester maternity

THE MATERNITY Unit at Withington Hospital, South Manchester is now at crisis point.

There's only one post-natal ward open all the time—the other is only open Monday – Friday so anyone who develops problems, mother or baby, is shunted downstairs to the seven-day ward.

The pressure is on to move out by Friday, yet too-early release increases the risk of infection and re-admittance.

Due to the £3m cuts last year in the District Health Authority (and £3.8m more threatened this year) all aspects of the service are suffering.

Complaints about the small helpings of food are constant and when a friend was in recently there weren't even clean bowls

and towels each day for the babies—again increasing risk of infection.

Staff morale is abysmal—one in seven midwife posts nationally are vacant due to the pressure on those left and the low wages. There's no job satisfaction when you don't have the chance to do your job properly and are coping with cuts in staff and equipment.

The District Health Authority's solution to problems in the hospitals and the subsequent outcry from patients and staff, including the consultants, is to appoint a public relations officer!

By Margaret Manning  
(Chair, Withington CLP Women's Section)

### Furniture strikers

THE FURNITURE, Timber and Allied Trades Union conference pledged continuing support for the Silentnight and Morris strikers.

The Bedding Federation, uniting employers in bed manufacture across the country, are wary about taking action against workers precisely because they fear another Silentnight.

A proposal to establish a special permanent strike fund to back disputes was defeated.

Conference also called for the return of a Labour government pledged to left wing policies including immediate renationalisation of privatised assets with compensation only on

proven need, free collective bargaining, and a return to full employment.

The Militant readers' meeting was held jointly with delegates to the Bakers' Union and over £107 was raised at the meeting for the fighting fund.

Meanwhile Silentnight's local paper the Craven Herald announcing the anniversary of the strike, reported that "there will be no parties to celebrate this particular birthday".

Wrong again Herald! There will be celebrations—with barbecues, etc, taking place to commemorate the start of the strike.

By Pete Watson

# Militant

**MOBILISE** now for National Anti-Apartheid demonstration. Saturday 28 June, Hyde Park, Central London from 11am.

## Expelled



**DEREK HATTON**, expelled from the Labour Party for defending Liverpool workers' jobs and services, defying the capitalists and their government. (see page 2 and 3)

## Knighted



Photo: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)

**IAN MACGREGOR**, knighted for services to capitalism, destroying miners' jobs, while losing taxpayers £15 billion during the coal strike. (see pages 4 and 14)

## Workers' sanctions

(from page 1)

Whatever has been said by the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) report, none of the Western governments have the slightest intention of implementing serious sanctions against South Africa.

The motives of the EPG—promoting a negotiated settlement in advocating sanctions—have become clear. Fraser, its leading member, warned of the consequences of Thatcher's and Botha's policies: "In 8 to 10 years, numbers will prevail and a radical black government is bound to emerge whose first action would be to nationalise all Western interests and Britain would lose all."

This is the real purpose of 'sanctions' by the capitalist

states—not to cripple the South African economy and bring apartheid to an end, but to sabotage the revolutionary demands of the youth and workers to expropriate capitalism and bring to power a workers' state to eliminate racism and poverty.

We must fight for a labour movement campaign of action against Botha: for union sanctions against apartheid!

I urge all Labour Party and union members to join in the demonstration called by the Anti-Apartheid Movement on 28 June to support a campaign for union sanctions now, for freedom and socialism in South Africa.

## Build direct links

**THE SOUTHERN African Labour Education Project** has urged all sections of the British Labour movement to condemn the arrest of trade union leaders in South Africa under the state of emergency declared on June 12, to provide concrete support for, and the building of direct links with, the South African workers in struggle.

**LIVERPOOL LPYS** rally and social on South Africa Saturday 21 June 7.30pm Liverpool Polytechnic, Haig Building, Maryland Street.

to aid the building of COSATU and the ANC as mass working class organisations capable of fighting for a democratic socialist South Africa and to call upon the shadow cabinet and TUC general council to launch a national campaign of industrial action against South African trade.

**LONDON LPYS** Soweto Solidarity rally—21 June, 2–5pm, Brixton Recreation Centre, London SW2.

## Free jailed workers

**WITHIN HOURS** of the state of emergency being declared, information was received from COSATU sources in South Africa that a savage attack was being launched against the union leadership.

At least 61 regional officers, shop stewards, and members of COSATU—the biggest trade union federation, with a membership of 650,000—have been arrested and detained, and the police are reported to be looking for the national COSATU leadership who have gone into hiding.

### Brutal conditions

It is also reported that many of the Council of Unions of South Africa (membership 150,000) have been detained, including its general secretary Phiroshaw Camay, president James

Mdaweni, assistant general secretary Mahloma Skosana, head of women's unit Dale Tifflin, and regional organiser Joyce Sebe.

The detainees face brutal conditions in an attempt to break their determination.

No books or newspapers will be allowed "barring the bible or other holy book or selected magazines supplied by the prison".

They face solitary confinement, "dietary punishment" and beatings as the penalty for singing, whistling, negligence, or for insolence to prison officers during interrogation.

COSATU members detained include: N Williams, regional vice-chairman, Western Cape. C Khuymalo, regional secretary, Pretoria. M Oliphant, regional secretary, Natal. D Hartford, Editor.

Metal and Allied Workers' union: J Vilane, vice president. W Mchunu, Northern Natal branch secretary. L Mandaleola, shop steward at Robert Bosch. J Mogakwe, Pretoria. P Jaantjes, Transvaal secretary. P Pheko, organiser, Benoni. A Bird, education secretary. J Mthimba. B Modisapodi.

National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union: S Ramakobe, organiser. V Ramakobe, shop steward, Firestone. V Mohakwe, organiser, Pretoria.

Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union: T Mkhwanazi, organiser, Natal. V Mkhonza, shop steward. R Peterson, organiser, Bloemfontein.

Paper, Wood and Allied Workers' Union: S Khubeka, secretary, Transvaal.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union: B Vally, education officer. O Maroeletsi, organiser, Bloemfontein. R Mnculwane, organiser, Harrismith. F Mazibuko, shop steward, Harrismith. M Cindi, shop steward, Harrismith. O Malgas. K Thibe. R Ncumali. E

Mongale. O Marentsi. B Boikanyo. S Patsa. P Bekkers. Matsoso.

Chemical Workers' Industrial Union: V Mavu, industrial organiser. C Bonner, secretary, Transvaal. V Mavusi.

National Union of Textile Workers: S Mkhwanazi, shop steward, Harrismith. P Maphalala, shop steward, Harrismith. Maruma. Z Galela.

Food and Canning Workers' Union: A Mentoer, organiser, Western Cape. N Macdonald, organiser, Western Cape. W Zweni, shop steward, Western Cape. Lenton, shop steward, Beaufort West. A Nyati, shop steward, Harrismith.

National Union of Mineworkers: J Pathe, coordinator.

Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union: D Neer, organiser, Port Elizabeth. Duze, organiser, Port Elizabeth. Dennis. I Mcgiana.

South African Allied Workers' Union: K Dau. P Molepo. J Masemula.

General Workers' Union: L Ditshigo. N Maramu, organiser, Western Cape.

Transport and General Workers' Union: P Lazarus, organiser. J Nthombela, president of TGWU, regional chairman of COSATU.

Clothing Workers' Union: L Erasmus.

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