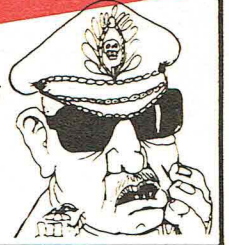


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Tebbit's threat to jobless

NORMAN TEBBIT, the Tory Party chairman, wants dole payments to be cut in areas of 'low' unemployment. Poverty, he hopes will then force a lot of the jobless to find work so that the money could possibly then be given to others in high unemployment areas.

The idea is dangerous nonsense. National levels of wages and benefits have safeguarded workers from the harshest effects of 'market' forces. They make it harder for the bosses to play off the employed against the unemployed.

"His plans are ridiculous" says Rhoda Matthews, out of work in 'affluent' Brighton: "You can only get seasonal jobs down here. Without a couple of A levels you have got no chance."

Qualifications

"Even when I went for a job in a cafe they asked for my qualifications. Brighton is a very expensive place to live. You are surrounded by designer shops, while living on £26 a week."

Where are these low unemployment areas, anyway? The British Aerospace factory at Weybridge in Surrey is to close, losing 2,500 jobs.

Officially Tebbit's views have been given the brush off by the government, because of potential opposition and administrative problems. But they reflect the thoughts of many big business and Tory leaders.

Sir Hector Laing of United Biscuits has com-

By Roger Shrivess

plained that the low wages he pays in his restaurants are not far enough above benefit levels, so he wants benefits to come down. The Institute of Directors want to cut £24 billion from the DHSS budget and force people into low paid jobs.

But where are these jobs? Even though the Tory government have made 16 different changes in the way unemployment figures are counted they still go up. They would now have reached 15 per cent if the old methods were still used. Millions of jobs in industry have been lost, and two-thirds of those few created since 1983 have only been part time.

As the dole queues have grown, poverty has got worse. 16 million now live on or just above the poverty line, a rise of 5 million, the worst level this century. The government tried to hide these figures, announcing them in a written House of Commons reply, with the full figures only available in the Commons library which has closed down for the summer recess! And now the government plan to change



"Some people find life in the safety net a little too comfortable. They don't attempt to climb the ladder." — Norman Tebbit.

the way poverty is calculated from next year.

The Tories also delayed publication of new figures showing that the death rate for semi-skilled and unskilled workers had risen to 120 per cent higher than for managers and professionals.

The Labour opposition should start making things hotter for the Tories by campaigning on a programme of real socialist change, to stop Tebbit and his rich backers inflicting more misery on the unemployed and low paid.

Cash urgent

RUSH IN money to *Militant's* Fighting Fund by 5 August. Send off your last minute donation. Use the petitions, tins and stickers. Use the solidarity price to sell the paper for at least £1. Fight back, send cash.

Militant

Editor: Peter Taaffe
Militant, 3-13 Hepscoot Road London E9 5HB.
Phone: 01-533 3311.

The Tories' dilemma

NO WONDER Tory whips were keen to pack off MPs for their summer break as early as possible. The collapse in support for the Tories in the opinion polls and their humiliation at Newcastle-under-Lyme and previous by-elections, have led to public rifts amongst Tory backbenchers, now turning on their leader. Nothing like a looming general election to concentrate Tory MP's minds.

There has been clear dissent over the threatened sale of Austin Rover to America, the abortive attempt at water privatisation and most recently over sanctions against South Africa. The government has been defeated 17 times this term in the Tory-controlled Lords. But with the report of the Defence Select Committee in particular, the Westland fiasco has simmered on. The government even delayed the report's publication so there could be no full debate this session.

Westland finally shattered the Falklands factor myth of Thatcher as a masterful, major world figure, re-establishing Britain's waning power and influence. Now she is finally exposed as just a cheap, conniving politician. Labour MPs shouted after her as she left the final question time before the recess—"Mrs Nixon". Tam Dalyell suggested that the infamous leak of the Solicitor General's 'confidential' letter criticising Heseltine was planned by the Prime Minister from the start.

The Tory government, unprepared to give state assistance to the country's ailing sole helicopter manufacturer, apparently initially encouraged Heseltine to seek a European bid, in addition to Westland's own preferred American buy-out. But by December last year, the then Trade and Industry Secretary, Leon Brittan, and presumably Thatcher, had decided that all their eggs should be placed in the American basket.

Then developed the unseemly squabble between Brittan and Heseltine, with everything being done to denigrate the latter and the European option. Thatcher and Brittan pushed the Solicitor General to write to Heseltine questioning the legality of his advice that the American link would damage future Westland sales in Europe. This was the letter leaked by Trade and Industry officials with Brittan's approval, and with the consent of Thatcher's office, in particular her press secretary, Bernard Ingham. But incredibly Thatcher still claims that she knew nothing of the leak.

After all this came the farce of the leak inquiry. Sir Robert Armstrong, head of Thatcher's own cabinet office was instructed to discover the source of the leak, even though as the Defence Select Committee concluded, he knew the result before he started. As one Labour MP explained, anyone else would be charged with 'wasting police time'. But as a result, Brittan's resignation was added to that of Heseltine.

The select committee was refused the right to question departmental officials or Bernard Ingham, which might just have proved from how high up in the cabinet the leak emanated.

The whole affair sheds further light on the division within the cabinet between those representing finance and those representing industrial capital. Heseltine speaking up for the latter, was finally moved by the destruction of manufacturing industry under Thatcher's monetarism, and wanted to retain a strong, independent industrial base for Britain. His resignation also represented the laying down of a personal marker for office for the future. It was not just noble concern for Westland and least of all for the fate of its workforce. But the majority of the cabinet still believe British capitalism can survive relying primarily on banking, finance and services.

The deceit, back-stabbing, and cover-up also said something about the calibre of the ruling class' political representatives. No longer the Tory grandees, steeped in tradition and diplomatic skills, attempting to give the impression of one nation, but capitalism in crisis has thrown up a new breed of ignorant, politically short-sighted upstarts. This is the meaning of the Queen's dislike of Thatcher's insensitivity and public old-heartedness. Even now with their popularity at rock bottom, Tebbit (the Thatcher clone) suggests cutting dole payments.

But should Westland have blown over by October when Parliament reassembles, the other more fundamental problems confronting the Tories will persist. Unemployment over the last half year has risen by 15,000 a month compared to 3,000 a month over the previous half year. And 83 per cent of those polled in June thought unemployment the single most important issue. The EEC's *Economic Outlook* predicts double figure unemployment for the rest of the decade. Neither section of capitalism, neither wing of the Tory party, can solve this crisis, inherent to their system. A clear exposition of the need for a full socialist programme, a campaign to reveal the utter rottenness of capitalism and its politicians, could guarantee Labour a majority. Labour Party members must demand a commitment from their leaders to take the Party along this road.

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Pensioners demonstrate in London against a paltry increase in pensions of 40p, as compared to MPs salaries, (although the recent rise was for MP's secretaries).

Defiant message from LPYS summer camp

STOP THE attacks on the LPYS. Get rid of Thatcher, and get a socialist Labour government in.

That has been the defiant message from over 450 members of the Labour Party Young Socialists at their summer camp this week.

The high spot of the rather soggy week so far has been the Liverpool fights the Tories rally on Sunday evening, and the session on the Spanish revolution on Monday evening.

Liverpool councillor Harry Smith said that he was put up for expulsion (but later reprieved) on the grounds that he had spoken at two *Militant* readers' meetings. He had spoken at hundreds of *Militant* readers' meetings, he said, but the NEC had managed to pick the only two that he'd not attended!

Bob Edwards MP, who fought in the International Brigade, gave a moving speech on the Spanish civil

war, followed by an explanation of the background and consequences of the war by Alan Woods.

The mix of politics and leisure seem to have struck a good balance for new LPYS members. Stephen Trousee from Stevenage said: "At the camp the bringing together of political ideas strengthens your convictions. It shows that to fight the right wing attacks, the LPYS is becoming a mass movement. I am really enjoying myself."

THE ATTACKS on the LPYS which have been introduced by Tom Sawyer, NUPE representative on Labour's executive, have particularly angered Young Socialists at the summer camp.

The proposals to reduce the LPYS age limit to 21, change the decision making regional conferences into ineffective workshops and denying the right of the national conference to elect its

own NEC representative, have spurred its members to approach the labour and trade union movement to defend the autonomy of the LPYS.

Members of Tom Sawyer's own union, NUPE, pledged to go back to their union branches, and lead the campaign against the proposals.

But it's the Tories who are the real enemy. Bermondsey LPYS have organised a national demonstration on 18 October, under the slogan "Drive the Tories out". General election now. For a socialist Labour government".

The LPYS National Committee and all the members at the camp overwhelmingly endorse the call for this demonstration. One young member said: "I can't wait for this demonstration, just like I can't wait to get rid of Thatcher and her cronies".

By Helen Watson

Bermondsey Labour wins by-election

LAST THURSDAY night in Bermondsey Labour Party rooms the sound of *The Red Flag* and *Here we go* marked the first by-election win for Labour in eight years.

The council elections last May saw Labour start its recovery against the Tories 'second eleven' when the Liberals' overall majority in the constituency fell by 5,000 to only 1,200. In the Dockyard ward the Liberals beat Pat O'Sullivan, an electrician well known in the ward for many years, by 17 votes. The Liberal councillor then resigned after one month, in mysterious circumstances. Then on 24 July Pat O'Sullivan was victorious.

The votes this time in a 35.7 per cent poll, were Tory 72; National Front 50; Liberal 1,041; Labour 1,168. The Tories have been reduced to a sect in Bermondsey.



John Bryan.

It augurs well for the next general election, as workers in Bermondsey are now seeing the Liberals in their true colours—deepest blue.

Liberal MP Simon Hughes should start packing his bags, clearing his office and preparing his farewells, because the next MP for Bermondsey will be Labour's prospective candidate, Marxist John Bryan.

By Mick Souter

Politics mirrored in the games

THE COMMONWEALTH games—now Britain versus the Falkland Islands—are surrounded by controversy after many African and Caribbean teams joined the boycott in protest at Thatcher's support for Botha.

The games were intended to cement together the Commonwealth, the fag-end of the British Empire, while political and commercial reality were dragging it apart. The Commonwealth has been a useful source of prestige and influence for British imperialism.

But the Tory press who normally support racist campaigns to stop black people coming to Britain are angry at these black athletes not coming to Edinburgh. They are bringing politics into sport! Its not cricket.

But this is nothing new. Thatcher herself wanted British athletes to join US President Carter's boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980 over Afghanistan. South African cricketers used to play tests against Australia, New Zealand and England but not the West Indies, India or Pakistan. That was politics—apartheid politics.

You can't keep politics out of sport—or "private enterprise" either it seems. Guinness, that well known health food, is advertised all over the athletes' vests, including that of the unwilling Daley Thompson.

And who is that character who has his products advertised over the medal ceremony podium and at the bottom of the electronic scoreboards which regularly show on TV. Why it's Robert Maxwell who has got himself a nice advertising deal for the Mirror Group Newspapers for "saving the games" through fund raising schemes.

Maxwell is one of the loudest complainers about politics in sports. He has threatened to send a bill for £2 million to the boycotting countries. Maxwell's Pergamon Press also has two subsidiaries in South Africa.

Expelled for socialist beliefs



Cheryl Varley.

"I NEED a Labour government more than anyone in this room," Cheryl Varley told Labour's National Executive Committee on 24 July. "I live in Liverpool 8 next door to a derelict house that is rat-infested. My 19 month old baby is in danger from third world diseases. No-one here lives in these sort of conditions."

She was expelled from the party by 12 votes to 8, with Michael Meacher's vote being added to the usual left number. But she did not go without a fight. Cheryl put the right wing MPs and full time officials sitting round the table on the spot.

Her obvious sincerity and commitment had an impact. Neil Kinnock was forced to explain that the hearing was "not about how committed Cheryl Varley is, her social conditions or how fiery she is in her support for socialism." It is a good job for some of the NEC members that these were not the issues at stake, otherwise they might have been in the dock instead.

The meeting was as big a travesty as the previous NEC inquisitions. The 'evidence' linking her to *Militant* upon which she was expelled comprised:—two articles in *Mersey Militant* and a *Militant Student* manifesto produced (but never circulated), and not written by Cheryl or even seen by her until afterwards, urging the March 1985 conference of the National Organisation of Labour Students to vote for her as its Women's Officer.

But for a party leadership that abhors retrospective action, it is ironic that she was

named by the NEC's initial inquiry into Liverpool in February, yet this particular exhibit in their case, was dated March.

It was the office of the National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS), that held on to the incriminating manifesto, and then passed it on to the NEC for further action. NOLS is controlled by the *Democratic Left* group. As *Militant* will urge the electorate to vote for Labour and for Neil Kinnock, should he be expelled?" Tony Benn pointedly asked.

Regarding the *Mersey Militant* articles, Cheryl asked for her press releases printed in the *Liverpool Echo*, her interviews on Radio City etc to be taken into account. As a student sabbatical officer in Liverpool, she had used every means to publicise the effects of the Fowler review, which all these articles referred to. Micheal Meacher felt compelled to explain that similarly when he issued press releases, *Tribune* might publicise them in full as articles, while the capitalist press would only use quotes.

"I would like to thank you," he added, "for the very important work you have done on the Fowler Review."

Cheryl was expelled for her beliefs in Labour's traditional fighting socialist policies. Dennis Skinner told her, "you've frightened those people on that side." (the right). As Tony Benn confirmed: "the more you speak with that commitment to socialism, the more determined they will be to throw you out."

By a Militant reporter

Concannon quits—expulsions dropped

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of the retirement at the next election of Mansfield Labour MP Don Concannon comes as no surprise to activists within the constituency.

Although the reason given is ill health following a car accident last year, he has been under increasing pressure over the last few months because of his support for the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM).

At the June General Management Committee

(GMC) meeting he was under pressure for two hours over this issue. He refused to seek re-sponsorship from the National Union of Mineworkers, even if the GMC was in favour of it. Many delegates saw this as Concannon refusing to accept any accountability to the local party.

The announcement of his retirement has overshadowed Mansfield Labour Party executive's decision to recommend to next week's GMC that expulsion procedures against five *Militant*

supporters be dropped for the time being. This was decided after legal advice had been sought by party officers.

The fight in Mansfield will now continue to ensure a Labour candidate is selected who will fight in Parliament for the interests of the working class rather than support a bosses' organisation like the UDM.

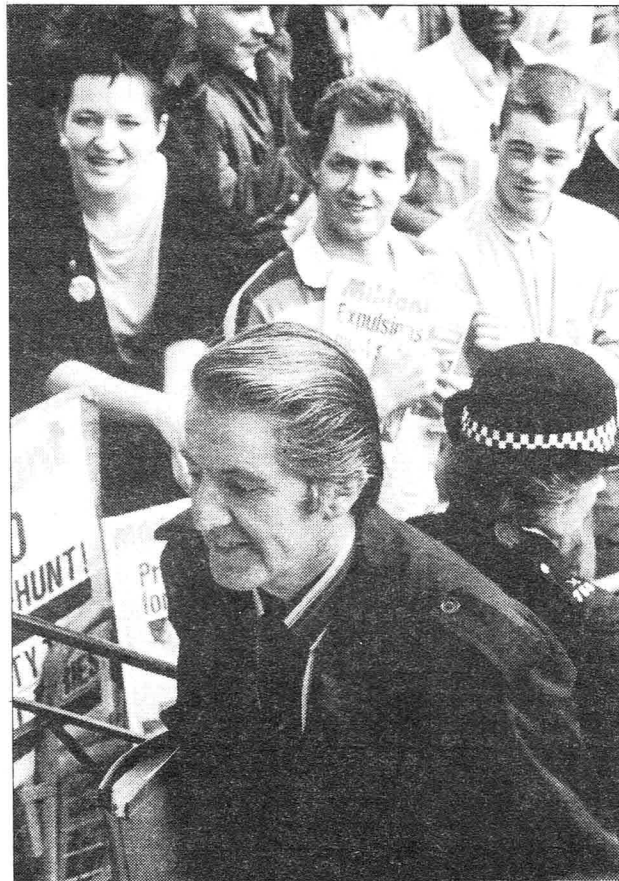
By Paul Shawcroft and Martin Benn

Union youth condemn LPYS plans

A MEETING of the London Area Youth Advisory Committee of the manufacturing union TASS, on 22 July unanimously passed a resolution opposing the proposed changes to the structure of the LPYS. In particular the proposal to lower the age limit from 26 to 21 was opposed as this would disqualify the entire National Youth Advisory

Committee of TASS from membership of the LPYS, as the age limit for the youth committee in TASS is also 26. This shows how false the claims are that these proposals would assist greater trade union involvement in the Labour Party.

By a TASS member



Dennis Skinner—"You've frightened those people".

Fascists forced off streets

MEMBERS OF the Labour Party Young Socialists, and *Militant* supporters became aware that the fascists were planning 'activities' in Oldham on Saturday 19 July through reports in the local paper. The National Front had the cheek to call a demonstration in support of free speech—not something they are renowned for. It was also revealed that they are planning to intervene in local schools and colleges with an intensive recruitment campaign.

The LPYS took the immediate initiative to call for a counter-demo, produced over 6,000 leaflets in English and Urdu and called a public meeting to discuss the ways to combat fascism. They also went out on factory visits, and made contact with the local Asian, Bengali and West Indian communities and with the anti-fascist group OCARF (Oldham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism).

Although the Labour council had banned the National Front demo, they had also banned the anti-fascist demo. But we were determined not to let the fascists march, so we rallied in a local Bengali centre ready to mobilise if they appeared on the streets.

Tory links

The anti-fascist demo was a major victory. Over 400 people were at the rally. The main sentiment was summed up by LPYS representative Nassima Patel who said: "It's time for black and white to unite to fight the racists and fascists," but she went on to explain about the involvement big business has with fascists, and the links between the Tory party (particularly the FCS) and the British National Party.

During the afternoon there was a spontaneous movement by hundreds of predominantly black youth in the town centre, where it had been rumoured the NF had planned to march, but because of the sheer size of the anti-fascist movement they didn't dare gather, although there were some scuffles, and 12 anti-fascists arrested (one fascist went to hospital with a cracked skull). 80 copies of *Militant* were sold and 15 people joined the LPYS.

The LPYS are planning to continue the fight against the racists and fascists, both out on the street where we will not allow them to march through the towns or terrorise our communities, and also in the schools and colleges, campaigning for trade union control of course material to ensure that racism isn't taught in schools and colleges.

Post Script: As a result of this campaign against the National Front, and pressure from his parents, the 18-year old chairman of the Oldham NF has resigned.

By our North West correspondent

Book now for summer camps



Last year's camp at Gower.

AT THIS year's Gower summer camp over the bank holiday weekend the political format of the camp is changing. A lecture on the colonial revolution on Saturday evening is to be followed on Sunday morning with four commissions on the differing aspects of the colonial revolution. On Sunday afternoon we will have Question Time with Ted Grant. Fortunately, Robin Day sends his apologies.

It goes without saying we will have the camp Olympics. Given the international flavour of the speakers, we think that there will be no pull-outs. As for the food, for the tenth year

we have had to instruct Egon Ronay not to put us in the campers' guide for good food for fear we will be inundated with visitors. The camp play will no doubt have its critics praising it yet again.

You may be asking: "How can we put this all on for £15 for adults, and £2.50 for children? Comrades, as you think and ponder over it many others are in the process of sending their cheques off, so don't be disappointed—send your booking forms immediately. For details see page 13.

By Roy Davies

N. England

MANY COMRADES in the North have looked with envy at the success of the South Wales camp. But for many, South Wales is too far to get to. So we are having another go at a Northern camp.

Edale is a beautiful wild area, surrounded by mountains, at the beginning of the Pennine Way. It is easy to get to by frequent trains from Manchester and Sheffield, or only half an hour's drive from either.

The camp will offer a course of five subjects around: "What is Marxism?", on the state, fascism, Stalinism, the colonial revolution and Britain today.

A crèche is provided for young children, and different trips for older ones, including and castle and a cavern. Sports and walks will be organised.

So book early to avoid disappointment. For details, see page 13. By Jane Hartley

Labour Party news

Conference set for clash on nuclear power

THE PRELIMINARY agenda for this year's Labour Party conference contains very little to comfort the party leadership.

The issue that overwhelmingly dominates the resolutions booklet is nuclear energy. From a total of 532 resolutions, 191 have been submitted on 'energy policy'. Even Neil Kinnock's own Constituency Labour Party (CLP), Islwyn has a resolution calling for:

(a) No further construction of nuclear power stations;
(b) The phasing out of existing nuclear power stations;
(c) Reprocessing plants to be run down in conjunction with the phasing out of stations.

Resolution 150 from Hackney South and Shoreditch CLP "strongly

By Willie Griffin

re-iterates the decision of last year's annual conference, which called for a halt to the nuclear power programme and a phasing out of all existing plants."

The anti-nuclear resolution passed at last year's annual conference only narrowly failed to get a two thirds majority, which would mean automatic inclusion in the Party manifesto at the next general election. With the rank and file strongly pushing for a manifesto commitment against nuclear power, and the Labour

leadership set dead against this, the scene has been set for a clash.

There are six resolutions under the heading 'expulsions', all opposed to expulsions, reflecting the lack of enthusiasm for the witch-hunt led by the NEC.

There is however a resolution under the heading 'Militant Tendency' calling for a new round of expulsions starting "by excluding all known full-time employees and members of Militant Tendency from membership of the Labour Party." This should be thrown out of court by delegates. As resolution 33 from Garston CLP points out, "the priority of the labour movement is to defeat the Tories at the next election and bring to

power a Labour government committed to a socialist programme."

1986 Labour Party conference should be used as a platform to begin Labour's onslaught on the Tories by presenting to TV viewers clear socialist policies on issues like low pay. Resolution 439 from Preston CLP, which congratulates Dave Nellist MP for spearheading the campaign for a national minimum wage, calls for "a minimum wage of £120 for a 35 hour week."

Youth vote

If Labour is to win the next general election it is crucial that they win the youth vote. Therefore the debate on 'Youth Organisation' will take on extra importance this year. Resolution 19 from Hillhead CLP talks about "the creation of a vibrant youth movement" but it is a thinly disguised attack on the party's youth section. It calls for a "re-allocation of the Party's resources for youth work" (ie further cuts in the LPYS budget) and it raises "the possibility of the youth representative on the NEC being elected by a wider franchise, and not merely restricted to the Labour Party Young Socialists."

A vigorous campaign to expose the motives behind



Protest at Torness nuclear plant site.

the Hillhead resolution needs to be taken up amongst constituency and trade union delegates. Resolution 19, far from creating a 'vibrant youth movement' would cripple the LPYS, the most outgoing and 'vibrant' section of the party. In a pre-election period this would be suicidal!

South Africa dominates the international section of the agenda with 14 resolutions. Conference should build on the resolution on South Africa passed at last year's annual conference outlining a clear Marxist analysis.

Resolution 472 puts the issue squarely: "Conference re-affirms its support for the ANC which the oppressed masses are striving to build in South Africa under working class direction and control in order to carry out the struggle for national liberation and socialism"... the resolution concludes with a call for "the labour movement to introduce economic sanctions and provide arms and other material support to the revolutionary movement in South Africa for use in the struggle against the apartheid state."



Party conference—the opportunity to endorse socialist policies.

Tory revenge on Brighton

BRIGHTON'S NEWLY elected Labour council had an early taste of the Tories' vindictiveness, when the government announced on 23 July that Brighton was among 20 councils to be rate-capped next year. Announcing it on royal wedding day was clearly a move to blunt the anger of Brighton's voters at £2.5 million, or 20 per cent of the total budget, having to be cut in the 1987-88 financial year. Expansion of services to the elderly, poor, disabled and women would come under attack if such cuts took place.

The decision was condemned by both the Labour and Liberal groups. It is an act of political revenge on the people of Brighton who had the cheek to elect a Labour council in May, and an attempt to discredit Labour and reduce their chances of winning the marginal Kempton seat from the Tories in the general election.

The predictable response from Kempton's Tory MP, Andrew Bowden, was that rate-capping was justified because Labour wanted to go on a spending spree with the rate-payers' money. He does not mention that the rate-capping is based on the previous Tory-Liberal budget!

Even council officers thought the decision surpris-

ing and unfair. The previous week the chief executive wrote to Nicholas Ridley asking for extra funds because of the high level of urban deprivation in the town, and the borough treasurer pointed out that government spending targets had been exceeded in the past without action being taken. This is clearly a case of the government's financial powers being used for political purposes.

Curb excesses

Although the Liberal group condemned the decision, their leader said that Labour needed a warning shot across the bows to curb some of their 'excesses'. This should be a warning that only Labour can be relied upon to wage a serious fight against the Tories. The Labour group are pledged to fight cuts in jobs and services and confrontation with the Tories seems inevitable. It is up to the Labour group to launch a massive campaign amongst council unions, community groups and on the estates to build a huge movement prepared to take on the Tories. The credibility of Labour in Brighton depends on it.

By Clive Walder
(Brighton Kempton
Labour Party)

Liverpool's new budget plan approved

LIVERPOOL CITY Council appear to have reconciled the legal budget of March this year with its actual spending plans, with a new package of measures unveiled last Wednesday at the Finance and Strategy Committee.

The basis will be a £15 million capital package, added to savings of £4 million already identified which will have no effect on jobs or the delivery of services. The schools reorganisation of last year is also having financial consequences with savings of £3 million now feeding through. A further £3.6 million will be achieved by adjustments to housing subsidies and the remaining £2 million of the £27 million deficit will probably be achieved by increased charges.

Being forced to adopt a budget with a gap of £27 million below what the council thought necessary—but with no mass campaign to gain additional resources—it is inevitable that problems arose this financial year and that some cuts have been forced on to the council. Moreover, "capitalisation" measures last year and this will mean 1,600 fewer homes built than the council originally planned for.

The labour movement's answer to this must be to rebuild trade union unity among council workers and to rebuild the campaign to gain extra resources for the city. The Tories and their allies had hoped that the defeat of the council's campaign last year would have meant massive cuts, but the city council has managed to frustrate all their hopes for this year.

Liverpool's financial problems have not disappeared, however. The city remains badly and disgracefully underfunded and next year faces a £40 million deficit and yet another possible bitter struggle to survive. The councillors' next battle, in the event that they are surcharged and disqualified from office, will come in the House of Lords in October, the final stage of their appeal.



Trade unionists marching in defence of the city council. Unity must be rebuilt.

150 LABOUR Party members approved the package at a meeting in Liverpool on Monday night. The meeting, organised under the auspices of the Labour Group, was disrupted by six members of the "Liverpool Labour Left" who walked out in protest at the presence of Tony Mulhearn, Terry Harrison and Tony Aitman.

Jane Kennedy of NUPE demanded a ruling from the chairman over the attendance of these so-called 'non party members'. Obviously those comrades who wanted certain members expelled from the meeting had little confidence in gaining a majority. Putting the issues to a vote is something which these comrades dislike. Last September Jane Kennedy prevented her members taking a vote on strike action and after being in a tiny minority in the District Labour Party they had to demand an inquiry and then give evidence secretly.

Dave Lloyd, a Labour councillor, pointed out to Kennedy that if the trade

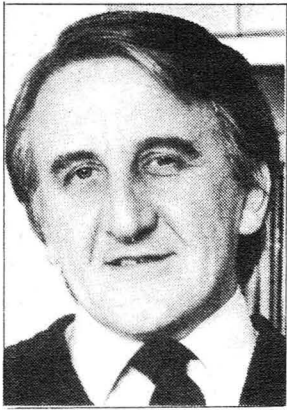
union leaders had shown the same determination as the councillors there would have been no expulsions.

After their walkout they were found in the bar deep in conversation with the local party policeman Peter Kilfoyle. Approached by Terry Harrison who asked if he had to have a party card to participate in their meeting, they simply looked embarrassed. Not even the personal intervention of Peter Kilfoyle could convince party members that the meeting should not go ahead. In fact both Terry Harrison and Tony Mulhearn made contributions which were warmly applauded by the majority of people present at the meeting.

The members were much more interested in hearing from the Nove Leather strikers from whom £72 was collected.

By Martin Lee
(Garston Labour Party)

AGAINST THE background of new plans to curb Labour's youth, KEITH DICKINSON (right), of the *Militant* Editorial Board, expelled from the Labour Party, recalls the debate on youth at the 1959 conference.



AS A visitor from Liverpool Walton to the 1959 Labour Party conference I witnessed what Michael Foot in his biography called "the last of the three or four greatest speeches of Nye Bevan."

He had been put forward by the NEC to round off a conference which was full of anger at the right wing Gaitskell leadership losing the general election only a month earlier, when after 8 years of Tory rule, everyone including the press had expected Labour to win.

A dominant feature of the conference was "how to attract the youth", as it was recognised that Labour had not won the youth vote. The feeling from the ranks on this issue was such that the chairman of the Youth sub-committee, rather than just move that section of the printed NEC Report, was authorised by them to report the recommendations of the Committee's special enquiry team before the NEC had even considered them.

Free expression

Among many points which the leadership need reminding of today, he outlined the future Labour Party Young Socialists structure: "We have found that no voluntary youth organisations are self-sustaining. We have come to the conclusion that youth organisations must be supported and sustained by parent or adult sections. We are also conscious

of the fact that youth organisation must enable young people to express themselves freely, and to provide all the means of organisation, to enable them to do so. I think I can say that the advice of the Youth Committee in its report to the National Executive is, therefore, to provide for this Party a structure of youth organisation, going from constituency to regional level and from regional level to national level, integrated at all stages with the main structure of the party, but at the same time making it possible for young members of the party to make an organised and self-expressing contribution to the work of our great movement".

Although it was only a weekend conference, a far fuller and lengthier debate followed than has ever been allowed on youth during the 5½ day conferences of recent years. Nye Bevan's approach to the question could teach Sawyer and Kinnock a lesson today and should be quoted at them continually. So too should his condemnations of capitalism and defence of nationalisation to Hattersley and the rest of the right wing. During his speech which was received with rapturous applause he said:

"We are going to go back to the House of Commons, and we are going to fight the Tories. But we are not only going to fight them there; we are going to fight them in the

Bevan's lesson for Kinnock, Sawyer



(Left) *Rally*, journal of the Liverpool Walton Youth Section which campaigned for a national Labour youth organisation. Keith Dickinson was its business manager, and (right) the platform of the 1970 Young Socialists' conference. Roy Hattersley was a speaker from the NEC.

constituencies and inside the trade unions. And we are going to get the youth! Let them start. Do not let them wait for the Executive, for God's sake! Start getting your youth clubs, go in and start now! Go back home and start them, and we will give all the help and encouragement we can".

This was a call to the ranks over the heads of the right wing and was an attempt to pre-empt them and prevent them from stifling a new youth movement. They had been responsible for closing down the previous national youth organisation,

the Labour League of Youth, and the devious bureaucratic methods used are not a million miles from those in statements and actions of Tom Sawyer today.

League of Youth

The 1955 conference report says there was a fall of 129 League of Youth branches leaving 237: "The 1955 general election caused a revival of interest... New branches had been established and many members recruited". Yet "plans for the reorganisation of the League are under considera-

tion". The conference was then told by Alice Bacon MP for the NEC that the reason the League had failed on two separate occasions was because it had been too much of an organisation separate from the party itself.

In the proposals they were making they hoped to get the League of Youth more co-ordinated with local and constituency Labour Parties. The proposal of the Executive was that there should be youth sections of the Labour Party in every locality. The aim should be to have at least one thriving

youth section in every constituency. The National Executive Committee would provide new facilities for the young people which would be open, not only to members of youth sections, but all young people under the age of 25 whether they were in a youth section or whether they preferred to go straight into the Labour Party.

Every constituency and local party would be asked to set up a special youth committee. The National Executive Committee itself would set up a special sub-committee immediately to deal with youth organisation. They had come to the conclusion that the national organisation had become a superstructure without any foundation. The National Consultative Committee of the League of Youth had been consulted on the matter, and whilst they were not agreed they had the views of every member.

Closed down

By the time of the 1956 conference the League of Youth had been closed down and the NEC was bragging that it had 301 individual youth sections. This had "progressed" to 262 by 1959, with the real situation being far worse. But the comrades in those sections were striving to establish links and demanding a national organisation that could campaign, go into the weaker areas, mobilise into the marginal seats, etc. A conference of 40 sections had taken place in Luton.

The journal of my Walton youth section *Rally* had achieved links and had a national circulation. But it took the loss of the 1959 election—with all its consequences of another five years of Tory rule—to make the Labour leadership realise they needed the Labour Party Young Socialists to win the youth votes. The whole labour movement must be on its guard to prevent Sawyer, Kinnock and the right wing taking us down that same road again toward the 1987 or 1988 election.

New attack on unemployed

THE TORY government is hoping to make the unemployed subject to a series of stringent new conditions to decide if they are entitled to unemployment benefit.

Pilot experiments which started on 16 June in twelve Unemployment Benefit Offices have been condemned by the major civil service union, the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA).

The new changes mean that:

★ Claimants who want a higher wage or salary from their next employer than they received in their last job will have their unemployment benefit suspended;

★ Claimants who have any adults or children to care for during normal working hours must be able to make immediate arrangements for their care if they get a job; benefit is suspended if this requirement cannot be met;

★ Certain claimants who are not immediately willing to work beyond daily travelling distance would have their benefit suspended;

★ Claimants who wish to take form UB671 away from the office to complete it are not advised that their benefit will be suspended until it is returned;

★ Any claimant who refuses to complete form UB671 will have Unemployment Benefit suspended.

DHSS staff have been instructed to give the minimum possible advice regarding availability for work to claimants who are compelled to participate in the experiment. The advice leaflets on the new availability tests are not available in ethnic languages.

This is yet another attempt by the Tories to disguise real unemployment levels by driving claimants off the register through more harassment. Richard Halfpenny, the Assistant Secretary of the CPSA, has described the experiments as "a reflection of the Norman Tebbit 'On Your Bike' philosophy. Claimants who are not prepared to drop everything and travel around the country at a moment's notice to find almost non-existent employment are to be penalised".

Low pay — or no dole

SINCE 1 July the long term unemployed have been made "an offer they can't refuse" by the Manpower Services Commission.

Under the new "Re-start" Scheme all those who have been unemployed for over a year will be called into their local Jobcentre for an interview with a special team of investigators.

They will be given several options: low paid temporary work on the community programme, a training course,

the Enterprise Allowance Scheme, or whatever low paid dead-end jobs happen to be available. Any claimants who fail to turn up for the interview, or refuse to accept one of the options will have their benefit stopped.

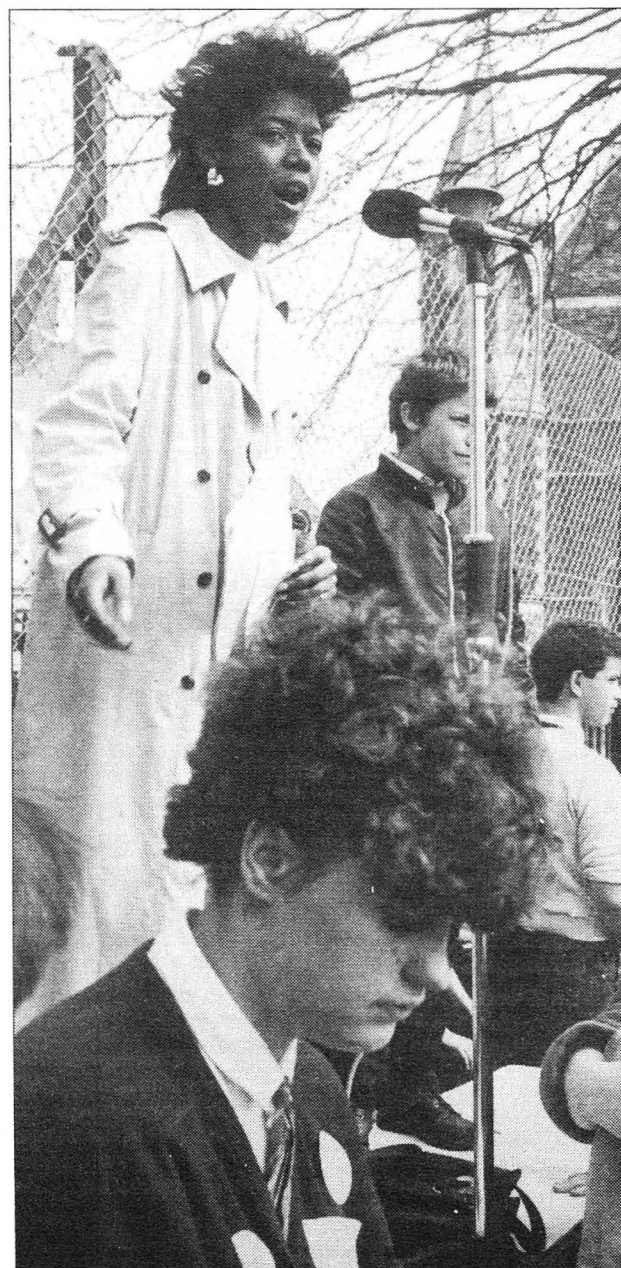
In the nine pilot schemes conducted so far, 10 per cent of those called for an interview signed off. The Tories claimed that this is proof that many claimants are either "scroungers" too lazy

to work or "moonlighters" working and still signing on.

The fact remains, however, that 90 per cent of the long term unemployed *didn't* sign off, despite the non-options they were offered.

The "Re-start" Scheme has merely succeeded in achieving the Tories' real aim—to get people off the unemployment figures.

By David Turner
(Kent County NALGO)



Linda Douglas, LPYS delegate-elect to the party's National Executive, a position now under threat.

Bosses broadcasting corporation

A SPECIAL unit within Conservative Central Office has been set up by Norman Tebbit, Tory Party chairman, to monitor the media.

The unit is primarily aimed at the broadcasting authorities, giving advice to Tory activists on how to complain, with a list of television companies' telephone numbers and right to reply facilities.

Dumbfounded? Are the Tories feeling sorry for Labour? Are they going to give printers and Liverpool councillors a fairer crack of the whip? Or does Norman's telly pick up different programmes from the rest of us?

Hard on the heels of this news came the announcement that the Privy Council will this month con-

firm the appointment of Lord Barnett as Vice-Chairman of the BBC board of governors.

Observed *The Observer*: "Mrs Thatcher's unexpected decision to nominate a distinguished Labour politician will help to restore the political balance of the governors after an unprecedented period during which both the chairman, Mr Stuart Young and the vice-chairman have been Conservatives.

"There is already one governor from the labour movement: Sir John Boyd, former General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union." Confused? Has Maggie gone soft? Is there another split in the cabinet? You just can't believe what you read in the papers these days.

Here is the rest of the story. The BBC board of governors is stuffed with elderly Tories, retired

diplomats and people of that character. The chairman, Stuart Young is the brother of cabinet minister Lord Young. Below is a hierarchy after the board's own image—right down to the "Any Questions" team.

There are no labour movement representatives as such. Sir John Boyd made his name as a right wing trade union leader but now represents no one but himself.

Joel Barnett was Chief Secretary to the Treasury in the last Labour government which first brought in the monetarist policies so capably developed by the Tories. A wealthy businessman, he will receive an annual £7,235 for the part-time post of vice-chairman. Thatcher's deputy Lord Whitelaw, a fellow member of the Westminster "old boys association" in the House of Lords, strongly supported Lord

Barnett's nomination.

Barnett replaces Sir William Rees-Mogg, former editor of the *Times* but this is hardly a lurch to the left on the board of twelve and Lord B is unlikely to have broad left caucus meetings with Sir John.

Michael Dobbs, chief of staff to Norman Tebbit and on secondment from Saatchi and Saatchi, the advertising agency, gave the real and sinister reason for the Tories' campaign. The object was "not simply to winge about certain programmes but actually to find ways in which we can help those in the media to ensure that our views get across more effectively."

You have been warned.

By Andy Beadle



Norman Tebbit

At the name of Andy every knee shall bow

"AN ASPIRIN for the nation" said the Tory rag *Today* after the royal wedding of the Duke and Duchess of York.

A thousand editorial fingers were itching to get more poetic with: "now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this sun of York." But whether they quoted Shah or Shakespeare, all of Fleet Street grovelled.

Randy Andy would no more ensure a healthy income for gossip writers; he was now respectable. He was now the Duke of York, the Earl of Inverness and probably Marquess of all stations to Fort William. He was certainly Baron of Killyleagh a village in County Down with a 15 per cent unemployment rate.

Everything was extravagant. The dress, worn just once, cost £35,000. A commercial TV station paid out £650,000 for covering the engagement and wedding. New superstar Vis-

RIVERSIDE AND Mossley Hill LPYS in Liverpool turned the Royal Wedding to their own advantage when they organised a fund-raising social under the title "Not the Royal Wedding".

Tony Aitman was the Archbishop, Graham Smiley was the Prince, and Pam Mawhinney as Fergie. Two LPYS members dressed up as the Queen and Queen Mother and raised about £70 for summer camp expenses.

Strikers from Nove Leather and Reigate were warmly welcomed by Cathy Wilson, who reminded everyone that while people were enjoying the fun, the Tories were pushing vicious Social Security cuts through parliament.

About 120 people attended the social and well over £100 was raised in the evening.

By Tom Brown, Mossley Hill LPYS

count Althorp pocketed his £10,000 cheque for spouting witty trivia about minor royals on American TV. Richard "Rubbish" Branson had brought out his commercial video by the night of the wedding.

But nothing in the wedding was more over the top than the way Fleet Street milked it. The *Daily Star* and *Mirror* devoted half their pages to sycophantic reporting. They even went without their topless models.

Rumour has it that the smutty, scabby *Sun* did as well but that is a bit much to credit.

Murdoch though does seem to be keen on becoming Lord Murdoch of Scabsville or possibly Emperor of Australia by reaching new depths of fawning.

But his sacked printers and locals from Wapping celebrated an 'alternative wedding' festivity outside Murdoch's barbed wire.

Broadgreen gets Militant

OUR FEATURE on Broadgreen brought *Militant* supporters out in force. 27 copies were bought in one street! On Saturday during three separate sales around the shopping areas, people were coming up and congratulating *Militant* and Liverpool council on the fight against the Tories and applauding the work of Terry Fields MP. Dozens of

copies were sold.

There were many anti-Thatcher comments like: "Labour has got to do for us what Thatcher does for her people". There was widespread support for the city council. "Will the Labour government do what Liverpool has done—build houses and create jobs?"

One housewife said: "We live in the 20th century; peo-

ple can get to the moon, but kids die because there are no kidney machines".

On the Redrock housing estate, 45 *Militants* were sold. Broadgreen's total for that issue is 312 paid for so far, with more money still to come in. The Broadgreen comrades can permit themselves a broad grin.

By Caryn Matthews



Any ecologists amongst our readers might like to calculate how many trees were chopped down for paper to cover the royal wedding. Another day out for Sloane Rangers, and upper-class twits?

Left and Right

Shah aids protestors

UNFORTUNATELY the police managed to stop a protest during the royal wedding. Two people wanted to unfurl a 35-foot long banner opposing the Public Order Bill. This law curtails our rights to large public gatherings like demonstrations while allowing royal jamborees to clog up London's traffic all day long.

The protestors managed to get their vantage point along the route of the wedding by winning a competition in *Today* for a royal wedding poem. The winning entry, written tongue in cheek started: "Today, the nation's all a-bubble, Andrew's finally out of trouble". You can't blame Eddie Shah

too much for the mistake; it sounds just like the Poet Laureate.

Locking up the truth

THE BUREAUCRATS in Prague have converted a former Augustinian monastery into a museum celebrating the Czech Stalinist secret police.

A star feature is the bookshelf which includes Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* which is not available anywhere else in Czechoslovakia. They had better keep it under lock and key, it would be too explosive to let the Czech working class read the truth about the Russian revolution before Stalin's murderous henchmen took over.

Militant Marxist Weekend School

September 13/14 London

Courses on: Theory of Marxism, Russian Revolution, South Africa and Colonial Revolution, Ireland, Marxism and the trade unions, Women and the struggle for socialism, Black struggles, Marxist Economics.

Militant International Review rally: Hungary 1956 and the struggle against Stalinism today. ★ Debate: A representative from *Militant* and Monty Johnstone (Communist Party) on "The socialist way forward".

Film: Battleship Potemkin

Video: Kemira—Diary of a strike (Australian miners stay-down strike).

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The real cost of the Savage inquiry

WENDY SAVAGE has been reinstated in her job as consultant obstetrician.

This is a victory for her battle against accusations of incompetence made against her and follows the disciplinary panel which cleared her of all the allegations.

But the panel says that since many of her consultant colleagues were keen to have her removed, (see *Militant* 789), there would be "poor working relationships between Mrs Savage and some other obstetric consultants". One solution they suggested was that Savage be given responsibility for obstetrics at the London's Mile End branch, but that is due for closure due to government cuts (see below).

The campaign to reinstate Wendy Savage has highlighted her vital role in maintaining the health care of women in Tower Hamlets.

By Julie Morgan

Wendy Savage is one of the country's leading specialists in women's health and maternity care. In 1977 she was appointed consultant obstetrician to Tower Hamlets District Health Authority and senior lecturer in obstetrics and gynaecology at the London Hospital Medical School. She is the only female consultant in her department and one of only 12 per cent of women obstetricians in the country.

Within the Thames

Regional Health Authority, Tower Hamlets district has the highest birth rate, the highest infant mortality rate and the highest percentage of babies born below 2,500 grammes birth weight. The district is regarded as the most deprived in the South of England. Yet the chairman of Tower Hamlets DHA was prepared to spend £150,000 of the Authority's money on an inquiry into Savage.

Savage was suspended from her posts in April 1985 and the drawn-out inquiry into alleged 'malpractices' began. During her suspension much of her work to advance the health care of women has been undermined.

In February 1986 the 24 bed gynaecology ward at Mile End Hospital, previously considered to be Savage's ward, was forced to close as

part of a 'rationalisation' plan with a loss of 14 beds. Only 10 beds were transferred to the Whitechapel hospital which now has all the gynaecology beds in the district.

There are now only 35 gynaecology beds in Tower Hamlets—five fewer than the parent North East Thames Regional Health Authority recommends!

The closure of all the gynaecology beds at Mile End Hospital has meant that the pioneering Day Care Abortion Unit's future is threatened. The unit had been run by Savage.

Shared care

In February 1986 Jurgis Grudzinskas (the department head who drew up the cases of malpractice against her) announced that the local community care scheme which Savage had re-introduced had broken down and had been stopped because other consultants in the department 'didn't have the time' to operate it.

Savage had been prepared to travel to GP's surgeries and health centres to save women travelling times and fares and long waits at the hospital. The scheme involved shared care of the pregnant woman between her consultant, GP and midwife.



Wendy Savage

The reason why Savage had 'more time' than her colleagues to participate in the community care scheme was that even though she had a heavy workload, she was committed only to work within the National Health Service.

Every other one of her consultant colleagues drew a large salary from the NHS but also found time to do extensive private practice at Harley Street and even at the London Hospital!

Those other consultants support the view of Savage's Head of Department Jurgis Grudzinskas that 'the doctor knows best' and carry out caesarean and other forms of surgical interference during child birth as a matter of routine, which Savage and others believe should not be carried out unless strictly necessary as they can be psychologically as well as

physically harmful to the mother.

Since Savage has now been completely exonerated, and reinstated, if there are bad working relations between her and other consultants, they should look at their own commitment to the NHS.

One committed doctor in Tower Hamlets cannot however, paste over the cracks in the NHS. The labour and trade union movement must fight to defend it from closures, cuts and privatisation and ensure that the next Labour government restores and improves the service. This must include making NHS doctors and consultants work for the health service and not just use it as a basic wage whilst they spend the majority of their time in lucrative private medicine.



COHSE members lobbying Tory party conference to protest at NHS spending cuts.

Organising a crèche

WHEN LABOUR'S North West Regional Women's Committee organised their very successful demonstration against low pay in May they showed the growing militancy of working class women.

If these women and thousands like them are to be encouraged to play an active role in the labour and trade union movement we need to take seriously the question of child care.

The same campaigning women's committee have produced an excellent short guide to organising a crèche. The two keynotes are that a crèche should not be just an afterthought and that slapdash arrangements are not good enough.

As the mother of a two-year old girl, many events have been spoiled for me because of inadequate or non-existent child-care facilities. Having been active politically for some years before I had my daughter I was convinced enough to struggle on, but that may not be the case for thousands of working class women who already have children.

Competent babysitters



Child Care and the Labour Party: Positive Action: Price 50p plus postage and packing. Available from the Regional Women's Committee, Labour Party North West Regional Office, Irwell House, 40 Frederick Road, Salford M6 6NY.

and well-organised crèches will help to draw women into political activity. But with the best will in the world you can still be at a loss in organising child care. The guide starts by detailing what to do for evening meetings and includes a model rota sheet for babysitters.

The pamphlet goes into how to plan ahead for crèches, booking accommodation which is large enough, close to toilets and safe. It also goes into insurance, equipment and publicity. You may not always need professional help, but volunteers must not be shorthanded and they

must know what they are doing.

One crèche my daughter attended had initially one very harassed volunteer looking after four children under two. She had to trail them down two flights of stairs whenever one of them wanted to go to the toilets.

The ideal crèche should make children feel they have had a great day (or weekend) out. That kind of crèche needs to be well publicised to get maximum use. The pamphlet gives detailed, down to earth advice on these matters to ensure that women with children are not just attracted to socialist ideas but can help make them reality.

By Maggie McGinley

Fighting Fund

This week £3947

| Area | Received | % of target achieved | Target |
|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| 1 Humberside | 1850 | | 2300 |
| 2 London North East | 2573 | | 3550 |
| 3 Scotland East | 1405 | | 2400 |
| 4 London North West | 1507 | | 2900 |
| 5 London South West | 661 | | 1500 |
| 6 London South East | 760 | | 2250 |
| 7 Southern | 1015 | | 3100 |
| 8 Eastern | 1069 | | 3450 |
| 9 Wales West | 1036 | | 3350 |
| 10 Scotland West | 1148 | | 3850 |
| 11 East Midlands | 873 | | 3050 |
| 12 West Midlands | 1247 | | 4500 |
| 13 Manchester | 1128 | | 4150 |
| 14 Merseyside | 1840 | | 7000 |
| 15 Yorkshire | 1446 | | 5600 |
| 16 Scotland East | 536 | | 3200 |
| 17 Northern | 715 | | 4550 |
| 18 South West | 344 | | 2150 |
| 19 Wales East | 243 | | 2150 |
| Others | 8713 | | 5000 |
| Total | 30110 | | 70000 |

Help us reach target by 5 August

I DON'T suppose Sir George Jefferson, chairman of British Telecom who gave himself a £60,000 pay rise last year, will be donating it to *Militant's* fighting fund so that we can go flying over our target. We'll just have to depend on the pennies and pounds we collect every week from ordinary workers who hardly earn in a whole week the £94.61 that Sir George earns in an hour!

We make a special appeal this week to Post Office workers to donate their £25 bonus to our fighting fund and help us to fight for a shorter working week and a national minimum wage of £120. Can other workers match this? If you cannot af-

ford £25 don't be put off—fivers, tenners, pounds and pennies all go towards building our resources, but we need the cash now.

We have extended the deadline for this quarter until Tuesday 5 August to give you all time to send in money from weekend events and activities. Reports are still coming in of successful weekends of action. One supporter raised £7 in Hackney just selling stickers. Using the petition to raise money has proved a winner in Grimsby with £59.06 sent in this week.

Help us build *Militant* now. Rush your donations in by the 5th.

By Ruth Campbell

SPECIAL MENTION this week to: Littlehampton LPYS £25; Davy Ryder, Bury St Edmunds £2; A Healy, Fulham £4; R Rankin, Fulham £3.80; A Farnese, Westminster UCV £5; Southampton supporter gave a tax rebate of £100; Ivan Moldaczuk, UCATT £2.50; Mr Battachargi £1; Peter Librinski, North Ealing school student £4; Vince Black, Hackney unemployed £20; Andover skittles night raised £18; LPYS supporters raised £4.33 outside a LPYS gig selling stickers; auction sale in Bath raised £72; World Cup final social Uxbridge raised £23.04; Ogmores Readers' Meeting raised £106 after expenses; Grimsby Readers' Meeting raised £616; supporters in South Glamorgan raised £36 at a carnival.



Nationalist troops enter Madrid, 27 March, 1939.

THE VICTORY of Franco was not a foregone conclusion. It is a fact which is not generally realised that the Spanish ruling class, having embarked on the course of civil war came within an inch of losing everything.

The Spanish workers could undoubtedly have smashed the fascists—as they succeeded in doing in Catalonia—and set about the task of transforming society on one condition—that the workers' leaders would have had a revolutionary policy.

The conduct of the war would have to be taken out of the hands of treacherous capitalist politicians. The resources of Spain—the land, the factories, the banks—would have to be taken over by the workers and peasants. The masses would have to be armed in defence of their social conquest and the leadership of the struggle would have to be in the hands of the known and trusted representatives of the workers' cause.

But the liberal capitalist ministers would never accept such a programme, far better to hand Spain over bound and gagged to the fascists than allow the workers and peasants to take over the running of society.

The unwillingness and complete incapacity of the Republicans to fight the fascists was revealed from the very beginning. The treacherous and cowardly behaviour of the Republican leaders in the face of the coup, their suppression of the news and refusal to arm the workers was no accident. It flowed from their class point of view.

Yet the Socialist and Communist leaders continued to prop up the Republican ministers with their authority. Only in September 1936 did the left Socialist leader, Largo Caballero, under the pressure of the masses, become Prime Minister.

The most pernicious role in all this was played by the leaders of the "Communist" Party, who took their orders from Moscow. Stalin was terrified of the possibility of a victorious workers' revolution in Spain.

The example of a healthy workers' democracy in Spain would exercise a powerful effect on the Russian workers, who were growing restive under the impositions of the bureaucratic totalitarian regime.

Role of Stalinism

It is no accident that Stalin unleashed the infamous purge trials precisely at this time. The bloody extermination of all those who had been connected with the democratic and internationalist traditions of Lenin and the October Revolution was a "one-sided civil war" of the Stalinist bureaucracy against Bolshevism. It was meant as a pre-emptive strike to prevent the danger of a resurgence of a Leninist opposition in Russia, inspired by the movement of the Spanish workers.

Having abandoned Lenin's revolutionary internationalist policy, which based the defence of the Soviet Union fundamentally upon the support of the world working class and the victory of socialism internationally, the Russian bureaucracy attempted to get the support of the "good" "democratic" capitalist states (Britain and France) against Hitler.

At one stage, they even sup-

ported "good" Italian fascism against the "bad" Germany variety! The strangling of the Spanish revolution would thus have had the additional advantage of proving Stalin's "respectability" to London and Paris.

The real policy of the British and French capitalists was not dictated by their alleged love of "democracy" but by naked class interests and, above all, fear of the revolution in Spain. Hiding behind the monstrous policy of "non-intervention" they hypocritically turned a blind eye to the help given by fascist Germany and Italy to Franco.

For his part, Stalin sent limited arms supplies to Spain—not enough to achieve the decisive military defeat of Franco, but more than enough to help the Republicans—in cahoots with the Spanish Stalinists—to rebuild the shattered capitalist state machine.

The leaders of the Spanish "Communist" Party became the most fervent defenders of capitalist "law and order". Under the slogan "first win the war, then make the revolution", they systematically sabotaged all independent movement of the workers and peasants.

The Spanish Stalinists, who had at first opposed the idea of the Socialists taking over the government, preferring to support the Republicans from outside, put pressure on Largo Caballero to abandon the Socialist policies which he had earlier defended, at least in words.

For their part, the anarchist leaders of the CNT, who had refused to set up a workers' government in Catalonia, where power was in the hands of the working class, now proceeded to ditch all their previous ideas and do a 180 degree somersault by joining the capitalist popular front government.

The "theories" of anarchism, as Trotsky once observed, are like a leaky umbrella—useless precisely when it rains.

All the forces of the old society thus conspired to defeat the heroic movement of the Spanish working class. In the moment of truth, the leaders of all the workers' organisations passed over to the camp of the capitalist class. They justified their policy of class collaboration on the grounds of the need to fight fascism, "for democracy". The workers understand the need to fight against fascism and to defend those democratic rights won in struggle against the very "Republican" employers, bankers and capitalists.

The question is *how* victory was to be achieved. Trotsky answered in this way:

"You are right in fighting Franco. We must exterminate the fascists, but not in order to have the same Spain as before the civil war, because Franco issued from this Spain. We must exterminate the foundations of Franco, the social foundations of Franco, which is the social system of capitalism". *Spanish Revolution*, p 255.

In 1936, as we have seen, the Socialists and "Communists" united, not with the imaginary "progressive capitalists" but with

The concluding part of
three-part feature by
ALAN WOODS

**SPANISH
REVOLUTION**
50th ANNIVERSARY

Revolution betrayed

a phantom. The real capitalists, bankers and landlords had in the main fled to the side of Franco at the beginning of the civil war.

The only social force which remained to fight against fascism were the workers and peasants. What were they supposed to be fighting for? For the "Republic"? But the capitalist Republic had failed to solve any one of the basic problems of the workers and peasants.

Not for nothing did the fascists demagogically use the slogan: "Qué te da a comer la República?" ("What does the Republic give you to eat?")

Opportunity lost

The way to defeat Franco was not by clinging to an alliance with the "liberal" capitalists—who were striving all along to reach a deal with the fascists—but linking the military struggle against fascism to the revolutionary struggle for real democracy, a workers' democracy!

The POUM (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) was a party which, in words, stood for a socialist policy. But the lack of theoretical clarity and inconsistency of Nin, Andrade and the other ex-Trotskyist leaders of the POUM proved fatal to the workers' cause.

The POUM allowed itself to be ensnared in Popular Front ministerialism, joining the Catalan government, the *Generalitat*. Andrés Nin, ironically in view of his fate, became councillor for justice.

The POUM leaders naively tried to persuade the Catalan popular front to take the road of revolution from inside the government. They reduced themselves to the role of unpaid advisers of the capitalist and reformist politicians, instead of pursuing an independent class policy.

This policy of the POUM disorientated the leftward moving workers who were looking to it for a lead. Large sections of the anarchist CNT—especially the youth—were disgusted with the sell-out of their leaders and looking for an alternative. By joining the popular front, the POUM leadership threw away the opportunity of providing that alternative.

Under pressure from the Stalinists, Largo Caballero agreed to replace the workers' militias with a "regular army". Using this as an excuse, they set about liquidating the gains of the revolution, not flinching from the task of bloody executioners where the workers attempted to defend themselves against the counter-revolution.



Republican Maxim gunners in northern Aragon, 1937.

The main cutting-edge of the counter-revolution was provided by the "Communist" Party, particularly in Catalonia:

"Communist members formally increased to 250,000 by the end of 1936. Their championship of peasant ownership and opposition to revolution everywhere gained them ground. The Catalan writer, José Agustín Goytisolo, later wrote that his father joined the PSUC (Catalan CP—AW) since, though a man of the right, he wanted protection against the anarchists who desired to take over the factory where he worked as an engineer.

"José Diaz was to tell the Communist Central Committee in March that no less than 76,000 (almost a third) of party members were peasant proprietors and 15,482 (6.2 per cent) members of the urban middle class. There were thus more peasant proprietors than agricultural workers, an extraordinary situation." Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil*

War, p 522

The old capitalist state machine in Catalonia had been destroyed by the workers in July 1936. The Stalinists of the PSUC now helped the Catalan bourgeois nationalists to rebuild their power base. In order to do this, the anarchist and POUMist workers must be crushed. The Stalinists assumed the main responsibility for this hangman's task.

Shamefaced illusions

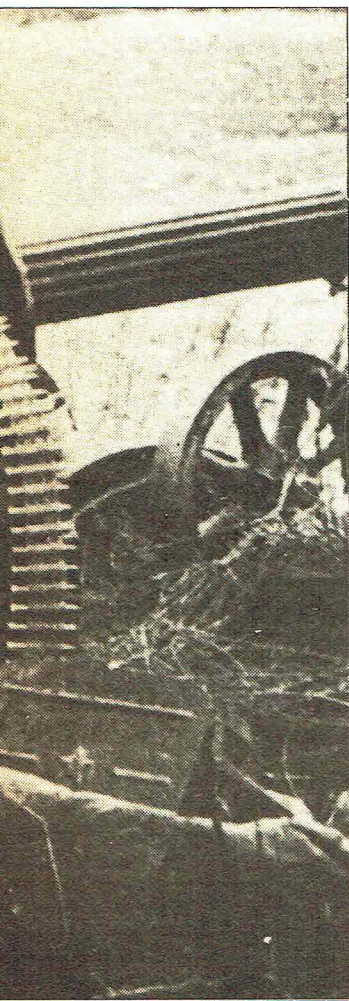
Towards the end of 1936, they began to agitate in favour of the dissolution of the workers' committee under the slogan "All power to the *Generalitat*" (Catalan capitalist government). The Stalinist Food Minister Comorera abolished the anarchist-controlled bread committees, which had controlled a key section of food distribution. By degrees, the elements of workers' control were being whittled away.

As happens in every revolution when it begins to ebb, the workers began to realise that power was

RSARY

on

d



Republican assault guards march into Barcelona, May 1937, to crush the workers' movement.



Many refugees struggled across the Pyrenees to reach the safety of France, only to be interned when the Nazis invaded a year later.

entry. Like Hilferding who, at the time of the German revolution in 1918 advocated a "marriage" of the soviets with capitalist parliamentarianism, the POUM leaders put forward the naive idea of a special conference—convened by the capitalist *Generalitat*—to create soviets!

This overlooked the minor detail that the *Generalitat*, as the centre of counter-revolution, was bent upon destroying the elements of soviets—the workers' councils—that already existed.

Reaction prepared

Having prepared the climate of reaction for six months, in May of 1937, the Stalinists struck. The anarchist workers had seized the Barcelona telephone exchange during the 1936 insurrection. Now the Stalinists sent troops and tanks to seize the exchange.

The anarchist workers resisted. A general strike was called and barricades set up all over Catalonia. An attempt to use the foreign International Brigades against the Barcelona workers was thwarted by the refusal of the former to intervene. Power was once more firmly in the hands of the proletariat in Catalonia.

This was the last chance to carry out the revolution in Spain. With correct leadership, the May days could have ended in victory for the workers. After the event, the anarchist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* stated that: "If we had wished to take power, we could have accomplished it in May with certainty. But we are against dictatorship". (My emphasis—AW)

It is a disgraceful fact that the leaders of the CNT and the POUM came to the rescue of the capitalist state each time it appeared in danger of overthrow. The leaders of the anarchists, García Oliver and Federica Montseny called on the workers to lay down their arms and return to work. The anarchist centre, the *Casa CNT* ordered the

workers to leave the barricades.

For four days the workers effectively controlled Barcelona.

"Had the POUM called upon the workers to take power, nothing could have stopped them. The example of a workers' and peasants' revolutionary government in Catalonia would have spread like wildfire through the rest of Spain."

"Had the POUM taken power, they could have offered a united front against Franco to the central government. The government had no troops on which it could rely. Very rapidly the masses in Madrid, Valencia and at the fronts would have rallied to the banner of socialism in Barcelona. The power of the government would have crumbled and disappeared". (Ted Grant—the *Spanish Revolution 1931-37*, p 56).

The defeat of the Barcelona proletariat unleashed an orgy of counter-revolution. The Stalinists began to round up anarchists and POUMists and to disarm the workers. The workers' committees and collectives were destroyed. The POUM was made illegal, under the lying pretext that it had plotted with Franco. Nin and other leaders were brutally tortured and murdered by Stalin's agents in Spain.

To his credit, the left Socialist leader, Largo Caballero attempted to protest against the activities of the Stalinists in Catalonia. This sealed his fate. The Stalinists ganged up with the right wing Socialists led by Prieto to provoke a cabinet crisis which led to the fall of Caballero.

Caballero was replaced with the right Socialist Juan Negrín, described by Hugh Thomas as "a man of the grande bourgeoisie, a defender of private property, even of capitalism." (*The Spanish Civil War*, p 667). Under Negrín, the left Socialists and anarchists were systematically purged from all posi-

tions of responsibility.

With the enthusiastic assistance of the "Communists", Negrín rebuilt the old capitalist state apparatus and placed the armed forces under the control of "loyal" (ie. pro-capitalist reactionary) army officers, like General Miaja who held a CP card (in fact, he seems to have held a card for all the political parties!).

The old judges, police chiefs, prison directors and civil servants again climbed out of the woodwork. Radical lawyers, who were considered to be too sympathetic to the workers' cause were dismissed. The peasants' collectives were broken up and their leaders arrested.

Crushing military defeats

As early as April 1937, Leon Trotsky warned that capitalist democracy was doomed in Spain irrespective of which side won the war. The line of thinking of Negrín was revealed even before his coming to power when he said that Spain "required a dictatorship under democratic rules (!) which would prepare the people for the future". Trotsky's prediction was confirmed by subsequent events.

Negrín's government, cynically styled "The government of victory" by the CP, presided over a series of crushing military defeats. The morale of the workers had been broken by the liquidation of the gains of the revolution.

In reality, the Republican government was not looking for a military victory but a deal with Franco. The right Socialist Prieto secretly offered the fascists a coalition with Gil Robles and... himself! But Franco had no intention of making any concessions.

The much-heralded offensive on the Ebro ended in defeat, which placed Catalonia at the mercy of Franco. The crushing of the workers of Barcelona destroyed the fighting spirit of the capital, which soon fell to the fascists, who unleashed a nightmare of repression.

As Trotsky has foreseen, the defeat of the working class would inevitably spell the victory of counter-revolution, even if the Republic won the war. The Stalinists had helped reconstruct the capitalist state and deliver the army to the control of the old officer caste. The latter now proceeded to kick the "Communists" to one side and carry out a coup d'état behind the lines.

Generals Casado and Miaja (still with a CP card in his pocket) conspired with Negrín to illegalise the "Communist" Party and attempt to do a deal with Franco. Casado offered to arrest and hand over to Franco many CP and other leaders.

Right wing Socialist leaders like Besteiro were involved up to the hilt in the conspiracy. Besteiro even offered to meet Franco to surrender in person.

Getting wind of the plot, La Pasionaria and other Stalinist leaders fled to France, leaving the ordinary CP members to their fate. The "Communist" Party paid for its treachery by being crushed—not by Franco, but by those very "democratic", "progressive" Republican generals and politicians

whom they had put in power.

With the elimination of the Stalinists, General Casado tried to negotiate with Franco. But by now there was nothing to negotiate about. On midday, 27 March 1939, Franco's forces occupied Madrid with virtually no resistance. Negrín, Prieto and the other right wing Socialist leaders took a plane to Mexico with enormous quantities of gold and precious stones, to live out a comfortable exile while the Socialist rank-and-file were left to the tender mercies of Franco's executioners.

Besteiro stayed behind, foolishly imagining he would be spared, and died in gaol. Largo Caballero, along with thousands of other Spanish refugees, was caught up by the German invasion of France and sent to a Nazi concentration camp.

The Spanish working class paid an appalling price for the false policies, cowardice and outright betrayal of its leaders. The fascists took a terrible revenge on the workers. Up to one million people were killed in the civil war itself. Thousands more were murdered in the immediate aftermath of defeat.

In every village there is a lonely path which leads into the countryside. To this day, old people will describe how the "nacionales" came and took so-and-so for a "paseito" (a "little stroll") along that road, never to be seen again, as the landlords and capitalists settled old scores.

The prisons of Spain were filled to overflowing. By 1942, it is estimated that maybe two million people had passed through the prisons and camps. Many were sentenced to death. Others were "fortunate" to have their sentence commuted to 30 years' imprisonment.

The most elementary rights of the workers were taken away. Their political and trade union organisations outlawed. A dark night of barbarism settled upon Spain which was to last nearly 40 years.

The defeat of the Spanish workers also settled the fate of Europe. Trotsky had predicted that such a defeat would make the Second World War inevitable. The "democratic" British and French ruling classes who connived at the victory of Franco (Chamberlain wrote in his diary: "I think we ought to be able to establish excellent relations with Franco, who seems well disposed to us".) prepared the ground for Hitler's onslaught on Poland and France within a year of the fall of Madrid.

For his part, Stalin was already negotiating secretly for a deal with Hitler even while the war in Spain was continuing. The Second World War, with its tens of millions of dead, which brought humanity to the brink of barbarism, was the direct result of the failure of the Spanish working class to take power in 1936-37.

"He who does not learn from history is doomed to repeat it". The present world crisis of capitalism will once again place on the order of the day the socialist transformation of society.

It is the duty of all conscious workers to study the lessons of the Spanish revolution in order to equip themselves to carry through the struggle to a victorious conclusion.

USSR

Bureaucracy stifles Soviet science

THE LAUNCHING of the space station *Mir* in February gave the Soviet Union a big lead in this type of space technology over the USA. (It can house up to 15 people, each having their own room and armchair). There is strong speculation that a Russian version of the space shuttle is about to be launched, and a new heavy lift rocket will soon be ready.

This will raise the possibility of manned interplanetary flight to Mars within the next ten to 15 years.

The Soviet lead in space will probably increase over the next two years after a series of disasters affecting the American programme, beginning with the Challenger explosion in January and continuing with the failure of the Delta and Titan rockets on take off.

The lead that the Soviet Union has established in this field is proof of the massive strides Soviet science has taken since the October 1917 Revolution. Russian workers can see the potential of a planned economy in the achievements of space flight, but at the same time they get none of the benefits of high technology in their daily lives as the shortages continue and Stalinism's economic crisis deepens.

Nuclear energy

The contradictions in the development of Russian science and technology are clearly shown in the Chernobyl disaster. The bureaucracy have developed a crash programme to build nuclear power stations. The plan is to have 70,000 MW capacity in operation by 1990, which will represent the largest generating capacity in the world.

The ability of the Soviet Union to build at this rate is testimony to the planned economy. Russia is now on a par with the USA in energy production after being behind India in 1917.

But the nuclear power programme is not part of a rational energy plan, where production is geared to the best long term interests of society, including investigating alternative energy sources. Rather it is an expedient dictated by Russia's economic crisis and notoriously inefficient use of energy, with virtual no effort

By Pete Dickenson

put into conservation.

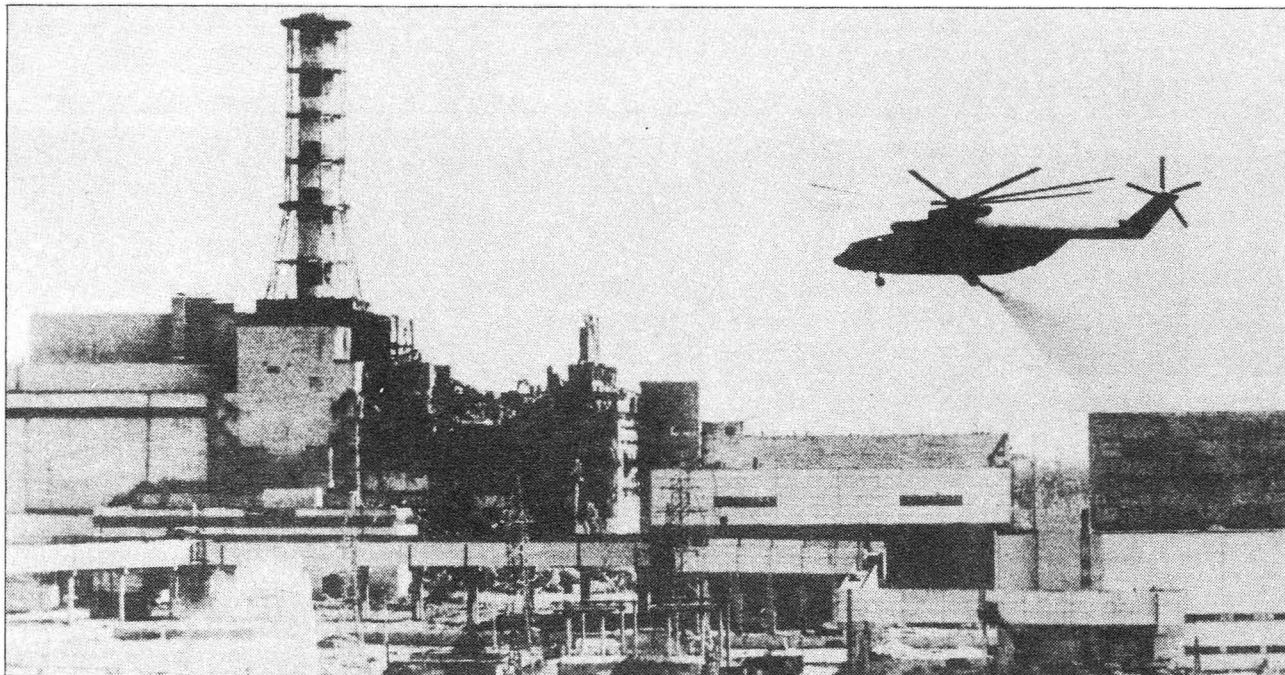
The reserves of coal, oil and gas in Siberia are the largest in the world, making a non-nuclear energy policy entirely possible, but the bureaucracy is unable to use these resources for two reasons. The first is that the Stalinist system can't try to develop modern industries, such as electronics and computers, without importing high technology from capitalist countries. This must be paid for with hard currency which is obtained by exporting most of the oil and gas available.

The collapse in the price of oil will have disastrous consequences for this policy of relying on exports and will probably lead to another ultimately futile turn to 'self efficiency'.

The second reason the oil and gas resources can't be fully exploited is due to the chaotic nature of the railway network. This makes it very expensive to move coal from Siberia, and although modern means of transportation are being built, such as pipelines, they are only being used for exports.

These factors show why the bureaucracy have been forced to turn to a large domestic nuclear power programme, where, in the rush, corners are being cut and adequate safety standards ignored.

Despite the fetter of the bureaucracy restricting the development of science and technology, the Soviet Union has emerged since the end of the Second World War as an industrial super power rivaling the USA. Technological developments in basic industries such as iron and steel, machine tools and electric power transmission have led all the capitalist countries. The 5,000 cubic metre blast furnace for iron smelting, completed in 1974, was, until recently, the largest in the



Chernobyl. The Russian stampede to build nuclear power stations is a reflection of the failure to properly use oil and coal resources.



Soviet cosmonauts have the record for long endurance in space, several having been over six months in orbit and one for a year.

world. Here size is good indicator of technical level, since it can reduce costs and improve the quality of the product.

Since 1970 the rate of introduction of numerically controlled machine tools has outstripped other industrialised countries, and the design of circuit breakers for the 750 kilovolt transmission line was a major technical achievement.

Mass production

A critical factor in the successful development of new technology is how long it takes to move from the initial prototype stage to the final stage where the techni-

que is widely used in industry. It has proved to be easier to get to the final stage of a hydroelectrical power scheme, where only a few plants will ever be made, than it has for the mass production of clothing using synthetic fibres, for example.

The first synthetic fibres, polyester and nylon, were made in a prototype plant in 1948, but it took until 1973 for production to reach one third of total fibre output.

Fundamentally, this lag is not due to technical reasons but to political ones. To develop modern science-based industries needs close collaboration between research, development, production and consumption.

There must also be a method to control the allocation of resources between different areas and to establish accountability for what is produced.

In the capitalist system this is done by the whip of market forces, at least to an extent. In the Stalinist states there is no mechanism of accountability or control, only arbitrary dictatorial decrees. Democratic control by the working class of all the stages of production is the only solution.

Computer technology

Advances in electronics and computer technology have raised the possibility for the first time, of eliminating dangerous and soul-destroying routine jobs, freeing people to do creative work. The bureaucracy realise the potential of computers and have a massive programme under way to install 100,000 by the end of this year.

The computers are being imported from Western countries or copies are being made from American designs. This, in itself, is an indictment of the Stalinist system which has been unable to organise an efficient, modern electronics industry, despite its having more engineers and technicians at its disposal than the USA.

Nevertheless, the American government is afraid of the potential of a planned economy, however distorted. They have started a boycott of nearly all electronic and computer equipment bound for the East.

Even if the drive in the Soviet Union to install the computers is successful this will not solve the contradictions in the economy. A report in *Electronics Weekly* says that the new robotic equipment is proving to be extremely unpopular. The cultivator works at Rostov on Don has three robots hanging around because nobody knows what to do with them—the need for an instruction manual was overlooked!

Many robots have been produced to do pressing and stamping of metal, operations which can be done more efficiently by conventional means. At many engineering factories, managers have simply disconnected the robots.

In the scientific field, apart from prestige space projects, as in production, the ruling caste is now holding back the development of society. The only way to ensure that scientific and technical knowledge is fully harnessed to the needs of the people is to overthrow the bureaucracy and establish a system of democratic control of industry.

IN 1984, a man walked into a suburban bank in South London with a suitcase full of £50 notes and calmly deposited £200,000. Over the next ten days his total deposits amounted to a million pounds, and over the next four months they reached one and a half million.

In the Brinks-Mat billion trial, concluded last week, surprise was expressed at the fact that such an enormous sum of money could be deposited in this way without questions being asked.

What this case has revealed is the ease with which criminals can get the confidential co-operation of banks and financial institutions in "laundering" their ill-gotten gains. Moreover, although the Brinks Mat theft was the largest robbery in British history, it is only the smallest tip of huge iceberg as far as international theft and financial "laundering" are concerned.

Ferdinand Marcos and his family, are believed to have stolen as much as \$10 billion, the bulk of which is safely and secretly hidden away in "legitimate" banks in Switzerland and elsewhere. Yet none of the banks or host countries

are rushing to restore the stolen goods to their rightful owners.

So far, the new Philippines government has indentified about \$900 million of the Marcos wealth. Faced with the complexity of the Marcos operation, it is virtually impossible for the Filipino government to identify all the assets, then legally 'prove' that they were misappropriated.

Yet the British Foreign Office has made it clear to the Philippines that it will have to go through the formal legal channels to recover any assets in the UK and its colonies, like the Cayman Islands. Swiss law is even more heavily stacked against any recovery: banking secrecy is part of the established practice and it is a penal offence for bank officials to disclose information.

The prospects, therefore, for the

The missing millions

recovery of such vast amounts of plundered wealth, do not look good. The Marcos billions are likely to stay with their present owners and their cronies in exactly the same way as the monies stolen by other dictators, like Duvalier who stole \$500 million from Haiti, and earlier despots like Somoza of Nicaragua and the Shah of Iran.

Even these, the more notorious looters, only account for a tiny fraction of the wealth annually stolen and moved "illegally", with no questions asked.

Mexico, for example, has been negotiating a new \$6 billion loan facility, yet in the last two years the capital flight from the country has amounted to at least that much. As much as \$130 billion of Latin American money is thought to have fled to the USA, especially Florida,

in recent years.

The huge scale of capital flight world-wide can be estimated by the differences in the world totals of trade balances. In theory these should balance out to around zero, but the difference calculated in 1982, of \$92 billion, is probably mostly due to the shift in "black" money.

The Brinks Mat case in Britain has lifted the corner of a very large veil. Behind it are hundreds of banks and governments—all pontificating on "law and order" and "free enterprise"—while gladly stashing the billions of loot acquired by anything from bank robberies and drug trafficking to brutal dictatorships.

Trade union and labour movement funds, of course are never given the same 'protection'. As the

Tories have shown on more than one occasion, union money can always be traced and sequestered.

Meanwhile, the real criminals and parasites of society shift vast amounts of money through Lichtenstein, Switzerland, Panama, and it seems, even suitcases full in not so exotic places like Croydon. The whole system represents a vast "laundering" operation, taking the capitalist system of legalised robbery to its logical conclusion.

It is another irrefutable argument for the disclosure of all capitalism's business secrets, especially banking transactions, for the state ownership of the finance houses and for the socialist transformation of society.

Chile, USA

Chile - poor fight for the right to beg

"PEACE AND progress" is the welcome sign to visitors to Santiago's international airport, at Pudahuel. After a few minutes in the bus to the city centre, the promise of peace and progress fades as the real horror of life under the Pinochet military dictatorship becomes apparent.

A glimpse through the bus window as it speeds past the outskirts of one of the shanty towns, and a small measure of the poverty faced by the Chilean workers and youth can be seen. Wooden huts pass as houses, where anything up to three or more families are packed together. The massive rise in unemployment becomes clear as the bus approaches the city centre. The army of street sellers begins to board.

Thousands of ex-factory workers, clerks and even sacked teachers, doctors and architects have all come together to create the largest Chilean industry. With no state benefits, they are forced to make, and acquire anything that will sell. Small plastic ID holders, wallets, chocolate, sweets, aspirin and any selection of tablets to cure colds and flu. Jumping from bus to bus this has become the sole form of income for thousands in Santiago and other Chilean cities.

To them must be added the singers and musicians who brighten many a bus journey in exchange for a few pesos. As a measure of the revolutionary mood, it is the protest songs which are the most popular. If a policeman boards, sometimes the songs change, but frequently not.

Pleading for pesos

But the sellers are accompanied by some of the most downtrodden, those who simply board the buses and ask for money, often women with their small children, pleading that they do not wish to annoy anyone, but asking for a few pesos to buy bread for a family of six or more, which has no-one working and no other income. Even children, five or maybe six years of age sometimes beg, after getting the permission of the bus driver.

In the middle class areas, often surrounded by shanty towns, the youth don't wait for the buses. From the nearby "campamentos" the youth go from door to door asking for old newspapers and bottles which they then sell. The more desperate ask outright for crusts of bread or a tin of food. In such areas can be seen the disgusting sight of children fighting with dogs for the first pickings from the rubbish bags, discarded from the relatively prosperous flats and houses.

Worse still was the attempt by the dictatorship to even attack the blind, who played their musical instruments and begged in the city centre. The government tried to prevent them selling their own hand made products in the street. Blind beggars were arrested and beaten by the hated riot police. But they fought back and organised themselves into a committee which called for a hunger strike, for the right to beg!

One of the leaders committed suicide leaving behind a note explaining that "he could not continue living where this last bit of dignity was to be denied." Such was the outcry that the regime backed down.

Recently floods swept through Chile, seriously damaging over 25,000 houses, a natural disaster which could not have been prevented. Its effects, however, could. The government had no emergency provision at all. Investment in such infrastructure as a modern drainage system for the city has not been undertaken, the result being that for something over a week 60 per cent of Santiago lost



Top - Life in a shanty town. Below - Pinochet's army on parade.

Photos: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)

all water supply. It was followed by an inevitable outbreak of disease in all of the shanty towns. The inhabitants had to get together and organise their own emergency water distribution or repairs. The government did nothing with the sole exception that the water cannon, normally turned against demonstrators was used to distribute some water.

Pinochet is dragging society within the shanty towns almost to the level of barbarism. The youth in particular are in a desperate position. In the workers' districts, an estimated 70 per cent of youth are either unemployed or underemployed. One report has estimated that in the largest shanty towns and workers' districts, 70 per cent of the entire population now have a caloric intake less than the minimum established by the United Nations. It is to be seen in the drawn faces and decaying teeth of many.

The regime has now privatised 85 per cent of education. A third of all youth now do not complete secondary education up to the age of 14. The result is an inevitable rise in illiteracy or semi-literacy,

contrary to government claims.

Amongst the youth such conditions, and the seemingly endless life of the dictatorship has led to widespread demoralisation. It is estimated that 43 per cent of youth are either taking drugs or have a serious drinking problem.

Troops open fire

To all this has to be added the effects of the repression itself. The brutality of the police, and more recently the use of troops who have undertaken mass raids and killings, is burnt into the consciousness of the Chilean masses. In the recent strike and protests called for 2-3 July, government claims put the number of dead at eight. But reliable reports from one shanty town alone claim 12. Troops, often drugged, opened fire indiscriminately, scattering youth in a thousand directions.

The regime claims that troops were only used against "terrorists" and fired into the air. One joke currently quite popular in one shanty town answers such claims quite effectively:

"A team of international experts

has arrived in Chile to find out why so many Chileans float on air". "But do a lot of Chileans float on air?" "Yes. It's the only explanation, as to why if the troops shoot into the air people keep falling down dead."

It was during this movement that two youths were sadistically murdered and burnt to death by some troops. However the irony of the situation was that Rodrigo Rojas was still alive when he was taken to hospital. He died because the hospital did not have sufficient resources to deal with the burns he had received!

Such conditions are preparing the way for an explosion in Chilean society. The regime, despite its apparent display of strength, is hanging by a thread, divided and stumbling from crisis to crisis. Its fall will open the prospect for the socialist transformation of Chilean society and the ending of these nightmares of a military police dictatorship and capitalism.

A further article in a coming issue will deal with the current political situation in Chile.



What a liberty

ONE HUNDRED years ago the people of France donated the majestic copper-clad Statue of Liberty to the United States. Millions of schoolchildren, workers and others were enlisted to contribute money to build a pedestal for it.

A century later the president of Chrysler, Lee Iacocca, is organising schoolchildren and ordinary workers again to part with nickels and dimes, this time to raise \$30 million to repair the statue. Most are contributing gladly. To them the statue is a symbol of liberty, justice and opportunity.

But the White House had other things in mind. With Reagan's blessing, Iacocca launched a drive to franchise the Statue of Liberty logo to corporations, to promote fast foods, cars, beer and dozens of other products, in exchange for donations and sponsorships.

Iacocca grabbed a bit of the action for his own company too. The new Chrysler compact-car to be unveiled this year will sport the familiar logo, and will be called the 'Liberty'.

On 4 July the 'Miss Liberty' pageantry featured the \$5,000 per ticket unveiling of the restored statue. There was a parade of tall sailing ships up the Hudson River, including the Chilean vessel, the *Esmeraldaz*. This was used to imprison and torture Chilean workers in 1973 after the military coup. And here it was to commemorate 'liberty'.

Many people disgusted by the crass commercialisation of the centennial refused to have anything to do with it. Singer Bruce Springsteen turned down his invitation to attend. Even District Judge Gerhard Gesell, following the lead of judges in Los Angeles refused to conduct the swearing-in ceremonies of new citizens, calling the pageantry and TV commercials "inappropriate" and in bad taste.

Some of the strongest reactions have come from black workers. The Statue of Liberty was always the first sight that greeted new immigrants into the US, but a letter to the *New York Times* expressed the feelings of many blacks: "For most black Americans the most appropriate symbol of their arrival on American shores would be a fetid and deadly slave ship and the auction square".

The Statue of Liberty celebrations could have been a tribute to the immigrant workers who came to the United States, and who though their labour built it into the richest country in the world. But the Reagan administration had planned for this big business takeover of the celebrations even in the early months of its first term.

By Betty Traun
(New York)

The real state scroungers

Dear Comrades,
The Royal propaganda forced on us by TV AM on 23 July included an interview with a young unemployed couple also called Andrew and Sarah planning to get married the same day.
The interviewer made much of the lack of envy on the part of this young couple. Sarah showed off her engagement ring which was a £16 replica of the royal ring.

The interviewer made a joke with the couple about their honeymoon plans: "Would it be the Azores?"
The irony for the millions of unemployed is that there will be no future worth living 'til we get these rich parasites, and their hack journalists, off our backs once and for all.
Yours fraternally
Gerry Lerner
Bow and Poplar Labour Party

Tories—still scheming

Dear Comrades,
I am sure like myself many readers have had a letter from the Job Centre about the 'restart' programme.
I went today. After a load of questions about jobs I had applied for over the last six years, they offered me a part-time course.
For doing this course they will give me my travelling expenses. Then the man who interviewed me told me that this would not affect my benefit—that was very big of him.
On the restart they list eight ways to get off the dole but they don't list the ninth, which seems to have more

success than anything—suicide.
Yours fraternally
PD Roberts
Dear Comrades,
I am 16 and have just left school. I examined my alternatives: Firstly there was college. Because my dole money would go directly to my father's wage packet and anyway £17.30 would just about buy me a shirt, this did not seem very appetising.
Then there was a job, but considering there's an acute shortage of jobs in Wolverhampton, this was out of the question.
Then there was good old

YTS. £27.30 a week for an office job, the chance to sell a few papers, what a life!
So far I have been refused—six YTS schemes! Would I get into the Guinness books of records!
It is obvious, as my political ideas are known throughout Wolverhampton, that I have been 'blacklisted'.
Last year they were begging people to go on schemes!
Yours fraternally
'The one that got away'
Dawn Maguire
Wolverhampton South
West Labour Party Young Socialists

Letters

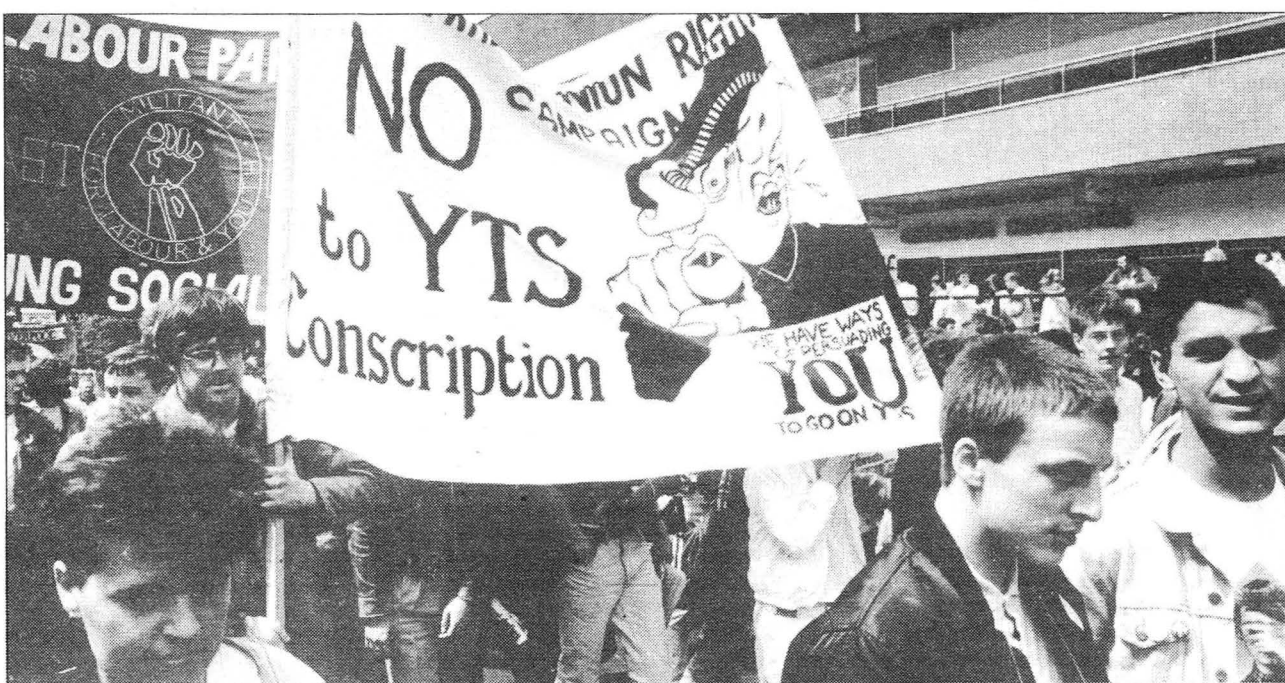
Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Fowler LPYS next in the line for witch-hunt

Dear Comrades,
Whether or not the Fowler review reaches the statute book, a lot of cuts in various forms of social security have already been made, such as board and lodgings.
One cut is the change of rules for Employers Statutory Sick Pay.
The introduction of this scheme was an attack on benefits as it only paid a flat rate benefit for the first eight weeks of sickness, which I was horrified to hear has now been extended to 26 weeks—so getting even less benefits from National Insurance contributions despite the millions of pounds surplus in the fund.
Not only do we need to fight the Fowler Review but all these hidden cuts and replace the social security system with a well thoughtout socialist alternative.

Dear Comrades,
Roy Hattersley has done it again! In *The Guardian* on 12 July (see *Militant* 808), he trips through a long list of his personal tastes in sandwiches. What a waste of media space for the deputy leader of the Labour Party.
In the general election of 1983 he did exactly the same, drivelling on about sandwiches he likes to eat on trains.
If you enjoy your food so much Roy, why don't you stay in the café and leave the NEC to more serious-minded socialists that you take such delight in expelling?
Yours fraternally
Mike Forster
Grimsby



Labour Party Young Socialists' demonstration in Liverpool last year to oppose government measures to force school-leavers onto the Youth Training Scheme. The new regulations for the LPYS sought by right wing party officials aims to curb the campaigning record of the youth section.
Photo: Dave Sinclair

Yours fraternally
Margaret Manning
Manchester Labour Womens Council
Dear Comrades,
A report published this week by the University Statistical Records shows that the proportion of students from comprehensive schools who graduate from university is the same proportion as those who were educated privately.

Dear Comrades,
I was disturbed to read in *Militant* 807 that another showdown between the left and right of the Labour Party is developing.
I refer to the Labour Party Youth sub-committee's proposals to reduce the membership and campaigning activities of the Labour Party Young Socialists.
Are the right wing of the party really naive enough to think that they can afford to

cut the number of LPYS membership and so lose many active people who are constantly recruiting for the party?
My letter of protest will be going to Larry Whitty.
Yours fraternally
Dennis Wareing
Cheshire

Dear Comrades,
Labour Party members are incensed at the Labour Party leadership.
The lack of support for the Silentnight strikers, the continuing attack on socialists in Liverpool.
The Labour Party General Management Committees

are now beginning to wake up to the fact that they are the policy making body of the party.
The October conference will show Neil Kinnock and his band that the rank and file are the Labour Party, that the members who pay the subscriptions are the

ones who count.
My advice to Kinnock is to stop sucking up to the Tory press and start to take notice of the Party membership.
Yours fraternally
John M Bailey
Branch secretary
AEU (personal capacity)
Yorkshire

What the report fails to even comment upon is that although 90 per cent of all secondary pupils are educated at comprehensive schools, only 55 per cent of university students actually come from comprehensive schools.
Children of poorer families are being denied further education simply because they cannot afford to pay for it. The implementation of the Fowler Review will only add to the savage cuts in student grants thereby taking further education even more out of reach of working class and even middle class people.
Yours fraternally
Kevin Williamson
Leith Labour Party
Young Socialists



Public meetings like this, organised by the Labour Party Young Socialists in Brixton are vital to explain the issues around South Africa.
Photo: Dave Sinclair

Workers' sanctions

Dear Comrades,
Ian Mayhew (*Militant* 807) argues that "Workers' sanctions would be patchy, paltry, and at best result in slight damage to the strong South African capitalist economy."
He seems unaware that it was precisely workers' sanctions which forced the Irish government to ban the import of fruit picked by prison (ie. slave) labour in South Africa.
Half of all foreign investment in South Africa is British and if workers' sanctions forced disinvestment the "strong capitalist economy" would in fact collapse.
Ian discounts the impor-

tance of actions in the UK which are aimed at patiently explaining to British workers that the real conflict in South Africa is not simply black versus white, but black workers against white bosses: in many cases the same bosses we all know and love at home!
The most important action British workers can perform to help South African workers is to bring down Thatcher; the most important international prop of the Botha regime—and one with whom we have a score of our own to settle.
Yours fraternally
Derek McMillan
West Sussex

Colum McCallan

In memory of comrade Colum McCallan, murdered by cowards 14 July Belfast.
Time was when people believed in legends which told of a paradise. These were vague and confused dreams, the yearning of the soul of oppressed man after a better life.
There was the yearning after a purer, more righteous life and man said: "There must be such a paradise, at least, in the 'other' world, an unknown and mysterious country".
But we say, we shall create such a paradise with our toiling hands here, in this world, upon earth, for all, for our children and grand children and for all eternity!
Remembered for ever, Ken Aiken and Kate Walsh, Belfast.

Soviet labour camps

Dear Comrades,
The other night I watched a channel 4 programme on prisons and labour camps in the Soviet Union.
No open criticism is tolerated and cliques and hierarchies run the show. Conditions in prisons, labour camps and mental institutions are appalling.
When a person is taken to court, particularly for political and religious crimes, they are assumed guilty. Acquittals are very

few and most of these prisoners end up in labour camps, or worse, the uranium mines.
Whilst the Gorbachev regime waxed lyrical about the safety of people after the Chernobyl accident, many thousands had already died, and are still dying, of radiation poisoning in the mines.
Yours fraternally
GP Nightingale
Maidstone

£4.25, *Revolution and counter-revolution in Spain* by Morrow, and *Spanish revolution '31-'37* by Grant/Taaffe. £3.50 for Morrow only, 90p for Grant/Taaffe only. Post free to: World Socialist Books, 3-13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB.

Defend GMB democracy

FORMER GENERAL Secretary of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union (GMB), David Basnett, once said that the union belongs to its members.

Following in his footsteps John Edmonds never misses an opportunity to state how democratic our union is. However, a little look at the rule book tells a different story.

The infamous rule 17 is used by the bureaucracy to ensure that they keep their grip on the union and stamp out any dissent by the rank and file against the leadership.

For instance, it states: "Any branch officer failing to perform his duties to the satisfaction of the regional secretary or regional committee may be removed from office at any time by the decision of the regional committee, and the regional committee shall have full discretionary powers to organise a new election by the branch members or alternatively shall take other such action as may be deemed expedient in the interests of the union."

Whose interests

What this means effectively is that a convenor could be removed by the stroke of a pen even if he had the total support of branch members. Of course 'in the interests of the union' translates to mean in the interests of the right-wing unelected officials who control the GMBATU.

It is even against the rules to put any leaflets on any subject or communicate with other branches: "unless approved by the regional committee or central executive council."

And just in case, the following warning is issued in the rule book: "Any member or members of any branch issuing or distributing any circular or

Union rules

divulging the union's business or affairs or calling unauthorised meetings without the approval of the Regional Committee will be suspended from all benefits and liable to be expelled."

This clause means that membership of the Broad Left or simply putting out a leaflet criticising the leadership could lead to expulsion from the union. Very democratic indeed.

With rule 17, clause 12, the bureaucracy: "Shall have the power to close any branch, or merge any branches for any reason which it deems good sufficient." Presumably then branches can be closed or merged without consulting members, for any reason which the right-wing deem 'good and sufficient'.

The Regional Committee in Liverpool are probably using this rule against branch number five, after they have conducted their phoney 'investigation'. The Regional Council have already agreed to split our branch in the teeth of opposition from our members.

Of course, the rule book

can be changed at every third congress, but even the policy making body of the union is rigged and totally unrepresentative of the membership.

Instead of delegates being represented by individual branches, every branch in the region votes on a slate of proposed delegates, nominated by branches, on a first past the post system (one delegate per 2,000 financial members).

Dead branches

Branches are not informed of how other branches voted.

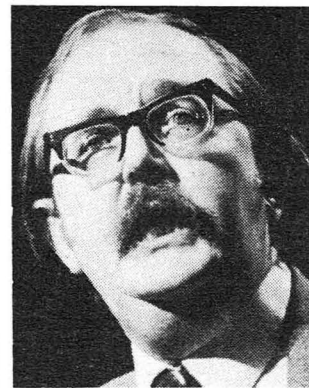
It is possible for full time officials to cast branch block votes, particularly of those branches that do not meet. Consequently the delegations are not representative and certainly do not incorporate any minority opinion.

The undemocratic nature of the GMBATU must be changed by building a strong Broad Left, fighting on a democratic programme of change.

By a branch 5 member



GMB members on demonstration in support of Liverpool council (above) and GMB banner at public meeting with Derek Hatton and Eric Heffer (below) show the involvement of GMB members in the council's campaign. John Edmonds (right) and other trade union leaders tried to sabotage the Liverpool struggle.



Broad Left for General Workers and Boilermakers

Broad Left for General Workers and Boilermakers demand:

- ★ Unity against the Tories and the employers. No witch-hunt against *Militant* supporters in GMBATU
- ★ Regular election for all full-time trade union officials by the members they represent.
- ★ No full-time official to receive more than the average wage of their members.
- ★ Minimum wage of £120.
- ★ For a fighting socialist leadership of GMBATU.
- ★ Oppose the witch-hunt of socialists in the Labour Party.
- ★ For a Labour government committed to socialist policies and a planned economy based on need not profit.

Liverpool witch-hunt

THE GMBATU right wing are pressing ahead with the most serious attack yet on the left in the union.

While GMB members in the gas industry, local government, ship building and elsewhere face privatisation and massive job losses, the union leadership seem more concerned with conducting a witch-hunt.

Claiming they have a "mandate" from the recent Congress in Scarborough, the bureaucracy hope to stifle and choke off the democratic, fighting traditions established over a period of years in Liverpool

Misleading

In particular, by means of a charade of an investigation into Liverpool branch 5, they hope to destroy the influence of Marxism in the union—an influence which stretches back to the days of

the union's formation.

Judging by the latest edition of the GMB Journal they believe that by a campaign of deliberate misinformation they can 'con' the membership into accepting a purge.

It contains a hysterical attack on *Militant* supporters, quoting at length from John Edmonds' conference speech. He made the absurd accusation that Derek Hatton had said "never abandon the weapon of chaos" during one of their meetings. This, as witnesses will testify, is an outright lie.

While accusing councillors of wanting chaos, no mention is made of the chaos caused by Tory cuts which the councillors are no being so savagely punished for opposing.

GMBATU members in Liverpool are also angry at the comments of John

Whelan (Liverpool regional secretary) who said Liverpool Council, "made 31,000 redundant as a tactic"!

Presumably Whelan thinks that the 9,000 GMB members who work for the council are on the dole. But then this full-time official was never very in touch with his members. During the budget crisis, members can't remember him lifting a finger to support them.

Attack will backfire

Lay members in Liverpool are furious at the barrage of lies and smears directed against the council, local GMB branches and *Militant* supporters, by their own leadership.

Already there is evidence that the right's witch-hunt will backfire on them. The recently launched Broad Left in the region has received a



15p per copy. Orders to: 94 Richard Kelly Drive, Liverpool, L4 8TJ

stream of requests for speakers and information about the attacks on Liverpool branch 5.

Resolutions deploring the sham 'investigation' and the threat of disciplinary action against leading left-wingers in Liverpool are beginning to roll in. The democratic traditions of Liverpool branch 5, far from being smothered, will become the standard for the entire union in the future.

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.

○ *Militant* poster blanks (A2 size). Order yours now—cash in advance. £20 per 1,000 (inc.p&p). Box 5, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

○ MERSEYSIDE *Militant* Picnic in Sefton Park. Sunday 3 August. Children welcome. Meet 12 noon by Conservatory. Games, entertainment, food etc. Bring a toy or cash donation for crèche box.

○ Northern *Militant* Camp 22-25 August in Edale (Peak District, Derbyshire). Leading Marxist speakers, crèche, trips, folk nights. £10 waged, £5 unwaged, £3 children. Cheques to: MSDC, c/o J Hartley, 21 Carrforge Cl, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

○ Merseyside *Militant* day out in Southport. Sunday 17 August. 10am central station or 11am Southport station.

○ Towards the Political Revolution. Perspectives for Poland of the Trotskyist workers' tendency of Solidarity. Available at 50p each from "World Socialist Books", 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

○ Address books 60p, bookmarks 40p, plastic sleeves 20p, sew on badge 40p, pens 30p plus post to: *Militant*, 8 Woodside Court, Woodside Rd, Portswood, Southampton.

○ South Wales Summer Camp. Bank Farm, Horton, Gower. August 23/24/25. £15 per adult, £2.50 per child (under 15) £5 per day. Overnight stay £10. Make cheques payable to *Militant* Summer Camp and send to MSC c/o 33 Bryn Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

○ 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.

○ *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. Order from: *Inqaba*, BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX.

Militant meetings

□ Sittingbourne Marxist discussion group. Every second Tuesday at 29 Waterloo Rd, Sittingbourne, Kent. For further details ring Sittingbourne 72632.

□ Wroxall Marxist discussion group. 2 Mountfield Rd, Wroxall, Isle of Wight. Every Wednesday. Phone Vic Dale on IOW 854759 for details.

□ *MILITANT* Readers Meeting. "Get Thatcher out" 7 August 8pm. St Matthews Hall, St Mary's Road, Southampton (off 6 Dials Roundabout).

□ MERSEYSIDE *Militant* Women's Day School. Sunday 10 August. 10.30am—4pm. MTUCURC, Hardman Street, Liverpool. Crèche provided. Sessions on: Northern Ireland, domestic violence, can Labour afford a minimum wage, young women.

Industrial Reports

Silentnight struggles on

THE ANNIVERSARY of the sacking of the Silentnight strikers, 22 July, was marked by another setback for company owners, the Clarke family, with the closure of Night and Day in Huddersfield.

Night and Day, owned by Silentnight chairman's son Peter Clarke, was opened less than a year ago to sell Silentnight Group furniture. But even Tom Clarke's own son has found it hard to sell Silentnight products!

How precarious is the future of the Silentnight factories? Just before the July holidays, 20 scab workers were laid off, and increasingly fewer people are to be seen on the buses crossing the picket lines.

On the Barnoldswick picket line last week, strikers told me there is little activity at the factory, that two quilting machines have recently been taken out, and that deliveries of felt (one of the main materials used), which used to arrive every day, have decreased to only

Clarke's Co-op lie

a couple of deliveries per week.

Before the strike, Silentnight were starting to produce for the top end of the market, but now Supersleepers, which were sold for between £250 and £400, are being priced at only £140 in some shops.

Faced with the continued threat of nationwide Co-op blacking, and with many individual Co-ops refusing to stock Silentnight beds, Tom Clarke was desperate enough to write round to the Co-op directors, saying the dispute is over and the strikers have been offered their jobs back!

The strike committee responded quickly by themselves writing to the Co-op directors, countering Tom Clarke's lies with the truth. Not only did they confirm that the strike is still on, and

not a single striker has been reinstated, but they fully explained the background to the strike and enclosed documents that prove the strikers' case.

Already one of the Co-op directors has thanked the strike committee for providing information which he said they had been wanting for months, to help them argue the case for blacking. It is shameful that FTAT's full-time officers have not provided such information long ago, and that it has been left to the strikers themselves to take such initiatives without any help from the union leadership.

The Co-op directors will be meeting again in September. This time they may decide to introduce national blacking of Silentnight products. The labour movement must keep up the pressure.

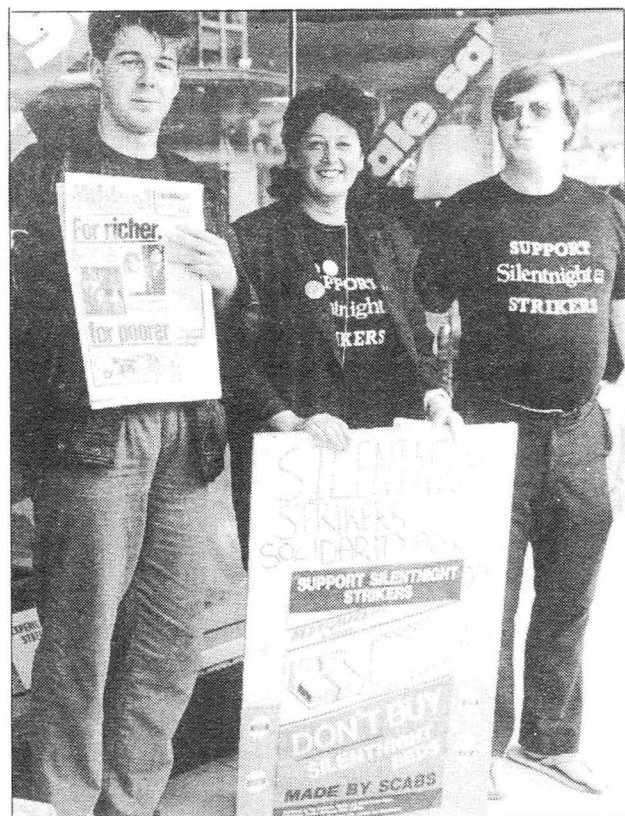


Photo: Mick Carroll

Militant supporters and other Labour Party members from Southwark picket the Walworth Road Co-op against the sale of Silentnight products. Police were called, but after negotiation the manager agreed to remove the beds from display for the day.

Decisive time for seafarers

JOE ANDERSON, National Union of Seamen and National Chairman Port Chairman's Committee talked to Richard Knights for Militant.

What are the main problems facing NUS members?

The main problem we face is the decline in the deep sea sector of our industry. The main cause of that is companies 'flagging out'—that is removing the registration of the ship in Britain, and moving out to a 'flag of convenience' ie. Liberia or Panama.

By doing this, companies undercut wages, skimp on safety and reduce manning levels.

Since 1970 200 jobs per week have been lost, you can see this in the membership of our union. In the 1960s we had over 100,000 members now we are down to only 28,000.

What should the union be fighting for?

We should fight for nationalisation of the shipping industry. That's the only way we can protect the workers in the industry. But we must also fight for nationalisation of the shipbuilding industry to provide ships for trade. We need a socialist plan for the whole shipping industry.

What problems are faced on passenger liners?

One of the big problems we have is the introduction of concessionaire labour. P&O introduced this on the *Sea Princess* and the *Countess*.

They gave out redundancy pay and then rehired men on \$70 per week plus what tips they could make.

Also we had a case recently on the *QE2* where 93 Filipinos were taken on well below NUS rates. It wasn't a racist argument—we called for the rate for the job and that any labour should be taken on from the NUS unemployed list.

If we allow the companies to get away with these attacks the National Maritime Board Rates will be useless. *What about the ferry sector?* This is the strongest sector of our union, but here we face the problem of non-registered ferries.

At the moment there are



about 20 operating around our coast. Most companies operate through the Merchant Navy Establishment Federation and they have a joint agreement with the union on the supply of labour. Ferry companies pay into a fund to receive labour.

So by not registering, companies save money. P&O have gone non-registered. We have about 2,000 non-registered seamen at the moment, you only have to look at the dockers to see the problems they have faced with non-registered ports.

We must fight for the union to fully control the supply of labour as happens in Australia and New Zealand. Otherwise registered will be fighting with non-registered and we will have no control over the industry.

What is the way forward for the union? I believe we must amalgamate with the TGWU. We need one waterfront union so we can build strong links with the dockers and halt the decline of the industry.

We've also won the right to elect our officials—it's ironic that it's come about due to the Tory legislation—but we have been raising this demand for years.

Jim Slater has stood down as general secretary, this was voted on by the conference. However the morning after

conference finished, the EC met and made him life president.

The last time we had such a position it was held by Havelock Wilson, the only union leader to scab during the 1926 general strike.

It shows their contempt for conference.

What should the left do in the election for general secretary?

Well, I believe it's vital we stand a candidate against those people who argued it wasn't worth while.

Although our elections are run by the Electoral Reform Society there is a lot of discontent at the conduct of the elections. We should fight for more rank and file scrutiny.

The election of John Macreadie in the CPSA shows you can win against all odds.

But more importantly we need to build a strong Broad Left in the NUS.

Just electing lefts is not enough, after all Jim Slater was elected on a left ticket. We must build a campaigning Broad Left with a policy and programme that will appeal to the rank and file.

Many lefts will be supporting Bob Rayner from Harwich against Sam McCluskie. I was particularly disgusted with McCluskie's performance at our conference. He allowed the TV cameras to film his attack on Militant—after which they left.

Help needed

AFTER NEARLY 14 months on strike, obviously a great deal of hardship is being suffered by strikers and their families. Fund-raising is more difficult in the holiday season, but strenuous efforts are being made locally and elsewhere.

Skipton Branch Labour Party organised a sponsored walk last Saturday, and people travelled from as far away as London and South Wales to take part.

The TGWU provided a trip to Heathrow airport and Thorpe Park for 50 strikers' children last week, and Stirling CLP are paying for a week's holiday in Scotland for two strikers' families.

On Saturday, 2 August, in Kennington Park, London, a football match will take place between Silentnight strikers' Women's Team, and Fleet Street electricians. The kick-off is at 10.30am.

Striker Irene Scott told me: "The print workers have been fantastic with the help they've given us. These are lads we've known since last October, and now they've challenged us to a match. "We're going to organise

a raffle on the day, and the first prize will be a collection of trade union badges. Silentnight T-shirts and badges will also be on sale. The match will raise money for our strike fund, but we'll also have a laugh".

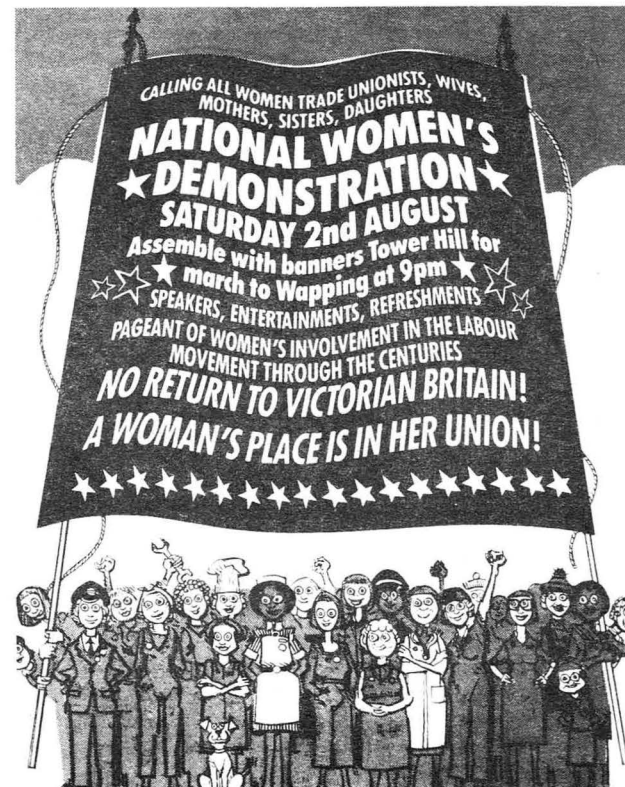
Striker Janice Duxbury, also a footballer, asked me, through the Militant: "To thank everyone for the magnificent support which has kept us going for the last year. After 14 months on strike, we're feeling the hardship.

"Will people please carry on supporting us in our strike. As time goes on it gets harder. People have used up any savings they had, and there are new cases of hardship all the time.

"We feel that everyone knows about the strike. But it's still as important as they day we walked out. It's a dispute we have to win, and we want to be able to go on fighting".

Please send your donations to: FTAT Crvendale No 92 Branch Strike Fund, c/o Ann King, Treasurer, 10 Rainhall Crescent, Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancashire.

By Linden Stafford



Industrial Reports

Way forward for Wapping

IF THE courts run true to form, picketing or demonstrations outside Murdoch's Wapping plant could be outlawed.

Murdoch's latest recourse to law is a further attempt to ease the pressure on beleaguered employees and safeguard profits.

He is undoubtedly feeling the pinch because of the demonstrations at Wapping and the TNT depots.

He is hoping that with the injunctions the national union leaders will be deterred from taking any action, fearful of sequestration. If Murdoch succeeds it will set a dangerous precedent for the whole trade union movement.

The writs name the national unions and branches—but also in-

By Peter Jarvis
(London Region NGA)

dividuals. Under no circumstances can the rest of the movement desert these or the dispute.

The courts will definitely uphold these orders if they see no resistance. Preparations for escalating the action should have been set in motion. Thatcher and the bosses she represents take encouragement from the inaction of the union leaders.

None of the lessons of the past few years have been learnt. At the time of the NGA battle against Shah's *Stockport Messenger* they called off the 24-hour stop-

page when the TUC refused its backing.

The South Wales miners', when their funds were sequestrated in August 1985 responded by calling on the rest of the movement to aid them by stopping for one day as a first step. This was cut across by promises that the TUC at its September congress would help. Nothing concrete materialised.

At the beginning of this dispute Sogat funds were sequestrated. The response was, to say the least, low key. The effect was to weaken opposition. It appeared that the print unions were only half-heartedly fighting for victory.

What is required this time is an immediate response. Unfortunately, it seems that nothing is being done.

The TUC have issued a circular to all affiliated

unions urging support for the print workers. If the judgement goes against the unions such a circular would be open to legal challenge if posted after the decision.

If mass pickets are banned then the simplest and minimum demand is for a massive show of strength outside Wapping.

The demand could then be raised for a 24-hour general strike. But the eyes of the trade union movement will be on the print unions.

The print workers must take the lead. Fleet Street should be stopped then.

**Women's demonstration
Saturday 2 August
Assemble Tower Hill
March to Wapping,
8am**



Coppers reel at Wapping after pickets sabotage paper delivery.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)



Astms strikers at the Lifeline Project against victimisation of a member of staff. Management were forced to withdraw redundancy notices but tried to put the blame for their issue on one of the workers and then tried to discipline her for it!

Photo: John Smith

Scottish steel

THE WORKFORCE at the Scottish Steel and Tubes works are back at work for four months, after an eight week bitter dispute with BSC management. The morale of the production and craft workers is very low due to the way management have been interpreting the survival plan—it's their way or no way.

Management are trying to see how much we will take before we hit them back, but due to the vast surplus of oil and low oil prices, the oil companies are not prepared to spend money on new explorations.

This has meant that Scottish Steel and Tubes works have been forced to try and get a better share of the seamless line pipe market. Because there's not the same profit in the line pipe, BSC

have announced another 370 jobs to be lost in the Scottish Steel Tubes works.

The job losses will come from the following works, complete closure of the Calder works, which comes to 62 jobs, the rest from Imperial and Clydesdale works. That is now over 1,150 job losses in the Scottish Steel Tube works since December 1985.

By a Clydesdale
steel worker

ENGINEERING
Continued from back
would take the power of unions back a century.

This is the right wing's response to the destruction of over 150,000 jobs in the metals goods, engineering and vehicle industries in just

two years of Tory misrule, 1984 and '85.

And they talked about Scargill's 'suicide tactics'! It seems that all their chasing after single union, non-closed shop deals and no strike agreements with Nissan and Komatsu (announced this week) in the North East has affected their heads. They are the ones who have been persuaded to commit hari kiri.

The success of their new methods is shown in the fact that only about a quarter of the Nissan workers are members of the AEU, meaning the rest are in no union at all.

It doesn't much weaken their bargaining position though. They have abandoned the right to strike for their members. In the end workers forced to struggle will turn to unofficial action, against these no-strike agreements. But union members must fight these plans now.

TU News

COMMUNIST PARTY and soft-left co-thinkers have reneged on the decision of the Nalگو North West and North Wales Broad Left to back *Militant* supporter Roger Bannister in a by-election to the national executive.

Having opposed him at the meeting which took the decision they are ignoring the democracy of the Broad Left and backing Lynne Evans of the Manchester branch who has refused to withdraw her nomination. Graham Burgess, chair of the Liverpool council Nalگو branch has recommended his branch executive council support her.

On at least three occasions in the past Roger Bannister has stood down from elections to the TUC delegation for the sake of the unity of the Broad Left. Earlier this year he actually stood down in favour of Lynne Evans.

The 'left' in the Manchester branch have always shown contempt for the decisions of the Broad Left, conveniently doctoring slates to delete Marxists—on occasions even adding right wingers.

Graham Burgess has said that having banned *Militant* supporters from the Broad Left in Liverpool he is now in favour of restructuring the Broad Left in the district to prevent a '*Militant* take-over'.

Honest Nalگو activists will be appalled by these actions. They are urged to give all possible assistance to Roger Bannister's campaign in order overcome this attempt to sabotage the building of an open and democratic Broad Left to defeat the right wing.

Offers of assistance to: Knowsley Nalگو, 16 Admin Buildings, Kirkby, Merseyside L33 7TX. Phone: 051548 0148.

By a Liverpool Nalگو member

A1 Feeds

THE 'MAGNIFICENT Seven' strikers at A1 Feeds in Bootle occupied the factory briefly last week. They have been struggling for seven months for union recognition and have been sacked by management.

Striker Graeme Hoy explained the recent developments: "We went into the occupation last Monday at 5.30am. We planned to get into the factory before the scabs but didn't, so we went for the offices. The

security guard called the police. "Meanwhile Alan Ford, the mill manager nearly caused a riot when he ordered the scabs to break down the office doors. We warned there would be blood spilt if they carried on. Luckily they backed off.

The police played a disgusting role. When we tried to get food into the occupation they intercepted it and made a great show of feeding it to the dogs in the yard.

"The lads themselves called off the occupation after two days but many T&G members feel that the national officials were worried about the court injunction that management had obtained—and it raises the question of whether they will allow every tin pot employer to take the union to court and win a dispute".

Houghton Main

"OVER THE past few months many Yorkshire pits have been forced to accept a new divisive bonus scheme. The latest pit at which British Coal is attempting to introduce it is Houghton Main.

Last weekend a notice was put up in the baths telling the men that as from Monday 21 July each face would now be on incentive.

That means faces which are doing well would be OK, those faces doing badly would pay a bonus of 65 per cent of the pit average. The idea being to divide face against face.

The men decided that it would not be tolerated. The day shift went home, followed by the other two shifts.

On Tuesday an NUM meeting took place. Approximately 400 men attending. The feeling was that they couldn't accept the new scheme.

But the branch officials recommended the men should return to work, giving the scheme a 3 months trial, with the possibility of further action after the trial has elapsed.

As a result of the recommendation the meeting voted to accept this. However, whilst British Coal may have temporarily succeeded in introducing their scheme, many Houghton Main miners remain determined to resist it.

By a Houghton Main NUM member

Nove Leather

MORALE IS still high on Nove Leather picket line, Liverpool where the whole workforce came out in support of Janet Bowman after being elected shop steward, was sacked the following day. The rest of the workers were then also sacked.

Nove are now employing scabs. Attempts are being made to get Littlewoods workers to black these goods, which would be highly effective as they are the major outlet.

There has been excellent support from the labour movement with over £200 collected at Ford. Police and management tried to evict the picket but unfortunately for them, the factory is in council property and councillors soon put a stop to that. There was jubilation as pickets marched back in with a permit to picket.

Management has circulated a

terrific layer of lies about the dispute. Janet has been called an alcoholic and they said another girl is pregnant.

They have also tried to imply that the whole strike is just a *Militant* plot. One leaflet printed by the bosses says: "Because Hatton has told Hayes to get Bowman, his friend, back in work or close down fair or foul and use Nova staff to do it, they are destroying your jobs with your help. You are being used."

Got to laugh

THE WORKFORCE at Nove has replied with their own leaflet to management smears which shows how laughable they are: "The gospel according to Nove: Janet Bowman (the no hope alcoholic) and Dave MacFarlane (who will probably turn to cocaine next week) secretly infiltrated Nove Leather Ltd and began to recruit the rest of the workforce (young, naive, easily exploited) and drafted them all into the top secret, very hush, hush, Hatton and Hayes militia.

"Then, when the time was right, they struck a deadly killer blow to Nove Leather to its knees... Now they dumbfounded! Why had they done this? What have we done? Are they all on drugs?... Dave and Janet were jubilant! They had achieved their first aim and now they would exploit the zombie-like workforce to eventually crush Nove and hand over the ashes to Hatton Ltd.

"... By now Dave's tank was acting up a bit so they decided to form a picket line instead of the full-frontal onslaught they

had anticipated... All was quiet on the Nove leather front but suddenly, a shock hit the troops.

"Lesley was reported as being with child. Good God! Whose was it? What was it?... The troops now wait hoping that when Lesley's time comes it isn't a bloody scab! This is the gospel according to Nove."

London Residuary

NALGO MEMBERS transferred from the Greater London Council, following abolition, to the London Residuary Body (LRB) have already been forced into dispute.

They held a one day strike a week last Thursday and are now considering further action to win the reinstatement of the chair of Nalگو's LRB joint shop stewards' committee.

Management claim that she was transferred to the LRB on a short term contract which expired on 30 June.

In fact she has never seen or signed such a contract; she never received a P45 declaring her redundant; she has documentation to prove she should have been on the statutory transfer order by which all the employment of the rest of the staff in her office was transferred to the LRB.

The truth is that management are trying to use the chaos of abolition to cloak the victimisation of an active trade unionist. They must be given a sharp warning that though the GLC has gone trade unionism remains.

By a County Hall Nalگو member

Militant

**Spain—
a revolution
betrayed** See pages 8-9

Strike against apartheid

AT THE Commonwealth leaders' summit, Sir Geoffrey Howe will be reporting back on his abortive South African visit.

In the most bruising language Botha sent him packing. As expected by almost everyone, he offered no changes.

No black leader opposed to apartheid would even meet Howe. But to give the pretence of first hand experience of black conditions, he surveyed the sprawling Soweto township—through the window of a Ford Escort, driving non-stop in a convoy for safety.

British profits

He thought it "unwise" to stop the car, because he knows he is seen as a direct representative of British capitalism, dragging his feet even on mild sanctions because of the value of British profits from South Africa.

Could he have explained to workers in Soweto who

By Jeremy Birch

brave the batons and bullets of apartheid's state forces, why firms like Barclays, Shell and BP top up wages of their white employees, who are called up for military duty? No such concern has been shown to the families of detained black workers. Could he have justified the poverty wages that British companies pay?

58 British firms pay less than the EEC's suggested 'supplemented living level' (SLL), which is set 28 per cent above the 'minimum living level' (MLL). Below that, malnutrition is likely. Yet a further 13 companies pay 2,233 workers less than the MLL figure.

Yet in drawing up even the SLL target for a family of five, toothbrushes, travel to a doctor or hospital and out-

door clothing for children are deemed "unnecessary expenditure." The EEC calculations even allow for only one towel between every two people.

The black workers have nothing but contempt for Howe and Thatcher. 50 per cent of the Tory Party's company donations come from firms with South African interests. They call the Tories' tune.

Inadequate

But the struggling South African workers are looking to the international labour movement for support. The TUC's planned 'lobby' of the Commonwealth mini-summit, and calls for personal boycotts of South African goods are pitifully inadequate.

TGWU Deputy General Secretary Bill Morris, has at least called for the TUC to organise a symbolic one hour stoppage against apartheid



Soweto—troops look on as workers have a funeral demonstration.

Photo: Morris Zwi (Reflex)

as a start. He called for "people's sanctions", and said working people must go beyond what the TUC asks for. But this must be made concrete. Britain is the third largest market for goods

from South Africa (the largest for fruit and vegetables) and the third largest exporter to that country.

British workers have the power to cut these links at a

stroke. The trade union leaders have an obligation to organise a campaign now for workers' sanctions against apartheid.

Leaders undermine engineers' conditions

PROPOSALS REVEALED this week which would dramatically alter the working lives of a million engineering workers will spread ripples of confusion and concern throughout the industry and the entire trade union movement.

They should be turned into a tidal wave of protest.

The proposals have been put to the Engineering Employers Federation in a draft national agreement by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (Confed).

They involve the abandonment of conditions and practices won by engineering workers in over a hundred years of struggle in return for a cut in the 39-hour week.

To take just two examples. The agreement proposes that workers:

...will perform any task

within the scope of their capabilities regardless of whether (it) forms part of their normal work, and regardless of whether or not (it) is traditionally performed by members of another union."

No questions

In other words do what management say, when and how, without question regardless of your trade.

And... "the employer shall determine the production hours necessary on a weekly, monthly, quarterly

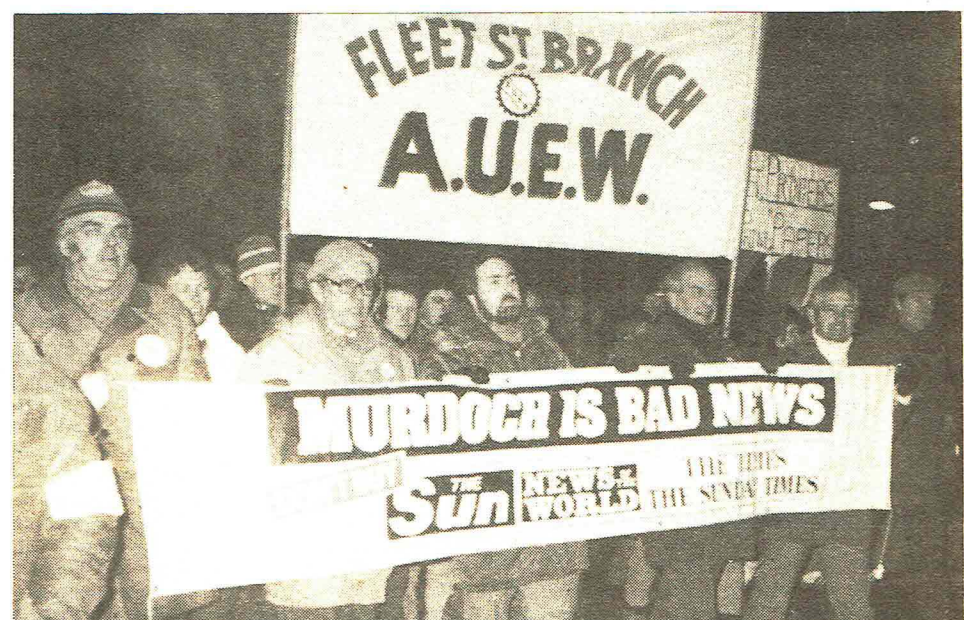
or annual basis."

The *Daily Star's* gleeful version, under the heading of 'Union Revolution', was a bit more graphic: "employees may work 25 hours a week for months on end and then 45 hours a week when the workload picks up.

"If the deal is signed, it will represent a major triumph for Bill Jordan, the new leader of the engineering union."

Great stuff, factories around the country will be full of happy faces. Imagine that—45 hours! Perhaps even longer! And without overtime payments! Great!

Bill Jordan is praised to the sky by the media as a model of the 'new', realistic modernisers who will drag the cart horse of British



While AEU leaders sign no-strike agreements, their Fleet Street members fight on.

Photo: Mick Carroll

trade unionism into the twentieth century.

But this complete and utter collapse, this abject surrender of workers' rights and elements of work control reveals the sorry logic of 'new realism'. The end result

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