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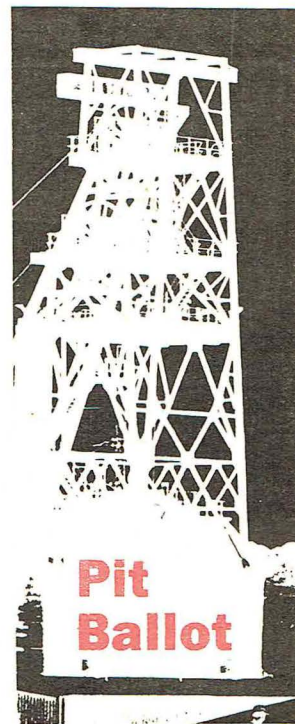
The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

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**Black and Asian
Special issue**

Four page supplement
inside: Tory racism,
Which way for blacks?,
South Africa

Miners stand up to jackboot bosses



BY AN overwhelming 77 per cent, the NUM has voted for some form of industrial action against British Coal's tyrannical disciplinary code. Ordinary miners have given a sharp warning to the management and the Tories: 'Back off, we are prepared for national action'. Let Thatcher with her 43 per cent majority be warned.

By Stan Pearce
Wearmouth NUM
(personal capacity)

It may be that the Board were merely using the code to test the water before pursuing their main aim of introducing 'flexible working'. Six day production is the key in the eyes of the Board and their Tory paymasters to guaranteeing rich pickings for the future private coal-owners.

But the miners have given notice that they will have no truck with Haslam's preparations for privatisation. British Coal would un-

- ★ Overtime ban now!
- ★ Prepare for wider action

doubtedly love to break the NUM itself. The code and the climate of fear management hope it will create, is a serious threat to union activity. Any NUM activist could be under threat of victimisation.

Notts NUM

The company union, the UDM, having repeatedly mocked the NUM's demand for an independent umpire to judge disciplinary appeals, have no option but to stand by the Board's code. Many Notts miners can be won back to the NUM on this issue if our leadership uses the ballot result for firm and immediate action.

The NUM Executive has the urgent responsibility to pull the miners together in united action, to resolutely oppose this vile code and to warn off management against any further attacks

on our rights and conditions. The immediate introduction of a national overtime ban should signify the first step in this battle.

The ballot result for industrial action is decisive. It is not a vote to allow other rights to be negotiated away in exchange for the withdrawal or modification of this code. The threat of industrial action must not be used as a bargaining counter to allow in talks on 'flexible working' by the back door. That would be to fall into management's trap.

But there are fears among the rank and file that certain Area leaders only championed the cause of opposition to this 'tyrant's charter' in an effort to regain some credibility after their collaboration

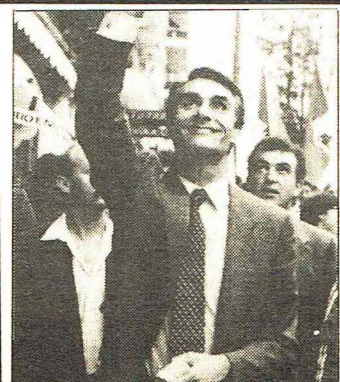
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77 per cent vote for action

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Militant

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Miners give lead to union movement

THE OUTSTANDING majority recorded in the NUM ballot is the clearest expression yet of the mood developing among trade unionists under the third term of Thatcherism. Just two years since the bitter and most gruelling industrial dispute for half a century, miners are preparing themselves again for struggle.

British Coal, the Tory government and lamentably the TUC and Labour leaders too, had all drawn the same narrow, blinkered conclusions. The miners, so they thought, had learnt their lesson in the 12 months' strike and would not fight like that again. Some even considered that major national strikes as a whole were something of the past. The ballot is a devastating answer.

If British Coal thought that their brutal code of conduct would soften up the miners for still more fundamental attacks on their conditions of work, they gravely miscalculated. Management has enraged the ordinary miners, and not only against the code. With a determined lead from the NUM Executive, and with a fighting explanation of the issues, miners would respond to a call for action against all the attacks being waged by management.

Across industry an employers' offensive is raging against wages, conditions and hours. A militant stand by the miners, who continue to occupy pride of place in the trade union movement, would be an example to other workers.

Already London busworkers, faced with a savage threat to their wages and the working week, have paralysed the capital on three separate days. A whole number of lightning, local disputes have flared up in the Post Office, against the introduction of casual labour. A national ballot may be organised among the Union of Communication Workers, after the collapse of talks over a reduction in postal workers' 43 hour week.

The last 12 months to June 1987 have already seen a significant increase in industrial struggle. 3.6 million days were lost in 1,028 strikes involving 924,000 workers. The previous year 2.5 million days were lost in 977 strikes involving 670,000 workers.

But what will be the response from the head of the labour and trade union movement? What fighting call will be issued from the TUC, meeting in under two weeks, to all those workers preparing for struggle?

The union leaders have swallowed whole the myth that as some workers must have voted Thatcher back, the strength and unity of organised labour is on the wane. So to them there was no alternative to acceding to the bosses' demands for flexible working, in the engineering industry or the South Wales pits. Or worse still that the future lay in single union, no-strike agreements.

The turn away from traditional union action and an unwillingness to struggle exists not in the ranks of the trade union movement, but at the top.

Just as the 'old fashioned' collective battle of the working class hots up, so many union leaders and the national leadership of the Labour Party reject the class struggle, in favour of defending the interests of workers individually.

The TUC leaders, concerned about the drop in union membership, are taking up the need (recognised by everyone) to unionise the unorganised, the service sector, home workers. However, it is not to bring them the collective strength of organised labour to force concessions out of their employers. It is to provide them individually with the benefits of an insurance society, offering legal advice, support at industrial tribunals and for seeking compensation for injury.

But how better to convince the unorganised and downtrodden to sign up for the army of labour, than for them to witness union power in action. The TUC leaders must be prepared to wield the enormous potential power at their disposal in support of the miners or any other section forced into major industrial action.

The Tories may feel confident to press ahead with their privatisation programme, with all that means for the lives and conditions of the workers involved. Thatcher is planning further restrictions on union rights. But the miners are putting down a marker—this will be one of the most turbulent and troubled periods on the shop and office floor for years.

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Trotsky memorial meeting



250 people heard Ted Grant (above) address a London Militant meeting in memorial to Leon Trotsky. £517 was collected for the Fighting Fund.

'We will not be walked over'

"THE COAL Board has proved over the last two years their attempt to blackmail and threaten us into submission. The ballot especially at our pit, Golborne, was a foregone conclusion. We recorded a 90 per cent 'yes'

vote with only 30 men voting against it. It's now time to put into action the overtime ban to start with and then more general action".
 Peter Snowling, Lancs.

IN AN outstanding display of the national unity of the miners, despite all the attempts by the management to set area against area, for the first time since 1972 every area of the NUM voted for action in a ballot.

	Percent voting for action
N. Derby	76.2
Durham	76.2
Kent	85.3
Leics	73.9
Midlands	66.1
N. Humber	78.9
Wales	83.5
Notts	92.7
Scotland	87.4
S. Derby	86.2
S. Wales	87.2
Yorks	79.8
Scot Crafts	84.0
COSA	52.3
Power Grp	68.7

Miners

Continued from 1

with management on the issue of 'flexible working'.

The skirmish at Frickley and the inadequate leadership provided at Area level should act as a warning to us. Victory can only be secured with bold leadership. Management have launched their offensive. We must now counter-attack.

Annual Conference has given the NUM Executive a mandate to seek a substantial wage increase and to campaign for a shorter working week. Following on from the outstanding ballot success, and the consequent boost to miners' morale, this package of de-

mands could be a tremendous rallying point for mineworkers. Coal stocks are around half what they were in 1984. Autumn and winter are just around the corner. After two and a half years of vicious attacks following the defeat of the national strike, miners are wondering if the time is now right to have another go — to gain revenge. With industry after industry facing attacks on the working week, and with privatisation of the electricity industry in the air, the possibilities for gaining solidarity action from other workers are great. But a massive campaign must be launched now if the membership are to be convinced not only of the necessity to struggle but that victory can

be achieved. If this opportunity is missed, 'flexible working' could be imposed at some pit or other in the Spring and the precedent set. It cannot be left to individual workforces at Wearmouth, Durham or Seafield, Scotland to hold the line. The attack is against all of us. National action is the only way to fight back.

The NEC must:
 ★ Call a national overtime ban immediately.
 ★ Support all local struggles against the code.
 ★ Campaign vigorously against 'flexible working'.
 ★ Demand the four day week now, as a central part of the wage claim.
 ★ Prepare now for wider action.

Tommy Curtis, Lancs.

"THE BALLOT result is a clear indication of the courage and determination of the miners against the Board's disciplinary code. The same result would have been obtained on a number of other issues facing miners—the sacked men, the Wheeler Plan, flexible working, scrapping of the mines' and quarries' legislation or the wages' issue.

"I believe during the ballot our members looked to the recent past and the memories of the hardship of struggle, and to the future and the planned destruction and privatisation of our industry. They decided that to struggle today for fairness and justice was far easier than to lie down and be walked over for ever".
 Charlie Bell, Merton NUM.

By Militant reporters in the Derbyshire coalfields.

Renishaw fights on

THE DEEPENING gloom which had descended on the Derbyshire coalfield, with the recent closure announcement and redundancies, has been pierced by two shafts of light—the campaign against redundancy at Renishaw Colliery and the massive vote for action in the ballot.

On Saturday August 22, Renishaw miners' welfare was packed for a meeting on the closure. Support was pledged from the area NUM by area official Pete Elliot and from Women Against the Pit Closures by Betty Heathfield.

Scargill

NUM President, Arthur Scargill, was enthusiastically received. He successively ridiculed the media, hailed the struggle of the South African miners and demolished the arguments of the Coal Board, the government and the apologists of nuclear energy. He gave full support to Renishaw's decision to go through the review procedure but pointed out that campaigns alone were not enough. Only industrial action, backed not by paper resolutions from the TUC, but real solidarity would stem attacks on miners' jobs and working conditions.

The best response to any speaker from the floor was for John Dunn from Markham Colliery. He explained that even good activists had been persuaded to take redundancy and "get out now because of what's coming. But I didn't pay for my job when I signed on and it's not mine to sell now." Predicting a big majority for the 'yes' vote in the ballot he pointed to the slogan Renishaw NUM picked for their campaign: "They've come so far. They go no further."

By Militant reporters in the Derbyshire coalfields.

How to build the left

Stunned town asks why

A CALL for left unity has been issued by leading members of two groups in the Labour Party—the Labour Coordinating Committee, including MPs Ken Livingstone and George Galloway, and the Labour Left Liaison group.

By Tony Cross

The authors of the statement, published in *Tribune*, are obviously horrified by the current campaign to turn the Labour Party into an SDP mark two, and sound the alarm against right-wing pressure for a pact with the Liberals.

John Lloyd, editor of the *New Statesman*, whose pages have been packed with arguments for this supposed master-strategy, has used the columns of Murdoch's *Sunday Times* to defend his magazine and call on the 'soft-left' to "come out of the bunker" and prepare to become "part of Britain's political ruling class within the next decade".

A vigorous fight is necessary against such pernicious arguments. *Militant* has answered them many times since the election. Now others on the left have woken to the need to try and stop this damaging process and redefine the policies of the Labour left.

It is impossible to describe anyone who would entertain the idea of a Labour-Liberal pact as left-wing. The 'soft-left', the Bryan Goulds and Jack Straws, who have completely gone over to such ideas, are really the new



Tribune celebrating its 50th anniversary in February; the paper backed a united left slate for the Shadow cabinet, but most of its group of MPs rejected it.



Peter Hain and Joan Ruddock MP signed statement.

right.

A majority of *Tribune* MPs opposed a joint left slate with the hard-left Campaign Group for the Shadow Cabinet elections, even though, as the statement puts it, the proposed slate "gave the *Tribune* Group virtually blank cheque terms". They did so on the grounds that some Campaign Group MPs

were associated with *Militant*.

This witch-hunters' argument was extremely significant. All but a handful of *Tribune* MPs had gone along with the leadership's hounding of *Militant* supporters. Some, like Jack Straw, played a leading role in it. For many ex-lefts, joining the witch-hunting pack has been their first

decisive move to the right.

Even though opposition to witch-hunts is surely an acid-test of left-wing credentials, the new statement is unfortunately mealy-mouthed on the question. It opposes "a new wave of disciplinary actions" in Liverpool, but fails to call for the reinstatement of those already expelled or even to mention the many other socialists expelled or under threat of expulsion in the rest of the country.

Surely left-wingers cannot equivocate on this elementary question of Party democracy or, for that matter, in supporting the Liverpool councillors against the Tories, their courts and the right-wingers who joined the attacks on them.

The unity statement

mentions a number of important demands which should be campaigned for in the Labour Party, although also supporting the demand for Black Sections which *Militant* is completely opposed to.

But activists who read it will end up asking themselves what its purpose is. Temporary alliances between different tendencies are sometimes necessary to fight for particular organisational or political demands. But the statement lists 15 issues to campaign on, ranging from specific proposals to general political statements, which are so vague as to be virtually meaningless.

Significantly it dodges the controversial issue of reselection of MPs by saying nothing at all!

It is neither a carefully worked out declaration of political principles nor a platform for a temporary bloc. The authors obviously hope that it will serve to coax soft-left defectors back to socialist principles. They will have no success in this field.

Far better to mobilise rank-and-file Party and union members and mobilise them against the right-wing's witch-hunts and anti-socialist plans. The right are trying to take back the vital gain of reselection of MPs and would like to do away with the socialist clause in Labour's constitution.

The genuine left should launch a campaign at every level of the movement to stop witch-hunts and defend re-selection and Clause Four and set the Party back on course for socialism.

Death of Hess

Was he courted by British ruling class

THE WELCOME death of Rudolf Hess, the deputy leader of the Nazi party, has brought into focus once again the relationship between German fascism and sections of the British ruling class.

By James Long

Great care has been taken to keep secret the details behind Hess's journey to Scotland in May 1941, a month before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Some of the British Government files relating to Hess are still not published and will not be open until at least 2017, unlike other government files which are made public after 50 years.

Other details may be in the royal archives which are the Queen's private property. It was also known that different British governments, Labour and

Tory, were reluctant that Hess be released from prison, possibly out of fear at what he would say.

The question which has never been answered is whether or not Hess was invited to Britain by sections of the British ruling class who wanted to do a deal with Hitler, as the majority of the French capitalists did in 1940.

Churchill

It is known that three months after the Second World War started, the British Secret Intelligence Service tried to arrange a deal with the Nazis. This was the reason why Churchill refused to allow the SIS to question Hess after he was captured.

Once the war started there was no question that the majority of the British ruling class were determined to fight

Hitler and German imperialism to the end. Their policy was based, after the defeats of 1940, on trying to bring US imperialism into the War and on the hope that the Nazis would attack the Soviet Union, thereby mortally weakening both German imperialism and Stalinism.

Any deal with Hitler would have given German imperialism the opportunity to utilise the whole European economy to prepare an assault on the worldwide position of both British and US capitalism. Furthermore any deal with Hitler would have provoked an enormous opposition by the labour movement to what would have been seen as a co-operation with fascism.

Today the capitalist media are concentrating their attention on a few Nazi relics of the past and the antics of a hand-



(Top) Russian Foreign Minister Molotov talking to Hitler in 1940, six months before the German invasion of Russia (below) in 1941.

ful of lumpen youth. While there is no way that these grouplets represent the beginnings of a new fascist movement, they are a convenient way to turn the

spotlight away from the question of which sections of the British ruling class were prepared to do a deal with Hitler in order to try to restore capitalism in Russia.

THE SLEEPY rural town of Hungerford woke up shocked and stunned by the mass murder that took place there last week.

By Kevin Williamson

Fifteen of its inhabitants lay dead in the streets, gunned down for no apparent reason. Numerous others bear the scars of a day that the town will never forget. An entire community lies devastated by a carnage which has shocked every thinking person in the country.

The question in everyone's mind is WHY? Why did it happen? How could it happen? What caused an individual to go over the precipice of reason and murder at random so many other fellow human beings?

The questions have received no answers from the 'experts' who put it down to one man's madness, nor from Tory and Labour politicians who have spent a great deal of time on the side-issue of how to tighten up gun control laws.

Nor were any answers to be found in the pages of the popular press. In fact the way the media reported the killings was disgusting, turning the privacy of grief into a sordid media circus.

Stories of 'Mad Rambo' were spewed out on the front pages of the tabloids, as they each tried to out-gore the others. Feelings were trampled upon in the thirst for a good story. Just like the politicians, they blamed laws on guns for the killings.

Root causes

No amount of laws can change the fact that innocent people were murdered in an indiscriminate mass shooting, nor can they prevent something similar happening again. The root causes which lead to such senseless acts of violence against one's fellow beings are to be found in the type of society we live in.

For who can deny that in a society whose very foundations are built upon greed, corruption, exploitation and competition with your neighbour, and whose economic crises build up such huge social and financial pressures on individuals that sometimes people snap.

It is typical of such a society that the victims and bereaved, like those of the Zeebrugge and other disasters, should have to depend on meagre hand-outs from charity appeals for the means to rebuild their shattered lives.

A tragic event like this, although seemingly unconnected with anything political is in fact very much connected with the political struggle for change. Socialists can only respond to such a tragedy not with tears, but by fighting harder to end this old society and going on to construct a society based on the active and mutual co-operation of all men and women, thereby strengthening the bonds between them.

Fascist attack

THREE MEMBERS of the Labour Party Young Socialists in Newcastle were attacked by fascists late on Thursday night last week.

By a member of the Labour Party Young Socialists

The fascists, belonging to The Flag, spotted us as we passed a bus stop in the town and began threatening us. We ignored them and walked on to our bus and weighed up whether to follow. Then as our bus arrived, a group ran up and followed us on to the bus.

They watched for us getting off, then jumped on us from behind, pulling me to the ground before I could turn, and began kicking me in the mouth and about the head. My comrades, a male and a female, jumped in and succeeded in pulling them off and we managed to fight our way back on to the bus, where the driver radioed for the police.

The Flag is a faction of the National Front, which split to develop a 'respectable' public wing around the New National Front and a violent underground wing around The Flag. In Newcastle both factions hate each other and want to be both violent and public.

This is their first such attack on ourselves. They have no prospect of growing as they did in the 1930s, but they are capable of individual attacks against labour movement meetings and activists.

In areas where fascists are openly organised, we should be prepared to defend meetings and individuals against such threats. We must take precautions on public sales and not allow ourselves to be intimidated.

While not becoming pre-occupied with this irritation, soemome in each area should track fascist activity and addresses. If fascists want to disrupt our activity, it is impossible to be on guard at all times, but they should understand that their leaders will be held personally responsible for each act of aggression and convinced that they should leave us well alone.



Flag leader Joe Pearce

Labour councils in crisis

Liverpool leader invites government meddling

THE LABOUR Group of Liverpool City Council has been recommended by its leader, Harry Rimmer, to go for 'redetermination'. This basically means the council handing over its power to the Secretary of State for the Environment, Nicholas Ridley, who would determine the amount of money that the council can spend and in what manner.

By a Militant reporter

The Council will be short of at least £40 million in next year's budget. This could mean a massive £13 a week rent increase or 5,000 job losses.

"It is impossible to close such a gap in a single year, even if we were disposed to do so," said Rimmer: "It follows therefore that I see no alternative but to seek redetermination and I recommend that we do so".

51 Labour councillors were elected on policies of no rent increases, no rate increases to compensate for Tory cuts, building houses, etc. If the people of Liverpool had wanted the Tories to run the city, they would have elected more than the four Tories who now sit on the council.

The people of Liverpool do not expect a Labour council to hand over responsibility to a Tory minister to decide how we can spend our own money. Ridley could demand, for example, £30 million worth of cuts in education, £20 million of cuts in housing and £4 million of cuts in bin collection and street clean-



Disqualified councillor Felicity Dowling (right) canvassing in St Mary's ward by-election in April.

ing. This would undoubtedly mean mass redundancies and a massive reduction in the services provided.

He could put up rates more than the ratecapped six per cent or put up rents, making the working class pay for the reduction of grants to the council (over £500 million stolen since 1979).

A working group of eight people has been set up to

investigate the budget crisis. But unless extra res-

"We have only been given two options, redetermination or cuts"—deputy leader

ources are forthcoming from the Tory government,

looking for a solution with no cuts will be like looking for a non-existent needle in a haystack.

In response to a direct question at the Labour Group: "Are you prepared to renege on your election promises?" Alan Dean, deputy leader, said: "I am not prepared to renege on my election promises, but we have only been given two options, redetermination or cuts".

At the Group meeting, Kevin Feintuck, a supporter of *Socialist Organisation* would not move his resolution calling for no cuts and for a campaign to be organised, so councillor Lesley Holt moved it instead.

Photo: Tina Carroll.

Fightback

But instead of a vote being taken, it was moved that the motion be left on the table until all options had been looked at, including redetermination. Only the Broad Left voted against. Are Kevin Feintuck and the other 'lefts' prepared to accept cuts as an option?

Harry Rimmer read out a leaflet calling for councillors to attend a lobby of the Area Health Authority opposing cuts. Is he going to be calling on the councillors to attend a lobby of themselves if cuts are to be carried out by the council?

Redetermination is no solution to the problem. The only answer is to organise a fightback with the wider labour and trade union movement to force the Tories to return some of the money that they have stolen from Liverpool City Council.

As the Labour Group has also decided not to discuss resolutions from the wider labour movement, but only from councillors, resolutions from Labour Party and trade union branches opposing redetermination should be sent to: The Labour Party, MTUURC, Hardman Street, Liverpool.

Edinburgh ducks from a fight

LOTHIAN REGION and Edinburgh District Councils have agreed to cuts of £18m and £9m respectively, after rates reductions were ordered by Scottish Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

By Peter Luke
(Niddrie/Craigmillar Labour Party)

In the Region, some of the cuts under consideration include abandoning plans to take on 500 home-helps and a complete freeze on vacant posts. A newly completed children's home in W Lothian will not be opened until next year.

In the District, 'soft-right' leader Mark Lazarovicz has already said that 500 new jobs in the pipeline will be abandoned. There will be fewer books in the libraries, increased charges for sports and swimming baths, a deterioration in street cleaning and a freeze on vacant posts.

The majority on both councils have argued for the 'dented shield' option,

of imposing 'limited' cuts to protect workers from even worse cuts demanded by the Tories.

Someone should remind these councillors that shields get dented in battles. They have not put up even a semblance of a struggle.

Another section of the Party, led by former Marxist and ex-leader of the District Council, Alex Wood, have correctly argued that these cuts run counter to the manifestoes the councils were elected on. But unfortunately instead of staying to fight, Wood and three other District councillors have resigned their seats.

This has removed a thorn in the side of the 'soft-right' leadership in the District Labour group and in two of the seats there is a good chance that right wingers will be selected, who, if elected, would then vote for the cuts.

Even if the whole Labour group had resigned in protest, it would not have stopped the cuts, as power

would have been handed on a plate to the Tories.

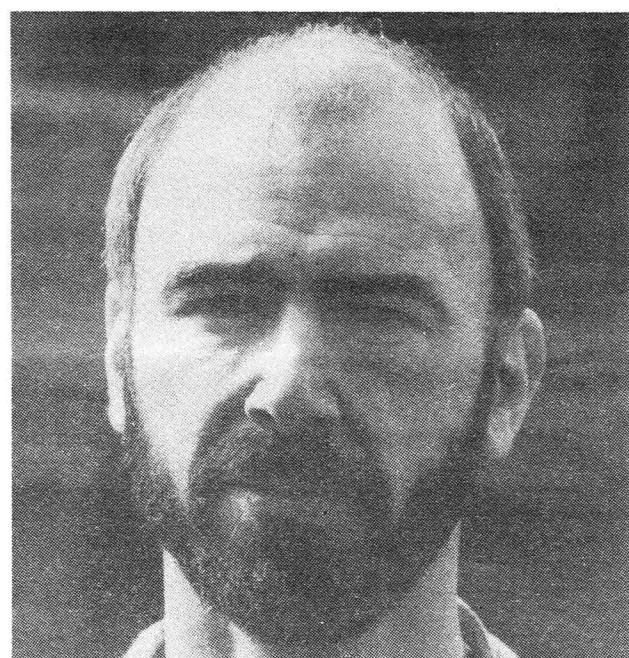
Their position could only have been justified if the whole Group has resigned as a first step to renewing the Party's mandate in a subsequent election, and then going on to defy the Tories in defence of jobs and services.

Amendment

Marxist Regional councillor Keith Simpson moved an amendment at the council meeting that Labour should not make cuts but defy the government. No Labour councillor seconded it. He now faces disciplinary action for standing by his election manifesto and that of the Regional Party only last year.

No doubt the majority will argue that the mood was not there for a fight, that the Tories have just been re-elected for five more years, that there was no realistic alternative and so on.

That ignores the fact that



Regional councillor Keith Simpson.

the Tories were wiped out in Scotland and that widespread opposition to the Poll Tax and council cuts has created a deep pool of potential support for a fight with the government from both council workers and wider sections of the

class. Unfortunately both the left on the Region and those who resigned their seats on the District have missed their chance to mobilise that support and lead the fightback against the Tories.

Bosses exploit the young

Young workers strike

A PLAGUE of poverty is sweeping Britain, as skinflint bosses exploit mass unemployment to force workers to slave for poverty wages in disgusting conditions. As the Tories unload the crisis of the capitalist system on to the backs of the workers, 'Victorian values' are back with a vengeance.

As these reports reveal, the young are hit hardest. But the strike in Sheffield is proof that they are fighting back. They want to know why there is increasing poverty and misery in Britain while the Hooray Henries can whoop it up with champagne at Ascot and Henley.

Young workers demand the end to the system of 'profit at all costs' which causes such inequalities, and socialist policies to guarantee a living wage for all, using the workers' labour and the resources of the country to provide for need and not profit.

Working 18-hour shifts

Poverty Pay



Exploitation of young workers at McDonald's, S London.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

SIX YOUNG TGWU members employed by Autostart, Sheffield, have gone on strike to improve their pay and conditions.

At present their pay is between 94p and £1.30 per hour, which means someone can earn as little as £37 for a 40-hour week. There are no holidays in the first year of employment, no sick pay and any overtime is paid at the basic rate. Also the toilet doubles as the workers' lunch room.

The workers, aged between 18 and 21, decided that enough was enough and approached management with a list of demands:

- ★ A 100 per cent pay rise, to be negotiable if a workable bonus scheme is introduced;
- ★ Better conditions;
- ★ Proper paid holidays;
- ★ Sick pay;
- ★ Trade union recognition and the right to negotiate terms and conditions of employment;
- ★ Overtime to be paid at the proper rate.

The management refuse to recognise the union and will only speak to the workers individually.

These young workers are determined to win a victory. Messages of support and donations to the hardship fund should be sent to Autostart Hardship Appeal, TGWU, Transport House, Hartshhead, Sheffield S1 1NX.

By Chris Weldon

SECURITY IS a boom industry; there must be more security firms and agencies than ever before. Wages and conditions are generally bad.

Rob from North Shields explains how these firms make their profits:

"A security firm is paid between £6 and £7 an hour for each person on duty. The guard generally gets £1.40 to £1.60. The firms are always trying to undercut each other, finding out how much a firm is doing for a job and offering to do it for 50p or £1 less an hour.

"A lot of employment protection law only applies to contracts over 12 months, so lads get sacked after 11 months, often to be re-employed the day or week after on a new contract. You have to work overtime or you wouldn't be able to live.

Unsocial hours

"Some lads work over 100 hours a week; unsocial hours are an essential part of the job. The Job Centre gave me one job starting at 3pm until 9. When I was putting on my coat to go home they said they meant nine in the morning!

"If you fall asleep you get sacked but sometimes you can snatch an hour or two when you've got mates there. Of course at £1.40 an hour you've got little incentive to defend the place and warehouses still get attacked or burned."

It is ironic that these low-paid jobs are needed to stop the type of petty crime which is linked to unemployment and low pay in the first place. Labour must campaign against both these slave labour conditions and the system that creates the need for security firms.

By Terry McPartland

Cheap slavery

THE PROSPECTS for young people in Liverpool are very bad. So Janet thought she had got her lucky break when the Job Centre told her of a job as a catering assistant in a Wimpy. At the interview she was told she would be cleaning for a few days and would then be working in the kitchen. The manageress had other ideas. Janet was told to clean the floor, stairs, tables, mirrors, men's and women's toilets, empty rubbish bins and carry rubbish upstairs.

After a measly half hour lunch break, she had to brush down the stairs and wipe them afterwards. She was not allowed to talk to the ten other girls working there and had to stand constantly and look busy even

when the place was spotless by rewiping the floor.

She was only supposed to work from 11am to 5.30, but often did not finish until 7 or even 8pm. The manageress said "I'll tell you when to go". She was not paid any overtime for the extra hours and was forbidden to wear a watch so that she could check the time herself. There were no clocks in the building.

For 39 hours work, Janet received £36-50. It was not just the conditions she worked in, but the manageress's attitude, constantly overlooking the girls to make sure they were working hard enough.

The final straw came on the fifth day when Janet was told to clear vomit up in the lavatories. She was

not even given gloves!

Despite being praised by her supervisors for being hardworking, she left, condemning the job as cheap exploitation. She was lucky because her mother, a single parent, supported her and has even written to her MP and the Prime Minister to complain.

Most of the kids there hate it as well, but as there are no decent jobs to go to, their parents make them stay. All the more reason for young people like Janet to get involved with their local Young Socialists and fight for a proper standard of living and a socialist future.

By Cath Weare, Wavertree LPYS, in personal capacity

Debt misery

THE 1,300 Staffordshire families who asked the Citizens Advice Bureau's money advice service for help last year had combined debts of a staggering £5.6 million. Hundreds of thousands more are too embarrassed to seek advice. Many only approach the CAB when they face eviction or court action.

For working people the domestic debt crisis is more serious than at any time since the war. Unscrupulous credit companies dangle the carrot of easily available loans, which are often taken out to pay off old ones.

The consequences for many families are horrendous—sleepless nights, going without meals, court orders, even eviction

face increasing numbers of those caught in the trap of spiralling debt.

Many young people are forced out of the family home. The Potteries Young Homeless Project, set up a year ago, has around 40 homeless young people a month asking for help.

In some recent cases, debts have been cited as a reason for suicide, which rose by 17.6 per cent in 1984-85 in Staffs, compared to a 2.2 per cent rise nationally.

There are now 10,000 millionaires in Tory Britain, alongside 12 million on or below the supplementary benefit level.

By Andy Bentley

Fighting Fund

Help us fight low pay

"CAN I help you sir? That will be £1.60 please." The hundred-second sale will put more into McDonald's computerised till than Clare will earn in an hour. That is what working conditions are like behind Big Mac's neon lights since the Tories scrapped wages council protection for under-21s.

McDonald's have taken full advantage. Three quarters of their workers are under 21 and are often expected to carry on working into the early hours of the morning with no overtime pay. Their wages make Thatcher's claim that young people are pricing themselves out of jobs a sick joke.

But what is the alternative? As Clare told The Guardian: "There's nothing

all for 17-year-olds. I don't know how the government expects you to make out."

Thatcher and Co don't give a damn how young workers make out, but we do. The alternative is to join a union and fight for socialism. *Militant* is leading the way in that fight and there are huge battles ahead, hopefully amongst McDonald's workers as well.

But to show the way forward, we have to have a more regular paper and that needs money. So far this quarter we have raised £4,062, including a marvellous £500 from Dave Warren in Swansea. But we need to step up our efforts.

After this weekend the holiday season is over and the labour movement is

getting back into gear. So dust off those appeal sheets, get your rattling tins out and ask every buyer for a donation or at least the Solidarity price.

At all the get-togethers over the Bank Holiday, see how much you can raise in 'drinks for *Militant*'. And get those September jumble sales and socials booked now.

Thanks to: Steve Gee, Nuneaton APEX, £4.70; Joan Cummings, Stevenage, £25; Dr YS Kaplan, £149; W London readers meeting, £50; From 'bars' at Summer camp, Bedford, £25, Stevenage £70 (including £10 from Roger the Barman); Nottingham Jumble sale, £21.80 and Hull AEU and EETPU members £15.45.

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 South East	292		2250
2 Wales	634		4850
3 Eastern	315		3050
4 London	631		9400
5 East Midlands	177		3250
6 Northern	175		4600
7 Yorkshire	359		8450
8 Scotland West	71		3500
9 West Midlands	76		4850
10 Manchester/Lancs	54		4050
11 Merseyside	39		7500
12 Southern	37		3100
13 Scotland East	0		2800
14 South West	9		1900
15 National	1193		6950
Total	4062		70,000

LATEST ISSUE of **Militant International Review** out now



THE LATEST *Militant International Review* is essential reading for every socialist.

The election revived the idea that capitalism has entered a new age of prosperity. The real trends in the world economy, however, are outlined in a major article by Ted Grant. Undeclared trade wars through currency devaluation; the explosion of consumer credit; even the world trend for tax cuts—all are explained as factors preparing a world slump.

As the article explains, the current 'boom', now in its sixth year, was primarily due to Reagan's massive arms spending programme. The consequences for the future movement of American workers are examined in an article by Sean Heron from New York.

One result of the armaments boom was to weaken America's trading position, leading to calls for import barriers. Protectionism, a disaster for US workers, would be a catastrophe for the 'miracle economies' of SE Asia, whose very prosperity depends on their privileged position in the US market.

Now, as Clare Doyle explains in the *MIR*, even before the onset of a world downturn, the South Korean revolution has begun.

There are also articles on South Africa, Ireland and the return of Alan Woods' series on the history of Bolshevism. Every serious socialist should read the *MIR*—and sell it too!

By Clive Heemsker

From your local Militant seller or 90p plus 20p post and package from World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB. Cheques payable to World Socialist Books.



Fulham supporters demand their ground is kept open.

Photo: Howard Jones

Football for the fans Not as a vehicle for profit

THE 1987-88 Centenary Season of the Football League began without an official sponsor, after the withdrawal of Murdoch's latest purchase, *Today*, halfway through its two-year contract worth £2 million to the league's 92 clubs.

By John Viner
(Arsenal supporter)

Just in time, Barclay's Bank stepped in with a three-year contract worth £4.5 million, to rival Nat West's sponsorship of cricket.

Football has become big business, as large companies see the game as an ideal vehicle for advertising and prestige. No self-respecting club can be seen without a company name emblazoned across its kit, perimeter hoardings, programmes and stadium. Even some players have their gear sponsored individually.

Insolvent

With match attendances showing a steady decline (though halted last season), revenue from gate money is no longer sufficient to pay the wage bills and the rates.

Lotteries, luxury execut-

ive boxes, expensive replica kits and a thousand and one souvenirs all help to keep many smaller clubs out of the hands of the receiver. A recent report revealed that 80 of the 92 league clubs, including some of the bigger ones, are technically insolvent.

It is no coincidence that the top four in the first division last season came from among the few wealthy clubs, with large followings and big-name sponsors. They can afford to poach good players from other clubs by offering them wages and conditions that others cannot match.

This, together with the reorganisation of the first and second divisions, is paving the way for an elite 'super league', with the rest

going part-time, selling off their grounds for development or falling out of the league altogether.

But, as we saw last season, with the Bulstrode affair at Fulham and QPR, many supporters are not going to sit back and let their clubs be taken away without a fight. The united campaign launched by the fans from several threatened teams took the speculators by surprise.

Latest strip

Fans are angry that they have to pay upwards of £18 for a replica shirt with a capitalist multinational's name plastered across it. The big kit manufacturers like Adidas and Umbro spend a small fortune persuading the top clubs to wear the latest design and logo, knowing that younger fans will pester their parents to go out and buy the latest strip, which is then changed with increasing regularity.

What say does the ordinary fan have in the running

of the local clubs? Most are run by rich benefactors who look upon the team as their expensive toy. Millionaire 'socialist' Robert Maxwell virtually owns Derby County, while his son has been left with Oxford United! Many managers have suffered interference in the running of the team and have resigned or been sacked as a result.

During the immediate post-war years, when league football was enjoying its highest attendances, the people that ran the game, just as in British industry, failed to invest the surplus revenue into improving facilities. They preferred to 'skim the cream off the top', quite content to see the faithful shiver on the terraces, queuing in the rain for a watery cup of Bovril, while the grounds were left to rot.

Disasters like Ibrox in the sixties and Bradford only two years ago have highlighted the danger of playing the modern game in antique gerry-built stadia.

Local authorities have a

responsibility to assist in the upkeep of grounds, but should demand in return that clubs' facilities be made available to the local community. Far too many clubs use their grounds only once a fortnight during the season and the rest of the time they are empty.

At present pools companies reap vast sums from the league programme, only a fraction of which is ploughed back into the game at the grass roots. They should be nationalised and run solely for the benefit of the game.

Sport centres

Our clubs should be run by democratically elected representatives of the supporters, the local community and the players, with resources coming from local and national government to provide grounds that can be used as multi-sport centres every day of the week, and taken out of the hands of 'benevolent' whizzkids like Maxwell and co.

"We sold papers to four miners from the Hucknall pit which is now closed (see article in issue 860) who were transferred to Sherwood. One commented: 'That's chock-on about our pit, that article. Give us those papers and I'll sell them for you'. That article really impressed them."

Militant has a proud tradition of supporting the struggle of workers. Why not take out a regular order for your trade union branch or workplace. Just fill in the form on the back page and send it to us. Above all, *Militant* wants to reflect the views of workers. So write and tell us your point of view!

By Ruth Campbell

LEFT and RIGHT

Principled politics

THE SOLITARY SDP member on North Bedfordshire council has defected to the Tories, giving them outright control; it had been a hung council. Councillor Vincent Fattorusso thinks the SDP is being "swamped by Liberals."

His decision to join the real Tories instead of their reserves may have more down-to-earth reasons. He owed his election to the Tories not standing; they filled in their nomination papers incorrectly. He may have doubted winning next May's election now the Alliance has become a liability.

So the voters are saddled with a Tory councillor they didn't want. They probably won't notice a great difference, but they should be warned; Fattorusso has been a member of the Conservative Party once before—and the Labour Party twice! Thanks to Gwyn Morris

A call to arms

AT A time of such high unemployment, it is good to read that at least one person has enjoyed a long career performing a vital service to the community.

On leaving Balliol College, Oxford in 1931, Sir Anthony Wagner joined the College of

Arms as Portcullis Pursuivant. In 1943, in the middle of the war, he went on to serve the nation as Richmond Herald, until 1961 when he became Garter King of Arms. Finally in 1978 he became Clarenceux King of Arms.

The highlights of his illustrious career were leading the Coronation procession in 1937 and deciding the order of precedence between two Labour peers.

What a comment on capitalist Britain that we can pay people to perform 'jobs' like that, but not the three million unemployed with the skills to perform productive and useful tasks!



THE GREAT miners' strike has not been forgotten, and as new battles start, sales in mining areas are on the increase.

Sellers in Notts told us: "We always sell at the Sherwood pit branch meeting, but the other day we were taken aback when we met some of the men from Sherwood in the pub after our Saturday town sale."

Militant

Price 10p

Black and Asian special issue

Inside

Centre pages

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Unite to smash the Tories



Photo: John Moulfe

March in support of 'Newham 7', victims of racist attack.

EIGHT YEARS of Tory rule has meant horror for the working class but black workers and youth have been hit twice as hard.

By Colin DeFreitas

The Tories and the bosses are now cock-a-hoop at the fact that Thatcher has been re-elected for another term of office. But their joy will be short-lived. Anyone who thinks that Thatcher is going to have an easy ride is seriously mistaken. The Tory policies have created a reservoir of discontent and bitterness among all workers. They have prepared the conditions for enormous social upheaval in the next few years.

Already sections of workers like the miners are squaring up yet again to do battle with this Tory government.

The Tories' plans for the inner cities will do nothing for the unemployed youth of Brixton, Handsworth, Notting Hill, Glasgow or anywhere else. That is why, at the same time, the Tories are beefing up the police with riot gas, CS gas, and plastic bullets.

But blacks will not roll over and play dead in the face of these attacks. Apart from continuous organisation of defence committees, demonstrations and protests over

police intimidation and racial attacks, black workers will be in the forefront of some of the biggest industrial battles which loom ahead. As the potentially most militant detachment of the working class they will provide great inspiration to the rest of the class.

That is why there is an urgent need to knit all the struggles together in a common fight against the Tories and their big business backers. The labour movement must be vigilant on the question of racism as the Tories will attempt to use it to divide and weaken opposition to their policies.

Socialist policies

The dire problems faced by black youth require attention by the entire labour and trade union movement which must be in the forefront together with black workers and youth in the fight against racism.

But this can only flow from a comprehensive socialist programme on the part of Labour, to provide jobs, education and decent housing for all workers. Such a programme will be an enormous attraction to all workers and on the basis of a common struggle by black and white workers and youth will cut across the harmful racist divisions which are of benefit only to the Tories and the bosses.

Eight years of Tory racism

SINCE THATCHER came to power in 1979:

Unemployment among blacks has increased by 478 per cent! Now over 50 per cent of black youth are unemployed.

Education: The 1985 Swann report on education showed blacks to be among the highest underachievers in schools throughout the UK.

Housing: In its section on housing the Policy Studies Institute (PSI) pointed out that blacks are far more likely to live in overcrowded conditions and concentrated on the worse housing estates in Britain.

Health: Black/white differentials in mortality rates show that life expectancy is on average seven years less for babies born of black parents. (1983 report by Community Health Group for Ethnic minorities). 25 per cent of mental health patients in London are black.



Policing: Since 1979 the number of police has increased by 10,000 to over 121,000. Since 1979 the Tories have more than doubled expenditure on the police from £1.1m to £2.9m.

On present trends it is expected that by the year 1990 more than 50 per cent of West Indian youth would have spent some time in custody. 23 per cent of those serving life sentences in British prisons are black.

Racial Attacks: Since 1979 it has been estimated that at least 45 blacks have been murdered by racists.

In 1986 there were more than 20,000 racial attacks in Britain.

Immigrants: Strict new immigration rules were introduced by the Tories in 1980 limiting the rights of entry of dependents.

1981 Nationality Act.
 1985 Further restrictions on the entry of wives, husbands and spouses of blacks.

Some restriction on entry of Tamil and other refugees.

1986 Removed the right of MPs to intervene in immigration cases.

Introduced visa requirements for visitors from the Indian subcontinent, Ghana and Nigeria.

1987 Introduced fines for airline and shipping companies bringing in refugees.

Which way t

DEVASTATING unemployment levels, slum housing, police beatings and murders, racist attacks and the brutality of immigration controls have been the lot of black workers in Britain too long.

By Nina Rahel

Now we have to face the grim reality of another Tory term in office.

There will be one Tory attack after another on the rights and living conditions of all workers, black and white. Black workers will be the hardest hit.

And the Tories will be prepared to stir up the murky waters of racism to distract the working class from opposing them. In the last eight years they have kept alive all the racist myths about black and Asian workers. Part of that strategy has been their immigration policy. Almost every year since 1979 the Tories have changed the immigration rules to make it more difficult for blacks to enter Britain.

On each occasion this has been the cue to their racist press to launch campaigns against black workers. The visa issue in October 1986 showed how the Tories will consciously whip up racism.

Almost overnight they slapped on a visa requirement for visitors from the Indian subcontinent, Nigeria and Ghana. They said that an increasingly large number of visitors from these countries were absconding and remaining in Britain illegally.

But this was just a lie. In 1985 of the 452,000 visitors from those five countries only 0.05 per cent absconded!

The Tories were cynically stirring up racist ideas in the run up to the general election. News headlines at the time read: "Immigrants paralyse Heathrow", "Asian Flood Swamps Airport", "The Stampede" and, in the notorious scab *Sun*, "The Liars". The racist rag said that the biggest lie of all was that "they intend to go back home after their visit". The *Star* on the same day spoke of "the burgeoning numbers of illegal immigrants overcrowding this country".

Arson attacks

The truth is that black immigration into Britain is at its lowest level since 1962. The Tories claim that the UK is an overcrowded, small island with enough unemployment, thus immediately creating a link between immigration and unemployment.

Yet since 1979 more people have left Britain than entered, and meanwhile unemployment has carried on soaring. The problems faced by all workers are not due to over-population. They are because this diseased system of capitalism is unable to provide jobs and the basics of life. That is why the Tories keep the flames of racism alive.

Horribly some black workers have literally faced the flames of racism in racist arson attacks. Two MEPs, Alf Lomas and Glyn Ford, calculated that one racist attack occurred every 26 minutes in Britain.

The Tories and their press are to blame for the grisly deaths resulting from some of these attacks. They planted the racist poison in the warped minds that have turned to murder.

Their immigration policies and inhumane treatment of refugees has already led to forced abor-

tion, suicides and hunger strikes. Yet now they are preparing a further immigration bill which will pile on the misery still further.

The new legislation will give legal justification to the forced separation of thousands of black families. 90 per cent of immigration today is of dependents to black workers who have lived and worked here since the 60s.

In the Indian subcontinent alone, at least 13,800 men, women and children are waiting to rejoin their families. The Tories' proposed legislation will prevent these families from being reunited when they have homes and jobs to go to. It is a blatant attack on the poorest of the poor.

It is also a warning that in Thatcher's third term the racist card may be played more often. A further and deeper economic crisis is on the agenda. The Tories have a savage anti-working class manifesto to implement.

Already blacks face the worst conditions in unemployment, housing and in receiving adequate services. Amongst black workers, unemployment is officially double the average rate. For black youth it is an appalling 33 per cent.

We are judged surplus to requirement by this system and condemned to the rubbish heap of unemployment.

Inner city decay

We will suffer further from the Tories' plans for a poll tax and for the inner cities. The poll tax, which will financially cripple all working class families while benefitting the rich, will especially affect black families. Reports admit that more blacks live in small, overcrowded accommodation. For this bad, cramped housing we will have to pay more!

They plan to force even Labour local authorities to sell off council housing. Inner city decay will continue in ghettos of the worst housing, while good homes are sold to those who can afford to buy.

Wandsworth's Tory Council has already begun this process. 2000 tenants have been moved out of council estates on false pretexts. Then the estates were sold to private property companies. They have been renovated into luxury flats costing £100,000-£200,000 each. The original tenants have never returned.

We have already seen a glimpse of how the Tories consciously whip up racism with the Broadwater Farm trials at the beginning of 1987.

The coverage of the trials deliberately created hostility towards blacks. In the opening week there were accusations that the youth of Broadwater Farm had wanted to chop off Blakelock's head, put it on a pole and plant it in the grass. Black youth were crudely made out to be no better than savages.

The severity of the sentences was a warning from the state machine to all blacks of the brutality it is prepared to use. A report of international jurists exposed many injustices in the trials. It ends by advising the state to take a cautious and conciliatory approach to the cases yet to be heard. Rich liberals are conscious of the discontent and bitterness that the trials have created and worried about what that could mean in the future.

While this rotten system exists, you cannot legislate racism away. The Commission for Racial Equality has achieved virtually no-



Demonstration in support of the Newham 7 victims of racist attacks.

thing after what its latest annual report describes as ten years of "persuading society and its institutions to reduce the level of racial discrimination". Moralising persuasion hasn't worked and won't do because racism is an integral part of the bosses' system.

Blacks have not been prepared to sit back and endure the nightmare conditions forced on them. Campaigns have sprung up the length and breadth of the country.

Blacks have proved themselves to be determined and militant. But we cannot defeat all the ruling class and their pawns throw at us alone.

The struggle against racism and discrimination must be linked to the wider struggle of the labour movement. The fight for socialist policies within that struggle is crucial. Only socialist policies can eradicate the conditions that breed racism.

A united campaign of black and white workers organised through the labour and trade union movement is the only way the Tories and their system can be defeated. Such a campaign would be a pole of attraction to draw blacks into political activity inside the labour movement.

The period opening up will be one of mass confrontations between workers and youth and the government. Black workers and youth have an essential role to play in these struggles. The role of Marxism will be crucial. The Marxist programme would smash racism and the system that created and maintains it. Black workers and youth armed with such a programme would be a vital vanguard detachment of the working class in its struggle for socialism.

Liverpool cou

LABOUR'S OUTSTANDING general election success in Liverpool, in contrast to the Party's poor showing elsewhere, was a direct result of the four year campaign by the Labour controlled city council to fight Tory cuts and defend local jobs and services.

This included a massive house building and urban regeneration programme, reform of education and race advisors set up in every school. Much of this increased spending, won from the government because of the council's determined stand, was spent in Liverpool 8 where the greatest percentage of the black community lives.

These concrete improvements created enthusiastic backing for Labour both in the local elections and the general election, despite an unprecedented campaign of lies and mudslinging by Labour's enemies, attempting to undermine the authority of the city council and the leading role played within the council by Militant supporters.

The basis of this electoral success rests solely on the council's programme of no cuts in jobs or services, no rate or rent rises to compensate for cuts imposed by the Tories. The Council launched a campaign to win back the £500m stolen from the city by Thatcher through her rates legislation.

There could be no clearer

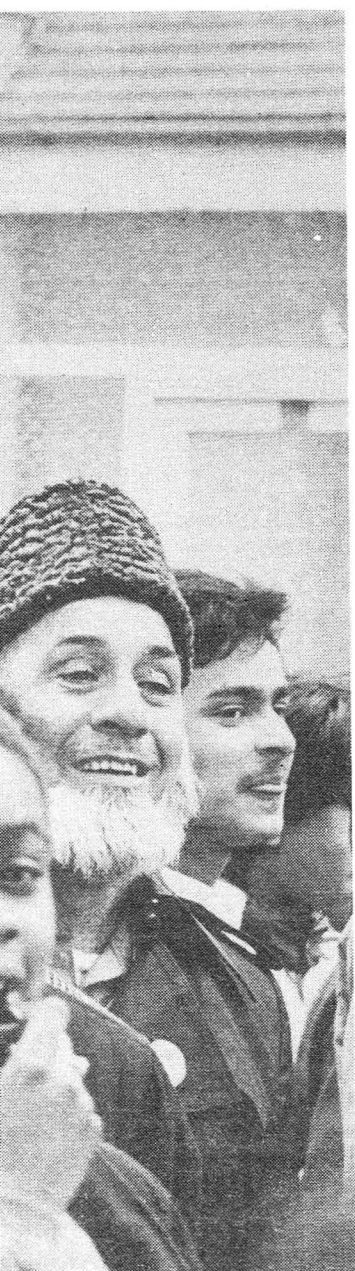


New houses built by Liverpool City C

example of the council's policies in action than in the Liverpool 8 area with the Urban Regeneration Strategy (URS). Yet there has been a campaign of lies and distortions attempting to portray the City Council as racist. The Council's record on tackling racism is second to none and the facts speak for themselves.

Housing (1983-85) £48m spent on major house-

for Blacks?



Asians in East London slum conditions.

Photos: Dave Sinclair

Divided Black Sections are no solution

FOUR BLACK Labour MPs have just been elected. But the self-styled Labour Party black sections are in crisis, riddled with splits and divisions. BOB LEE here explains the background to this situation.

The campaign to create separate black sections inside the Labour Party took off in 1983. Attempts to set them up in the 1970s had been unsuccessful largely because, at that time, it was clear to both black and white activists, that such a step could endanger the struggle to build a united campaign to combat racism and the menace of the National Front.

By 1983 however a new climate prevailed within the Labour Party. The leadership had moved further to the right. The anti-racist struggles had been pushed into the background. Following Labour's biggest election defeat since the 1930s, the right-wing and the middle class left began to challenge the fundamental class basis of the Labour Party.

While the leadership sought to push the party further to the right, the lefts, in a further shift away from a class approach began to promote the idea of 'positive discrimination' in favour of women and minority groups. For them, this, rather than tackling the ideas of the right wing, was the way to combat the domination of the party by "white middle class males".

Increasing black representation is vital but it must be part of a wider campaign to win socialist policies.

Thus when a handful of blacks raised the idea of separate sections as a means of promoting blacks to positions within the movement they immediately found an echo from these so-called lefts. Many of these 'lefts' who had built up positions within Labour controlled local authorities had already begun to promote the idea of positive discrimination, not to complement but to substitute for a campaign against racism.

Since then the black sections' whole momentum has been based on the patronage of middle class Labour lefts. They have never succeeded in mobilising any significant support from blacks. This has been confirmed in successive opinion polls and is above all demonstrated by the fact that black section activists have been limited to a small group of Labour Party members. They have no organised base whatsoever within the wider black community.

All class-conscious workers understand the need to increase black representation within the Labour Party and the unions. There is understandable anger and frustration at the leadership's total failure to mount any kind of

serious campaign against racism.

But, as *Militant* has consistently argued, none of these problems can be overcome through the formation of separate black sections. They are inseparably linked to the struggle to transform the Labour Party into a party that will defend all workers with socialist policies.

Racism and discrimination mean that blacks suffer the worst social conditions. Labour must set up anti-racist committees in every area to spearhead the fight against racism.

There must be special campaigns to forge links with the black community and increase the recruitment of blacks into the Party. These are the sort of measures that will convince black workers to join the Labour Party.

But the task of such united campaigns have been pushed off the labour movement's agenda because the entire discussion on the race question over the last few years has been focussed on the black sections issue.

The one-sided preoccupation with representation, ignoring policy and programme, lies behind the black sections' current crisis. They are now riven with splits as different groups jockey for positions.

One of their central aims was to get blacks into parliament. Yet ironically the four black MPs now appear to be gradually distancing themselves from the black sections movement. None of them would publicly defend Sharon Atkin when she was arbitrarily removed as a prospective parliamentary candidate by the Labour leadership.

Bernie Grant was even quoted in the *Caribbean Times* as saying black sections are a division. "If I were accountable to black sections," he said "I'd run as a black sections candidate, which would be a separate party." He doubted whether black sections could remain the same.

For their part, many black sections activists are accusing the MPs of selling out. This kind of wrangling was inevitable so long as the answer to racism was seen purely as one of individuals getting positions.

Increasing black representation is vital but it must be part of a wider campaign to win socialist policies. This is particularly important at the moment when the leadership are attacking activists throughout the Party. It is not enough to elect blacks to parliament; all MPs must be committed to a programme and strategy that will advance the interests of black workers and the whole working class.

The election of four black MPs is a big step forward. It is now up to those MPs to fight for bold socialist policies to combat racism. They must use parliament as a platform to build an anti-racist campaign by fostering unity between black and white workers.

ncil's proud record



Council in Liverpool 8.

building
1,730 families rehoused
978 dwellings built
1,782 large scale improvements to buildings
2,100 empty slums demolished
Major landscaping works carried out
150 shops rebuilt
More money spent on Liverpool 8 than any other Local Authority's total housing budget

The scrapping of the allocation system operated under the Liberals and described as racist by the Commission of Racial Equality, and its replacement by a fairer date order system.

Education

Specialist race advisors appointed to all new secondary community schools

Anti-racist code of practice for all schools drawn up

Social services

New Chinese unit set up

Black families in receipt of home helps and meals on wheels, the provision upped from 0.3 per cent under the Liberals to 13 per cent

Employment

More blacks working for the city council than at any time in its history, when the Labour Council was disqualified in 1987. The council recruited blacks at around 20-30 per cent of the intake despite the obstructions of some local trade union leaders. Blacks represent 5 per cent population in Liverpool. Much more could have been done but the council was hampered by the boycott of the council's Race Relations Unit over the appointment of Sam Bond. Yet the Council achieved many concrete gains, a far cry from the gimmicks such as street festivals and poster campaigns in the name of anti-racism, as practised by some Local Authorities.

The URS represented a city wide strategy but the Liverpool 8 area received a large

percentage of the allocation. This strategy was brought to an end when the Tories used the courts to disqualify and surcharge the Labour councillors for daring to stand up and fight for resources for the benefit of the working class. A new right wing dominated Labour Council is now in power. They have already forced Sam Bond to resign and have sacked three student leaders.

All the gains and achievements of the last Labour administration are now under attack. The new council leader intends to adopt an all party approach to the council's financial crisis. This means involving the Liberals. The same Liberals who sacked 5,000 workers whilst in power. There has been no attempt whatsoever to lead a campaign to defend jobs and services. Any compromise with the Tories will involve carrying out cuts and attacking the living standards of working people and blacks in particular.

A stark choice faces the new labour leadership of Liverpool, either sackings and cuts in services, or stand and fight the government.

We demand no backsliding. The present council was elected on the heroic stand of the last Labour administration.

☆ Defend the gains and achievements!
☆ No cuts!

South African miners take on apartheid

THE BLACK miners of South Africa have been locked in an heroic strike struggle against the monopoly mine owners and the apartheid regime. They have defiantly withstood sackings and brutal attacks, including deaths, at the hands of the bosses' ruthless mine security guards.

By April Ashley

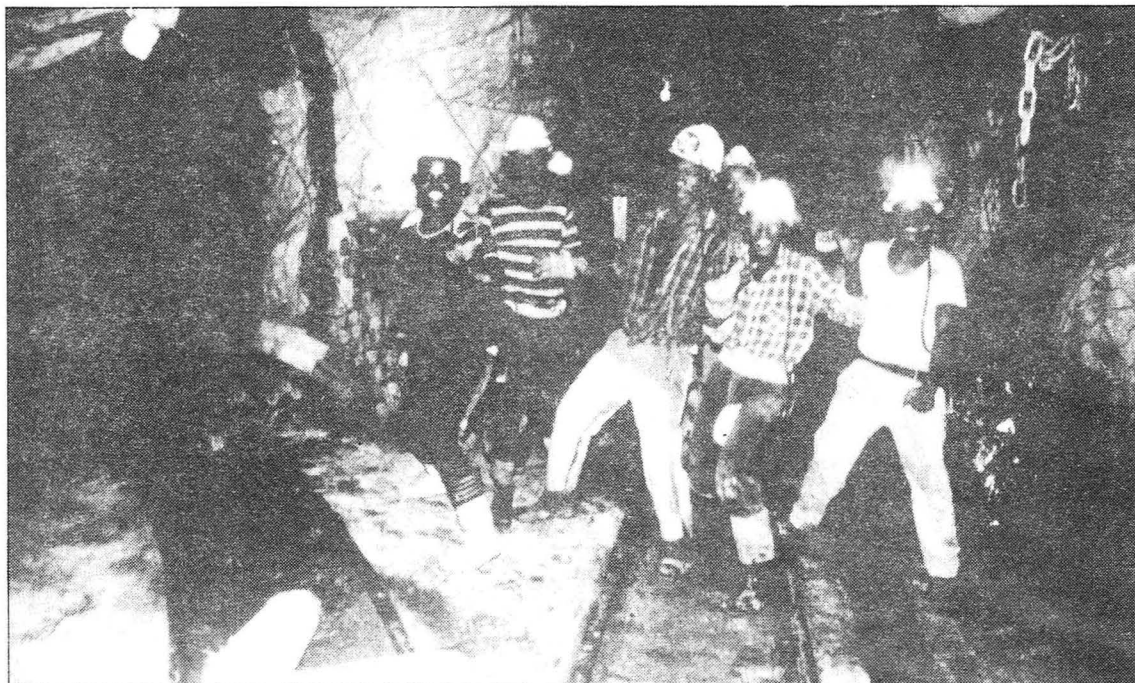
The strike for a 30 per cent wage increase, for increased death-grants and increased holidays, as well as an end to the single-sex hostel system, is the biggest and most important strike in SA labour history. And it is directed at the very heart of apartheid capitalism. The mining industry accounts for 60 per cent of South African exports. Hundreds of thousands of black workers have taken action against poverty wages and repression from the racist state, with a huge wave of strikes this year.

13,000 shop workers, 16,000 railway workers, 13,000 chemical workers, 15,000 postal workers, 7,000 metal workers, 900 tea pickers have struck, as well as the monster general strike of 3 million workers and youth protesting against the white only racist elections in May.

Youth activists

The combativity and determination of the black masses to smash apartheid and capitalism in South Africa, cannot be denied.

Over the last two to three years black youth in their millions have boycotted schools and lead rent and shop boycotts. Thousands of youth activists have been detained and hundreds tortured and killed. Of 30,000 people detained between 1984-1986, 85 per cent were under the age of 25. Children as young as eight and ten have been arrested and detained. One 11 year old boy was forced to suck an electric dummy.



South African miners before they went on strike.

Photo: Report/IDAF

Black youth in the townships have raised the slogan "apartheid and capitalism, two sides of the same bloody coin", reflecting their growing class consciousness, uniting with the working class in the struggle against the state. If there has now been something of a pause in the township struggle, then the industrial workers have taken up the battle call. The strike of the railway workers saw the first major struggle in the public sector. The workers organised under the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU) were brutally repressed and beaten; six were shot dead. But with enormous courage and spirit the union won a magnificent victory after 11 weeks.

The mineworkers declared at their fifth annual congress in March—"1987 the year mineworkers take control". The South African NUM (300,000 members) is the backbone of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) making up half of its 750,000 membership. Millions of workers look to the miners because of their strategic position

in the economy. The struggle of the mineworkers to improve their own pay is seen as a vital part of the COSATU 'National Minimum Wage Campaign'.

The movement of the black masses has also had to contend with the 'vigilantes'—the bosses' murderous armed thugs. Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha impis have been responsible for murders and vicious attacks on many youth and workers. Over 50 workers and youth have been killed in Natal by Inkatha impis since January this year. And now with the setting up of UWUSA, not a 'union' but a reactionary wing of Inkatha, the vigilantes are attempting to smash the independent non-racial trade unions.

Moses Mayekiso

The bosses in South Africa have promoted UWUSA to smash the independent unions. For instance, Sarmcol in Natal, a subsidiary of the British Tyre and Rubber multinational, have now publicly recognised UWUSA, after sacking all its own workforce two years ago for going on

strike for recognition of their own independent union MAWU. Over two years later the BTR workers are still on strike and MAWU, now merged with other metal unions and renamed NUMSA, has its general secretary Moses Mayekiso in prison charged with high treason, a hanging offence.

Under the impact of repression, attacks on their organisations and the daily humiliations inflicted by white supremacist rule, black workers and youth are looking towards the ideas of socialist revolution.

And the miners are also in the forefront in terms of their political consciousness as was clearly shown at the annual congress. The congress adopted the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress in a resolution stating that "apartheid and capitalism are inseparable evils that must be smashed" and "the workers in this country are not only striving for better conditions but for a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class."

This is the political programme

of the mass of black workers and youth. Many unions, including NUMSA, the metal workers' union, have adopted the Freedom Charter, as well as COSATU.

How could the miners place their trust anything but a socialist strategy to smash apartheid? The so-called 'liberal' bosses of the giant Anglo American mining house, supporters of the futile talks between white businessmen and the ANC leadership, are threatening to sack their striking miners, and are prepared to employ all the power of the brutal white racist state forces to protect their profits from the militant black working class.

Solidarity

Workers and youth in Britain must express their international solidarity with the striking miners and with every section of the black working class moving into struggle. And they must organise the fullest support for the revolution that has already begun in South Africa against apartheid and capitalism.

☆ Support the British NUM's international appeal fund. Solidarity between British miners, who themselves have just voted for industrial action, and South African miners!

☆ Campaign for an international trade union boycott of all South African gold and coal, and products of any subsidiaries of Anglo American and other mining monopolies.

Notting Hill Carnival

LPYS members and supporters: meet 11am Sun and Mon outside 92 Ladbroke Grove (Kensington Labour Party)

What we stand for

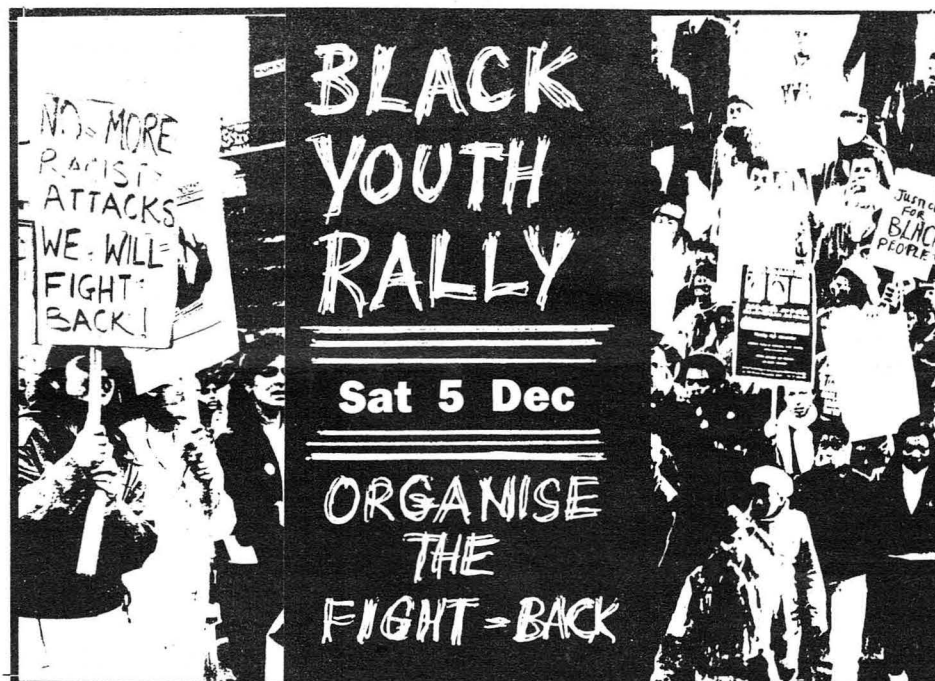
- An end to all forms of racism and discrimination.
- The immediate repeal of the racist nationality and immigration acts. Abolition of all immigration controls.
- Full support for black workers who face racial violence. Defence of black communities to be organised by the labour movement, black organisations, tenants' associations and local groups.
- No platform for fascists; immediate expulsion of known fascists from labour movement organisations.
- Disbandment of the Immediate Response Units and other 'special' police units.
- Workers' unity to defeat racism.
- Control of the police to be placed under the auspices of democratically elected local authority police committees and for a genuinely independent complaints procedure.
- The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss in pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.
- Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.
- A minimum wage of £120 a week tied to the cost of living for all, including sick and disabled people.
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop stewards the unwaged and small business people.
- Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a socialist United States of Europe as a step towards a World Socialist Federation.
- Workers' management of the nationalised industries. These should be run on the

basis of one-third of the places on the management board coming from the unions in the industry, one-third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole, and one-third from the government.

- Opposition to the Tory government's anti-union laws and reversal of attacks on the trade unions.

- Massive cuts in arms spending. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

- Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.



ASSEMBLY ROOMS LAMBETH TOWN HALL

START 1PM DISCUSSIONS ON THATCHER'S BRITAIN, RACISM, POLICE, BLACKS IN THE USA

After the Portuguese elections

IN THE July election Portugal's right-wing PSD government, after 18 months in power, increased its vote from 30 per cent to an absolute majority.

From a correspondent

This was not the result of some special attraction of right-wing policies for workers, but of a series of special circumstances—principally, the sorry state of the Socialist Party, with a programme little different from the PSD's.

In the PSD's period of government the upswing in the world economy conditioned a mini-boom in Portugal. The weakness of the US dollar eased the burden of debt repayments and oil purchases.

Real wages, at a third or less of Spanish or British levels, have risen after four years of decline. Car sales rose 30 per cent in the first quarter of 1987. Exports to Spain doubled, and Spanish investment in Portugal rose five-fold.

The Socialist Party (PS) was discredited after its record in office following the 1974 revolution. Socialist prime minister Mario Soares implemented two brutal austerity packages under the instructions of the International Monetary Fund.

Splits

The Soares-led governments' counter-reforms produced successive splits and crises in the PS. In the absence of a Marxist alternative within the party, most of the activists dropped out.

Workers voted massively for Soares in the 1986 presidential election, but only because the alternative in the second round was the right candidate, Freitas, who was publicly denounced as a stooge and a boot-licker of the pre-1974 dictatorship.

But now the chickens have come home to roost. In the July election half of the Socialist vote disappeared into abstention, with the total dropping to 20 per cent.

These facts explain the victory for the right. What are the perspectives for prime minister Cavaco's new government?

The PSD calls itself a "centre party". At one stage, under the hot breath of the revolution in 1974, it even called itself "socialist" and applied (unsuccessfully) to join the Socialist International. But now the collapse of the main bourgeois party, the CDS, has forced the capitalist class to operate from behind the PSD mask.

The new government will undoubtedly launch attacks on jobs and embark on a programme of privatisation. The capitalists are hoping there won't be a repeat of the experience of the PSD-CDS government of 1980-1982, which imploded after a general strike against it.

Because of the weakness of the

What future in store for bosses' government?



Agriculture in North Portugal is mainly organised into small family plots.

Photo: Carlos Guarita/Reflex.

Portuguese capitalist class, and the advance of the working class, each of the 13 governments since 1974 has been blown apart under the tension of class forces. The capitalists have tried every combination: 'left' and 'centre', 'left' and 'right', 'centre' and 'right', etc. Now they hope to have put the instability of minority governments behind them.

Child labour

In reality, the gulf between the classes is opening wider. Trade union reports of children working 8 to 15 hours a day, for £27-£45 a month, show the harsh conditions lying behind the official unemployment rate of 9 per cent (compared with 20 per cent in Spain).

In spite of the lack of decisive leadership, the workers will put up a real battle against Cavaco's attacks, probably in industry first.

With industrial action on the increase during the mini-boom, bigger struggles will become inevitable with the onset of recession. This will be intensified if the capitalists let the election victory go to their heads and push the

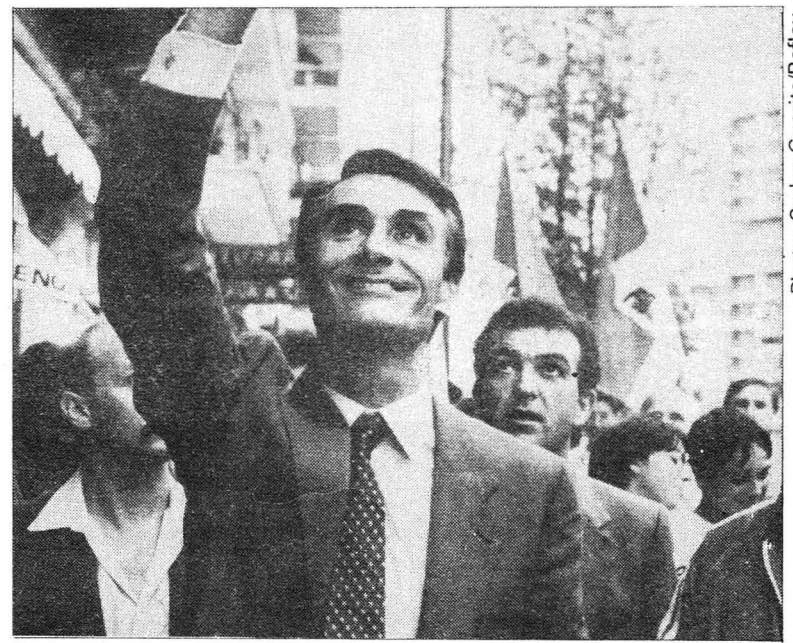
OECD statistics of living standards (1986)

	Portugal	Spain	Britain
Gross Domestic Product per person (US\$)	1,900	4,200	7,500
Infant mortality (per 1,000 births)	19	10	10
Average price increases over past 5 years (%)	23	12	7

working class too far, thinking that the experience of workers' power 13 years ago is now finally buried.

They may forget the lesson which one capitalist summed up as follows: "You can't do anything with Soares, but you can't do anything without Soares."

Now Cavaco's attacks will push the opposition parties towards supporting the workers' resistance. The PRD, led by ex-President Eanes, and the Communist Party will be under considerable pressure to turn their empty phrases against the govern-



Cavaco da Silva, new Prime Minister of Portugal.

Photo: Carlos Guarita/Reflex.

THE PORTUGUESE revolution of April 1974 showed the linkage of the European workers' movement to that of the colonial masses.

The weakest of the European powers, Portuguese capitalism clung desperately to its colonies to avoid being crushed by the economic weight of the major imperialist states. Barbaric massacres in Africa, and repression by the police dictatorship at home, polarised society and undermined the regime.

The army middle ranks became the focal point of all the pressures of the guerilla war as well as the smouldering revolt in Portugal. Following a strike wave the middle officers rose, and unknowingly unleashed a revolutionary process.

The elemental movement of the workers pushed the MFA

(radical officers' movement) into action against the right. In spite of opposition by the Socialist and Communist leaders, the banks and pro-fascist monopolies were occupied and nationalisation was enforced from below.

Even without a clear lead the momentum of the revolution continued until November 1975 when a premature, half-hearted and confused insurrection took place. Involving mainly left officers and troops, it showed some resemblance to the July days episode in the Russian revolution of 1917 (see *Militant* 859). But, lacking the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism, it allowed the reformist wing of the officers to retake the initiative in support of Soares's 'moderate' Socialist government.

collaboration with Cavaco. If Soares distances himself from the PS, his balancing act between the different factions could end in a sharp fall.

The PS at the moment is not a party of active workers, but like its predecessor in the earlier period of parliamentary democracy in Portugal, from 1910 to 1926, it will wither unless it begins to reflect the workers' aspirations.

The *Guardian* editorial writer, looking through rose-coloured spectacles, comments: "Portugal, with a now stable government and moderate consolidated opposition ... is more fortunate than Spain."

No concessions

But the struggles of the working class and youth in Spain, and the key role played by Marxists, have proved above all that the crisis of capitalism is also a crisis for the reformist tendency in the labour movement, which now has no more concessions to deliver.

Under such conditions a "moderate consolidated opposition" is out of the question.

If the Portuguese PS fails to break with right-wing reformism in time, we could see a revival of the PRD which was roundly trounced in the election. The halving of the Socialist vote since 1975, the 75 per cent drop in the PRD vote, and the 20 per cent drop in the CP vote, points to the crisis in all these parties.

The marvellous initiative of the Portuguese working class in 1974, after fifty years of fascism and dictatorship, made history. Today, after 13 years of bourgeois democracy and moving into a new economic crisis, they have already said 'no' loudly and clearly to reformism as well as Stalinism.

Even without Marxist leadership, the workers' struggle will burst out again, regardless of the capitalists' wishful thinking of a "new stability". Armed with a Marxist programme, the Portuguese working class will be poised to struggle for power in the next period, at an even higher level than in 1974-75.

Guess who's coming to dinner?

Dear Comrades,
Did you know that recently Margaret Thatcher had a surprise guest round at number 10 for dinner - none other than 'Give in Laird' (Gavin Laird), the once left wing shop steward of Singer's in Clydebank, now far right leader of the AUEW.

The topic of conversation after dinner? Who knows - possibly, Laird: I didn't get where I am today by being a good socialist. Thatcher: Too right Gavin, keep up the good work.

Yours fraternally
J Dolan
Glasgow

What we stole for?

Dear Comrades,
While collecting names on a petition against hospital closures at a post office in Liverpool my bag was stolen. A few hours later the bag was returned minus my cheque book, wallet, 40p fighting fund (from my tin) and...one copy of What We Stand For. Maybe all is not lost after all!

Yours fraternally
Graham Smillie
Liverpool

Emergency service only for the rich

Dear Comrades,
Richard 'Moneybags' Branson was in the news on 11 August justifying why he shouldn't have to foot the £34,000 bill for his Royal Navy rescue from the Irish Sea.
He claims: "...I can afford to pay...but that could be a dangerous precedent to set. People in trouble should not be afraid of sending out a mayday signal in case they end up

paying for the rescue. It could cost lives."

Perhaps someone should tell the Regional Health Authorities that, as the last time someone I know had to be taken by ambulance to hospital, they were presented with a bill for £35!

Yours fraternally
Anne Lewin
Newham NE LPYS

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Currie doesn't care

Dear Comrades,
On Friday 31 July I read in the *Mirror* about Edwina Currie and how much she cares for the sick and old. She told doctors who warned her that hospital cuts would mean killing a lot of elderly in the winter, that 'we are all going to die some day'.

I wish someone would remind Thatcher that she will grow old too some day!

Yours fraternally
Mike O.
Merseyside

Knighthood for services rendered

Dear Comrades,
It came as no real surprise that James Callaghan was awarded a peerage in the dissolution honours list. The only question still to be answered is; was it for his services to the Labour or Tory party? Callaghan spent 42 years as a Labour MP, four of them as leader of the party.

Most workers will remember him as part of the Wilson/Callaghan/Healey triad that carried through massive spending cuts and imposed severe wage restraint in the guise of the infamous 'social contract'.

In 1983 Callaghan, with a little help from his friends

in the party, effectively lost Labour the general election by denouncing party policy on non-nuclear defence in favour of his own brand of multilateral disarmament.

In the weeks leading up to the last election in June, he again attacked Labour's defence policy as well as other aspects of Labour's programme.

There is absolutely no doubt that Callaghan earned his peerage, the only surprise is that the Tories didn't award him one sooner.

Yours fraternally
Dave Pollock
Scarborough

Labour out of touch

Dear Comrades,
Have you ever tried filling in one of those opinion polls in Sunday magazines? Have you come to the conclusion that opinion polls say more about the asker than the answerer?

Take the latest opinion poll in Neil's fanzine *Labour Party News*. Why does it ask: "Are you single, married, living with a partner?" Surely we should be asking questions like "are you a single parent?" "What can the Party do to help you to take an active role in politics?"

Perhaps it is a 'respectable' society that Neil and his friends are courting. Take for instance this question "Do you have any of the following? Stocks and

shares, Unit trusts, Life assurance policy" etc. Correct me if I'm wrong but Labour is supposed to be the champion of the oppressed isn't it?

One question was an insult to those countless thousands who have to endure the sharp end of Thatcher's slave wage economy: "How many holidays have you taken in the last 12 months? Three or more..."

And so it goes on. Perhaps there might be some use in making the Labour leadership answer this questionnaire. It would reveal just how out of touch they really are.

Yours fraternally
Terry Duffy
Wallasey



James Callaghan recently knighted

From Northern Region Militant supporters.

In memory of Daisy Rawling, a fighter for her class.

One year on missed but not forgotten, the struggle continues.
"Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer, we'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

Defending law and order?

Dear Comrades,
15 August saw the start of the new football season. One game that hit the news for violent reasons was between Scarborough and Wolves. I went to the match and noticed one point which media didn't mention - this was the part played by the police.

The Tories have given the police more powers than ever. The public order bill was introduced supposedly to fight football hooliganism. On Saturday a couple of hundred thugs, who had gone to the match intending to be as violent as possible, were able to cause a

substantial amount of damage. The police made no serious attempt to intervene. Would they have been so lenient to strikers peacefully picketing their workplace? How many innocent people were injured by the police during the miners' strike and other industrial disputes? The police are being used as a political weapon against ordinary working people, regardless of what the Tories claim.

Yours fraternally
Simon Chester
Scarborough

Better deal for the elderly

Dear Comrades,
The recent press coverage on the Nye Bevan old people's home where claims of negligence, cruelty and assault on residents have been made, are nothing new.

There are numerous complaints of this kind all over the country. The main reason nothing comes of them is that old people are scared that if they go through with a complaint, they may end up worse off.

If these conditions exist in some council homes, imagine what is happening in private homes.

The life a resident leads is often one of boring repetitive routine, with no chance of daytime activities, no privacy, as rooms normally have two to three beds, the same bland food every day and being treated like a child.

The staff are a section of

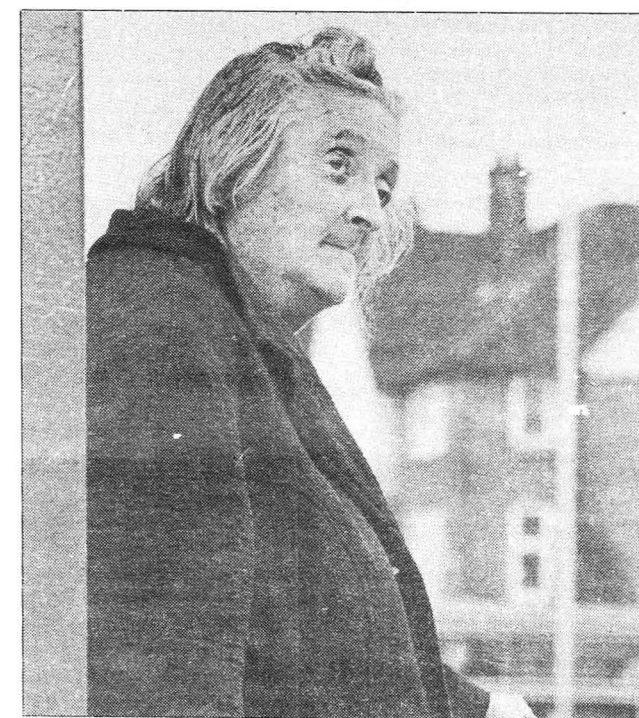
workers with some of the lowest pay, long unsociable hours, lack of staff, minimum equipment, and as they work in small numbers, more often than not non-unionised.

The people who come off best are the owners. They buy a large house, do it up cheaply, employ low paid staff or YTS and charge exorbitant prices while keeping running costs down by giving the barest service possible.

In this way they make a tidy profit within a couple of years.

In a society where old people are becoming a large percentage of the population we need to rethink the way society looks after this section.

We need better facilities for old people, housing, day-care, home helps, free phone installation and TV licences and a decent health service so old people don't



Old people should not have to endure the conditions imposed by the Tories.

have to wait for routine operations. The state pension should be increased to come into line with a national minimum wage of £120 per week.

These measures would allow old people to enjoy a decent retirement with dignity and independence

and stay as a valued part of the community without the pressures and burdens that this system puts them under.

Yours fraternally
CM Hannaby,
former OAP house-keeper

Classified ads

20p per word, minimum 10 words. Semi-display £3 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.

Labour Party Campaign Group Supporters (UCATT)

A meeting to discuss the socialist policies needed and the way to defend and extend democratic accountability both within the Labour Party and UCATT is being held on 5 September 1987 at 12.30 Merseyside Trade Union Club, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool L1. The main speakers will be Eric Heffer MP and Kenny Stewart EMP. There will be plenty of time for discussion from the floor.

All UCATT members welcome.

□ **Cassette tape debate.** Richard Venton (Merseyside Militant spokesman) and John Blevin (features editor *Morning Star*). 'Way forward after the election' (10 July). £1.75 (inc. p&p) from M Cock, 309 High St, Rochester, Kent, ME1 1VU.

□ **Chorlton** every Thursday, The Southern Hotel, Mauldeth Road West, Chorlton. 8.30pm.

○ **Cassette tapes** with two issues of *Militant* (one each side.) Available fortnightly. Tapes £3.50 per quarter, £13 per year. To be returned or send blank C-90 tapes. Contact Dave: 14 Harrowby Road, West Park, Leeds 16. Tel: 0532 624917.

Militant meetings

○ **East Kilbride YS** 'No to YTS conscription'. Speaker Terry Fields, MP. Thurs 10 Sept 7.30. Murray Hall, East Kilbride.

○ **Southampton** Marxist discussion group. Wednesdays 12.30pm. 7 Goodwin Close, Millbrook, Southampton. Creche provided. Thursdays 7.30pm. Tel 786879 for details.

Baker's plans to privatise colleges

NUS must give lead

THE NATIONAL Union of Students executive met on 8 August to discuss the response of NUS to the Tories plans for Further and Higher Education.

Even as the executive was meeting the Government announced new plans for further education which were described in the *Guardian* as such: "The Bill gives industry control of education".

It now seems likely that the government will incorporate some aspects of its White Paper for Higher Education into the Education Bill which will go to the Commons in December and there are rumours of a new white paper for further education to be released in September.

The Higher Education White Paper will mean the complete restructuring of the higher education sector, to increase big business control, cut the amount spent per student and end local authority control over polytechnics.

Closures

It is a massive step towards privatisation of education which will inevitably result in huge cuts, course and college closures, and eventually the closure of whole universities.

Already Cardiff University is to merge with the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology with job losses and course closures.

A new government white paper on further education will extend even further the influence of the MSC into the colleges, reducing them into cheap labour centres for local industry.

These attacks on access to higher and further education are similar to attacks on access which culminated in the mass movements in France and Spain. However the government is determined to go even further.

On 1 April the next stage of the Fowler Review of social security benefits will come into operation, resulting in the loss of supplementary benefit for all stu-

By a Militant reporter

dents in the long summer vacation.

This will be accompanied by plans to introduce so-called "top-up" loans to replace student grants, with an announcement due in January 1988. It is clear that the government is intent on implementing this legislation before the economy moves into decline.

Students and workers in education will not stand by and watch education being dismantled with huge cuts and job losses.

The executive therefore was forced to adopt a programme of action which will include support for a demonstration in Cardiff probably in October, two weeks of nationally co-ordinated local action between 9 and 20 November, culminating in a national lobby of Parliament, which will be co-ordinated with the TUC.

The executive is also to hold a ballot of all NUS members to show opposition to the government's proposals. However there will be no clear recommendation on how to vote, the ballot will not be linked to action and Adrian Long, the National Secretary, even proposed giving Baker 500 words on the ballot paper to explain his case!

The executive also overturned a conference mandate for a national demonstration in the first term, indicating that it sees the national lobby of Parliament as a small event, not a mass protest.

Nevertheless, the planned action will be welcomed by all activists. The Cardiff demonstration must be used to highlight the Government's plans and draw together the most active students in order to launch a massive campaign of resistance.



Students protesting against Tory policies, now is the time to mobilise.

FE students lobby bosses

THE FURTHER Education National Committee of NUS (FENC) has called for a lobby of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) conference in Glasgow on 4 November.

This is in protest at compulsory conscription on the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and is part of FENC's campaign to unionise YTS trainees.

This campaign started after a Further Education Labour Students (FELS) resolution to FE sector conference last December. It got under way with a successful demonstration on 1 April when over 1000 Further Educa-

tion and school students marched against compulsory YTS and slave wages.

The Manchester demonstration was significant in that it was the first ever independent initiative by FENC, and despite open sabotage by NUS executive members, the demonstration built effective links with the trade unions.

The lobby of the CBI is undoubtedly the result of the pressure by FELS members and other FE students for FENC to function as a fighting leadership. The lobby must be built into a

major protest aimed at the bosses' 'union' around the demands of the National Union of Students.

- ★ Trade union rates of pay on YTS
- ★ Full health and safety rights for trainees
- ★ Travel costs to be paid in full
- ★ All work related materials to be paid for by management
- ★ Trade union monitoring to ensure proper training standards
- ★ A guaranteed job for all trainees.

By Cheryl Varley

The executive must hold to the idea of co-ordinating the lobby of Parliament with the TUC, particularly the education trade unions to build a joint protest and link together students and workers. The weeks of action must be used to build

genuine links at a local level.

However the muddled thinking of the executive over the question of the ballot indicates that some members of the executive have not learned the lessons of the past eight

years. Also the systematic campaign by the "Democratic Left" group on the National Executive to obscure the events in Spain and the leading role of Marxism in the protests, has hidden the central lesson of the movement

which is applicable in Britain today.

Only a mass movement of students orientated to the Labour movement will defeat the Tories' plans and win genuine reforms for students and workers in education.

Tories create 999 emergency

IN THE league table of Tory hypocrisy the National Health Service must come close to the top.

By Tim Harris

The oft-quoted statement of Thatcher that the health service "is safe with us" was like the kiss of death to health spending but the Tories are trying to continue the myth. In the recent Queen's speech there was a commitment to "maintain and improve" the service.

If we look at the facts they paint a different picture. A report on the ambulance service published this week gives further alarming evidence of the deterioration of public health care in Britain.

Ambulance authorities

are failing to meet the "Orcon" standard established in 1974. This standard means that 95 per cent of calls must be answered within 14 minutes in metropolitan areas or 20 minutes in the shires, and 50 per cent of calls must be answered inside seven and eight minutes respectively.

Of the 43 authorities examined not one reached this standard, and furthermore all but two of the authorities nationally were found to have made cuts in their out-patient services over the last two years. On average the scale of these cuts is 35 per cent although in Wiltshire they have been a staggering 71 per cent!

In the language of human misery this means more suffering and expense for the disabled and elderly. Taxis have replaced ambu-

lances for countless thousands of out-patients. It also means that the chances of survival for an accident or heart attack victim are slimmer, despite the often heroic efforts of ambulance crews.

Attacks

To make matters worse journey times from the scene of accidents to casualty units have lengthened because so many of the latter have been closed.

Ambulance crews in common with health workers generally face problems of understaffing and a growing number of attacks from members of the public. These cutbacks are only making their situation more difficult.

The numbers on hospital

waiting lists per 1000 in England (the figures are actually worse for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) increased from 13.7 in 1980 to 14.4 in 1985.

The availability of NHS beds has fallen in every Health Region of the country whilst the trend for private beds is in the opposite direction.

Full support must be given to health service trade unions fighting attacks on services and the living conditions of staff. A national strategy needs to be drawn up involving all the health unions to drive back the Tory offensive, be it on cuts or privatisation, and the Labour Party has to be committed to a massive expansion of the health service.



Accident and stroke victims are having to wait longer because of Tory cuts.

Photo: Tommy Carroll.

Industrial Reports

TUC must accept its responsibilities

"CONGRESS NOTES with concern that among the general public, trade unions and trade union activity are often misrepresented as bullying, threatening and undemocratic.

"Congress welcomes moves...which use the most modern techniques to emphasise our traditional values and collective approach."

This is the first resolution on the agenda for this year's TUC conference in Blackpool. Throughout the section on trade union organisation the main theme is one of a strategy to change the face of the trade unions.

This is in line with the present thinking of the leadership within the TUC as the best way to address themselves to the problems of dwindling membership and the inability of the TUC to halt attacks on its members.

Particular emphasis is given to the structure of the TUC and its affiliates—are they attractive to potential new members? The EET-PU (electrician's union) resolution says: "Progress can best be achieved by all unions putting aside problems and prejudices of the past and working together for a modern structure based on the interests and involvement of the members."

The EETPU leaders obviously feel that the News International dispute and the increasing amount of one union, no-strike deals that they favour should be swept under the carpet.

In other words workers can go on strike but the structure of their unions needs to be changed before we can support them. This is the philosophy of a modern-day Nero—while

By Ian Parker

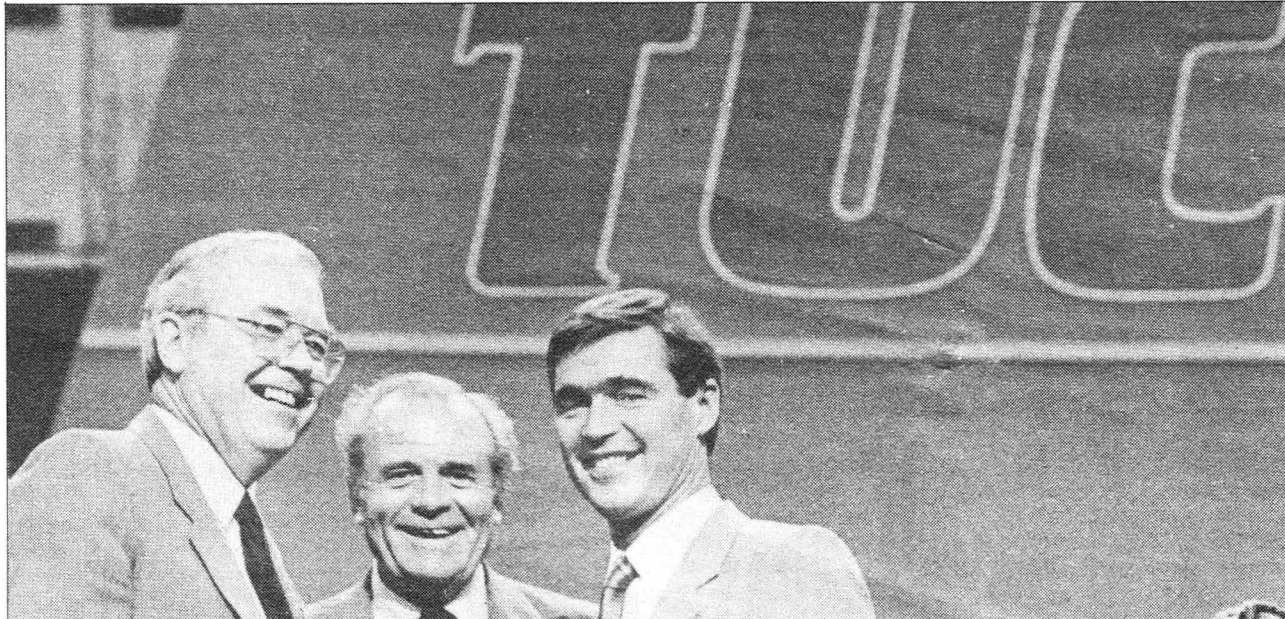
Rome burns, carry on playing the fiddle.

Whilst we would agree that the use of modern technology for publicity and a service to members is necessary, the TUC leaders miss the fundamental point.

The only way that the trade unions can defeat the Tories plans and convince workers, particularly the youth and women workers to join a union is by offering a clear alternative. The truth of this argument has been shown by Liverpool City Council and by the successes for the Broad Left in the CPSA.

The Nupe resolution states that modern techniques should be used to emphasise traditional values. The TGWU "Link up" campaign points in the right direction. Only by going to workers and explaining what a union is, why they were formed, and how they can defend jobs, wages and conditions, in action rather than words, will it be possible to recruit.

At the same time it is clear that thousands of workers on poverty wages and in workhouse conditions are looking for this sort of lead to be given. The recent strikes by the miners and bus workers show that workers are pre-



Top: Norman Willis. Below: Hammond, Todd and Jordan, TUC General Council members.

Photo: Militant.

pared to struggle.

No amount of tinkering with the organisation of the TUC will alter the fact that leaders have to lead by example in order to inspire and have the backing of their members.

Whilst we should support initiatives which attempt to bring into the trade unions unorganised labour, most of the motions and amendments fail to chart a clear route forward to defeat the Tories and employers. Talk of "a vigorous campaign" of opposition is not sufficient.

The CPSA motion on trade union legislation shows the responsibility the TUC has to bear. It states: "Congress pledges resolutely to defend the rights of trade unionists to organise independently and effectively, to strike, to picket and demonstrate free from interference by the state.

Solidarity

"Congress declares in advance its solidarity with those trade unions or individual trade unionists singled out for attack....Our solidarity and support will include industrial action if this proves necessary in order to defend basic trade union rights."

Temporary and part-time workers are recognised as being a section of society that are particularly vulnerable. The TGWU motion aims to ensure that the

TUC takes up the fight of these workers.

Proper training and education is also a key section on the agenda. Opposition to JTS is reaffirmed by resolutions from Astms, Natfe, and Usdaw, yet incredibly there is no mention of the government's proposals for YTS conscription.

Equally alarming is the attempt to railroad through a set of proposals to "reform" the TUC youth provision—despite these same proposals having been overwhelmingly rejected by the 1987 TUC Youth Conference.

The TUC Youth Conference, held annually since 1974 is a one day advisory event with delegates, 26 or under, nominated by their union according to its size. Topics are discussed which relate to young workers and which have been chosen by the General Council on the basis of suggestions from the unions.

Not surprisingly, there has been growing criticism of the unsatisfactory and undemocratic structure of this youth provision.

In response the TUC published a consultative document which went to unions and the Youth Conference earlier this year. A number of different options were set out but John Edmonds, speaking at the conference made it clear that the General Council favoured the reduction of the age limit and the creation of a "Youth Forum"—a proposal bearing an un-

canny resemblance to the Sawyer plan for the Labour Party Young Socialists.

There was virtually no support for these ideas. In reply Edmonds conceded "that the views of the groups had been in general in favour of an elected Youth Conference electing a Youth Advisory Committee, and that reports suggested the age limit should stay as at present."

Worse

However, the General Council's proposals are worse than the status quo. The Youth Conference would be unaccountable and the Youth Forum would not necessarily have a majority of youth on it!

Young workers are overwhelmingly in low paid, non-union areas of the economy—exactly those areas that the unions most need to break into. This shows the crucial need for a democratic and campaigning youth structure.

Regional youth committees should be elected and a national delegate youth conference should be introduced with the right to debate motions.

The battle cry from this year's congress should be "Unionise the youth" and so the Bifu motion should be backed.

On economic policy the local government strategy of the Tories is opposed by Nalگو which calls on the TUC to "support unions

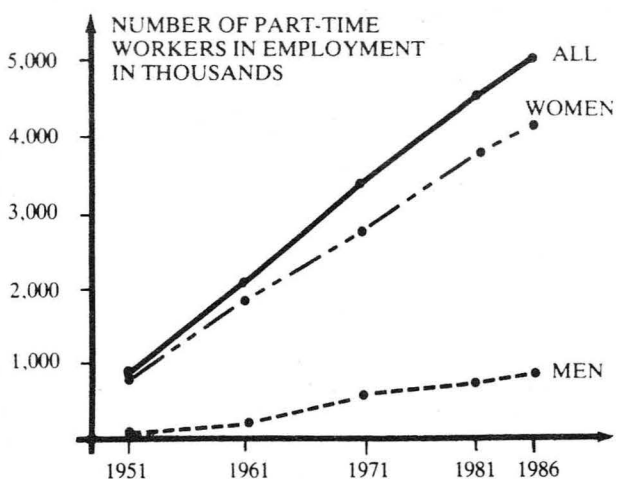
fighting privatisation." This would gain enormous support inside the local authority trade unions if the sentiment was put into action.

The international section is dominated by resolutions on South Africa. With the South African miners on strike this is an opportunity for the TUC to show its worth.

Sogat '82 calls for direct links with sister unions in South Africa whilst the CPSA amendment asks for a campaign of workers' sanctions against trade with and investment in the apartheid economy. Workers inside South Africa, not least the miners, will be looking to the congress to hammer another nail into the coffin of apartheid.

Leon Trotsky remarked that leadership is 90 per cent example. The TUC needs to grasp the opportunity to become the voice of organised labour. "Business trade unionism" is no answer to the problems faced by the working class.

In the aftermath of the election defeat, more and more workers will be forced to take industrial action to defend themselves and their families. As the CPSA resolution spells out, industrial action to defend workers and basic trade union rights by the whole of the movement is the way to defeat the Tories, and prepare the way for a Socialist Labour Government.



Part-time employment—one of the massive tasks the TUC must accomplish is organising this sector.

Liverpool Council drivers dispute

DRIVERS IN Liverpool City Council Parks Department, members of GMB branch 5, have been on strike since Thursday 20 August. Burials in the city have been affected. The dispute started following the decision of the Council's Disputes Panel to ignore agreements made with the previous Labour Group and discriminate in favour of other drivers (TGWU members) who are cur-

rently crossing the GMB picket.

Some time ago management regraded two TGWU drivers up and GMB drivers demanded parity for similar work. The Council Disputes Panel refused this and unveiled a more far-reaching attack, involving job flexibility and in the long term, redeployment for GMB drivers. Up to 80 jobs could then be lost.

GMB branch 5 believes the dispute has been deliberately engineered by management and right wing elements on the council in order to take on branch 5, preparatory to future cuts.

A complicating factor has been that the TGWU are trying to extend their influence at the GMB's expense. Under the existing agreement if a GMB driver left, the post would be filled by a

GMB member and vice versa with the TGWU. Now it is proposed that the TGWU has full nominating rights.

It would be a tragedy if the TGWU in their thirst for greater influence became party to a management plan designed to make cuts.

Veiled threats of strike-breaking measures have been made, which would result in esca-

lation into a City-wide dispute.

A reconvened Disputes Panel should be organised to sort this out and allow both Council and unions to get together and fight Tory imposed threats of privatisation and cuts.

By Mick Whale

Industrial Reports

Wakefield hospitals strike

ALL WAKEFIELD'S hospital workers are on strike this Friday. A massive 84 per cent voted for the action in a ballot organised by the health service unions, Cohse and Nupe. An even bigger 92 per cent voted for a work to rule and overtime ban.

The health workers are outraged at the victimisation of two of their representatives for criticising management in the press. They were not even protesting over workers' conditions, but in the interests of their patients. So much for Tory propaganda about selfish trade unionists and caring management!

Unions believe the move is an attempt to gag unions the week before the announcement of a shock package of spending cuts.

Wakefield Area Health Authority have provoked their employees' anger by disciplining two union officials for telling the truth

By Wakefield hospital workers

about the disgraceful manner in which elderly patients were transferred from County Hospital, which had been closed, to nearby Fieldhead.

"I wish I were dead," one weeping patient had said at the time. Management said that exposing this scandal was "wile" malicious.

The union officers described the operation as more like an evacuation than a planned move. On arriving, patients were to find no bedding, no clothes and no hot food. Shop ste-

wards described the place as filthy after a health and safety inspection.

Nurses complained of patients being emotionally upset. Many were reduced to tears. Several patients have since died and the public must be wondering if the move was a contributing factor.

But one person was happy with the move. He is ex-Labour councillor, Sir Jack Smart, knighted at Thatcher's recommendation and current chairman of the Area Health Authority. After visiting the new ward, he said the move had been carried out save had been Nupe full-time factory!

Mike Stokes, said it officer, coincidence that the authority took this action a week before announcing a shock cuts package.

It has effectively gagged

unions from making any comment on these draconian cuts," he said.

Management have refused to remove the final warning threat to Nupe branch secretary, George Rusling, so the overtime ban and one-day strike go on.

"Trade Union representatives will not be gagged by threats of discipline from management, especially over the welfare of patients, of which WHA management have recently shown scant regard," says the Wakefield Hospitals Joint Shop Stewards' Committee.

The health workers are in no mood to swallow cavalier methods such as this from a management which shows disregard for patients and contempt for workers who are dedicated to the service.

COHSE + NUPE

BALLOT RESULT

1. WORK TO CONTRACT
DISTRICT YES-504, NO-46.
PINDERFIELDS " 204 " 23.

2. DAYS STRIKE YES 486, NO 91.
PINDERFIELDS " 184 " 38.

OFFICIAL OVERTIME BAN TO START THE DATE OF DAYS STRIKE TO FOLLOW IF THE MANAGEMENT DO NOT REVERSE THEIR DECISION TO DISCIPLINE UNION OFFICIALS.

Britain's Health Service Union

Occupation victory

MORE THAN 140 workers took over American Air Filters' factory in Cramlington last week and refused to leave until sacked men were reinstated. The sit-in began at noon on Wednesday 19 August after management sacked seven workers for operating sanctions during a dispute over the bonus system.

Ian Grint the GMB steward for the factory was interviewed during the occupation and these are his comments: "We are not budging from here until the sacked men are given their jobs back. Sanctions were imposed a month ago after management refused a union request to scrap the bonus scheme which was an insult to our members. It was only worth 10p a week.

"Action was stepped up this week when it was decided to stop using the computer clocking system which records the length of time jobs take. The first seven who refused were given 24 hours notice then sacked at noon on the Wednesday. Two of those sacked had worked here for 20 years.

"A further 70 men were given notice that they would be sacked if they didn't lift the sanctions and return to work. We had a shop-floor meeting and voted to take over the factory. Members are sick of being walked over by the company and decided to make a stand on this issue."

The factory occupation lasted from Wednesday to Saturday morning when after five hours negotiations management agreed to reinstate the seven sacked, retract warnings to the 70 and scrap the bonus system.

A victory has thus been achieved by a well-disciplined occupation. Men from three unions—GMB, AEU and the Metal Workers split into three shifts to occupy night and day. The mood was excellent with 100 per cent backing from all the men. The lads on the picket joked that even the milkman had refused to cross.

The men are obviously glad to settle so quickly but they were prepared to last out as long as it took to get reinstated. Trade union leaders would do well to note that united action like this at rank and file level can win disputes.

By Jason Dinsley
Blyth LPYS

Tribunal decision ignored by Ogdens

WORKERS BELONGING to the TGWU at Ogdens' site at the Farm, Knowsley, are on strike again after barely a week on strike. The company, far from accepting the findings of the Industrial Tribunal which ruled in favour of the striking workers, has attempted to impose a £20 a week wage cut without either consultation or a negotiation.

The company has made no effort to break the picket line but neither has it shown any willingness to negotiate seriously. They have also failed to pay the full wages owing to Mike Heard the then TGWU shop steward in accordance with the tribunal ruling.

New talks on Monday 24 August broke down because Ogdens are insisting that the strikers go back on the reduced pay of £80 per week before anything is settled.

The determination of the Ogdens strikers backed by the mass pickets of mainly local authority building workers has put an end to the bussing-in of scab labour from outside Merseyside. Ogdens must not be allowed to deal with trade unionists as if they were scabs by imposing scab wages and conditions.

Keith Morgan TGWU shop steward spoke to a correspondent

London buses

FRIDAY 21 August saw London Bus workers taking one day action again in support of fellow workers at Norbiton who are having wages and conditions imposed on them.

This time the strike was called by engineers and drivers/conductors. It was supported in every garage in London, and in addition from mechanics, labourers and craftsmen in the depots.

Feelings were running high after a management ultimatum to the Norbiton

staff: "Stop the industrial action or we'll hand back the tendered routes—and close the garage."

A strike has also been organised for Thursday 27 August to protest at violence on the buses to coincide with the funeral of Babu Shah from Leyton garage who was stabbed while on duty.

By Pat Atkinson

TGWU-VBA London District Secretary (personal capacity)

MESSAGES OF support/donations to:

- ☆ Ogdens—Bro. J. O'Brien, c/o TGWU, Transport House, Islington, Liverpool.
- ☆ London Tobacco—Carol Galvin, 42 Bath Road, London N9. Cheques to Dispute Fund Tass Tobacco Sector.
- ☆ CPSA—c/o Harold Laski House, 861 Fulham Road, London SW6. Cheques to CPSA Fighting Fund (Fulham dispute).



Postal workers are under attack.

Industrial notes

THE TORY press would have us believe that workers have all suddenly become ardent followers of "New realism" and are now too cowed to take action in defence of jobs and conditions. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Post Office attacks on letter and counter staff have been met with a wave of strikes by UCW members. Business efficiency agreements have resulted in full-time jobs being lost, forced cheap rate overtime and the introduction of part-timers and casual workers.

In some cases casuals have been taken on to provoke disputes. Where the postal workers have stood together there has been solidarity action in other offices and they have won, as at Redhill and the West Central District in London.

There has not been a reduction in the working week for over 20 years, but at this year's annual conference the UCW passed a resolution committing the leadership to organise a ballot on action if management did not respond to the claim for a three hour reduction in hours by 1 September.

With the breakdown of talks it is now clear that nothing will be offered by that date and only the serious threat of industrial action will move them.

The shorter hours claim, if there is a decent campaign by the union leadership, would inspire the members to fight—and force a retreat by the Post Office on the question of casualisation. The campaign for a "Yes" vote should start now.

Action is also looming with 24,000 members of Bifu inside the Midland Bank following a pay offer of only 5 per cent. It sounds as if the "Listening Bank" will have to do some listening to its own workforce.

Meanwhile six women, members of the Tobacco sector of Tass, are picketing the London Tobacco Company's Enfield factories in a battle for reinstatement.

Also in London, 39 CPSA members at Fulham Unemployment Benefit Office are striking for decent working conditions. They have had to work whilst their office is being rebuilt, with cement dust, pneumatic drills, sledge hammers and generators for four months suffering several injuries and unbearable noise.

Management undertakings were quickly broken and the staff had had enough. They are determined to stay out until they win adequate relocation premises, open to Health and Safety Executive and trade union inspection.

Militant

Inside

London bus strikes Page 15

Football for fans not for profit Page 6

Unions must defend dockyard jobs

RECENTLY PRIVATISED Devonport Dockyard has been stunned by the news of a massive redundancy programme, aimed at shedding 3,400 jobs by 1991.

By Robin Clapp

The workforce were lied to when the privateers wanted to get their greedy hands on the yards. The bosses promised every job was safe for a year or more. And again bosses black-mail workers to do what they want by claiming it is the only way to save jobs. This is a lesson to all workers not to trust such empty promises.

The callous announcement has been greeted with bitterness by the 11,000 workforce and the questions on everyone's lips are how this attack can be stopped and what else the bosses have in store.

A young Dockyard apprentice spoke angrily to Robin Clapp: "The management claim that there is overstaffing and that a lack of contracts from the Ministry of Defence makes redundancies inevitable. Yet the same management claimed that work levels would be secured for at least a year.

Useful work

"The closure of the Dockyard Training Centre is now on the cards. There have been cutbacks in the intake of apprentices each year and perhaps only 50 per cent of training capacity is being used. There are sufficient staff to cope with the full intake and they are being paid to oil and grease machines which lie idle.

"Our workforce is highly skilled and production could be geared towards socially useful work, but this system cannot cope with that possibility. The bosses only know two orders, 'Work harder' and 'You're sacked!'

"It is the Devonport people who will bear the brunt of these redundancies and already youth dole figures are as high as those in the Welsh valleys.

"The morale of the workforce is low and the blokes are confused. The industrial unions have said they will wait and see how many men go for voluntary

Devonport deceived

redundancy before deciding on action, but that's rubbish—the fightback must start now.

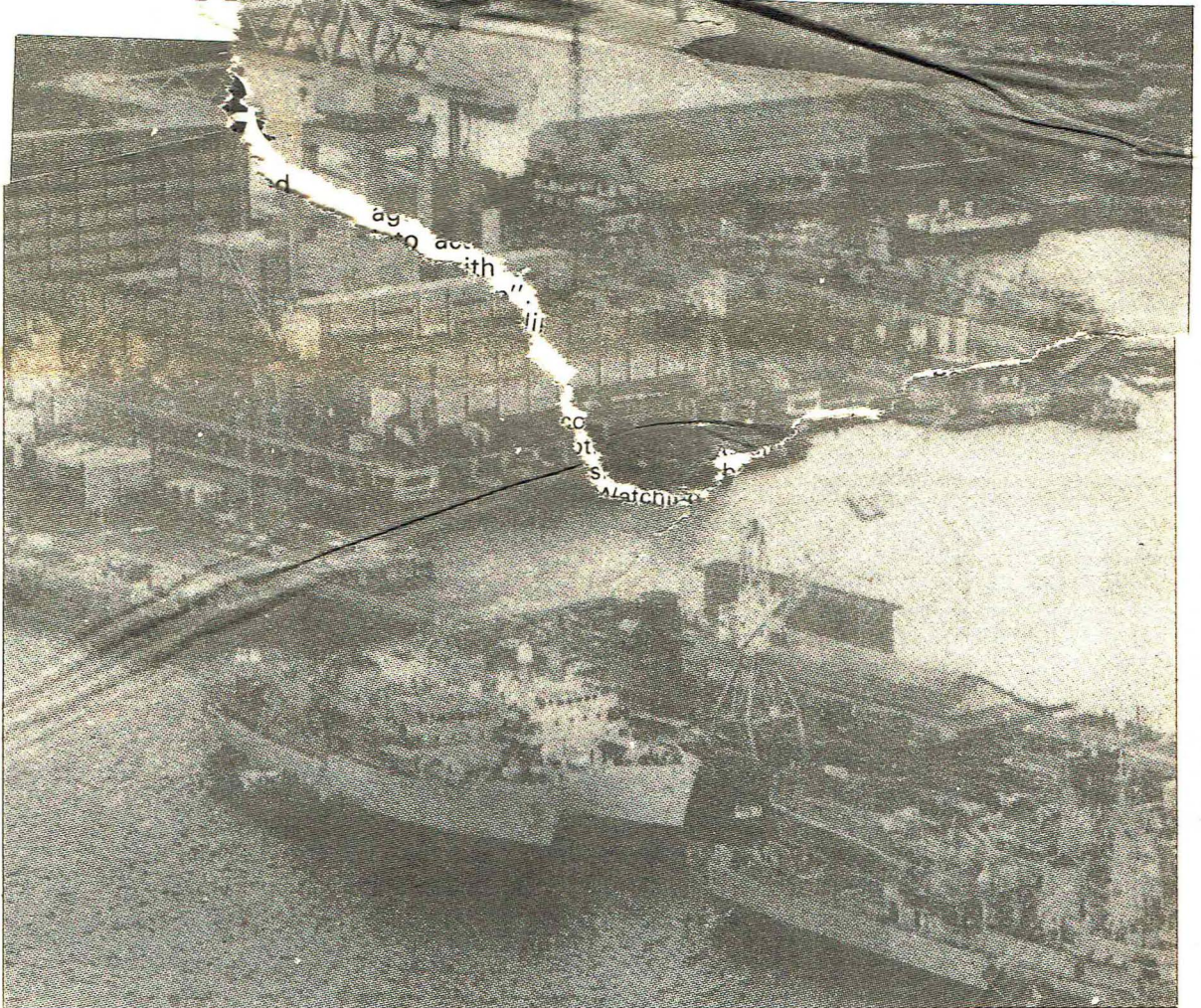
"Management have put the boot in—they haven't announced any names and so everybody is jittery."

All across Devonport there is anger and a may follow. The unions must tap the mood and organise the fightback now.

The unions must fight around the demand that the Dockyard be returned to public ownership now under the control and management of the workers. To combat under-capacity the skills of the workforce must be used for production of alternative products to supplement ship refit.

The strategy embarked upon by the Rosyth Broad Left shows the way forward:

- ★ Regular mass meetings to involve all the workforce.
- ★ Regular mass shop stewards meetings to hammer out and democratically agree a fighting strategy.
- ★ Regular public meetings to involve the community.
- ★ Convert the subsequent solidarity into a one day strike to be organised across the City of Plymouth.



Devonport Dockyards: Will the training centre be closed?

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What we stand for

- The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss in pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.
- Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.
- A minimum wage of £120 a week tied to the cost of living for all, including sick and disabled people.
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop stewards, the unwaged and small business people.
- Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a socialist United States of Europe as a step towards a World Socialist Federation.
- Workers' management of the nationalised industries. These should be run on the basis of one-third of the places on the management board coming from the unions in the industry, one-third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole, and one-third from the government.
- Opposition to the Tory government's anti-union laws and reversal of attacks on the trade unions.
- Massive cuts in arms spending. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.
- Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.