



NHS: Labour's election warnings confirmed...

Tory Lies Exposed

20,000
Health
jobs to
go...

"THE NHS is safe with us" said Thatcher at Tory party conference last year.

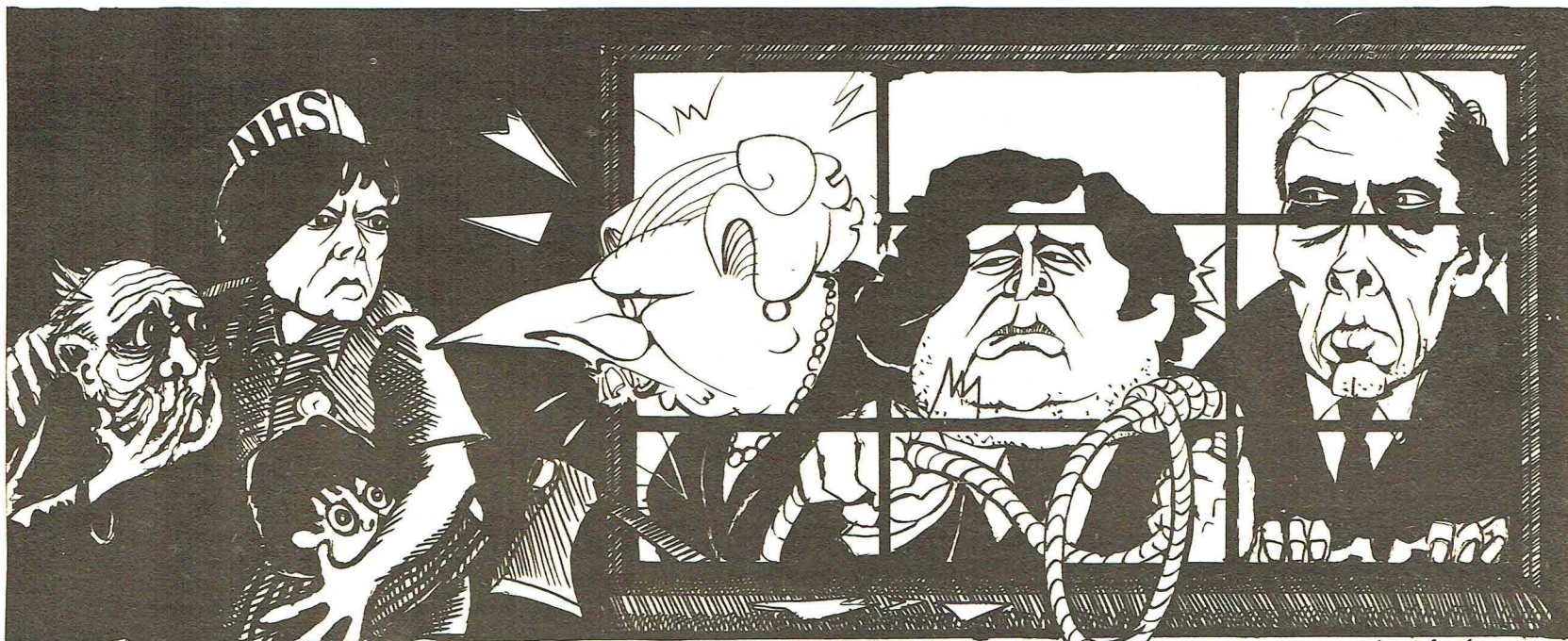
Every day during the election campaign, Tory leaders were adamant that there was no "hidden manifesto" to clobber health, education and other vital services.

Now only a month after the election, a £1 billion package to cut public spending shows this up as the lie it has always been. And with the city sharks who forced these latest cuts wanting even more, the government seems likely to satisfy their demands.

On 7 July the government announced cuts of £500 million from this years public spending and that another £500 million of state assets were to be sold off.

Officially, defence is to be the biggest sufferer, losing £240 million, but taken in tandem with the Defence White Paper the day before, and including the spending on white elephants like the Falklands Airport, defence spending goes UP by £1.3 billion, a real rise of 3% above inflation.

The City of London wanted the cuts. They had been warning there would be a big rise in interest rates unless public spending was cut. But of course the Tories are very selective on who gets hit. The main real victims are the NHS losing £140 million, the nationalised industries



THE LYNCH MOB.

Alan Hand

Tebbit's war on youth

The Youth Training Scheme offers no training and no future.

By Bob Wade



Photo: Militant

"THIS TORY government inflict the deep wound of mass unemployment on youth and then offer a sticking plaster in the form of the YTS. They offer no future for the 500,000 unemployed under the age of 19".

So Dave Nellist, MP for Coventry South East accurately exposed the Tories' much-heralded Youth Training Scheme for what it is—a pool of cheap labour for the bosses while the youth themselves get a paltry £25 a week.

Dave Nellist in his maiden speech in the House of Commons last Friday went on, to attack the Tories' YTS plans, which they intend to introduce in September. "The prospect of a job for two-thirds of its en-

trants seems a cruel myth.

"The allowance paid to YOP and now to YTS trainees has been frozen since January 1982 at a paltry £25 a week. That is only £1.50 a week greater than the members of the cabinet spent in one night on dinner on the eve of the Queen's speech. Allowances set at such a low level are a calculated and cynical attempt to drive down the general level of young workers' wages."

But youth don't have to take the Tories' dictates lying down. The battle to unionise YTS schemes and fight for decent pay and conditions with a guaranteed job have already begun. The campaign instigated by the Labour Party Young Socialists in 1981—the Youth Trainee Union Rights Campaign—have pledged to continue this

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back page

FIGHTING
FUND
RAISES
£33,414

THE TOTAL raised for Militant's fighting fund this quarter is £33,414. In the final ten days we raised £10,000.

We didn't reach the target but our supporters rallied around tremendously in the last week to give us that final boost including donations of over £500 from Northern supporters, £200 from Nottingham supporters and individual donations of £50.

No socialist can underestimate the tremendous sums raised by Militant supporters for the election campaign itself, literally thousands of pounds. Despite the Tory victory, the compensation of having two Marxist MPs in parliament more than makes that sacrifice worthwhile.

But special thanks to all those who made sacrifices this quarter for Militant's funds so that we can continue our fight. More importantly keep the cash flowing so we can build our paper. With your help, we can get a daily paper to aid workers in the big struggles against the Tories in the future.

DAVE NELLIST, MP for Coventry South East, spoke in his maiden speech about countries with an "enforced absence of trade unions", where wage levels "were kept low at the barrel of a gun".

While he spoke, a number of backbench Tory MPs were seen to smile at each other and to pretend to clap at this reference to suppression of democratic rights. These antics, although insignificant in themselves, show the real sentiments held by the backwoods members of the Tory party.

The hard-faced right-wing would, if they could get away with it, be prepared to do away with the National Health Service altogether, abolish social services and the welfare state, make the young, the old and the sick "stand on their own two feet", and drive down the living standards of the unemployed to the point where any poverty wage would seem like a windfall. To make it all possible, they would curtail democratic trade union rights to the point where normal trade union activity was semi-legal.

The ideas and outlook of this wing of the Tory party belong to the 19th century, or earlier. It is no accident that these are the same people who have always been behind the campaign to bring back hanging, except that on this occasion, as a result of the Tories' election victory, they have become greatly strengthened among the Tory ranks in Parliament.

They are not concerned at the evidence showing that capital punishment does not reduce the number of murders, nor with the near

Hanging

The morality of the Tory lynch-mob

statistical certainty that some people would be hung who would be later proved innocent. These Tories show just about the same degree of social enlightenment as a lynch mob.

It would be entirely wrong for the labour movement to set its own standards of legality and morality, of crime and punishment, by these hard-nosed and hypocritical representatives of the ruling class.

The labour movement must firmly oppose the re-introduction of the death penalty. Socialists do not condone crime, least of all the abhorrent crimes such as those associated with the so-called Yorkshire Ripper, and other crimes of violence highlighted in the news. But workers, although they may be appalled by such crimes, should consider very carefully the circumstances and the class forces behind the hanging lobby.

The debate on capital punishment does not revolve around moral issues, separate and apart from wider social questions. Crime, like the more general issue of law and order, must

be considered not in abstraction, but in its social setting, in the context of class society.

While the upholders and spokesmen of capitalism spend their time and energy fighting for the right of judicial killing, the system they defend is killing workers every day, "legally".

Consider this. The National Coal Board has 50 million tons of coal stockpiled, while pensioners who cannot keep warm in winter, die needlessly of hypothermia. These deaths need not occur, but while they are morally indefensible from a workers' standpoint they reflect perfectly the morality of the capitalist system. Capitalism is killing these old people just as surely as if they were being hung in prisons in batches of hundreds.

Consider also, that the second biggest caused of death among young people is suicides. Thousands of deaths are associated directly or indirectly with the increase in unemployment to 4 million over the course of the last four years. Hundreds are

being killed by the system, just as surely as if they were being rounded up and stood against the wall.

The Tory government are spending nearly 20 billion pounds per year on defence and over 8 billion pounds on the Trident missile system. Meanwhile, workers are dying for the lack of kidney machines.

The Tories and their tame newspapers, who spend so much time campaigning to bring back hanging, have a code of morals far removed from that of workers. They have nothing to say of course, about the crimes directly perpetrated by their system. In fact the whole of the hanging bandwagon is being used to draw attention away from these more important issues.

Crimes like murder, in the final analysis, are a product of the social system that creates slum housing, low pay, unemployment, despair, loneliness, frustration and alienation among millions of workers and their families. The anxieties and pressures of every day life, which are part and parcel of the lives of working class

people, are completely foreign to the understanding of the average Tory MP.

The greatest real crime of all is the needless continuation of the economic system that creates such social problems. Hanging dozens of people a year will not remove the conditions created by capitalism.

Moreover, the introduction of capital punishment for "terrorist crimes" would do even less to solve the crisis in Northern Ireland.

Militant has consistently condemned the bombing campaign of the Provisional IRA and the INLA but it has also condemned the government's apparatus of repression, including the use of mass surveillance, and lethal plastic bullets against young children.

But it is only the labour movement in Northern Ireland, campaigning for workers unity around a programme of socialist change, that can provide a way out of the cycle of sectarianism and violence, created and fostered by capitalism.

The campaign for the restoration of hanging cannot be isolated from its present context in which the Tories are trying to reinforce the whole paraphernalia of state repression, including a new Prevention of Terrorism Act, sweeping new police powers in the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill, the introduction of plastic bullets, riot shields and water cannons to mainland Britain, and so on.

The Tories are building an elaborate apparatus of law and police powers in preparation for use in the future against the labour movement. The reintroduction of hanging would fit exactly into the social climate

the Tories seek to create.

It was said in a recent newspaper article, by a leading policeman involved in the case, that the Yorkshire Ripper would probably have been apprehended long before he was, if the police investigation team had had access to a computer. Perhaps six or seven women would not have been murdered.

Yet while the police hunting criminals of this kind are denied a computer, police forces up and down the country, and the Special Branch at national level, have huge computer facilities, on which they hold the records of political and trade union activists. That fact alone demonstrates the complete and utter hypocrisy of the Tories who pretend that they are interested in "cutting crime".

Socialists are opposed to crime, but the labour movement has nothing in common with the right wing of the Tory party and the spokesmen of capitalism whose rotten, decrepit system is responsible for crime. The morality of the labour movement is a million miles removed from that of the backbenchers of the Tory party.

The campaign to restore hanging and the vote on Wednesday in the House of Commons should increase the resolve and determination of the labour movement to fight to overthrow this system that creates crime, to throw out the Tory hypocrites from government, and to restore a Labour government committed to socialist policies, as the only way to do away with all the horrible social ills that working people face.



Kinnock votes to continue witch-hunt

AT THE first meeting of the NEC Organisation Committee since Labour's general election defeat, right-wingers decided to press ahead with the expulsion of the five members of the *Militant* Editorial Board, even if this means disbanding Constituency Labour Parties.

The move is bound to provoke anger and indignation amongst the constituency and trade union rank and file. Despite pleas from left-wingers to "sink the issue", the right wing chose to ignore the lessons of the crushing election defeat, and the damaging divisions that their witch-hunting caused in the preceding months, and instead, moved towards collision with two parties which are refusing to recognise the expulsions.

Because of boundary

reorganisation, the NEC is to write again to Hamersmith CLP and the new Islington South CLP, "advising" them to proceed with the expulsion of Peter Taaffe, Ted Grant and Keith Dickinson.

Whilst this may delay things for another month, right-wingers on the committee spoke in favour of disbanding the two parties if they continue to resist the NEC's decision. It seems that party leader, Michael Foot, argued that for the NEC to back away would be a "disaster".

Party vice-chairman, Eric Heffer, reminded Michael Foot that in the 1950s, he and other 'Bevanites' had defended the supporters of *Socialist Outlook* from expulsion. The supporters of this paper, unlike *Militant*

supporters who have a proven record of service to the Labour Party, later left the party and are today the rabid, ultra left, Workers Revolutionary Party.

Foot and his likely successor, Neil Kinnock, voted with right-wingers John Golding, Roy Evans, Betty Boothroyd and Shirley Summerskill for the move.

A counter proposal from left-winger Dennis Skinner, to merely 'note' the refusal of the two CLPs, was defeated by the narrowest of margins—requiring the casting vote of the committee chairman, Russell Tuck. Those who supported Skinner's proposal were Eric Heffer, Frank Allaun, Judith Hart, Tony Benn, and Jo Richardson.

By *Militant* Reporters

TERRY FIELDS & PAT WALL FOR NEC

Terry Fields MP and Pat Wall have been nominated by their constituency parties to stand for election to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

Terry Fields has been a fireman for 26 years until his recent election to parliament where he won with a 4%

swing to Labour. He was a member of the Fire Brigades Union executive, 1977-83 and was their nominee last year to the NEC, where he secured 1.3 million votes. He has been a member of the party for 16 years.

Pat Wall has been a party member for 33 years, stan-

ding as the Labour candidate in Bradford North during the election. He is President of Bradford Trades Council, and is a previous candidate in the constituency section for the NEC, last year receiving 103,000 votes.

They explain why they are standing:

"For our party, and for working people as a whole, this year's Labour Party conference and the executive it elects will play a crucial role.

As in the days of Labour's early pioneers, we believe that the urgent task facing us today is to turn our movement outwards. A campaign, the like of which the party has never seen before, must be launched immediately, to defend the interests of working people and to explain our socialist policies.

A 35-hour week with no loss of pay; a national minimum wage; a massive scheme of house-building and other useful public works; unilateral nuclear disarmament—these must be the demands of such a campaign.

Above all, we must campaign for the implementation of our party's socialist clause; 'clause four'. If the next Labour government is not to be bullied and blackmailed by bankers and industrialists into abandoning its programme—as has hap-

pened in the past—then the power and influence of these parasites must be ended.

The next Labour government must translate 'clause four' into reality. The nationalisation of the economy's "commanding heights" must be the cornerstone of our economic policy.

Those who have argued this case consistently, those who have argued for socialism to be put firmly back on the agenda, have now become the target of a witch-hunt in the party.

The bitter experiences of Labour's election defeat has shattered completely the lie that expulsions would win the party "millions of votes". In fact, the opposite has proved to be true. The attack on the supporters of *Militant* served only to divide our movement at precisely the time when a united struggle was most needed.

We are confident, however, that the message at this year's conference will be that the constituency and trade union rank and file

want more socialism, not less. Let's insure that along with decisions for radical socialist policies, this year's conference elects an NEC which truly reflects the wishes and aspirations of the party.

STOP PRESS:

WE HAVE had unconfirmed reports that the Wednesday meeting of the National Executive Council of the Post Office Engineering Union has voted NOT to nominate its sponsored MP, John Golding, for the NEC of the Labour Party this year.

If these reports are correct, it would represent an important victory for those members of the Labour Party who have opposed the NEC's policy of witch-hunt and expulsion, directed against *Militant* especially.

It could be a step forward toward the election of a Labour NEC that concentrated more time and effort attacking the real enemy, the Tories, instead of attacking socialists in the party. If the reports are confirmed, more details will be carried in next week's issue of *Militant*.



THE FIRST ever Marxist Weekend School to be held in the North was a resounding success with over 200 workers attending. Highlight of the weekend was a *Militant* rally where Dave Nellist MP exposed capitalism in its true light, and Ted Grant explained how the Tories had destroyed 20% of British industry; "something Hitler could not achieve in six years of total war!" A collection raised an excellent £500. The weekend was best summed up by Eric Bainbridge, an apprentice electrician, who said simply, "Why can't we do this every weekend?" Photo: Militant

LPYS camp: socialism in practice

THIS YEAR'S LPYS Summer Camp will not only be a week's holiday, but also an opportunity for the youth in the labour movement to organise against this Tory government.

The Tories have already made only too clear their intentions towards youth and working people in general.

Because of these attacks on youth, it is even more crucial than ever to fight back, and for this reason this year's summer camp has a whole host of important seminars and debates vital for the organisation of the LPYS and the building of a fighting youth section in the Labour Party.

The week begins with a *Socialist Youth Rally* with Terry Fields MP, who will be speaking along with Willie Griffin, LPYS National Chairman.

During the week there are important seminars on particular campaigns in the labour movement, such as the YTS and 'Women and the struggle for socialism'. There will also be debates on

LPYS SUMMER CAMP 1983

Saturday 30 July-Saturday 6 August
Bracelands Campsite, near Coleford, in
the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire
PRICE: £25 for adults; Children under 12
£12.50 (under 3s FREE)

Bring a tent, sleeping bag, stove and
cooking utensils. Food can be bought on
the site from the LPYS campshop or
bring your own.

BOOK NOW! For further details write to
LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

key issues like 'How to fight the cuts in education' and 'Which way forward for Labour' with speakers including Denzil Davis MP and Laurence Coates.

But the LPYS Summer Camp isn't just a talking shop, and there are other vital sessions on organisation around these campaigns—such as 'Organising a Socialist Election Campaign'

and various other seminars on organising the YS at branch level, building a youth section in a trade union, and organising a street meeting.

Therefore it is crucial for all YS members to go, as Summer Camp is an important platform for organising the YS against the Tories in future years to come, and bring about the election of a

Labour government on socialist policies.

As well as the full political programme, there will also be a lively social scene full of discos, club nights and films. There will also be a creche for the kids.

Trips can be organised to places as varied as old castles, coal mines, magic lantern theatres, steam railways and cider museums!

In addition to the camp supermarket which sells a wide range of goods, this year we will also be expanding the "Greasy Spoon Caff" to provide meals for sale from breakfast to supper and there will also be a bar which will serve Real Ale. All these services will be run and staffed by LPYS members, an example of workers' control in practice!

Day to day running of the camp will be by the camp council made up of elected representatives from each regional village. Come to this year's LPYS Summer Camp and see socialism in action.

By Colin Adams
 (Brentwood LPYS)
 and Ian Campbell

Militant readers' meetings

Liverpool

OVER 200 people turned out to a *Militant* public meeting at the NUR club in Liverpool Broadgreen.

On the platform were Margaret Crear of the LP Women's Section, Frank McNally, TGWU convenor Cadbury Schweppes, Dave Carline, LPYS, and Terry Fields MP.

Male and female trade unionists at the meeting nodded in agreement as Margaret spoke of the way women had been neglected in the past by the unions and labour organisations. She called for women to get involved and join the rest of the class in the struggle for socialism.

Frank McNally spoke of the way the workers at Schweppes had previously

reluctantly accepted redundancies and then slid down that familiar and inevitable slope from voluntary to compulsory. But although they'd accepted "tea and sympathy" in the past, this time they would fight.

Terry Fields had people falling off their seats with laughter when he told of some of the goings on in the most exclusive club in Britain—the Houses of Parliament.

But it was not all one long joke. Terry particularly attacked the Liberals, including local Liberal MP, David Alton, who, he said was one of those responsible for the 5,000 "natural wastage" on Merseyside during the three years of Liberal/Tory council rule.

All that David Alton would come up with was to blame the 'Militants' in the Labour Party for the lack of investment on Merseyside.

But what nonsense! Where were the Militants 20 and 30 years ago when the capitalists were busy destroying the docklands, asked Terry.

"Tighten your belts" say the Liberals and Tories, but as Terry said, "We've had enough belt-tightening on Merseyside. The present system cannot allow the minimal demands—for decent housing, jobs and education."

By Cheryl Varley
 (Riverside LP)

Bradford

"OUR OPPONENTS said we would lose our deposit. Yet we waged a campaign in Bradford North, the likes of

which had never been seen before in this area."

So Pat Wall, the Labour candidate in the recent election, praised the enthusiasm and hard work of his supporters in the election campaign at a *Militant* post-election rally. The meeting was attended by 150 people, the largest *Militant* meeting ever held in Bradford.

Pat explained how they had had to fight the media, the attacks of Labour's right wing and also the former right wing MP Ben Ford who stood, and whose meagre poll still unfortunately split the vote and allowed the Tories in.

Peter Taaffe, the editor of *Militant* who has been expelled from the Labour Party, explained how Labour's election defeat in general was due not only to the "Falklands factor" but also to the "own goals" by Labour's leaders. "In Bradford North

MARXISM IN OUR TIME

Build now for September rally

"MILITANT will endeavour to seriously gather the facts and arguments to provide the ammunition for the struggle to re-arm the labour movement.

"Soberly we hope to represent a Marxist analysis, whether of industrial disputes, the housing crisis, or the crisis in the Congo, to take a few examples at random, with suggested solutions in the interests of the working class...It is only the rank and file of the labour movement who can defeat or change the leadership if it does not carry out the measures which are necessary for the movement to survive.

"We need to educate and be educated. In the beginning ours can only be a monthly voice, but within that confine we will endeavour to deal with the main problems that face the movement."

The tasks of today are the same as those outlined above in the first ever issue of *Militant*, back in 1964. The *Militant* rally at Wembley Con-

ference Centre on September 10, will feature sessions on the lessons of past struggles of the working class, and on the struggle to apply those lessons to day—to re-equip the movement with a fighting socialist programme and leadership, with leading Marxist speakers, from Britain and internationally (see below).

Many areas are already laying plans to bring hundreds to the rally, using the special appeal letter which is now available to approach trade unions, Labour Parties, LPYS branches etc to send members and sponsor unemployed people to come along.

Manchester *Militant* supporters are already booking two coaches, arranging for one to stay over for the film (which ends at 8pm) and the social organised for the evening.

Make sure plans are made in your area now (before the holiday season 'hots up') for coaches and contacting the labour movement.

'MARXISM IN OUR TIME— SOCIALIST POLICIES FOR LABOUR'

SATURDAY 10 SEPTEMBER 10.30-5.30

(Followed by the film *Battle for Algiers* until 7.45 pm)

WEMBLEY CONFERENCE CENTRE, LONDON

Speakers include:

Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*)
Peter Taaffe (Editor)
Anton Neilson (Former Red Army pilot)
Terry Fields MP
Dave Nellist MP
and others

Tickets: £2 (£1 unemployed)
Order from MILITANT RALLY,
1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Anti-racism fight

AT THE end of last month, over a hundred Asian youth mobilised to defend their community from racist attacks. They gathered armed with sticks in the Mount Pleasant—Staincliffe area of Batley in Yorkshire.

Later we spoke to a group of the youths and asked what happened. They described how Asian children had been attacked and windows put through in the past few weeks. Racists had swaggered down the

streets during these raids.

Their community has been incredibly tolerant but now they have had enough. The local labour movement has begun to act. Batley and Spenningsdale Labour Party are to set up a working party against racism.

It is also important to give active support to prevent attacks on workers, wherever racism arises.

By John Vasey
 and Peter Vasey
 (Batley East Labour Party)

Pat Wall was treated to a disgraceful lecture by Michael Foot about Labour's constitution—where was the lecture for Chapple for supporting an SDP candidate?" he said.

A collection raised £173. During the discussion a worker from Hindle Gears where they have been on strike against a reactionary management since March 11, addressed the audience.

By Pete Watson
 (Bradford West LP)

Scunthorpe

DESPITE a bomb scare, the *Militant* readers' meeting went ahead in Scunthorpe. Seventy-five attended to hear Ted Grant, the political editor of *Militant* who is one of the five members of *Militant's* Editorial Board expelled from the Labour Party. Ted expressed the urgent need for a daily *Militant*. A collection raised £65.

No slump for Militant!

RECESSION or no recession, there's still a lot of money about. If you're rich that is.

A millionairess paid out £990,000 for a Louis XVI black laquer cabinet at Sotheby's last week. Even the Tory cabinet don't think they're worth that much!

The *Sunday Telegraph* tells us (10 July) of the booming sales of expensive rubbish, "the wealthy are pouring money into large and impressive decorative pieces such as the silver-gild ewer and basin that sold at Sotheby's recently for £176,000"

If you can't afford a replacement for a cracked basin, let alone a silver and gold concoction for £176,000, this type of senseless extravagance is likely to make you very angry. The people who spend such sums are precisely the class who pushed the Tories at the election, who want attacks on dole money, who want a drastically cut NHS, who want the working class to pay for the crisis as long as they can live their lives of aimless luxury.

The money you give us out of hard earned wages or dole money is vital if the Sotheby's crew are not to dictate our lives for ever.

Dig into your pockets, dig deep in your handbags and donate what you can afford now and make a mid year resolution to give a sum of money to Militant not just once but every week or fortnight.

Thanks to delegates and visitors to the TGWU Conference, from whom £329 is on its way; to NUR members at the AGM, who donated over £40 on appeal sheets; TGWU Branch 5/909 who sent us £20; ASLEF, AUEW and TGWU officers who passed on expenses received; members of Hull No 12 AUEW, and the CPSA Conference delegate who paid his £50 IOU promised there (any more to come?)

LPYS Branches to sup-

port us this week included Tower Hamlets LPYS Branches, Bermondsey LPYS, Stockton North, Southampton, Brighton, Basingstoke, Garston, Stretford, and Wearmouth District. Does your LPYS branch support the ideas of Militant?

Militant meetings in Huntingdon, Harlow, Chesterfield, Leicester, Burnley, Chester-le-Street, Falkirk, Gosport, Southampton, Tunbridge Wells, Seven-

oaks, Bracknell, Cardiff (£115), Barnsley and Sheffield raised £620 for our funds. The collection at the Marxist Weekend School in London totalled just over £300, and there were IOUs in addition handed in at many of these events.

Telford Central Labour Party have donated £20, and party members in Mossley Hill, Barnet, and Hull have contributed to collections.

C Dixon, an octogenarian

socialist from Kent, sent us £20 this week, and she always makes a regular donation as an example for younger supporters! I Case from Portsmouth made a sizeable donation, as did P Adams (Teddington), S Brindle (Caerphilly), A Farnese (UCW, London). A Howarth (TGWU), and a number of Renfrew supporters.

Thanks also to two Leicester nurses, J Nolan (Borehamwood), J Penman (Kelty LP), A Moore (Seaman), E Thornton (91 and still going strong!) both from Blackburn, J Bell (Nottingham), C McEwan (Willesden No 1 NUR), J Malady (Leyland CLP) and B Ford (a NUKHW member from Leicestershire). Our Summer Raffle raised over £2,000 clear profit—thanks to all who bought and sold tickets. (See advert for results.)

The final total for this quarter (see front page) is a remarkable achievement given that most of our readers have also contributed one way or another to the Labour election effort. We thank everyone who's helped to make this possible. Don't stop now! Onwards to Socialism!

MILITANT SUPPORTERS ASSOCIATION SUMMER DRAW

Registered Promoter: D Smith, 14 Station Road, Brightlingsea, Colchester, Essex CO7 0BT.

RESULTS OF DRAW

FIRST PRIZE: VIDEO EQUIPMENT. Ticket No. 98014 M Cowler, Brighton.

SECOND PRIZE: COLOUR TELEVISION. Ticket No. 44355 H Worsley, Dulwich.

FOUR PRIZES OF ELECTRICAL GOODS. Ticket No. 72385 J Adamson, Hexham; Ticket No. 06540 J Watson, Stanmore; Ticket No. 31510 J Martin, Aldridge; Ticket No. 71730 A Jones, Ellesmere Port.

FOUR PRIZES OF SOCIALIST BOOKS. Ticket No 35527 R Grogan, Barking; Ticket No 21101 R McKenna, Merseyside; Ticket No. 48979 C Neilson, Reading; Ticket No. 28290 F Gent, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.

Congratulations to the winners!! And our commiserations to all those thousands of our readers who bought tickets but were unlucky this time.

IMPORTANT: will all winners write to us, claiming their prizes at 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN, marking the envelope "Winners".



Photo: Militant

Militant on sale during the election. Sell Militant and give us a donation to help fight for socialism.

BUILD MILITANT

TOTAL: £33,414

Eastern	£1821
East Midlands	£1851
Humberside	£888
London East	£2238
London West	£1111
London South	£2669
Manchester & Lancs	£2102
Merseyside	£2340
Northern	£2040
Scotland East	£1159
Scotland West	£1426
Southern	£2726
South West	£1161
Wales East	£951
Wales West	£1065
West Midlands	£1729
Yorkshire	£1744
Others	£4392

Summer Sales

MILITANT'S sales are booming in London. Perhaps the very hot weather we've been having gives our supporters an extra incentive to get out selling—at least between the thunder storms!

Sales went up to twenty last week outside the London Hospital in Whitechapel, aided by a burst of youthful enthusiasm by visiting comrades from Bristol. The previous week two sellers outside New Cross Station sold twenty-four papers in an hour—dismissing any thought that Thatcher's victory will stem the growing tide of support for

Militant.

This week's top seller is Ramesh of Harrow (NW London), who sold 108 copies in one week: So much for the "Soft South": how about a bit of comradely rivalry from other areas? This summer, make it hot for the Tories—build our sales so we can look with confidence to the political storms ahead!

PS: Capitalise on the support for Militant in your LP, trade union or YS branch. Get them to send Labour Party Conference greetings to Militant. See below for details.

Labour Party Conference Greetings

Place a greeting in the Labour Party conference issue of Militant for your trade union, Labour Party or LPYS branch. Militant is the most widely read paper of the labour movement. Your greeting would be seen by the vast majority of delegates and visitors as well as thousands of other activists.

The closing date for copy is Tuesday 20 September.

Rates for greetings: SEMI-DISPLAY:
3 column centimetres (up to 15 words)—£4
6 column centimetres (up to 25 words)—£6
DISPLAY: one-sixteenth page—£10
one-eighth page—£20
one-quarter page—£40

ads

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

Militant Readers' Meetings

SOUTHEND Militant Readers Meeting. Tuesday, 26 July, 8pm Cliff Hotel, Hamlet Road, Southend-on-sea. Speaker: Kim Waddington.

MANCHESTER Militant Readers' Meeting. Speakers: Terry Fields MP and Phil Frampton. Starts 7.30 pm, Thursday 28 July at the Newall Green Pub, Greenbrow Road, Wythenshawe (on the 101, 310, 293, 294 bus routes).

MILITANT Marxist Discussion Group for trade unionists in Kent. Venue 29 Herbert Road, Chatham. Phone Eddie Pym for information, 0634 811655. Tuesday 19 July, 7.30 pm, 'The 1926 General Strike', speaker: Nick Bradley.

MIDDLETON: Militant Readers Meeting. Thursday 18 August, 7.30pm, Middleton Civic Hall, Long St. Chairman: Councillor Leo Deace. Speakers: Terry Fields MP, Margaret Creear.

MIDDLETON Marxist Discussion Group. Wed 13 July 7.45pm 'Which way forward for the trades union movement?' The Railway Pub, Oldham Road.

EDINBURGH: 25 July. Speakers: Ted Grant (Political Editor, Militant), Dave Nellist MP (details from local sellers)

LITTLEBOROUGH: Speaker: Dave Farrar at Wheatsheaf pub, Church Street on Monday 25 July at 7.30 pm.

GRAYS Militant Readers' Meeting. Thursday 21 July, 8.00 pm, Room 2, Thameside Theatre (above Central Library), Grays Town Centre.

OLDHAM: 'Lessons of the General Strike.' Speaker: Dave Farrar. Tuesday 26 July, 7.45 pm, at the Mare and Foal, Ashton Road, Oldham.

MILITANT DISCUSSION GROUP "Black workers and the fight for socialism". Venue: Abasindi Centre, St Mary Street, opposite Moss Side Precinct, Manchester on Sunday 10 July at 1.30 pm. Topics: 1. The Colonial Revolution; 2. Black Nationalism—Socialist outlook. Speaker: Bob Lee.

CLASSIFIED

HAYES & HARLINGTON LPYS versus Young Tories debate. Tuesday 19 July at 8.00 pm at Room behind Adam and Eve Pub, Uxbridge Road.

BERMONDSEY LPYS, Annual Disco. Saturday 23 July 8.00pm, buffet and late bar. Bermondsey Labour Club, 133 Lower Rd, near Surrey Docks tube. Unwaged £1, waged £2.00.

SOCIALIST BANNERS, hand painted by skilled artist. LPYS, LP, TU, orders to Tony McKenna, 19 Ashgrove, Musselburgh, East Lothian, Scotland. Sample photos available.

AMBULANT male disabled comrade requires nurse for holiday. Medical attention needed minimal. Contact Iain Campbell, Carlisle (0228) 21068.

Betty Bell (Havant) wishes to inform her friends that her neck operation was successful and hopes to see her friends soon.

DURHAM MINERS' GALA Saturday 16 July 1983. Centenary rally—all Durham lodge banners will be on show.

Speakers include: Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner, Arthur Scargill.

Comrades who would like bed and breakfast should ring Kath Cotterill on (0632) 692655. All proceeds to fighting fund.

In the evening a social will be held in Gateshead East.

FOR HANDICAPPED READERS

Cassette tapes with two issues of Militant (one each side). Available fortnightly. £3.50 per quarter, £13 for year. Write to: 'Militant Tapes', 26 Aston Terrace, Harehills, Leeds 8, or phone 0527 73795.

SOUTH WALES MILITANT SUMMER CAMP

August Bank Holiday

Friday 26 August-Monday 29 August

For the eighth time we are organising our highly successful camp in the beautiful surroundings of Horton on the Gower Coast (10 minutes' walk from Port Eynon and Horton beaches).

It will provide not only an excellent introduction to the ideas of Marxism, but also a superb holiday for the family. Price £10. Write to 181 Hanover Street, Swansea SA1 6BP.

"Women and the struggle for socialism"
Southern Militant Weekend School—Brighton
July 30 and 31

Northern Militant Weekend School—Bradford
August 20 and 21

Sessions on: The Family
Women and the Colonial revolution
Positive Discrimination
Low Pay
The role of a Marxist as a T.U. activist
Sexual harassment at work
Crèche provided
For further information: (0706) 842702

WORKERS' MP VOICES YOUTH ANGER



Photo: Militant

Dave Nellist, MP for Coventry South East and the youngest Labour member in Parliament, addresses the Northern Marxist Weekend School on July 10.

On July 8 Parliament debated the Youth Training Scheme. It was the usual '5-a-side football' affair, as Terry Fields has described it, with only about 25 MPs in the House. To hear the Tories describe the YTS proposals, you would think they were talking about some kind of Boy Scout adventure, not the subjection of half a million youth to industrial conscription on £25 a week. They were "onto a winner" proclaimed the Tories, saying youth could "get stuck in", "get on with the job" and "learn to work as a team". They laughed off the "Jonahs" and "Weary willies" who dared oppose the nature of these cheap labour schemes.

However, this unreal Toy Town world was blown aside when Dave Nellist, MP for Coventry South East, rose to make his maiden speech. Despite the odd half-hearted titter, the Tories in the main looked subdued as reality raised its ugly head. The main extracts of Dave Nellist's speech are printed below.

IT IS especially appropriate for me to speak about youth and unemployment because the city of Coventry, once the richest working-class city in the country with two-thirds of the workforce in manufacturing industry, the prospects for our school leavers are now bleak. Only one in ten of those leaving the fifth form last summer have found work. In a city that was built on engineering, only 243 out of 5,000 who left school this summer have found apprenticeships. For the vast majority there is no prospect of real work under this government. There is no way out from the dole queue.

Such a prediction of a national spectre of mass unemployment, stretching for five or more years in front of our school leavers, is not in any sense in invention of Labour members—it is admitted by the leading advisers to the prime minister. Speaking on 2 March 1982, Professor Sir Douglas Hague predicted that there would be no significant upturn in western economies before the end of the century.

I speak today as the youngest Labour member elected in last month's general election. That gives me a special responsibility in this place to champion rights, and to give voice to, the hopes and aspirations of millions of young workers as they face the mid-1980s and that spectre of mass unemployment. I willingly shoulder that responsibility.

The victims of Tory monetarism

Who would have thought four years ago, when the Tories won the general election, that a party supposedly standing for classic Friedmanite views, supposedly opposed to intervention by the state, a party whose motto is, "Leave it to the market", would today be weeks away from implementing a scheme costing £1,000 million specifically designed for the state to attempt to regulate the transition from school to work? Yet that £1,000 million is a paltry amount compared to the costs of the avalanche of redundancies over which the government have presided—£17,000 million is spent annually to maintain the victims of Tory monetarism. Now, a further £1,000 million is to be spent to remove 500,000 teenagers from the dole figures.

Yet so serious is the position facing those 500,000 school leavers, that the government have been forced to recognise the failure of their much vaunted "private market mechanism" to supply real jobs to our youth. The Youth Training Scheme is proof of that recognition. The establishment of a

second generation YOP scheme—the misnamed Youth Training Scheme—is admission in deed—which counts far more than words—that mass unemployment is projected to be with us for a decade or more under the present way that society is organised. It is an admission that British capitalism, the system of private profit and market forces, so loudly defended by the government, is unable to organise society to take advantage of the productive forces of the factories, the industries, the science and techniques that are available to provide the goods and services that people need and to use all the talents of working people to produce them.

What changed the attitude of the Tory party during the past four years? What changed it from a party which in 1979, in one of its first measures as a government, announced a cut of £28 million in YOP financing, to a party today forced against its will to spend £1,000 million in additional funding for youth unemployment? The principal answer is the events of the summer of 1981—the riots on the streets of Liverpool, London, Manchester and other major cities—a desperate action by tens of thousands of teenagers to draw attention to the poverty, despair, demoralisation, harassment and anger of being young and unemployed under a Tory government.

That statement does not condone rioting. Such actions do not provide a solution to the problems of unemployment. But unlike the real organisers of those riots, who sit on the government benches, the opposition understand the cause of such frustration. The problems facing youth, which prompted tens of thousands on to the streets two years ago, can be solved only by a fundamental reorganisation of society along socialist lines.

Genuine apprenticeships being scrapped

Despite the introduction of the scheme, the problems of unemployment, bad housing and falling living standards remain. Under the government we shall see a repeat of the explosions of 1981. The (YTS) scheme was not born out of an altruistic gesture by the political representatives of the ruling class—it was conceived as a policing measure to keep the youth off the streets and out of the dole figures. It has nothing whatsoever to do with giving young workers the opportunity to make a genuine contribution to society...

There are many well documented cases of employers scrapping first-year apprenticeships. Instead of taking on one first-year apprentice at £40 a week plus the national insurance contribution, an employer can take

on four, five or even ten YOP or YTS trainees who will cost him next to nothing because the MSC pays their allowances.

The government's attempt to mask the inability of this system to offer jobs to this generation of school leavers will be seen as a vain attempt at camouflage. In the YTS they have created a scheme of educational dustbins for dumping this generation of youth, but their attempts will not remain unchallenged. The organisation of hundreds of thousands of young people on these schemes into the trade union movement is beginning.

When in January 1982 the secretary of state for Unemployment was arguing for a £15 a week scheme and the loss of supplementary benefit for any 16-year-old who refused a YTS place, within one month the Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign, alongside the Labour Party Young Socialists, organised a mass rally of 3,000 young people on a Wednesday at the Festival Hall in London. I was privileged to take part in that event, and on the same day more than 1,300 youngsters lobbied the House. The secretary of state's answer to the demands of that lobby for decent allowances, holidays, travel concessions and so on was to castigate the organisers as being guilty of raising wild expectations among youth.

Unionisation of YTS youth

What were those wild expectations, which have gained tremendous support among YOP workers? They were a 35-hour week, trade union rates of pay starting at about £55 a week, free travel to work, five weeks' paid holiday a year and a guaranteed job at the end. Those are minimal expectations compared to the lifestyle of hon. Members, certainly compared to the lifestyle of the hon. Member for Hove (Mr Sainsbury) and the two other members of his family who run Sainsburys and receive more in one week from shares and other income—approximately £160,000—than a YTS trainee would receive in 130 years. Surely it is a minimal expectation to ask for decent working allowances, for decent hours of work and so on.

That campaign will gain increasing support as trade unions begin the process of unionisation drives amongst the young people on the YTS. Thousands of YOPsters have been recruited by the Labour Party Young Socialists into membership of the Transport and General Workers Union, the General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Workers Union and the National Union of Public Employees and into other non-general trade unions. A renewed and public commitment by the Labour Party to organise the unionisation of those young exploited workers would be a major factor in winning the enthusiastic support of young people for socialism.

There are already five million people on the dole. Investment fell by 36 per cent under the Tory government. Yet money is not in short supply. For every pound employers invested in Britain they found £2.50 to invest in South Africa, Korea, Argentina, Brazil and other countries where super profits can be made through the enforced absence of trade unions and where wage levels can be kept low at the barrel of a gun. For British industry to regain its competitiveness against the capitalist countries of Europe, Japan and

America would take an investment of £150 billion. With profit rates of one-seventh of the value of three decades ago, big business will not invest to create jobs or to produce goods that the low living standards of workers will not permit them to buy. The leaders of the Tory party know this. They are aware of the gigantic battles that loom ahead as they attempt to drive down the wages even further in a vain attempt to restore the profits of their big business backers. They have invented the YTS to cheapen the labour of workers, not to provide decent training for jobs their system has no intention of offering.

Tories—20th century Luddites

The political representatives of the capitalist class, the Tory party, are the real Luddites of the 20th Century. They have destroyed steel plants, car plants and engineering facilities, because their society cannot use the production that those plants would generate. Their method of society wastes 30 per cent of industrial capacity and keeps 20 per cent of workers on the dole.

In conclusion, I issue an appeal and a warning. The appeal is to the hundreds of thousands of young people in Britain whose statistics show that they are disillusioned because of the lack of hope of any change in their prospects. Abstentions from voting at the general election increased among the youth, particularly among unemployed youth, and were probably the highest among unemployed black youth.

The responsibility for regaining the confidence of young workers rests on the shoulders of the labour and trade union movement and the campaigns that we organise to defend the conditions, wages and jobs of young workers. I appeal to youth not to despair, not to be cynical and imagine that democratic politics are a waste of time. Join us in the struggle to transform society along socialist lines so that the needs of people can be supplied by the fair allocation of resources.

I issue a warning to the government. Do not be misled by the siren voices of the media into believing that somehow in the 1980s we are witnessing the creation of a right-wing generation of youth or that the labour movement is demoralised or weak when faced with another term of Tory rule. Membership of the trade unions still stands at over 10 million. With the families of those members, we have an army of 35 million people. Our labour produces the wealth, which the government's capitalist society squanders on useless weapons of nuclear destruction, on tax cuts to the super-rich, on stockpiles of food at a time of growing poverty and on keeping five million people unemployed. As, in the 1980s, society approaches a crossroads, the socialist programme will gain significant support.

The creation by the Tories of YTS will lead to the basic ideas of trade unionism and socialism being re-sown and germinating in this generation. The labour movement will organise among YTS. We shall fight for a guaranteed job for each and every trainee. To guarantee and maintain those reforms we need rationally to plan production in society, producing for need and not for profit. Campaigning for that goal remains our overriding priority.



'The year of living dangerously'

THIS FILM is one of the best on current release.

It is set in Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1965 during the communist coup and military counter-coup.

Ostensibly, it tells the story of Guy Hamilton, an Australian radio journalist, (played by Mel Gibson) and his stop-go love affair with the British Military Attaché's assistant (played by Sigourney Weaver).

At first he seems to be quite a reasonable person, compared to his fellow journalists. He stands out by making broadcasts that describe the famines and inactivity of the government.

Shallowness exposed

However his shallowness is exposed as events reach their climax. He can barely appreciate why his office assistant should be a member of the KPI (Indonesian CP), and after the coup has failed, he demonstrates a greater commitment to his sex life than the plight of the Indonesian masses, by leaving to pursue his girlfriend rather than continue his reporting.

The real star of the film is the journalist's diminutive associate and photographer, Billy. He generally pretends to be above politics but when his adopted son dies of fever in the appalling Jakarta slums, he is moved by the



Political prisoners at a concentration camp in Indonesia. Over a million people have been slaughtered by the military regime since it took power in 1965.

hatred and disillusionment with President Sukarno to make a one man protest during which he is murdered by the security service.

This character is marvellously portrayed, and in reality it is the lives, and deaths, of the Indonesian characters which are the real substance of the film—they are full of genuine emotion and commitment yearning for a better future, com-

pared to the superficial and temporary allegiances of the diplomatic and journalistic community.

This contrast is summed up when Hamilton, en route to the airport for his flight, passes a line of kneeling Indonesians, who have been dragged from a bus, being executed by the army.

Urging restraint on his KPI accomplice his only emotion is reserved for

himself when he laughs hysterically after their own narrow escape after being stopped by a soldier a few minutes later.

The film brilliantly conveys the atmosphere of impending crisis as the coup attempt approaches, as well as showing the terrible poverty and starvation of most Indonesians. Unfortunately the film does not inform the viewer that the military

regime murdered over a million people, the biggest slaughter in post-war history. (Indonesia today—see page 11)

IAN POLLOCK (Hampstead and Highgate CLP) reviews the new film by Australian director, **PETER WEIR.**



Morning Star wars

By Dave Farrar

IT WAS announced this week that over the last six months "of strenuous effort", distribution of the Communist Party paper, the *Morning Star* has increased by only 69. This figure is less than 2% of the increase of *Militant's* distribution over the same period.

The Communist Party of Great Britain and the People's Press Printing Society (the co-operative that produces the paper) have been locked in bloody battle over control of the *Morning Star*.

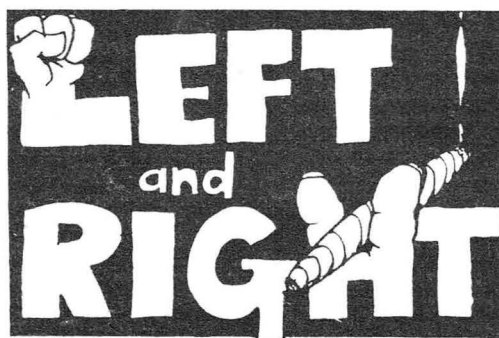
On the surface the crisis has been brought about by the continuing decline in the sales of the *Star* and the falling membership of the CP (now down to 16,000). This has forced the PPPS into bringing out plans to create more income by producing the *Morning Star* on a more modern press and to do commercial work when the press is free.

This plan caused some controversy at the CP headquarters and led to the unprecedented step of the party leadership putting forward an alternative list for the Editorial Board of the PPPS without consultation of the PPPS or of the party's rank and file.

The real reason for this split is the struggle in the CP between the Euro-Communists (reflected partially in the leadership) and the pro-Soviet group (reflected by the majority of the PPPS executive). There has even been criticism of the paper in the columns of the letters page where the West of England party secretary complained that "the party leadership was denied any effective running in the *Star*".

The crisis came to a head with the elections to the PPPS where the CP leaders suffered a crushing defeat. This despite the fact that, at the height of the election campaign, the CP leaders sent out 20,000 leaflets to support its case. With the Editorial Board election over, the initial power struggle has been settled but there is still a battle over the future of the paper as the leadership have denied supporting the plans of the PPPS.

This battle at the *Star* is all the more ironic as the CP kept its head down when the *Militant* was being witch-hunted by the media and the right wing. *Militant* has grown in leaps and bounds whilst the *Star* has been in permanent decline. The radicalisation in the Labour Party and the shift to the left of key unions has passed the Communist Party by. More and more it is the Marxists in the Labour Party that have learned the lessons of the present period and prepared the way for a growth both in the sales and regularity of *Militant*.



They're doing us nicely

Computer company boss Barry Manchester had a problem last week. He was going to pick up his brand new £46,500 Ferrari when, damn bad show, the banks had closed. No problem. He just whipped out his *American Express* card and paid for the sports car by cheque. But then this is all part of the wonderful free society we live in. So next time your Giro hasn't arrived and you're going hungry, just pull in your belt another notch and remember, we must all make sacrifices at a time of national crisis.

Too hot to handle

The hysterical spotlight of Fleet Street has turned on Islington's Labour council with incessant ferocity for the past couple of years. So the councillors prepared for the worst when they held a press conference on July 5 to explain how they and nine other Labour councils were uniting to fight the cuts. But virtually none of the Tory tabloids turned up. Well, a story like that might present Islington in a good light, even after the usual hatchet job on it. Fleet Street did get in touch with Islington that day though. They demanded to know, almost drooling, why the hell 200 housing staff had been given the afternoon off (waste of ratepayers' money etc, etc)? It was pointed out that the

temperatures in the offices had reached 82°F in the heatwave, and that broke the Health and Safety Act. No story.

Revolting Tories

The BBC *Week in Politics* programme recently looked into the right wing Tory pressure groups such as the extreme Adam Smith Society, whose "political advisors" are gaining influence in 10 Downing Street. These clowns described themselves as "libertarians" (!) and described their ideologies of ending the welfare state and smashing the trade unions as "revolutionary ideas". The camera then turned to Sir Ian Gilmore, representing the more intelligent wing of the ruling class. They asked him what he thought of their proposals. He paled, then regained himself, smiled, muttering yes, there would certainly be a revolution if these proposals went through, but not the kind the Adam Smith Society had in mind.

Fifty years ago

In 1933 even the stars of the USA's up and coming Hollywood dream machine were under attack from the bosses as they cut back during the Depression. In March the studio bosses decreed that actors would have to have a 50% pay cut, with freelance actors facing drops in payments of 20%. The actors fought back and in July 1933 they formed the Screen Actors' Guild. The fledgling union looked set to founder in the face of determined opposition from the hard faced film barons. But like the Hollywood fantasies, this struggle had a happy ending. That month the stars of the day lined up with the union—Boris Karloff, Groucho Marx, James Cagney, George Rift, Eddie Cantor, Fredric March, Paul Muni, Spencer Tracy, Robert Montgomery and Gary Cooper. After a four year struggle, the Guild was eventually recognised.

A hundred years of Kafka

THIS MONTH marks the centenary of the birth of the great Czech novelist Franz Kafka (1883-1924). Writing in German, Kafka created in his novels and short stories a nightmare world which was a reflection of his own tormented life.

Although his greatest novels *The Trial* (1925), *The Castle* (1926) and *America* (1927) were not published until after his death, and were soon to be consigned to Hitler's bonfires, he is now recognised as amongst the most important writers of this century.

Perhaps Kafka's most famous work is the short story *Metamorphosis*, in which an office clerk wakes up one morning to find himself "transformed in his bed into a gigantic insect". Kafka raises *Metamorphosis* above the level of a simple horror story, to make a profound statement about the relationship of society to terminal illness.

Equally grim is *The Trial* in which another clerk, Joseph, "without having done anything wrong... was arrested one fine morning". Finding himself facing a mysterious court charged with an offence which is

never explained to him, the central character is forced to go through a bizarre show trial. Again, this premonition of the Moscow trials, takes place in disturbingly ordinary surroundings.

Kafka led an unhappy life, plagued by illness, poverty and emotional problems. His work as a consequence, is characterised by a certain pessimism about the human condition, a pessimism to which Marxists can never subscribe.

But like all great artists he gives us an insight into the society in which he lived. As George Lukacs points out, underlying all his work is an indictment of the "diabolical character of the world of modern capitalism."

What is more, his vision of the moral degeneration of the German middle class proved psychologically profound when, less than a decade after his death, what Trotsky termed the "counter-revolutionary despair" of the "Petit-Bourgeois ran amok", seized power in the form of Nazism.

By Kieran McGovern

1983 CENTENARY YEAR

Origins of the Durham Miners' Gala

This year the Durham Miners' Association celebrates its centenary Gala which is and has been, one of the most important gatherings in the labour movement calendar.

The press have represented Durham in recent years as a moderate area which sets an example to the rest of the movement but this is contradicted by the historical significance of the Gala.

Throughout the 1800s the miners of County Durham fought many battles with the coal owners. The miners' organisation came out of these struggles, often violent, often leading to defeat, or leaving militants imprisoned or blacklisted by the coalowners. The 1832, 1844 and 1869 strikes stand out from the many.

When the annual gala began it was a reflection of the fact that the union which on previous occasions had been smashed by the employers, was now on a firm footing. And how better to celebrate a strong union than by having an annual political and social gathering!

Conditions in the 1800s were grim. Long hours combined with bad conditions at home and at work. At this time boys went down the pit at the age of 6 and worked up to 17-18 hours a day.

There were no schools or provision to develop young people and any attempt to provide young miners with a basis of education was jumped upon by the coalowners. The coalowners did not want the miners to have any semblance of independence.

The main form of repression found expression in the hated Yearly Bond. At each pit the coalowner drew up a bond which tied a miner to a particular colliery owner for a year.

If the miner attempted to leave the area or to find alternative work he would be charged and imprisoned. In effect the miner was a bonded serf and was forced to tolerate the bad conditions of work and pay.

Strikes arose continually over the bond and the con-

ditions laid in it. The first important strike came in 1810. The men refused to bind and were duly locked out.

Delegates from the different collieries held frequent meetings both in Durham and Northumberland. The aim was to unite the men—by no means an easy task in those days.

Activists hunted

The activists were hunted from place to place by the owners and magistrates, assisted by the military, and large numbers of miners were committed to prison.

When Durham prison was full, the Bishop of Durham offered his Christian charity by opening his stables as a stand-by prison. The men were guarded by the Durham Volunteers and Special Constables and later by the Royal Militia.

The strike, which lasted seven weeks, ended in partial victory. Binding time was agreed on April 5 and was negotiable each year. Previously, the coalowners had simply laid down their own terms. But negotiation gave rise to many conflicts in areas.

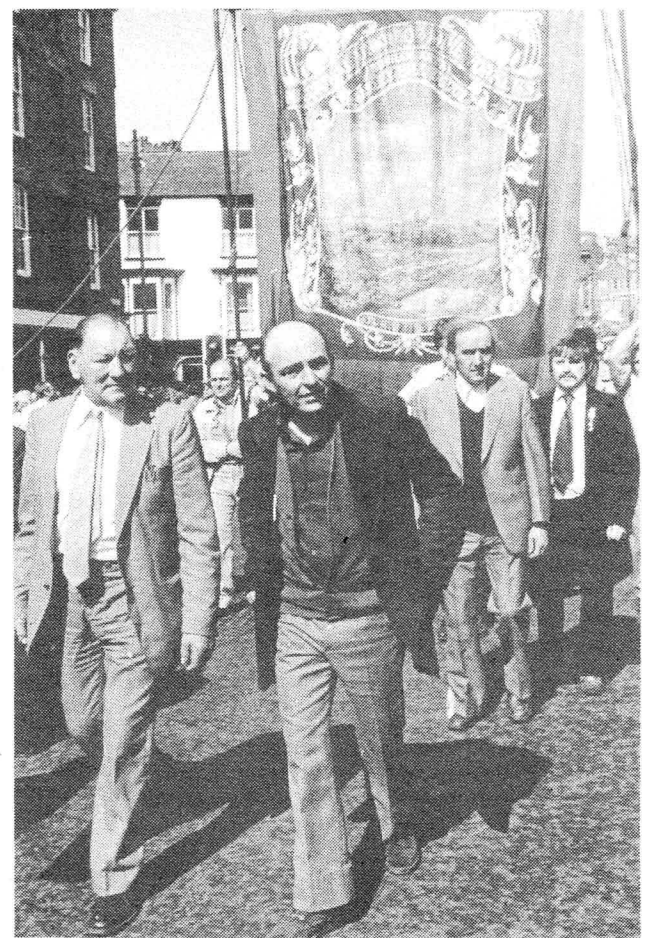
It was not until 1830, however, that discontent brought the miners to organise better, when the miners of Durham and Northumberland joined together in one large union which was called 'Hepburn's Union', after its leader Thomas Hepburn. By 1831 the miners felt strong enough to take on the coalowners. When the bond expired on April 5th 1831 they struck to a man for better wages and shorter hours.

An early feature of these miners' organisations was the mass meeting; often bringing together 25,000 or more miners. Every colliery

NOTICE
TO THE
MINERS,
OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM,
AND THE
PUBLIC GENERALLY.

We the Miners of Seaton Colliery, have sent to our Masters, this day October 4th, 1854 a petition, for a small advance of price, and we hope that our Brother miners, will refrain from seeking work at Seaton Colliery, for if any should come we will treat them as Black legs, & we think that other Collieries, should try to make their own wages good, and not interfere with us, as it is for your good as well as our own.

We are yours,
In the bonds of Union,
The Workmen of Seaton Colliery.



Durham miners organised in the early days . . . and today.

would march to the field bearing its banner and some had bands. The tradition of the Gala was being set. Whenever they were going forward the miners came together in a show of strength and solidarity.

The 1831 strike again saw an advance for the miners. They secured better hours, particularly for boys who now worked 12 hours a day instead of working a day almost without limit.

The coalowners were aware, however, that allowing this new union, a new union prepared to campaign in the areas, to gather strength, would threaten their profits. Consequently, they began to hire mercenaries with the object of driving strike leaders out of the locality.

With the ground set, the coalowners refused to bind any men belonging to a union. The men stayed united and once again struck to a man. The employers recruited scabs.

The scabs needed homes, therefore the miners were evicted from their tied homes with great brutality. By using scabs, the military and general repression, the 1832 strike was crushed and the union was beheaded.

Hepburn, the major

CONDITIONS IN 1844

West Holywell Colliery:

"We work the tubs at 4½d (less than 2p) per tub, and when the tubs are laid out we are fined 6d (2½p) and paid nothing for hewing the coals. They fine us for sending small coals to bank. At the same time they are selling them for 6s (30p) per chaldron."

Elemore Colliery:

"The rule at this colliery is to pay fortnightly every Friday. Last pay day they would not pay us on the Friday but they said they would pay us next morning. We went for our money at 7 o'clock in the morning and were kept waiting till 5 o'clock in the afternoon while they knew our wives had a great way to go to buy a bit of meat.

"The viewer at this colliery was not very long ago a coal hewer. He appears to have forgot himself. Oh God, how long are the miners to suffer this oppression?"

(Fynes' History of the Northumberland and Durham Miners)

leader, was also broken. At first he could not get a pit job and sold tea about the colliery districts to sustain a living. Later he agreed to renounce the union and found employment as a miner. The union being broken, the coalowners commenced making reduction after reduction in their wages.

Every July, on the Gala day, delegates from miners' lodges visit the grave of Thomas Hepburn in Heworth, Gateshead, where

wreaths are laid and tributes are paid to Hepburn's work a century ago.

The next major union of the miners arose out of the 1842 General Strike. This was a decisive turning point for the British working class. It marked in clear terms, in Engels' words, the "Decisive separation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie."

After 1842, major sections of the working class began to move in the direction of forming truly national unions.

The most powerful of these was the Miners Association of Great Britain (MAGB).

The objects of this union were to "bring about the lessening of hours of labour, to secure themselves a fair remuneration for their labour, to agitate for government interference and for inspectors to be appointed to enforce laws enacted for the protection of the men."

Centralised union

The coalowners immediately saw the Association as a great threat to themselves. Here, the leaders of the Miners' Association showed a weakness, despite the lesson of the past, imagining they could develop the union without interference from the coalowners.

The Miners' Association was both a centralised and a democratic organisation. The backbone was made up of its lecturers (full time officials) who were the key in developing the organisation at grass roots level. Often, persecution by the coal owners was so intense that merely to hold union membership was enough to get a miner the sack and eviction from his cottage.

Continued on Page 8

Durham Miners' Gala

•• The generation

From page 7

So men had to be discreet about expressing their beliefs. It was only the lecturers, with no mining jobs to lose, who could come out in open defiance of the masters.

By the power of their personal example, lecturers banished timidity and imbued workers with the will to resist. But at the same time they were expected to devote eleven days a fortnight to the Association and were required to give an account to the union secretary of their labours. Lecturers were also subject to recall by the national delegate meeting which met every six months.

The July 1844 conference instructed each lecturer to:—

“Collect every kind of information appertaining to the interests of the miners in particular and to society in general, especially statistics regarding the wages of labour, the habits and conditions of working men and all those causes that mainly affect the present state of things, and when meeting with men to use the simplest means for the purpose of digesting the information acquired and to mature the plans laid by the Association.” (*Miners Advocate* July 1844).

The sinews of war

As with all working class organisations, the union relied upon the sacrifices of the workers themselves. The following is from a circular to the union branches:—

“Mr. Roberts is determined to break down tyranny under which you have been so long groaning: no effort or energy on his part will be spared; his labours have already been successful. **But it is you who must furnish the sinews of war!** Much that ought to be done is now prevented by want of money. This ought not to be.”

That is roughly the sort of organisation that the owners had to contend with. They prepared themselves to smash such a dangerous organisation of the working class.

The union's national conference had voted against a strike as premature but the owners of Durham and Northumberland forced the hand of the miner by offering worse conditions. They hoped to use this as a position of strength to weed out prominent union men.

On April 5 1844 the miners refused to bind and every pit came to a standstill. At a meeting of 35,000 miners at Shaldons Hill the miners resolved:—“This meeting avows its intention and determination to procure individually and collectively a better remuneration for their labour than has heretofore been paid and to abstain from working until such remuneration be obtained.”

As in 1832-3 the coalowners used the tactics of blacklegs and evicting whole families from their homes to make way for the scabs. The owners were ruthless. Pregnant women,

bedridden men and women, children in the cradle were all remorselessly turned out.

At Pelton Fell Colliery, near Chester-le-Street, the owners turned out an 88 year old blind woman on the streets. The evicted families had to make do with homes made out of chests and furniture covered with canvas.

On the instructions of their executive, the miners were constrained from defending themselves and therefore could not use effective picketing to stop the scabs from going down the pit. They hoped to show by moral example how good their case was.

Weak tactics

But these weak tactics only emboldened the owners. The Marquis of Londonderry, for example, ordered tradesmen on his estate to refuse credit to the strikers—to starve the miners back.

By the end of July, almost every colliery in the two counties had commenced work with imported scabs. The resolve of the miners was beginning to weaken.

By mid-August, after 18 weeks on strike, starving and destitute, great numbers of men began to break away from the ranks of the union and return to work. Many of the strike leaders never found work again.

The union was effectively broken. In the words of one coal owner, “The bond enables us to get rid of the bad characters as they show themselves”.

The *Miners Advocate* declared however:

“As capital can alone successfully invade through a division in its ranks, it is clear that nothing short of all Labour united can effectively defend it”. The miners' paper was saying that the miners would return.

After 1844 a boom occurred in the economy. Many of the evicted miners found work as coal production expanded. The period of boom enabled the wounds of defeat to heal.

But by the mid-sixties the coal industry began to flounder again. As a result, the owners once again went for the wages of the miners.

In 1866, 1867 and 1868 material reductions were made in wages in various parts of Durham. In 1869 a general reduction took place throughout the whole of Durham.

Strikes occurred. Out of these struggles the lodges of Thornley, Trimdon and Monkwearmouth bonded together and laid the foundation of what soon became the Durham Miners Association. By May 1870 the union was firmly established with 216 lodges representing 140,000 men.

In early 1872 more disputes broke out over the yearly bond. This time, however, the miners secured its abolition, a recognition by the owners that this time a struggle over the bond might not be won.

The first Gala, in 1871, representing upwards of 200 pits and 150,000 miners, was a demonstration that miners' unity was established and was here to stay.



A LOOK at pit life in County Durham before the miners' union was formed, gives an understanding as to why early strikes were often very violent and why miners were forced to form trade unions.

Conditions in the pits in the 1800s were barbaric. Deaths at work were so common that it was customary practice not to hold a coroner's inquest. After all the life lost was “only that of a miner”.

The curse of the early mining was firedamp, which, if not cleared, could cause explosions resulting in scores of deaths. The method used to rid a pit of firedamp was to cover a man in wet sacks, and give him a lighted candle on a long pole, whereupon he would creep along the underground workings to ignite any firedamp which was present, before the men entered the pit.

Not surprisingly, such methods were not always successful and many explosions occurred. One such explosion in Hetton on 29

January 1836 killed 22 men and boys—by no means the worst disaster.

Another hazard to a miner's life was descending and ascending the pit shaft. Before the invention of the pit cage, miners descended the pit-shaft by means of a basket or loop. The loop method involved the miner placing his foot into a loop at the end of the haulage chain. He stood in the loop, grasping the chain with both hands.

Some nasty accidents occurred by this method: on 6 August 1857 at Elemore Colliery (Co. Durham), two miners were ascending from the pit bottom. Halfway up the shaft the loop in the descending chain wrapped itself around the head of the miner whose head was completely torn off. The headless body arrived at the surface, the feet still in the loop, his hands still grasping the chain.

Until 1872 there was a method of hiring miners known as the

Yearly Bond. Any attempts at leaving the pit while bonded could result in imprisonment.

Not satisfied with this, the coal owners forced miners to shop at shops owned by the coal-owner where prices were inevitably higher with the lack of any competition. This “Tommy Shop” system was much resented and was ended by the workers forming their own co-operative societies.

In 1890 miners in Co. Durham won a standard 10-hour shift. Hours were further reduced as a system of shift working was established. This was a mixed blessing, as many miners saw no daylight until weekends and the effect on miners' wives was considerable.

One wife said, “I go to bed at night, my three sons and husband are all on different shifts and one or other of them is entering or leaving the house and requiring a meal every three in fourteen hours.”

The Bond

Example of a bond—that made between Lady Windsor and John Simpson in 1763:

“The parties hired shall continue at work, without striking, combining or absenting themselves; shall deliver one corf of coal gratis every pay, or fourteen days; shall be fined one shilling for every corf sent back less than wood full...”

From: *The Durham Coalfield*, By D Wilcock.

Housing conditions

“Those who had children were housed on the same principle as those who had none. Some had had as many as 7-8 children grown up to men and women all living in the one house, the whole room being only four yards by five, with a small pantry to keep their provisions in.

“This was the miner's castle, sitting room, bedroom and parlour. His family brought up to men and women all in this small place.”

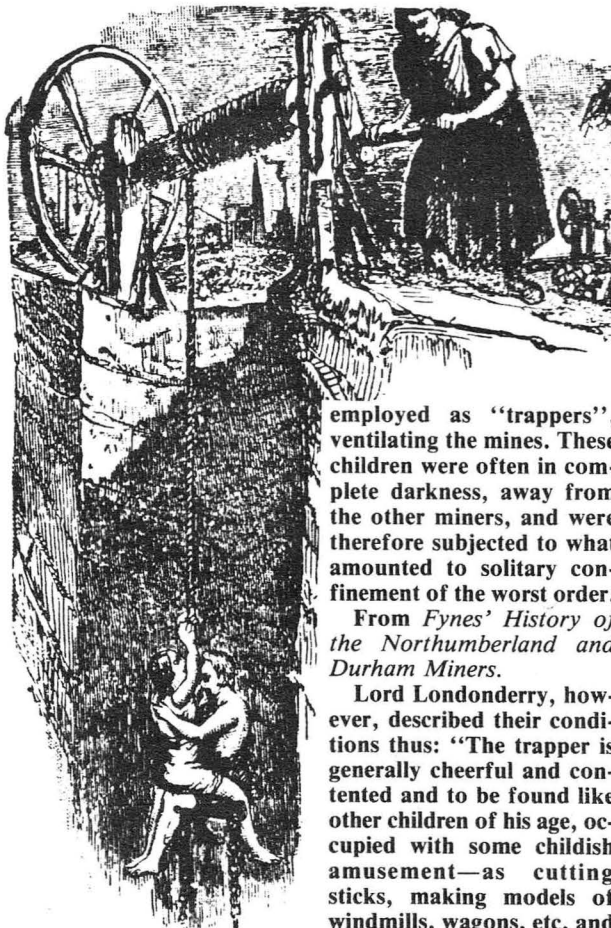
(Fynes)

1842: Women in British pits

Betty Wardle told the commissioners: “I have worked in a pit since I was six years old. I have four children. Two of them were born while I worked in the pit. I have worked in the pit while I was in the family way. I had a child born in the pit and I brought it up the shaft in my skirt; it was born the day after I were married.” (Report to Children's Employment Commission, 1842)

Note: This is from another area. Women never worked in Durham pits.

From: *The Miners' Association in the age of the Chartists* by Raymond Challinor.



Children went down the mine at the age of four or five. Their working hours ranged from 12 to 18 hours. The children were mainly

employed as “trappers”, ventilating the mines. These children were often in complete darkness, away from the other miners, and were therefore subjected to what amounted to solitary confinement of the worst order.

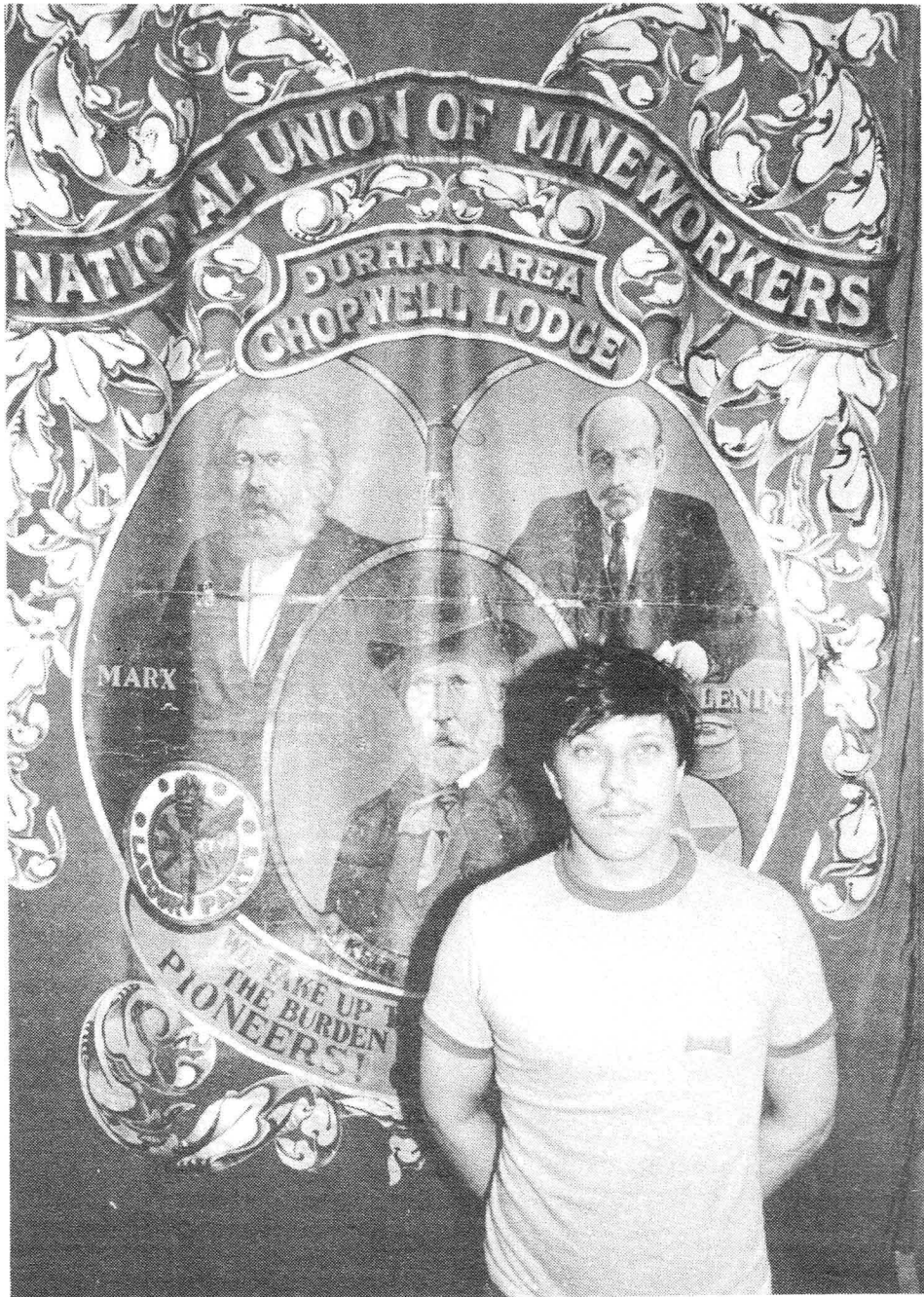
From *Fynes' History of the Northumberland and Durham Miners*.

Lord Londonderry, however, described their conditions thus: “The trapper is generally cheerful and contented and to be found like other children of his age, occupied with some childish amusement—as cutting sticks, making models of windmills, wagons, etc. and frequently in drawing figures with chalk on his door, modelling figures and animals in clay etc.”

(Fynes)

Years of struggle

These three interviews, representing three generations of miners at Monkwearmouth Colliery, Sunderland, show that although the union has achieved great advances over the years, the battle for jobs and conditions is a long way from over. Interviews: Ray Physick. Photos: Denis Doran.



Alan Mardghum in front of the old Chopwell lodge banner, showing portraits of Keir Hardie, Karl Marx and Lenin.

Alan Mardghum, age 27, miner at Wearmouth since 1971.

WHEN I came into the pit the issues of wages and conditions had been fought and won in 1972 and 1974. I thought I was going into a secure and well-paid job.

Over the years, however, there has been a general decline in the conditions of the miner.

Since 1977 there has been a decline in the number of safety inspectors, which in turn has led to a decrease in the number of inspections. Safety in the mining industry is very important and the value of inspections cannot be over-emphasised.

Since the incentive in 1978 safety to a certain extent has gone out of the window. Men are tolerating conditions now that a few years ago would have appeared intolerable. Accidents have been caused by men trying to get the maximum amount of bonus out of a 7¼-hour shift.

The Coal Board doesn't say to men, "Break the rules", but they put so much

pressure on the men to make money, as a basic wage is no longer enough to live on, that men will be forced to break the rules to get a decent wage.

Incorporate bonus into wage

A man working the face in wet and dusty conditions, in a seam 3½-feet high, crawling about on his knees for four to five hours and controlling machinery, shouldn't have to bother with bonus payments. The bonus should be incorporated into the basic wage, then the miner can be solely concerned with mining coal safely.

The biggest issue facing me is the continuance of my employment. If the Board gets its way I could be out of a job in five years which would mean virtual retirement for me at 32 years of age.

Sunderland is based on coal and ships. Both are going down. Unless something is done, the chances of employment are nil.

At present our pit takes in transferees but sooner or

later we will have to fight to stop closures. The longer it goes on, the harder will be our task.

The two 1970s victories gave Gormley credibility, but he used them to promote so-called moderation. He compromised all the way down the line. In the end he undermined the confidence of the union.

Now we have a union leader who is prepared to fight and restore the confidence of the miners. Arthur Scargill, speaking at the 1980 Gala, talked of twelve pits to be closed in Durham. Already seven have gone.

He has consistently been proved correct about the job loss figures. Now, with the election out of the way, the coal board brazenly announce 60,000 jobs are to go.

There is no alternative now but to stand and fight for our jobs and our dignity. If we don't we'll go the same way as steel. What's needed is a Triple Alliance with mass rank and file involvement. The lesson of the past is that we must continue to involve the men. It should not be just left to full-time officials.

Stan Pearce: started as a miner at Washington Glebe Colliery 1948. Miner at Wearmouth since 1972.

WHEN I started down the pit in 1948 some coal was still hand-hewn. This continued until 1956 when a machine call the "flighter" was installed. This was the first real step towards mechanisation.

The "flighter" cut the coal and filled the rubber belt. While mechanisation reduced a lot of the hard work, it also meant more coal with less men; a process which has continued up to the present day.

Safety is very important down a pit. Deputies and overmen are responsible for safety, but they are also responsible for maintaining production. This is where conflict arises. Deputies and overmen should be completely independent of production and only concerned with safety.

Management only agree with safety rules in theory. When safety comes into conflict with production they turn a blind eye. "Blind-eye" is the most prevalent industrial disease down a pit. In my opinion, safety has to be taken completely away from management.

Safety and high production levels are compatible but only with more men working less hours. We should also have proper safety reps in each mining district. Our pit has a safety rep in each seam but they cannot cover 24 hours. Ideal-

Timmy Hopper worked at Wearmouth Pit from the age of 14. He started as a miner at Wearmouth in 1919, retiring in 1967.

CONDITIONS down a pit when I started are hardly comparable with conditions today. Coal at Wearmouth was hand hewn. Most miners were stripped naked while working down the pit.

"We were paid a basic wage of about 3 shillings and 4 pence (16½ pence in modern decimal currency) a week which could be made up to six shillings and six pence through piece-work. While down the pit all we had for bait was jam and bread and water. There were no baths at the pit-head. You got washed in a tin tub by the fire at home.

Coal dust was a lifelong curse of the miners. Men in the 1920s had no protection whatsoever. There were no sprays on the face as today. Men just swallowed the dust.

Today the dust is recognised as an industrial disease and you can get a pension but in the '20s and '30s you got nothing, even although the disease did lead to many premature deaths.

Mechanisation came in 1929. The reason was that it was no longer profitable to run the pit without it. Pick work was not suitable as the coal became harder to get.

1926 was not a strike at first but a lock out. We refused to accept wage



STAN PEARCE: "Blind eye" is the commonest industrial disease.

ly, we should have three or four safety reps to each seam.

There were four pits within walking distance of my home in 1948, now the nearest pit is eight miles away. In 1948 there were about 200,000 miners in Durham, now that's down to 20,000. Yet the coal is still there. In the west of Durham closed pits are now being mined by open-cast. 60% of all open-cast mines are in the North East.

After the 1972 and 1974 victories we all felt that the decline of the coal industry was to be halted. The 'Plan for Coal' talked of 200 million tons of coal a year. Now the Board are talking in terms of 75 million tons of coal a year. The 'Plan for Coal' has effectively being thrown out of the window.

Out of 100,000 tons we produce monthly, 47,000 tons is being stockpiled. How long can this stockpiling last? The NCB are themselves concerned with the huge stock levels. Their solution, however, is 'close

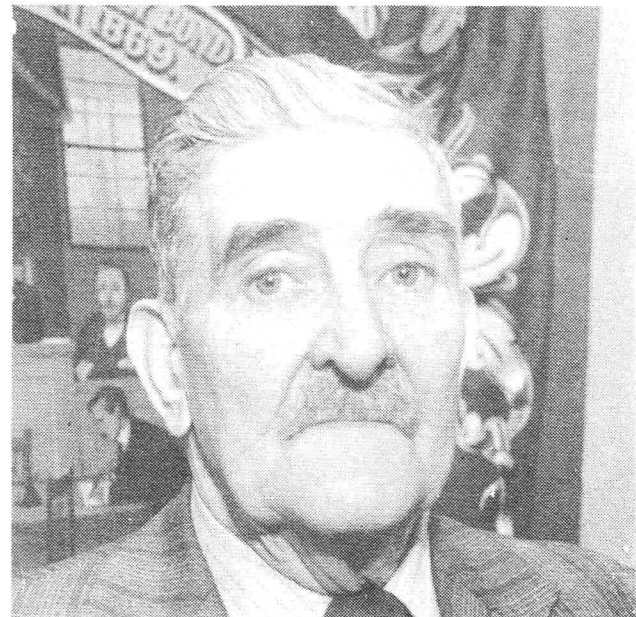
the pits'. Our union rejects this method.

The NCB are paying the banks hundreds of millions in interest to stockpile coal; this while many people go without basic heating.

A severe winter could kill many old people as it has in the past. Yet the only time you hear of hypothermia is when the miners go on strike.

In the winter the minimum amount of coal required to warm a room is 3 cwt. a week which costs about £10. The social security give those claiming a heating allowance £1.60 pw. If we had a rational national energy plan we could end this ludicrous state of affairs.

The situation facing miners is serious, very serious. What is more, this government is not really concerned. The union may have suffered some ballot setbacks, but the crisis facing us is not going to go away. Miners will have to fight sooner rather than later, while we still have some strength left.



TIMMY HOPPER: "I wish I could get hold of Thomas even now."

reductions so the coal owners locked us out. It developed into a general strike but the movement was split by men like Thomas the railway leader.

I wish I could get hold of Thomas even now. We stayed out for seven or eight months. We went back on worse terms. We fought hard and lost.

The community was behind us. They must have been behind us as they backed us for nine days. But as I said, the movement was split at the top.

After our defeat, many of the militants were victimised—the coal owners used our defeat to weed out any prominent activists. We had no reserves left to fight with.

The masters were continually putting the heel in our necks.

In 1945, Labour got a massive majority. I was in favour of nationalisation. The owners were just mining the thick seams, making a quick profit and leaving everything to anything.

Nationalisation was not a complete success because it was not full nationalisation. Coal delivery, machine suppliers and steel were not nationalised. Private firms are still milking us dry.

Workers should have more say in the mines—we need more democracy in our industry. After all an industry cannot run without workers. 99

Tolpuddle '83

IN THE boom years of the 1960s the annual Tolpuddle Martyrs' Rally took on a festival air as workers commemorated these six pioneers of the labour movement.

Few anticipated that in 1983, on the 149th anniversary of their transportation, for the crime of joining the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers, workers in Britain would once again be locked in combat with a ruthless government determined to crush the rights and living standards of trade unionists.

Today, the rally will be much more than a historic lesson in how bad the bosses used to be. It will be a restatement of the trade union movement's determination to oppose, by political and industrial means, all attempts to shackle the rights to organise effectively and strike.

When in 1834 the ruling class and their judges had the six transported to Australia, the young movement erupted in opposition with mass protests being organised all over the country. A massive demonstration of 200,000 was witnessed in London alone. Faced with this extra-Parliamentary struggle the bosses retreated and after three years of slavery as political prisoners, the workers had their sentences lifted.

The Tories of the day had received a

bloody nose, after setting out to "teach the trade unions a lesson".

Thatcher and Tebbit too have embarked upon war with the working class. Ever faithful to their big business backers they have introduced a non-stop flood of anti-trade union legislation over the last four years with worse to come.

Nevertheless the classes are locked on to a collision course, the outcome of which will be immense political and industrial battles over the next decade.

All the gains of our movement are still under threat, and workers must rebuild the spirit of Tolpuddle throughout the movement.

In Parliament, even with their 200 majority, the Tories will still sit uneasily as the demand for a 24-hour general strike to defend workers' rights is taken up throughout the labour movement.

Little has changed fundamentally since 1834. The Tories still rule for the rich few who control society. As we gather to pay tribute to those early fighters of Tolpuddle we can best remember them by embarking on the course of changing society. That is the lesson and task for us at Tolpuddle in 1983.

By Robin Clapp
(Bristol South CLP)



The banner of the Tolpuddle branch of the agricultural workers' union at last years rally. Photo: J Arthur

The rise of the weavers!

A LITTLE known area of Scottish history—which has many lessons for the labour movement—is the rising of the weavers in 1820 near Glasgow.

The weavers rose up in anger at their conditions. Their immediate objective was the capture of the Carron Iron Works, the biggest arms manufacturer in Europe at the time.

However, the dragoons surrounded them at a place called Bonnymuir, near Carron, and eighteen prisoners were taken. Two of them, Andrew Hardie and James Baird, were hanged at Stirling and the rest were banished aboard the convict hulks for long terms of transportation in Australia.

According to the *Stirling Journal*, 14 September 1820, "... On his appearance (the hang-man) a shudder seemed to pervade the crowd and cries of 'Murder! Murder' were raised." The French Revolution had caused great repercussions throughout the world and ideas of liberty and equality had changed.

At a first glance this rising of 1820 would seem a very premature act, but in a closer examination of the events leading up to it, a sinister side emerges.

In a shrewd piece of early investigative journalism, a local historian and writer, Peter Mackenzie, wrote in his exposure of the Spy System in Glasgow, "We are thoroughly convinced that Andrew Hardie and his unfortunate companions were the victims of blood-thirsty scoundrels, better known as spies, who at that time infested the country."

"Harsh repressive laws had been passed to deal with unrest, and the master spy for the government, a clever rogue, Alexander Richmond, was planted in Glasgow where the feeling of revolt was strong."

Andrew Hardie made it clear in a letter he had written in prison a few weeks before his execution, how he had fallen into the trap of the provocateurs. "I was made to understand the nature of the affair by two men... and likewise that the whole city would be in arms... England was all in arms from London downwards... that there were no soldiers to oppose us betwixt that and Edinburgh."

The tragedy of the act of provocation will be looked upon as MacKenzie expressed it, "in a moral point of view, not a legal point of view". The guilty escaped while the innocent suffered. Clearly, the use of agent-provocateurs is nothing new to the guardians of capitalism.

By Paul Anderson
(Provan LPYS)

Down on the farm - EXPLOITATION

By D.T. McAdam
(Oldham UCW)

DURING MY teens, I worked in agriculture. The treatment I received from the capitalist farmers gave me my socialist roots.

I recall one occasion when after I had finished my nine and a half hour shift, the farmer asked me if I would like to do some ploughing if he showed me how.

After a two-furrow lesson, he left me to plough the rest of the eight or so acre field. This took me some three hours a night for the rest of the week.

Come Saturday, which was pay day and also the day I finished at mid-day, he gave me my usual unwrapped wage being the

princely sum of £6!

He used to give me my wage as though he were giving me a back hander; you know the sort—"shove this in your pocket".

I reminded him of the ploughing I had done every night. He said he remembered and said he hoped I had learned from the experience and that if I liked, and providing the weather was good, I could do another field! I pointed out that I should be paid overtime. He paused for a bit before giving me a mock punch on the cheek proclaiming that I was a "wee rascal".

He went out of the kitchen (where I was usually paid) and came back and in his

generosity gave me ten pence. He also went over to the biscuit tin and threw me a biscuit.

When I got home, my father, knowing I did this overtime, suggested I give my mother a bit extra as he'd been off work with his back. He was astounded when I told him what I had been paid.

My father told me he would get in touch with the Agriculture and Fisheries Board, who sent out a wages inspector to interview me. He asked me how many hours a week I worked, what holidays, allowances etc. He then went to the farm and had a discussion with the farmer.

Some weeks later, I noticed

that there was a tension in the air between me and the farmer. He had me ploughing through the day instead of at night, he was giving me the most mundane and dangerous jobs to do. Such as mucking out the bull pen whilst the bull was still in the pen (if you whistled like a blackbird it would be quite safe he assured me).

He also employed a school lad to come to the farm after school, so that effectively ended any future overtime for me.

On the Saturday, the reason for the tension was revealed. He gave me, (still un-wrapped) my wage. Only this time it had altered dramatically. I was given, (no longer in the form of a

back hander) a whopping 200 per cent pay increase! It amounted to £20. He wasn't very pleased about it saying that I was not appreciative of the meals I was provided with, and that he went out of his way to teach the skills of ploughing and all the other mechanical aspects of farming, and that his wife bought extra shopping in order to provide the meals.

Because of my so called ungratefulness he suggested I look for another job. In any case he said, he couldn't afford me and that the lad he employed to work evenings after school would soon be leaving and want a job...



Agricultural work—long hours, danger and low pay.

Photo: Militant

INDONESIA Poverty amidst plenty

IT IS not nature which makes Indonesia poor and its overwhelming majority even poorer. The blame lies with capitalism.

By Alan Shadforth

Indonesia is potentially one of the richest countries in the world, the largest oil producer in Asia apart from China and the continent's biggest exporter of oil and natural gas.

It has huge mineral resources, particularly tin and copper, while rubber, coffee and timber are there in plenty.

Despite this, in a new era of crisis it is only the oil revenues which are keeping Indonesia's head above water.

Most of Indonesia still remains pre-industrial despite inducements to foreign capital to invest. Only 2 million jobs have

been created in the last decade but a million and a half are added to the workforce each year. The towns see mass unemployment of maybe 30% or more, while in the country, the official estimations of Gross National Product of \$360 a year are meaningless with real levels akin to those of Laos on about \$90. In Java the landless are driven by hunger into the mountains for food and fuel, where the inevitable consequent deforestation leads to erosion. In these areas terrible floods and drought alternate.

New conflicts

Suharto's life-saving oil may run out as early as 1990 and already the expansion period is coming to an end without fulfilling the bosses' hopes of large scale industrial development. In the next period all the conflicts will take on new acuteness.

A ceasefire seems to have been agreed in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor where guerrillas of Fretilin the East Timor separatist group have been fighting troops since Indonesia invaded and instituted a regime of genocide in 1975. But the demands for the right of self determination will not disappear here, or in West Irian or Sumatra. Only in the framework of a socialist federation of South East Asia could these demands be met.

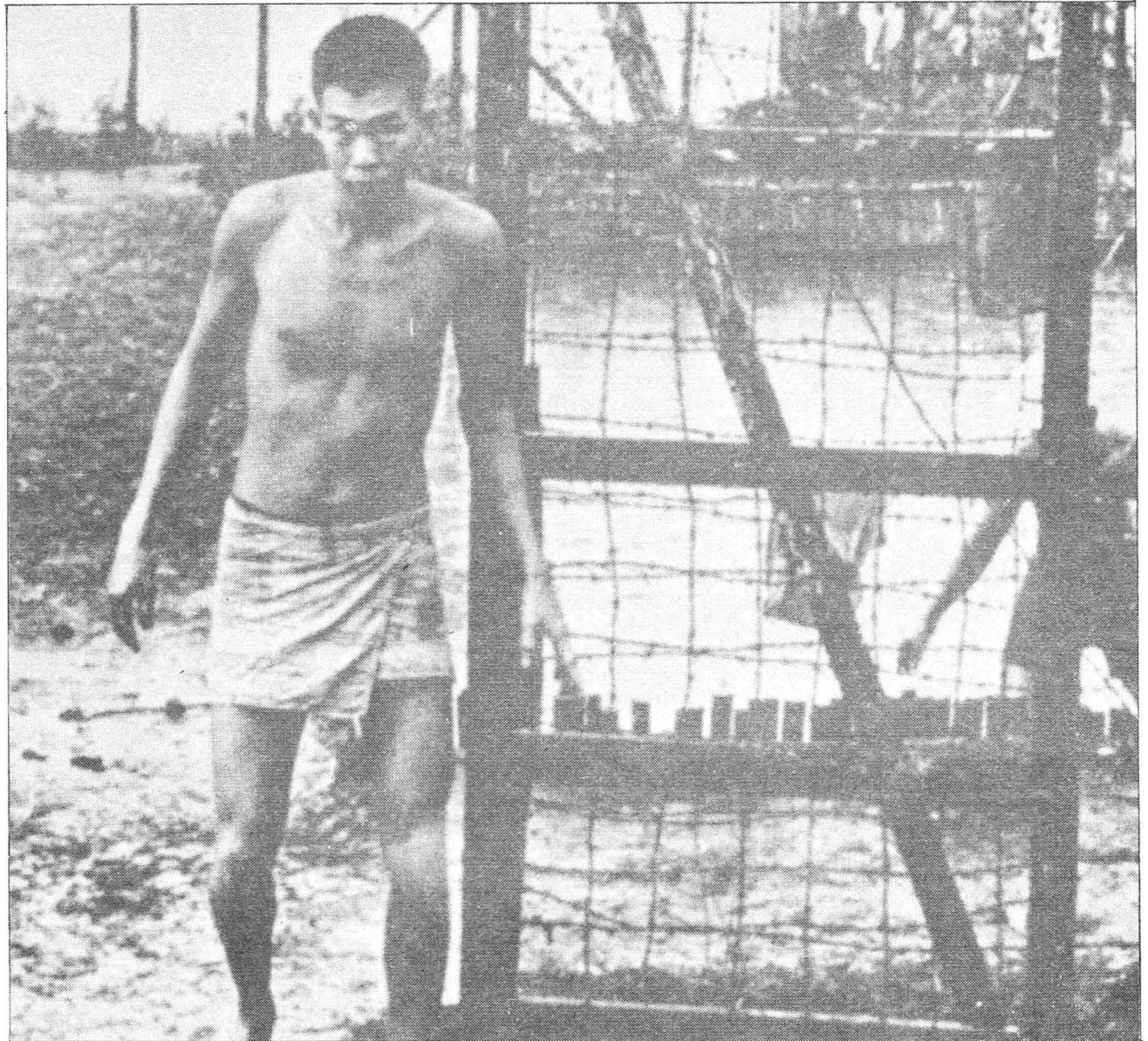
Working-class party

The failure of the "Communist" Party to adopt a Marxist perspective and take power in the period prior to 1965 had its horrific aftermath in Suharto's bloody coup d'état. The working class militancy will grow rapidly in the next period. The quicker a party based on the working class can be built in Indonesia to fight

for the defeat of capitalism the less will be the possibility for the ruling class to attempt another 1965 in the years of capitalist crisis to come.

The richest 20% corner 56% of the income even according to official government figures and a very, very small minority have control over the real economic power. Life ex-

pectancy is 53 and infant mortality as high as one in ten, but more is spent on defence (\$2.5 billion) than any other country in Asia. Internally too, huge sums are spent on repression. With the enormous contrast of wealth and poverty, it is needed by the capitalists, but it cannot save the system for ever.



Seventeen years after Suharto's coup, political prisoners are still held in barbaric conditions.

Suharto's bloody road to power

THE INDONESIAN people are suffering from the failure of the struggle for freedom from Dutch colonisation to remove the stranglehold of capitalist control at the same time.

In 1949 after 400 years, Indonesia's long fight for independence forced a weakened Netherlands imperialism to remove the Dutch flag from the islands. But imperialism did not disappear.

Indonesia's freedom went only as far as the economic domination of Dutch, German, American, Australian and Japanese capital would allow. For a start the nation was largely an administrative convenience for the Dutch conquerors with 150 million people on 13,000 islands speaking 100 distinct languages. They have links through the predominance of Islam, but the different areas may have enormously different problems and there are now a number of separatist movements.

The battle for independence for the fifth most populous country in the world stuck to capitalist nationalism alone. The incoming president Sukarno believed Indonesia to be totally impervious to the ideas of Marxism.

However, after inconclusive general elections in 1955, the situation rapidly changed and by 1957 Communist and left-wing mayors were being elected, the trade unions were a mighty force and all the workers' organisations continued to grow rapidly. The Communist Party

had two million members, a result of brave pioneering work as early as the first world war by Marxists.

Sukarno had tried to carry out a radical programme under capitalism and even in a world boom had managed only a few reforms.

The moment was fast approaching when a socialist transformation of society would have been possible. Imagine—the Indonesian workers controlling the factories, the lands, the banks! What effect would this have had on the

opposition. The Communist Party had degenerated shamefully from its heroic beginnings.

However, instead of handing back the plantations to their Dutch owners, the military maintained control of both plantations and workers therefore laying the basis of their increasing power. Sukarno was forced to lean more and more on the army for support.

Despite the setbacks, the working class still remained organised and powerful, but tragically

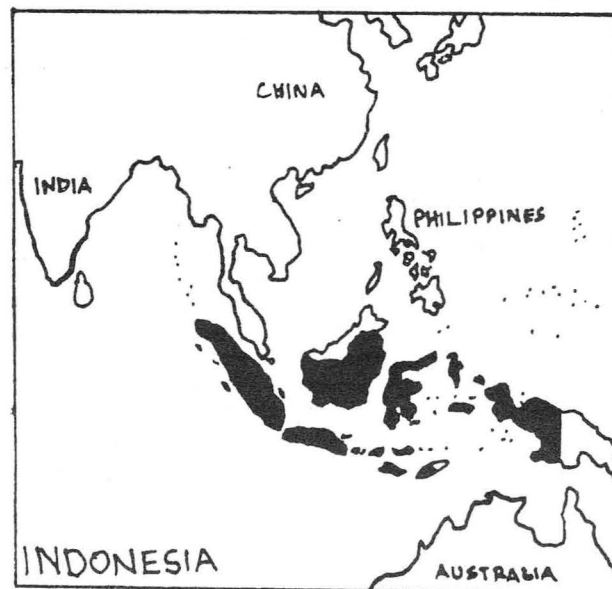
the army's growing power.

This vacillation on the edge of a precipice led to Sukarno's inevitable fall from power in September 1965. General Suharto carried out a coup d'état—naturally the CP again called for workers to show restraint and paid for it in the blood of the Communist workers. The lowest estimate is 500,000 dead but some say one million Communists died.

Suharto remains in power to this day, his "New Order" rubber stamped at four consecutive "elections". The USA, of course, describes Indonesia as a "democracy". This description does not take into account the following facts: half the representatives in parliament are chosen by the government; the government appoints the opposition party leaders and decides just who can be a candidate during elections; there is complete censorship; and ex-political prisoners are not allowed to vote.

Now nearly twenty years after the coup, most of the Communists and other oppositionists who were reprieved from death at the hands of Suharto's forces for the alternative of long-term imprisonment and torture have been released, mainly in the cosmetic "liberalisation" of the last few years.

Suharto has played the role the bosses wanted, capitalism still rules in Indonesia, and the wealth of the few rarely seeps down to the masses.



masses of the Philippines, Malaysia and New Guinea?

In 1959 workers all over Indonesia marched on plantations and took them over. What did the leadership of the by then powerful Communist Party do? They urged workers to remain calm and passive! The army was free to move in and crush the workers'

lacked the Marxist leadership necessary to take the struggle forward. Even with three years of martial law, Sukarno was unable to break the working class, so in 1962 and now fearful of the military, Sukarno attempted to launch a wave of populism amongst the working and middle classes in order to counter



President Suharto

been created in the last decade but a million and a half are added to the workforce each year.

The towns see mass unemployment of maybe 30% or more, while in the country, the official estimations of Gross National Product of \$360 a year are meaningless with real levels akin to those of Laos on about \$90. In Java the landless are driven by hunger into the mountains for food and fuel, where the inevitable consequent deforestation leads to erosion. In these areas terrible floods and drought alternate.



New disease resistant rice is grown, but the rural masses grow no richer.

The richest 20% corner 56% of the income even according to official government figures and a very, very small minority have control over the real economic power. Life ex-

Letters

VIEWERS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?
CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO

MILITANT, Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Time to talk about *Daily Militant*

Dear Comrade

I was interested to read the letter from Bob and Catherine Rice about the *Stars Vote Labour* article which you featured during the election campaign. I too found the article a departure from *Militant's* usual style.

If *Militant* is to become a successful daily it must provide all the information that workers expect from a daily newspaper. This means good coverage of things like sport and television as well as its traditional coverage of the political and industrial scene.

The basic functions of *Militant*, to educate, agitate and organise, will not change. But with a weekly there is the opportunity to provide considered comment on the events of the previous

week. It would not be possible to provide the same kind of coverage on a daily basis. But it would be necessary to report the facts as news. The transition from a weekly to a daily must inevitably bring profound changes in the way the paper is presented.

The task which faces the Editorial Board, and indeed every supporter, is to find the best way of turning *Militant* into a daily that every worker, every unemployed youngster, and every pensioner will want to read.

Perhaps the time is ripe for a discussion through the letters page on the daily *Militant*.

Yours fraternally
Iain Forbes
Croydon

Workers' democracy?

Dear Comrades

Militant 657 featured the Berlin Workers' Uprising of thirty years ago.

The famous German poet Bertolt Brecht wrote the following poem to explain how a supposed "workers' government" could stop itself being attacked by the workers it was supposed to represent:

Yours fraternally Dave Milson Sheffield

The Solution

After the uprising on June 17

The Secretary of the Authors' Union
Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee
Which said that the people
Had forfeited the government's confidence
And could only win it back
By redoubled Labour. Wouldn't it
Be simpler in that case if the government
Dissolved the people and
Elected another?

Polish politics

Dear Comrades

Coming from a Polish background, I found the article on Poland (*Militant* 656) very interesting.

I've always had difficulty defending Marxism amongst my relatives, especially my

Gran, whose family were made refugees by the Russians after the war, and had to leave Poland to come to Britain without a penny to their name.

Understandably my Gran has never forgiven what she sees as the Communists.

But the article is dead right

Lessons from Army

Dear Comrades

Last week I was talking to an ex-soldier about life in the army. He told me it's hard, especially when the CSMs are on the privates' backs all the time.

He told me he and a lot of his mates would like to have

a union in the army.

He was a lance-corporal and during the firemen's strike when he and his mates were told to stand in for the striking firemen, he felt sick, because they had forced them to cross a picket line which his brother was on. He could not face him for weeks after the strike had

finished.

He had read *Militant* when he was still in the army. He passed it round his mates, they read it and they liked it. They said it tells the truth not like other papers.

Yours fraternally
Michael Parkes
Tunbridge Wells LPYS



Strikebreaking soldiers manning "Green Goddesses" during the Firemen's strike in 1977.

Now we know where press get their stories

Dear *Militant*

On Monday 27 June some comrades and myself travelled up to London for the 'Militant post-election rally'. I'm sure I speak for the many people in the hall when I say how interesting the speeches were.

At the same time, may I congratulate the newly elected socialist MPs, Terry Fields and Dave Nellist. Our own Rod Fitch didn't get elected this time, but we're proud of him and his efforts to make Kempton a socialist constituency, and, make no doubt about it, we're going to battle until it is.

However, I was appalled at the press coverage at the rally last week. Out of the very few that were there, one gentleman of the press spent most of his time asleep.

Mike Joyce
Brighton Kempton
LPYS

British Aerospace

Dear Comrades

Recently the Chairman of British Aerospace gave a report back to a meeting of representatives of workers from all Aerospace factories.

This event was filmed and is currently being shown to all workers in the industry.

The film has left a sour taste in the minds of workers in my factory, and has only added to the state of confusion and insecurity that already exists.

Anyhow comrades, here's that old capitalist equation again, see whether your answer comes out the same as ours: The company cannot sell its aircraft, because the prices are too costly, because the wage bill is too high, because there is a surplus of employees.

Yours
Frank Clayton
Shop steward
British Aerospace
Woodford, Manchester

Sacked SDP staff to enter black economy?

Dear Comrades

While reading *Militant* No 655, I discovered an amazing coincidence with regards to the SDP's incomes policy.

In the Left and Right article headed 'Let them eat grass', we have Shirley Williams explaining that NHS workers could earn extra money doing a bit of gardening.

And recently I attended a local SDP public election meeting where the candidate was asked the SDP's position on the black economy. After a bit of 'umming and 'ahing (he didn't know what it meant) he told the meeting he had nothing against people on the dole earning cash by cleaning windows.

So there you have it, the total incomes policy of the SDP regarding low paid and unemployed workers.

Yours fraternally
K R Locker
Mansfield

Hanging

Dear *Militant*

The right wing of the Tory party are quite literally baying for blood and using the sex murders of the deranged "Yorkshire Ripper" and the campaign of individual terrorism by the Provisional IRA as propaganda for the restoration of hanging.

Their main aim is to divert attention from the real problems of society—such as poverty and unemployment; major causes of crime. They hope to gain support from the most backward and ignorant prejudices in society.

This inhuman attitude is exemplified by hanging men and women in cold blood. It is the logical outgrowth of Toryism. They have nothing to say to those men who have been unjustly imprisoned for murder and later released. They have no answer to the fact that the crime rate in the USA has continued to soar although many states have capital punishment.

Only a decisive lead from the Labour leaders can begin the fight against this ultimate expression of the Tories' contempt for human life.

Yours fraternally
Derek McMillan
East Grinstead

No collaboration

Dear Comrades

I really learnt something on 9 June. I was poll check at a Junior High School.

The Tory candidate Wally (appropriate name) came in and wanted to shake my hand. I reckon because I am black he wanted to reassure me that I was British—like that uncle Tom in that indescribably insulting poster.

I thought of the line in 'Macbeth', "...there's daggers in men's smiles..."

Comrades some people have no shame. When I declined the other Tory said I was childish and comrades did he give me some deadly bad looks. I had to laugh. Roll on local elections.

Yours fraternally
Sandra Reddie
Leyton LPYS

Thatcher catching

Comrades

In Hull there has been a mass dysentery epidemic which started at Christmas and hit 675 separate people. Individuals of all ages were struck but by far the largest number was concentrated in children of primary school age whose schools had been built before the last war.

Although it was agreed top priority must now be given to replacing the cold damp outdoor toilets and toilets without washing facilities at those schools which were an ideal breeding ground for the dysentery bacteria, the Hull council report placed more emphasis on pointing out that some families were uncooperative when asked to provide specimens for doctors and that some failed to report they had contracted the disease.

It would seem that the gospel according to Thatcher is spreading. Now not only is it your own fault if you are unemployed, it is also your own fault if you catch a disease that supposedly doesn't exist in our modern society.

Fraternally
Louise Watts
Hull

Social crisis

Dear Comrades

I agree with Katy (letters page, 655) that we need Rape Crisis Centres to help women in the terrible aftermath of rape and that it's just not enough to plan for the future.

But I could fill a page, a book, with things that the working class urgently need, that will not wait for the future.

I could spend every waking moment helping at the rape crisis centre, battered wives' hostel, disabled club, tapes for the blind, etc, etc and every minute would be worthwhile. I have felt the fear that sexual assault brings and needed help. I have also felt the crushing, mindbending effect of living on a wage so low I got protein malnutrition and could hardly work the 43-hour week I was supposed to do.

I'm lucky. I've been able to overcome these difficulties for now, but I know that the only way to ensure I never have to live through those things again is to change society.

Yours fraternally
Helen Mullineux
Hants



Solidarity members raise a banner during a violent clash with troops in Warsaw.

Rural solidarity?

Dear Comrades

Have you dealt with the most important aspects of the situation in Poland? What exactly do the industrial workers, represented by Solidarnosc, want the Polish government to do? What exactly do you want to

see happen in Poland?

What the workers need, first and foremost, is food. How is the government to provide this? How is it to make the peasants feed the towns?

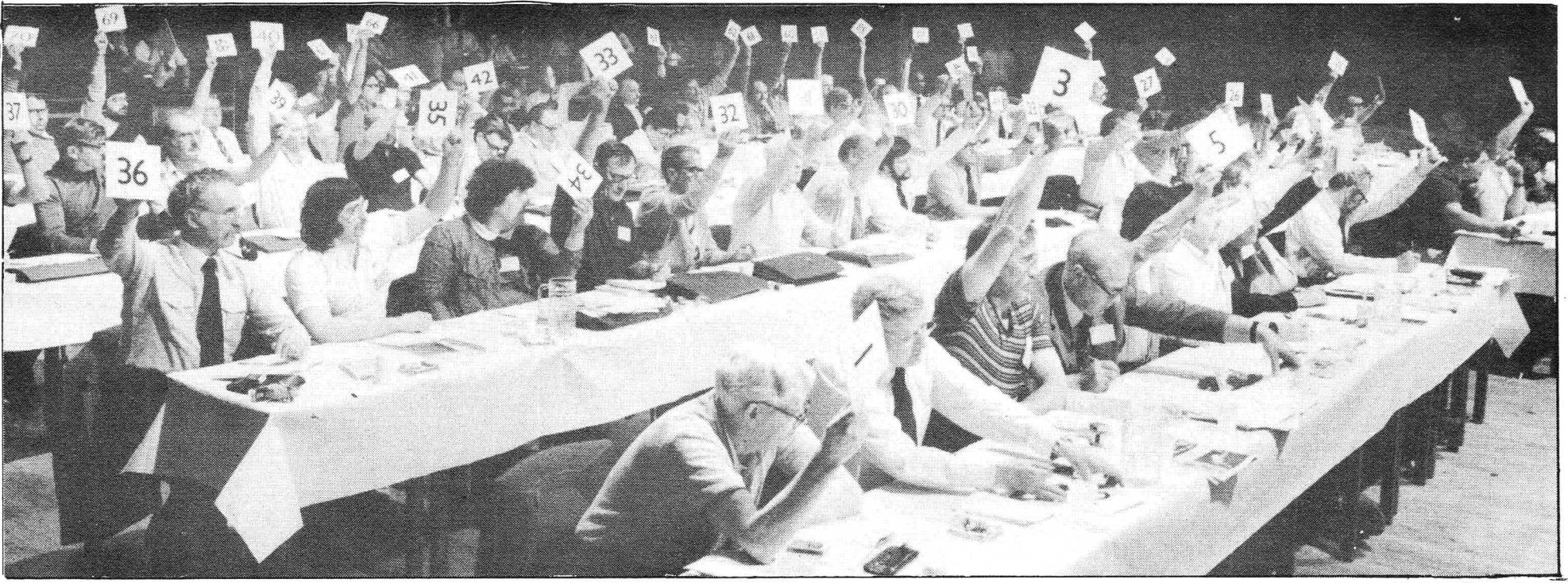
I live deep in rural Shropshire, twenty miles from Shrewsbury. This is a true-blue Tory area. The owners

of farms, even small farms worked by the families, have in general the outlook of the owner and the (would-be) employer, even though they themselves cannot afford to "pay labour".

They want a "good" price for their produce. They have no affinity with workers of the individual towns, who,

they think, are "never satisfied", the trade unions being a nuisance and wanting to rule the country. I suspect that the mentality of farm owners, small and large, is much the same everywhere.

Yours in comradeship
Kathleen Jones
Shrewsbury



NUR conference, Bridlington—delegates vote overwhelmingly to fight the Serpell report.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (IFL)

All change in NUR

Important leftward moves have taken place in two major trade unions, the POEU and NUR. MARTIN ELVIN takes a closer look at changes in the NUR as seen at its recent conference.

Recent changes in the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) mark a big step forward for railworkers and the labour movement generally.

The change in the political stance of the NUR is a sharp rebuttal of the doom and gloom merchants who have been celebrating the demise of the traditional labour movement and its leftward shift.

This year's AGM was in sharp contrast to last year's, which was probably one of the worst in the union's history.

Sid Weighell, then General Secretary, persuaded delegates to abandon the hours-old rail strike. The platform seemed primarily concerned with stifling discussion and opposition.

Sid Weighell's enforced resignation over his conduct at Labour Party conference has acted as a catalyst, hastening processes of change already underway.

Jimmy Knapp's crushing victory in the election for General Secretary, on the slogan "Together a new start", reflected members' genuine desire to break with the past.

This trend has continued with the retirement of President Tommy Ham, an old cog in the right wing machine, and his replacement by left-winger, Bob Kettle from Neasden.

The NUR was an important ally of the 'multilateral', pro-nuclear lobby. Sid Weighell was heavily involved in the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding, a NATO-financed body.

On this year's AGM agenda there were eight resolutions on peace and disarmament, every one of them calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Conference voted overwhelmingly for unilateral nuclear disarmament and to affiliate to CND.

A cheer went up from delegates when this decision was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Incomes policy

Likewise, the NUR leaders were once the architects of incomes policy, wage restraint and controls on free collective bargaining. Weighell gained notoriety for his infamous "snouts in the trough" speech at Labour Party Conference. This year's AGM turned its back on such bankrupt policies.

As Sammy Fleming of Liverpool No 5 said, one of the main causes of Labour's defeat was Callaghan and Healey insisting on 5% rises after three years of wage restraint

The right wing have attempted to use the NUR as a vehicle for a witch-hunt in the Labour Party. It was a resolution on these lines from the union's 1980 AGM that provided the basis for the Register and the subsequent expulsion of the five members of the *Militant* Editorial Board.

At this year's AGM the NUR decisively rejected that road. An amendment from

Knottingley calling for the elimination of "the cancer of the *Militant* Tendency" was hammered—only fourteen delegates supported it.

The amendment was to a Paddington No 1 resolution which condemned the recent expulsions as "divisive, time-consuming and a criminal diversion from the struggle against the Tories and their allies".

Moving the resolution, Gerry O'Dwyer said, "Witch-hunts are an absolute gift to the Tory media" and NUR members would expect their leadership to concentrate efforts on winning support for Labour policies.

John Kay (Berwick thought that if those who had been in the party all these years couldn't deal with the fresh ideas of youth, "they must be very knackered. If they weren't in the party, then there would be people complaining about *Militant* being outside the party".

There is no doubt that the Paddington resolution would have been carried but for the intervention of the General Secretary.

Witch-hunt rejected

He certainly argued against the Knottingley amendment, emphasising on a number of occasions his total opposition to witch-hunts within the union or the Labour Party. But he also opposed the Paddington resolution, mainly on the basis that the section of it calling for changes to the constitution to allow for groupings in the Labour Party would only lead to

further internal wrangling. In his view the constitution had "stood the test of time".

Militant supporters agree with the proposed constitutional amendment. But we don't believe this is the most crucial issue, particularly as no supporter of *Militant*, including the paper's Editorial Board, has committed an offence against the constitution.

It is therefore also of concern that Jimmy Knapp regards the expulsions as punishment for offences against the constitution, implying that the Editorial Board had committed some offence. This intervention was sufficient to ensure that both the resolution and the amendment fell.

Bro. Knapp was quick, however, to point out that nobody should underestimate the progress made: there would be no more witch-hunts involving the NUR.

The General Secretary seemed to many to be rather inconsistent when dealing with a resolution calling on the NUR to support the *Morning Star* which had an amendment to it to include "all other socialist and trade union papers that support our movement."

Bro. Knapp spoke against this amendment, reeling off a long list of papers, including the *Militant*, which he claimed attacked the Labour Party.

It is completely inconsistent to argue in favour of support for the *Morning Star*, which supports Communist Party candidates standing against official Labour Party election candidates, whilst excluding *Militant*, which consistently supports Labour candidates and has far greater support in the Labour Party. It would have been far more sensible to support the amendment or argue the political case.

Unity of rail unions

Perhaps the greatest advance for the rail industry and its workers as a result of the change in the NUR is the new attitude to unity of the rail unions, so vital if Tory and BRB attacks are to be defeated.

History was made with the visit and fraternal address from Ray Buckton ASLEF General Secretary, returning the visit of Jimmy Knapp to the train-drivers' conference last month.

A resolution on the Triple Alliance was carried unanimously. This included an amendment from Tinsley calling for a "campaign to ensure the building of links between the Triple Alliance unions at local level in preparation for joint propaganda work and supportive action."

It also called for a national delegate conference organised jointly by the Triple Alliance unions "at which the founding document can be reviewed."

Delegates were pleased to hear that Triple Alliance unions were meeting regularly. Although Jimmy Knapp asked that the planned twice-yearly meetings of the unions' executives be accepted rather than a full joint conference at this stage, the demand for rank

and file involvement at national level will undoubtedly grow.

On Serpell the NUR not only expressed its "outright opposition to the Serpell Report" and voted for "industrial action" to oppose it, but also adopted a clear alternative.

Lew Boyce (East Ham) spelt this out: "Nationalisation is going to be the thing to save the industry. It is by owning and controlling the industry we can care for its survival.

"We believe in integration. It is in our interests and our children's interests that we have a socially-run transport system."

The past year has seen tremendous changes in the NUR. It can no longer be counted a bastion of the right-wing, politically or industrially.

Militant supporters in the union can take their fair share of credit. They played a significant part in these changes; by their hard, consistent work and clear ideas they have given encouragement to many rank and file members and set an example to many others on the left.

Much is still to be done

But there is no room for complacency. Bob Kettle had a narrow victory, 39-38, in the Presidential elections. The conference itself, with 77 delegates representing 160,000 members, indicates that much remains to be done in creating a more open, democratic and campaigning union.

Above all, the Tories and the BRB are determined to push home their attacks, with Serpell, cuts in manning and further productivity. The deadline for the first workshop closures draws near.

Already the press are hinting at confrontation, following the AGM decision to pull out of all further talks about productivity including One Man Operation of trains.

It is essential that the General Secretary, (who argued against such a course of action) together with the entire NUR leadership gets foursquare behind that decision.

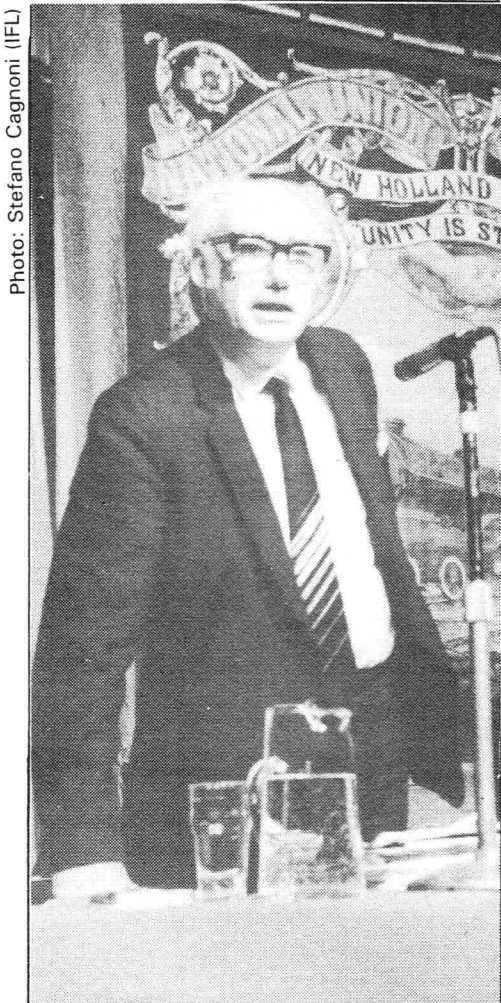
Referring back to the decision not to negotiate on the abolition of guards' jobs, Jimmy Knapp asked what he could offer the Board. The answer must be: offer them a fight. One sure way to raise morale is to lift the threat now hanging over guards' jobs.

Confrontation approaching

There must be no repetition of what happened over the Lincoln guards' refusal to lift track. The NEC settled that dispute on the strength of promises from regional management, which they are not empowered to keep.

A showdown is approaching. The time to turn words into deeds is coming.

Enormous gains have been made. It is crucial that activists continue to build support for the policies and programme of the Broad Left, to ensure support at national and local level for clear fighting policies, an active rank and file and a responsive leadership.



Jimmy Knapp speaking at conference.

when the cost of living was rising at 8%. Restraint always applies to the workers.

Bro. Schultz (Hull) pointed out that the TUC National Economic Assessment was based upon a pamphlet entitled "A Better Way" written by SDP defector John Grant. Bro Schultz lambasted Frank Chapple, president of the TUC, for supporting Grant.

Jimmy Knapp asked: does the Labour Party's future depend on us agreeing wage restraint and an incomes policy?

"I argue no" he told the AGM. Pay policy doesn't help, and it won't be accepted as an answer by workers in 1983.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (IFL)

Industrial Reports

MINERS

THE BACKGROUND to all the discussions at the NUM conference held in Perth, was the National Coal Board's (NCB) attack on jobs.

This was illustrated by Arthur Scargill's apologies for empty seats as officials or whole delegations were recalled to their areas to deal with the new threat.

Many NCB officials must be attempting to prove themselves to their new master MacGregor even before he arrives in September. They are going over the head of the union and tearing up agreements. The review procedure, submitted only months earlier in evidence to the Monopolies and Merger Commissions has been discarded.

The six months it can take to close a pit is too long and not in line with MacGregor's "bully boy" style of management.

The NCB took openly provocative action when they directed some men who had agreed to move from the threatened Cardowan Colliery (Scotland) to report to other pits before the review procedure had been exhausted.

They then locked out men at Polmaise who protested about working with these men.

New technology will also be a challenge. In the hands of MacGregor "computer technology... could cut away 100,000 jobs by the end of the century... By 1987 an annual ten million tonnes of Selby coal will be produced by only 4,000

miners. At present it takes 20,000 miners at conventional pits to produce that amount" said Arthur Scargill.

He also outlined the benefits it could bring; retirement at 55 (which would result in a further 50,000 jobs) with a decent pension; a shorter working week and the elimination of overtime which would create a further 25,000 jobs.

This is only possible if miners take control of the industry into their own hands, as part of a planned economy owned and controlled by the working class.

The decision to resist denationalisation and bring back under full NCB control the Coal Products Division, partially hived-off under the Heath government will flounder if the struggle to save pits and jobs is lost.

That applies to the motion calling for a "substantial wage increase"

A "substantial" increase will only be conceded by the NCB if they see they have no alternative. The huge coal stocks are an indication of how they are thinking.

The NUM NEC will eventually have to set a figure as it would be impossible to mobilise a campaign around an unknown figure. Does "substantial" mean one or two percent over the norm—or the 30% reduction in grade rates the miners have suffered since 1978.

At the beginning of the conference, in his presidential address Arthur Scargill stated, "the responsibility for the two ballot results and



Photo Rick Matthews (IFL)

The row around Cardowan Colliery has escalated.

The NCB have now announced that despite arrangements to transfer miners from the threatened Cardowan pit they want 300 redundancies, probably at Polkemmet, West Lothian, to make way for them. See NUM national conference review (left) and Scottish NUM conference report (right, page 15).

Kent leader defiant

THE SECOND part of an interview by JIM ELLEN for *Militant* with JACK COLLINS, secretary of the Kent miners.

Despite setbacks we intend to remain the strongest section of the working class in Britain. The Tories will do anything in their power to defeat the miners—whether it's by offering large redundancy payments or by spending millions of pounds on incentive schemes. Their sole aim is to defeat the miners.

They might just think they've been successful—if

so then they're deluding themselves.

Many people tried to analyse the result of the last ballot and try to find reasons why miners nationally were not prepared to support the South Wales miners. All kinds of excuses have been given.

Some have said that it was the wrong time of year to go into struggle—that miners prefer to strike in winter rather than in spring. That's rubbish!

Other excuses that have been offered are the huge stockpiles of coal, or the fact that the younger men in the industry who had not ex-

perienced the last national strike in 1974 were not prepared to fight. Or that nobody was bothered about a scruffy little pit in South Wales that was already exhausted.

If there's any substance in these excuses then the question I want answered is why did the Kent miners and the South Wales miners vote overwhelmingly to support the stand of the national leadership?

It was because a strong, fighting lead was given in those areas. If a strong lead is given, men will respond.

British & American Tobacco — big stick tactics

British and American Tobacco, doubtless encouraged by Thatcher's election victory are again waving the "big stick" of the dole queue over the heads of workers at their Liverpool factory.

The "big stick's" handle this time takes the form of threats to move work away from Liverpool, with veiled threats to move further afield than Britain itself.

Twelve months ago BAT management raised the idea of a tobacco processing plant (to "fluff up" tobacco so using less per cigarette!) in Corby, to feed both UK and European factories. The stated aim at the time was not to build a cigarette production unit, merely a processing plant.

On Monday 20 June, management announced they'd bought 20 acres of land (at £6,000 an acre!) adjacent to the processing plant, saying that it was only for warehouse space!

Fishy

This smelt distinctly fishy. Add the fact that in August an option on 21 acres of land

CHRIS WILLIAMS,
Tobacco Workers Union
convenor at Liverpool
BAT talks to
JIM HOLLINSHEAD

adjacent to the Liverpool factory expires and the whole thing smells more like a fish cannery than a tobacco factory!

Union and workers in Liverpool have never objected to the creation of jobs in Corby, but existing jobs have to be protected—we want jobs in Corby and Liverpool too!

Weigh up the two sides, 20 acres in Corby, 21 acres in Liverpool. In Corby the company have an option to sell back the land to the County Council (holding millions of shares in the company!). In Liverpool they have applied for outline planning permission with no commitment to buy or build.

The gun is clearly to the head of workers at BAT in Liverpool.

In October management will put forward a five-year plan to cover revised working practises and probably reductions in manning levels. The message is clear, accept or we close and move to Corby.

On the shop floor management have been employing the usual scare tactics. For the past 12 months they've been telling workers in Liverpool that it costs £1 more to produce 1,000 cigarettes in Liverpool than in BAT's factory in Southampton.

Bosses trying to create divisions

What they haven't said is why. Southampton is a four brand factory, Liverpool produces odds and sods, so whilst Southampton is in production almost continually, machines in Liverpool stop and start, with inevitably higher costs.

The machines in Southampton are all modern, whilst 75% of

Liverpool's plant is fifteen to twenty years out of date. Additionally, the factory in Liverpool has 400 more production workers.

The union in Liverpool has always argued jobs before pay rates. For years, they have argued that manning levels should be higher in Southampton, not lower in Liverpool.

On some machines, Liverpool has twice the crew size of Southampton.

Problems do not end here though, BAT management are not just dividing Liverpool against Southampton, they are now comparing BAT factories in the UK to factories in America and Europe.

Again the full tale is not told. In the company's factory in Geneva 75% of the workers are 'guest' labourers.

In other words immigrant workers who lose their work permits and visa's as soon as they open their mouths to organise to defend or extend their rights.

Workers there work a 44 hour week, receiving 43 hours pay, accruing the rest for the privilege of a Christmas holiday.

The spate of closures and

job losses announced within weeks and days of the Tories' victory are no accident. They are political attacks as well as economic. They are designed to frighten workers, especially in Liverpool, the only red island in a sea of Tory blue.

We have to organise now. We need a united campaign of all BAT workers, in

POEU

NEW MERCURY STRIKE

AT 10.30 on Monday morning, eight members of the Post Office Engineers Union were brought out on indefinite strike over the use of management grades to do work in connection with Project Mercury over the weekend of July 2.

The POEU members on strike are all at the Covent Garden Telephone exchange which uses the modern 404 Crossbow unit. Because the exchange handles public subscribers, members of the public will inevitably be affected.

A spokesman commented that the union had not wanted to take such action but their hand had been

Liverpool, Southampton and internationally to answer all the distortions of management and fight job losses and reductions in working conditions and living standards. Such a campaign would give a tremendous boost to a united fight in Merseyside against redundancies and closures.

forced by management action. "We cannot accept a situation", he said, "where managers are brought in to do our work."

The strike has the full backing of the National Executive Council of the POEU.

There was some possibility, union members thought, that management would introduce workers from the Regional Headquarters of BT to cover for those on strike. But such action would only anger the POEU more, leading to an escalation of the action.

By a POEU member



Industrial Reports

CARDOWAN NCB holiday bonus

A DELEGATE conference of Scottish miners has unanimously pledged support for members fighting closure of Cardowan Colliery, near Glasgow.

For a second time, the National Coal Board have deliberately provoked a confrontation just before a holiday.

It was just a week before last Christmas that the closure of Kinneil was announced. Now, a week before most pits close for the summer holidays, they have transferred workers from the threatened Cardowan pit to several others.

"They have attempted to provoke strike action and split the unity of our men", claimed Scottish NUM presi-

dent Mick McGahey.

Workers at the Polmaise Colliery, at Fallin, Stirlingshire, have been locked out for a week. Management alleged that a picket line to persuade volunteers from Cardowan to go back and help keep their pit open, amounted to intimidation, and retaliated with a lock-out.

Now, miners at Polkemmet, at Whitburn, West Lothian, have gone on strike after management offered voluntary redundancy to Polkemmet workers to make way for Cardowan men, two of whom have already been started there.

The union alleged that the seventy volunteers for a transfer from Cardowan

have been offered financial attractions, including, for the first time, an extra week's holiday.

The conference sent a resolution to the National Executive Committee of the NUM calling on them "to stand firm and conduct a national campaign to save the industry".

National action is vital if the NCB is to be stopped from destroying the industry. As Mick McGahey said, "Wheeller (Scottish NCB director) is carrying out the instructions of his bosses at Hobart House, and they are carrying out the instructions of their boss, at 10 Downing Street.

By Pat Craven

USDAW left: Turning outwards

USDAW BROAD LEFT at its Annual General meeting, held in Birmingham on 10 July, voted for a change in direction and strategy.

Two *Militant* supporters were elected to leading positions in the Broad Left. George Williamson from the union's Eastern division was elected as the National Chairman and Mick Wainwright from the North Western division became National Secretary. Labour left-winger Norman Macleod, also from the Eastern division, was elected unopposed as Treasurer.

This represents a decisive

turn for the USDAW Broad Left. The retiring National Chairman (a long-standing Communist Party member) took the result badly, declaring the election a "takeover by *Militant*, trying to turn the Broad Left into a narrow sectarian clique", amid protests from members in the meeting.

Incoming Chairman, George Williamson rejected these allegations and expressed his intention to help build the Broad Left by involving the mass of leftward moving activists in the union; by turning it outward to become the leadership of

the union.

The meeting adopted a new constitution aimed at democratising the Broad Left. In future the leading bodies will be made up of representatives from all eight divisions rather than being dominated by just one, as in the past.

The first tasks of the Broad Left now are to launch a journal aimed at drawing USDAW members towards the Broad Left, and to decide a candidate for General Secretary.

By a *Militant* reporter

AUEW and BSC trade unionists: Unite behind Unit

THE STRIKE at the Unit Superheaters factory has entered its twelfth week with BSC still adamant that the plant will close and the hundred AUEW members remain sacked, losing all their redundancy pay.

The fight continues, however, with a 24-hour picket of the gates and strikers travelling the country publicising BSC's heavy-handed tactics and raising much needed cash for the strike fund.

BSC intend to make an example out of Unit Superheaters. Any group of

workers taking strike action to defend jobs will be told that unless they act "responsibly" and accept job losses they could lose everything like the Unit lads.

That is why this dispute must be won. Our members must be confident that if they carry out union policy and fight forced redundancies the AUEW leadership will respond with action and not just words.

The rank and file within BSC and the AUEW generally must pressurise our union leadership into taking action to defend the Unit

Superheater strikers and not allow this dispute to be swept under the carpet.

Preparation for a 24-hour strike of AUEW members in BSC should be the first step to highlighting the victimisation of our members in Swansea and a warning of the consequences to every AUEW member if BSC is allowed to make a mockery out of our union organisation.

Messages of support and financial donations to go to Fred Evans, 9 Bishopston Road, Bishopston, Swansea, cheques should be made out to the "Unit Strike Fund".

By Alec Thraves
(Swansea AUEW)
Personal capacity

STRINGTOWN, DERRY

Secondary picket in public interest

THIRTY-ONE AUEW members at Stringtown Engineering Fabric and Dye have been in occupation since Tuesday 5 July to save their jobs.

The owner maintains that the factory has been closed due to the refusal of the Industrial Development Board to give more finance, and because of the a debt believed to exceed £200,000.

But workers at the factory state that a grant of £60,000

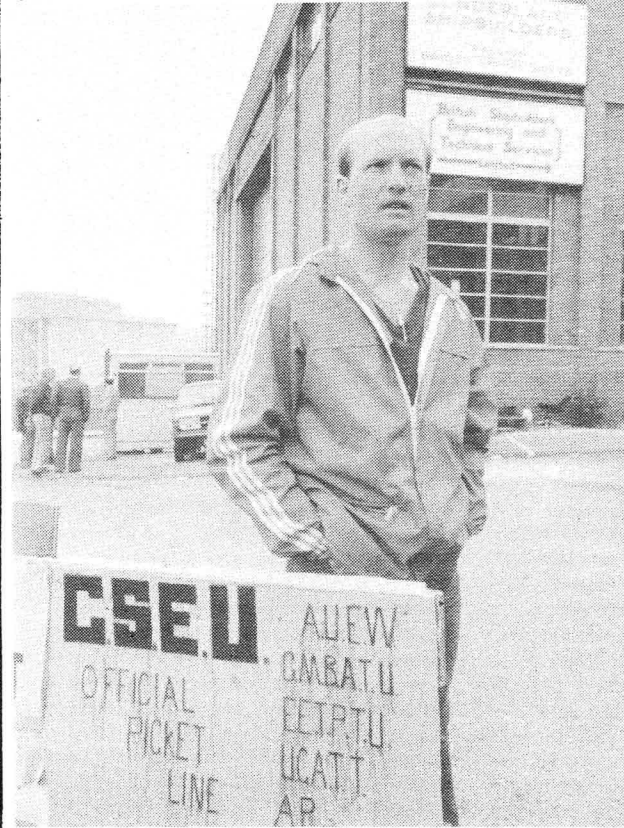
was paid eight weeks ago, they also said that money for goods purchased at the factory had been paid not to the factory itself, but to another business, a commercial distributors, which their boss also controls.

The workforce have now placed a regular picket on this company (the commercial distributors). They are demanding a trade union and public inquiry into where this money has gone.

The first they heard of the closure was on Tuesday morning, when the employer announced he was closing, and paid them their week in hand. They were all laid off without their holiday pay, and no mention of redundancy.

When they occupied the plant, the boss immediately called the police, to eject them. Not being able to eject them, due to the company being in debt to the workers,

Photo: D Doran (Militant)



AUEW shop steward Keith McLaren on the picket line.

THE 160 workers at British Shipbuilders (Engineering and Technical Services) were out on strike from 8 June.

The dispute started during a pay wrangle in which the men asked for parity with the crankshaft section who on average earn £9 per week more. Management then went ahead and broke the national procedure agreement by putting a man off pay and thus causing the strike. The attitude was that if management were picking on individuals then everybody was out and all off pay.

The issue boils down to the irresponsibility of management who in the eyes of the men are incapable of managing. Matters deteriorated further when the management used scab labour. They removed castings from the works during the night in unmarked trucks. This incident led to the establishment of a 24-hour picket.

At a mass meeting held on the 7 July management accepted the formula that was first put forward by the union five weeks previously.

By Chris Fryatt
(Sunderland North LPYS)

Renolds on the rocks

THE RENOLDS factory in Manchester is threatened with 500 redundancies.

All the shop stewards from the various Renolds factories met a couple of weeks ago to discuss the situation. It was recognised that the firm has been transferring work from Rochdale to Cardiff, because they get a bigger grant. The firm is in a financial mess because of the massive interest they owe to the bank.

The workers are fed up. They've not had a wage rise for the last two years and the stewards from the factories that are known to be closing said that they felt sorry for the ones that were staying open because at least they knew what position they were

in now.

The shop stewards' combine has drawn up a report on the position of the firm and is looking at alternatives to the likely closure of the whole UK operation.

It seems that Renolds itself has been advised by merchant bank Lazard Brothers on some kind of a deal whereby several firms get together and agree to shut down another firm and pay money towards it.

There's a meeting this Wednesday between the unions and management to discuss the redundancies in Manchester and there'll be a mass meeting after that.

By Margaret Manning

By Manus
Maguire

the owner has threatened to get a court injunction to eject them from the factory and stop the picketing at the other firm.

This type of situation has become standard for big business and industry in Northern Ireland, claiming thousands of pounds of taxpayers' money for quick profits and when these dry up moving on elsewhere.

But the workers at

Stringtown are confident they can get their jobs back, since the order book is full up.

Workers in Britain and Ireland must support them in their struggle. An occupation fund has been established to help the workers' campaign, and donations should be sent to: Stringtown Engineering Occupation Fund, AUEW Office, 2a Patrick Street, Derry.

Aerospace workers— redundant by radio

THE PROPOSED closure of the British Aerospace factory at Hurn near Bournemouth is a disaster of tremendous proportions for the area.

The factory at present employs 2,000 people and is the largest employer on a single site for a thirty mile radius.

There are a further 1,000 who could be made redundant in other local factories and services that supply direct to Hurn.

During the three or four days before the announcement of closure rumours were rife that about 650 redundancies were on the cards, but the news that all 2,000 were to go was a bombshell, especially as British Aerospace made a profit last year.

Even the way the news was broken was callous. It was announced by management to a meeting of shop stewards which finished at 5.20 pm. At 5.30 pm the closure was broadcast on local radio before shop stewards could break the news to the membership, the majority of whom clock off at 4.30 pm.

Hurn as an aircraft manufacturer came to prominence in the 1960s with the one-eleven, a world beater at the time.

Even though it is considered superior to its Boeing equivalent (a one-eleven can take six landings to a Boeing's one), it is no longer produced in Britain. The licence to manufacture the aircraft was sold to the Rumanians in return for, among other things, their jam.

The factory is now totally reliant on the British Aerospace factories in Weybridge and Filton for its work. The workers at these two factories must join the Hurn fight. Their jobs are next on the line.

Workers at Hurn have a long history of militancy. In recent years full support was given to the one and two day strikes by the engineering unions for a shorter working week, and in 1980 the workforce marched through the town centre in protest against government plans to hive off the then nationalised British Aerospace.

The attitude of the incompetent management and the pitiful redundancy payments being offered, and the failure to invest over the years in new plant and machinery, will spur the workers into non-cooperation with management's closure plans. The job opportunities for skilled engineers in Bournemouth are non-existent.

By Andrew Dinkener
(ASTMS 836 Branch,
Bournemouth)

Militant



Workers at Govan shipbuilders, Glasgow. Another vital industry being threatened by the Tories.

Photo: Militant

NHS

Continued from page one

losing £57 m, education £36m, employment £30m, overseas aid £20m and transport £16m.

Already health authorities in London and Merseyside are under pressure to close hospitals, now they will be expected to cut back even further, with so-called "efficiency savings" ie cuts in jobs, to keep services going.

There will be a 2% cut in NHS capital spending, Victorian hospitals will not now be replaced, they are more likely to be just closed down.

They also say they will "try" to get the drug companies who make enormous profits from the NHS to cut their prices, but the pharmaceutical firms say they will resist the government. The Tories may take retribution on health authorities who disobey their edicts, but can you seriously imagine them getting tough with their buddies in big business?

The normally conservative British Medical Association has published criticisms of the Tory plans from hospital consultants and junior doctors. The senior consultant plastic surgeon at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Bruce Baily, who gained deserved applause from the press for replanting Roy Tapping's severed arm after a farm accident was ignored by the Tory press when he commented, "people went to the polls deluded by a lot of lies" on the safety of the NHS.

The Tories' real intentions were covered up during the election. The permanent Secretary at the DHSS told

all health administrators not to publish any politically sensitive documents during the election. So news of the closure of the post-operation recovery unit at Queen Charlotte Hospital, London was not released until Thatcher was safely back in Downing street.

And, surprise surprise, the DHSS now recommend sending patients to private nurses homes if the unit closes. Just as the document leaked by the Labour Party during the election predicted.

The capitalist class have been taking extra-parliamentary action against the working class. The owners of the factories throw away our jobs as if they were dog ends. The city sharks use the threat of zooming interest rates to ensure their government cuts spending on our services.

And they want more cuts. "Overspending" by the government, (mainly according to official figures, on paying for the millions out of work due to their system and on subsidising the bosses club, the EEC and its butter mountain), is worrying the men of high finance. They want bigger cuts still in the autumn.

The Tories election campaign was a fraud from beginning to end. They cannot claim any "mandate" for their policies now.

If the bosses can take action both in parliament and outside to attack our living standards and our services, so can our class.

The leaders of the public service unions, the TUC and Labour Party must prepare the labour movement for action to defend vital services from the Tory axe, and to take the government on if necessary.

Tory Pirates Plunder Shipyards

ON 6 July British Shipbuilders backed away from immediate compulsory redundancies and lay-offs, which had earlier provoked threats of sit-ins and occupations of the yards.

The unions, however, conceded 3,700 voluntary redundancies—to take effect immediately and to be completed by September.

BS are not content even with this, they still want an additional 2,262 jobs by December and another 3,113 by March 1984. There is no guarantee that the flow of redundancies will stop there.

The Blackpool decision on

no compulsory redundancies remains but there is a limit to the amount of volunteers that can be extracted.

Discussion around lay-offs and wages has been halted until BS have met the government. Unions and management are to meet on 22 August to discuss the outcome of the government talks.

Between now and then the union executives have to of-

fer shipyard workers a clear lead. One reason why many are ready to take voluntary redundancy is because wages are low.

No closures no wage freeze

Shipyard workers have fallen from third to nineteenth in the wages league since 1977. The lesson has to be learnt, workers are less willing to fight to save an industry that offers low wages.

It must be made clear that decent wages and job security go together. Therefore, a substantial wage claim, to restore our 1977 position, should be put in. Failure to do this will lead to further

disillusionment and embolden the employers.

Our executive have to start the campaign now, explaining to the workforce just what union policy is, making it clear that if necessary a national stoppage will be called to:

- ★ Oppose all further redundancies.
- ★ Oppose yard closures.
- ★ Oppose BS demand for a wage freeze and to fight for a substantial wage increase.

By Tony Carty
(Convenor Austin Pickersgill Sunderland)

British Shipbuilding (Engineering and Technical Services): See page 15.

Tebbit's war on youth

Continued from page one

fight.

And a small victory was won this week on YTS pay by the civil service union the CPSA. Twenty youth taken on YTS by the British Airports Authority will be paid £36 a week after union negotiations between management and a CPSA team which, according to the *Guardian*, "included Terry Adams section secretary of the

Civil and Public Services Association and a supporter of the Militant Tendency". The trainees will also receive the same conditions of employment as ordinary staff.

Certainly this increase still leaves YTS pay far short of a decent wage, but it is a step in the right direction. If this can be achieved by one section of a trade union, imagine what the combined power

of the trade union movement as a whole could achieve if it puts its weight behind the struggle for decent pay and conditions for YTS.

But while concessions can—and must—be won from the Tories on YTS the real struggle is for the right to work for all. This can be won through the socialist transformation of society.

Only then can the 30% of production lost by the Tories through their policies of mass

unemployment, be put into action—"That 30%" as Dave Nellist put it, which "would be worth an estimated £65 billion, sufficient to guarantee a national minimum wage of £100 and a 35-hour week for all workers, a 50% increase in all pensions and supplementary benefits, a 25% increase in NHS and education spending and a doubling of house building."

Dave Nellist's speech
—see page 5



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