Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

ISSUE 737
22 February 1985

25p

Stalin's purges— How the traditions of 1917 were crushed

Pages 8–9

Miners will not be humiliated

Stand firm

THE TUC leaders have displayed more enthusiasm in rushing to talk to the Tory leaders to try and end the miners' strike, than they have for the past year in mobilising support for a miners' victory.



Photo: Andrew Wiard

International solidarity with miners. People from 13 nations, refugees from countries like Iran and El Salvador on a a four-day march from London to Snowdown Colliery in Kent.

By Pat Craven

The scurrying backwards and forwards with government ministers has brought renewed speculation about the possibility of a negotiated settlement of the miners' strike.

But there must be no secret deals behind the miners' backs. Any negotiations must be held in full view of the rank and file, who will accept nothing less than an honourable and dignified settlement with a general amnesty for all those strikers sacked.

The NUM executive has already conceded that they "recognise that it is the duty of the NCB to manage the industry efficiently and to secure sound developments in accordance with their responsibilities."

At the weekend, even these concessions were scorned by the Board. They are sticking to their impossible demand that the union agree in advance of any negotiations to the closure of any pits the NCB declares to be "uneconomic". That would mean the butchery of the industry. If that is the Board's position, what is the use of the independent review procedure agreed with NACODS?

NACODS

If the government and the NCB still stick to this demand the union must appeal to NACODS to take strike action in defence of all mineworkers' jobs. An appeal needs to be directed to the rank and file deputies. Their leaders have stood idly by and refused to face up to the responsibility placed in their hands by the members, who voted by four to one for strike action.

If the Tories are not prepared to agree to negotiated settlement, acceptable to the miners, and insist on going for the NUM's throat the NUM executive and delegate conference must issue the call to the ranks of the labour movement.

The trade unions will respond. There must be united action in a one-day general strike. The trade union movement will not sit back and see the NUM humiliated.

SUPPORT THE MINERS

JOIN THE MARCH AND RALLY LONDON–SUNDAY 24th FEB

March from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square.
Assemble 11.30am
march off 12.30pm.
* National speakers

COAL NOT DOLE

Don't let them stand alone!

Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions
Supported by SERTUC-MDC

Labour's right wing attack young workers

Hundreds face expulsion

HUNDREDS OF working class youth now face expulsion from the Labour Party. Their crime? To join Further Education Labour Students (FELS), an organisation which is building support for Labour and recruiting new members to the party in FE colleges. Over 200 students have already joined FELS.



Louise James, FELS organiser.

At Labour's Youth Sub-committee on February 14 a resolution moved by Tony Clark of the Union of Communication Workers stated that "membership of FELS is not compatible with Labour Party membership."

Witch-hunt

This outrageous decision must be fought. The National Committee of FELS has called a lobby of the NEC meeting which will vote on this resolution on Wednesday February 27, at 8.30am. Labour Party headquarters must be flooded with protests from Labour Clubs, Student Unions, LPYS, Labour Party and trade union branches.

Rather than fight the Tories it is clear that the right wing—and some 'little sir echoes' on the left of the party are more concerned with plunging the party into a divisive, damaging widescale witch-hunt. They must be stopped in their tracks. (Full report-see page 11)

Join the lobby, 27 February

Louise James, FELS organiser appeals: "Join the lobby of Labour's NEC on 27 February. This isn't just an attack on FE students, it's an attack on the working class and on socialism".

Fight back now

Appeal from a NACODS member —page 3

Who organises the working miners? —page 4

Local government workers organise

THIS WEEKEND will see an historic conference of local authority workers. Shop stewards from rate-capped and financially threatened authorities will meet in Liverpool to plan co-ordinated action and organise for a national conference of local authority trade unionists.

The conference has been mainly organised by London Bridge, an organisation which links workers in London's rate-capped authorities and Liverpool Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

In an interview with *Militant*, Jim O'Brien, the chair of London Bridge, explained: "Too often trade unions sit back and wait for the employer or the government to come to them, but we're going to reverse that role. We'll be taking selective action and stepping up the pressure. We're not just going to sit back and wait for the money to disappear."

The resolution before the conference calls for immediate action if redundancies, privatisation or commissioners are introduced or punitive action taken against either council workers or councillors for non-co-operation with rate-capping.

By Jim Hollinshead
(Liverpool GMBATU No 5 Branch committee, personal capacity)

Interview with Jim O'Brien —page 6

Sri Lankan socialist arrested

BROTHER Vasudeva Nanayakkara, President of the United Federation of Labour and a leader of the NSSP (New Socialist Party) was arrested by Sri Lankan police on 17 February.

This is the latest anti-working class repressive action by the Jayawardene government. In recent months the army has terrorised northern Tamils and held thousands of Tamil youth in concentration camps. In the south, student demonstrations protesting against privatisation of education have met baton charges, arrests, and censorship.

No grounds

Although there are no grounds, nor charges, for this arrest the state security forces will undoubtedly attempt to frame fals charges. Their fertile imagination was recently revealed by a London *Standard* journalist who spent eight days in prison on "suspicion of being an international terrorist"!

The police confiscated his copy of *The Standard* because it "is one of the most subversive papers in the world"(!) and then they went on to *prove* that he was trained in Moscow for two years and had connections with Palestinian guerrillas and the Baader-Meinhof Group.

No charges framed against Brother Vasudeva can be taken seriously. Messages of support to: United Federation of Labour, 143 Kew Road, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka, with a copy to UFL, 6 Ockenden Road, London N1 3NP.

Militant

No victimisation

FOR FIFTY weeks the miners and their families have waged a titanic struggle against the combined forces of the Tory government, the Coal Board, the press and the police. After years of plotting, Thatcher was determined to crush the power of the National Union of Mineworkers. She has failed.

Once again there has been no "surge" back to work, despite the hunger and hardship that miners face. It is still only a small minority of those who came out originally who have been starved back to work. The union is unbroken.

But the NCB is now hell-bent on humiliating the miners. In open contempt for the agreement signed with the NACODS executive last October, they are demanding that the union agree, in advance of any talks, that pits can be closed on economic grounds alone.

"As president of the NUM" insisted Arthur Scargill, "I will never, ever, be a signatory to a closure of a part of my industry and no trade union leader worth his or her salt could ever sign an agreement to close down part of their industry."

Every trade unionist will echo that pledge. The miners will not be crushed. Nor can the NUM agree to end the strike without the re-instatement of all those sacked during the strike, whose only "crime" has been to throw themselves into the struggle to defend jobs, mining communities and the future for their children.

If the NCB and the Tories remain intransigent, it is up to the NUM leaders to appeal directly to the ranks of the trade union movement to take action in support of the strike. A special appeal to NACODS members will meet with an enthusiastic response (see article on page 3). Visits to every workplace, with factory gate meetings and local conferences of shop stewards need to be arranged urgently to explain the new turn in the strike.

It is now more than a strugle over the future of pits, vital though that is; it is a battle over the future of trade unionism. Thatcher wants the NUM's blood as an example to the rest of the movement. It is up to the movement to ensure that the miners win a settlment which guarantees no victimisation and protects the right of the NUM to continue to fight for its members and their jobs. If the NUM names the dav for a one-day general strike, the movement will respond.

Threat to Labour students

IF THE resolution on Further Education Labour Students (FELS) from the Youth Sub-committee is passed by the Labour Party NEC next Wednesday, it will mean the launch of the biggest witchhunt since the expulsion of the Militant Editorial Board.

By asking the National Committee of the National Organisation of Labour Students to make clear that membership of FELS is imcompatible with membership of the party, they are exposing 200 of the youngest and most active party members to the threat of expulsion.

Party members will be outraged by this resolution. Further education students are locked in battle with the Tories over threats to their future. The last thing they need is to have to fight another threat from within the ranks of their own party.

If the NEC passes this resolution and manages to implement it, serious damage will have been done to the Labour Party's standing among thousands of young voters.

It will mean the re-establishment of a "proscribed list", on which FELS has been placed without any authority from the Party conference. Other sections of the party will also then be at risk, most especially the Labour Party Young Socialists and its thousands of young party members. That is why this attack must be repulsed. The NEC must be bombarded as never before with resolutions, letters, telemessages and phone calls to demand that this resolution is flung out.

Time is short. An immediate mobilisation of the movement can however ensure victory over this latest and most pernicious witch-hunt.

The young student comrades will not be intimidated. They will not disband FELS. They will carry on their fight against the Tory government. The rest of the party and the trade union movement owes it to them to see that this threat is lifted. They are fighting for the future of the party. The whole party must fight for them.

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

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Militant; printed by Cambridge Heath Press (TU) Ltd., 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB. ISSN 0144-9275

Tories will butcher welfare

HUGE CUTS in welfare benefits are on their way. Details are starting to emerge of Tory plans to implement the "secret manifesto" of the 1983 general election.

Then Tories denied Labour charges that they intended to butcher the welfare state. Now, leaks about the content of a green paper due to be published in April reveal that butchery is imminent.

The plans include: –

★ Halving the cost of the housing benefit scheme. Four million, more than half of them pensioners, would lose as much as £20 a week.

★ Ending the payment of supplementary benefit to cover mortgage repayments. 235,000 would be hit. Already over the last five years the number of people with mortgage arrears has quadrupled.

★ Abolishing the state earnings-related pensions scheme. Workers would no longer be able to claim a pension based on their best twenty years of earning.

★ Scrapping special social security payments for clothes and heating, pathetically inadequate as they are.

Hunger

If the Tories get away with these proposals, millions those already on the breadline will face homelessness, hunger and premature death.

Yet DHSS Secretary Fowler has the gall to say that "people tend to want to have their cake and eat it."!

The bankruptcy of this government and the capitalist system is revealed by the figures on which the plan to scap earnings-related pensions are based. The government are assuming an annual growth rate in the economy of one and a half per cent a year for the next 40 years. Fowler has concluded that the country "cannot afford" the scheme.

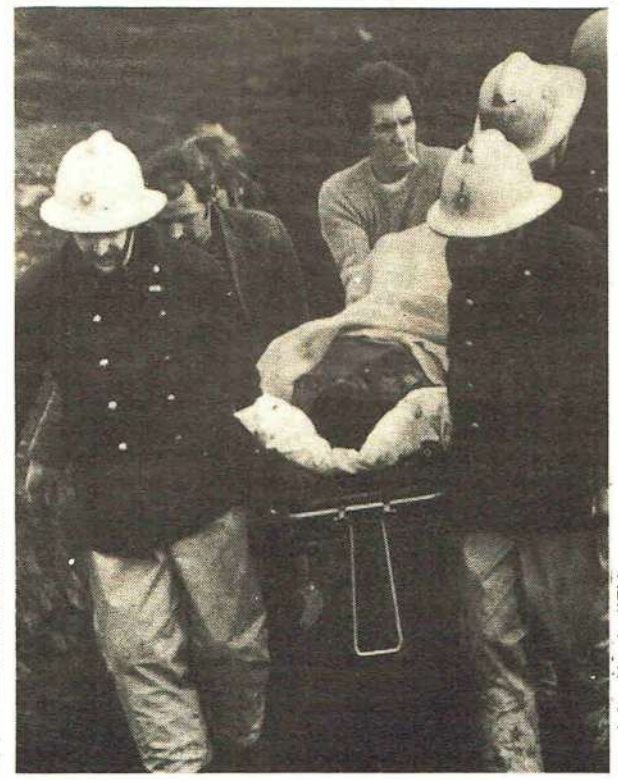
The reason for the increase in the cost of Social Security payments, nearly 30 percent in real terms between 1979/80 and 1984/85, is the rocketing in unemployment since Thatcher came to power. If growth cotinues at no more than 1½ percent a year, that number will go on rising. More and more families will be forced onto Social Security; they will be entitled to less and less.

The Tories argue that workers must be given the incentive to look for jobs by losing the cushion of supplementary benefit. Yet a report by the Institute of Fiscal Studies revealed that the average unemployed person receives only 59% of the income that he or she could expect to earn in a job. Only 3% get as much as 90% of what they could earn.

The truth is that the Tories are just as keen to cut wages as to cut social security. The whole object of the exercise is to increase the proportion of the country's wealth going to those who already own the most, the capitalists, landowners and financiers. Their profits have to be raised at the expense of employed and unemployed workers alike.

The plans are a warning to the labour movement. Only a socialist economy, planned for the benefit of those in need, with the major monopolies nationalised under workers' control and management, can offer the working class a future.

By Pat Craven



John Harris (IFL)

With the intense cold weather miners on strike are being forced to go 'riddling' for coal, an increasingly dangerous practice. Three strikers at Silverwood (above) were injured when the tip collapsed on them. Pickets from nearby rushed to save one miner buried for 30 minutes using shovels and their bare hands.

Bath crowd hears Bolsover miners

ON FRIDAY 8th February, a capacity crowd of over 500 filled Bath's opulent Guildhall to hear Dennis Skinner MP speak in support of striking miners.

In a scathing attack on the Tories, he said that the leadership of the movement have a responsibility to fight for the interests of our class with at least the same determination as the Tories have in fighting for theirs.

Also speaking at the meeting, organised by the Bath Miners' Support Campaign, were Geoff Poulter from Bolsover NUM, and Aileen Sandell, a miner's wife from Newbridge, Gwent at what was the largest public meeting in Bath for many years. The collection raised over £1,050.

The party of striking miners and their wives from Bolsover spent almost two days in Bath, explaining their case during street collections and factory visits, supported by workers from the miners' support campaign.

The response by workers in Bath, usually regarded as a Tory stronghold, clearly shows that, given a clear lead from the leaders of the TUC and PLP, the strike would have been won by now, with the Tories' days numbered!

The only sour note is that in a subsequent meeting of the Bath Miner's Support Group Angela Anderson, a supporter of the *Militant* paper, was voted out of the chair by some elements in the meeting for being 'too political' in her speech at the Guildhall meeting and for taking miners on a *Militant* paper round to raise cash for NUM funds, which the miners themselves had no objection in doing.

Cuts kill elderly

HYPOTHERMIA WAS national news briefly last weekend, when a young woman and her two children were found frozen in their London flat.

But cold kills day in and day out every winter. Hundreds of frail or elderly people succumb each year, and many thousands more die of cold-related illnesses.

I am a district nurse nurse in Lewisham and North Southwark, a working class area of South London. The scale of this hidden tragedy is appalling. Recently two of my patients, worried about money, switched off their heating. They were admitted to hospital too late to save them.

Another patient got a fire from the social services that didn't work. When I went to see her the room was frozen. I had to borrow blankets from a doctor's surgery to wrap her in. Her cooker had been switched off because she couldn't manage to light it. She had some food from meals on wheels, but couldn't make hot drinks. She later died in hospital.

Hypothermia is not a disease. It is a condition caused by drop in body temperature. This leading to drowsiness, unconsciousness and eventually death, if body temperature continues to fall.

Those most at risk are living on the poverty line. Many pensioners are proud and worry about not being able to pay heating bills. Choices are made between food and heating.

My area has a high proportion of tower blocks. Old people get housebound. They just see a district nurse and a home help if they're lucky. District health services have been hit already and in rate-capped boroughs like Southwark and Lewisham the home helps will be under even more strain.

Despite all the evidence, the Tories' reaction is talk of further cuts in pensions, heating allowances, housing benefits and the cash available to councils to improve housing.

Kicking out the Tories is a matter of life and eath for thousands of working class pensioners. Everyone should have the right to enjoy retirement in dignity and comfort. The Tories, with their profit and loss morality, would choke on such an idea.

By Ruth Herdman
(Lewisham/North Southwark NUPE)

LPYS march is off

THE MARCH organised by the London Region Labour Party Young Socialists from the Elephant and Castle on Saturday 23 February has been cancelled to allow the rally and conference to start early. This will mean that the conference can finish by Sunday lunchtime and enable everyone to attend the miner's support rally at Trafalgar Square in the afternoon.

The London LPYS conference is being held at North Peckham Civic Centre, Old Kent Road, and starts at 11 am with a rally to be addressed by Ken Livingstone and Terry Fields MP. Transport will be available from the Elephant and Castle for those who need it.

Manchester meets again

OVER 180 people packed into Manchester Town Hall for a *Militant* readers' meeting on 29 January, to hear John Nicholson the leader of the new Labour council, Derek Hatton, deputy leader of Liverpool Council, and Gary Knowles of the NUM.

The fact that the meeting took place at all was a victory for *Militant* supporters in Manchester when two years ago the old right-wing Labour administration banned all *Militant* meetings on council premises.

John Nicholson praised the stance of Liverpool in 1984 and explained how it was an asset to their victory in Manchester's local elections. He pledged that Manchester would be fighting alongside Liverpool this time.

By Phil Frampton

NACODS must strike

NACODS SHOULD be on strike in defence of their industry and jobs. Our families, friends and workmates are at the gates. How long are we going to turn our backs on them and not stand by their sides in the fight to save our communities and way of life?

By Ross Letham
(NACODS, Bogside/Castlehill, Fife, personal capacity)

Like many NACODS members I feel that the strike could have been won months ago if we had participated.

If properly represented and advised by the NEC, NACODS members would come out on strike and then no coal could be cut. At Castlehill mine, Fife, deputies do not cross NUM picket lines and those who are allowed in for safety cover do not supervise scabs. NACODS members should consider the hardship and deprivation suffered by the NUM in this past year in defence of our jobs as well as their own.

Decimated

Arthur Scargill accurately predicted that 70 pits will close and 70,000 jobs will be lost. NACODS members should consider that out of those 70,000 jobs, approximately 10% will be NACODS members. That means a membership of 17,000 reduced to 10,000. Are we prepared to sit back and watch our union decimated to such a degree, and our brothers put on the dole? In their search for a quick profit and the break-up of trade unionism, the Tories are paving the way for private enterprise in the mining industry.

There must be no pit closures on economic grounds.

The coal industry must be run according to Britain's energy requirements, applied with a logical socialist attitude. We demand the right to be involved in the planning of our industry at pit, area and national level.

Last week the NUM and NACODS executives met and our NEC came to the conclusion that if the Coal Board insists on unconditional surrender from the NUM, it would make the **executive's** agreement with the Board void.

The NEC should have confidence and trust in their members and declare that the October agreement between the NEC and the board is invalid and ballot the membership with a strong recommendation for strike action. The leadership should organise jointly with the NUM to achieve victory and instruct members to stay out on strike until all pits closed during the dispute are re-opened, and all members of the NUM victimised for taking an active part in strike action are re-instated with no loss of service.

Fellow members, it is up to you to pressurise your NEC, through your branches, to jump off the fence to our side and lead us on the path to victory. We will not tolerate the stigma of being a union of 17,000 scabs who betray the cause of justice to the miners! **Victory to the NUM means victory to NACODS members means victory to the working class means defeat to the Tories!**



Mass picket at Bentley Colliery near Doncater in defiance of judgement limiting pickets to six. Photo:John Harris (IFL)

Seamen's action may spread

THE CEGB are mounting a major effort to restore the supply of coal from the North East coalfields to power stations in the South East.

Normally 6.5 million tonnes a year are shipped to the Thameside power stations—mainly in colliers owned by Stephenson-Clarke—but since the start of the miners' strike the supply line has been severed.

Last week, on the insistence of the CEGB and the Coal Board, Stephenson-Clarke attempted to launch three of its colliers—the *Steyning* and *Pulborough* at Blyth and the *Wilmington* at Jarrow., The *Wilmington* alone can carry 18,000 tonnes down every week, so the move would have represented a significant boost to power supplies.

After appeals from local NUS officials, in line with national policy the crews refused to co-operate with management, who have responded by taking the union to court. An injunction granted on Monday, banned the NUS general secretary, Jim Slater, and the local official Vince Allison from approaching their members.

The seamen won't be intimidated by threats of fines and sequestration. Vince Allison said: "Our members didn't need convincing, they'd already convinced themselves". They understand that if the miners are defeated it will mean the destruction of the North East coalfield, and the end of the collier fleet.

The union leadership have now balloted another three areas, who have voted 20 to three for strike action, and they are preparing to ballot other sections of the membership to spread the action.

The executive should now prepare for all-out strike action if the union is fined or if Jim Slater and Vince Allison are fined or jailed. Any weakness will allow the shipping companies to introduce their plans for 20-25 per cent cuts in manning.Seamen resent the large scale of redundancies and cuts in wages over the last five years, and a clear lead from the union would receive an overwhelming response.

AT A meeting today (19 February) at Byth, Jim Slater NUS general secretary, the regional NUR organiser, and two local NUM leaders addressed all the crews of the three ships being blacked, and members of the NUR who unload and move the coal. It was overwhelmingly agreed that they continue the blacking.

Jim Slater said that the decision would be taken back to the NEC and if the court injunction goes through then the action would be extended nationally.

By Mark Poten (Jarrow LPYS)

Speeches, food drink and fun

GATESHEAD Miners' Dependents Support Group recently held a very successful party night at Heworth Welfare Hall at which over 300 miners, their wives, children and supporters participated.

With NALGO members providing the entertainment with an excellent disco (free of course) everyone from around three years old to 73 tucked into a marvellous spread of cakes, pies, sausage rolls and many other goodies which had been baked and donated by sympathisers and supporters in the area.

Bottles of wine together with barrels of home-brewed beer helped to quench the thirst of all the grown-ups whilst the younger generation dealt with the various flavoured juices as though a popsicle prohibition period had just ended.

The spirit and atmosphere was one of solidarity, of determination and even the news that talks about talks had once again broken down couldn't dampen it. In fact an appeal by Dave Hopper, secretary of Wearmouth Lodge to stand firm and back the NUM leadership was met with the thunderous applause and cries of "no surrender" from everyone present.

Smash Toryism

The Gateshead Miners' Support Group, have provided the miners and their familes with food parcels, hot meals and entertainment and their determined stand against an unprecendented onslaught from both the NCB and the government has shown workers from all walks of life a fighting spirit needed to smash the cancer of Toryism once and for all.

The press and the media talks about families divided, on Friday 15, I saw a family united, a family of over 300 with the knowledge that another 250 of the same family were home in Gateshead still solid in support of the strike.

The message for the government is simple, no matter what you do, we shall break your rotten system long before you break our spirit.

By Bob Harker
(Gateshead East CLP)

Scab meeting fails

LAST SATURDAY John Cunningham Snr, the ex-secretary of Ellington NUM lodge in Northumberland, attempted to organise a meeting of working miners to elect a new lodge committee.

Although in the eyes of the official NUM he is no longer branch secretary he still carries on as though he was. 38 turned up at the meeting out of a workforce of nearly 2,000. 200 pickets also arrived to lobby the meeting and some went in.

Even some of the working miners at the meeting spoke out against this new set up. When questioned on his ties with the National Working Miners Committee, John Cunningham Snr declined to answer. No elections for a new committee were taken, and the meeting came to a stormy end.

Loyalty to the NUM, even from working miners, remains solid.

By John Cunningham Jnr
(Ellington NUM)

Fighting spirit in Fife

IF ANYONE believes that the miner's strike is all but over they should have been in Kircaldy, Fife last Thursday, when a marvellous 2,000 strong mass picket and demonstration took place.

Miners and their families took part, with support from other trade unionists, including a large group of mainly young women textile workers.

The mood of the march was particularly determined because of the recent antics by the NCB over the pit fires in two local pits, Frances and Seafield, when the NUM was only told of the fires belatedly, and assurances weren't given that striking miners helping to control the fires wouldn't be counted as 'new faces'. 800 jobs are now threatened in this unemployment disaster area.

There wasn't much support for the idea of going back to work without a settlement, as this would mean returning without the sacked strikers from Bogside, Polkemmet, Polmaise, and Frances pits.

By a *Militant* supporter



Bristol docks closed for 24 hours when picketed on 17 February in support of the miners.
Photo: Pete Maxy (IFL)

Dutch strike

LAST FRIDAY 8 February, workers at the coal export company OBA in Amsterdam went on 24 hour strike in solidarity with British miners despite the fact that the company is dependent on coal exports to Britain. There has been little mention of this example of international solidarity in the press.

Miner tells of police 'justice'

POLICE harassement flared in the Yorkshire pit village of Armthorpe recently when a striking miner was arrested with a baby for allegedly tampering with his electricity meter. He was locked in a cell with the baby for several hours and police refused to allow him to change the baby's nappy.

This story was told by Rex Thomson, a striking miner from Armthorpe colliery, while addressing a meeting of the NUJ chapel at NALGO headquarters.

Rex told the journalists present that the strike at Armpthorpe was virtually solid with only 19 out of a total workforce of 1,700 going into work. He said that there was no question of Armthorpe miners going back unless the miners who had been sacked were reinstated. In Rex's opinion if there was a return to work without a settlement then there should be an indefinite work-to-rule until the sacked miners were given their jobs back.

The latest victims of the NCB axe at the pit were 22 miners randomly picked up by the police for alleged criminal damage to a crane.

Rex also spoke warmly about the women's support group: "The response from the women has been marvellous. Without their backing and encouragement I'm sure the lads couldn't have held out as long as they have."

Inspired by Rex's account the journalists voted to go on strike on the day of action called by the South East TUC, and to donate a day's pay to the Armthorpe miners.

By Jimmy Roberts
NUJ



Gordon Bennet writes—

DO YOU remember the Good Old Days? I mean the TV programme. It was an attempt to create a kind of Disney version of what passed for entertainment in the Victorian/Edwardian age (quite how they expected to do that with a galaxy of third-rate imitations of vaudeville acts in the shape of Ken Dodd (!) and the like I'll never know, but that was their problem).

The show was based on the view that even if the grass isn't greener on the other side of the fence, it is positively emerald on the other side of the time tunnel.

The point is that there appears to have been a severe outbreak of Good Old Days syndrome in certain parts of the labour movement. First infected and Master of Ceremonies is undoubtedly the Right Reverend Eric Hobsbawm but others—especially during the course of the miners' dispute—have also become carriers.

Symptoms to watch out for include statements like: 'you'd never find anyone crossing a picket line in the old days', or 'solidarity isn't what it used to be—everyone's too selfish these days' or 'violence on picket lines is completely alien to the historic traditions of British industrial relations' (the last one being a particular favourite of leaders of the Labour Party).

The fact is that there has never been a labour movement 'golden age', a fantasy implicit in the hand-wringing posture of those writers and academics to whom labour history is a costume drama, filmed and assessed in black and white.

There have always been individuals who have been prepared to scab on their workmates just as solidarity action of any sort has never been produced like a rabbit out of a conjuror's hat. And if anyone thinks that state violence in industrial disputes is new then they know nothing about British labour history.

Instead of yearning for mythical 'Good Old Days' when men were men and picket lines were sacrosanct, we need to learn and absorb the lessons of the past in preparation for the future. Marxism is the science of perspectives—it's not a question of joining the dots for socialism. The most important lesson from the last year is that thousands of miners and their families have been prepared to endure incredible hardships in order to have some control over their lives and to fight for a future for their children. The ruling class have tried everything and yet they cannot crush the miners. The struggle will have enormous repercussions over the next few years and the working class, not blinkered academics, will be centre stage.



Photo: Rick Matthews (IFL)

Heavily protected working miners cross the picket line at Cowdenbeath workshops, Fife.

Pit traitors become media heroes

THE GOVERNMENT, the Coal Board and the ruling class in general have done everything possible to break the miners' strike.

The "back-to-work" movement was meticulously planned and organised through a network of scabs, NCB officials and advisers with links with both the Board and the Tory government.

A supporter of the strike who has been in contact with one of those involved in the National Working Miners' Committee (NWMC) has sent *Militant* a detailed account of how the strike-breakers were organised. He has asked to remain anonymous in order not to lose the source of his information, so that he can continue to uncover these activities and expose them to the NUM and the wider labour movement. Additional information has come from the February edition of Labour Research.

IN ABOUT the third week of the strike, Roland Taylor started to cross the picket line at Shirebrook colliery.

He contacted the *Sun*, *Nottingham Evening Post*, Radio Sheffield, Radio Trent, BBC and ITV and gave interviews and statements, claiming that the decision of the Derbyshire NUM to call a strike was undemocratic, as the voting in the area was, by 16 votes, against the strike.

The management at Shirebrook gave him an office on the pit top and encouraged him to do everything he could to break the strike in Derbyshire. This took the form of more newspaper and television interviews and telephone calls to men from Shirebrook to persuade them to cross picket lines and return to work.

The area director, Ken "Holy" Moses, gave him a free hand to travel around the county and meet other men who were willing to be strike-breakers, all on NCB pay plus expenses.

Roland was also meeting solicitors to start legal proceedings against the Derbyshire NUM and making pathetic appeals through the media for any miner who did not agree with the strike to donate 50p towards a fund to start legal proceedings against the NUM. This fund did not meet with much success.

The solicitors did find funds from other sources that were sympathetic towards breaking the strike. One was Sir Hector Laing of United Biscuits, which donated £43,000 to the Tories in 1983. Roland was given time off work, along with two others from Derbyshire, to go to London on at least two occasions to consult with a QC, Nicholas Lyell, Tory MP for Mid-Bedfordshire. This resulted in a High Court action and the strike in Derbyshire was declared unlawful.

At about the same time, Chris Butcher ('Silver Birch') was making TV appearances, giving interviews and travelling all over the country (all expenses paid) to arrange meetings with other miners to encourage them to become strike-breakers. The Derbyshire group merged with others and they were holding regular meetings at the Green Dragon pub at Oxton, near Mansfield. At one of these there was some dissent and several members resigned because the avowed aim of the self-elected leaders was to defeat the strike and bring the NUM leadership to its knees.

The Coal Board gave these men every encouragement, wages and expenses and many were away from the pit where they "worked" for days and weeks at a time. The leaders were provided with telephone-answering machines to take messages and to arrange meetings while they were away from home.

Meanwhile meetings with other traitors in the Notts and South Yorkshire NUM were being arranged by Tim Bell and David Hart. Tim Bell is a former Saatchi and Saatchi director and MacGregor's public relations advisor. He wrote and designed one of the brochures for the NWMC in the Saatchi and Saatchi office.

Hart is a wealthy property developer who has been an adviser to Thatcher. He has placed adverts in the press for the working miners, organised the banner proclaiming "Come off it Arthur!" at the TUC in Brighton and written articles in *The Times*. On 26 January he wrote: "The time for negotiated settlements is past... The nation wants to see him (Scargill) defeated."

'They are willing helpers of the Tory Party and the Coal Board'

Hart's links with MacGregor have a long history. His father used to work with MacGregor, who has been a family friend for years. Since the strike began, they have been in constant touch. Hart was regularly to be seen at NCB HQ. On 2 August he accompanied MacGregor to the Channel 4 debate with Scargill, and it is claimed in the *Daily Mirror* (18 October 1984) that he boasted he had "held up the script for MacGregor."

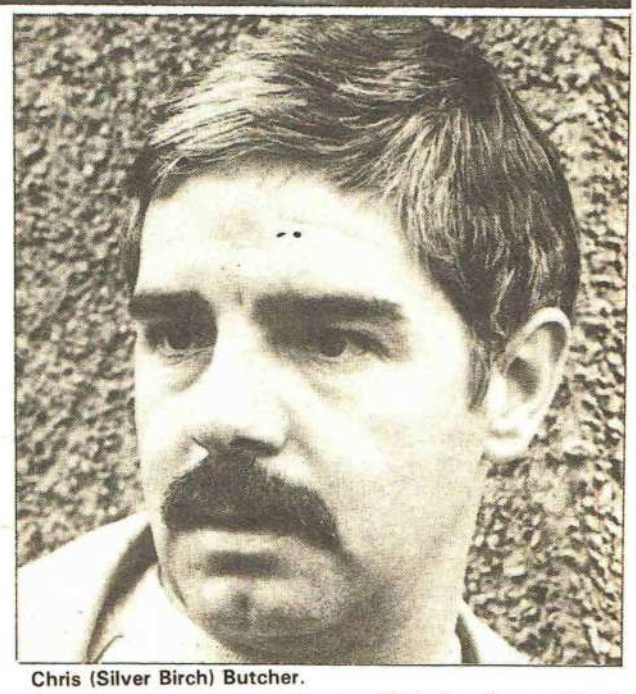


Photo: John Harris (IFL) II

Chris (Silver Birch) Butcher.

The National Working Miners Committee (NWMC) held its first informal meeting on 11 August at the Castle Donington Guest House, near East Midlands Airport. On the following day (Sunday), Peter Walker, Leon Brittan and Tom King used the BBC and the Sunday papers to appeal to the miners to return to work. That same afternoon, they held another meeting at the Longlands Farm, Knightwick. Their host was Captain Edward Evans. Among those present was Graham Turner, a *Sunday Telegraph* reporter who helped draft a letter which was sent to all the striking miners in the country.

David Hart attended the meeting on 11 August, where he was introduced as "D.H. Lawrence", and another meeting of the committee on 19 August, in Castle Donington, at which the NWMC was formally set up. This meeting appointed Colin Clarke, a Notts .miner, as President, John Blessington as Treasurer and Bob Copping as Secretary.

David Hart now says that he was only involved *before* the NWMC came into existence, which he says was in early September. After several advertisments over their name appeared in the press, John Blessington (now the secretary) even denied knowing David Hart and when asked if Hart attended NWMC meetings replied, "I don't know that he did."

According to Bob Copping's minutes, however, Hart attended at least four of the meetings, two of them on 25 and 28 August, *after* the meeting on 19 August which formally set up the NWMC.

On 25 August, Colin Clarke, John Blessington and Bob Copping met David Hart in the Hambleton Hall restaurant, near Oakham, Leicestershire. This restaurant is owned by Tim Hart (David's brother), who once shared a house with MacGregor when they worked for a New York investment bank.

On 28 August, the NWMC returned to Castle Donington. David Hart was again present. It was here that the secretary Bob Copping became suspicious. "He was introduced to me as the money man" says Copping. He was handing over sums of money up to £300 to be used as floats. Copping argued that as secretary he should keep a record of all money spent. Hart replied that as their solicitor (David Negus) should deal with all financial matters, the committee members were not required to sign cheques.

Increasingly anxious about Hart's involvement, Copping resigned on 5 September. He said that it was an anti-union organisation with a conservative orientation, undermining the trade union movement, which was prepared to preach democracy, but not to practice it.

These kind of men that call themselves working miners, are more like travelling salesmen, but instead of selling goods, they are selling Tory propaganda. They are completely "brain-washed" and are willing helpers of the Tory Party and Coal Board.

These are the traitors that are destroying the NUM, using the Courts to reach their goal, and at the end of the day will cost thousands of jobs in the mining industry. Also they are depriving the Labour Party of funds and fencing the door to allow the multi national companies to gain privatisation of anything that is left of the industry.

Fight Tories YTS conscription plans

ANGER IS growing amongst school students. It is bad enough that there are no jobs for them when they leave, but now with the Tories' latest proposals, they face being conscripted onto low pay YTS schemes.

Many are joining the Labour Party Young Socialists to fightback. Two such school students, Juli and Carmel from Tilbury went to the Eastern Regional LPYS conference on 9/10 February.

Anne McKay asked them about the problems they face at school, what they intended to do for the YTURC demo, and what they thought of the LPYS:

Juli: "We have a sort of careers lesson at school but it's a waste of time—filling in forms and watching outdated films. There's one on the steel industry—it only goes up to 1960! We've had speakers in from the police, YTS, the army and the local tech college, but they never allow any union speakers to show what its really like and cut out all the gloss.

"Some teachers suggested we get speakers to put over both sides of the argument. We did but then they said it would have to be outside the school—they were just putting us off. Eventually we went to the head who just said: 'No politics in school'. He said either we keep quiet or we'd be suspended.

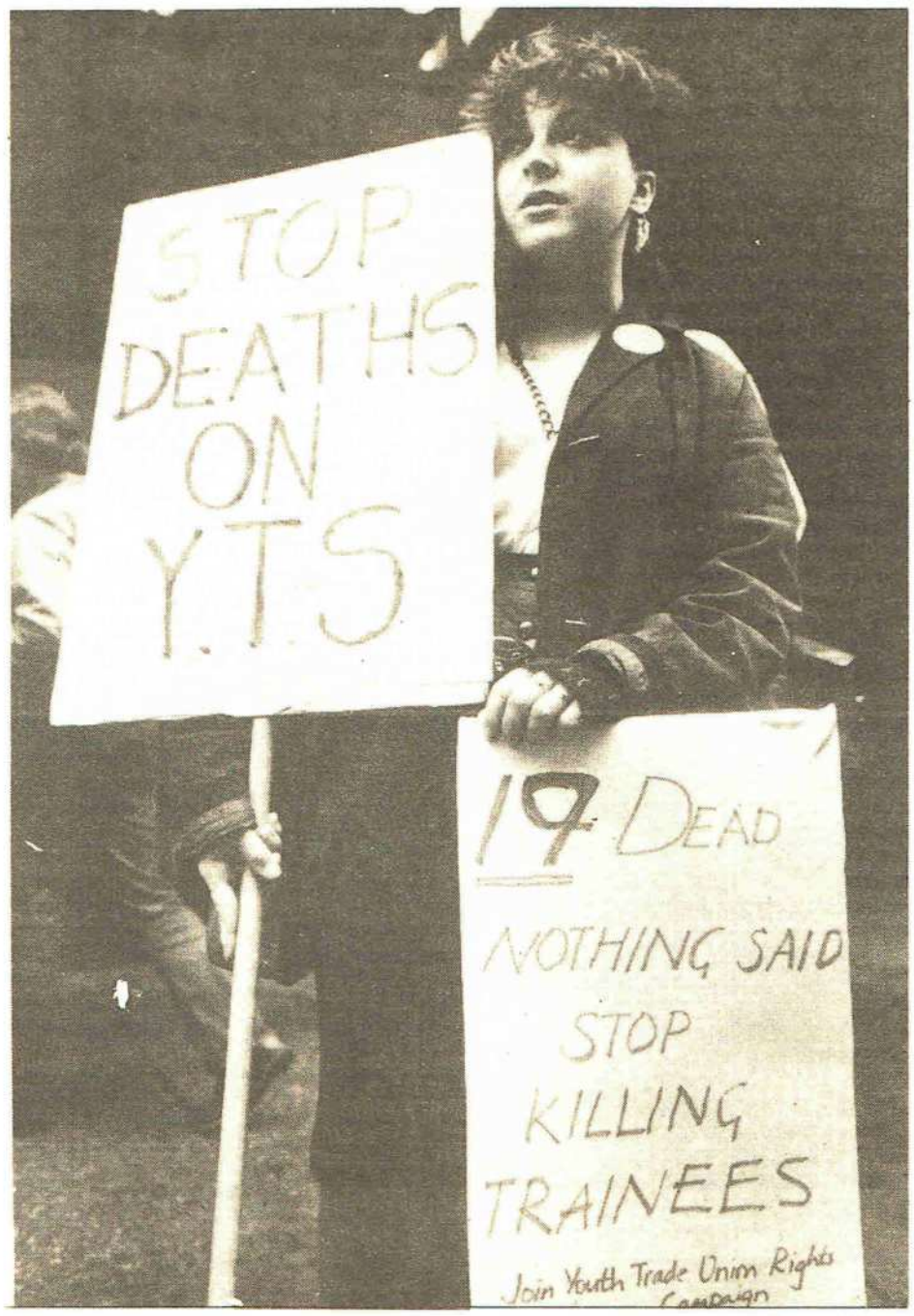
"After that the teachers who helped us lost interest—they'd been warned to keep out of it."

"We're planning something for the 28th. Our friends on a Community Programme scheme went on strike on the South East TUC day of action recently, so we hope to do something on the 28th, with leaflets and petitions, outside school if necessary.

Carmel: "The debates at the LPYS conference on education, YTS and unemployment were good because its all relevant to us."

Juli: "Before I've had the motivation but not the facts. Now I know the only way to get anywhere is by fighting. What I want to know is why there's no free speech in school. We need to get someone to put over Labour ideas, to challenge people and make them realise how wrong the system is."

Carmel: "We're going to carry on fighting and set up a YS branch in Tilbury. We're not doing this to be trendy (our mates will think so!) but because there is a need to."



YTURC protest in 1983. Photo: Militant

LPYS occupy Job Centre

MEMBERS OF Islwyn LPYS occupied Risca Job Centre in Gwent on 8 February to protest against Tory plans to conscript youth into YTS schemes.

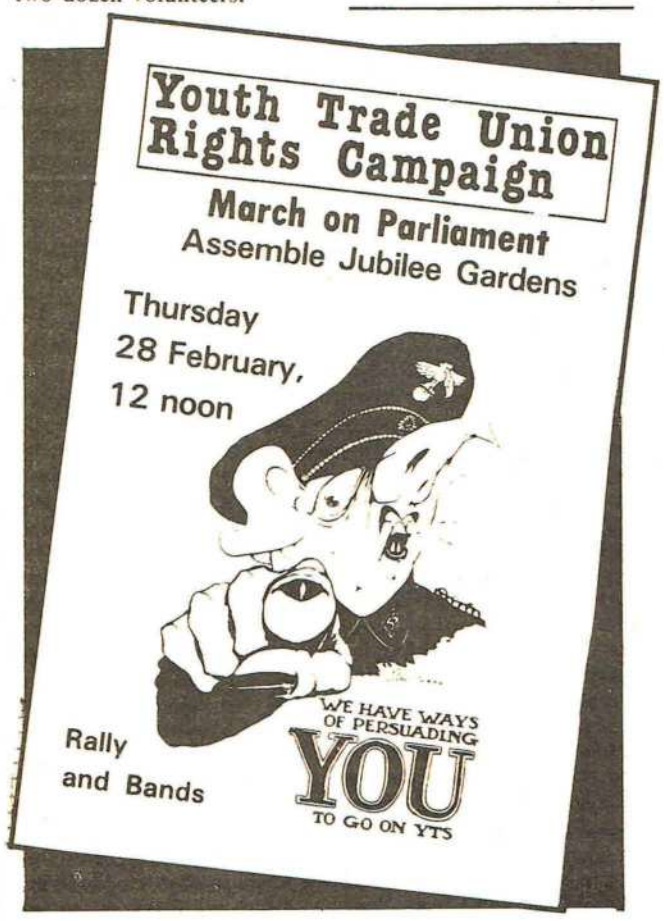
Combined with a demonstration in front of the job centre, it began our programme of events leading up to the national demonstration in London.

After a lunch-time meeting in the local tertiary college where we had a striking miner speaking (Ken Stevens) we asked people present for their support in our demonstration. On a bitterly cold day we had about two dozen volunteers.

The local press were there waiting for us (we had a front page spread in one of the papers.) Response from the public was great with the people in the job centre supporting us as well as passers by. In one hour we had gained 300 signatures on our petitions.

To round off the day we recruited three people to the Young Socialists and many youth visiting the Job Centre showed an interest in coming to the demonstration on February 28.

By John Fletcher
(Gwent YTURC, Islwyn LPYS)



Liverpool—decent rates for trainees

LIVERPOOL LABOUR council have just announced plans to take 100 16 and 17 year olds on the Youth Training Scheme. The youngsters will receive the basic YTS allowance, but this will be topped-up to £52 a week.

Proper training in clerical and secretarial work will be given together with day-release facilities. A guaranteed job at the end of the scheme will also be available to each trainee. Liverpool District Labour Party voted unanimously to instruct the Labour council to begin negotiations to introduce a £100 a week minimum wage and a 35-hour week for all council workers, with part-time staff receiving a pro-rata rate. The Labour council have now begun negotiations with the council trade unions and hope to implement the plan from April 1985.

Sainsbury's millionaires want 1,000 cheap labour schemes

SAINSBURY'S IS a hugely profitable business, but not for the 350 YTS trainees employed by the firm in 1984. They earned £26.25 a week, paid by the government.

On the other hand the three directors of Sainsbury's, David, John and Timothy are worth £487.59 million, £144.86 million and £169.50 million respectively.

In 1983 the three earned £9,490,516 from pay and dividends, enough to pay each YTS trainee they employ £27,115.

Tory MP

Timothy Sainsbury is also a Tory MP and draws his MP's salary of £16,800 plus expenses. He no doubt will support the government's plans to introduce compulsory YTS by withdrawing supplementary benefit for 16 and 17 year olds.



Timothy Sainsbury, Tory MP struggling on £169.5 million.

Brother David's links with the SDP will also be useful to get them to vote for industrial conscription of youth. According to the *Financial Times* (21/9/83) his support for the SDP and the Alliance has run to hundreds of thousands of pounds.

As if in anticipation of compulsory YTS, Sainsbury's have applied for 1000 placements. If the scheme is made compulsory, the company are almost certain to fill them. In 1984 450 places went empty.

Shelf-packing

What sort of 'training' is shelf packing? Firms like Sainsbury's must be exposed. They make profits at our expense. YTS can be used to weaken union organisation and attack the pay and conditions of adult staff.

Every LPYS branch can play a part. Produce a leaflet to give to shoppers before and after the Youth Trades Union Rights Campaign lobby of parliament. Find out where the YTS trainees work and get them along to the lobby.

By Martin Smith
(Vice Chair, National LPYS)

YTURC round-up

THE EAST Midlands Regional Conference of the LPYS elected former YTS trainee Richard Wheeldon to the YS National Committee. In standing for the position, Richard explained that his firm had now extended the YTS project to a Young Workers' Scheme, ensuring young workers wages were kept to the lowest level.

SHEFFIELD University Labour Club voted to give full support to the YTURC demonstration, donating £30 for leaflets to publicise the event, and mandating Labour Club members on the student union executive to call on the union to send two coaches to the march. Significantly the only two votes against these decisions came from two sabbatical officers, who are supporters of the 'Democratic Left' group.

PUBLICITY FOR the march in magazines such as *New Musical Express, Melody Maker, Record Mirrir* and *No 1* have led to a flood of letters from YTS trainees to YTURC. One letter from Arlesey, Bedfordshire, said: "I am very glad to hear about YTURC, as I have been wishing to join any such movement for years now". The letter ended: "PS My friend has just walked in and he would like to join too!"

Benton

WITHIN TWO days of the showing of the *World in Action* programme featuring John Cunningham Junior, Benton LPYS organised a public meeting at the local school.

Over 40 people turned up to the meeting, most of them young people at their first-ever political event.

Apart from John's talk the highlight of the evening was the contribution from an ex-miner from Nottingham whose son and son-in-law are both on strike. He was moved to tears as he explained that he never thought he would see the day when so many young people would be attending such a meeting.

Arrested!

TWO GRIMSBY *Militant* sellers were arrested and held for five hours on Saturday 9 February. They were subsequently charged with attempted obstruction. This arbitrary arrest came after seven years of street selling without police interference.

Grimsby LPYS has organised a protest campaign to demand that the charges be dropped. Grimsby Trades Council and AUEW Construction Branch have agreed to support the two.

Defend jobs and services

Council workers organise

—Interview with Jim O'Brien

THE CREATION last year of 'London Bridge', a shop stewards organisation linking workers in all the rate-capped London local authorities is an enormous breakthrough for council workers. Now the aim is to broaden it into a national body. As a first step there is an organisational Conference this weekend in Liverpool.

In this interview with Nick Toms, JIM O'BRIEN, chair of London Bridge, explains the background to London Bridge and its future plans:



Photo: A. Wiard (Report II)

30,000 marched behind the 'Save GLC, ILEA' and 'London Bridge' banners on 7 November last year, and over 100,000 London Council workers struck for the day.

Q. What is the composition of London Bridge.

A. London Bridge is made up of joint stewards' committees from all the nine rate-capped boroughs in London plus joint shop stewards from GLC trade unions and from the 'Save ILEA' campaign.

Q. How does London Bridge operate?

A. It's got a system of a full committee which meets once a month which is open for all shop stewards. It's got a secretariat of chair, two vice-chairs, chair of tactics committee and treasurer.

The sovereign body of London Bridge is a delegate structure—three delegates per joint shop stewards' committee or per authority who meet in the fortnight between the monthly cycle of the open sessions. The officers meet once a week to go over any problems that might arise.

Q. What are the successes of London Bridge?

A. The first action we called from London Bridge was 7 November and that was done because DFL, which is the 'Democracy for London' campaign called that day of action (against abolition of the GLC) and we on London Bridge recognised that as part of our fight against abolition and rate-capping. We achieved an enormous turn-out on the march and we shut down most of the London boroughs eg Lambeth was totally shut-down and Lewisham was 90% shut-down and reduced to emergency services alone.

So the potential is really strong—mainly because it's shop stewards. We've got a direct link with the members and we respond to what they want and not the other way around. Perhaps that's an important message to certain national officials.

Q. Do you aim to extend London Bridge?

A. We've had already preliminary meetings with the joint shop stewards in Liverpool and what we've arranged is for a delegate conference, three delegates per authority to meet in Liverpool on 23 February. That would be the basis for a national conference which would be open to all shop stewards in local authorities although we're mainly targetting at the rate-capped authorities, the heavily penalised authorities and the metropolitan counties that are being abolished. For the later national conference we're booking the Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool which seats 2,200 and we're very confident we'll fill that hall.

Q. Is the aim to build a national joint shop stewards' movement in local authorities?

A. Yes, that's it. Obviously to begin with it will be a very loose structure—we haven't got time to form a very solid structure—but the initial work we need is to get the contacts, to build up the confidence between ourselves that we are going to support one another. The policy statement that's going up on the 23rd and which we'll obviously be working on—people at the national conference will have the right to put amendments to that resolution—is really just a solidarity pledge and so far it's had no problem in going through, for example, all the Lambeth union branches. It's also already gone through a certain number of branches outside of Lambeth and they're quite happy with it as well.

Q. What is the next stage in the fight against rate-capping?

A. 7 March is the date when the councils take the decision not to set a rate and London Bridge as an organisation is targeting in on 7 March. Along with tenants' associations and community groups other trade unions outside local authorities such as the NUT and private industry trade unions locally have been invited along to the council on that day.

What we're doing in Lambeth is the same as they're doing in all the other rate-capped boroughs—we'll be taking control of the council. The Town Hall buildings will be under local control—the council, the unions and the communities will take over town halls on the day. Some will be doing it for the whole day and some from mid-afternoon onwards right the way through the night. We hope to get really large turnouts; we're convinced we can get large turnouts. Five maybe ten thousands, who knows how many people are going to turn up on the night and cheer the councillors in.

Q. Like last year's 'ring of steel' around Liverpool?

A. Yes, that's exactly what we'll be doing and that's why all the others, including Liverpool, Manchester, etc are taking the decision on the same day. It's a national thing already. The links have already been established and we just want to put in the cement.

Q. What about the strategy after 7 March?

A. One of the main planks of the strategy is that if the councils decide not to set a rate that means ultimately they're going to run out of money. We're having discussions with the councillors and we're saying that whatever money is available they should concentrate entirely on paying the wages and the rest can go wait for their money. That of course means the City of London with regards to debt charges and also the government.

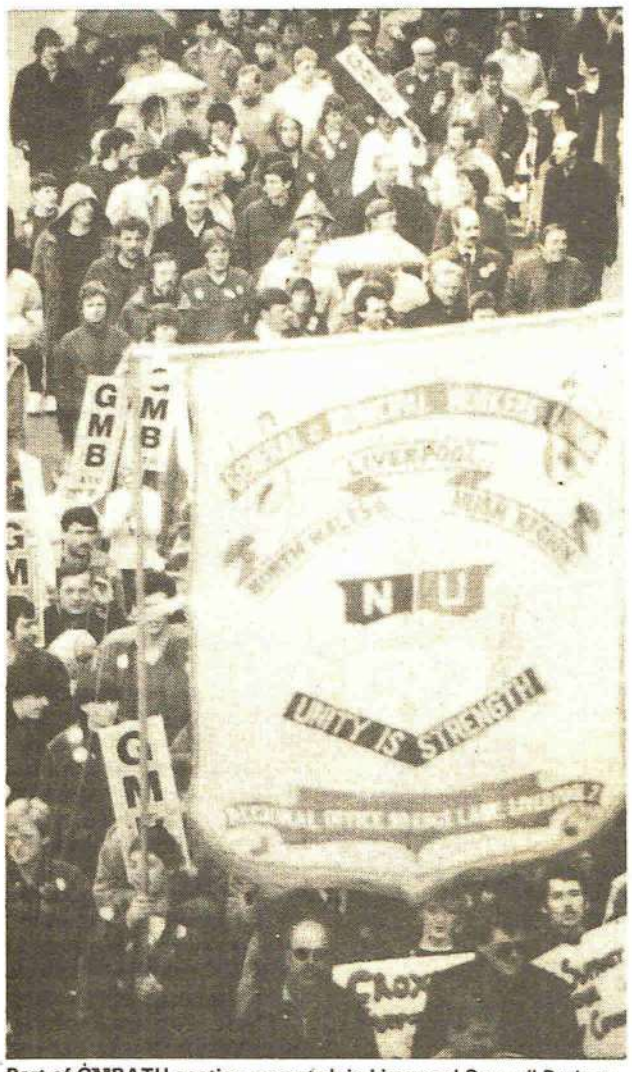
Q. Presumably the government isn't just going to sit back—they're going to start taking action? Possibly move in commissioners?

A. Well they won't get in. They've got to get in the building and if such a situation developed we would occupy the buildings. So we'll react—that's part of the pledge we're putting forward—we will react but we're not going to wait for that situation to develop. We be taking other actions.

Too often trade unions sit back and wait for an employer or the government to come to them but we're going to reverse that role. We'll be taking selective action and stepping up the pressure. We're not just going to sit back and wait for the money to disappear.

Q. What if an authority such as Liverpool was singled out by the government to fight alone?

A. We'd fight with them. A redundancy notice signed by a Labour council is no different to a redundancy notice signed by Margaret Thatcher. We'll fight but I'm convinced the Labour councils are going to stand firm. I don't think they've got a lot of choice, have they?



Part of GMBATU section on march in Liverpool Council Budget Day last March. Photo: Tina Carroll

Liverpool stewards elect new leaders

LAST WEEK'S AGM of the Liverpool Joint Shop Stewards Committee saw major changes in its constitution which made it more representative and able to fight back against Tory attacks on services and jobs.

By Jim Hollinshead
(GMBATU No5 Branch Committee, personal capacity)

The system of delegation had previously allowed any "stewards or staff representative" employed by the City Council to attend the meetings. Whilst this resulted in the extensive participation of stewards, it was unrepresentative because it took no account of unions differing systems of organisation eg. NALGO with 5,000 members had more reps than the G&M with 9,000 members. The new system comprises of delegations on the basis of the number of members in a branch.

The other major change was in the composition of the executive committee. Previously the EC had consisted of one rep per affiliated union, plus the officers. This resulted in the G&M with 9,000 having one rep, and the heating engineers with 25 also having one rep.

If the constitutional amendment had not been carried it would have resulted in a card carrying member of the Tory party, and member of the Tory Trade Unionists Association, being elected unopposed and (unopposable) to the EC.

Support from the trade unions, particularly the GMBATU, the union with the largest membership amongst the council workforce, was vital in last year's victory. The change in composition of the JSSC will help in sharpening that weapon in this year's fight with the government.

Many workers had been incensed last year that the NUT and NUPE local leadership had refused to give support for the council's campaign. And more recently the JSSC Executive Committee had refused to back a one-day stoppage in support of 37 jailed GMBATU members involved in the Cammell Lairds occupation. Council workers, especially GMBATU members, have been determined to make the JSSC more representative of the whole workforce.

The Executive will now be more reflective of the rank and file membership. It will be made up of two from the staff unions, two from teacher unions, two from craft unions, five from the manual unions plus the officers.



Ian Lowes, newly elected Chair of Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

The voting for the new officers reflected the growing support for the socialist ideas of the council and the Labour Party. Ian Lowes, convenor of GMBATU No5 and *Militant* supporter, was elected to the chair. Ian has recently been attacked by the *Liverpool Echo* because of trade union nomination rights for jobs in the council workforce (see *Militant* 1 February). But his election was proof of the support he has amongst local authority workers and the role he has played in support of the council's campaign.

Peter Cresswell, NALGO, was re-elected Secretary unopposed. Other workers who played an enormous role in last year's campaign were elected to executive positions. Mattie Cullinean was elected to the executive. Peter Lennard, another GMBATU convenor became assistant secretary and Pat Weathers, EETPU convenor the treasurer.

Incredibly enough the *Morning Star* reported the AGM as "Militant splits council shop stewards' body". As Peter Lennard said: "Some people are only happy with democracy when it's them doing the 'democing'." Despite threats from some CP members and others to disaffiliate from the JSSC, there is little doubt that the committee which binds all the council workforce together in one body will go from strength to strength and be in the forefront of the battle to save jobs and services.

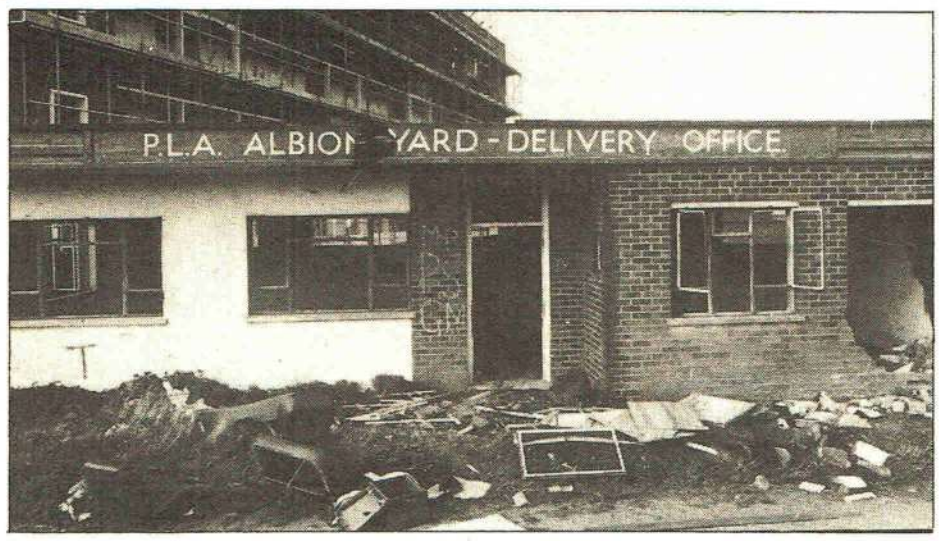
Enterprise boards - an alternative to Thatcherism?

EVEN IF the GLC is abolished then the Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB) will probably survive. Set up in 1983 to "regenerate London's economy" its aim was to use rate income to make strategic investments in the private sector.

To justify its continuation to the Tory government GLEB states that it is only interested in profitable businesses - in fact the higher the rate of profit the better. Similar Enterprise Boards have been set up in other parts of the country.

In this feature Bill Thomas examines the record of the GLEB, and whether it is a realistic alternative economic strategy for local authorities.

London's industrial decline



Traditional London industries such as the docks have declined, but private industry has not replaced the jobs lost. (Above) former Port of London Authority office.

LONDON, WITH half a million unemployed, has the largest concentration of unemployment anywhere in the developed world. Inner city areas like Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Poplar suffer unemployment rates between 25-30% and are some of the most deprived areas in the UK.

The major loss of jobs has been in the manufacturing sector. In 1978 there were 222 manufacturing firms employing 500 workers or more, whereas by 1982 only 75 such firms remained. Between June 1981 and June 1984, 153,000 redundancies were reported to the Manpower Services Commission.

It is not just in the inner city areas where the destruction has taken place, West London, where giant firms like Hoover and Firestone used to employ thousands, has become a barren wasteland of empty and demolished factories.

Such destruction is symptomatic of British capitalism's long-term decline, from being the the workshop of the world to a net importer of manufactured goods. Thatcher has accelerated this process by monetarist policies in a vain attempt to restore competitivity and profitability by using the threat of mass unemployment to weaken labour.

Enterprise boards

In its first year GLEB had committed £32 million to "save, create or enhance" over 2,000 jobs in 90 companies,roughly in line with the Labour GLC's election manifesto, echoing the previous Labour government's National Enterprise Board.

It was intended that although GLEB could not be on the scale of a NEB, it would develop improved strategies in order to provide a 'model' for a future Labour government's NEB.

It was felt that the NEB had concentrated too much on profitability rather than social criteria and had little committment to worker invovement, and no strategy about which economic sectors to invest in.

NEB's failure

Militant has argued in the past that enterprise boards are bound to founder while remaining within the capitalist system.

The reason for Britain's manufacturing decline is the lack of productive investment by big business over the years. The real say in directing investment is with the big monopolies and banks

It is worth noting that in London, of the 75 companies with over 500 employees, 73 are owned by multinational corporations. Many of the smaller companies are also dependent upon the larger corporations as they supply them with goods and services. To talk of economic sector strategies therefore, at a local or national level without control and ownership of these monopolies is nonsense.

Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, banks and financial institutions under democratic workers' control and management is not simply a slogan of *Militant* supporters, but the only serious method of regenerating Britain's manufacturing base.

Commercial criteria

The size of the GLEB's budget depends on what can be raised through rates, whereas an NEB funded nationally by taxes would have potentially a much greater budget. The principle of using taxes or rates for industrial development is however, the same whatever the size of the budget.

One argument of the advocates of GLEB is that rate income can be used as a 'pump primer' to start off productive investment in the hope that private capital will follow. It is obvious however that private capital will only follow if the return on investment is high enough.

It was reported in the *Times* recently that GLEB, in its effort to negotiate funding from the government in event of the abolition of the GLC, insisted 'that it does not support uneconomic projects', in fact the higher rate of profit the better in order to prime the pump. the pump. Clearly, acknowledging this as a failing of the NEB has done nothing to prioritise social rather than commercial criteria.

Industrial democracy

According to Labour's 1981 GLC manifesto: "We shall encourage new forms of social ownership, use the GLC to attempt to influence the manner in which technological chance is implemented so that the consequences of change are not increased lay-offs and redundancies, but a shorter working week and more fulfilling worker opportunities".

This however is not more than a utopian dream without effective policies to implement and generalise such reforms. As we have seen, GLEB is bound by commercial criteria—forced to invest only in profitable enterprises. Futhermore because of limited funds, and because GLEB is attempting to revive firms that have been starved of investment, it is forced into a tiny sector of small, marginally profitable firms. For this reason reforms are unlikely.

In an attempt to implement greater industrial democracy GLEB has initiated a system of "enterprise planning", whereby a major investment is conditional on a tripartite planning agreement between GLEB, the management and the workforce through its trade union.

A recent GLEB video explains to trade unions how the size of a pay claim would effect the firm's viability Clearly the effect of a shorter working week, training opportunities of childcare facilities could also be computed, undoubtedly showing that such reforms would reduce profitability, and therefore put off further private capital.

Workers 'self control'

Socialists have long argued, correctly, for the opening of the books to the trade unions for bargaining. However in the types of firms GLEB invests in, opening of the books will be primarily intended to moderate demands. Clearly within certain small firms, particularly during a recession, trade unions are sometimes forced to moderate demands in order to save jobs.

Let us be quite clear, not only is this defensive process the complete opposite of the stated intentions of the 1981 manifesto, but also the tendency to institutionalise this process through 'enterprise planning' can actively divert workers from developing political activity to confront the general and fundamental crisis of capitalism.

The monopolies significantly stand to gain from the 'self control' of workers in those small to medium firms who supply them with cheap goods and services. No wonder the Tories are thinking of contuing to fund the GLEB.

'Social ownership'

A most important danger however of the the GLC and GLEB propaganda about "new forms of social ownership" is the attraction of some seemingly unlikely allies in Labour's right wing and the SDP.

Both Roy Hattersley and David Owen have recently endorsed the call for "new forms of social ownership". These are not intended to replace capitalist forms but to counter the growing demand within the labour movement for nationalisation.

Of course Owen,and probably Hattersley as well, oppose nationalisation but how the GLC's strategy relates to nationalisation isn't clear.

Lucas plan

The Lucas Plan written by Hilary Wainwright and Dave Elliot gives an account of the Lucas Aerospace workers' campaign against redundancies based on proposals for useful products—kidney machines, disabled vehicles etc.



Photo montage: Peter Kennard

Vivienne Seal reviewed this book in last September's *Militant International Review* and said that it was an account of one of the most important experiences in recent labour movement history. She goes on to say however:

"The authors seem to counterpose workers' alternative plans to demands for nationalisation. The authors are quite right to criticise the way nationalisation has been carried out on the past, producing bureaucratically run state corporations which operate in the interest of private industry... But the authors seem to be opposing nationalisation altogether"

Utopian Socialism

In 1880 Frederich Engels wrote "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific." In it he argued the futility of socialism arising simply out of ideas without recognising the contradictions between the interest of capital and labour. For utopians he wrote: "it was a question of inventing a new and more perfect social order and of imposing it on society from without, by propaganda and wherever possible by the example of model experiment: These new social systems were foredoomed to be Utopian; the more they were worked out in detail, the more inevitably they became lost in pure fantasy."

Workers' control

The Lucas workers' plan demonstrated quite clearly that democratic workers' control is not only possible, but given ownership and control through nationalization by a socialist government—a basic demand of the Lucas workers themselves—then tremendous creativity and productivity of workers would be unleashed. Taking simply the idea without confronting the class contradictions is doomed to Utopianism.

Engels also wrote:... "from this (utopian socialism) nothing could come but a kind of eclectic (ie selecting from the 'best' ideas) average socialism... a mish mash permitting of the most manifold shades of opinion;...a mish mash which is more easily produced, the more the sharp edges of precision...are rubbed down in the stream of debate."

"New forms of social ownership" encompasing such manifold shades of opinion as the Labour left, right and the SDP is such a mish mash.

The limitations of GLEB as 'a middle way' between socialist planning and capitalist anarchy are many. And it is precisely these limitations which the Tories will build upon and develop for their own interests if GLEB continues in a life of its own, without any democratic control, if the GLC is abolished.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party of 1917—their fate


RYKOV
Executed


BUKHARIN
Executed


SVERDLOV
Dead


LOMOV
Disappeared


SHOMYAN
Dead


BERZIN
Disappeared


KRESTINSKY
Executed


URITSKY
Dead


NOGIN
Dead


KOLLONTAI
Sweden


SMILGA
Executed


TROTSKY
Assassinated


STALIN
Survivor


ZINOVIEV
Executed


KAMENEV
Executed


MURANOV
Disappeared


ARTEM
Dead


STASSOVA
Disappeared


DZERZHINSKY
Dead


BUBNOV
Disappeared


SOKOLNIKOV
Imprisoned


LENIN
Dead


MILIUTIN
Disappeared


JOFFE
Suicide

THIS YEAR sees the fiftieth anniversary of the start of the Moscow Trials, in which leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 were put on trial as "enemies of the people". They were tortured into making ludicrous "confessions" that they had collaborated with the Nazis, been spies, traitors or, worst of all "Trotskyists", and sentenced to be jailed or shot.

Written in 1939, Trotsky's article on "A Graphic History of Bolshevism",(writings of Trotsky 1938-39 p331) from which we print extracts below, analysed the process of degeneration within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which led up to trials.

In 1917, the Bolshevik Party, which shortly afterwards became the Communist Party, established the world's first, and only, democratic workers' state. It was based on on the four principles outlined by Lenin, that all officials of the state should be elected and subject to recall at any time, that officials should be paid no more than the average wage of a skilled worker, that there should be no standing army but an armed people and that there should be no bureaucracy but the rotation of responsibility for administrative tasks throughout society.

Despite years of war, civil war and famine, this fledgling socialist state survived. But the economic backwardness of Russia, and the defeat of revolutions in other more industrialised states, had left it isolated and weak.

A layer of rich peasant-farmers, would-be capitalists, state officials and careerists began to capture more and more important positions in the Communist Party. Joseph Stalin, one of th
had become the party's general secrets
jobs to those prepared to support hi

Over the next few years, the entire
state was purged af any opposition. Tr
midor" after the similar period of r
Revolution of 1789. A polititical cou

Trotsky himself was forced into exile
agents.

To secure his position within the state
those rich peasants (kulaks) who had h
took the form of the forced collectiv
millions died.

By the 1930s Stalin's power was abs
his hands. Yet still he was haunted by
istence he saw as a threat. He therefor
obliterate any trace of potential opposi
part in during the 1917 revolution.

Trotsky's article refutes totally the
circles, that Stalinism grew from the ro
the bureaucracy had become an appa
to defend the revolution from the cap
of the bureaucracy from the workers. St
and could only survive through the ext
thought.

Lenin had foreseen that in a socialist s

How the traditions of 1917 we

Stalin's

TROTSKY BEGINS his analysis by looking at the Communist Party, its Congress and its Central Committee. Without the political and organisational leadership of the Bolshevik Party and its leaders, the revolution of 1917 would not have succeeded.

The Bolsheviks' success stemmed in no small part from the fact that their party was both democratic and centralised. It was highly disciplined and well organised, yet also elected its leadership and conducted democratic debate on political issues. Congresses and Central Committees played a crucial part in maintaining these traditions. They comprised the most politically capable and most tried and tested class fighters from within the party, elected by and answerable to the membership.

Trotsky saw the parallel of the growth of Stalinism in the degeneration of these traditions within the party. While Lenin lived the congresses were held very regularly every year between the sixth Congress of 1917 and the twelth in 1923. The next year, the congress was held a month late. In 1925, it was sixth months late. The gap steadily widened from two years between 1925 and 1927 to five years, between 1934 and 1939, when Trotsky was writing...

...This prolongation of time intervals was of course no accident. In the years of the revolution and the civil war the party found it possible to adhere to its own statutes; the Central Committee remained an organ subject to the control of the party. The Central Committee began to rise above the party simultaneously with the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy over the workers' state. The control of the party, however terrorised, became an irksome fetter for the Central Committee. The intervals between the congresses were henceforth determined to an ever larger measure by the administrative exigencies of the ruling nucleus in the Central Committee, that is, Stalin's clique. Thus, the fourteenth congress (in 1925) was convened after a half year's delay in connection with the internal struggle in the "triumvirate" (Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev). Before presenting himself at the congress, Stalin had to make sure of his majority in the provinces. It was no longer a question of solving controversial issues, nor of exercising control over the CC, but of setting the seal of approval on accomplished facts. The fifteenth congress (in 1927) was convened for the sole purpose of drawing the balance sheet of the strangulation of the Left Opposition. The time for its convocation was determined by this very task. An identical task was fulfilled by the sixteenth congress(in 1930), this time in relation to the Right Opposition. The seventeenth congress (in 1934) was called only after the crisis in collectivisation had passed its acutist phases and the CC was already in position to report certain "consoling" items. Finally, the eighteenth congress (in 1939) was convened after the purges of Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beria had succeeded in rooting out opposition, terrorising the party, and reconstituting the ruling apparatus in the state and the army. The interrelationship between the party and the apparatus has been stood completely on its head...

From *A Graphic History of Bolshevism* by Leon Trotsky

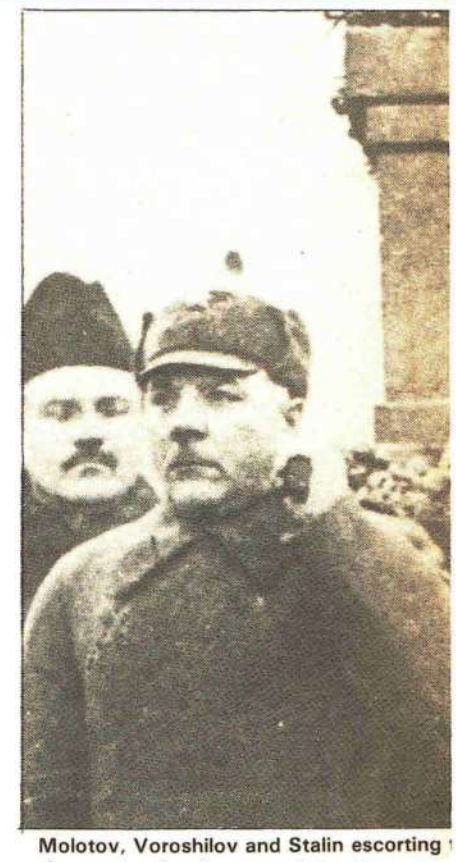
Central Committee

Trotsky turns to the Central Committee, describing how in the Bolshevik era its composition relfected "years of work, testing and selection." The replacement of older members by younger forces was carried out in such a way that a stable nucleus remained. During the first seven congresses after the revolution, the same nucleus was retained with only a few new elements being brought on and then subjected to testing and selection.

After 1923, however, the number of CC members began to rise from between 15 and 27 to 40 and later to 71. After 1927, there began "the shunting aside of Old Bolsheviks", to be followed by a drive to exterminate them physically...

...The eighteenth congress held in March of this year (1939) took over from the outgoing CC only 22.5 percent of its members! The personnel of the CC which in the preceeding eleven years had smashed the Left Opposition and then the Joint Opposition and then the Right Opposition, and had secured the complete "monolithism" of Stalin's party thus proved to have consisted of more than three – quarters traitors, betrayers, or just plain " enemies of the people"...

As an example we take the Cen-


Molotov, Voroshilov and Stalin escorting
the pretext for the start of the Moscow t

esser leaders during the revolution
. He used that position to provide
politically.
paratus of both the party and the
ky described this period as "Ther-
ction which followed the French
r-revolution was taking place.
d in 1940 was murdered by Stalin's

talin launched an offensive against
ed him build his power base. This
tion of agricu!ture during which

ute; the entire bureaucracy was in
he Old Bolsheviks whose very ex-
embarked on the trials, to try and
n from those who had played any

gument, still popular in academic
of Bolshevism. He illustrates how
us of totalitarian repression, not
lists, but to defend the privileges
nism was a negation of Bolshevism
nination af any trace of Bolshevik

iety the state would begin to wither

away. In the Soviet Union the state has become enormously re-inforced. Victory in the second world war led to a further strengthening of the bureaucracy. Its material privileges grew—fat salaries, holiday villas, cars, special shops, special schools for their children.

As waste and corruption rose to almost Czarist levels, the bureaucracy moved from being a relative fetter on an economy which was still expanding faster than in any capitalist country, to an absolute fetter on economic development. With no control by the masses, and all power concentrated at the top of the bureaucratic machine, the economy has only grown very slowly.

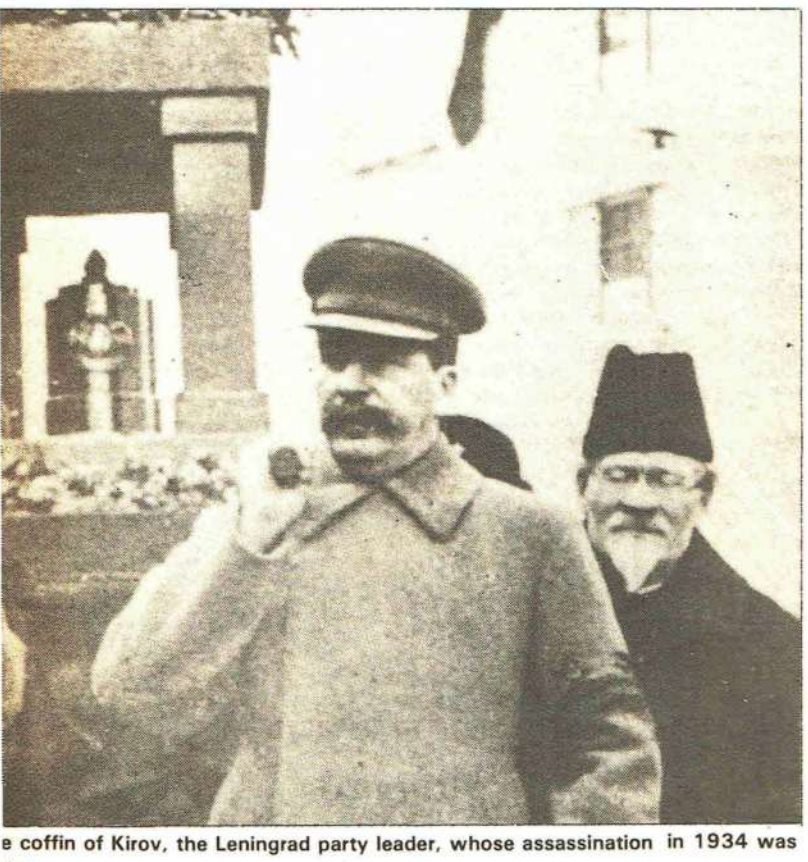
But its domination of Russian society canot last indefinitely. Inevitably the working class will move in the direction of political revolution. They will demand a return to the kind of society envisaged by Lenin and Trotsky. With the development of industry, automation and electronics, a six-hour day and a four-day week would be possible immediately. Living standards could rise to undreamed-of levels.

It would be possible now to add to Lenin's four points, the right of all political parties to operate freely, as a check against any return to totalitarianism.

Workers in Britain and throughout the world. even members of the "communist" parties, overwhelmingly reject totalitarianism. But they need to understand the history of Stalinism in order to make certain that there is no repetition. Trotsky's greatest contribution to the workers' movement ws his explanation of the causes of Stalinism, which enable workers today to learn the lessons of history.

re crushed

purges



e coffin of Kirov, the Leningrad party leader, whose assassination in 1934 was
ıls.

tral Committee that was elected in August 1917 and led the October Revolution. This historical staff consisted of twenty-one members. Of them only one remains at the present time in the party leadership—Stalin. Seven have died of disease or have fallen at the hands of the enemy (we shall not engage in a dispute over the causes). Shot or condemned to the firing squad—seven; three have disappeared during the purges; three others have been liqudated politically—and perhaps also physically: a total of thirteen, that is, **almost 62 percent of the participants in the October staff turned out to be "enemies of the people"**. Stalin here provides a statistical confirmation *sui generis* of the hoary theory of Miliukov-Kerensky (leaders of the capitalist governments which ruled Russia between the February and October revolutions in 1917—ed) that the October Revolution was the handiwork of the agents of the German general staff...

Similar proportions of those elected to the CC at later congresses were physically and politically liquidated—63.5%, 70%, 76% and 67.6% of those elected at the 10th, 15th, 16th and 17th congresses respectively.

We cannot tell as yet just how or to what extent the incumbent CC will be extirpated, but its horoscope is a dark one...

...The changes in the composition of the CC were accompanied by even more drastic changes in its role. The old Bolshevik CC was the undisputed leader of the party and was most conscientious in its attitude toward questions of theory and the voice of the workers. The incumbent CC has no independent meaning whatever. It is handpicked as an auxiliary to the ruling nucleus, and it is altered by the nucleus in the interval between the congresses. Changes in the personnel of the CC are effected through the state apparatus, or to put it more correctly, through certain "secret" departments of this apparatus, above all the GPU. Among the staff of seventy-one members of the incumbent CC there is Beria, the head of the GPU, and Vyshinsky, former chief prosecutor, now Molotov's deputy. Beria's past in the party is at best an obscure one. Vyshinsky's past in the party is quite clear: he adhered to Menshevism in the "heroic" periods of his career, at a time when it was impossible not to belong to a "leftist" party; but for the most part he was an attorney for the oil trust. He appeared on the Soviet arena during the period of the crushing of the Trotskyist opposition. This individual did not become a Bonapartist lackey; he was born such. Stalin leans not upon the CC but on Beria, Vyshinsky, and their assistants in whose presence the ordinary members of the CC quake...

Political Bureau

...The Central Committee as a committee is a many-headed myth. It goes without saying that the most important questions, such as purging the CC itself, cannot even be discussed in the Committee, inasmuch as 32.4 percent of its members cannot possibly pass a decision to destroy 67.6 percent. Such questions are decided by the super-Central Committee of Stalin-Yagoda-Yezhov-Vyshinsky. The fate of the party depends as little on the CC as the fate of the latter does on the party.

The Political Bureau, in its turn, does not at all depend on the CC. This is most glaringly demonstrated in the fact that the Political Bureau has undergone relatively little change in the Stalinist era, while the CC "electing" it has been periodically subjected to extermination. But this immutable Political Bureau serves itself only as a more or less stable piece of decoration. It wields no power. In contrast to the CC, the Political Bureau is composed predominantly of Old Bolsheviks. Of them, Stalin alone served as a member of the Political Bureau under Lenin; Kalinin was for a while a candidate. The majority of the remaining members, men like Molotov, Andreyev, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan are by no means youngsters whose talents bloomed in the recent period. They were sufficiently well known fifteen and even twenty years ago; but it was precisely for this reason that the idea never entered anyone's mind that these people were capable of leading the party. They are kept in the Political Bureau primarily because in the guise of "Old Bolsheviks" they provide a species of cover for shysters of the Vyshinsky-Beria-Potemkin-et al. type. On every important question Stalin confronts his "Political Bureau" with an accomplished fact.

To sum up, we can draw two extremely important conclusions:

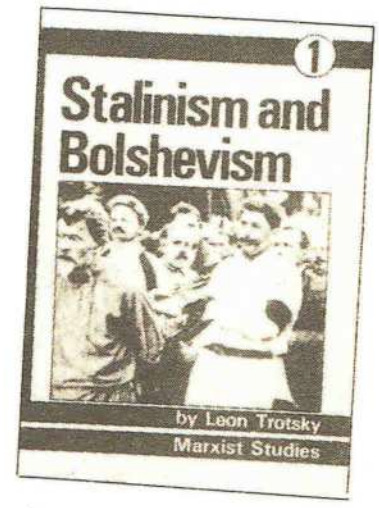
1. What is now being designated as party "monolithism" has acquired a social and political content which is the diametrical opposite of Bolshevism. A genuine Bolshevik party prides itself on its unanimity but only in the sense that it groups the vanguard of the workers on the basis of an irreconcible revolutionary programme. The party demarcates itself from all other tendencies along the line of the proletarian class struggle. The Stalinist party has the following characteristic trait: there is a systematic shift away from proletarian politics toward the policy of defending the privileged layers (the kulak (rich peasant), the Nepman (would-be capitalist—ed), the bureaucrat, in the first period; the bureaucrat, the labour and *Kolkhoz* (collective farm) aristocracy, in the second period). This social shift is intimately bound up with the recasting of the entire programme in both domestic as well as world politics (the theory of socialism in one country, the struggle against equality, the defence of imperialist democracy, People's Fronts, etc.) The ruling apparatus systematically adapts the party and its institutions to this changing programme, that is, in the service of new and ever more privileged social layers. The principal methods of this adaption are the dictatorial purges. The monolithism of the party signifies today not its unity on the basis of the proletarian programme but its docility to the apparatus that betrays this programme. Renewals in the personnel of the CC have reflected and continue to reflect the social shift of the party from the oppressed to the oppressors.



In the years of hardship which followed the 1917 revolution, a young commissar talks to peasants who were so poor that some had resorted to eating the flesh of those who had died. Economic backwardness and the defeat of revolutions in the advanced countries created the conditions for the rise of Stalinism.

Mortal enemies

2. The second conclusion is indissolubly linked with the first. The unimpeachable language of figures mercilessly refutes the assertion so current among the democratic intellectuals that Stalinism and Bolshevism are "one and the same". Stalinism originated not as an organic outgrowth of Bolshevism but as a negation of Bolshevism consummated in blood. The process of this negation is mirrored very graphically in the history of the Central Committee. Stalinism had to exterminate first politically and then physically the leading cadres of Bolshevism in order to become what it now is: an apparatus of the privileged, a brake upon historical progress, an agency of world imperialism. Stalinism and Bolshevism are mortal enemies.



Read more about the growth of Stalinism in this pamphlet. Price 50p (inc. post and packing) from World Socialist Books, 3–13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB. **See also ad on page 13.**

Bangladesh, France

Bangladesh : year of the workers

LIKE GENERAL Zia in Pakistan, Bangladesh's dictator General Ershad has announced elections, to be held on 6 April. Like Zia, Ershad has promised polls before and cancelled them. As in Pakistan, major opposition parties are boycotting the polls.

But far more than Zia at present, Ershad has faced formidable opposition from the working class during Bangladesh's year of strikes 1984.

The tone of events was set by the opposition groupings' gherao (mass demonstration) in November 1983 led by the left parties. Weak Bangladeshi capitalism has shown it can provide no relief for the working class, the huge numbers of underemployed and semi-starving urban slum dwellers or even white-collar workers. The working class in particular have proved a very militant, well organised force in society.

Wave of strikes

Another group also oppose Ershad, the middle class ranks of privileged state functionaries, professionals and others who form the basis of bourgeois parties like the Awami League and Bangledesh National Party (BNP) who are boycotting Ershad's elections, realising that elections under martial law would be a farce.

These sections are alienated by the dismantling of the huge bureaucratic state machinery set up by the Awami League after independence in 1971 to run the 85% of industry which was nationalised. Not that the Awami League were socialist. Working class organisations were repressed by the government and workers' occupations of factories in the period following the war in 1971 were forcibly ended.

Nationalisation was mainly an opportunity for personal enrichment by Awami League middle class activists. Together with gross inefficiency and the new world slump wages were halved in 4 years. Later military regimes have attempted a more openly capitalist orientation to try to boost investment and economic growth.

Wealth has been diverted to the big bourgeois and the state bureaucracy has been cut. The antagonism between the opposition and the Army is so fierce because no section of the elite wants to share power with any other. This lack of base for the military has strengthened the confidence of the working class.

The gherao in November 1983 was put down by brute force, police bullets killing 16 people. Russian diplomats were expelled on the nonsensical grounds of Soviet conspiracy and the regime tried with only limited success to set up "yellow" unions linked to the government *Janadal* party. A government "unionist" Sadhu led an attack on 29 February 1984 on Adamjee jute mill, the largest industrial unit in the county. While the police watched the thugs kill communist unionist Tajul Islam and ten others hoping to intimidate the movement, the day before a strike planned for 1 March.

The strike took place with even more success than expected. This hartal, called by 11 union federations to fight for economic, trade union and civil rights, started a new chapter in the history of East Bengal.

More national federations joined the front, and in April it was named the Worker-Employees Alliance Council (SKOP). In Bangladesh, unions had often been appendages of even right-wing political parties, merely sectional pressure groups. It was the activity of the movement from below which forced this new unity not just from real class fighting organisations but even from more dubious bodies and individuals.

SKOP's first act was to call a general strike on 28 April. Not only were buses and trucks stopped by this hartal but, unusually, launches and railways stopped too and even flights of the national airline. The government did not however give in to demands for a minimum wage, reversal of denationalisation and ending of martial law.

Opposition scared

On May Day SKOP announced another general strike for 22-23 May and more until the government conceded. Up until then the bourgeois democratic opposition parties had backed the protests. But these groups did not want the Army brought down by a revolutionary wave. They need the Army **against** the working class. They want to convince the Army they need a civilian administration to keep control.

Ershad, though, wants to hold elections under martial law to ensure he becomes civilian president, while the opposition want elections under a "neutral independent government."

The movement of the working class was the last thing either of them wanted. The opposition made no attempt to escalate the unprecedented call for a two day general strike into a confrontation with the junta.

Even without the support of the opposition, though, SKOP was too big a threat so at the eleventh hour Ershad made concessions including a Tk 450 minimum wage and the removal of an anti-union order made in 1982. At this point the CP led federation TUC, one of the largest in SKOP, successfully called for the hartal to be called off because of this concession. Militants within the federations argued that the CP was afraid to take the leadership of the anti-junta movement because the CP perspective was for the "democratic" bourgeois parties to lead this movement.

Marxists pointed out that the real victory was not the concession itself (which was not honoured) but the junta's recognition of the power of the working class. The task of Marxists is now to win the ideological battle in the trade union movement.

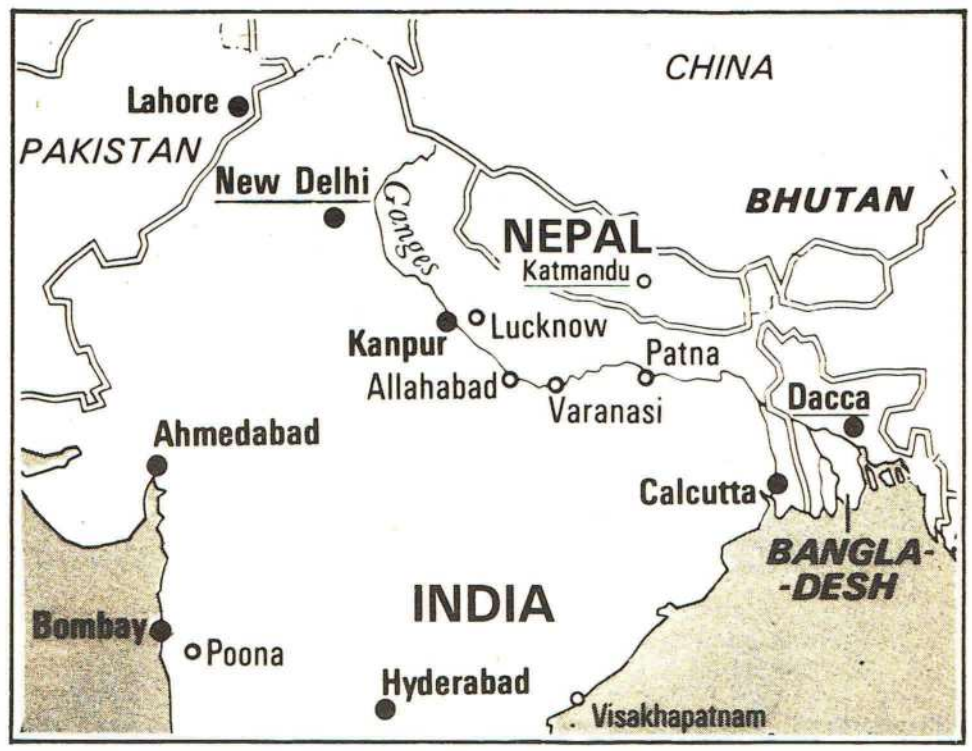
Working class must lead

After having failed to negotiate a settlement with Ershad another programme of general strike strikes began on 27 August, with a second on 27 September and, the high point, the million strong rally in the capital Dhaka against martial law on 14 October. The 15 party and 7 party alliances led respectively by the Awami League and BNP disappointed the crowd with their bland civil disobedience programme.

Almost 20,000 copies were distributed of a leaflet by a group of Marxist trade unionists pointing out that the only real lasting alternative to martial law was for the oppressed people led by the working class to take power into their own hands.

Another massive general strike took place on 22/23 December, this time backed by the political parties. The regime, realising the importance of the developments, tried violence and mass arrests and attempted to ban political activity.

The working class has shown itself during 1984 to be the dominant force in urban Bandladesh, but a new leadership is needed to end political dependence on the capitalist parties and to establish political and organisational links with the rural landless. These are the immediate preconditions for establishing genuine democracy in Bangladesh. Capitalism cannot lead the fight for a lasting democracy.



Facing the same problems, fighting the same enemy

TWO YORKSHIRE miners, Andy Hodgkinson a branch committee member from Darfield Main and Andy Fleming from Houghton Main, report on their visit to France recently to build support for strikers and their families.

'French workers are facing the same problems as we do in Britain. Disillusioned by Mitterrand's misnamed socialist policies, they are now searching for an alternative.

Our meetings were organised by the Marxist paper *L'avance Socialiste* and took in factories, universities, workers' hostels, a hospital and our own public meeting.

Our first visit was to the SKF bearing factory in the Ivry district of Paris where workers have been in occupation for 16 months! Like us they are fighting rundown; they also face privatisation of their industry. They are occupying to secure £6 million worth of high tech machinery still inside.

We have never seen anything like it. Every part of the works was smothered with the red flag. On approach it looked like a military garrison and the police must think the same when they try to get in. Apart from the trenches outside each gate (dug by the local council workers), full crates of metal stood on the inside of huge iron gates forming barricades.

"Like a military garrison"

Oil barrels were ready to be emptied and fired to provide a smokescreen to allow workers to retreat to the main buildings. After the workers are safe inside, huge steel doors like those in bank vaults are secured from the inside and then tons of ball bearings are rolled down the stairs and wedged behind the doors.

Imagine the look on the gendarmes' faces when they dragged the doors open; all the windows were meshed up to stop CS gas and more ball bearings were strategically placed by each window. While all this was taking place, air raid-type warnings were sounded, warning the whole community who have pledged their support and promised to be on hand within minutes if needed.

At all our meetings, we had displays showing scenes from Orgreave, food halls and riot police in the pit villages. This went down really well, obviously nothing like this had been shown in the French media. We usually spoke for about 10 minutes on the strike and 15 minutes or so on the lessons we'd learned. Every time we criticised TUC and Labour leaders for not giving the necessary lead, they related this to their own problems in France.

On Polish coal we urged CP and union members to condemn strike-breaking and send resolutions to the Polish government making their opposition to such actions clear.

After a two hour meeting at a young workers' hostel one woman said "these kids have never been to a meeting of any political nature before. I just don't believe it, they not only sat through a translated lead off but gave some good contributions too. I'm looking forward to more such meetings." Another worker who had spent 20 years in the CP said that this was the best meeting she had been to apart from perhaps during the 1968 revolution.

Impact of Marxism

There is no doubt that the Marxist ideas of *L'avance Socialiste* made a big impact and have a big role to play in future battles.

One thing we know from our visit. If a worker in France is refused any payments after 12 months on the dole and is left destitute to sleep in Metro stations and seek comfort in heroin, the system in France needs changing. And if workers in Britain have to strike for 11 months to safeguard their jobs, communities and unions then the system in Britain needs changing too.

We should fight together for international socialism. Their struggle is our struggle.'



French miners. Like British NUM members they are threatened by closures.

Labour students

Labour students under attack

IT IS imperative that the labour movement speaks out against the undemocratic manoeuvres of the leadership of the National Organisation of Labour Students.

The Labour Party rank and file must not just think of the latest developments as merely 'internal wrangles' in the party's student section, not of their concern. If the tactics of the NOLS leadership were used in the wider labour and trade union movement there would be uproar.

The latest threat to expel members of Further Education Labour Students (FELS) shows that such witch-hunts are spreading out into the Labour Party generally. It is disturbing that the actions of the NOLS leadership have been backed by some Labour leaders, as well as the machinery at Labour Party headquarters. For example, National Agent David Hughes refused to issue supplies of cards to Liverpool FE colleges. Unfortunately left wingers such as Tom Sawyer of NUPE, who chairs the party's Youth sub-committee has stood by and failed to ensure that democracy prevails in NOLS.

What's more, the past tradition has been for NOLS leaders to carve out careers within the labour movement officialdom—the party's new Student Organiser, for example, is Sally Morgan, a former member of the NOLS leadership. Their 'apprenticeship' of organisational attacks against *Militant* supporters and other opposition in the student field does not bode well for the future.

Trade unionists and Labour Party activists must speak out against these political attacks and safeguard the democratic traditions of the whole labour movement.

FELS: disband — or else!

THE LABOUR leadership have been trying to give the party a youthful image. We have witnessed Neil Kinnock at fashion shows, on a Tracey Ullman video and recently at the British Rock and Pop awards.

Yet if the vindictive resolution passed by the Labour Party's Youth sub-committee on 14 February is backed by the NEC, then hundreds of youth face expulsion.

The resolution at the committee stated: "We ask the NOLS National Committee to pursue a policy that points out to students that membership of FELS is not compatible with Labour Party membership".

It was backed by Tony Clarke (UCW), Eddie Haig (TGWU), Syd Tierney (USDAW), John Evans, MPs Betty Boothroyd and Gwynneth Dunwoody, and John Mann, chairperson of NOLS. With a number of left wingers absent, the only two votes against were from Frances Curran and John Hird of the LPYS. The resolution followed a report on FELS after complaints from the NOLS leadership—their attacks have given the right wing an opportunity to launch this latest witch-hunt.

FELS was established because of the burning need for FE students to be won to Labour in the fightback against the Tories.

It was not set up in opposition to NOLS, but to give FE students a Labour organisation to turn to. Under the NOLS' current rules, part-time 'O' and 'A' level students are ineligible for NOLS membership. Neither can full time FE students become individual members of NOLS—you have to belong to a Labour Club. Yet under the current NOLS leadership, of the 122 clubs affiliated to NOLS only 20 are in the FE sector. However, FELS allows individual membership and accepts part-timers.

FE colleges are in the frontline of Tory attacks on education. Rate-capping will mean a reduction of £250 million in spending on the FE sector. The Tories' proposals on YTS will force many part-time students to leave their courses. Further courses will be hit when the Manpower Services Commission takes over some FE colleges.



FE students join a Student Union demonstration—FE students need a Labour organisation to turn to. Photo: Militant

Yet despite this onslaught, the NOLS leadership have not tapped the enormous discontent and frustration of FE students. Indeed they have maintained an elitist attitude towards students. NOLS membership at the three top universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Glasgow is 741, while the entire NOLS membership in FE colleges is only 614.

But FE students could not be ignored any longer. Last year Labour Party members at FE colleges organised FELS to recruit students to NOLS and the Labour Party. At its founding conference 240 FE students attended, representing 44 colleges, such was the enthusiasm for Labour amongst FE students.

Yet the NOLS leaders have obstructed FELS from its outset. They know an influx of mainly working class FE students will threaten their positions—FE students will be looking for clear, socialist leadership, not petty organisational squabbles over who gets what job in the student movement.

Such is the political bankruptcy of the NOLS leaders, they are prepared to cordon off whole layers of youth from the Labour Party in order to protect their political careers.

Their attacks on members of FELS has reached its logical conclusion—they have handed the right-wing the tools with which to implement a wholesale purge of socialist youth from the Labour Party.

But Labour Party members at FE colleges will not tolerate this. FELS have said they are seeking legal advice. They will fight this attack tooth and nail, to get on with the job of winning youth to Labour.

NOLS ranks fight organisational assault

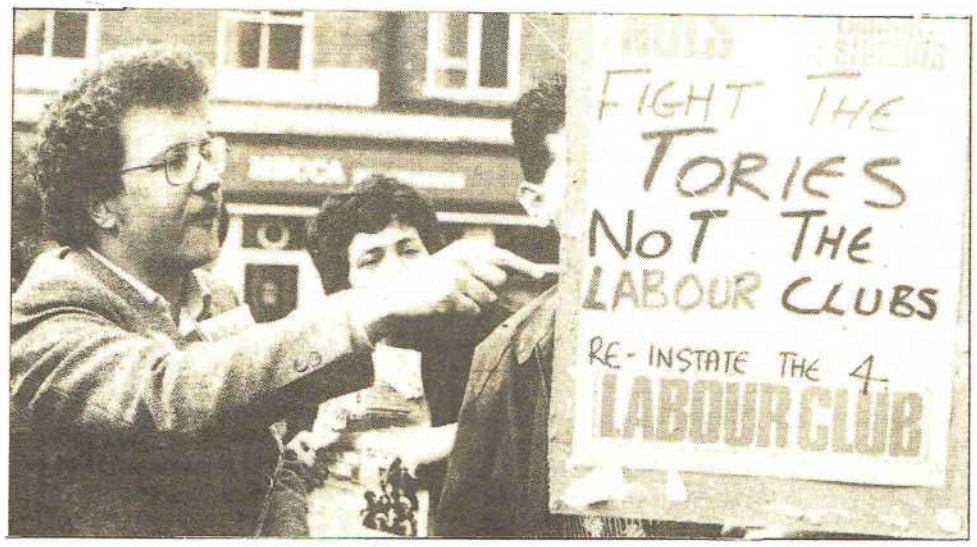
LAST YEAR'S conference of the National Organisation of Labour Students, the Labour Party's student section, ended in chaos and confusion.

The Labour Party Student Organiser, John Dennis, unconstitutionally closed the conference rather than answer serious allegations of ballot rigging in elections to the leadership of NOLS.

This year's NOLS conference is set for March 1 – 3 at Hammersmith Town Hall in London. After such a momentous year of struggle this year's conference should have seen many new Labour Clubs—NOLS branches in colleges—in attendence.

But instead under the present leadership, NOLS membeship has increased by just 154.

The NOLS leadership, supported by some leading members of the Labour Party, have concentrated more on blatant manoeuvres against any opposition rather than a campaign to recruit students to Labour.



Labour students protest outside a meeting of the NOLS leadership last year, after Labour Club delegations were 'ruled out' in the run up to the 1984 conference. Photo: Mark Pinder

The NOLS leadership—members of the so-called 'Democratic Left'—have waged a systematic bureaucratic attack against *Militant* supporters and new Labour Clubs.

The tactics of these 'left' wingers have been far from 'democratic'—

★ The Labour Party's Youth Sub-committee met on 6 November to set a deadline for new Labour Clubs to affiliate to NOLS, and thus be eligible for delegates at the 1985 conference. The deadline they set...6 November!

★ New Labour clubs have had their inaugural meetings blocked, while existing clubs have not been sent enough party cards from the Labour Party HQ for new members, at colleges where *Militant* and other opposition supporters are in leading positions.

★ Having attempted to stifle any opposition in the run-up to conference, the NOLS leadership now wants to maintain a bureaucratic iron grip over the conference itself, in the style of East European Stalinists.

New standing orders for the conference have been ratified by an **appointed** Standing Orders Committee—last year's elected committee was dismissed following the closure of conference.

Its new proposals include:

—Conference will only be chaired by the chairperson or his/her **appointed** deputy. This gives the chair the power to close conference without challenge.

—The right of delegates who have been ruled out to appeal to the conference to be allowed back in, has been abolished. This right has existed since 1976. When a similar proposal was put forward to last year's conference, it was thrown out.

If the NOLS leaders get their way, these new rules will not even be debated. One of the 'Democratic Left', Caroline Flint, said at the Standing Orders meeting on 10 February: "If the conference does not accept the new standing orders then there will be no conference."

However, these attempts to stifle opposition will not go unanswered. *Militant* supporters at the NOLS conference in March will be arguing for NOLS to adopt socialist policies to take Labour students forward, regardless of the organisational attempts to silence them.

Labour Clubs stamped on

DELEGATES FROM Labour Clubs to NOLS National Conference are elected at special meetings and the number of delegates depends on the size of the club.

However, the NOLS leadership, backed by Labour Party HQ, has used organisational methods to limit the number of opposition delegates to conference, while waiving the constitution when it benefits their own supporters, to ensure they keep control of NOLS.

In the build-up to NOLS National Conference, *Militant* supporters and new Labour Club members have come up against a catalogue of political manoeuvres:

Liverpool University: Their delegates are under threat because the meeting which elected them lasted an hour instead of two!

Salford University: Labour Club membership cards were not sent out until well into the term, preventing the club building its membership. It received only 50 cards, yet had a membership of 60 last year.

Leeds University: Club members received no notification of the meeting to elect delegates, which is unconstitutional. Regardless, it elected seven Democratic Left (DL) supporters.

Cardiff University: Jo Moore of the NOLS leadership intervened to rule its unconstitutional meeting as constitutional—six DL delegates elected.

Glasgow University: No notification given to club members, yet it elected 11 DL delegates to conference.

Swansea University: The delegation to conference has been reduced by one from five to four—the fifth delegate was a *Militant* supporter. At the election meeting, two non-Labour Club members participated.

Huddersfield Poly: The Labour Club decided not to hold a meeting as it would have been unconstitutional. However, John Erskine of the NOLS leadership intervened to waive the constitution.

Dundee College of Education: Labour Club cards were not sent out in time for the club's AGM.

Motherwell College: Labour Club excluded from conference on a technicality.

Central Liverpool College: Its delegation of six has been proposed to be reduced to five—all are *Militant* supporters.

Neath, Cross Keys, Rumney and **Gateshead Tech:** Inaugural meetings of college Labour Clubs blocked as NOLS officers failed to attend, having said they would.

Old Swan Tech, Millbank College, Central Liverpool College, North East Tech, Pontypridd Tech and **South Gwent Institute of Higher Education:** Clubs have been denied extra NOLS cards for new members.

LETTERS

Militant welcomes letters from readers. Send us your views, comments or criticism. Write to *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London. E9 5HB

Fighting for jobs

Dear Comrades,

I write this letter to you because of the strike at Cammell Lairds which is entering its eighth month. I myself have been on the line for the past six months.

I have received a letter from Lairds management informing me that if I did not come off the official picket line I would be sacked.

We are fighting for our jobs. Lairds management informed me that they can sack men under the New 1984 anti-trade union law. So I warn every worker to be wary of this Tory government as they are out to smash the unions.

Yours comradely
J Sutton
GMBATU, Cammell Lairds



Lady Di smiles as DHSS staff demonstrate at her fleeting visit. Photo: John Arthur

Why children are abused

Dear Comrades,

Princess Diana recently commented that she could not understand how anyone could 'batter' their child as she loved her two children very much.

I agree with the Princess, she could never understand the pressures which can lead to most cases of child abuse.

She has never been homeless or unemployed. She may occasionally stay with her in-laws but there is no question of overcrowding. Her husband may be kept by the state but he is not on social security. Her children are looked after by a nanny while most cannot even get a place in a playgroup or nursery. And what mother would get depressed if she had a skiing holiday to look forward to or could pop off to the shops and spend a couple of thousand pounds on clothes?

Most cases of child abuse are caused by stress and are isolated incidents. Crisis centres and Family Networks assist family units in trying to deal with the problem but it must be realised that as long as mass unemployment exists and women are isolated in the home, the solution is only short term.

We must realise that a family may be a single unit but it should not be a separate unit from society.

As a mother of three under-fives, I believe that until we have childcare facilities free for every child, decent housing conditions, better health care facilities and a decent living wage for all, we will continue to have parents taking desperate measures as a call for help.

Yours Fraternally
Elizabeth Smellie
East Kilbride LPYS

Model question

Dear Comrades,

The government has just released a report, based on the Treasury's computer model of the economy, which purports to show that every time a group of workers successfully negotiates a pay increase, they are putting other workers out of a job.

However, Warwick University's Macroeconomic Modelling Bureau, which specialises in such computers, has described this conclusion as "not credible" and "wishful thinking". They have even gone so far as to say that such results must have been obtained by "tampering" with the model.

Indeed, in an effort to discover how the government could legitimately make the claim that "workers are pricing themselves out of jobs", the Bureau at the University decided to use the models of Liverpool, National Institute, London Business School and City University as well as the Treasury's.

In each case, they found that a rise in real wages leads to a growth in the number of jobs! Who said that about lies, damned lies and statistics?

Yours Fraternally
Tim Kaye
Warwick University Labour Club.

The Strike goes on

Dear Comrades,

We hear daily of how the strike is collapsing; the NCB's figures are given priority over nearly all other news items. Everything is done to try and break the strike.

For some of us, like myself, who at the beginning of the strike were not politically aware of the frightening situation taking place in our country, it has been a great shock to see what the country our fathers fought for to supposedly keep "free" is prepared to do to honest, hard-working, working-class people in a strike.

Well here's something for Thatcher and MacGregor to consider. I work at Ellington colliery in Northumberland and have weekly meetings with other strikers and I can tell them the more they do to us the more determined we become. We will not bow to Thatcher as other workers have done. You just-have to look at British Steel and British Leyland to see why we won't surrender. We won't sell our jobs and we won't see our villages die. The strike goes on because we realise that this fight is not just our fight but the wider class struggle which has been forgotten in recent years.

It is true that many of us in the coalfields are finding it difficult and if it wasn't for all the support groups it may prove impossible to continue the strike so I must thank all the people involved in support groups and ask for your continued support. I wish I could thank all you personally. We in Northumberland who are on strike live by this saying "It is better to die on your feet than live on your knees"—The strike goes on.

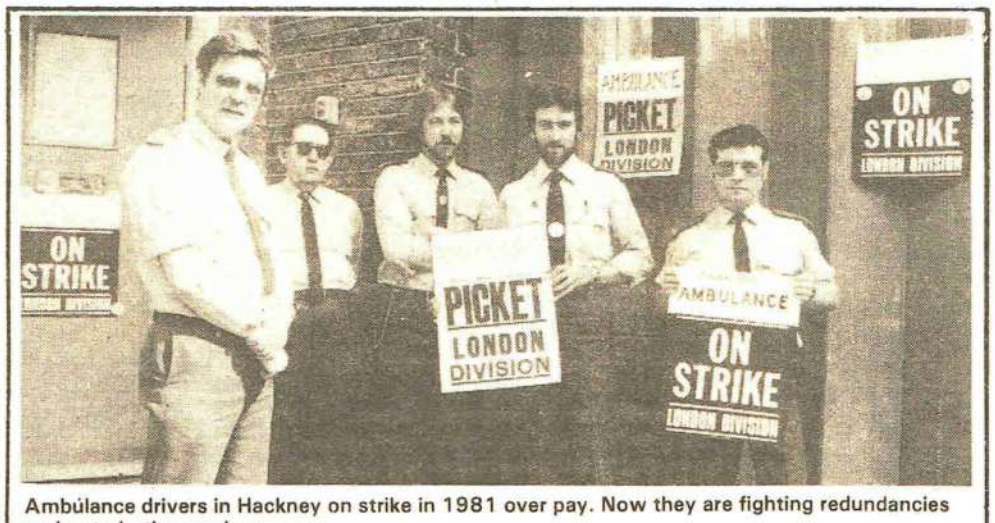
Yours Fraternally
Northumberland striking miner

For the people?

Dear *Militant*,

I well remember when the pits became nationalised; flags were flying on the pit tops and the slogan was "For the people by the people". The unions are the people but I have seen nothing which says Maggie Thatcher consulted the union when she installed her hatchet man Ian MacGregor.

Yours faithfully
Mavis Seals
Nottingham



Ambulance drivers in Hackney on strike in 1981 over pay. Now they are fighting redundancies and cuts in the service.

Dear Comrades,

Emergency services in Coventry are in a critical situation as ambulances having to travel sixteen miles from Birmingham to Coventry either fail to arrive or are dangerously late on the scene of emergencies. An elderly patient who has no legs was kept waiting in the corridor of Coventry's accident department for six hours as staff tried repeatedly to summon an ambulance to take him home.

Geriatric patients placed on other wards who die are sometimes left for hours before being moved to the mortuary.

Meanwhile Coventry's right-wing Labour council prepares to carry out cuts in the city and implement further rent rises, in their cynical attempt to remain within the confines of the Tories policy of legal robbery.

Yours fraternally
Paul Smith
Coventry South East

Baby Cotton

Dear *Militant*,

I feel bound to take issue with Fiona Winders' comments (The Baby Cotton Controversy, *Militant* 25/1/85) which seemed to lump together anyone who opposes, for example, the prescription of the pill to under 16's; abortion; experimentation on embryos, with Enoch Powell, Mary Whitehouse et al.

For the record I also oppose capital punishment, nuclear arms and racism, while supporting the sharing of wealth, equality of opportunity—I could go on.

Personally I believe that the curbing of abortion should go hand in hand with improved housing, health provision, better sex education, 'refuge' homes for unsupported pregnant women; in fact every back-up facility which would assist women to carry through their pregnancies. Is this "demonstrating little concern about the health and happiness of the majority of people here and now"?

On the contrary, I hope it demonstrates a positive approach to the problems faced by growing numbers of people. As this capitalist recession deepens, is abortion to be our socialist solution to all its attendant ills? I hope not.

Yours in Peace
Mrs AE Farmer
Essex

Discrimination

Dear Comrades,

One indication of the dangers inherent in the policy of 'positive discrimination' arose during the discussions about the shortlisting of applications to work for our playgroup. We suddenly heard that the Management Committee of our community centre were "very concerned" about the group and felt they should have someone on our interviewing panel "to make sure we didn't choose two white women".

Understandably, all the mothers in the group, which has a multi-ethnic membership, were very annoyed at this attitude. Particularly as, during the previous year's existence of the group, while we had been campaigning hard to persuade the council to give us some money to employ workers, we had not heard or seen anyone from the committee, let alone had any indication of their "concern".

"It's racialism in reverse" said one. "Colour or race has never been an issue in this group, and we don't intend to let it. We want to employ people we think are the best for our children and who we can get along with. It doesn't matter what colour their skin is."

While the incident did not affect relations in the playgroup, it is obvious that under other circumstances it could have had a drastic effect, bringing to the fore any underlying racial feelings in an area of high deprivation.

Discrimination of any kind, whether it is in 'favour' of women or blacks, cannot solve the problems that exist in an area like Hackney, at a time of economic crisis. All it does is breed resentment and provide a basis for those who wish to divide workers, either by sex or race, instead of us fighting together against the system that produced the problems in the first place.

Yours fraternally
Lynne Faulkes
Hackney South and Shoreditch CLP

LEFT and RIGHT

Millionaire nomad

Don't forget there's money out there if you're prepared to work hard for it. Take Sir Michael Edwardes. When he left British Leyland he got a job running the computer giant, ICL. When that was taken over by another multi-national, they paid him off to the tune of £500,000. So then Michael moved on to Dunlop. Now it looks as though Dunlop will be taken over by the BTR group. If it does, then Sir Michael will recieve £468,000. (*Times* 13 February).

Land of radiation and honey

West country bee-keepers are prepared for nuclear war. They have asked the Ministry of Defence to direct them to areas unlikely to be targetted by Russian missiles, and have developed lead-lined beehives. They reckon bees can go without food for nine months, so would survive a nuclear winter. What the bee-keepers should do, they didn't say.

"Solidarity"—NF style

Remember last year when the National Front tried to set up a 'Miners support' meeting in Walthamstow? Well, since the NUM told them where to get off, we have seen the NF in their true light. The NF threatened to attack a support meeting in Ramsgate, Kent, addressed by Arthur Scargill. They didn't turn up but a bomb threat was made. In Ipswich a visiting miner was beaten up. But the attacks haven't gone all the NF's way. Again in Ipswich, a seven strong NF gang attacked an elderly man collecting for the miners. However, a lone miner appeared, knocked out the ring leader, and the rest of the heroes fled.

Holy picket lines

Trouble at mill. Workers employed by the Vatican have called an indefinite "state of agitation" over pay. Strikes are being called at short notice.

Marxist Daily Building Fund 1985

Total received since 1 January:

	£		£
Eastern	394	Northern	61
East Mids	640	Scotland West	90
Humberside	1649	Scotland East	623
London NE	390	Southern	254
London NW	70	South West	65
London SE	602	Wales East	75
London SW	130	Wales West	73
Lancs	0	West Midlands	343
Manchester	0	Yorkshire	0
Merseyside	187		

Total 5647

CLIVE THORNTON, sacked chief executive of the *Daily Mirror* is involved in a group planning to establish a new Sunday paper, "News on Sunday" a left wing version of the *Mail on Sunday*. How much will it cost to launch? £4.45 million!

By Dave Campbell

Who's going to raise the money? Well, that's easy. Investments from pension funds, private companies and individual investments of £1000 from 'radical professionals' will help. But what support from the workers, you asked?

Well, the *News on Sunday* steering group is confident that at least £500,000 can be raised from a number of 'extremely wealthy people with progressive views' who will make individual investments of over £25,000 each. Unfortunately, one or two trade unions (including the TGWU) also seem interested in financing this paper rather than making serious attempts to launch a trade union paper.

Of course, not everything will be easy—most advertising agencies are hostile to the paper because of its 'left wing politics'. And what's in it for Clive? Is he sickened by the number of people who froze to death in the recent cold spell? Or by the Tories' threatened cuts in Pension and Social Security payments? Well, not quite you see, Clive reckons: 'If you've got a good product, a newspaper can make a lot of money'.

Change society

Militant, of course, doesn't exist to make people a lot of money. Its aim is to throw out this rotten system where only the rich have freedom of the press.

We need a Marxist Daily Paper that can report, support and organise the struggle to change society. A Marxist Daily won't be able to depend on rich backers or on advertising but the yardstick of its support will be the sacrifice its readers make to finance it.

Last Year, the Marxist Daily Building Fund reached the magnificent sum of £153,054. So far this year we have received £5647.20.

This week, Kenvin Stevens, a miner on strike from Celynen South Colliery (in Neil Kinnock's Constituency) has donated £30 speakers expenses to the building fund. Kenvin, marries with three children has already sacrificed a year's pay to beat the Tories. But he has shown his support for a Marxist Daily in a way that really counts.

Chris Parry, a Bristol postman has sent us his week's pay-£80- as his stake in a new workers paper. Many other readers have sent or promised to send large donations to establish a daily paper. Have you sent your week's income yet?

If we can cash in quickly, we'll be able to get a Marxist Daily before Clive Thornton gets his *News on Sunday*.

P.S. If you do happen to have the spare £25,000 or so and your conscience is pricking you, make the cheque payable to 'The Marxist Daily Building Fund'.

Your voice against the Tories!

THOUSANDS OF youth are massing against the Tories, protesting that they are not prepared to put up with Tory conscription plans.

Millions of voices are raised against Thatcher and her cronies but we also need newspapers that fight Maggie's mouthpieces in Fleet Street who support this exploitation system. *Militant* is the only weekly paper (or daily come to that) that backs the YTURC and the LPYS campaign against YTS and all the other phony schemes.

We want you to build *Militant*, so we have a bigger, more frequent paper to answer the Tory rags and mobilise to get rid of them. What can you do? Well, why not sell *Militant* to your mates, and get your mates to do the same.

How do you start? Just fill in the slip below, approach any *Militant* seller or ring 01-533 3311. Special subsription offer: four issues for a £1.

I would like to sell *Militant*.
I would like to take out the special 4 for £1 offer.

Name.....Address.....

.....Phone no.....

FIGHTING FUND

This week £1490

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
Eastern	345		2900
East Midlands	252		2800
Humberside	320		1850
London East	170		3250
London West	125		2150
London South East	163		2000
London South West	67		1600
Lancashire	66		1100
Manchester	160		2750
Merseyside	166		6000
Northern	147		4900
Scotland East	19		3000
Scotland West	175		3800
Southern	287		5000
South West	71		2000
Wales East	0		2450
Wales West	0		2150
West Midlands	279		4400
Yorkshire	338		5900
Others	174		10000
Total received	3326		70000

"DEAR COMRADE, please accept this small donation for the Fighting Fund as a token of your support for the miners and socialist policies in general. I am a nurse and this is all I can afford at the moment. Signed A W Brown".

By Ruth Campbell

Enclosed was £5. This is the sort of response our appeals for cash are having. Many comrades have been out asking our readers to give up a week's income or a day's pay. In Coventry, Barry and Maureen Gardner donated £3 as their week's income. Barry is a striking miner from Keresley Colliery.

In every ward, branch, union meeting, workplace, school or college, there are people who agree with the ideas put forward by *Militant* and are willing to give us cash to help us fight back. We have already heard that some NALGO members will be contributing to the fund, donating from their backdated pay award.

Many local government workers recognise that role *Militant* plays in protecting jobs and services and particularly the tremendous strides forward that Liverpool council have made. Get NALGO branches to make donations as well as individuals.

So far, we have received £1,490 this week but if we are to reach the target we need £5,385 every week! But, that's only £269 a week from each region on the chart!

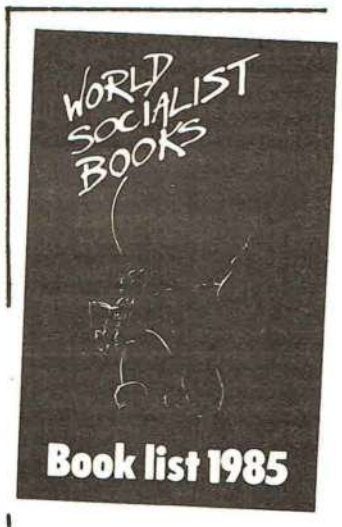
Half way by March

Many readers have promised to make sure their area reaches half way across the chart by the beginning of March and will be making an extra special effort with jumble sales, socials, sponsored events and mass paper sales remembering, of course, always to ask for extras for the fighting fund.

Commit **your** area to raising 50% by the beginning of March. This would then leave two whole months to raise the second half of your target. Its easy!

Above all, we cannot afford to slacken off our efforts. Thatcher doesn't. Help us keep fighting back.

Thanks for donations from Robert Whitehead, Erith £5; Dave Osbourne, Thamesmead NUPE £2.00; Erith and Crayford LPYS £10; Carol O'Connor, Nalgo, Macclesfield £5; Jill Murdock, Nottingham Trade Council £30; M Abrahams, Nottingham £20; T Walker, Gedling £3; J Halford, Arnold £1; B Shepperson, Gelding £1; Y Harrison, POEU £3; Nottingham NUR £5; Lee Wright, Grimsby Student £5; Steve Howard, Grimsby £1; Hull Readers Meeting collected £100; members of Pentlands LPYS sent in £12.50; Julie Morgan of Worsley LPYS £10; Pauline Clarke, Worsley LPYS 50p; Neville Harvey, Rover car workers, Sollihull £2; Neil Davies also from the Rover £1.



Booklist available free from: World Socialist Books, 3–13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB

ads

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

Train bookings for BLOC Conference, 23 March. Train seats from London Euston. £16 return (£2 cheaper than inter city) This is a limited booking on two trains. Book now, though. First leaves London 6.50am. Manchester 18.15. 2nd leaves 8.15am London, Manchester 19.15. Cheques payable to Broad Left Organising Committee. Send to G.Robertson, c/o 33, Langdon House, Ida Street, London E14

BADGES—1" button badges with 20th anniversary slogan 20p each (10p each for orders over 20)—1" button badge—'Militant' on coloured background (white/yellow/green/blue) 20p each. Enamel stud badges—"Militant for Labour and Youth" 75p each. All orders for badges must be accompanied with minimum 25p for p&p.
Cash with order. Cheques made payable to 'Militant' send to 3-13 Hepscott Road, London, E9 5HB.

CO-OP stamps wanted for F/F. Send to Circulation Dept, 3–13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

CASSETTE TAPES with two issues of *Militant* (one each side). Available fortnightly. £3.50 per quarter, £13 for year.
Now available on cassette: all centre page articles from issue 693–721. Send either seven blank C-90 cassettes or £6.30 payable to *Militant* Tapes, 18 Blandford Grove, Woodhouse, Leeds 2. Phone: (0532) 455936.

MILITANT TEACHER is to be published in time for the NUT conference at Easter. If you are: a teacher/student/interested in education, then *write* for *Militant Teacher*. Articles to: Helen Mullineux, 50 Wellington Gardens, Charlton, London SE7 7PH by 8 March please. If you require copies to buy/sell, write to same address or phone 01-858 7074.

New *Militant International Review*
Out now
Price 90p (inc p+p) from World Socialist Books, 3–13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

"DIRTY 30" Leicestershire Striking Miners. New posters, T-shirts, materials, badges, etc now available. From: 346 Municipal Buildings, Charles Street, Leicester. Tel: (0533) 532201.

ADDRESS BOOKS 60p, plastic paper sleeves 20p, bookmarks 40p, sew on badges 50p. 10 plus half price for resale. FF cheques to M King, 10 Rodney Ct, Anson Drive, Sholing, Soton SO2 8RU

May Day greetings

SHOW YOUR solidarity with a socialist newspaper. Get your trade union, Labour Party, LPYS, Women's Council, Shop Stewards' Committee or Trades Council organisation to send greetings to *Militant* on the traditional workers' day, May Day.

All copy to reach: Circulation Department, *Militant*, 3–13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB by Wednesday 24 April.

Rates: 3 col cms £6; 6 col cms £10; 1/16 page £15; 1/8 page £25; 1/4 page £50.

1 Stalinism and Bolshevism

THIS PAMPHLET is the first in the "Marxist Studies" series, where we will be republishing classics of Marxism which have been out of print, together with pamphlets dealing with the issues confronting Marxism today.

Stalinism and Bolshevism By Trotsky (out now)
The Spanish Revolution 1931–7 By Taaffe and Grant
In Defence of October By Trotsky
The Chinese Revolution By Taaffe
Menace of Fascism By Grant
Will there be a slump By Grant

To ensure rapid development of the series we appeal to readers to take out a special 'foundation subscription' of £4 for the first 6 pamphlets, and we will send you the pamphlet as soon as it is printed.

PLEASE send the first six 'Marxist Studies' pamphlets as they are printed.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Please make cheques payable to World Socialist Books and return to 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9

Militant Meetings

NORTHERN IRELAND—a Marxist analysis. A 32 page analysis published by Militant Irish Monthly. 75p (plus 15p postage) 5 or more post free. Order from World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9.

SOUTHAMPTON: Marxist Discussion Group meets every Friday 7.45, 206 Honeysuckle Road, Bassett, Southampton. Tel: 551420 for details of subjects or any further information.

UPPER RHONDDA Marxist Discussion Group. Meeting every Sunday at 7.00 pm in the Red Cow, High Street, Treorchy. Phone Steve Brown on Treorchy 773455 for more details.

LEICESTER Militant Readers Meeting
"Fight Tory Ratecapping" Speakers: Ian Lowes (GMBATU Liverpool) Andy Pink (Liverpool Councillor) Edward Hasman (Sec. Leicester JSSC) Monday 25 February, 7:30 pm. The Secular Hall, Hunberstone Gate, Leicester

STOCKPORT *Militant* Readers Meeting, Friday 1 March, 7.30 pm, Stockport College. Speakers: T Fields MP, B Connor (USDAW), C Sullivan (Sutton Manor Miners' Wives Support Group), all in personal capacity.

industrial feature

Will workers fight?..Austin Rover debate

Below is a letter from a Coventry reader criticising *Militant's* coverage of the Austin Rover strike last year together with our reply, which have been held over for reasons of space.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you about an article in the 23 November issue of *Militant*. I would have written sooner, but I decided to discuss it with some of your activists first, but I did not get a suitable explanation.

The article concerned was the one dealing with the Austin Rover dispute, especially at Cowley. I have to tell you I have never read so much tripe as in that article for a long time. It was totally inaccurate.

First of all the article says that Austin Rover failed in its attempt to intimidate the workforce—management did exactly that with their threats, and thousands of workers ignoring their stewards, crossing picket lines and returning to work.

The article states that Austin Rover workers will not go back till they have won, again totally false, with the strike lasting barely a fortnight, and as I have already stated, thousands of workers ignoring their stewards and crossing picket lines and returning to work as the management asked them to.

The article also states the "unity" between Cowley and Longbridge—again completely false. Cowley was the first to go back leaving Longbridge isolated, with the workforce then voting overwhelmingly for a return to work, against their stewards' and convenor's advice. Also you complain about the leadership of the unions—there was absolutely nothing wrong with the shop stewards or the convenors in the Austin Rover dispute, it was a sheer lack of guts on behalf of large sections of the workforce, going down on bended knees before their dictatorial management.

Sir Michael Edwardes had his workforce well weighed up—he knew that if he stood firm at British Leyland (as they used to call it) and took tough action the workforce would soon knuckle down to it. The unions by and large, at Austin Rover and the rest of the country (with the exception of the miners), are a spent force, and no amount of wishful thinking on your part will change that fact.

The person responsible for the Austin Rover article should be writing science fiction, or working for Walt Disney Productions, for he certainly cannot be taken seriously on industrial matters with such make-believe as that.

I also think that your paper should take into account that the British working class have at the best of times been a rather obsequios, bow-the-knee, touch-the-forelock, sort of crew, with no history of revolt or resistance to the bosses. The whole British way is one of stoical acceptance to poverty, hardship etc. After all this is England and not some far-off land, full of dirty foreigners, continually revolting over this, that or the other. The British keep a stiff upper lip in times of adversity and suffering.

I will still read the *Militant*, but will be quick to point out such glaring innaccuracies as in your Austin Rover article.

Yours Sincerely
Edward Simpson
Coventry



'Fighting with hands tied'

By *Militant's* Cowley Correspondent

IN WRITING this reply, I'm assuming that Mr Simpson of Coventry is genuinely confused over the events surrounding the BL dispute at Cowley last November.

Apart from his 'glaring inaccuracies' concerning the events of the strike, Mr Simpson's main contention is the old chestnut, beloved of every cynic and sceptic, '...the working class won't struggle' (apart from the miners, of course), '...nothing wrong with the leadership but it's the blokes who have no backbone...' etc.

Workers ground down by struggle often project their own despair or pessimism onto the whole of the working class. Mr Simpson is no exception. After all, leaders of the Labour Party, the TUC, and all the groups and sects on the left (with the exception of the *Militant*) were all arguing in the wake of the 1983 general election that the working class had shifted to the right; that Thatcherism had subdued the working class.

The miners' strike has so overshadowed events since then as to make that election result seem like a lifetime ago. Yet we shouldn't overlook the struggles of other groups of workers which took place prior to and during the current miners' strike: Post Office Engineers; print workers; civil servants; shipyard workers; dockers and railway workers to name a few.

These struggles, rather than conjuring up a picture of servility are graphic examples, as *Militant* explained in advance, of workers being compelled to struggle against job losses, low wages, bad conditions etc.

That these actions weren't successful can be traced to the role of the leadership of the trade unions concerned. Lack of combativity on the part of the working class often has its roots in a justifiable lack of confidence in its leaders. BL is no exception to that.

The strike in Austin-Rover last November which lasted two and a half weeks ("barely a fortnight", says Mr Simpson) has to be seen against a background of massive job losses (over 80,000 since the mid-70s), victimisation of stewards and militants, speed-ups, and a series of defeated strikes.

The fact that Austin-Rover workers took strike action at all is a testimony to their anger and determination. Clearly, Michael Edwardes and his contemporaries in BL management didn't have the workforce "well weighed up".

Leadership

The workers at Austin-Rover were compelled by low wages, attacks on trade union rights and shopfloor conditions, to again take the road of struggle. However, its one thing to enter the ring to take on your opponent, it's entirely diferent to square up to him with both of your hands securely tied behind your back. Yet that's what happened at BL. The quickest glance at the events surrounding the strike show that to be the case.

For example, the National Negotiating Committee recommended strike action following BL's derisory pay offer. But that was immediately undermined. Ken Cure, one of the AUEW reps. on the JNC said the strike call was "ill advised", and that the "pay offer was reasonable." No doubt four and a half per cent of his inflated salary was!

To make matters worse, at the crucial moment in the strike, the AUEW, rather than carry out TUC policy of defying the 1984 Trade Union Act under which BL were saying the strike was illegal (no ballot held) declared the strike unconstitutional and therefore "unofficial".

BL didn't have to split the workforce; the AUEW leaders did it for them. Although it should be said that many rank and file AUEW members remained on strike despite their leaders.

Naturally, the EETPU leaders went one better. They ordered their members back to work. To their credit EETPU members at Longbridge twice voted against their national official's instructions and stayed out. At Cowley, many electricians, while willing to join the strike had great difficulty in locating their elusive convenor even to hold a meeting!

The largest union in BL, the TGWU, while publicly stating their intention to defy the courts failed to advance a strategy to achieve this. For example, no attempt was made to prepare the whole of the TGWU membership for strike action in defence of union funds and their trade union rights.

At BL, the T&G were simply left holding the line. Unfortunately, BL workers have been along this road before. During the washing-up time dispute in 1983, the workers at Cowley stayed out for a month only for the leadership to cave-in and sign away their precious 3 minutes.

The lesson is clear, to struggle under today's conditions, when the employers are on the offensive, backed up every inch by the Tory government, means the trade union leaders cannot expect to win by asking their members to 'sit it out'. A clear strategy for winning has to be put forward.

In the mass meetings during the week of the BL strike the union leadership should have stepped up the action at BL's other plants, and prepared the ground for national strike action by the whole of the TGWU.

A strike cannot stand still, it has to go forward or it fails. When the T&G leadership failed to argue a strategy for victory the workforce had no confidence in winning. Indeed, what was to be gained from convening mass meetings when no new offer had been made by BL and when no new initiative was being offered from the unions? By 3-1, the workforce voted to cut their losses and return, bloodied but unbowed.

Contrary to Mr Simpson's version of events "thousands of workers" didn't ignore picket lines. Only a few hundred scabs went in and production was brought to a halt.

The problems facing BL workers won't disappear. In a depressed economy, with lack of investment by BL management the spectre of plant closures is raised. In these conditions a new generation of shop stewards tempered in the harsh school of struggle will be created.

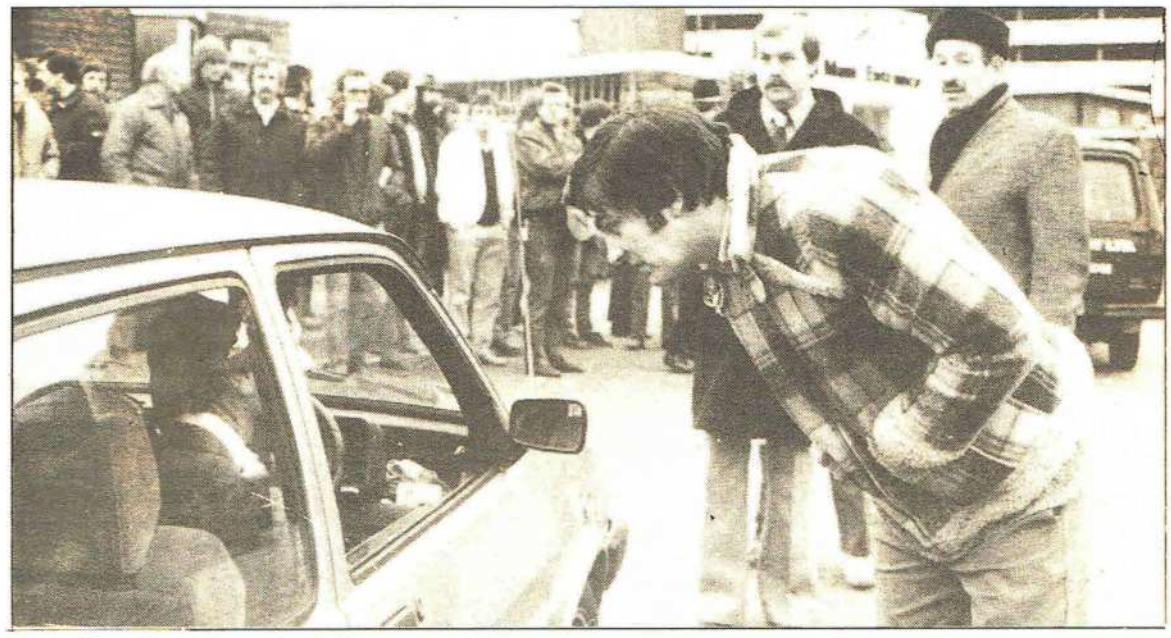
In the halcyon days of British capitalism when reforms could be won relatively easily, to be a shop steward could be something of a 'perk'. Today, however, a good steward runs great risk of victimisation by management.

History of struggle

Contrary to Mr Simpson's narrow view of history, the working class has always had to struggle long and hard to achieve democratic rights; these struggles occasionally reaching revolutionary proportions. Yes, there is to be found Mr Simpson's "obsequious" tradition, typified by the present right-wing reformist Labour leadership; but there is also the revolutionary tradition of the Chartists, Red Clydeside and the miners.

It's that latter tradition which is being re-learned by the working class in the 1980s and I for one am confident that the working class will build on the experience of the '80s and the '30s to arm itself with a programme and leadership capable of ensuring the capitalists can never return us to that misery again.

Finally, I must decline Mr Simpson's kind offer to work for Walt Disney. The buggers at Disneyland keep going on strike!



Picket line at Austin Rover Longbridge works on 5 November last year.

Photo: John Harris (IFL) II

INDUSTRIAL REPORTS

Labour must support teachers

WITH THE NAS/UWT half-day strike on February 26, and the ballot return from the NUT first round of selective three day action showing strongly in favour of a strike, the scene is set for a major escalation in this year's pay dispute.

By Bob Sulatycki
(West London NUT)

With the threat of legal action, and "tough" stance of many local education authorities (including some Labour authorities) a section of the unions' leadership will doubtless be seeking escape routes in the coming period. Maximum pressure will have to be exerted to ensure that the NUT position on not referring the claim to arbitration (which failed us so badly last year) and avoiding a trade off between pay and conditions must be maintained (to ensure the NUT position is maintained).

The latter point is especially important. What needs to be explained, especially to the rank and file of the NAS/UWT is that a one year pay bonanza (even if it were to include restructuring), can in no way compensate for the permanent deterioration in working conditions that could result from the introduction of assessment and the making of voluntary duties contractual.

Escalation of the action is now vital. Despite the limited strike action proposed, the pay campaign at present still centres on the withdrawal of goodwill—which is neither a popular nor an effective action, with the exception of the no cover. Preparation for full-scale strike action is vital and this will mean the immediate launching of a levy to create a strike fund.

The employers are well aware that current NUT reserves will only sustain a few weeks of even the very modest collective action currently intended and only three days of full scale all out action.

The NUT leadership needs to understand the urgency of this issue, as well as the need to develop links with other public sector unions currently planning action over pay claims. With a united union response a public sector alliance could be forged.

The stance of many Labour authorities has not helped the teachers' fight. With the honourable exception of Liverpool, which has come out fully in support of the claim and in defence of the action undertaken, most LEA's have either come out in outright opposition to the claim (even threatening to dock pay of teachers not undertaking voluntary meetings) or have acted in such a way as to undermine the action.

No strike deal

Even Sheffield originally threatened to dock pay. They have now forced a no strike deal on the NUT in return for withdrawing threats (a move the union is unwise to accept).

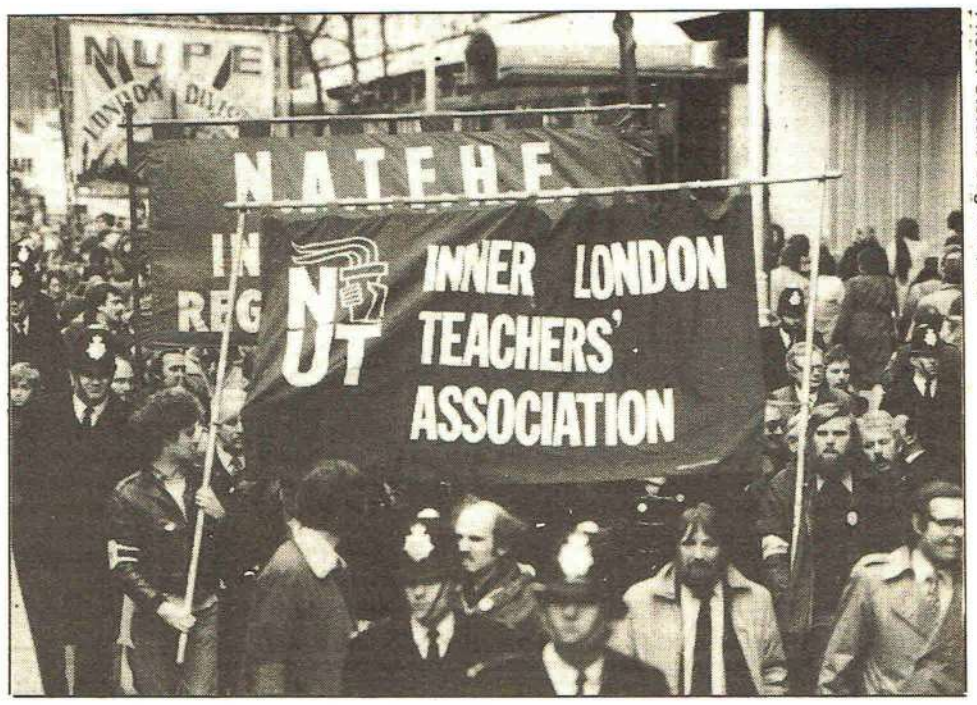


Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (IFL)

London teachers march on one-day strike last May.

ILEA has cancelled all teachers' in-service training, cancelled school journeys and visits and written to teachers on the continent warning them that they can expect at some point to be recalled back into school.

Such gestures from 'left' employers who claim to support the teachers, can only erode any confidence in Labour authorities, and must be challenged from within the Labour Party itself. If Labour councils throw their weight behind the teachers' claim this dispute can be won in a very short time.

NALGO—Freemasonry and Marxism

THE THREAT of a witch-hunt hangs over *Militant* supporters in the public service union NALGO. The next meeting of the union's NEC Economic Committee will decide whether to launch an enquiry into the activities of members supporting *Militant*.

The pretext, given at the committee's 12 January meeting was the decision at NALGO's conference to investigate Freemasonry. The vote followed long-standing fears that Freemasons work together for personal advancement and to block radical councils.

Militant supporters have always opposed the methods and aims of Freemasonry. The rank and file must waste no time in telling the leadership to fight the Tories and their friends, not socialists.

The North West and North Wales District Council overwhelmingly supported a resolution from Knowsley branch condemning the attempt to extend the intention of the original resolution to include *Militant*.

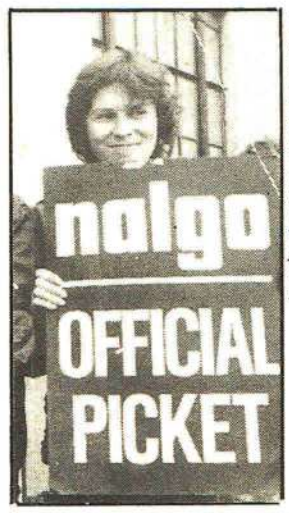


Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Islington NALGO members on strike last year.

"It comes as no suprise to *Militant* supporters that the right-wingers in NALGO should attempt to divert attention away from the Freemason issue and use it as a veil to attack socialists and Marxists", said Roger Bannister, Knowsley NALGO branch secretary, moving the resolution.

He went to explain that there was a world of difference between the clandestine activities of the Freemasons and the way in which *Militant* supporters had openly and consistently sold papers outside NALGO meetings and had argued for the policies of socialism inside. The moves were a total abuse of the sentiments behind the conference resolution, he said, and an attack on the normal democratic interchange of ideas within the union.

Meetings must be called at branch, district and national levels to explain the relevance of socialist ideas to day to day struggles and to argue for a strong Broad Left which can replace the bankrupt ideas of the right wing. Branches and district councils should send resolutions opposing the witch-hunt to the Economic Committee.

Shipyard deal a victory

READERS OF the report on Austin and Pickergill shipyard in Sunderland (*Militant* 735) could be forgiven for assuming that it was wages only which forced the men to reject the ultimatum issued by management. In fact, the situation was a great deal better for the workers. There was no capitulation to the rest of the demands.

1. On selective overtime management backtracked - we agreed to discuss the issue later, as it arose. We will attempt to maintain the parity agreement and 'offsetting' i.e. keep control.
2. We agreed to re-affirm a commitment to productivity as outlined in the 1st stage of the National Agreements on wages and conditions. Management are seeking a level of productivity set at 68 man hours per tonne (higher than at present) and tendered on that basis, hence the price gap. If we reach that, or come near it then we'll be back for more money.
3. Painters and red-leaders to remain one department.
4. Regionalisation ('nationalisation' was a mis-print) of pipework and electrical installation was deferred until February 13 where it would be dealt with by the Shipbuilding Negotiating Committee nationally, not us.
5. Adoption of new welding techniques. We were forced to recognise the fact that we were the only yard not using the low-hydrogen electrode. Nevertheless, when we studied the design of the ships we argued that the high-tensile steel was for the deck and side-shell only, necessitating the new electrodes being used in open air conditions and not in confined spaces such as double-bottoms.

However since the work would be done under cover we will now have one welder at work whilst another welder takes care of the extraction. These will be subject to atmospheric testing. In all there is about 2,500 feet of manual metal arc to be done, including the container fittings on the deck.

At our first mass meeting we sent the men back to discuss the points which affected their sections. At the resumed mass meeting all the above points were accepted by the different sections but out of more than 1400 present, only 3 were against accepting the pay freeze and the proposal to stage a 24 hour strike in protest was carried by about 3-1.

Over the course of the weekend Thatcher told Peter Jay on TV that she: 'couldn't understand why A&P workers wouldn't accept a pay freeze to keep their jobs', thus giving BS their line; management called us in and withdrew their demands upon pay after we had pointed out they were by-passing the nationally agreed procedure.

All in all we forced them to back off on most issues—but of course they'll be back. The mass meetings on Monday agreed to resume normal working.

Out of 1500 present there were around 100 votes against accepting the deal on the new basis. If what we achieved is not a victory as some would have it then they wouldn't know a victory if it spat in their eye.

By Tony Carty
(GMBATU, Chairman A&P JSSC, personal capacity)

NCW: New name—old problems

TELECOM ENGINEERS and clerical workers in BT now belong to the same union following the amalgamation of the POEU and the CPSA Posts & Telecommunications Group. The new union held its first conference in Blackpool last weekend and will be called National Communication Workers.

It will be faced with all the old problems—worst of all the threat of massive job losses. It is vital the clerical section adopt the "Broad Strategy" which has been POEU policy since November 1984.

This is based on the demand for a 32-hour, four-day week as a way of saving all our members' jobs. The new NEC must use Broad Strategy meetings to involve all our members—not just engineers.

The meetings must organise for a national overtime ban which is the obvious weapon against job losses. And the NEC must set a date for the ban to start. It shouldn't wait for the June conference as the NEC has the authority to start the action in April.

Broad Left supporters should work to ensure there is one claim for all members and for amalgamation with the UCW. That would create one rank-and-file union for the whole communications industry.

By Phil Lloyd

Engineering a lock-out

HUWOODS ENGINEERING workers at Team Valley, Gateshead have been locked out. Management have told the DHSS that the workforce are in dispute to prevent them claiming benefit.

During pay negotiations management have been making the demands! Wages are based on piece work rates. Management now want wages to be dropped to 95% when workers are on waiting time. They want flexibility/mobility of labour. Finally they want to make the one week of annual holiday which can be taken at a time of the worker's choosing into a fixed week at Whitsun..

With the negotiating procedure exhausted the workforce went on 'no gains no losses', basically working flat time at flat rate, keeping within the existing agreement. Production halved as a result. Management retaliated putting everybody on a one or two day week.

Last week a director from the parent company, Babcocks, met the convenor and issued an ultimatum. Unless there was a return to full bonus rate working within an hour, he said, all workers would be laid off indefinitely. The AUEW piece rate workers held a meeting and voted to reject the ultimatum. The entire workforce have been laid of since 11am last Thursday. Even the boilermakers are locked out—and they aren't even involved in the dispute!

AUEW at BLOC

John Tocher, Broad Left candidate for AUEW presidential election will be speaking at BLOC conference in Sheffield. All AUEW bodies welcome to send delegates. Details on back page.

Militant

Fight Tory conscription plans Page 5

28 February - join the lobby



YTURC and LPYS members in Liverpool demonstrate against Tory plans in 1982. The government's latest proposals are even worse. Demonstrate on 28 February

MEMBERS OF Further Education Labour Students (FELS) in Liverpool have organised some of the biggest college meetings ever. Mass meetings in every college in Liverpool have built support for the YTURC campaign to beat Tory plans for a compulsory YTS, and also backed the Labour council campaign for local jobs and services.

By Cheryl Varley
(National President, FELS)

The average attendance so far has been 300, and the mood is like trade union militants preparing for battle. At the Childwall college meeting the majority of those attending had never been to a meeting before in their lives.

Stop the Tory plans!

Before the meeting I watched three girls sitting with their feet up on a chair reading magazines and joking about the speaker's arm movements, but the implications of compulsory YTS were put over with such urgency that at the end the same girls were taking YTURC petitions round the canteen urging others to join our protest in London.

The same story could be told at the Central College meeting. Young people started out apathetic and uninterested but ended up militant in opposition to the Tories.

So far, from four meetings over 300 names and addresses have been collected of people wanting to join the YS or demonstrate against compulsory YTS. Liverpool has 84% youth unemployment so compulsory YTS is a horrible prospect. For unemployed part-time students, compulsory YTS means they will probably be kicked off their courses and forced onto a scheme.

Working for a pittance

For a full time student, compulsory YTS means they will probably not get jobs after their courses. Which employer is going to pay full-time wages, when YTS trainees are forced to work for buttons? For YTS trainees at the colleges it brings the likelihood of their pittance of a wage dropping even lower. The Tories have to have YTS wages a bit higher than supplementary benefit rates now as an "incentive" but if it is compulsory they won't need a carrot, they've got a big stick.

Youth in the colleges now know that if they don't fight this time there will be nothing left to fight for.

ALL SELLERS to assemble at Jubilee Gardens near County Hall (by the *Militant* stall) at 10.00am sharp. Please ensure that you have ordered extra copies.

YOUTH TRADE UNION RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

March on Parliament

Thursday 28 February

Speakers and bands:
Ken Livingstone, Derek Hatton,
Paul Weller, Billy Bragg,
Dave Nellist MP, Dennis Skinner MP,
and others

Jubilee Gardens 12 noon

Coach park in Belvedere Road

BLOC

Broad Left Organising Committee

1985 BLOC Conference 23 March Manchester Free Trade Hall.

Apply for delegates' credentials—each National Broad Left/Trade Union organisation can send up to four delegates (please include names and addresses of delegates on separate pieces of paper).

£3 per delegates—cheques made payable to 'BLOC'. All cheques and forms to be sent to: BLOC, c/o George Williamson, 11 Sutton Place, London E9 6E8.

Special train from London—for details see ads on page 13.

BLOC - four weeks to go

THERE ARE now just four weeks to go until the Broad Left Organising Committee (BLOC) conference on March 23. Time is getting short for you to get your delegates' applications in.

By George Williamson
Organising Secretary
BLOC

Most trade union organisations will only have one more meeting before then so it is urgent that this conference is brought before these meetings to make sure of your branch or shop stewards committee's place on the day.

Delegations are coming in steadily but slowly at the moment, with a good spread of different trade unions. We are now starting to receive some delegations from the Manchester area e.g. 4 delegates from the TGWU street cleansing dept. AUEW TASS, GMBATU Rochdale.

Already in Manchester 154 factories in Trafford Park covering 171 union branches have been visited by BLOC supporters and these will be followed up very shortly to ensure they are represented. These sort of initiatives will ensure a large and very successful conference if all areas do the same.

The special appeal letters to miners inviting them to attend conference free of charge have now gone out and BLOC supporters will be using these letters at all pits, lodge meetings, strike committees and miners wives' groups to ensure a very large delegation to represent these courageous fighters.



Miners delegations to the fore at last year's BLOC conference. Build a fighting leadership for the unions.

This conference will act as a confidence booster to all of us in the trade unions to build the ranks of the left and give the sort of fighting leadership that our class deserves.



BECOME A Militant SUPPORTER!

Send to 3/13, Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

Name .....

Address .....

SUBSCRIBE!

BRITAIN & IRELAND	EUROPE (by air)	REST OF WORLD (by air)
13 issues . . . £5.00		
26 issues . . £10.00	26 issues . . £11.00	26 issues . . £16.00
52 issues . . £20.00	52 issues . . £22.00	52 issues . . £32.00

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Make cheques payable to *Militant*, and return to the Circulation Department, *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

Donate

I would like to donate £ . p each week /month to the fighting fund.

Sell

I would like to sell _____ papers per week (minimum 5) on a sale or return basis.