

# SOCIALIST PRESS

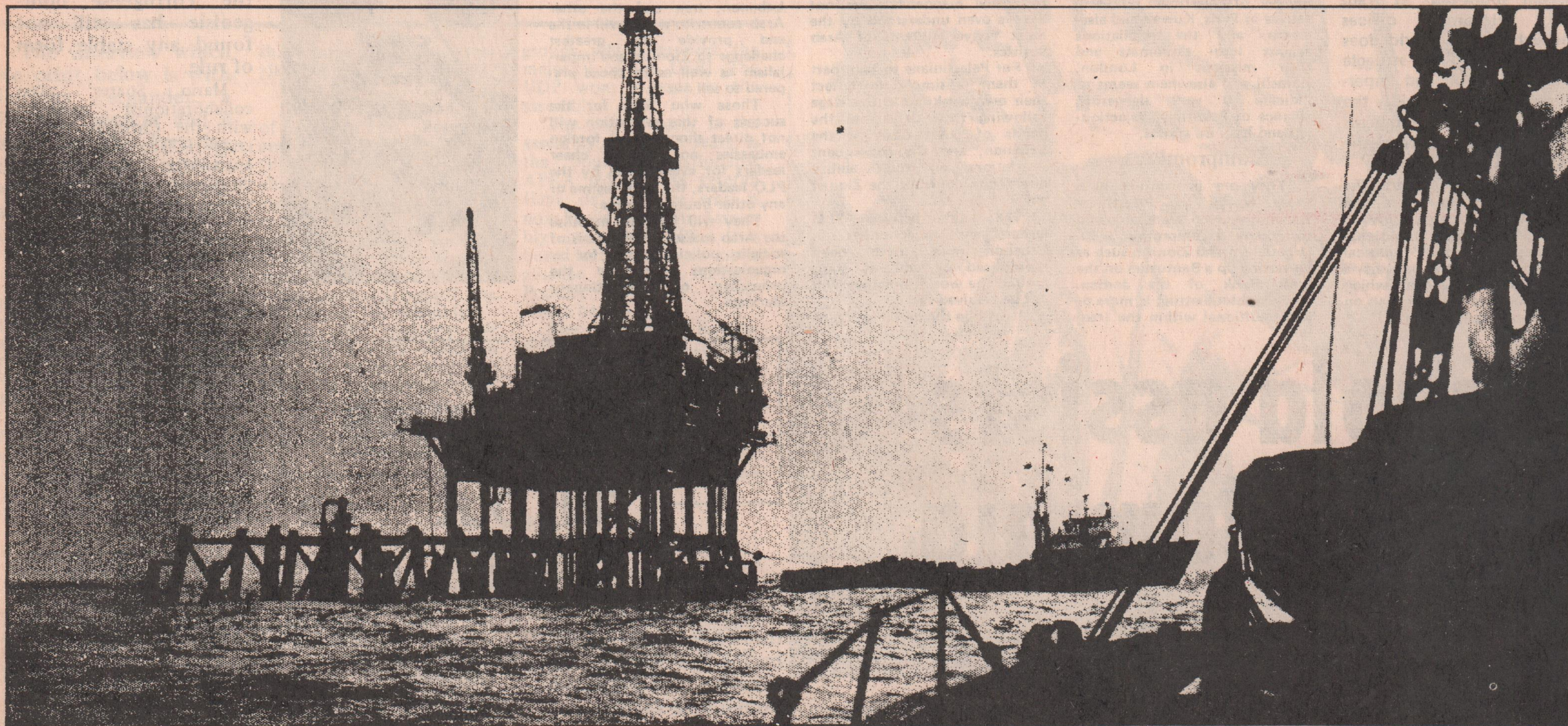


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## Strike needed to defend Bethnal Green

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# NATIONALISE THE OIL COMPANIES!

Tory energy spokesman Mr Tom King raised no protest last week as Labour ministers proposed to take a larger slice of North Sea oil profits from the multinational corporations.

"We accept that there is clear scope for adjustment to that tax regime", he declared.

This does not mean that the Tory front bench has been won over to socialist policies.

It means that the government "share" of the colossal profits from the North Sea still leaves at least 25% of the profits in the hands of the oil monopolies.

### 31% return

Even after the new taxes are levied, the oil firms would obtain a 17% rate of return on investment in the larger oil fields and a staggering 31% rate of return in the smaller fields.

And it emerges that the Government has not yet received a penny piece in revenue from the Petroleum Revenue Tax, since the companies have been allowed to charge 175% of



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Thatcher their capital expenditure against the tax!

This concession has now been cut to a more modest 135%!

But such are the complexities of the tax set-up in North Sea Oil that the whole package of measures is only designed to raise oil revenue by 10%.

The Tories are well satisfied with this approach, which avoids any challenge to the "right" of these multi billion pound concerns to extract profits from the oil, profits from refining it, profit from retailing oil-based products, and further profits from retailing petrol.

At each stage the working class is exploited both as the labour force

employed by the oil firms and as the hapless consumer confronted by the price-rings and the anarchy of monopoly capitalism.

In exchange, the only real "risk" taken by the oil firms involves the hazards faced each day by the workforce on the North Sea oil rigs themselves—who are often denied basic union rights, and viciously exploited in the most trying conditions.

Rather than seeking a few more crumbs from the oil monopolies' loaded table, the workers' movement should be demanding that the companies' books be opened to elected trade union committees, to reveal the scale of the plunder they have carried out.

### Planned economy

The information revealed would prove beyond doubt the case for the nationalisation of these concerns without compensation, and for them to be run under workers' management as a central part of a planned, socialist economy.

But the Labour leaders—whether it be the Energy Secretary, former 'left' Tony Benn, or the open right wing—have no intention whatever of

challenging the oil firms or any other section of capitalism.

Indeed one of their most significant moves during the public spending cuts was to sell off a substantial section of the state holding of BP shares, effectively denationalising it.

Labour strategy on oil is the same as Labour strategy in the motor industry, in the steel industry, the shipyards and the docks.

It is to attempt to manage capitalism and make it profitable at the expense of imposing wage cuts, speed-up and closures on

the working class, and, where possible, grant piecemeal and petty "reforms" within the general framework of exploitation.

The fight to nationalise oil, the banks and other major industry can only be carried through as part of the fight to throw out the Callaghan-Healey leadership and construct a principled revolutionary leadership in the labour movement.

Until that fight begins the Tories and the oil monopolies will continue to laugh at Labour's pretence of socialism—all the way to the bank.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Benn and Callaghan together at Durham miners gala

## 'Lefts' hide from pay struggles

Work-to-rule action, blacking and token stoppages are continuing as 180,000 industrial civil servants attempt to press ahead with their demand for a Phase 3 pay settlement in excess of 10%.

Lorry drivers, miners and power workers and others are now drawing up pay claims far in excess of the 5% Phase 4 limit decreed by Chancellor Healey.

Yet nothing but an empty silence on the wages struggle is to be heard from the eight "left" Labour MPs who abstained in the vote on Healey's latest pay policy.

Arthur Latham, Dennis Skinner, Arthur Lewis, David Ginsburg, Eddie Loyden, Joan Maynard, Ron Thomas and Stan Thorne could not pluck up the courage to vote against Healey's plan for permanent wage controls.

So in order to remind their increasingly restless working class supporters that they claim to stand for "socialist" policies, these eight did not vote at all.

But now, having made their gesture of protest, as workers engage in practical struggles against pay restraint, the 'lefts' have reverted to their usual passive role.

Trade unionists, especially those in pay disputes must demand that these 'lefts' take up a serious fight within the Labour Party against wage control and for the removal of the right wing leaders.

In this way workers will quickly see the difference between the verbal "socialism" represented by the Labour 'lefts' and the necessary principled struggle for the independent interests of the working class.

# Shoot-outs hamper fight against Zionism

The lengthening list of violent shoot-outs at Iraqi and Palestinian offices throughout the world does nothing to aid the struggle against Zionism and imperialism and shows vividly the failure of petty bourgeois politics divorced from the interests of the masses.

Some of these incidents, like the murder of the former Iraqi Prime Minister on 9 July in London are merely traditional methods of settling political differences on the part of a petty bourgeois regime which also specialised in show trials on TV and public executions.

More recently however the murder of Palestinian representatives in Paris, Kuwait and elsewhere, and the retaliations against Iraqi diplomats and their missions in London, Karachi and elsewhere seems to indicate a very dangerous alliance of Palestinian rejectionists and Iraqi Ba'athists.

## Compromisers

They are in conflict with those within the Palestinian Revolution who seem prepared to accept a compromise with imperialism and Zionism such as by setting up a Bantustan on the West Bank of the Jordan. Such bloodletting is more or less traditional within the Iraqi

Ba'ath 'socialist' party, whose byzantine manoeuvres are not always even understood by the most active students of Arab politics.

For Palestinians to take part in them is simply to reflect their own weakness at this stage following their defeats at the hands of UN troops in the Lebanon, and the consequent restrictions on their ability directly to confront the Zionist enemy.

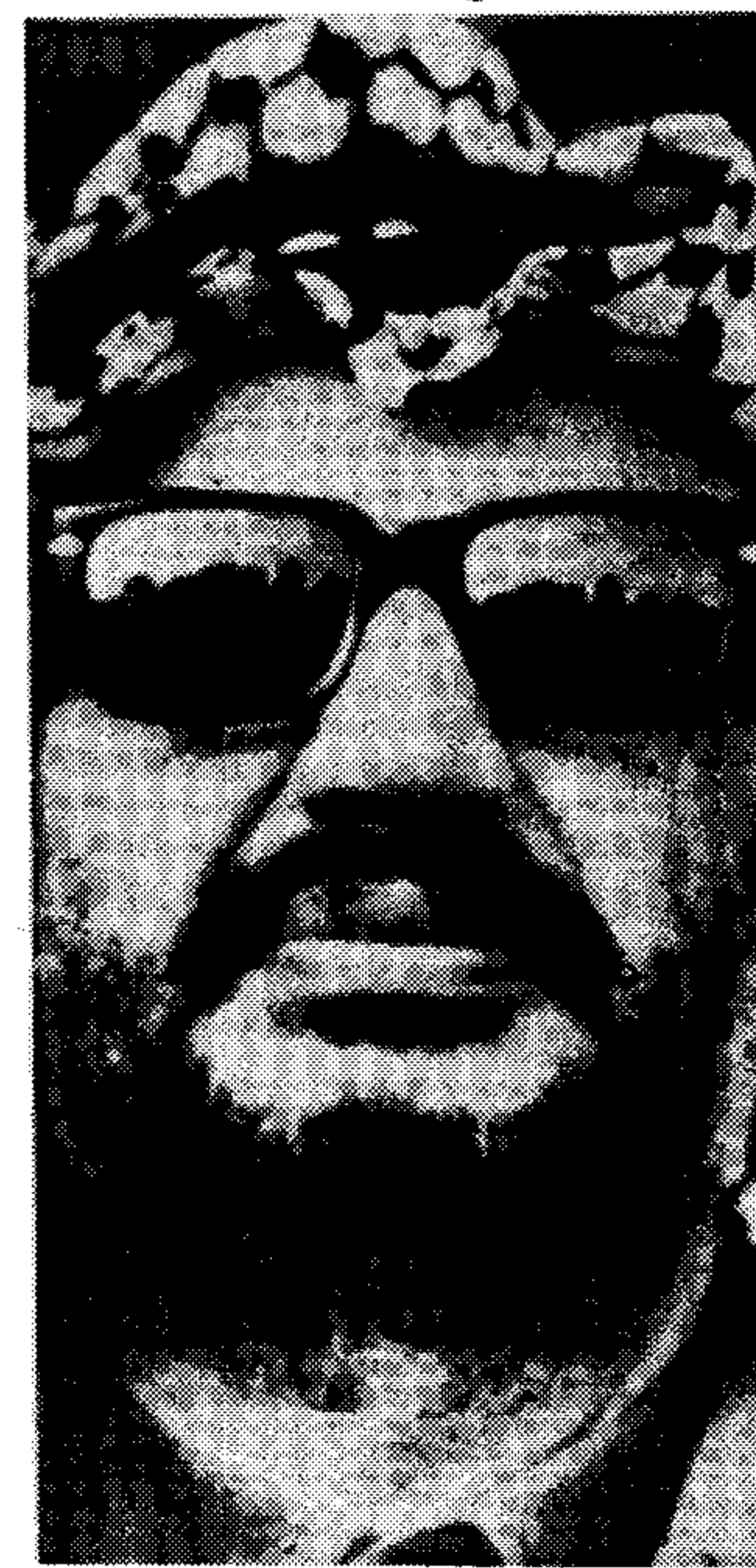
The fights between PLO leaders and 'rejectionists' in Lebanon may have been reproduced on embassy steps around the world, but they will not be resolved there.

It will be the mobilisation of

the workers and peasants of Lebanon, Iraq and the other Arab countries which will in the end provide the greatest challenge to Zionism and imperialism as well as to those prepared to sell out to it.

Those who fight for the success of this revolution will not direct shoot-outs at foreign embassies nor act as cheer leaders for every move by the PLO leaders, the Iraqi regime or any other bourgeois force.

They will fight to mobilise the Arab masses on the basis of socialist policies fought for by organisations true to the principles of revolutionary Marxism.



PLO leader Arafat

## Portugal: call for military rule

Portugal's new political crisis shows that over four years after the overthrow of fascism the Portuguese bourgeoisie has still not found any stable form of rule.

Mario Soares' class collaborationist coalition with the Christian Democrats (CDS) has broken apart after only 8 months on the issue of how fast the gains of the revolution were to be undone.

Both sides seem politically unable immediately to renew the coalition which leaves no majority in parliament.

Sections of the bourgeoisie are openly demanding the reestablishment of military rule under President Eanes.

One form of this which is being widely proposed is a non-party 'government of personalities' appointed directly by Eanes.

Meanwhile the Stalinists and reformists opportunistically refuse the only principled response to this extreme new political danger for the working class—the formation of a Socialist Party-Communist Party government to defend, restore and enlarge the gains of the revolution.

They stand aside to let the bourgeoisie pass—and to slavishly hold up its coats-tails if they are asked.

## Shah promises 'elections' next year

A new wave of anti-government agitation has swept Iran in the last two weeks—the fourth such outbreak this year.

This time there were, even according to the Shah's own press agency, violent clashes between the police and anti-government demonstrators in 13 cities including Tehran.

This makes the present outbreak of agitation probably the most widespread yet.

It has been put down with the Shah's usual savagery.

His police admitted killing six demonstrators, but press reports put the death toll of the last two weeks at over 40.

For all the Shah's enemies at home, this barbarous criminal has many friends abroad, prominent among whom are the British government, especially the "Labour" Defence Minister Fred Mulley who gleefully sells the Shah the weapons he uses for his repression.

In an attempt to stop the growth of opposition the dictator Shah was forced last week to announce "100% genuine" elections next year.

# Angola assists Namibia sell-out

The South African government has now approved the United Nations resolution which authorised its special representative to go to Namibia to begin the implementation of the independence plan.

The future of Walvis Bay has however been left open, with the Vorster regime rejecting the Security Council's resolution which called for the "early re-integration" of the strategically important port into Namibia.

## Friendly regime

Clearly the South African strategy will be to "stand firm" on the Walvis Bay issue while encouraging the development of a friendly regime within Namibia, a regime which can be depended on to come to an agreement over the use of the port.

As we pointed out in last week's *Socialist Press*, the front line states have played a crucial role in bringing SWAPO into the settlement.

In Angola, the 'left' nationalist movement of Neto (the MPLA) continues to declare its transformation into a 'Marxist-Leninist' party while in its keenness to stop the flow of arms to UNITA forces inside Angola it is at the same time playing a key role in the campaign of secret diplomacy leading up to the SWAPO capitulation.

As previously reported in *Socialist Press* this campaign of secret diplomacy had led to the release of one-time SWAPO militant Andrea Shipanga.

Shipanga, who was imprisoned by the SWAPO leadership for his criticisms of the lack of democracy inside the movement, has now become a clear collaborator.

## Popular front

Shortly after his release he declared his support for the imperialist plan and announced the formation of the SWAPO Democratic Party (SDP).

Almost immediately the SDP allied itself with the Namibia National Front (previously the Namibia National Convention) a popular frontist formation.

Exploiting the support won as a militant before his arrest and his traditional support as a co-founder of SWAPO, Shipanga has undoubtedly enhanced the support of the National Front.

SWAPO's response to the growth of this support has been to rely on the imperialists and the front-line states to 'honour' the recognition afforded to SWAPO by the UN and the Organisation of African Unity.



SWAPO leader Nujoma

Militants within Namibia must fight for the following demands:—

- \*Boycott the elections.
- \*The establishment of a Constituent Assembly.
- \*Dissolution of the state apparatus—police, courts and



Neto

- civil service.
- \*Build armed struggle through workers' militias.
- \*No secret diplomacy.
- \*Maximum material support from the international working class.

# Sithole backs raid

The Smith regime last week launched a major raid on guerrilla bases inside Mozambique.

The attack was aimed at Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and according to the Mozambique government a school was destroyed in the raid.

Black collaborationist Sithole has come out in support of the raid.

Speaking on radio and TV, Sithole said:

"Sometimes we have to do things we don't like. It is our duty to defend the principle of majority rule which has been conceded.

It is not a matter of agreeing or disagreeing with the strikes into Mozambique.

We have created a democratic process but there are forces outside this country who would like to disrupt that democratic process."

Although Sithole's statement is the first example of black support for Smith's vicious attack, comments earlier in the week by Bishop Muzorewa left little doubt that he too

condoned the action.

Muzorewa and Sithole are both at pains to insist that the internal settlement is gaining ground.

They claim that former guerrillas have come over to their side and are at present policing areas of Zimbabwe.

If success for the settlement is growing significantly no one seems to have informed the four senior members of Muzorewa's United African National Council who resigned a few days ago.

They blamed the failure of the transitional government to end the war and eliminate racial discrimination as the reason for their resignation.

Outside Zimbabwe the US Senate has voted to end sanctions at the end of the year if a "freely elected" government is installed.

In Britain the Tories pressed forward their open support for the internal settlement in a debate on Zimbabwe held two days before Parliament closed for the summer.

Although the Tory leaders are not as yet demanding the lifting of sanctions, their spokesman, John Davies, indicated that they might oppose renewal

of the measures in November.

Despite the blustering nature of Davies' attack on David Owen, a close examination of the latter's role in the negotiations over the future of Zimbabwe shows that the basic difference between Owen and the Tories is simply one of the tactics.

I believe the majority of Rhodesians at the moment would argue that no settlement will really work unless Joshua Nkomo enters into it.

The wiser ones would say they feel an opportunity must also be given for Mr. Mugabe to come into it."

Here we have Owen's strategy in a nutshell. His only opposition to the internal settlement is one of viability.

He clearly continues his aim to split Nkomo and Mugabe and thus force the latter into a negotiated settlement.

The aim of British imperialism is to establish a collaborationist regime which is above all stable. To achieve this deal the opportunist petty bourgeois leaders of the Patriotic Front have to be involved.

## 'Euro' thieves fall out

The nationalist and reactionary content of "Euro" Communism is thrown into sharp relief by the row between the French and Spanish Communist Parties.

Each side lines up behind sections of their own ruling class, and marches into the fray under the banner of 'national interest'.

George Marchais' French CP, for years a supporter of capitalist 'European integration', has joined the ranks of those in France who oppose Spain's admission to the Common Market.

Important sections of French capitalism fear the results of additional competition from Spain, especially in food products and agriculture.

The French CP also fear the loss of votes among various sections of the peasantry if they don't defend protected and subsidised farms.

At the end of July the

Party went to the lengths of organising a day of demonstrations and 'action' (such as free glasses of wine!) in rural France against Spanish admission to the EEC.

The Spanish CP, no less passionately devoted to the 'national' interests of their own bosses, responded angrily.

The French Communists, said leading Spanish Stalinist Manuel Azcarate, are using 'false and demagogic arguments'.

They were "re-awakening reactionary demons which, tomorrow will turn around against the French left itself".

Warming to his own line of 'internationalist' rhetoric, Azcarate declared:

"It is revolting to see that the French Communists and Socialists can have fallen so low, and be so irrational in face of such a serious problem.

Have they forgotten, by any chance, that obsession with elections leads to opportunism?"

Are they now aware they are playing the sorcerer's apprentice?"

This inter-Stalinist clash explodes all the pretence that "Euro" Communism is a new, progressive, 'liberalising' international trend.

Like the social democratic parties, Marchais and Carrillo line up not together but on opposite sides of national frontiers.

As a French CP spokesman put it, replying to Azcarate:

"We have adopted and we shall adopt our decisions in conformity with the national interest..."

IN THE WAKE of last month's coup in Mauritania, the Algerian government is forging ahead with its attempts to achieve 'stability' in north-west Africa by abandoning any support for the struggles of the Saharoui people.

The basis of an international deal to dispose of their right to self-determination has certainly been agreed at the recent flurry of diplomatic meetings, which have included the Spanish government (former colonial rulers of the western Sahara) and the French government (directly involved in war against the liberation army of the Polisario Front).



# AFTER THE ELECTIONS

## IN PERU

By Enrique Alvares

The interview which we print below is with Enrique Fernandez, a Peruvian worker and a leader of the Peruvian metal-workers' union, who was elected in June as a member of Peru's Constituent Assembly.

### Long experience

Enrique Fernandez, who has had long experience of the trade union and political struggle in Peru, is a member of the Socialist Workers' Party (PST), a sympathising section of the "Unified" Secretariat of the Fourth International, the majority of whose leader-

ship supports the "Bolshevik Tendency" of the USFI.

He stood as a candidate of the Workers' Peasants' and Students' Front (FOCEP), an electoral alliance led by the PST and another party which claims to be Trotskyist, the POMR which is linked to the French OCI. Some Maoists also joined the FOCEP, which won 12 out of the 100 seats in the assembly.

But the majority of Peruvian Maoists stood as part of another electoral front, the Democratic Popular Union (UDP), along with the CP (Majority) and the FIR and FIR(CI), two small

groups which support the majority of the USFI. The UDP won 4 seats in the assembly.

The largest party in the assembly, with 37 seats, is the bourgeois nationalist APRA led by the veteran Haya de la Torre who is now President of the Assembly in which APRA has been forced into an open alliance with the far-right Popular Christian Party, which has 25 seats.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR) referred to in the interview was set up by supporters of deposed military President Velasco, and has 6 seats. The CP (Unidad) also won 6 seats.

## Part one of an interview with a metal workers' leader

What is the composition of FOCEP in the Assembly?

We won 12 seats which are divided more or less as follows: the PST 2 seats, the POMR 3 seats, the Maoist faction 3 seats, and the other four independent—some of them linked to us and others to the Maoists.

The important thing is that all those who were elected were as a result of the huge vote received by Hugo Blanco: the seats are divided according to candidates only after the total for the group has decided how many seats they get altogether.

As to the agreement with the Maoist group, it joined in a second phase of the FOCEP.

The first stage was the collection of signatures. We got 47,000—more than the 40,000 officially required to be on the lists. The regime invalidated 28,000, which left us with 19,000.

So we started collecting again and that's when the Maoist group joined us. In their separate campaign up to then they had only obtained 500 signatures.

So without any real problem they negotiated their entry into FOCEP. They only had to agree to the four points we had all accepted: no compromise with any bourgeois politician or 'patriotic' military; a class candidacy; political independence and support of the list of the demands which had been made by the workers in the national strikes of the previous year.

Why didn't the other Maoist groups join FOCEP?

When we put forward the slogan of class independence as a basis for participating in the elections, having as an axis of struggle "workers and peasants candidates", we began to hold a series of unity discussion with all the tendencies of the left.

The Maoists wanted a much broader front which might include left sections of the bourgeoisie. And they formed a separate front (the UDP) which was also joined by the two small groups sympathetic to the majority of the USFI.

Their point of agreement on the "democratic and popular government", rather than on the putting forward of independent workers and peasants candidates. They said it was necessary to put forward a revolutionary programme and that the only revolutionary programme was the "democratic and popular government".

So the incorporation of the Trotskyist groups supporting the majority in this front was a concession to their positions. This front, the UDP, operated in a special way. It applied democratic centralism which is not a principle of an electoral front (in which there should be general support for a defined number of points and outside that programmatic independence).

But there everyone had to do what the majority voted.

So the Trotskyists in that front had to accept the democratic and popular government.

After the electoral process these groups got only four seats, none of them gained by the Trotskyist currents in the UDP. They entered in a grave crisis and are now trying to enter our front.

Their behaviour has been pretty opportunist. It may be true they have done everything possible for unity; but they certainly haven't done everything possible against the "democratic and popular" government conception of the Maoists.

### Who is Ledesma?

He is theoretically No. 1 of the FOCEP list, though in terms of votes, Hugo Blanco was No. 1. And that, of course, must change the relations within FOCEP, must reflect the votes cast. And Ledesma is not opposed to that.

Politically Ledesma is a centrist. He is a legal counsel for the mineworkers. In Cerro de Pasco, which is the most important miners' centre in the country, he had a large majority. He got something like 70 or 80% of the total FOCEP vote in Cerro de Pasco. Though in some other mining centres it was Blanco who won the votes.

It's important that the miners gave enormous support to FOCEP given that in theory the secretary general of the mineworkers' union was the No. 1 candidate of the UDP. But he didn't get as many miners' votes as we did. There is something to be discussed, since it was the UDP before the elections who called themselves the miners' representatives.

In mining areas they got far fewer votes than we did even though supposedly the mineworkers' federation supported the UDP. We also, however, had some mineworkers' leaders who were elected.



Hugo Blanco on his return to Peru from exile

Do you expect the FOCEP to last?

The FOCEP has been considerably weakened by a number of internal developments. The FOCEP was never a homogeneous group; it was formed specifically to take part in an electoral process and it remains to be seen whether it will last as a single front. That for us is a secondary question. It will have to be discussed.

But the concrete thing is that there is a manoeuvre at present by the Maoists to throw out the Trotskyists, which they can't succeed in doing, since our deputies outnumber them 3 to 1.

So though they have tried to take advantage of the POMR declarations\* about the deportees, we have said it is a matter of principle not to expel any group from the front but to maintain its unity as far as possible.

We are certainly not going to permit that for reasons of this kind any comrade is expelled.

If there are differences on things of this kind, let's make the necessary public self-criticisms, but we are not for the expulsion of any group.

What is your reaction to reports that sections of the PSR want to join the FOCEP?

The PSR is the Party of the military. This is the wing of 'Velascoism' which, after the Morales Bermudez coup, formed a separate party. At the beginning it seemed that there was a chance they would get as much as 20% or so of the votes.

But our own campaign, which made absolutely no concessions to support for the military, and our insistence on the independence of the working class and its allies, robbed them of many votes.

And at the same time they had a lot of internal divisions about how to conduct the electoral campaign. They in fact behaved like any other bourgeois party spending huge

amounts of money on their electoral campaign.

They bought television time during the breaks in Peru's world cup matches, just like APRA and the PPC. So with this way of trying to win people they just showed themselves to be just one more bourgeois party.

What's more, all these people have lost a tremendous amount of prestige since people had had their experience of Velascoism.

Also they didn't even have all the support of Velascoism. If they had maintained the popular support which Velasco had (shown by the huge turnout at his funeral) they would have got a fair quantity of votes.

There was a plan in this party to go to the elections as part of a "left front". Only the CP and the Christian democrats were interested in this. We were never prepared to join such a front since we characterised the party as a party of the right because of the composition of its leadership.

Now this party has split in two. There is one wing, which is the working class wing, in which there are a number of workers' leaders which has broken with all the generals and which is presently trying to join the FOCEP—or rather there are open discussions about its incorporation in the FOCEP. This wing holds three of the seats which the PSR won in the elections. The others are military people.

(footnote)

\*A representative of the POMR was widely reported as calling in June for the replacement of exiled elected deputies if the regime did not permit them to return. The POMR later issued a denial of this and reaffirmed support for the unconditional return of all the deportees.



Crowds at the airport to welcome Hugo Blanco

# NUJ RUNS FOR COVER AS ABC TRIAL LOOMS

As the September 5 Official Secrets Act trial of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell looms closer, NUJ leaders are pulling further back from any call for strike action to defend them against possible 14-year jail terms.

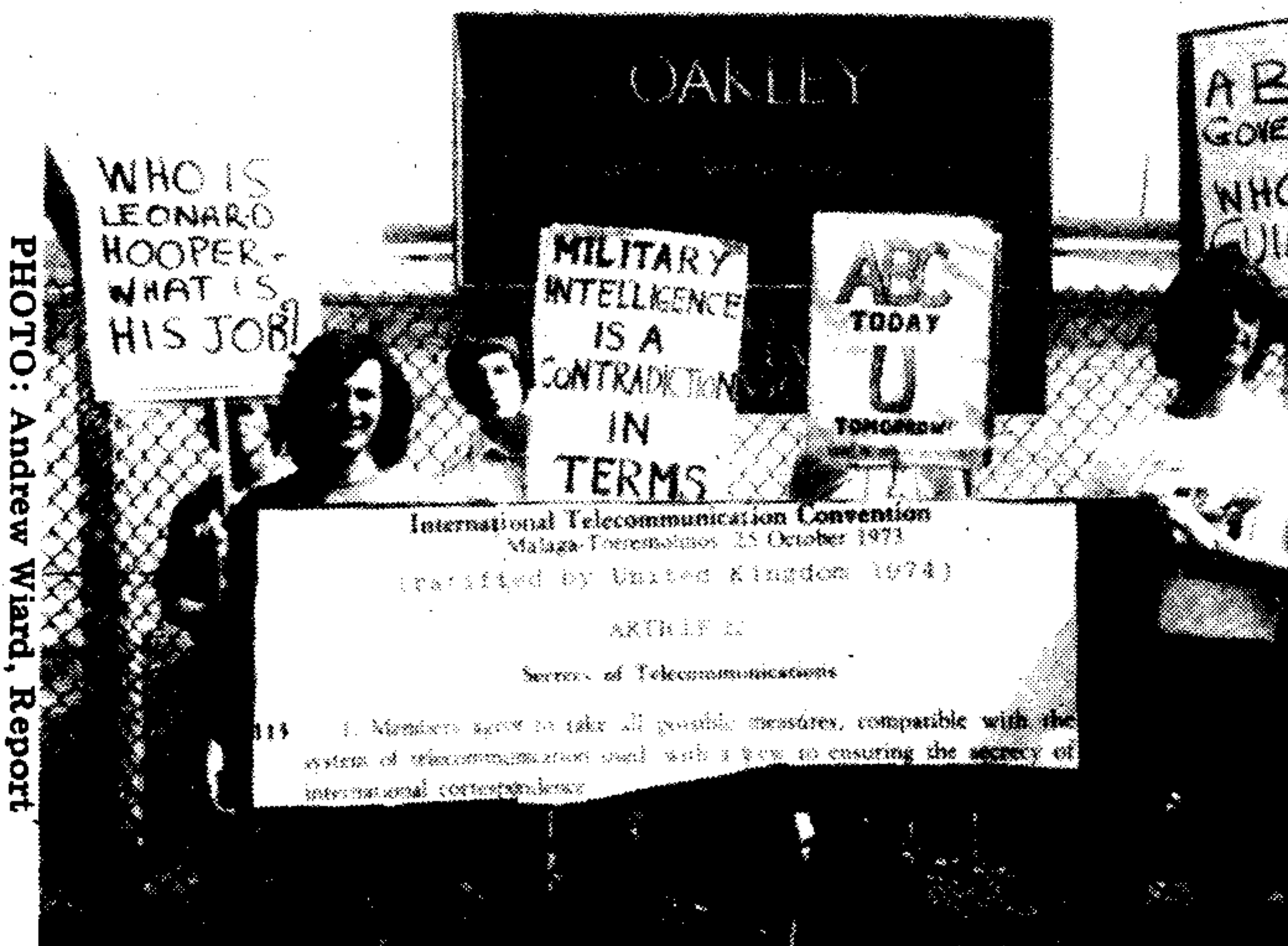
The three defendants (two are journalists, while John Berry is an ex-soldier) are charged under Section 1 of the Official Secrets Act—the so-called “spying clause”.

## Useful

Yet not even the prosecution has claimed that they acted in any way as spies. The Act simply makes it illegal to “receive or communicate” any information that “may be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy”.

Duncan Campbell has additionally been charged with collecting information—all of it from published and publicly available sources.

Behind the charges lies the support given by Aubrey and Campbell to the



ABC Defence demonstration at Cheltenham

campaign to prevent the deportation of ex-CIA agent Philip Agee by the Labour government, and a determination by top military and civil service officials to preserve the full strength of the Official Secrets Act, which Labour pledged itself in the 1974 manifesto to repeal.

## Cast aside

That pledge has now been cast aside and a Labour White Paper proposes changes only to Section 2 of the Act, which will

effectively strengthen it and further curtail democratic rights.

## Strike action

At April's NUJ Annual Delegate meeting an overwhelming majority voted to support those sections that took strike action at the start of the trial in September, and right wingers vied with ‘lefts’ in defiant demagogic speeches denouncing the Official Secrets Act and calling for its repeal.

Yet now, a mere month

from the trial an NUJ circular calling for a mass picket of the Old Bailey on September 5 makes no mention whatever of strike action.

And NUJ leaders have done next to nothing to mobilise other unions in support of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell, whose “crime” was to attempt to assert basic press freedom by holding a private—still undisclosed—conversation with John Berry, who seven years beforehand, had been an army corporal attached to the top secret Signals Intelligence unit ‘SIGINT’.

The issue is one affecting and threatening all sections of the Labour movement. Labour parties and union branches should at once pass resolutions demanding Home Secretary Merlyn Rees order the dropping of the charges, and immediate steps to repeal the Official Secrets Act.

NUJ chapels in London and elsewhere should discuss strike action on September 5 in solidarity with the three defendants, as a part of the fight to broaden the action to other unions.

And the biggest possible delegations should attend the mass picket of the Old Bailey on September 5.

# LEYLAND TRIAL SINKS FURTHER INTO SLUSH

The smell of rotting fish hanging over the ‘Leyland slushfund’ case at the Old Bailey has reached such a pitch it is surprising leading prosecution witnesses have given evidence without choking.

Officially Graham Barton and his wife Fatma are facing charges of forgery and deception—charges they have denied. In reality it is British Leyland itself that is in the dock—with the judge and prosecution straining every nerve to clear its leading executives of corruption.

## No corruption

When Lord Ryder—former head of the National Enterprise Board—was first called to give evidence in the first half of July he was adamant that no corruption whatsoever had been uncovered at Leyland.

“I can only say that no company with which I have ever been connected in the public or private sector has ever been engaged in such practices nor would I countenance it for one moment. I think the whole idea is deplorable.

“Our investigations revealed that no corrupt payments had been paid to anyone whatever”.

But one of the worms turned. Mr. William Howard, defending, said that he had to recall both Lord Ryder and the former British Leyland chief executive, Alex Park, because he had been putting the interests of Leyland before those of his client.

## Changed story

From then on things got steadily worse for Leyland. Lord Ryder now changed his story. There were ‘four or five’ payments that had not actually been cleared of corruption. On closer examination he agreed that one of these had been a £700,000 payment to a foreign national who was brother-in-law to the commander of the unnamed country.

A letter written in 1974

by John Champion, treasury manager of British Leyland, to Lord Stokes and Alex Park, was read out. It was headed “strictly confidential”: Commissions and retentions”.

The memo described how payments were made to distributors’ bank accounts after bills had been artificially inflated.

It described special payments as “ex gratia payments made to persons who have been particularly helpful in obtaining particular contracts”.

The memo stressed the need to keep the payments quiet, the embarrassment that could be caused if the truth came out and the risk of financial loss if the governments of the countries involved found out what was going on.

It also said that there was a threat of blackmail from people who knew about the payments and that some of the accounts might actually belong to its own employees, who were cashing in on the gravy train.

## Strong language

Clive Strowger, former finance director of Leyland International, who had asked Barton to prepare his report on ‘non-routine’ arrangements said he had read Barton’s reports in good faith and assumed they were true, but had been surprised at some of the ‘strong language’.

Strowger refused to comment on whether it had been known at a high level in the company that irregular payments were being paid.

He squirmed to avoid having to admit that “ex gratia” payments and corrupt payments were one and the same thing, and complained about the assumption of “partially informed” people.

Pressed again on Barton’s report Strowger was forced to admit:

“If you see the report in terms of details it is accurate”, but refused to accept that it was enough to substantiate Barton’s conclusions.

When Mr. Howard, defending, suggested that £16 millions were spent on special payments in Leyland Bus and Truck

division in 1977, Strowger said he thought the £16 million figure was more likely the amount for the whole of Leyland.

Barton gave evidence not under oath, so that he could not be cross examined, and so that he would not further lift the lid on the “pandora’s box” he had opened.

The case is due to end this week. The Crown will be more relieved than Barton and Leyland will continue to keep the lid screwed down on the truth about their ‘special payments’.

# Chile Solidarity woos bosses

Over the last few months we have seen the Chile Solidarity Campaign leadership making sickening overtures to the Chilean Tories (the Christian Democrats), the Church and British business circles.

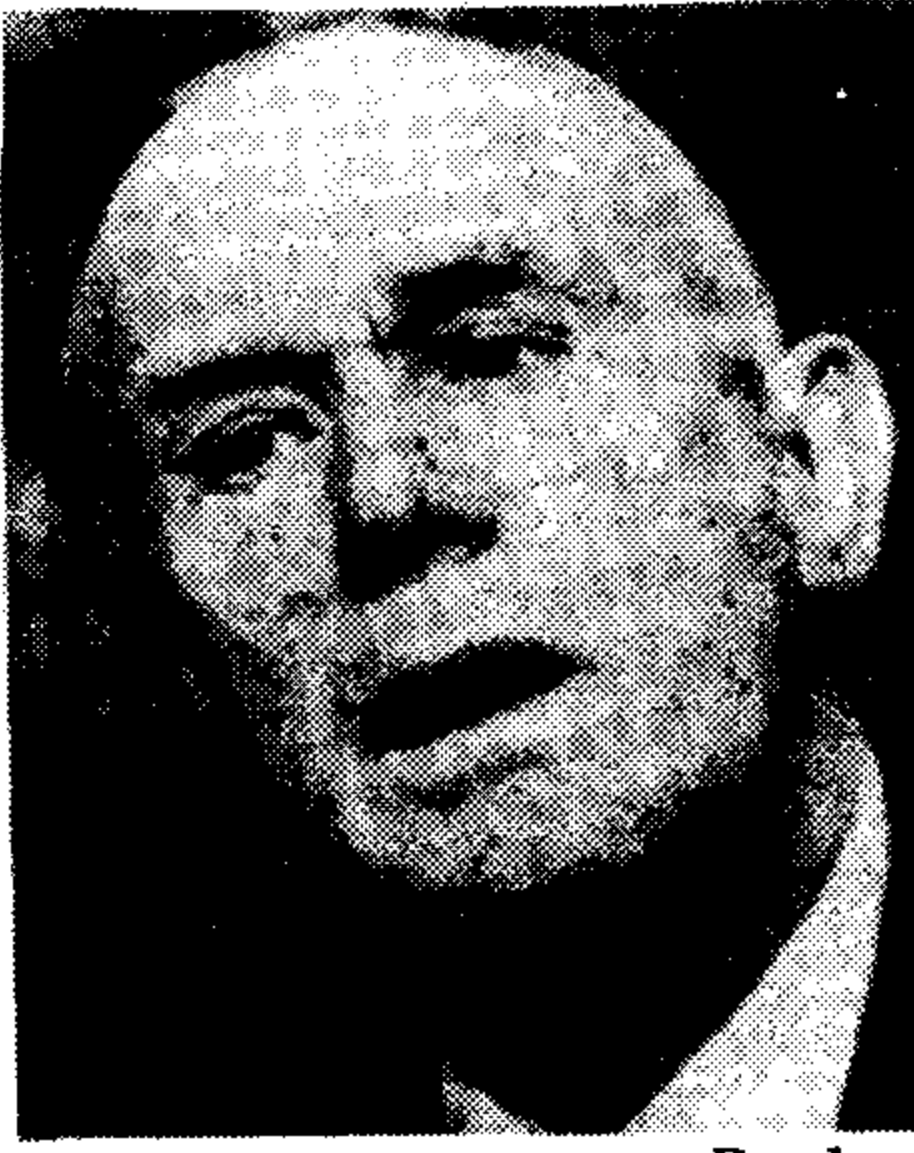
This was the logical outcome of the Popular Frontist policies passed at the last national Chile Solidarity Campaign conference.

Among the resolutions passed were calls to attend meetings of bank shareholders and to lobby local Rotary clubs in order to raise the ‘human rights’ issue in Chile.

Protests against this course have developed from the majority of the local Chile committees.

This reflected growing hostility among activists to the continuous bureaucratic domination of CSC by the national leadership.

This conflict came to a head at the Sheffield Trades Council meeting in May when a near unanimous report from the Chile sub-



Ryder

committee recommended disaffiliation from the national campaign.

In the stormy debate which followed, the popular frontist arguments of the right wing and fake lefts were defeated and the strong practical work of the sub-committee in the local labour movement vindicated.

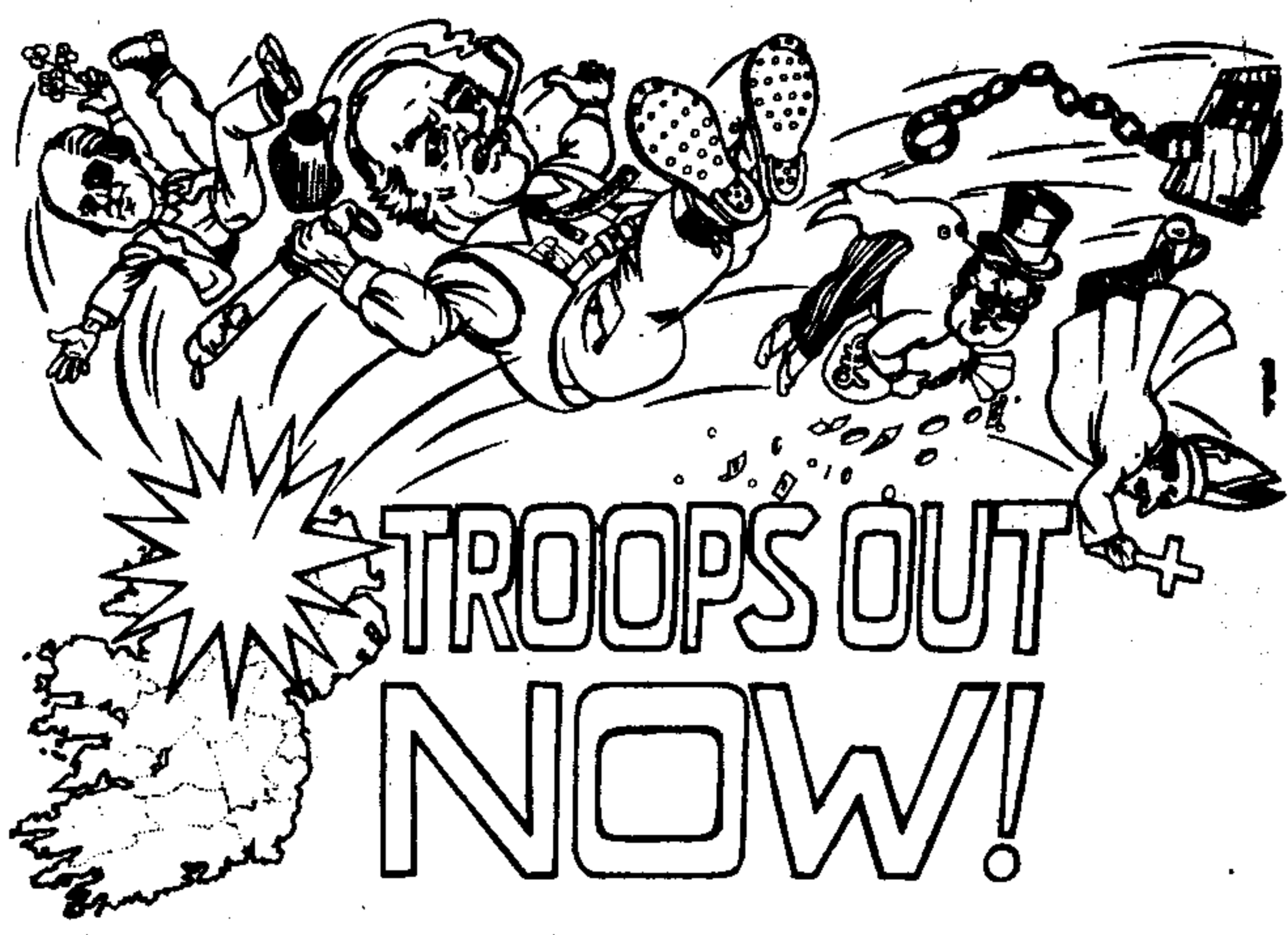
The report was narrowly carried. This decision of the largest active Trades Council committee in the country to disaffiliate marked the first major defeat for the Trades Council leadership for years.

It presents a real threat to the bureaucratic stranglehold of the CSC since Stockport and other Trades Councils have already disaffiliated.

It was no surprise, therefore, to hear a false report given to nearby Rotherham Trades Council the following month congratulating Sheffield for remaining in the CSC!

A week later at the next meeting of Sheffield Trades Council, the EC won a reference back and succeeded in forcing through a

# IRELAND



# New exploiters for Ireland

Taking advantage of the massive and chronic unemployment created by capitalist rule in the North of Ireland, the depressed wage levels that flow from this factor, the presence of British imperialist troops to protect the “security” of their investment and huge British government grants and tax concessions, a new US car firm is to build a major factory in Belfast.

Centuries of British colonial rule has ensured that conditions in Belfast compete favourably for the US capitalists with appalling poverty prevalent in Puerto Rico.

And the Labour leaders have agreed to provide state finance to cover nearly two-thirds of the £65 million investment in plant and equipment.

The factory will be sited in Belfast, where Catholic ghetto areas are thought to contain anything up to 50% unemployment.

As the international economic crisis forces the capitalist class into further attempts to exploit workers in the underdeveloped and colonial countries, there is no doubt that Ireland—North and South of the imperialist-drawn “border” will remain a tempting target.

The struggle against unemployment in Ireland must in no way rely on the arrival of “benevolent” capitalists or the charity of the British imperialist rulers.

It must take up the struggle to open the books of the multi-

national and Irish capitalist firms and banks that reap super profits from the misery of Irish workers, and show the need to nationalise them, without compensation.

This must be connected with the struggle on both sides of the “border” for a planned programme of public works to create new jobs under the control of trade union committees, with the perspective of an all-Ireland socialist planned economy.

At each point the exploitation of Ireland must be shown to be linked completely to the British military occupation of the North as a buttress of counter-revolution, and the fight taken up for the self-determination of the Irish people as a whole as part of the fight for a workers’ republic.

SINN FEIN has called a London demonstration on 13 August, the seventh anniversary of the Tory policy of internment in Ireland.

Though internment itself is nominally dead and gone, it lives on in the kangaroo courts and prolonged remands now used against republican and socialist militants in the North and the bestial conditions inflicted on the prisoners in H-Block at the Long Kesh concentration camp.

The August 13 march leaving Speakers Corner at 2pm is based on the call for the release of those imprisoned for their fight against British imperialism.

As such it should be fully supported by the British labour movement.

independence and the need for socialist policies in Chile the outcome was a formal

ity.

The fact that a meeting of 60 had overturned the decision of a full meeting of over 100 delegates was not lost on many delegates however, and the fight for working-class based solidarity work on Chile will be stepped up in the Sheffield labour movement.

In spite of a spirited defence of working class



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Recent Chile protest march

# St Pancras dust settles

The confused fight inside Holborn and St. Pancras GMC over the recent selection of the Labour candidate to contest the next election has predictably fizzled out.

This followed a manoeuvre by the Executive Committee who managed to put the numerous resolutions condemning the undemocratic selection procedure as one composite resolution, thus rendering them worthless.

Delegates opposed this move strongly but without success. Most of the critical resolutions called for a re-examination of selection procedure and deplored the action of the representative from Transport House, who, through the chair, forbade

any individual discussion of nominees on the Executive's short list, or of those left off the list.

This was proved to be a non-existent rule invented for the occasion by Transport House.

But the majority of the resolutions, even while condemning the selection procedure, endorsed right-winger Frank Dobson as their prospective MP and were passed easily.

## No confidence

A more controversial resolution was put by St. Pancras branch. This called for a vote of no confidence in the GMC and the EC.

The voting on this was very close: 10 for and 12 against, but the resolution itself was completely inadequate.

Even if their resolution had been passed it would only have meant a re-election of GMC delegates and a new EC.

Such a move would in no way have reversed the outcome of the selection result and Holborn and St. Pancras South would still have been saddled with right-winger Frank Dobson.

A *Socialist Press* supporter put forward a motion calling on the NEC to announce the result of the selection meeting null and void because of the undemocratic procedure.

This comrade argued that as most of the resolutions already passed agreed that the selection had been undemocratic, the only way a democratic decision could

be reached was that the whole process should begin again.

This comrade also condemned the position taken by the delegates from St. Pancras branch in resigning from all positions on the EC.

This, she said, let the right-wing off the hook and would give them even more room to manoeuvre and manipulate the GMC.

This motion received 5 votes and the *Socialist Press* supporter was accused of taking the GMC to the "edge of an abyss".

It seems it is perfectly alright verbally to criticise the obviously undemocratic procedures inside the Labour Party, as long as no concrete action is proposed against it!



## Bringing the House down

That age-old fake left rallying cry of the Labour leaders 'Abolish the House of Lords' seems certain to be wheeled out again in the next election.

The wails of opposition from Labour peers who claim that the Lords can be "reformed" and "democratised" are unlikely to prevent the Callaghan-Healey leadership adopting the call for abolition as their attempt to substitute for a complete absence of socialist policies.

Last week in Parliament Callaghan claimed that to dispose of the Lords had been the aspiration "of

many of us" for many years.

Yet as everyone knows there has been no effort by successive Labour administrations to take steps to eliminate this tiresome expensive and anti-democratic relic of feudal rule.

Even when challenged by Thatcher, Callaghan insisted that the Lords was "indefensible, and lined up with talkative 'left' Dennis Skinner who described the Lords as "the biggest quango of them all".

## No trembling

So the House of Lords joins hare-coursing, fox-hunting, beagling and deer-hunting on the Labour list for abolition. But the aristocracy will scarcely be trembling in their shoes.

While they already know that the new anti-blood sports policy will be excluded from the Labour manifesto, they also know that there is no prospect of a Callaghan government taking action to sweep aside their age-old discussion club.

They would all prefer to see Callaghan promise abolition of the Lords than any socialist policies adopted and fought for in the Labour Party.



Callaghan

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

And it means outlining a programme whose objective is not reforming the capitalist state apparatus including the police force and the standing army, whose task is to preserve capitalist rule, but destroying them and instituting the dictatorship of the working class as the basis for the establishment of socialism.

## Management

In decisively rejecting and opposing any such programme the Labour and trade union leaders 'left' and right alike must inevitably find themselves

## No need for Tories to fake dole queue photo

A £2 million Tory pre-election publicity campaign highlighting Labour's policy of mass unemployment has struck a raw nerve for both right and 'left' wing bureaucrats.

Devoid of any political answer to the Tories, they

have seized on the fact that the "dole queue" in the composite picture on the Tory posters is in fact a group of advertising agency employees.

Happily ignoring the fact that even the synthetic picture amounts to only the smallest fraction of the 1½ million workers currently consigned to the dole queues by Labour poli-

cies, acting General Secretary Reg Underhill has taken the dramatic step of complaining to the Advertising Standards Authority!

Labour's Secretary for Unemployment, Albert Booth, went further, and attacked the advertising agency, Saatchi and Saatchi, for using their existing employees in the photograph,

rather than hiring extra staff, which might have helped to cut unemployment—even if only for one day!

And Labour 'left' Jeff Rooker bitterly complained of the irony that Saatchi and Saatchi were working for the Tories at the same time as holding a Government contract for advertising the fraudulent "job creation" agency, the Manpower Services Commission.

The fact that none of these "leaders" will face up to is of course that the Tories would be completely unable to exploit mass unemployment if Labour had implemented a programme of socialist policies to put an end to it.

## Public works

Such policies would involve the nationalisation without compensation of the major industries and the banks under committees of workers' management, and the implementation of a programme of useful public works to create new jobs.

But to implement such a programme in the teeth of opposition from the employers means a decisive break from the parliamentary reformist programme advocated by the Labour Party.

It means mobilising the working class in each factory, each combine, each industry in the struggle to open the books of the employers and reveal the waste and private greed inherent in the capitalist system of exploitation, and show the need for a socialist planned economy.

It means driving out the present right-wing trade union and Labour leaders who seek to preserve their cosy relationship with the employing class at the expense of their members' jobs and living standards.

# PRESS GANG

## TURBULENT PRIEST

Barely since Henry II sent his soldiers to murder Thomas Beckett in Canturbury Cathedral has a priest managed to get so far up the noses of the ruling class.

Doctor Thomas O'Fiaich, is about as progressive as a dinosaur, and a representative of an international organisation that spreads misery, poverty, ignorance and savagery. In other words, he is Primate of All Ireland, and a future Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.

His pronouncements on H Block prison conditions at Long Kesh concentration camp have been made, no doubt, to restore his position inside the Catholic belly of the republican movement but the impact of his statement was dramatic.

"The stench and filth in some of the cells, with the remains of rotten food and human excreta scattered around the walls was almost unbearable. In two of them I was unable to speak for fear of vomiting."

O'Fiaich forced the conditions in that prison upon the consciousnesses of the British working class and indeed internationally—like few other statements could have done.

When the Primate of all Ireland—previously a reliable propaganda weapon

against the IRA—not only condemns conditions but appears to say that the prisoners are political prisoners, then the British Press no longer has the option of silence.

They answered fire with fire. But they also printed their first detailed descriptions of conditions in the torture camp.

The Archbishop was not calling for the reintroduction of political status.

His role is not dissimilar to that played by the trade union bureaucracy in economic strikes—striving to wring enough concessions from the authorities to take the head of steam off the powerful campaign which is now building up.

These considerations did not spare him the scorpion whip lashes of the British Press.

Like every other Fleet Street paper, with the sole exception of the *Sun*—which spared us its hysteria only because the journalists had shut it down—the *Times* took its editorial tone from the Northern Ireland office.

In a leader headed "The Prisoners' Friend from Armagh" (Wednesday August 2) the *Times* said:

"The Archbishop's support for the stand being taken by Republican prisoners, his implied endorsement of their claim to represent the tradition of militant Irish republicanism, his view that blame of the admittedly foul conditions in parts of the Maze prison

lies in the inflexibility of the Northern Ireland government in response to a justified demand—all this serves to retard the slow process of rejection by the Irish community of the resurgence of the IRA, its indiscriminate violence, perverted justice and false historical claims."

The *Mirror* ("Lost in the Maze") put it more sharply:

"They have done these revolting things to themselves because they want to be treated as 'prisoners or war'. Free to wear their own clothes. Answerable to their own 'officers'."

"Though they have murdered and bombed, kneecapped and crippled, they demand special privileges. And the gullible Dr. O'Fiaich support them... The gangsters in the Maze are criminals and should be treated as such."

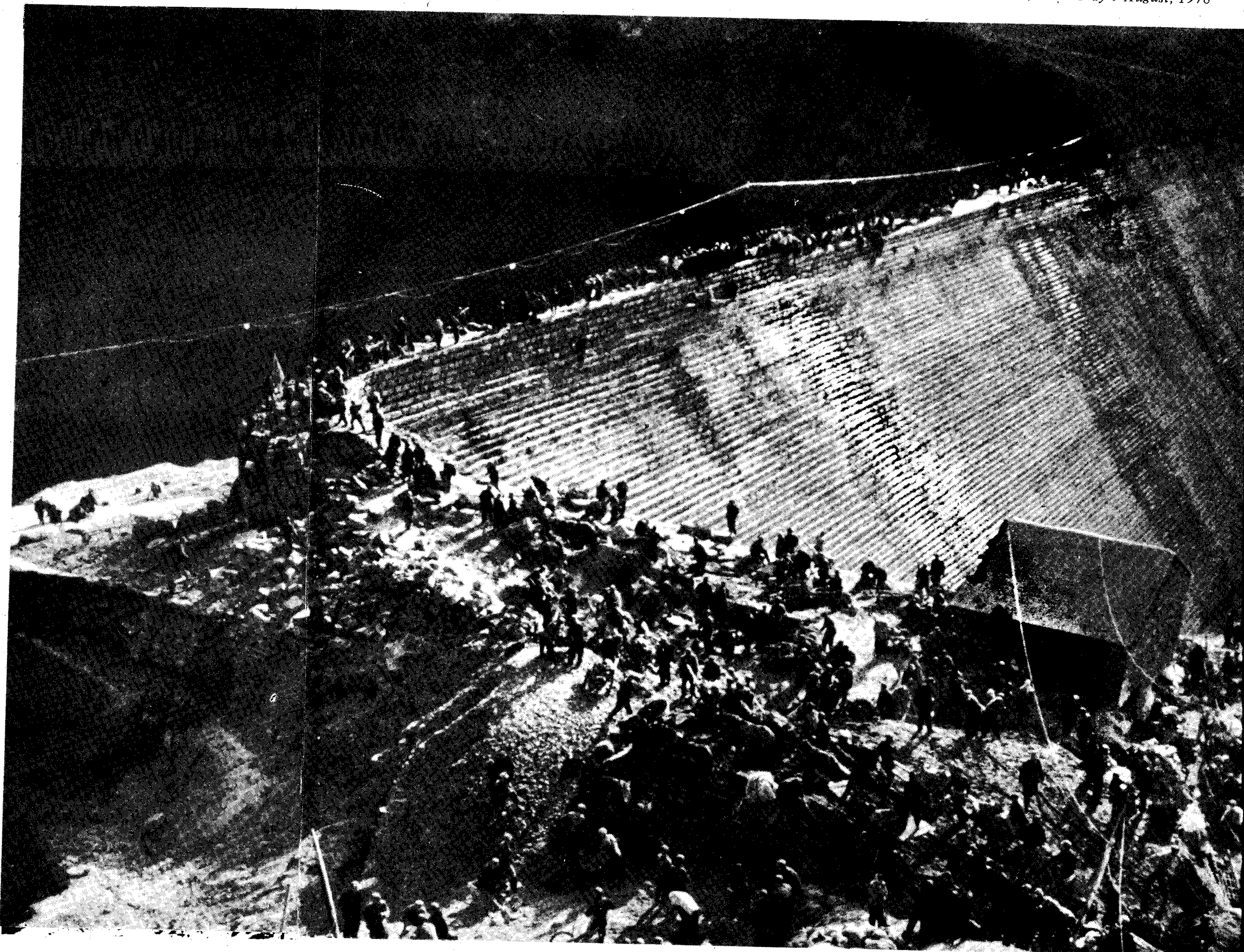
The *Express* told "Dr. Fee" that he should "take the opportunity to be silent".

"These men are not in the Maze for holding their political convictions. There is free speech in Northern Ireland."

"They are in prison for their criminal acts and there is no reason in law or morality why they should be treated any differently from other criminals."

The response from Fleet Street was not a jot different from Henry II: "Who will rid me of this turbulent priest?"





Labour intensive industrial operations are the rule in China to this day. Here workers are

# BEHIND THE PEKING PURGE

Since the overthrow of the 'Gang of Four' in the months after the death of Mao Tse-tung, a substantial reorientation of the Chinese economy has been introduced by the 'capitalist roaders' who came to prominence.

What do these developments represent? Are they a setback for the Chinese workers and peasants? Can either wing of the Chinese bureaucracy offer a way forward for the 800 million Chinese workers and peasants.

Godfrey Webster examines the developments which have taken place since the purge of the Gang of Four and sets out to answer these questions.

At first sight it might appear that the defeat of the "radical" Shanghai group in China by Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping was a major setback to the Chinese working class.

Hua's slogan "Bring great order across the land" is a catchphrase for re-asserting managerial control in industry, teachers' authority in schools, and for strengthening the army and police.

As part of this policy the workers' militias in Shanghai and Peking have been disbanded.

## Differentials

Similarly the shift away from the outlook "Better red than expert" means the restoration of wide differentials between workers and technicians in industry, and will probably mean bringing back payment by results.

It means entry to higher education on the basis of exam results without allowances for class and educational background.

This will obviously

favour the children of intellectuals and bureaucrats.

The changes certainly met with fierce resistance from sections of the Chinese working class.

## Production lost

Reporters from the *Economist* who recently visited Manchuria in North China were told that the Harbin turbine factory employing 10,000 workers lost 50% of its production in 1976 owing to industrial disputes caused by the political struggle.

Wuhan in Central China was the scene of continual conflict from 1975 to 1977. The giant Iron and Steel Complex was on strike for two months from January 1977 in protest at the strengthening of managerial authority and discipline.

But although numerous cases of armed conflict have been reported in the Chinese press, there is no record of co-ordinated resistance by the workers' militias.

Did the "radicals" really have an alternative to offer Chinese workers?

Or was it just a leadership squabble among the bureaucrats who rule China? The answer must rest on an understanding of the problems of Chinese economic development and the relationship of the classes in Chinese society.

The Chinese economy is still dominated by the agricultural sector. 75% of China's 950 million people live in the country.

Unmechanised but intensive production is the rule. Increases in production have been achieved by labour intensive schemes to improve irrigation and bring new land into cultivation.

## Yield increased

Yield per acre has increased to about double that in other parts of Asia and Africa, but is still only half that in Japan and the USA.

But in spite of these efforts production has only just kept pace with the growth of population. Total production of foodgrains has remained close to 0.3 tonnes per person per year ever since 1952.

This is about the lowest possible consumption to keep people alive and in reasonable health.

It allows no possibility of net agricultural exports, and makes the production of meat products on a large scale impossible, because using grain as foodstuff is wasteful of nutritional value.

Production is organised largely on collective lines.

## Work-points

Peasants are allowed individual plots of land for small scale production of livestock or vegetables.

But they are members of work teams which are responsible for the production of foodgrains and commercial crops, as well as for irrigation schemes and small rural industries.

Members of work-teams are allocated work-points on the basis of the number of hours labour they contribute to team work.

They are paid a proportion of the total revenue of the work team according to their work points. Much has been made by bourgeois commentators of the supposed capitalist nature of this payment system.

## Creamed off

But there is no way peasants can use work-points to accumulate the

ownership of land or capital, or to employ other peasants.

Equal pay for equal work, although a slogan much endeared to capitalist ideologists, can in fact only be implemented if property is collectively owned.

The radical group also attacked the work-point system, saying it should be replaced by the communist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

This sounds very fine in

principle, but the peasants no doubt remembered the last attempt to use this policy during the "Great Leap Forward" of 1958.

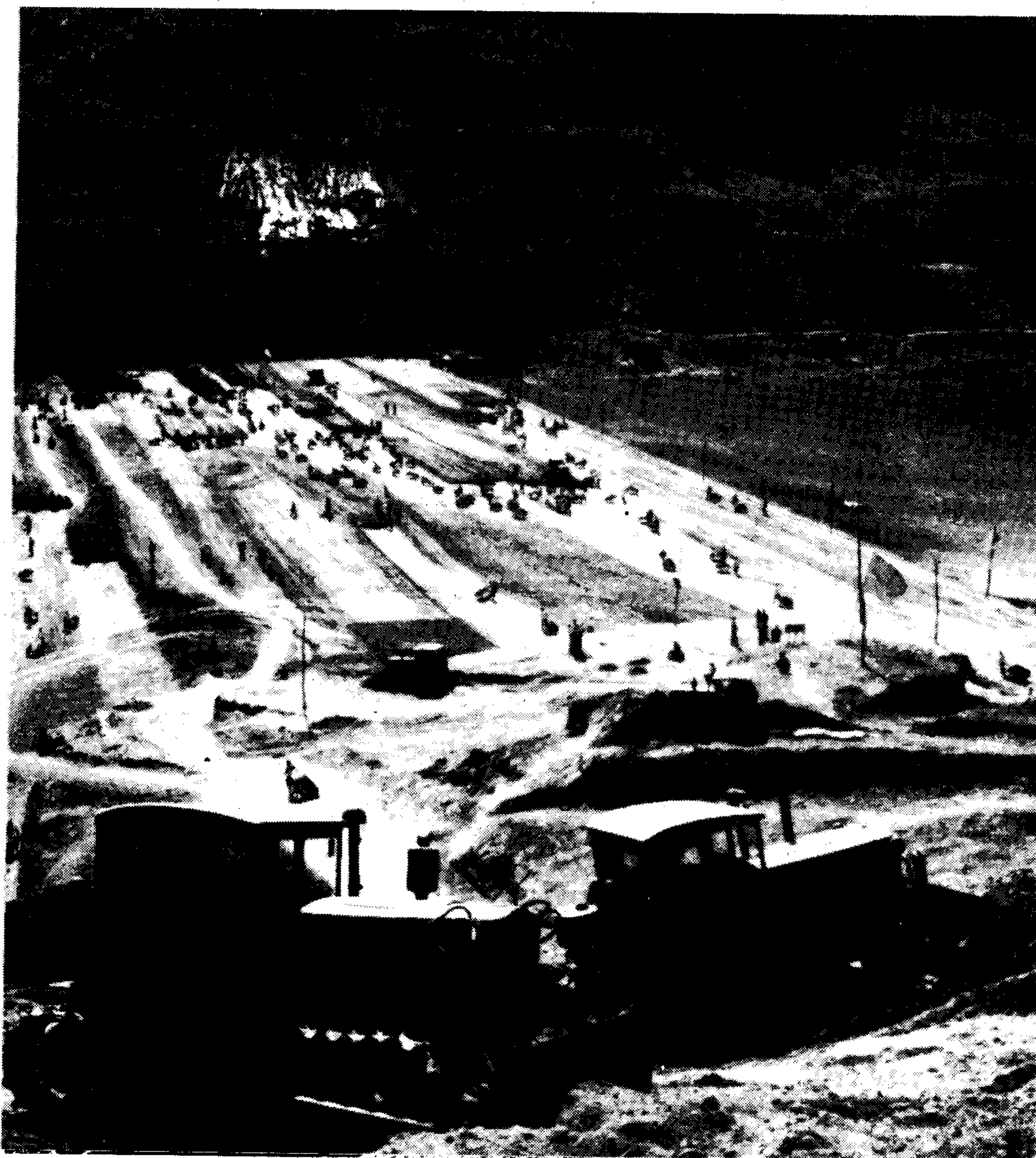
What was interpreted as "need" was the very barest necessity possible to live on.

The surplus was creamed off by the state to finance the industrial adventures of that period such as backyard steel furnaces.

The peasants were expected to work these rural industries as part of their "voluntary" contribution to the Great Leap Forward.



A showpiece modern



Modern scientific methods including the use of tractors is essential.

capital and consumer goods are scarce.

It is impossible to define one method as capitalist and the other socialist without looking at the overall development problems of the society.

On the other hand the private plots do represent a clear capitalist sector of the Chinese economy.

It is a sector entirely subject to market forces and outside the control of state or even local economic planning.

Much of the hostility of the peasants to the radical group was based on their proposals to abolish private plots.

The peasants find these plots an important source of secondary income which they can individually control.

They fear that the introduction of central planning would give them production targets that were impossible to achieve and take away their freedom to work on the plots when they please.

Under the present bureaucratic planning system this is no doubt perfectly true.

#### Private plots

Until the state can guarantee the peasants a supply of consumer goods in return for their normal collective work, they will strongly resist any attempt to take away the private plots.

However, from the workers' point of view the private plots deny them a regular and sufficient supply of pigs, poultry and vegetables.

For instance it takes a Chinese industrial worker seven times as long to earn enough to buy a pound of rice as an American worker.

But it takes him *twenty five* times as long as an American to earn enough to buy a chicken or a pound of carrots!

This is the price paid for what bourgeois commentators regard as the "highly efficient" system of private plots.

But abolishing the plots would only be of benefit if it was accompanied by mechanisation and capitalisation of this part of agriculture.

Battery hen farming may

be obnoxious to British animal lovers but it does provide a supply of chicken and eggs at prices workers can afford.

Further improvements in the productivity of collective production also depend on the introduction of modern scientific methods i.e. tractors and chemical fertilisers.

Without much more rapid development of industry the radical group's proposals for agriculture amount to little more than an attack on the peasants' present standard of living.

#### 35 million

But it is precisely in industry that the role of the bureaucracy in stifling growth has been most clearly demonstrated.

Although over 200 million Chinese live in towns, the industrial working class numbers only about 35 million.

This is a similar number to the industrial working class in the USA and Japan.

Of the 35 million some work in small, privately owned co-operatives, but the majority work in large state factories.

Until the Cultural Revolution the management of these factories was similar to the Soviet Union.

Production targets were set by the central bureaucracy in accordance with the current economic plan, and it was then up to the manager and engineer to decide how this target would be achieved.

This system allows no scope for the creativity of the working class. The bureaucratic planning methods mean that production is constantly interrupted by raw material shortages and breakdowns, as all visitors to China and the Soviet Union remark.

#### Isolated

Most important, production is not based on need because workers have no means of controlling the state and the economic plan.

However, it would be incorrect to regard the economy as capitalist production.

Prices and wages are not

determined by the market but by planning decisions.

This means that open unemployment is unusual.

It also means that the Chinese economy is to a large degree isolated from the booms and slumps of the capitalist world, and that the ravages of imperialism which afflict other backward countries can be prevented.

Until the Cultural Revolution most workers were paid on piece rates, so that breakdowns caused wages to be very unpredictable.

Workers had little control over their working environment because trade unions were dominated by the bureaucracy and limited themselves mainly to social security provision.

Add to this that pay differentials between managers and unskilled workers were as high as 15:1 and it is easy to see the basis for the sharp conflict which developed between workers and the bureaucracy.

#### Mortal danger

The leadership group around Mao Tse-tung were continually afraid that this resentment contained a mortal danger to the bureaucracy as a whole.

And they were aware that the stifling stranglehold of bureaucratic management in industry was a major obstacle to production.

Mao's solution was to turn workers' resentment against a section of the bureaucracy, and to attempt to draw workers into participation in management decisions.

Objections to the privileges of managers and to large differentials between different workers could be used to try and replace material incentives by moral coercion.

Abolishing incentives would mean lower consumption and this should allow greater investment.

Piece work was largely abolished and replaced by the eight-grade system. The Shanghai group later called for the narrowing of differentials in this grading scheme as well.

Promotion from one grade to another became very much a matter of

political attitude, i.e. co-operativeness.

The new policy was also reflected in the technical field. Drawing workers into management meant that more reliance could be placed on creating ways of making primitive equipment work and less on the import of modern machinery.

"Better red than expert" was a slogan representing this outlook.

At its worst it became a reactionary and chauvinist contempt for foreign technology.

But at its best it did save on scarce capital resources, and promoted a healthy distaste for the authority of technocrats.

Local bureaucrats and managers at first fought strongly against the undermining of their authority by Red Guards and so-called Revolutionary Committees.

Pitched battles were fought in many Chinese cities.

But it was only when workers began to draw out the logic of the situation that the central bureaucracy took fright.

Revolutionary workers began to realise that the obstacle to development was not just the local bureaucracy but the whole bureaucratic planning system.

Changing the method of control at factory level did nothing to change the overall objectives of state planning, which were not and never had been based on the needs of the masses.

On the contrary the objectives had always been to extend and protect the power of the Chinese bureaucracy—as the huge resources devoted to developing atomic weapons shows.

It was at this stage that the bureaucracy began to withdraw its support from the mass movement and to begin its suppression.

Millions of young workers and students who had "gone too far" were sent to remote parts of the countryside.

banks have been announced in the last few months.

The Shanghai Four considered that some degree of mass involvement could be retained by continuing to send the most troublesome youngsters to the country and using the army to intervene if the situation in any particular area got out of hand.

They also put forward their programme for increasing agricultural production at the expense of peasants' living standards.

In the event industrial production stagnated or fell because of continual strikes against local management.

Steel production in 1976 and 1977 failed to reach the level of 1973 (26 million tonnes).

Both steel and coal production have increased by only 30% in 17 years, an annual growth rate of 1.5%.

The agricultural reforms could also not be implemented because of peasant resistance.

The swing of the centre faction in the bureaucracy around Hua Kuo-feng, behind Teng Hsiao-ping and the managers is therefore not surprising.

However the new leadership has no new policies to offer the masses.

It will continue to develop industry to serve the needs of a military and bureaucratic regime. Agriculture will continue to be stifled by the slow development of the crucial areas of industry that serve it.

The Chinese working class may have been forced to retreat as a result of the defeat of the Shanghai group.

But that is not to say the radicals had anything to offer the working class.

Indeed it was precisely the growing realisation in the working class of the inadequacy of the radical programme which forced the bureaucracy to finally destroy the power of the radicals.

What the whole struggle underlines is the need for an independent revolutionary leadership in the Chinese



Mao

Revolutionary committees had their sting removed by appointing previous managers as vice-chairmen.

But discussions still remained in the bureaucracy about what aspects of the new policy could be retained without danger.

The group around Teng Hsiao-ping considered that only a return to the previous situation could ensure stability.

Complete managerial authority had to be restored even if this meant bringing back incentive payments and an increase in wages to buy co-operation.

If a slower rate of growth resulted this could be compensated by foreign loans and by selling oil to Japan.

Developments recently confirm this policy decision. The agreements to exchange new machinery from the EEC for oil and coal, and to accept loans from German

working class which can draw out the real lessons of the Cultural Revolution, and provide a perspective for throwing out the whole bureaucracy.

The fight must be for a Trotskyist party fighting on a programme of demands directed towards the formation of independent soviets of workers and peasants as a counter to the bureaucratic power of the Stalinist regime.

On the basis of the struggle of these soviets the Peking bureaucracy can be removed and the way opened up for the planned expansion of the nationalised means of production under elected committees of workers management.

Only in this way can the creative energies of the Chinese working class be released and the scourge of economic backwardness be finally overcome.

seen constructing a reservoir.

GE

It was no longer possible for them to work some additional hours and use their extra work-points to buy consumer goods.

#### Capitalist sector

In other words the policy of the radical group stripped of the fine phrases meant production by moral and physical coercion rather than by economic incentive. The struggle over this question was about how to increase the production of the peasantry when both



...planning process



Pinochet's military terror: Branchero talked of the armed forces taking no part in political debate.



Berlinguer (right) with Spanish CP leader Ibarri



Carrillo (left) with colleague Ibarri



Castro (right) with Allende

# 'Moscow-line' and 'Euro' CPs agree on Chilean road

In August 1977 Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, gave a report to the first Plenary session of the Central Committee since the military coup of 1973.

The speech has since been published as "The Chilean revolution, the fascist dictatorship and the struggle to overthrow it and create a new democracy".

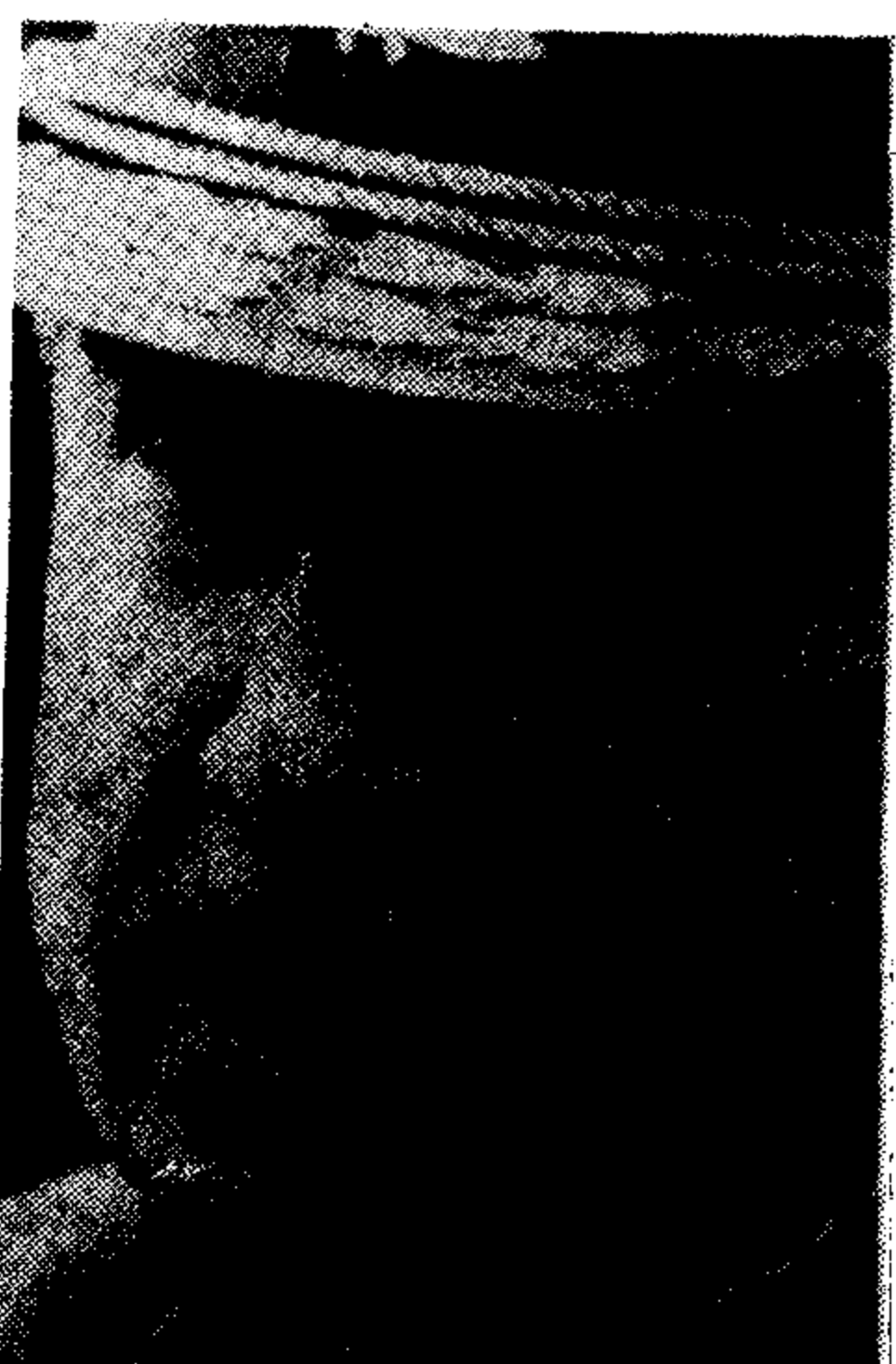
TONY RICHARDSON examines it in the light of the supposed policy differences between "Euro" Communist Parties and the adherents of the "Moscow-line".

41 members of the Chilean CP Central Committee were present to hear this report by Corvalan.

Of the other members, six had been murdered, 6 had died and 11 remained missing.

These losses must have reflected the vicious repression of the Pinochet junta against the Party as a whole.

Yet despite this tragic lesson Corvalan's report centres not on the obvious impossibility of a 'peaceful' road to socialism in Chile and elsewhere but on the 'mistakes' made by the CP in seeking such a road.



Pinochet

And even now, five years after the Junta trampled its way to power, crushing the workers' movement, Corvalan still talks of a 'peaceful' road to overthrow Pinochet.

Indeed almost every aspect of the analysis of this openly pro-Soviet Communist Party echoes the positions of the "national" roads to socialism argued by "Euro" Communists Berlinguer and Carrillo.

## "Major mistake"

In Italy, Berlinguer props up the Tory Christian Democratic government, arguing for Communist involvement in a coalition.

In Chile, Corvalan now tells us that the major mistake of the parties in Allende's Popular Unity government was that, though they conceded to the CP and brought top military leaders into the government, they held back on bringing in the Christian Democrats.

And today, turning his back on the lessons of the past, Corvalan calls for a Provisional Government made up of "Popular Unity, Christian Democracy and the democratic sections of the armed forces".

According to Corvalan's schema:

"Unity must be built around a programme

worked out with the participation of all anti-fascist forces of political, economic, social, moral and cultural reconstruction of our country". (p.61)

Far from representing an alternative to "Euro" Communism, Corvalan's policy mirrors and even exceeds every aspect of "Euro" Communist Popular Front strategy of tying workers parties into anti-socialist alliances with the parties of the capitalist class.

And Corvalan apes Italian Stalinist leader Berlinguer's support for wage cuts and "austerity" measures.

He now declared that the "problem of increasing production" under Allende's reformist, capitalist government, was sabotaged by the "ultraleftist slogan that increasing production was a matter for the capitalists to worry about". (p.35).

## Businessmen

While "Euro" Communist Santiago Carrillo puts forward a perspective of winning over the Francoist armed forces to the cause of socialism, Corvalan goes on to call for a regime "where the people are in all echelons of power through their organisations"—including "businessmen and industrialists"! (p.61).

Corvalan's 'road to socialism' clearly has room in it for the Chilean CBI and Engineering Employers Federation!

It is also wide enough to include the Church. Echoing

the reactionary moves by Carrillo and Berlinguer towards the Catholic Church, Corvalan proclaims that "religious activities" are:

"dangerous for their [the Junta's] regime, simply because they reaffirm the links of human solidarity"! (p.149).

## "Progressive"

If the concept of "human solidarity" and the involvement of "progressive" generals and industrialists is not sufficiently all-embracing to exclude any idea of class struggle or proletarian revolution, Corvalan goes on to suggest that the Christian Democrats themselves can be carried along to socialism!

"We do not consider it inevitable that today's anti-fascist forces should separate tomorrow with regard to the country's future, and we shall do everything possible to prevent this happening.

"We understand that the Christian Democrats have not definitively abandoned the concepts expressed by their presidential candidate in 1970 about the incapacity of capitalism to solve Chilean problems". (p.66).

Of course Corvalan is not simply preparing a future sell-out, or attempting to contain potentially revolutionary struggles by workers as are Spanish Stalinist Carrillo and Italian CP leader Berlinguer.

This same bankrupt policy of class collaboration

led to the defeat of the strongest and best organised working class in Latin America.

Corvalan's continued talk of the "national sovereignty" of the capitalist state in Chile indicates that Stalinism not only threatens catastrophic defeats, but that it is incapable of learning even the simplest lesson from history.

Allende's government was of course a Popular Front, which contained the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the bourgeois Radical Party.

## Illusion

But Corvalan tells us that Allende was not a reformist but a revolutionary. He claims that through its role in the Popular Front the CP held "a part of political power, specifically the Executive power".

But of course in the intact capitalist state, with the repressive police and army machinery intact, the "power" held by the workers' parties was no more than an illusion.

If Corvalan's speech is to be believed, the Stalinists opposed Allende's illusions in the Chilean armed forces. He declares:

"The behaviour of the Government and Popular Unity in this field was undoubtedly influenced by erroneous conceptions

deeply rooted in the Chilean mentality (!) which, in one way or another, to a greater or lesser extent, affected all Parties.

"Obviously we are referring to the belief that the Armed Forces of Chile were distinguished by their subordination to the Civil Power and by their abstention from politics and sense of professionalism." (p.28)

## Loyalty

Who peddled these "erroneous conceptions"? Why, none other than Corvalan himself and his fellow Stalinists! Only days before the coup, Corvalan made a speech published in the British CP journal *Marxism Today*, in which he described the defeat of the abortive coup of June 29, 1973 which:

"was quickly contained thanks to the prompt and determined action of the commander in chief, the loyalty of the armed forces and the police, and the manner in which the workers... entrenched themselves in the factories, ready to take part in combat if the situation needed them."

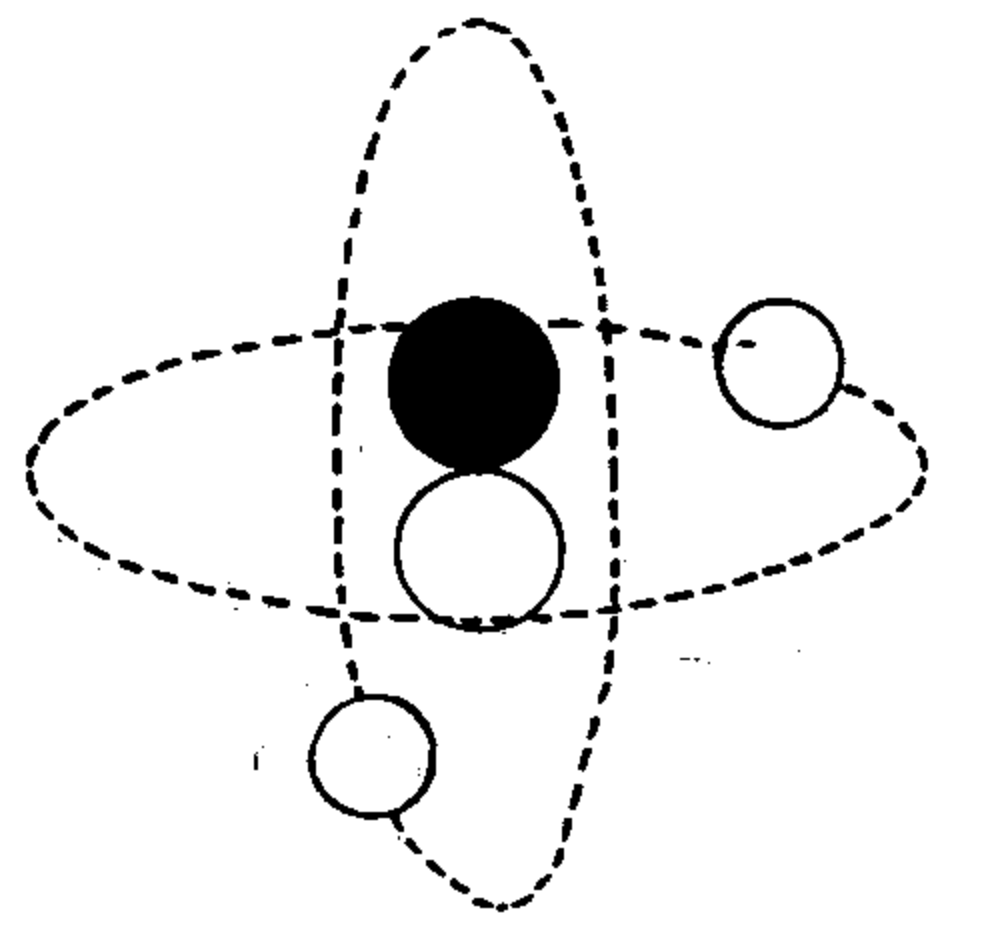
## Institution

In the Stalinist journal, *World Marxist Review*, which was ironically published after the coup, Chilean CP spokesman



# THE PLUTONIUM CYCLE

*Cathy Sherlock replies to the critics of nuclear power and argues that in the struggle to build socialism on the basis of the advances achieved under capitalism, there is no alternative but to use nuclear power, though necessarily as part of a planned socialist economy.*



Branchero pronounced that: "A distinctive feature of the revolutionary process in Chile is that it began and continues within the framework of the bourgeois institutions of the past..."

"... we have essentially retained the old state machine. Government offices are staffed mainly with the old officials..."

"The armed forces, observing the status of a professional institution (!) take no part in political debate and submit to the lawfully constituted civilian power."

"Bonds of cooperation and mutual respect have evolved between the army and the working class in the name of a patriotic goal of shaping Chile into a free, advanced, and democratic land."

This view was elaborated further by Stalinist poet and Chilean ambassador in Paris, Pablo Neruda.

His words, "As for our army, we love it. It is the people in uniform", should serve as a watchword for all time against the Stalinist "peaceful road" to Pinochet-style dictatorship.

It was the refusal of Allende and his CP allies to mobilise the masses to confront and destroy the capitalist state or expropriate the capitalist class in Chile which left the door open for Pinochet's coup.

## Disarm

Allende, along with the Stalinists, opposed the development of any opposition to the officers in the armed forces, and of course fought against the formation of soviet-type organs of power which could have instituted the dictatorship of the proletariat in Chile.

In jointly acting with Allende to disarm the workers prior to the coup, the Stalinists in effect helped open up Pinochet's road to power.

Corvalan's speech, eagerly sold in England by the "Moscow-line" New Communist Party, clearly shows that neither wing of Stalinism offers workers a break from the reformist "peaceful road to socialism" or an independent programme.

## Opposed

Both sections of Stalinism stand firmly opposed to proletarian revolution and for peaceful coexistence with capitalism both on a world scale, and on a national level.

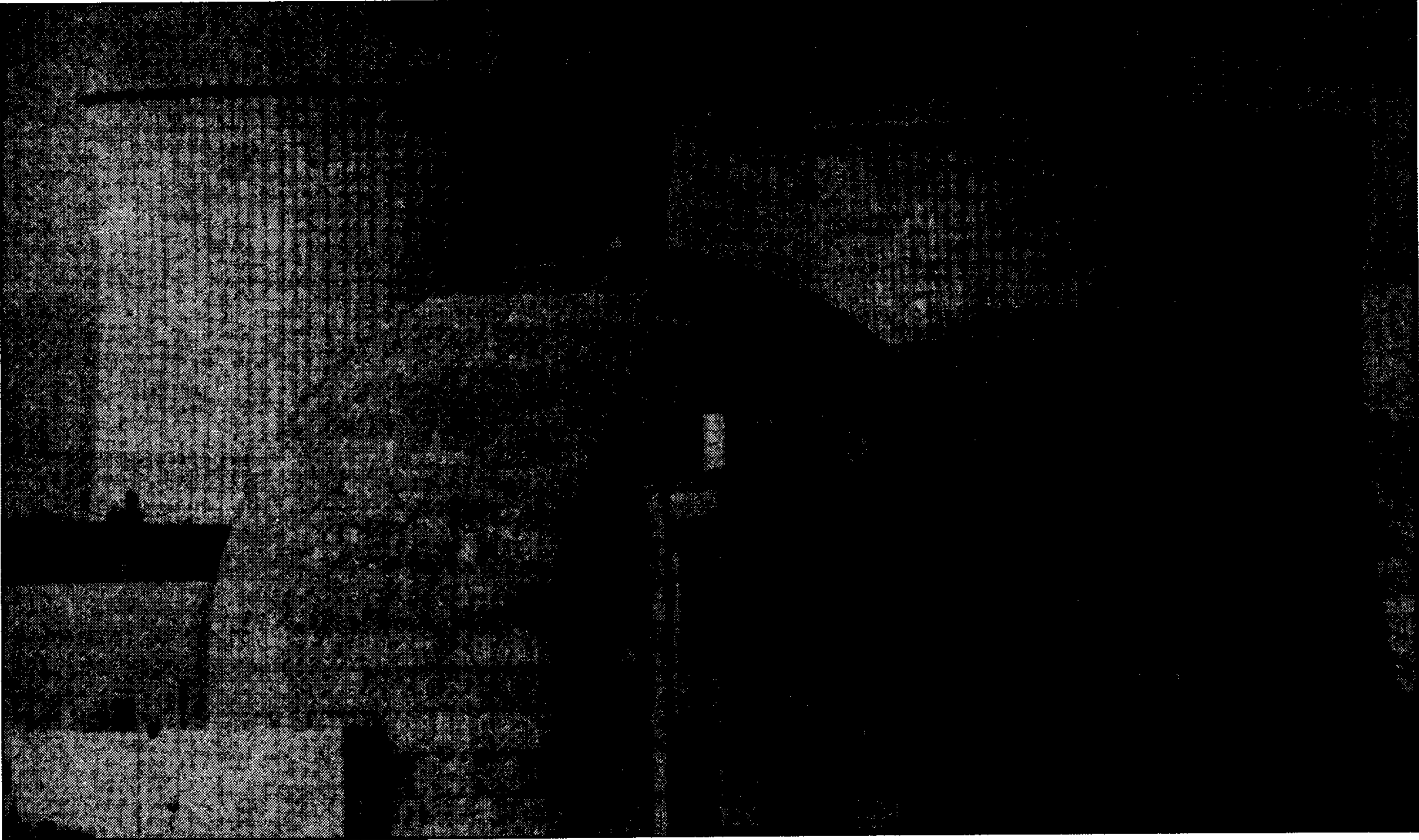
Moscow's limited criticisms of the "Euro" Communist Parties centres not in any way on the Popular Frontist policies of these parties but solely on Kremlin fears that the CPs have become more responsive to their "own" bourgeoisie than to Brezhnev and the Kremlin.

The period in which Moscow could manipulate the mass CPs of France, Italy and Spain at will in the interests of Stalinist world diplomacy seems at an end.

But for workers in turning from the class collaboration of these CPs to seek a solution in the "Moscow-line" alternative offers nothing but further confusion and Chile-style defeats.

## Independence

The answer to Carrillo, to Berlinguer or to Corvalan must be the fight in every country to construct Trotskyist revolutionary parties as part of a reconstructed Fourth International, to carry through a consistent struggle for the political independence of the working class.



Plutonium is first produced artificially in conventional thermal nuclear reactors, as a waste product.

Naturally occurring Uranium is used to fuel these thermal reactors, and contains two isotopes of Uranium U238 (97%-98%) and U235 (2%-3%).

U235 is the part which fissions, producing two fission products (which are anything resulting from dividing 235 roughly by two, e.g. Iodine 131 and Barium 107).

Every time the U235 splits it gives off about one and a half neutrons, which bombard the U238, and change its atomic structure, so that it becomes Plutonium 239.

Gradually, there is a build-up of Plutonium 239.

## Stored

Roughly, a 1,000 Megawatt power station will produce 250 kilograms of Plutonium 239 per annum, or about 1% of fuel put into it.

This Plutonium is associated with the fission products and unburnt Uranium, which are highly radioactive.

One of two things can be

done with these:

1. They can be stored. After a few years it will cease to be dangerously radioactive.

But it will be a constant worry to its owners, as it could fall into the hands of "terrorist" groups.

## Undesirable

However, storage is undesirable chiefly for environmentalist reasons.

The problem becomes one of limiting the number of dumps, rather than having one for every thermal reactor.

2. The waste can be used, after reprocessing, either for military purposes, or as fuel for fast reactors.

When this happens, the spent thermal reactor fuel is stored for 5-10 years, then sent to a reprocessing plant, where Plutonium, Uranium and remaining fission products are extracted and separated.

## Windscale

The Uranium is then recycled back into thermal reactors, and the Plutonium is stored at the reprocessing plant until it is required for use.

This is what will happen at Windscale. When the fast reactor building programme gets under way, then the Plutonium will go to be used immediately.

When used, the Plutonium is mixed with depleted Uranium and fabricated into fast reactor fuel which is then dispatched to the reactor.

During this process, which can take about three months, the Plutonium is not accompanied by radiation of any appreciable amount.

What must be understood is that the fast reactor incinerates Plutonium all the time that it is in operation.

## Reactor core

It also produces Plutonium, and it is possible to operate it so that it produces either slightly more or slightly less than it incinerates.

A fast reactor has a reactor core, in which the fuel is placed and, surrounding it, there is a blanket which can absorb the neutrons which escape from the core.

The fuel which is put into the core contains a percentage of Plutonium Oxide which is mixed with Uranium Oxide (typically 20% Plutonium Oxide and 80% Uranium Oxide).

During the course of the operation of the reactor the initial Plutonium is incinerated and some of the U238 is converted to Plutonium 239.

These two processes are roughly in balance and the operation of the reactor is "fine tuned" with the use of control rods.

The core of the fast reactor produces slightly less Plutonium than it incinerates.

At present, the blanket surrounding the core is made of U238, which in the course of operation of the reactor is converted to Plutonium 239.

## Control

Therefore when the blanket is removed it contains slightly more Plutonium than was put in.

In practice, the rate at which the blanket produces Plutonium exceeds the rate at which the core incinerates it.

After a suitable time, known as the "doubling time" enough Plutonium accumulates to "breed" another reactor.

In principle, one could control the composition of the blanket of the fast reactor so that overall it did not produce an excess of Plutonium.

But in practice, this option has not been seriously

considered because the nuclear industry has envisaged a period of expanding use of fast reactors.

## Analogy

Each new reactor would need Plutonium from an older one, but when the number of reactors stabilised, so also would the production of Plutonium.

Put simply, existing thermal reactors produce Plutonium, thereby increasing the amount of Plutonium in the world.

Fast reactors control the amount of Plutonium in the world—producing either more or less as required.

The fast reactor does not "breed" Plutonium in the uncontrolled way that rabbits breed.

The analogy is much more like the way humans breed in the full knowledge of birth control techniques.

If the fast reactor building programme were launched now, it would take about ten years to complete.

Each plant would take 30-40 years to wear out.

By then we will know whether it is possible to build nuclear fission reactors, using heavy hydrogen, rather than Plutonium or Uranium.

## Problems solved

In which case, as the fast reactors wear out, the fission reactors can be phased in.

Since heavy hydrogen can be got from sea water, this would solve our energy problems for the next few millennia.

The answer to the question of the disposal of nuclear waste products is related to an understanding of the nature of the "half life" of radioactive isotopes.

The more radioactive a compound is, the shorter the half-life, therefore the less of a long term problem it is.

The longer the half-life, the less radioactivity it emits.

The apparently terrifying half-life of Plutonium (approximately 12,800 years) is therefore seen to be the most harmless aspect of it.

## Long term sources

This problem also needs to be looked at in the context of the need to find long-term sources of energy and the alternatives that are available.

Fossil fuels cannot be a viable source of power for long, because there is only a finite amount of them, and that will

run out before very long.

While we have such resources we should put them to the best use we can, using them for manufacturing plastics, nylons and chemicals.

It would make more sense to use diamonds as fuel if they could burn, than to waste such valuable and limited resources as oil and coal by burning them up.

Also the pollution given off by fossil fuel power stations is a major environmental hazard.

In fact, a coal fired power station gives off over 10 times as much radioactive waste as the maximum permitted by a nuclear power station.

## "Idyllic"

If this country alone were to resort to wind-, wave- or solar-power it would require 12,000 miles of pontoons bobbing up and down around our coastline, one pylon with a propellor on the top of it every square mile and solar cells on top of every building.

One good storm and the whole country would come to a juddering halt.

"Alternative" sources of power should of course continue to be investigated, and their possibilities exploited.

Nevertheless, it would be quite impossible to maintain a fully industrialised society which was solely dependent on them.

Environmentalist groups, such as the 'Friends of the Earth' advocate the use of these sources, because they have no wish to preserve an industrialised society.

Seeing industrialisation simplistically as one of the evil products of capitalism, they would like to see us revert to an "idyllic" farming life, using minimum power and technology.

Such a viewpoint is ridiculous, but it is actually the only logical one to hold for the opponents of nuclear power.

## Workers state

It is the alternative we will face anyway without nuclear power.

The Marxist position must be that it is impossible to build socialism except in a situation where it is possible for there to be enough for everyone.

Technological development, arising originally from capitalist enterprise, but available to a future socialist society, makes it possible for this to be the case.

But only by the revolutionary takeover of these means of production by the proletariat does this actually come about.

Clearly nuclear power used by a capitalist state will only help to perpetuate capitalism.

But a workers state with a planned socialist economy will also need an energy source.

Surely it would be preferable if it could take over the existing power stations, rather than to have to enter upon a crash building programme of its own?

## ATOMIC STRUCTURE

Electrons orbit round the nucleus of the proton and sometimes the neutron. Neutrons have no charge, but have mass.

In the stable form of atom, the number of electrons orbiting matches the number of particles in the nucleus.

In an unstable atom the number of electrons exceeds the number of particles in the nucleus, therefore they "wobble".

They either emit radiation (eg. gamma-rays or X-rays) or they throw off particles. The most unstable atoms, eg. uranium and plutonium are very heavy and have masses of protons, neutrons and electrons.



Demonstrators protest against Windscale reprocessing plan.

PHOTO: Mark Rusher, IFL

# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

# Bosses' Echo

## Penistone strikers dig in

Pickets at the Hepworth Iron Company in Penistone Yorkshire, who walked out when management sacked 239 workers for attending a union meeting are clear that the issue involved is not simply one of defending jobs—management have offered to reinstate all the workers under certain “conditions”—but one of basic trade union principles.

The involvement of ACAS in the dispute has predictably resolved nothing.

### Barred

An agreement was made with management and trade union officials which was rejected by the men.

Management have insisted that four stewards be barred from holding union office at the plant.

The only change in this position is the reduction in the number of stewards being openly victimised.

The immediate result of this announcement was for the strike committee to

suggest holding fresh elections and taking it from there. Management refused.

The local TGWU official made it clear whose side he was on when as a means of ending the strike he asked the convenor not to put himself forward for re-election—a position which the strike committee refused to accept.

### Unilateral decision

Today, further implications are made clear, with the announcement of a unilateral decision by management to end the closed shop agreement with the TGWU.

This has only fuelled the determination of the strikers.

As a result of the failure of the ACAS talks and management's refusal to talk to national officer Brian Cox, the dispute it to be stepped up.

Delegations from the strike committee are to go to Hepworth works near Burton-on-Trent and Nottingham to call for supporting action.

It is hoped that strike action will be called for in 128 Hepworth plants and depots and that blacking of the products, which consist

mainly of ceramic pipes, is stepped up.

While fighting themselves for this perspective, it is essential that the strikers demand that their local and national officials call the supporting strike action.

It is also important that the £6 strike pay be supplemented by raising a levy on all TGWU members in the region.

The perimeter of the factory to be picketed is about four miles and delegations from union branches to reinforce the picket will be welcomed.

At the moment, scab labour is running parts of the plant and TGWU members are in some cases driving lorries through the picket line.

Message of support and financial donations should be sent to: Brother Terry Wright, Martin Nest Farm, Lower Common, Hepworth, Holmfirth, HD7 1TN.

After being on strike for nearly a month at Vauxhall's car factory on Merseyside it must have come as something of a delightful surprise to more than one of the 10,000 carworkers to learn in the *Liverpool Echo* that this year is the 'Diamond Jubilee' of Vauxhall Motors Ltd. (subsidiary of General Motors).

A full page article surrounded by lots of juicy advertisements from the local Vauxhall agents presented a glowing account of the firm, past and present.

### Whitewash

A more nauseating sycophantic whitewash of the company's grubby and sordid history was not even to be found in the company's public relations rag, the *Mersey Mirror*.

There was, however, one priceless piece of information in the midst of all the garbage which must have tickled not a few carworkers.

It was the story of how Vauxhall got its name.

The origin, apparently, was with an adventurous Norman mercenary soldier of humble birth, known as 'Fulk le Breant' who was

made Sheriff of Oxford and Hertford and granted the manor of Luton for his services to King John.

### Griffin

After marrying a well to do lady and acquiring a house in London on the south bank which our restless gay dog "sometimes occupied" he took as his emblem the Griffin—a mythical half lion, half eagle.

The site of the house came to be known as "Fulk's Hall", then this was later altered to "Fawke's Hall" and eventually to "Vauxhall".

The Vauxhall Iron Works Company, formed in 1857, took the Griffin as its own badge and when the company moved its new car-making operation to Luton in 1905 it was built on the site of "Fulk le Breant's" spoils of war!

Fulk le Breant eventually fell from grace and died a poor exile in his native Normandy sometime after King John's death in 1216.

### Brighter future

But before any tears are shed we are informed that Vauxhall Motors, however, can look forward to a much brighter future and the article goes on to catalogue all the company's recent achievements.

This must have been heartening news to the 100 drivers who are presently at the centre of the dispute over a tonnage allowance and who like the rest of the TGWU membership at Vauxhall's are having to sit out their summer vacation on the picket line at the gates of the plant.

### Mercenary

They must have been equally grateful to the *Echo* for reminding them of the feudal and mercenary origin of Vauxhall Motors Ltd.

But the carworkers at Vauxhall's need no such reminder from the likes of the *Liverpool Echo* that Vauxhall Motors was and is a band of thieves and robbers living off the spoils of war.

### Strikers

The same feudal and mercenary mentality has always pervaded the Vauxhall (not to mention the General Motors) management's thinking and is guiding their every word and deed even now in this dispute, as the striking carworkers will doubtless vouch for.

Fulk le Breant may well have died a poor man in Normandy in 1216, but his fat and wealthy spirit is alive and well and living in Ellesmere Port!

## EAST END STRIKE VICTORY

About 100 workers at the Usher-Walker factory in Stratford, East London, have completed a successful week long strike in defence of Trade Union principle.

The dispute began when management attempted to suspend Brother T. Barrett

for one day.

Barrett, deputy Father of the NATSOPA chapel had refused to allow his men to work in dirty conditions with inadequate toilet facilities.

He had rejected management attempts to make shop floor workers (who make printing inks used by several Fleet Street news-

papers) take responsibility for cleaning out toilets.

Despite absence of leadership from full time NATSOPA officials, management were forced to concede this demand.

The *Sunday Times* was threatened if printing inks from the firm did not arrive.

This strike shows the possibility of improving

conditions in the many firms linked to the newspaper industry, which would never be tolerated for a moment by the highly organised workers on Fleet Street itself.

# WSL

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to construct a principled revolutionary leadership in the working class in Britain and internationally and for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International on the basis of the Transitional Programme.

The WSL fights at every step against the existing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party, whose reformist politics offer no independent programme or way forward for the working class in its struggles.

Against their policies of class collaboration we put forward instead a programme which points to the independent class interests of the working class, its need to organise independently to overthrow capitalism, destroy its repressive state machinery and establish a socialist planned economy.

Only in this way can workers resolve today's problems of tumbling living standards, mass unemployment, slashed social services, racial, national and sexual oppression.

For more details on the WSL and its work, fill in the form below.

Name.....

Address.....

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# New support for Garners strikers

Further evidence of the threat of a sell-out has emerged this week in the Garners Steak House recognition strike.

TGWU Catering Officer George Abrahams is reported in the *Catering Times* of 3 August as being willing to drop the demand for union recognition in return for the reinstatement of the strikers and for a ballot of scabs and strikers.

This echoes the call put out by employer's stooge Bernard Henderson in the previous issue of the same paper.

It is clearly no coincidence. Who can deny that secret talks have taken place to try to get an end to the strike?

This desperation reflects the weakness of the TGWU bureaucracy and of the employer, not the strikers.

Important support has recently been gained. The members of NATKE in the National Theatre blacked those Garners suppliers who also supply the Theatre restaurant.

This action has scared the bread company Panaficio and Schweppes into stopping all deliveries to Garners.

But the TGWU is organised in many bigger places than the National Theatre—Heathrow Airport for example, and has taken no action against Schweppes or other Garners suppliers.

Courtney Wine and Coca Cola are still delivering to Garners, and could clearly be stopped by secondary blacking organised through TGWU Region 1.

Regional Committee members were given a rude reminder last week that the strike won't go away, when they were lobbied by strikers and TGWU members from Heathrow, Thorns and Central London ACTSS.

A stormy 2-hour debate took place, and delegations from the Regional Committee were to be seen on the picket lines twice last week!

We await the outcome of their promises to mobilise their 500,000 members.

Strikers continue to receive a good response from TGWU

members in the branches they have visited.

All that is lacking to win this strike is the will of the Regional leadership.

The only concrete suggestion from the Regional Committee was that the Finance and General Purposes Committee study the strikers' accounts and

possibly give another miserable £10 hand-out.

Meanwhile, CPSA members at Catering Jobs Centre are still refusing to service Garners and John Grant MP, Under Secretary of State for Employment has said that Garners will not receive any more new work permits until the strike is settled.

## Power closes Trades Council

The monthly meeting of the Oxford Trades Council was closed down by the right wing President, John Power, last Friday, after he had refused to allow an amendment to the minutes of the previous meeting.

The minute concerned the Cowley 9. It followed the July meeting at which the Trades Council had received a letter from the NUT asking for those charges levelled by Trades Council officers against Alan Thornett which implicated the NUT to be dropped, on the basis of their inaccuracy.

### Out of order

When it was moved from the floor that the letter be accepted, Power ruled the motion out of order.

He then accepted a motion for "next business" which was carried by a small majority.

When the minutes of these events were circulated delegates were amazed to read that the meeting had "agreed" that the NUT letter was "an incorrect assessment".

When deletion of this section was moved at the August meeting, Power refused to accept the amendment.

When he was eventually forced to put the minutes to the vote "as a true record" this was defeated.

Power then closed the meeting down.

Power's move is closely connected with the internal TGWU disciplinary inquiry against the Cowley 9.

Although the TGWU Regional Committee has now put the ball back in the court of the Oxford District Committee, the door is still firmly open for TGWU bureaucrats to move against the nine should the necessary conditions arise.

Power saw it as crucial that anything which vindicates Alan Thornett or any of the other 8 had to be squashed at any cost.

As a result the Trades Council failed to discuss urgent action to continue the Oxford Nursery Campaign, or details of a public meeting in defence of Aubrey, Barry and Campbell which the Trades Council had voted at its previous meeting to co-sponsor with the local NUJ branch.

## London docks jobs still threatened

The pre-election government decision to provide £45 million to postpone the closure of London's Upper Docks offers no security to any dockworker.

Indeed, it is tied in completely with a union promise of cooperation in an urgent examination of manning levels, working practices and productivity.

The Port of London Authority has already announced its view that 2,000 jobs are surplus to

requirements whether or not the Royal Docks are closed.

And the government aid will be provided only on condition that a satisfactory level of speed-up and sackings is achieved by union bureaucrats and management.

The fight to open the books of the Port employers nationally to elected trade union committees and for nationalisation without compensation to defend all jobs must be taken up at once and backed by all necessary action by the dock unions.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

As we go to press, Post Office Engineering Union leaders have rejected the "compromise" settlement offered in the union's struggle for a 35-hour week. The "compromise", hatched by the McCarthy mediation report, offered only a two-stage reduction from 40 to 37½ hours a week, linked to increased flexibility. Meanwhile the work-to-rule action now underway has begun to hit postal machinery as well as telephone equipment.

## SHIPREPAIRERS MARCH

Over 200 workers marched behind the Western Shiprepairers banner last Saturday, in a campaign to save 650 jobs and nationalise the yard.

This followed a demonstration the previous week outside Birkenhead town hall where Government Minister Edmund Dell, MP for a local constituency, was holding a "surgery".

Dell had told the workers to "be gentlemen and go away and find another job"! But instead of campaigning for Dell's expulsion from the party the leaflet put out by the 'Militant' Group called on the workers to join the Labour Party and "force Dell to fight"!

### Lack of action

Labour 'left' MP Eddie Loyden, in his speech at the beginning of the march tried to justify his lack of action by claiming that the House of Lords had excluded ship-repairing from the Act to nationalise the shipbuilding industry.

There is no possibility of winning this fight to save jobs by the kind of policies advocated by Loyden and

the 'Militant' Group—seeking to persuade right wing MPs like Dell to fight inside the Labour Party to change the government's attitude.

Instead the independent action of the workers themselves must be mobilised by calling for an occupation of the yard to stop the machinery from being moved out and to stop management scabs from carrying out maintenance.

This action must be extended to the other places where the workers are faced with redundancies and the struggle must be to unite all

these forces in the fight against unemployment.

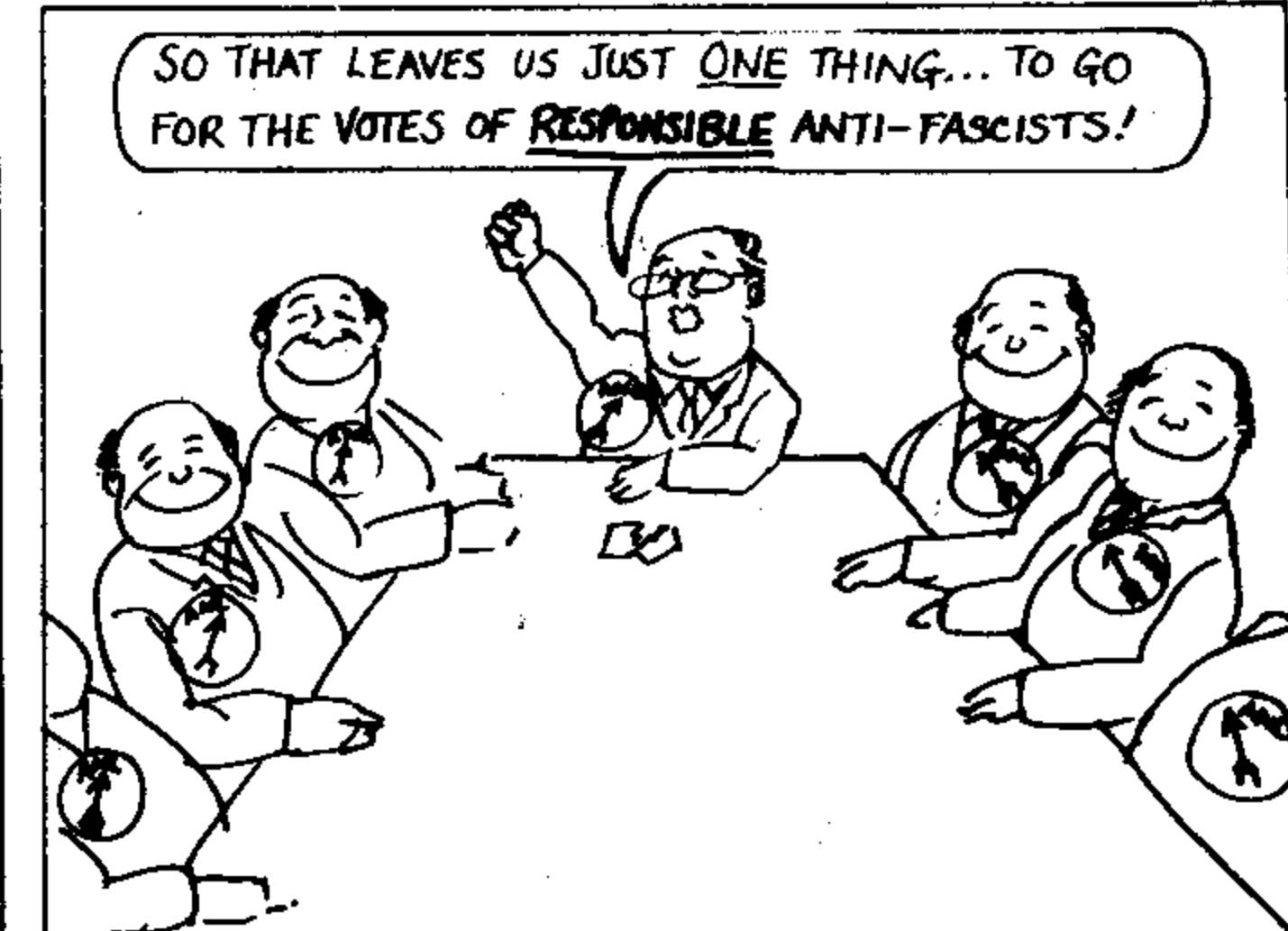
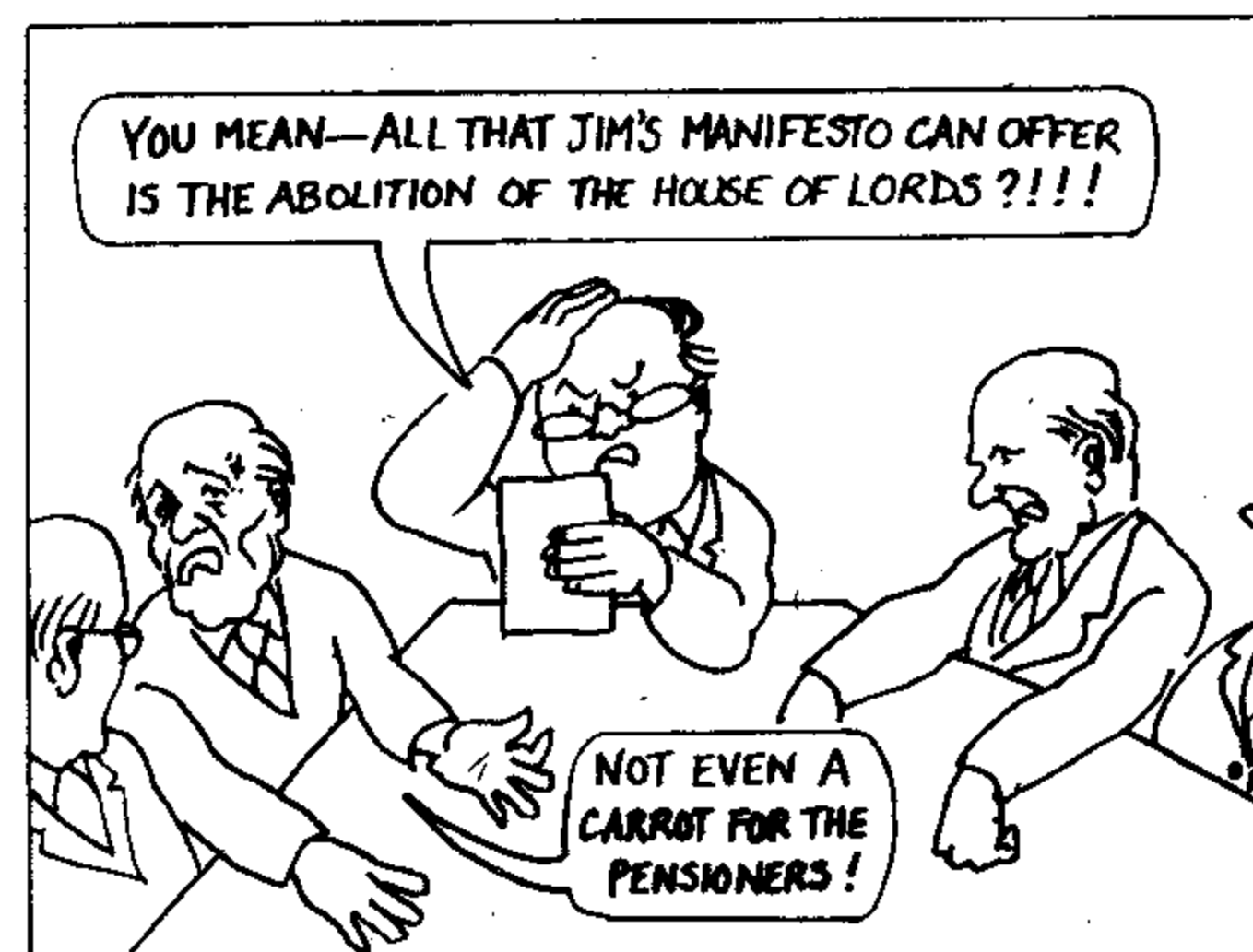
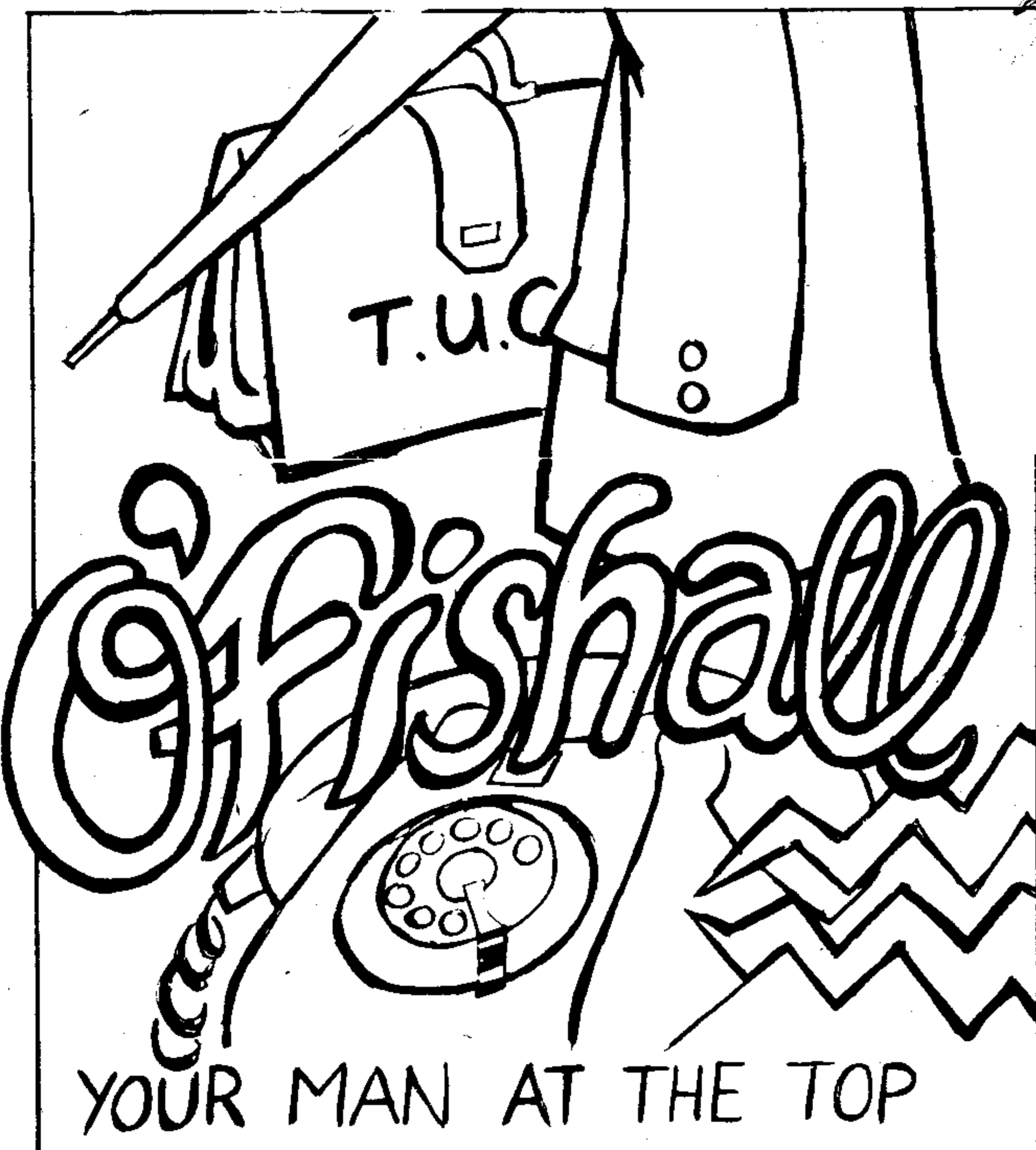
The demand for the opening of the books of the Laird Group by an elected committee of workers is central to this strategy as a part of the development of workers' control and then management of the firm as a nationalised enterprise.

"Left" MPs like Loyden must be called upon to fight on such policies and to fight to expel the Callaghans, Healeys, and Dells from the Labour Party.

If they refuse to do so, then they, too, must be removed and replaced.



Western Shiprepairers demonstration



# SOCIALIST PRESS



## Eritrea faces Ethiopian invasion

# McNee calls for police state powers

Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir David McNee has a free hand to step up harassment and intimidation in the London area, according to Home Secretary Merlyn Rees.

Speaking in Parliament last week, Rees declared that McNee "can count on my support for whatever he does in this city".

The matter had been raised as a result of a 166-page written submission by McNee last week to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, in which he admitted that current police practices involve numerous breaches of the existing law.

Rees consciously ignored this revelation, and simply said that McNee's document contains "some interesting ideas".

Among these "interesting ideas" were calls for sweeping new police powers that would make the British police the envy of state forces in almost any western democracy:

- \*the power to hold "suspects" for 72 hours before charging them or bringing them to court.

- \*the power to oblige "suspects" to answer police questions by allowing courts to draw inferences from a decision to remain silent.

- \*compulsory fingerprinting of the whole area in which a

- crime has been committed.
- \*further extension of the police right to search "suspects"
- \*power to set up roadblocks at the discretion of senior police officers, for the discovery or prevention of crime.

- \*more power to use "necessary force" in legal searches.

McNee's admission that the police frequently ignore existing legal restrictions on such activities comes as no surprise to countless workers and youth who over recent years have suffered harassment at their hands.

### Democratic rights

The fact that Labour Home Secretary Rees is ready and willing to consider McNee's latest suggestions is consistent with the Labour leader's proven readiness to attack democratic rights in defence of British capitalism.

Whether it be the legislation of the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, the perpetuation of racist immigration laws, the use of the specially-trained Special Patrol Group anti-picket squad against strikers at Grunwick and elsewhere, the bans on the right to demonstrate imposed by Rees under the pretence of restricting the National Front, or the upholding of the Official Secrets Act, Labour leaders have at each point allied with the capitalist

state machinery against the working class.

Even now, while imposing a vicious 5% Phase 4 pay limit, the Callaghan-Healey government is planning to increase police pay by an astonishing 40%!

But McNee's open statement also spotlights the criminal confusion peddled by Anti Nazi League leaders and the Communist Party, who seek or support police action against the National Front, in the belief that this could protect the workers' movement.

No one could doubt that among the first victims of McNee's new extended powers would be the black workers, demonstrators and pickets who at present suffer the brunt of police harassment.

Yet in the wake of the bombing of the *Morning Star* last week, Stalinist Chris Myant put forward the call for "a special police squad to track down the perpetrators of the attacks".

### Repression

The task confronting the labour movement is not to strengthen but to *disband* the police force which is simply a part of the repressive machinery that props up British capitalist rule.

This involves a struggle for the removal of class traitors



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Merlyn Rees

such as Merlyn Rees and the Callaghan-Healey cabinet, and the struggle for a revolutionary leadership within the workers' movement that spells out the

need to *destroy* and not reform the capitalist state as the essential part of the struggle for socialism.

The peasant armies of the Ethiopian military dictatorship have extended their invasion of Eritrea.

Their attacks have so far been concentrated against the areas held by the Eritrean Liberation Front, which has suffered major reversals.

ELF forces are now reported to have regrouped in the rural areas which they still control so as to continue guerrilla warfare against the occupation army.

These advances have made it possible for the Ethiopian armies to launch frontal attacks against the positions held by the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front.

The EPLF now faces the threat of total encirclement, but claims to have resisted the Ethiopian offensive so far.

### Withdrawn

But EPLF forces have withdrawn from the strategic town of Dekamhare, and from those sections of the major port of Massawa which they had captured, arguing that these ominous moves were necessary to organise stronger defensive lines and represent a purely tactical retreat.

After these initial successes, the Ethiopian army will undoubtedly encounter fiercer resistance as it attempts to penetrate deeper into the strongholds which have been held for some years.

But this is far from the only problem confronting the Ethiopian offensive. The turbulence within Ethiopia itself has already placed Mengistu's regime in a precarious position, and now the resurgence of war in the Ogaden has struck a further blow at the dictatorship.

Guerrillas from the West Somali Liberation Front last week attacked Gode—a base of crucial strategic significance for control of the Ogaden. They claim to have wrecked water and power supplies, and left the town burning.

# Crucial point in fight to save E. London hospital

Only strike action by workers in London hospitals can reopen the accident and emergency department at Bethnal Green hospital and prevent the Health Authority going through with their plans to turn the hospital into a small geriatric unit.

Bethnal Green is the first

occupation of a fully functioning casualty department.

There was strike action in 10 East London hospitals on July 1 in support of the decision to keep the casualty department open despite the Health Authority's plans to close it.

This hospital is in an area of London where there is already a severe shortage of Accident and Emergency facilities, and the decision to keep the casualty open had widespread support amongst health workers and the local community.

### Defying authority

Ambulance drivers supported the occupation by continuing to bring patients into the casualty, defying the authority's instructions.

On 1 August, the occupation suffered a severe setback when the hospital secretary ordered the nurses out of casualty, informing them that they were no longer covered by insurance to treat patients there.

He then proceeded to stick hand-written notices around the hospital entrance saying the casualty was now closed, and an ambulance crew who brought in a cardiac case later in the morning was turned away, seriously endangering the life of the patient—even though all the necessary equipment was avail-

able in casualty.

One serious weakness of the defence campaign has been its failure to recognise the central importance of the fight for the accident and emergency department at Bethnal Green to the whole movement in London and to turn the struggle towards the shop stewards' movement.

The imminent closure was not given sufficient publicity throughout the health service shop stewards' movement. Also, the role of the trade union leadership in betraying the fight against hospital closures, prevented any large-scale mobilisations on 1 August.

### Second class stamp!

A letter sent out by the South East Region of the TUC calling for general action throughout the region in defence of Bethnal Green on 1 August actually reached one East London hospital on 2 August, carrying a second class stamp!

The result of this treachery was that only one union branch—the Tower Hamlets NUPE

dustmen—went on strike on 1 August in defence of the hospital, despite the fact that several local hospitals were willing to take action if any lead had been shown.

This setback in the campaign must be countered by immediate moves to organise London-wide strike action to reopen the casualty and prevent any further rundown of the hospital—such as the threatened closure of the operating theatres.

Bethnal Green stewards have agreed to call for the next meeting of Tower Hamlets JSSC to be turned into a conference of all London health service stewards.

It will be held at the London Hospital on August 17.

It is vital that this conference takes the initiative in organising action, and the demand must be made that the trade union leadership give full and official backing to this action.

The fight to reopen Bethnal Green Casualty must be made the central focus of the fight against hospital closures in London.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

## Trotskyism Today

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## FUND

The August Monthly Fund has got off to a good start with £133.15 in at the end of the first week.

But there can be no room for complacency in this month when holidays place big demands on the pay packets of our readers and supporters.

This momentum must be kept up if we are to make the £600 target by the end of the month.

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