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MAY DAY GREETINGS

The Editorial Board extends May Day Greetings to all readers and supporters of Socialist Press

and to all those workers and peasants engaged in the international struggle against imperialism. Forward to the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International!

Lib-Lab ban hits Mayday march

Workers' traditional May Day demonstration in Leeds will be banned this year, along with any other march by workers or trade unionists until May 7.

This fresh attack on the democratic right to demonstrate freely—a right fought for in generations of bitter struggle by the workers' movement—yet again takes place under the pretext of curbing the fascists.

Warning

Just as in Ilford—where the decision of the National Front to hold a march and the certainty of a massive turn out of workers to drive them off the streets led to a two month all-London ban on demonstrations by Lib-Lab Home Secretary Merlyn Rees—the Leeds crackdown must be recognised as a stark warning to the labour movement.

To call on the forces of the state to ban the NF fascists, or to welcome such bans (as did leading spokesmen of the Anti Nazi League in Ilford), is a suicidal policy that could quickly lead to a complete ban on workers democratic right to march!

But the Anti Nazi League, which has set out to draw together personalities from the worlds of politics, the church, sport, entertainment and the arts in order simply to propagandise against the National Front is incapable of seeing this danger.

Set aside

Busy ensuring that they do not offend any of their famous sponsors, the ANL organisers have set aside the only policy that can ensure the fascists are driven from the streets—the mass mobilisation of workers in independent struggle and the organisation of workers defence squads against the attacks of NF thugs.

Everyone knows that no amount of union bureaucrats, bishops or politicians will stop NF hoodlums beating up black

youth and workers.

Nor will the police who eagerly rush to defend the NF from anti-fascists. In Leeds last Saturday 1,000 police cordoned off an entire area of the town to protect a meeting of 57 fascists from a crowd of 600 demonstrators!

Silent

But Anti Nazi League spokesmen have remained tactfully silent on the Leeds ban—which flows from the very policies they advocate.

And the heavy representation of anti-socialist forces within the ANL has rendered it incapable of offering a socialist answer to the material problems of unemployment, falling living standards and social service cuts that provide the breeding ground for fascism among demoralised and backward elements of workers and the middle class.

The ANL cannot even call for the breaking of the anti-socialist Lib-Lab coalition that is masterminding these attacks on workers, since leading Liberal Lord Avebury and others are among its sponsors!

Joint action

The Workers Socialist League does not reject the broadest possible joint action against fascism.

But we insist that such joint action must be designed to strengthen and broaden the independent action of the working class—and not head off and divert workers into dangerous illusions that propagandise against the Nazis' and reliance on police bans can defeat the National Front.

This means an all out fight to:
*Defend democratic rights! No to police bans. Workers must drive the NF from the streets.

*Defeat fascist attacks! Workers Defence squads to confront NF thugs.

*Break the Lib-Lab coalition! Socialist policies to defend jobs, wages and the social services.

END STATE SECRETS

Defend democratic rights!

Two journalists and an ex-soldier stand to suffer 14-year jail sentences as victims of the determination of top police and military officials to preserve the Official Secrets Act.

This fact, which could well be forgotten in last week's furore over the naming of the now legendary "Colonel B" is a symptom of the continual attack on democratic rights being carried out under Labour ministers who have willingly come forward as a respectable "front" for the forces of the state.

Immigration laws, the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism Act", wholesale bans on the right to demonstrate, and the deportation last year of journalists Phillip Agee and Mark Hosenball are just some of the more open recent examples of the way the Labour leaders have strengthened the powers of the capitalist state and attacked basic rights.

The Labour Party is nominally pledged to repeal the Official Secrets Act, and to replace it with a measure "to put the burden on the public authorities to justify withholding information".

But the proposals to be published shortly by the Lib-Lab government seek only to revise Section 2 of the Act—which at present makes it illegal to communicate or receive any official information—no matter how innocent—whose disclosure has not been authorised.

"Enemy"

Section 1—the so-called "spying clause" is to be left intact.

This lays down that it is an offence to receive or communicate any information that might be 'directly or indirectly useful to an enemy'.

It carries a penalty of 14 years imprisonment. And it is the law now levelled against journalists Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell, and ex-soldier John Berry.

Section 1 is seen as essential protection by the top officials of the armed bodies of men through which British capitalism maintains its rule over the working class.

And at a time when the Tory Party is analysing anew the balance of forces that led to the defeat of the Heath government by the miners in 1974 and weighing the prospects of using the army to smash a comparable strike wave today, the employers and the state apparatus share an interest in suppressing information on the working of surveillance agencies.

Crack whip

Because of this, the intelligence forces took the decision, in the wake of the struggle on the deportation of ex-CIA agent Phillip Agee, to crack the whip of the Official Secrets Act.

Through phone tapping and clandestine surveillance of supporters of the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee by MI5, it was arranged to watch the meeting between Aubrey, Berry and Campbell which took place

early last year.

The three were arrested, and charged under both Section 2 and Section 1 of the Official Secrets Act.

Surveillance

The dreaded "Colonel B" was the "expert witness" produced by the prosecution. He had been head of the top secret surveillance



network known as SIGINT—which collates material from spy satellites, ground aeriels, spy planes, listening posts, and diplomatic, military and business communications systems.

He refused to confirm or deny whether the discussion between Aubrey, Berry and Campbell had actually involved disclosure of secret information—leaving the possibility that all three go to jail for a completely innocent discussion!

And to impede anyone who wished to challenge his right to give such "evidence" the Colonel was allowed to give evidence anonymously.

Facts revealed

When *Peace News* and the *Leveller* magazine put together

the facts that were revealed about the Colonel in open court and identified him as Colonel Hugh A. Johnstone, they were subjected to a High Court action at the hands of Labour Attorney General Sam Silkin, in order to silence them.

When the NUJ paper the *Journalist* came to their defence, it too was attacked through High Court action.

When MPs last week raised a feeble protest at this censorship they were met by attempts by the Speaker of the House and the Director of Public Prosecutions to silence them and to restrict the freedom of the press to report Parliamentary proceedings.

Apparatus

What is at stake for British capitalism is far more than the naming of one former intelligence officer: it is the preservation of the whole apparatus of law which protects the armed force of the state.

To sweep aside that law, to unveil the squalid "secrets" and the huge network of undercover surveillance is the task of the organised workers movement.

This means that the Lib-Lab coalition must be decisively broken, and a leadership constructed within the labour movement that will see as its task not the preservation of the capitalist state apparatus but its exposure and its destruction.

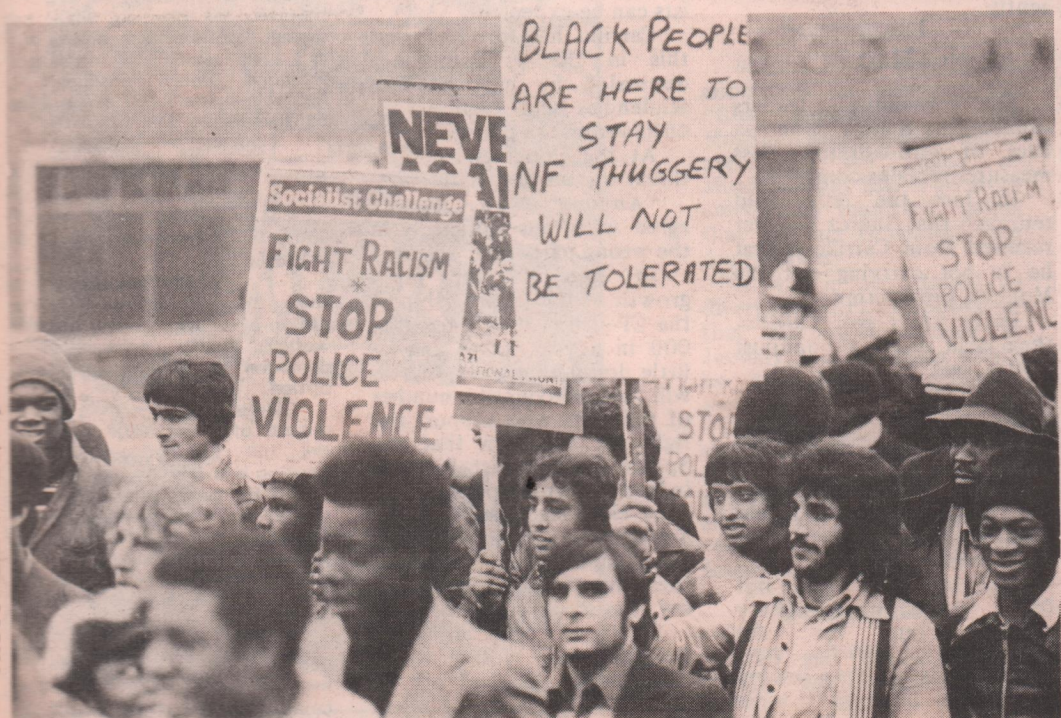
Trade unions

The defence of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell, and the fight for an end to the entire Official Secrets Act must now be taken into the widest possible layers of the Labour and trade union movement.

Already the NUJ conference has voted to prepare for one day strike action on the day of the court hearings. This must be developed further.

Until this is done all the Colonels from A to Z will continue laughing all the way to their decoders.

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Anti Nazi League demonstrators



Carrillo in the Cortes

Spanish CP Congress -in time to halt the split?

The Spanish Communist Party has just held its first legal Congress since 1932.

For the Carrillo leadership, the only leadership of any major Spanish political party today to have been politically active in the Civil War, the Congress came just in time.

In time, that is, to prevent the wave of opposition within the party from developing out of control.

Already, however, the discussion leading up to the Congress has been marked by some body blows to the leadership.

In Catalonia the leadership lost its bid to get a majority in the Central Committee for the deletion of the description "Leninist" from the party statutes.

Reinstalled

The main pro-Carrillo leaders in Catalonia resigned after the defeat and were only reinstated after some panic-stricken manoeuvrings by Carrillo who managed to restore his majority in the local Catalan Congress.

In Asturias, leading CP members, opposing Carrillo walked out of their local congress and have publicly criticised the leadership and demanded the replacement of party President Dolores Ibarruri (La Passionaria) as their member of parliament.

In nearly every other provincial pre-congress meeting the party bureaucrats encountered sharp hostility not only from pro-Moscow sections of the party but also from rank and file opponents of the party's class collaborationist policies which are symbolised in the renunciation of "Leninism".

In comparison with all this, the four-day Congress was a peaceful affair.

Filtered out

Opposition had largely been filtered out in the process of selecting the 1500 delegates.

Even so about a quarter of the delegates voted against the leadership.

The ceremonial burial of Leninism was just one part of a long display of loyalty to the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Not only were other workers parties present as guest observers at the Congress but so were Spain's bourgeois parties including the ruling Francoists of Premier Suarez' Union of the Democratic Centre and the ultra-right Francoists of Manuel Fraga's Popular Alliance.

Oppressors

It is to reassure these butchers and oppressors of the working class that the



CP leaders have gone to such lengths to make it clear that, although they may be "revolutionary", they can be counted on to stand firmly in the path of any move towards revolution.

The Spanish CP still claims to be "Marxist" and "revolutionary". It is both these things to exactly the same degree as in the last forty-five years it has been Leninist—that is, in no way at all.

One of the main objectives of the Congress was the approval of the Central Committee's report.

Outspoken

Even from the hand-picked delegates there was some questioning of the slavishly collaborationist tone and content of this document.

In particular, in some of the closed commissions of the Congress, it is reported that delegates questioned the adulatory tone of remarks about the Francoist Premier, Adolfo Suarez, of whom Carrillo has always been the most outspoken supporter.

The party leaders responded to such doubts by arguing that the party had to

abandon the mystique that everything was gained by mobilisations in the street and recognise that the CP owed its legalisation to the fact that the "civilised right" (Suarez) had acted intelligently.

Not Marxist

The Stalinist leaders support for Suarez' Moncloa Pact of anti-working class measures remains complete.

In fact the only mild reproach that Suarez has ever received from Carrillo is that he is not carrying out the Moncloa programme.

Forty years ago, Carrillo, then head of the Communist Youth, said:

"We are not Marxist youth; we fight for a democratic, parliamentary republic".

Today it is "Leninism" not "Marxism" which Carrillo feels gives most offence to the bourgeoisie.

And today he fights not for the parliamentary republic but for the monarchy whose flag flew obscenely over the CP Congress.

Now the Congress is over,

Racing against revolution

The two most energetic ambassadors of imperialism have just completed another gruelling lap in their desperate race against time and revolution.

But for Cyrus Vance and David Owen there can be no resting yet from their arduous and dedicated labours.

Foreign ministers from France, Canada and West Germany have converged on London to review the next stage of the course, and inspect the hurdles faced by their chosen delegates to southern Africa.

In their missionary exercise, the athletic apostles of counter-revolution have undertaken the errand of snatching Zimbabwe and Namibia from the brink of revolutionary war.

The new imperialist gospel of 'peaceful settlement' has not altogether fallen on stony ground.

The leaders of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front have listened attentively to these soothing promises, while keeping a watchful eye on the movement of the masses which they claim to lead.

The racist oppressors of the South African and Rhodesian

regimes have been no less comforted.

Already such 'implacable' opponents of imperialism as Nkomo and Mugabe have subtly indicated their willingness to be converted by the same spirit of brotherly love.

By muttering statements about 'Marxism', Mugabe can shuffle to gain an edge of support over Nkomo within the Patriotic Front.

But the reviving confidence of imperialism's agents has shown that major concessions have been made in the recent talks.

The South African administration has moved to impose 'emergency security powers' upon Namibia, while Owen now feels able to threaten the Patriotic Front with political isolation if it does not cooperate fully in the 'solution' he is advancing.

The messengers of imperialism fervently hope that they are the heralds of defeat for the black African masses.

Their proposals must be decisively rejected now, along with all those 'leaders' who flirt with such attempts to surrender the liberation struggles to the eager grasp of international capitalism.

CARRILLO: 'not Stalinist, not social democrat'

Carrillo began by hailing the historic character of the first Congress held in legality for over 40 years.

He condemned the pact between the Socialist Party (PSOE) and the German Social Democrats to put pressure on Suarez to prevent the legalisation

of the CP a year ago. He claimed that the change from dictatorship to democracy without the intervention of foreign armies or armed clashes arises certainly from the struggle of 1936-9.

"Without that then what is happening now would have been inconceivable".

He did, however, complain that:

"... the political remains of the dictatorship are moving around too easily".

"We cannot expect that what we call in our terminology the revolutionary crisis will take on the classic forms which we have known in other periods and other countries; we cannot assimilate the notion of revolutionary crisis to insurrectional crisis".

"The oligarchy at the moment does not view the process of change with the same calmness as it did a bit more than a year ago; it begins to show signs of worry and disquiet".

If the monarchy continues to play a positive political role in the change, if it respects the people's will and scrupulously follows the Constitution once it is passed, the question of the form of government will lose the dramatic and conflictive character it had at other times in the history of Spain when those things were not fulfilled".

"... our perspective is not to diverge from but converge with the PSOE in a unitary policy".

Carrillo accused the PSOE, however, of creating panic by saying that the forthcoming but as yet undated municipal elections would produce "a radical switch in the balance of political forces".

Hypocritical

To those who argue that an authentic "Eurocommunism" was impossible:

"... we are going to show them they are wrong—that the option of a revolutionary Marxist workers' party, neither social democrat nor Stalinist, is a real option."

Carrillo ended with a hypocritical offer to resign made in the full knowledge that his position is absolutely secure:

"If the party thinks that this role of Secretary General should fall on someone else then with my party card in my pocket I will go back to the rank and file as one more militant in the cause of socialism and communism".

But the conference delegates decided Carrillo's role as one more prop for Spanish capitalism could be better acted out in the leadership than in the ranks of the Spanish Stalinist party.



La Passionaria



INTERNATIONAL

Defend Eritrean liberation fighters!

We print below the text of a statement issued by Nafi H. Kurdi, the representative of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front in France, and published in *Le Monde* on April 14.

The statement clearly reveals weaknesses in the political positions of the EPLF—in particular their critical failure to analyse Stalinism.

But we feel that it is

important to publish for our readers this principled call for international proletarian solidarity with the struggles of the Eritrean revolution against the differing attacks of both imperialism and Stalinism.

The Ethiopian Derg has launched the invasion of Eritrea which has long been in preparation.

It will be without doubt one of the bloodiest operations Africa has experienced.

Even now, Ethiopian aircraft are bombing the villages around Asmara and troops, equipped with ultra-modern heavy armaments, are massing in the Tigre-Asmara-Massawa triangle.

Bloodbath

After the checking of the 1975 offensive—during which the military cooperation between the Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Liberation Front (ELF) succeeded in liberating almost the whole of the country of Eritrea—the Derg tried again in 1976 and 1977 to create a bloodbath by throwing the 'red march' against the liberated zones.



Castro

But our fighters, firmly linked with the masses, routed the tens of thousands of peasants and unemployed workers (mostly enlisted by force) which it threw into the frontline of its attack.

Today the EPLF holds 6,500 Ethiopians prisoner,

and treats them in a humane and fraternal way.

While clinging to the expansionist tradition of Haile Selassie and chasing the same dream as the Negus, the new head of the Empire (now rebaptised 'socialist republic') continues to try and justify his colonial policies by resurrecting the argument that 'Eritrea does not exist' but that 'in this administrative area there are quite distinct nationalities to whom we will grant autonomy'.

Dismember

If it cannot defeat our revolution, the Derg aims to dismember our country and to maintain access to the sea for Ethiopia by holding under its control at least part of the Eritrean coast, and in particular the port of Assab.

Denying the existence of all Eritrean national feeling, and of all the common history of our people (which in fact stretches back through



Cuban troops now backing the Ethiopian forces

several centuries), the Derg has mobilised its armed forces by air, sea and land to commit the basest crime against our people—a crime which will also be an equally direct attack against the disoriented Ethiopian revolution, which the Derg claims to represent.

Since the military seized power in Addis Ababa, 600 Eritrean villages have been flattened and 25,000 civilians have been killed by Ethiopian bullets and napalm in Eritrea.

Massacre

The occupation forces have taken to every kind of aggression against the

inhabitants: they loot, massacre, disembowel pregnant women, they poison wells and watercourses; they destroy crops and livestock.

These criminal policies have driven more than 500,000 people to flee to our liberated zones.

Independent

After the decades of suffering and oppression, the only conceivable relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea are those between two independent states.

And it is only with this status that we will be able in the future to discuss with our neighbours all forms of regional regroupment for the greatest well-being of our peoples.

Moreover, the Eritrean and Ethiopian peoples have a common interest in peace and progress.

That is why the free and independent Eritrean nation would not be able to organise a blockade of Ethiopia, which has no outlet to the sea.

On March 16 of this year, the two Eritrean fronts concluded a unification agreement, and this will have great historical significance when it is put into practice on April 20.

One of the main provisions of the agreement is the setting up of a 'supreme military command' with six members—three from each front.

Legitimate

This command alone will have the authority to enter into negotiations with the Derg on the terms that our revolution has long put forward—recognition of the legitimate right of the Eritrean people to self-determination and to independence; recognition of the EPLF and the ELF as the only representatives of our liberation struggle.

But the bloody regime of the Derg does not want to recognise the obvious.

By allying itself with the Soviet Union, Cuba and the Democratic Republic of the Yemen, it seeks to have done with the Eritreans and their revolution.

Some countries have supported the independence of Eritrea since the 1950s (when the UN, at the instigation of American imperialism, imposed the fictitious alliance binding Eritrea to Ethiopia), and up to very recent times.

But, rather than advise the Mengistu regime finally to

independence, those countries sanctioned its enterprise of genocide by providing the Derg with a massive arsenal.

Still worse, 500 Soviet advisers or 'technicians', 3,500 Cuban soldiers and some 100 South Yemenis are already at hand in Asmara, alongside the besieged Ethiopian occupation forces.

This policy of direct intervention against our people is incompatible with the principal of proletarian internationalism.

Although it is possible to understand that American imperialism has no desire to be ousted from a region of such strategic importance, and so cannot reconcile itself with the independence of Eritrea unless it is to be governed by reactionary forces in favour of maintaining US privileges; although it is equally possible to understand that the strategy of the USSR is that of a superpower, it is difficult to understand the behaviour of Cuba and the Democratic Yemen.

How is it conceivable that the Cuban leaders, who in February still declared that 'the Ethiopian head of state, Mengistu Haile Mariam, may not use Cuban aid to fight the Eritrean rebellion', and that 'a political solution' must be found, today send their soldiers to Asmara?

Are we witnessing a fundamental revision of their principles, or is it simply a case of a 'mistake'?

If we take into account the very real revolutionary possibilities which exist in Ethiopia, their development cannot be fostered in any way by the genocide of our people, who are struggling for their national liberation.

No revolutionary proclamation can make us forget the main point: 'One people which oppresses another cannot itself be free'.

Faced with the war of aggression and extermination, our people's only perspective for national liberation is then to fight on with guns in their hands until the final victory.

We call on the peoples of the whole world, the progressive and democratic forces, to take up their responsibilities now they are faced with this genocide that lies before the Eritrean people.

We call on them to make the Eritreans' right to self-determination and independence prevail, and to bring our people the humanitarian support which it urgently

MARCOS RIGS THE VOTE

Recent events in both Indonesia and the Philippines have underlined the increasingly shaky hold of the military regimes in those countries.

This is connected of course to the growing econ-

omic and political weakness of the United States.

The protectionist policies of the United States hit the working population of South East Asia especially hard.

And the inability of the United States government to contemplate another military intervention in Asia gives hope to all those opposed to

the military regimes it has supported.

The Philippines was a former US colony and the Marcos dictatorship has been upheld both economically and militarily by the US.

In spite of token gestures to world opinion such as a fraudulent land reform the real income of workers and peasants has continued to decline, while Marcos' relations and friends have amassed huge fortunes.

All opposition parties are banned but this has not prevented agitation both by constitutional means and by armed struggle.

Secessionist

Marcos periodically announces on television the "final surrender" of the Muslim secessionist movement in the island of Mindanao but this is no more convincing than his claims that all his opponents are drug addicts.

It was in an attempt to divert some of this opposition that Marcos announced in January that elections would be held for a constituent assembly.

"Free debate and discussion" was apparently to be allowed. But in spite of his monopoly of the mass media and finance, opposition soon reached a scale which he found intolerable.

Death sentence

Even with leading candidates kept in jail under sentence of death he was still forced to rig the vote in Manila to secure a victory for



©1978 Herblock in The Washington Post

Defend Kim Gordon



Kim Gordon

The workers movement must rally to the defence of Socialist Workers Party militant Kim Gordon, now on bail pending appeal against a 6-week jail sentence and a £150 fine.

Gordon was acquitted on

two charges but found guilty by magistrate David Pryce-Jones on a third count of using threatening words during clashes with the National Front and their police bodyguards at Lewisham last year. The only "evidence" brought forward for this absurd charge is the

testimony of two senior police officers, who claim that Gordon uttered "threatening words" through a megaphone, resulting in the stoning of a police van and Lewisham police station. This allegation was countered by evidence from 21 witnesses, photographs and even a video film. In each case these proved that no-one had seen Gordon

with a loudhailer or carrying out the actions described by Chief Superintendent Geoffrey Priest and Inspector Ian McFarlane.

A clergyman, journalists, solicitors, a barrister, teachers and even full time union officials unanimously endorsed the view that no one used a loudhailer to incite the stone throwing.

Gordon was not charged with incitement—which would have entitled him to a jury trial—but with use of threatening words.

The magistrate was therefore able to set aside the evidence of all 21 independent witnesses and declare Gordon guilty on the say-so of two policemen.

This frame up must be fought by the labour movement as a whole.



PHOTO: Mark Risher (11-L)

Protestors outside the trial in Camberwell

Stop Windscale's million-year atom power gamble

If current plans to proceed to expand facilities for the reprocessing of nuclear waste at the Windscale plant are not stopped, permanent and serious damage will certainly be done to the environment which will affect the lives and the health of generations to come.

Yet the Lib-Lab coalition government—subservient in this as in everything to the requirements of international capital, is clearly determined to press ahead regardless of the dangers.

And the same TUC leaders who have refused to defend the jobs of their members wherever they have come under attack are now arguing that they cannot obstruct the possible new jobs that might be created from the new venture.

Great efforts have been made to cover up the legitimate worries of many workers and scientists about the safety of the processes used in the latest plans for developing nuclear energy with a new series of Fast Breeder reactors.

Spectacular destruction

The new technology, alongside its huge potential benefits if

properly developed, also has the potential to cause spectacular destruction.

Nuclear reactor programmes remain besieged with safety problems. The unsolved problem of the ultimate disposal of nuclear wastes has attracted particular attention.

In fact, at virtually all points during the nuclear fuel cycle (from the mining, through processing and transportation, right up to utilisation and storage of nuclear materials) there are opportunities for people to be exposed to significant radioactivity or for other hazards to arise.

More plutonium

A fast reactor, so called because of the speed of the neutrons involved in its fission reactions, is smaller, hotter and contains more plutonium than a conventional thermal reactor.

By careful design of a fast reactor's fuel elements and by surrounding them with suitable uranium oxide elements it is possible to create more plutonium than is consumed. Hence the term fast breeder reactor (FBR).

Special safety hazards in the fast reactor can arise from sudden surges of extra power as the reactor core (where fission

reactions occur) takes up new positions in use.

If the rate of temperature rise is very rapid, the core could melt and the molten fuel and the liquid sodium used as a coolant interact explosively.

Reprocessing of fast reactor fuel elements involves dissolving the fuel from its cladding and separating out the plutonium, uranium and intensely radioactive fission products.

In the appropriate concentrations plutonium, like other fissile materials, can produce a spontaneous, uncontrolled, fission chain reaction; this is the property made use of in atomic bombs.

Ten accidents involving uncontrolled chain reactions are known to have occurred resulting in several workers being injured and some deaths.

Plutonium is perhaps the most toxic element known and has no antidote. Amounts as low as one millionth of a gramme can be hazardous in lungs and bone.

"Half life"

Its toxicity results from its radioactivity and the fact that once it gains access to the body it is retained for long periods.

It also has a long "half-life" (i.e. the time taken for half the atoms to lose their activity)—of some 24,400 years!

The movement of three tons of plutonium every year from British reactors to reprocessing sites has been suggested as likely should FBR's be established in Britain.

This represents 500,000,000,000 times the maximum permissible body burden laid down by statute in this country. A phenomenal amount of poison!

If the handling of plutonium increases as FBR's and reprocessing plants like Windscale, are established, the chances must be that the number of accidents will also increase.

Little known

The high activity wastes of nuclear reactor programmes present the most enduring safety problems. The wastes are of two types: fission products and a group of elements, which includes plutonium and uranium, known as actinides.

At present, fission products are stored as acid solutions in cooled, stainless steel tanks.

This temporary storage is necessary, little is known about safely dispose of these wastes that no acceptable method is yet available.

Provided that they can be separated from actinides with a high degree of efficiency then converted to glass and stored in a stable geological formation, they would decay to manageable activities only after about 800 years.

Anyway, development of the process for converting liquid wastes to glass has so far only reached the pilot plant scale.

The actinides themselves and the products of their spontaneous decay, however, remain a hazard for millions of years. There is no convincing method available for their storage or conversion to manageable substances.

Four methods for the disposal of actinides are being studied at present. These are: burial in deep and

stable geological formation; burial under the floor of the deep ocean; emplacement in suitably long-lived containers on the bed of the deep ocean; and irradiation in a suitable reactor to convert them to shorter lived materials.

Highly dangerous

The first method begs the question: What geological formation can be considered stable over a geologically significant period of time? And the second and third methods run up against the long life of the actinides.

The fourth method is acknowledged by the Health and Safety Executive as having daunting technological difficulties, but is the most satisfactory of the ones mentioned.

Even this however, would yield materials that at best would remain highly dangerous for 500-300 years.

The disposal of low and moderate activity wastes also presents a hazard to life. At present, solid wastes contaminated with small amounts of plutonium and other activities are dumped on the sea bed in containers that are designed to leak and are never expected to retain their contents for more than ten years.

Control

Low activity liquid wastes from reprocessing and fuel fabrication at Windscale and Dounreay are discharged to the sea through pipelines.

Dilution has not always been achieved. Radiation levels in the Celtic Sea have caused a great deal of concern. One type had risen to 83% of permitted levels by 1975, and there has been a tenfold rise in the levels of radioactive caesium in fish between 1973 and 1975.

While it is clear that all manner of reactionary "back to the land" petty bourgeois 'ecology' groups attempt to use fears of the hazards we have listed to oppose all nuclear technology, only a fool would turn his back

on the problem. The fight must be taken up for control over new source of energy and its

*No further work reprocessing FBR's and reactors until safety precautions are acceptable to workers committees whose members be drawn from all industries assess safety aspects of nuclear power generators.

*No further work on reactors until a safe and effective means of disposal of existing and potential wastes is worked out.

*No redundancies in nuclear industries—work should be done on full pay for those who cannot be transferred to research pending these developments.

*For an increase in spending on all aspects of research into the exploitation of nuclear power, under the control of elected workers committees.

*For full publication of information on known existing hazard immediate compensation of victims of past uncontrolled 'experiments'.



Lone TUC opponent Windscale gamble, m... leader Arthur Scargill

PRESS GANG Workers rule OK!

ERRATUM: IN THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE THE WORD "WORKER" OR "WORKERS" HAS INADVERTENTLY BEEN USED WHEREVER THE WORD "SOLDIER/S" OR "SAILOR" OR "FORCES" SHOULD HAVE APPEARED READERS ARE ASKED TO MAKE THEIR OWN CORRECTION.

The Daily Telegraph has come out in complete opposition to the 10% limit and has launched a powerful campaign for a major increase of about 30% for all workers.

In the run up to this week's expected government announcement on workers' pay the Telegraph has shown how badly big increases have been needed.

Some weeks ago it reported that one senior worker had been forced to take up smoking to cure his hunger pangs.

Last week an unnamed group of workers in a statement to the Telegraph confessed that they had had enough. If something was not done to bring about a major improvement in their living

Already senior workers were threatening to resign in droves.

Their superiors worried about lack of morale were fighting hard for big increases to be paid.

A charity called SSAFA (Workers, Workers and Workers Association) was reported in the paper as saying that 90% of problems in the working class had money as a root cause.

"The only way of achieving a cure must be an overall rise in the workers pay packet and even then it must be a substantial one.

"So many of our families are merely existing. We cannot talk of them cutting their cloth accordingly because they have NO cloth to cut.

"They exist from pay packet to pay packet and what happens when Michael needs new shoes? Something else must be done without."

"Reports reaching SSAFA from its welfare officers tell of children left alone while their mothers are out earning pence for food

families living on tinned beans and potatoes all week and a pound of mince for Sunday dinner."

A group of women whose husbands worked at sea met the Prime Minister at Plymouth but Mrs. May, treasurer of their association said that he gave them little hope.

"The crucial point was their claim for a 10% increase plus a further 30% in the X factor which takes account of workers' special risks and conditions...

"A local headmaster had opened a second hand overalls shop at his school, and some housewives had begun selling items of furniture. In at least two cases wives had been forced to turn to prostitution."

The Telegraph by this bold encouragement of the just demands of the workers, by their defence of the secrecy surrounding a senior ranking worker and by their support for workers who have advocated preparing for an armed struggle are believed to have more than a passing sympathy with the cause of





PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

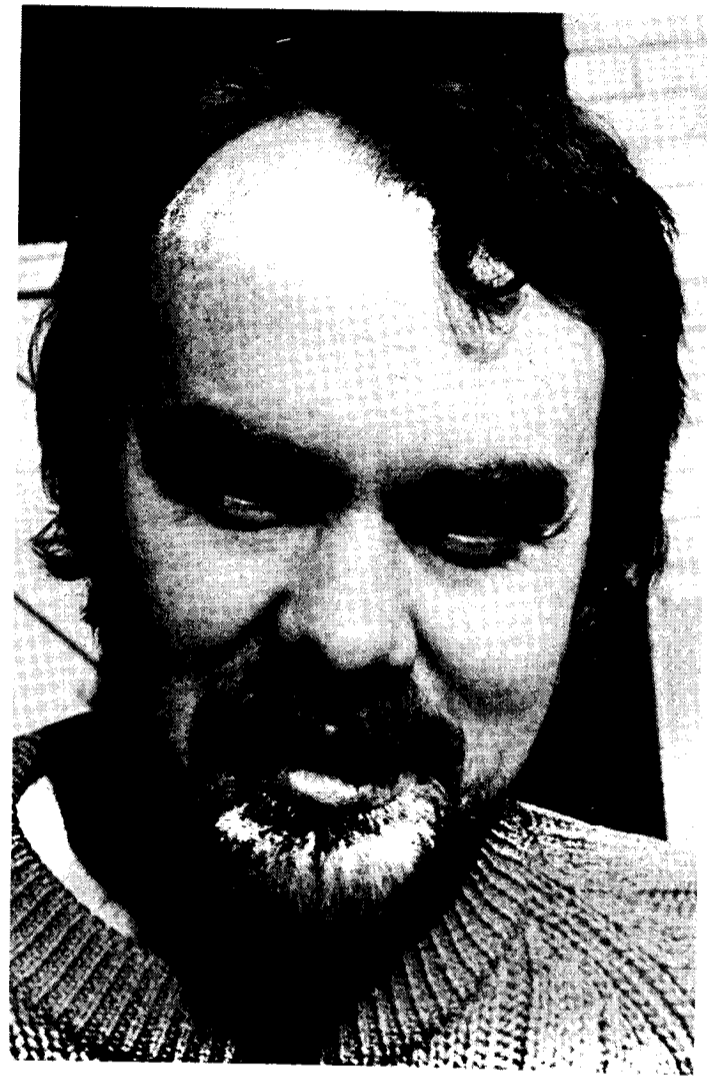
The candidates are giving full backing to struggles against hospital closures

FIGHTING THE LIB-LAB COALITION

In last week's *Socialist Press* we printed a Labour manifesto put out in the Kensington Ward of Newham North-East for the forthcoming Council elections on May 4. *Socialist Press* supports this manifesto which puts

forward policies for independent working class action, and places squarely before voters the need for socialist policies against the betrayals of the present right wing coalitionist Labour leadership. One of the candidates in Kensington Ward, John Plant, has written to *Socialist Press* and other labour movement

publications offering to be interviewed to publicise the policies on which the election campaign is being run. *Socialist Press* believes that the questions raised by the campaign go well beyond the confines of one East London ward or constituency. The following interview by Mark Hyde was conducted on Thursday April 17.



John Plant

Socialist Press: Why are you standing as a Labour candidate in this election?
John Plant: As the manifesto makes clear it's a continuation of the fight over the last few years against the right wing policies of the Labour leadership. Locally this took the form of the struggle against Prentice of course. But I've always tried to make it clear that this was a fight on policies and leadership rather than against just one traitor. The same fight was reflected in our opposition to the disciplinary action taken by the local Labour Council group against those councillors who opposed the cuts. It seems to me absolutely necessary that having fought against the policies of the present leadership you must follow that through in proposing alternative policy and programme. And if those policies win support you clearly have to fight for them wherever they'll have an impact.



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Prentice

policies and immigration policies that the coalition deal imposes on the labour movement. In the course of canvassing we've often had to point out to disillusioned Labour voters that we're fighting for new policies and new leadership. We're not standing on the basis of support for the present leadership or its policies. This leadership has of course stayed silent on the fact that we were right ages ago about Prentice. This applies equally to the Tribune group, the vast majority of whom signed appeals from the Parliamentary Labour Party pleading on Prentice's behalf.

Scared stiff

We won't be confused with Callaghan-Healey and we

Tribune. They've always ducked out of the fight for leadership—they're scared stiff of a serious fight.

SP: The programme printed in *Socialist Press* last week contains quite specific demands which are quite different from the official manifesto for the area. Why is this?
JP: Our demands are directed at quite clear concrete problems that occur in this area and at the same time highlights the betrayals of the present leaders.

If elected on this programme we will have a very solid basis to conduct the fight for socialist policies in front of the working class. The importance of a clear programme is best shown up in contrast with the one produced in nearby Wall End ward, which just ends by saying 'Join the fight for socialist policies' but nowhere states what these 'socialist policies' are. If elected we will be able to say that the workers in our ward have given a mandate for a clear programme.

SP: If the voters do elect you what problems will it solve?
JP: By itself, electing councillors won't solve anything. What we intend to do is lay the basis for a real fight for socialist policies in this area. The policies we put forward can't in the end be carried through by Council resolutions—they will all depend on the active organisation of the working

Plastow Hospital—threatened with closure under the cuts—for example can't be kept open by a local authority but a local authority that was seriously concerned about the welfare of workers in the area would obviously have to organise mass support among trade unionists and housewives. In just the same way the fight against all social service cuts will bring us into conflict with the national government. The last time there was serious conflict between a Labour local authority and central government was over the Tory Housing Finance Act.

Mobilisation

Clay Cross was the central example and the fight there had an enormous impact in the labour movement. But such fights can only be won through the independent political mobilisation of the working class. That's why our programme can only be based on the action of the working class in the area—for example when we call for the creation of committees of trade unionists and housewives to determine the necessary public services programmes and when we demand labour movement defence against the fascists.

Even if a Labour Council wanted to restore and defend living standards of the workers it employs this would bring us headlong against the government and union leaders and require the mobilisation of the working class against wage control and for linking pay to prices.

held by the Ratepayers. What kind of area is it?
JP: Yes, it has been held by them for the last three terms of the Council. One of the reasons is the steady decline in interest in the Labour Party under the right wing leadership.

It was not until the Prentice fight that ward membership actually reached double figures. The ward is mainly residential with few workplaces, except for shops. It has a high immigrant population which is continuing to grow steadily. The workers are divided about evenly between central London office workers and industrial workers.

There's a council estate in the ward but also a high proportion of owner-occupiers—which in turn means attention is given to long-term problems. We're confident of a serious response to our programme.

SP: Obviously there's a national swing against Labour now—because of the leadership's betrayals. Is there a serious chance of kicking out the Ratepayers at a time like this?
JP: Yes, I'm convinced there is. We've already recruited new members in response to our manifesto and the reaction during canvassing has been very good. Our policies against racism and fascism will win support—the Sikh community has already asked us to address a meeting in their temple. The fight against Prentice has anyway established the idea that Labour candidates in this area are often steeled

is of course not the case. Last year for example, in the GLC election the local candidate was John Wilson, who had a public record of opposition to Prentice and we had a swing towards Labour largely for that reason. Of course on the GLC Wilson now supports Reg Goodwin's policy of avoiding all contact with workers whose jobs are under attack in the GLC itself where I work. On top of that it's about the first time in fifteen years that Labour's been organised to fight an election in this ward—so there ground for optimism.

SP: How do you see the link between your trade union work and this campaign?
JP: In three ways. Firstly, since I am NALGO branch chairman at the GLC, as completely linked to the fight against the cuts, both in the jobs of our members and in the services they provide. Secondly, the campaign can link up with the struggle for decent wages for council employees, including a sliding scale of wages to keep their conditions up to the cost of living, as determined by the workers themselves. Thirdly, as a way to take up the issue of housing. From this candidature, and on the council itself, it will be possible to campaign for the freezing of rents and the public ownership of property, as indicated in our manifesto. We would also aim to expand the public works department and to requisition empty property and bring it into immediate use.

SP: Other groups, such as Socialist Unity and the Socialist Workers Party, have stood candidates in some areas claiming to offer a socialist alternative. What's your opinion of that?
JP: None of these groups put forward a serious programme that can be the basis of a fight in the working class. They remain silent on the central questions of leadership and the coalition and just engage in vague talk about 'socialist alternatives'. In fact Socialist Unity is so unprincipled that it was ready to support the so-called West Indian Block in Lambeth—the only problem was that the WIB preferred the Liberals!

SP: Have you been attacked for bringing national issues into a local election?
JP: Yes. The right-wing and their 'left' friends are making every effort to exclude politics from local elections. Their local propaganda material contains absolutely no reference to the history of the fight against Prentice or to the policies necessary to fight social service cuts and other attacks on the working class. Some right wing Labour Party members have refused to canvass on the basis of the manifesto put out in our ward, but the effect of this has been more than outweighed by the new support we have acquired. The local problems we address in our programme are only local instances of national questions. Public service cuts, hospital closures, rent increases and so on don't result from specific conditions existing in Newham. They all arise out of the general capitalist crisis. It would obviously be quite wrong to state a policy in any different terms. The crisis today can't be solved by utopian local schemes. The local struggle has to be directed towards sweeping general solutions. The whole point of our campaign on the streets and doorsteps is to stress the depth of the crisis and the need for a socialist programme to answer it. The new leadership of the GLC has to be elected on the basis of a socialist programme.

Our policies against racism and fascism will win support—the Sikh community has already asked us to address a meeting in their temple. The fight against Prentice has anyway established the idea that Labour candidates in this area are often steeled

is of course not the case. Last year for example, in the GLC election the local candidate was John Wilson, who had a public record of opposition to Prentice and we had a swing towards Labour largely for that reason. Of course on the GLC Wilson now supports Reg Goodwin's policy of avoiding all contact with workers whose jobs are under attack in the GLC itself where I work. On top of that it's about the first time in fifteen years that Labour's been organised to fight an election in this ward—so there ground for optimism.

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: BORN IN STRUGGLE



The founding of the Communist League and the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* were the twin results of Marx and Engels' success in defeating the utopian communists in the League of the Just, and transforming that organisation into one based on scientific communism.

The League of the Just was a secret society founded in 1836, whose inspiration was largely drawn from the French 'equalitarian' communists, such as Babeuf and Proudhon.

Revolution

Like the reformist followers of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, the other major 'utopian' current at the time, the League of the Just recognised the necessity of violent revolution to overthrow the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, one point where Marx was to take issue with them was on their conception that a conspiratorial secret society would take state power through a secretly organised coup.

Against this, Marx argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat could only be established by a mass mobilisation of the working class, under the leadership of an international revolutionary party.

The League's philosophy was based on the idea that the various inequities of the contemporary social system could be cured by sharing property equally amongst the proletariat.

Indignation

They did not analyse the class forces at work in society or recognise the sources of these inequalities of wealth. So they did not analyse the society from a historical standpoint, or demonstrate the material necessity for the overthrow of capitalism.

Their theories were rooted in indignation at the hardship of the petty-bourgeoisie and the working class, rather than in a scientific understanding of the history of class struggle.

But as Engels points out: "That mattered little; for the time being 'equality'.

'brotherhood' and 'justice' helped them to surmount every theoretical obstacle".

While the League of the Just grew and spread its ideas through workers' associations 'choral societies' and 'athletic societies' in Germany and elsewhere in Europe (the description chosen depended on the legal conditions in the particular country), Marx and Engels were developing a very different communism, based not on vague notions of 'justice' and 'brotherhood', but on historical materialism.

The publication of 'German Ideology' in 1845-6 marked the full development of historical materialism as a theory which could both explain history, as more than a series of more-or-less 'accidental' events and, by using this historical analysis, explain why and how capitalism would be superseded by classless society.

Scientific

Before the founding of the Communist League, Marx and Engels were working in Brussels, from where they spread their theory of scientific communism through their paper *Deutscher Brusseler Zeitung* and within the Ger-

man workers' society which they founded.

They maintained contact with the League of the Just, attending their meetings to discuss propaganda and tactics, and circulating documents amongst their members in order to counterpose their own theories to those of the 'primitive communists'.

Merciless criticism

They particularly directed their polemics against Weitling, a leading German communist, whose only contribution to establishing a theoretical base to his propaganda was by tracing communism back to primitive Christianity.

Marx describes his object in intervening in the League of the Just as being:

'to subject to merciless criticism in a series of . . . pamphlets the medley of English and French socialism or communism and German philosophy which then formed the secret teaching of the League, and replace it by the only tenable theoretical foundation, namely scientific insight into the economic structure of bourgeois society; and, finally, to explain in popular form that our task

was not that of trying to bring any kind of utopian system into being but was that of consciously participating in a historical revolutionary process by which society was being transformed before our eyes'

As Marx and Engels explain in section 3 of the *Manifesto*, the primitive communists voiced the demands of a small and undeveloped proletariat, in the early period of capitalist development.

Although they could put forward revolutionary demands, and mobilise workers, their own lack of understanding matched the lack of development of the working-class, and they were doomed to failure.

Materialism

Marx and Engels point out that it was the development of capitalism and the polarisation between bourgeoisie and proletariat that created the conditions for their own 'discovery' of historical materialism, and the wider acceptance of scientific socialism over the theories of primitive communism.

By the Spring of 1847, the majority of the leading

members of the League of the Just, in particular those in London, had come to recognise the inadequacies of the primitive communism, and Josef Moll, one of their most prominent members, was dispatched to Brussels to invite Marx and Engels to join the organisation.

Marx and Engels, having satisfied themselves that their old criticisms of the League were no longer applicable, agreed.

Marx accepted

Marx admitted that the League's conspiratorial methods and undemocratic structure should be changed but, more importantly, he rejected equalitarian communism, and accepted Marx's historical materialist analysis of bourgeois society and the necessity and inevitability of proletarian revolution.

Marx and Engels were interested in the League because of its strength in the German working-class, which they hoped they could use as a base for their political activities.

In the summer of 1847, the League's structure was overhauled to wipe out the old conspiratorial and undemocratic relics, its name was changed to 'Communist League', and it was converted into a society with a clear statement of aims. Its first article declared:

'The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old, bourgeois society based on class antagonisms and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property'

At the Second Congress of the Communist League, in November 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to draw up a *Manifesto* which they had completed by the outbreak of the February Revolution in Paris.

Upsurge

The founding of the Communist League and the completion of the *Manifesto* coincided with the mass revolutionary upsurge which swept through Europe in 1848.

The *Manifesto* which Engels describes as the 'the detailed theoretical and practical programme of the Party', was therefore essential to equip the members of the League, especially in

Germany where they were strongest, with a programme to fight for in their participation in the 1848 revolutions.

The first section of the pamphlet explains the theoretical basis of the programme: the analysis of the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the inevitability of the proletariat's complete victory.

The authors look at capitalism and the struggles of the working-class from a historical standpoint: they examine the development of the bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class in conflict with feudalism.

The old feudal system of production could not satisfy the needs created by the expansion of world markets

'This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.'

New social order

As the bourgeoisie became economically dominant, through their control of the new means of production, they destroyed not only the old methods of production and exchange, but the old social and political order.

They overthrew the ruling aristocracy who had tried to preserve the feudal relations, both economic and social, and created their own social order based on principles more conducive to the sway of free competition and free trade:

'the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society.

At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accomp-



Eugene Delacroix, 'Liberty Leading the People' (1830) symbol of the French Revolution



1848: the storming of the French National Assembly

anied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

The control of the state was wrested from the hands of the feudal aristocracy, and taken over by the new ruling-class, the bourgeoisie.

The same process carries on in a different guise under capitalism: the economic system, based on private property and production for profit ceases to be revolutionary and becomes a fetter on economic development.



Engels

Marx's analysis of the exact mechanism by which capitalism becomes prone to periodic and worsening crises and unable to develop further the productive forces, does not appear until the publication of *Capital* in 1867.

In the *Manifesto* he merely states:

"The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them.

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself."

Not only must capitalism develop in such a way as to get deeper and deeper into conditions of economic and social crises, but it must also create the material and political conditions for its eventual overthrow.

Working class

Specifically it creates the industrial working class. It concentrates workers in large factories, strengthening them politically:

"But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more... Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeoisie; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots."

The development of capitalist production on an ever larger scale, pushes the small shopkeepers, the artisans and the peasantry out of the middle class and down to the level of the proletariat.

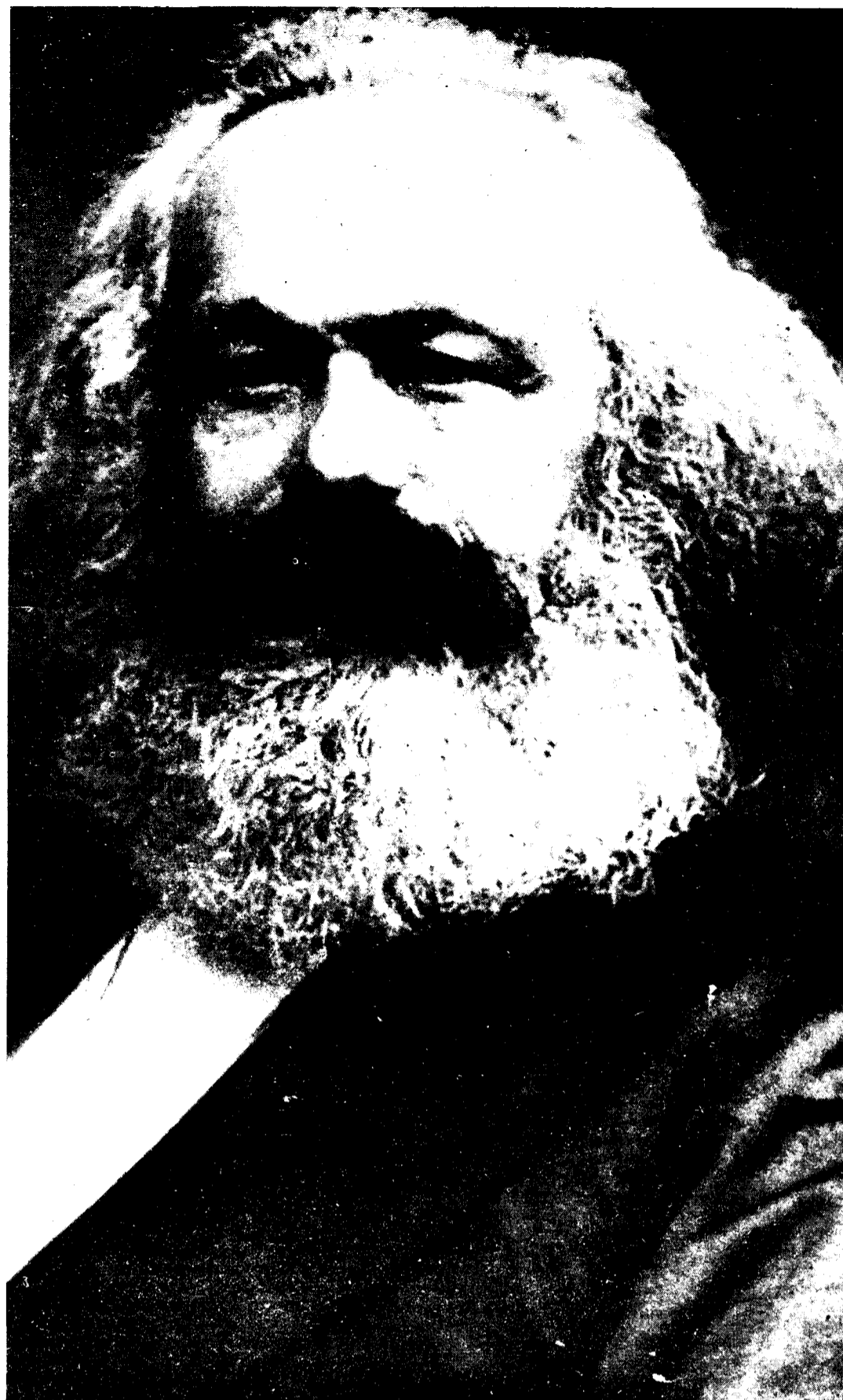
Although, on the one hand, this can swell the ranks of the working class, these elements can only be revolutionary to the extent that they become proletarians and identify their interests with the interests of the working class.

As long as they retain their status and consciousness as members of the bourgeoisie and refuse to follow the lead of the working class, they are not only conservative, but reactionary, since they "try to roll back the wheel of history".

Gravediggers

The whole analysis of the class struggle which forms the basis for the revolutionary programme of communists is summed up best at the end of this first section of the *Communist Manifesto*:

"The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry.



Marx

therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products.

"What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, is its own gravediggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable".

The rest of the pamphlet spells out the political programme of the Communist League, and distinguishes between communism and the many 'socialist' and 'communist' theories prevalent at the time.

Inadequacies

The authors are not content simply to differentiate between scientific socialism and these other ideas on an ideological level, but they also use the method of historical materialism to explain their class nature, and their inadequacies as programmes for the working class.

Of course, most of the movements they criticise have perished, but other movements have developed as a result of the same class forces.

For instance, although the reformism of Proudhon and Louis Blanc have little place in the modern workers' movement, some of the criticisms made of them (under "Conservative, or Bourgeois Socialism") could have been directed against the Social Democrats of the modern Labour Party and its European equivalents—a phenomenon which was not dreamt of in 1848:

"A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redress-

ing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society... it requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie".

Immediate needs

The aim of the communists, their distinguishing feature, is "summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property"—in other words, social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since this is the only means by which the bourgeoisie can be persuaded to give up their property.

In order to mobilise the working class behind the Communist League, and prepare them for revolution, communists fight for the immediate needs of the working class, while at the same time taking the struggle forward to a higher stage:

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement".

Republic

The Communist League had its strongest base in the German workers' movement and so it is in their programme for the German working class and through the pages of their Cologne-based paper *Neue Rheinische*

Manifesto:

"In Germany, (Communists) fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy and the petty bourgeoisie".

But at the same time, their demands must go further, drawing the class line between bourgeoisie and proletariat and calling for measures which strengthen the proletariat in its fight against the bourgeoisie:

"3. Representatives of the people shall be paid, so that workers too, will be able to sit in the parliament of the German people.

4. The whole population shall be armed...

5. The exercise of justice shall be free of charge...

11. All means of transport, railways, canals, steamships, roads, stations, etc. shall be taken over by the state. They are to be transformed into state property and put at the free service of the needy".

With these demands the Communist League were putting into practice the general principle laid down in the *Manifesto*:

"(Communists) never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin".

The German Communist League's programme and the general principles lying behind it are still relevant today, although not for Germany (now one of the most advanced capitalist nations in the world), but for underdeveloped and colonial countries.

New conception

They constitute the basis of the theory of permanent revolution which Marx, and later Trotsky were to build on and develop.

The Communist Manifesto is not just an historical document, of merely academic interest.

By synthesising the theory of scientific socialism with the practical application of the fight for socialist revolution, it laid the basis for the work of communists throughout the world.

Lenin sums up its achievement:

"With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of a new, communist society".

By Ann Evans



Lenin (centre) with other founders of the Russian Marxist movement

IN REVIEW

Back yard of the multi-nationals

Peter MacIntyre reviews "Unemployment and the Multi-Nationals in Coventry" by Coventry Workshop, available from 40, Binley Road, Coventry.

The fortunes of Coventry are linked firmly to the fortunes of the multinational car industry.

When car production boomed after the war, Coventry boomed. But as the crisis which has engulfed the car markets of the world for the past decade emerged, so the gloss vanished from Coventry's manufacturing industry.

In 1972 the wages of manual male workers in the town were £6.70 higher than the national average. By 1974 this gap had shrunk to £3.40 and by 1976 to £1.50.

More dramatically, unemployment in Coventry rose faster than the rest of the country.

Between 1956 (when unemployment was 75% of the national rate) and 1974 (when it reached 95%) the underlying trend of unemployment remained steady and irresistibly upwards.

14 firms

The jobs have become gathered in fewer and fewer hands until half the jobs in the town are now controlled by 14 firms, all of them multi-nationals.

The growth of this multinational grip on Coventry and its effect on the unemployment rate and future prospects for the working class in the area have been documented in a duplicated pamphlet produced by a group of former members of the International Socialists (now the Socialist Workers Party), called Coventry Workshop.

The pamphlet—*Unemployment and the Multi-nationals in Coventry*—contains graphs and statistics to show how the manufacturing industry in the area has declined and how the town's dependence on the motor industry has resulted in massive lay-offs.

It also notes that unemployment—in Coventry as everywhere else—has hit hardest at the most oppressed groups.

Significant cuts

Female school leavers are

ment in the black community is running at about 5% higher than the total rate.

All but two of the multi-nationals in the area have made significant cuts in the number of jobs, including British Leyland, Chrysler, Courtaulds, Alfred Herbert, Tube Investments and GEC.

Many of the jobs have been switched to countries where the rate of profit is higher and many have been eliminated altogether as the spur of capitalist competition has driven the firms to greater automation.

Memorial

In the motor industry for example, an American industrial robot which can take over many of the production line jobs has an economic 'wage' of just over 50p an hour and can work an average stretch of 400 hours at a time.

In a section on the economic power of the multi-nationals, the pamphlet correctly makes the point that the health service is milked by the drug companies.

In the context of the car industry it would be more relevant to point to the enormous profits made by component firms out of 'unprofitable' British Leyland.

The conclusion of the pamphlet is that Coventry has the potential to become "one of the notoriously depressed areas of Europe, a memorial to a spent phase of capitalism".

Its more likely fate is, however, continued decline in jobs with sudden fluctuations in times of short lived booms.

Populist

In its final paragraph (and first mention of opposition) Coventry Workshop concludes:

"If the future of Coventry is to be brought within the control of the people who live and work here (instead of being left to boardroom decisions by the fourteen multi-nationals which currently control the local economy) then the very logic of these multi-nationals has to be challenged".

pre-war capitalism to the crisis-torn present, not in terms of the international crisis of capitalism, but in terms of the arrival on Coventry's doorstep of the most developed of capitalism's exploiters—the multi-nationals.

"The shedding of jobs does not take place through some kind of natural, inevitable law, like the shedding of leaves in autumn. It is the result of deliberate decisions, by particular firms".

For all the programmatic direction it offers, the pamphlet could make ammunition for any populist who wanted to replace the 'bad' capitalists with a foot in many countries by the 'good' capitalists who stay at home.

More importantly the Coventry Workshop make no distinction at all between the drive of capitalism towards speed-up and sackings and its ability to achieve its objectives.

Not optional

There is probably not a single left social democrat or member of the Communist Party who would disagree, including those who helped allow the sackings to take place.

There is no description of resistance to the sackings or the means by which they were brought about.

From beginning to end, there is not a single mention either of the betrayals of the union leaders nor of the tasks of a socialist.

These are not optional matters which can be dealt with or ignored after considering the details of the impact of the crisis.

The net effect of a pamphlet which presents the crisis of capitalism solely in terms of multi-nationals and makes no mention of the role of leaders of the working class must be to strengthen the Stalinists and Social Democrats who intend to offer no direction to the desire of the working class to fight.

Nationalists

Nor does it oppose those nationalists who blame the entire historical crisis of capitalism on the weakening of British imperialism and political events which have taken place outside Britain

OF THE PROFITABLE KIND

The last ten minutes of *Close Encounters* must be some of the most breathtaking in the history of the cinema.

The sheer technical brilliance of the effects has brought an extra dimension to the screen that dominates the film completely.

To anyone not versed in the latest technical wizardry of the film studio, the most likely explanation seems that Columbia used some of the vast profits from *Jaws* to hire a spaceship from outer space, and film it as it landed.

Douglas Trumbull who produced the effects in *2001* has outstripped everything in that space odyssey.

The film was made by Stephen Spielberg, the director of *Jaws*, and imitates one of the most successful features of that film.

For the first half of *Jaws* nothing is seen of the monster shark but its dorsal fin and bits of people left at the side of the plate.

In *Close Encounters* the visitation from outer space is little but flashing lights, electrical blackouts and a six note refrain, until the final majestic appearance of the mother craft.

The impact of this shot is comparable with the first close encounter that Richard Dreyfuss has with the great white in *Jaws*.

His reaction in *Jaws* was to stagger back, gasping "We're going to need a bigger boat", but the spaceship in *Close Encounters* is enough to demand a bigger planet.

Jaws after all was only the size of a single decked bus; the mother craft dwarfs a mountain.

In any case the spaceship is more playful and friendly than a shark—its musical conversation with the US space agency as it comes into land is more like the intelligent conversation of a dolphin.

The film is given heavy religious connotations. Those 'touched' by the visitation are called to its final descent despite every obstacle put in their way.

Their pilgrimage is complete with false encounters (more similarity with *Jaws*), much falling by the wayside and a final triumphant vindication of their faith for Richard Dreyfuss and Melinda Dillon, the two stars.

The final revelations include 12 disciples (complete with the US flag on their clothing), cosmic music and a final ascension to rival the original.

But no-one gets crucified by Stephen Spielberg, least of all the US space authorities.

They come in for some mocking as they elaborately seal off the rendezvous area by declaring it to be affected by poison gas, but the film makes it clear that if benign creatures from another planet are going to come and wave at anyone, you can bet they will head straight for the American Embassy.

It doesn't seem very likely that socialism is going to descend from the skies in a flying saucer.

If it does and it has the misfortune to contact NASA, the reception committee would be a little less accommodating than that of the technicians in *Close Encounters*.

Close Encounters has a strong story line, powerful acting (including an excellent child performance) and is magnificent screened. It can be guaranteed to send its enormous audiences away happy.

What is more, Columbia knows that they can pull in the million without having to run the risk of offending anyone. Even *Jaws* has sharper teeth.



December 1975: sackings at Chrysler's Stoke Plant



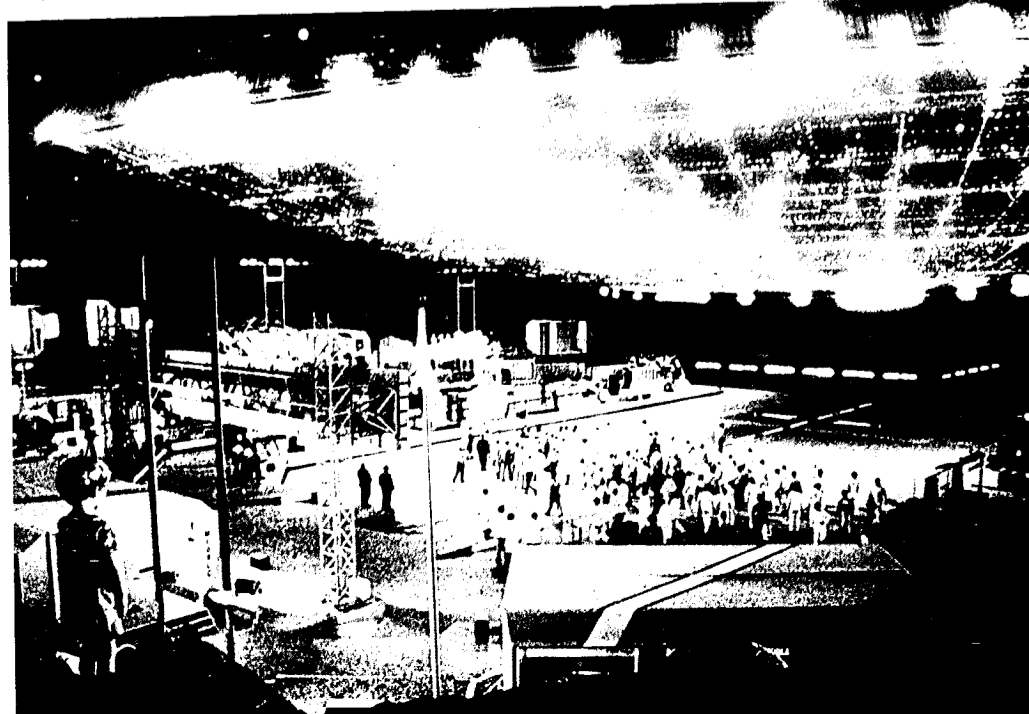
Chrysler stewards ensure no fight against redundancy

It is impossible to answer the drive towards unemployment in Coventry or anywhere else without a firm programme of opposition as put forward in the Transitional Programme.

Such an opposition demands policies of work-sharing on full pay to fight sackings, of programmes of public works to create new jobs, and demands that the

working class should examine the books and secrets of firms which cannot meet their demands.

It is a programme which leads forward first to the nationalisation of the firms under workers' management and on further to an end to the capitalist anarchy outlined in the pamphlet and its replacement by a planned socialist economy.



OUR POLICIES



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Read a newspaper report of any workers' struggle and one thing will be almost certain— young workers will be in the forefront.

It might be young hotel workers striking for union recognition at Claridges or young school students crossing from Zimbabwe to Mozambique to train as guerrilla fighters; young Palestinians taking up the struggle against Zionism or black and white youth on the streets of Britain opposing the National Front.

Fight back

The response of youth throughout the world to the crisis of capitalism is to fight back, to resist the attempts of the employers to make them pay for the crisis.

And it is, of course, no accident that young workers should figure so prominently in the struggles of the working class.

Many of the gains fought for and won by the working class since the Second World War in such areas as health, education and full employment have been of particular benefit to young workers.

But now, as the crisis deepens, all these gains are being viciously attacked.

Cuts in public spending are resulting in falling standards of health and education; tens of thousands of youth each year face long periods on the dole and those lucky enough to get jobs face low wages held down by the collaboration of union leaders and the Lib-Lab coalition government on wage controls.

Past defeats

In other words, capitalism cannot offer youth a future. But youth have both the enthusiasm and ability to fight back.

They are free from responsibility for the past defeats of the workers movement in the 1930s.

Moreover they grow up under very different conditions from the boom period of the 1950s and 1960s which led to the formation of an opportunist leadership in the labour movement.

This same leadership, confronted with the collapse of the boom, are now determined to head off any struggles by workers to defend their jobs, wages and living standards.

Revitalised

Now the way is open for youth to play a central role in the fight for principled leadership. As Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Programme:

"The movement is revitalised by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past. The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future.

Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of

Turn towards the youth!

By Ian Swindale

preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution".

The task of the Workers Socialist League in developing the strength and enthusiasm of youth is to arm them with the programme and perspectives of Marxism—to enable them to go beyond purely spontaneous or individual forms of struggle against capitalism and take up the fight for a new leadership in the working class able to lead a successful struggle for power.

Aspirations

This means in practice forging a revolutionary youth movement in opposition to the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions who quite deliberately ignore the needs and aspirations of young workers and instead concentrate on the top layers of the working class.

In this struggle young workers can be a powerful lever against the bureaucracy. That is why we demand the right of all young workers to join a trade union.

All barriers which prevent young workers from playing a leading role in the unions must be removed. Youth commissions at all levels of the trade unions must be imposed on a bureaucracy who must be forced to fight for the specific demands of youth.

Only with this turn of youth to the organisations

serious fight be taken up for the programme capable of defending the wages, jobs and conditions of youth and for a new leadership prepared to fight for that programme.

Defenceless

With tens of thousands of youth still left on the dole each autumn we demand the right of these unemployed youth to join a union.

As long as youth remain unorganised their energy will be sapped and they will be left defenceless against harassment by the state.

Within the unions it is necessary for young workers to take up the struggle in defence of wages, jobs and conditions.

In practice this means rejection of wage controls represented at this point by the collaboration of the TUC with the 10% "guidelines" of the Lib-Lab coalition government.

In place of this, youth must fight for a sliding scale of wages rising point for point with inflation as determined by elected trade union committees on which young workers should fight for representation.

On jobs, young workers should fight to force the union bureaucracy to open the doors of the unions to unemployed youth.

This would lay the basis of a fight for a policy on youth employment which would include control over the use of young labour to be under the direction of trade union committees to protect young

employers; compulsory training facilities, with the cost borne by the employers; supervision of training under trade union control; workers control over youth wage rates; sliding scale of wages; work sharing on full pay where redundancies are threatened and the opening of the books and occupation of plant threatened with closure.

Given the high proportion of youth who are out of work it is not merely the defence of existing jobs but the creation of new ones which is posed: part of the programme must include demands for the maintenance of recruitment and the extension of training by forcing the reopening of shut down factories to be used as training facilities.

Public works

In opposition to the fraudulent "job creation" schemes, youth must demand a trade union campaign for the commencement of large scale public works under trade union control.

The growth of racialism and fascism must be countered by the fight for workers defence squads and the recruitment of black youth into the unions to take up this fight alongside their fellow trade unionists.

This campaign must go hand in hand with the fight against the anti-working class policies of the Lib-Lab coalition, for the breaking of the coalition and the removal of the right wing Callaghan-

Where black youth face harassment by the police and the law courts, trade union inquiries must be established to draw out the class nature of these attacks.

In the schools the National Union of School Students provides a basis for taking up the fight for political leadership among layers of youth in the same way that the trade unions do amongst older workers.

In particular, the NUSS has recently campaigned against the YNF and young school students should fight within NUSS for the anti-racist policies outlined above.

With British capitalism gripped by a crisis it cannot solve, except at tremendous cost to the working class, there will be major class battles ahead. Young workers must be won to the Trotskyist movement and trained to give leadership to the thousands of youth who will be mobilised in those battles.

That is the task which the Workers Socialist League now sets itself with the calling of a national youth meeting next month.



The Economic Crisis and the Way Forward for Youth

SUNDAY 7 MAY at 2.00 p.m.
Lecture Room 2
Digbeth Civic Hall
BIRMINGHAM

Credentials (20p) are available to WSL members and supporters from: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

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"THE WAY FORWARD FOR YOUTH"

Resolution on Youth Work adopted by the 1st Annual Conference of the Workers Socialist League

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Workers Socialist League

March with us on
MAY DAY

MARCH—from Charing Cross Embankment (Cleopatra's Needle), 1pm, Monday 1 May
WSL PUBLIC MEETING—Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, 4 pm, after the march.



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—now firmly harnessed to the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party in an unspoken coalition arrangement.

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.....
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Send to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

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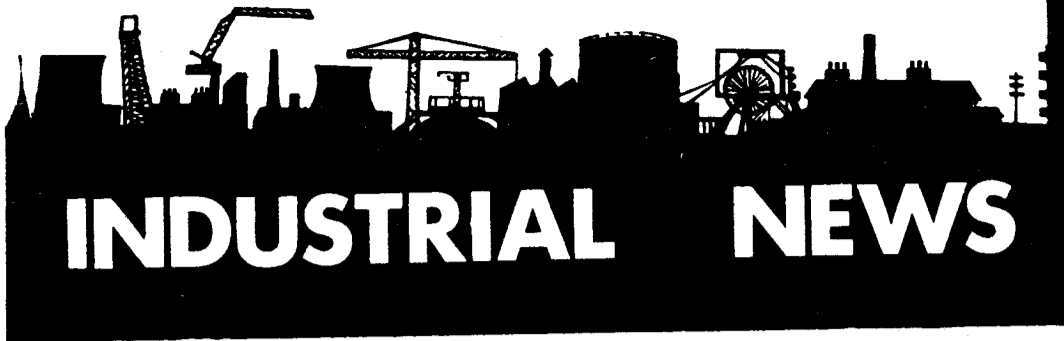
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INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Stalinists stab struggles in car plants

Communist Party members are coming to the very forefront of moves by the major car industry employers to attack conditions and trade union strength on the shop floor.

In Fords last week's announcement of record sales, exports and profits was matched by an 80% pay rise for chairman Terry Beckett, who declared plans for £1,000 million investment over the next four years.

A good £100 million of this seems certain to come from government aid. And the plans for modernisation and re-equipment are certainly linked to an intensified drive to impose speed-up on the shop floor.

Boycott

Union officials and convenors boycotted Beckett's announcement of the plan. TGWU Executive member Bernard Passingham complained that, despite the large figures being quoted, the plan really amounts to a cut in investment, and a strategy of turning British Ford factories into suppliers of components for assembly abroad.

But no such reservations coloured the response of Stalinist Sid Harraway, chairman of the Ford national convenors' committee.

He insisted that the investment plan was due to "union pressure" and would help towards "job security and a sound future" for Ford workers.

This is tantamount to giving Ford management a blank cheque to force in new machinery and working methods, all in the name of further increasing Ford's pre-tax profits of £246 million.

Fellow Stalinist

Meanwhile Harraway's fellow Stalinist, Eddy McClusky, TGWU convenor at Chrysler's engine plant in Coventry was demonstrating what this collaboration means in practice.

Chrysler management sacked two forklift drivers' stewards, Paul and George O'Brien, both long-standing workers in the plant.

An immediate strike took place in their defence by workers on their section.

But dedicated to the interests of Chrysler management, McClusky did nothing to organise support for the strike.

On the contrary, he got together with AUEW con-



Robinson

the forklift drivers back to work.

They attacked the strike as unconstitutional. And they forced through a decision to scab on the strikers. Next day the company threatened to sack any worker that did not return to work.

As feeling rose in the plant the Joint Shop Stewards Committee was convened, and the appeal from the two stewards for a policy of reinstatement pending an ACAS inquiry was carried.

Victimised

But the company flatly rejected even this tame demand, and the stewards backed down and left two of their number victimised outside the gates, thanks to the efforts of Stalinist McClusky.

McClusky and Harraway's Stalinist stable-mate in British Leyland is Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson.

As last week's *Socialist Press* pointed out, Robinson, a leading Stalinist, played a key role in ensuring that the workforce at the threatened Leyland factory at Speke on Merseyside did not take any decision to occupy the plant against closure at their mass meeting.

Divert

He used a barrage of 'left' rhetoric to help divert away from this crucial policy decision which marks the dividing line between an all-

waving also helped him conceal the fact that Robinson himself is the major defender of worker participation and the Edwardes plan for rationalisation of Leyland which have resulted in the company's closure decision.

Yet both *Socialist Worker* and *Socialist Challenge* accepted Robinson's hypocritical speech at face value.

Socialist Worker described him as "moved to tears during the emotional meeting" (though the front page article fell into an embarrassed silence at the point where it should have reported the steps Robinson proposed to save the plant).

Their "last word" comes from Leyland worker Dave Manning:

"The only way they are going to get me out of the gate is with a policeman on either side."

Protest

Yet the danger is that, with a Communist Party member at their head, Leyland workers could be led into a hopeless and demoralising series of protest gestures instead of an all-out fight for occupation and the defeat of the Edwardes plan.

As the struggle sharpens in the car industry only a clear political awareness of the treachery and collaboration of the Stalinists can equip workers for the fight in defence of jobs and conditions.

Those that cover up for the Stalinists or fall for their measures are incapable of

Bakers jobs sold out

Work-sharing with a substantial cut in wages seems the prospect for bakery workers in the wake of a major sell-out of jobs from the doomed Spillers bakeries.

A mere 2,000 jobs are to be salvaged out of the 7,986 workers made redundant.

And these jobs are to be preserved by discontinuing the rest-day working that has been essential for chronically low paid bakery workers to take home a living wage.

The bosses have offered £4 a week as some compensation for this loss of earnings. And on this basis Bakers Union leaders have called off their threat of an overtime ban against the proposed sackings.

General Secretary Sam Maddox pointed out that the extra £4 on basic rates was in recognition of 'higher productivity'.

Work harder

In other words, as 6,000 bakers join the growing dole queues, the Bakers Union is actually organising its members to work *harder* to make up for the loss of their sacked colleagues!

Maddox went on to appeal against any bakery sit-ins to combat the closures, and insisted that the sacked workers should act "in a reasonable manner".

In making this appeal for his members to depart quietly and close the door behind them, Maddox professed himself "highly satisfied" with the settlement.

Maddox has thus done whatever he can to bury the unanimous decision of the Bakers Union executive to defend all the threatened jobs.

And in doing so he has struck a substantial blow at the fight against redundancy and mass unemployment.

The whole affair is a damning indictment of those who believe that protest and pressure divorced from factory occupation is sufficient to save jobs.

Picket to greet May Day social

FOLLOWING objections from TGWU branches and members and other sections of the Coventry labour movement, including the Trades Council, the TGWU District Committee discussed its decision to hold a May Day social at the Allesley Hotel.

The hotel owner, Kilpatrick is well known for his anti-trade union and racist record.

Despite the protests and a picket of its meeting the District Committee voted by 33-7 with a large number of abstentions to go ahead with the social on April 27.

Trade unionists in Coventry will be organising



John Power still victimised

John Power, convenor of the British Leyland Spare Parts division in Cowley, and President of the Oxford Trades Council remains victimised by management.

He remains suspended until Friday 28 April when a further meeting will be held at which the management will present the results of further investigations they have made.

The very timing of the meeting—just before a Bank Holiday, and on a qualifying day for holiday pay—shows that management intend to proceed with the sacking, and hope to avoid strike action.

Although having profound disagreements with John Power, in particular over his witch-hunting of the Cowley 9, *Socialist Press* regards the attack on him as a part of the Edwardes plan to gain control of the Leyland plants and destroy gains made by militant struggles in the past.

For this reason John Power must be defended.

It is a serious error to allow him to remain outside the plant, suspended on full pay.

This is the device used time and again by employers to strip victimised workers of support.

If Power is not reinstated on Friday Duffy must not be allowed to argue for a further period of suspension.

The call must be made for an all-out strike in the spares division until Power is back in the factory.

Moves to black Garners suppliers

Since last week's conference of major labour movement bodies in London, TGWU officials have been forced to make a number of moves to meet the pledges they made.

Catering officer George Abrahams issued a letter during the week calling a conference of all TGWU shop stewards to discuss increased support for the strike.

And last Wednesday the union's Drink and Tobacco sub-committee met with strikers.

After this meeting a letter was circulated to branch secretaries asking for maximum pressure to black deliveries to those companies that continue to trade with Garners.

These moves vindicate the fight by the strikers who have demanded secondary blacking and mass picketing in opposition to Abraham's policies, which have effectively isolated the strike from the strength of the TGWU.

But there must be no complacency, or illusions that Region 1 officials can be left to run this strike, as can be seen from events at the Talk of the Town night club.

Since their successful recognition strike in 1975, the Talk of the Town has been quoted as the model of organisation by TGWU officials.

But after complaints by TGWU officials leading steward George Kyriakides was sacked three months ago. Since then two more stewards have been sacked and two resigned under management pressure.

But officials have diverted action into industrial tribunals which have destroyed the chance of strike action to defend these stewards.

Garners strikers beware! Your struggle must be won in spite of the efforts of these officials! Press ahead with the fight for blacking, mass pickets and a Regional levy to finance this crucial strike.

NUJ PULL BACK FROM JOBS FIGHT

Between the frequent interruptions of the Colonel B affair, the National Union of Journalists annual conference at Whitley Bay took a number of crucial decisions on jobs, pay and the independence of the union.

But the policy which has been adopted for union members facing the introduction of new technology has left a gaping hole for opportunists to cooperate in massive redundancies.

Although the union has taken a position against members operating direct input machines, it has accepted that when NGA leaders sell their members' jobs, NUJ members will be allowed to take them over.

reluctant Colonel Johnstone could have been focused on the need to regain and defend living standards, the employers would be facing next year's wage negotiations with a little less confidence.

Confused

The union committed itself, almost without dissent, to a return to free collective bargaining—but rejected by about five to one a call for a sliding scale of wages, workers and housewives committees to monitor prices and a claim to restore the living standards to 1974 levels.

The dominant left force in the union—the SWP—voted against an Oxford amendment backing the sliding scale of wages and condemning the TUC for not supporting the firemen.

But they remained confused: some supporters of

Westminster Press, where five papers have still been denied the 1978 national pay award.

The strength of the membership was demonstrated in a whole host of motions around the structure of the union.

Right wing attacks, suggesting a merger with the scab "union" the IOJ, and a move towards elitism by merging with 'creative' workers were heavily defeated.

By an overwhelming majority, the delegate conference condemned two right wingers who had taken the union to court after the executive paid fines for people arrested at Grunwick and Darlington.

SWP members were claiming that the conference had shown a swing to the right, but this was not so. What had happened was that



NUJ members picketing Westminster Press management in their pay dispute

is a decision which is to hasten the drive of employers to massacre all unions, including journalists more sophisticated equipment becomes available.

It substitutes a policy of a dog for a principled defence of jobs. An amendment from Ayreshire opening up the policy was narrowly defeated.

A motion in the name of the Oxford branch calling for sharing on full pay and workers control of production was defeated after the SWP spoke strongly against it. It attracted the support of about one third of the conference.

Living standards

of the same attention as spent on publicising the

the SWP's "rank and file" organisation. Journalists Charter had been drawn towards the sliding scale amendment and a special publication of their paper, *Charter*, hedged over support for the motion.

The union is now left with the kind of motion that a diligent General Secretary and a motion from the TUC will be able to translate back into support for 'advisory guidelines' or whatever formula will eventually emerge.

The Whitley Bay conference was forced to recognise the pressure on wages by authorising strikes in two of the biggest sections of the regional newspapers—Thomson, where journalists on one paper were sacked for operating a work to rule and

Journalists Charter had weakened its hold on the left.

Fringe meetings, well attended by delegates, demonstrated why. When Bernard La Roche, a print union FoC, put forward a mixture of left talk and straight right wing policies over redundancies and new technology, Charter members refused to raise a word of criticism.

Alan Thornett, victimised Cowley deputy convenor, spoke to another fringe meeting on witch hunts in the press, basing his approach on the impossibility of capitalist papers representing any other interest than capital.

It came as a sharp blow to supporters who were arguing that the difference lay between 'good' and 'bad' journalists.

Setback to T&G witch-hunters

The new charges against nine TGWU convenors and shop stewards from Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant threatened with victimisation from their own union have flourished.

At the reconvened Regional Inquiry, held on Tuesday April 18, at West Bromwich the hearing had to be called off after 1½ hours because the status of the evidence was called into question.

The charges under consideration centred on the alleged behaviour of delegates from the 5/293 Branch at the Oxford Trades Council.

But Regional Officials were reluctantly forced to accept the point made repeatedly by the Cowley 9 themselves—that the only evidence presented to this official TGWU Inquiry was the individual opinions of one individual member of another union—ASTMS!

The six pages of charges signed by Oxford Trades Council secretary Keith Dancay had never been placed before the Trades Council, discussed or voted on!

Although Regional Secretary Brian Mathers and Regional Chairman Arthur Davies pressed gamely ahead with the hearing for 1½ hours, it appears to have gradually dawned on them that they were getting into deeper, murkier and very difficult water.

The hearing was adjourned without date whilst the status of Dancay's evidence is investigated. A new date for the hearing will then be notified.

Success

No doubt Mathers was conscious that the success of the Cowley 9 Defence Campaign meant that bureaucratic abuses on

this level can no longer be kept secret and would be brought at once to the attention of a broad layer of branches and stewards' committees throughout the union.

John Power, President of the Oxford Trades Council, who has fully supported Dancay's charges, was not in attendance at the hearing.

The Cowley 9 Defence Campaign has issued a statement to supporters urging that the campaign is stepped up.

They point out that although the TGWU bureaucracy has hit a setback with last week's abortive inquiry, the Regional Committee still has before it the findings of the previous inquiry in February and may well act on that.

Affiliate

It goes on to call for the campaign to be stepped up now to deal a death blow to these proceedings:

1. Get your branch or stewards' committee to affiliate to the campaign.

2. Send resolutions calling for the dropping of the charges, and the recognition of Alan Thornett as deputy convenor; to the Number 5 Regional Committee, the General Secretary and the General Executive Council. (Copies to the organising committee).

3. Personal cash donations from supporters of the campaign are urgently needed.

4. Invite one of the nine to speak at your branch or stewards' committee.

All correspondence, requests for speakers and donations to be sent to the organising committee, care of Perry Cullen, 23, Overmead Green, Blackbird Leys, Oxford.

O'fishall's Diary

...YOUR MAN AT THE TOP'S FIGHT TO STAY ON YOUR BACK

TIM

AH, O'FISHALL, ABOUT THOSE 8,000 REDUNDANCIES... TAKE A CRUMB OF COMFORT FROM THIS...

IF, FOR EXAMPLE, WE TAKE THE WHOLE 13,000—KEEP ON 5,000: CUT THE HOURS OF ALL THOSE REMAINING BY THIS PERCENTAGE, DIVIDE UP THE LOST MONEY...

AND THEN REEMPLOY ANOTHER 2 THOUSAND AND SHARE THE HOURS OUT OF COURSE, WE COULD COMPREHENSIVELY RESTRUCTURE WITH, SAY, 1,500 MANAGERS—WHADDYA SAY?

OF COURSE!

NOW THERE'S AN INTELLIGENT FELLOW... I KNEW YOU'D SEE SENSE!

YOU DRIVE A HARD BARGAIN, O'FISHALL... NOW GO AND TELL THE 6,000 THEY'RE FIRED!!!

NOW ACT REASONABLY BROTHERS... LET'S NOT HAVE ANY TALK OF OCCUPATION. IT'S ONLY 6,000 JOBS AFTER ALL—A SPLENDID VICTORY FOR COMMON SENSE!

WELL AT LEAST 1/2 A LOAF IS BETTER THAN NONE!

SOCIALIST PRESS ★



A clear mandate against wage control—the last TGWU conference.

Phase Four door opened

Remember the Great Wage Control Fraud last year?

Remember all those speeches, led by Jack Jones, that declared that a rigid Phase Three of pay policy was not on?

Remember the calm assurance of Lib-Lab government ministers, convinced that all these strong words were simply a cover and that a new pay straightjacket would be forthcoming after the 'left' talk at the union conferences were over?

Carefully phrased

Well it's all starting again, only this time Jack Jones' place has been filled by new General Secretary Moss Evans.

In a series of carefully phrased statements Evans has declared for the gullible that there must be no curb on free collective bargaining.

He has been assisted by Stalinist miners' leader Mick McGahey, who added a touch of colour by declaring that:

"I would suggest to those that talk about phase four—in another couple of years it will be phase 24—I say, that you should tell them to get stuffed".

But behind this rhetoric is a conscious purpose.

Neither Evans, McGahey nor any other union bureaucrat has declared that they will fight the Lib-Lab government's attempts to impose a Phase 4. They will again sit with folded arms while the government yet again imposes pay limits—as they have done with the present 10% limit.

And Healey has already shown that he is determined to enforce a further year of wage control—reverting to increases equal to the 5% settlements under Phase 2,

assisted by a renewal of the 12-month rule.

12-month rule

Let no-one be fooled. The fight against wage control is as crucial now as ever. Every worker must take up the fight for rejection of the 12-month rule, rejection of the present arbitrary 10% limit, action to defeat any Phase 4, and action to break the anti-socialist Lib-Lab coalition that even now is plotting further cuts in living standards.

The only sure defence of workers wage packets is through a rejection of all forms of wage control and the fight for catching up increases linked to cost-of-living clauses based on figures from elected labour movement prices committees.

A fascist uprising took place last week in the city of Mulatya in Eastern Turkey, after the murder of a right wing Kurdish clan chief and three of his relatives by a letter bomb.

Thousands of fascists and right wingers occupied the city for two days, setting fire to houses, shops and offices



The arrest of a few token fascists does not mean the Ecevit regime can fight fascism

Fascist rising in Turkey

of left wing organisations and the liberal bourgeois Republican People's Party.

Three young left wingers were killed as the mob shouted slogans calling for the overthrow of the Ecevit government and the establishment of a religious-fascist state.

10,000 troops moved in while jets flew over the city. Armed battles broke out as the fascists moved into left-

Strike to defend occupation!

Now is the time for those trade union and Labour Party leaders who support the occupation of South Oxford Nursery Class to turn words into action and defend the occupation from eviction.

The County Council has applied for a possession order on Thursday 27 April and the bailiffs have been instructed to comply with the order immediately it is granted.

The Occupation Committee is calling on trade unionists, students, parents and other supporters to demonstrate outside the court at 10am on Thursday and then to march back to the nursery to provide a show of strength when the bailiffs arrive.

Most important in this defence is the local NUPE branch, representing school caretakers, cleaners and dinner staff, whose branch secretary, Millar, has been mouthing the possibility of strike action.

Coincidental with the Nursery closure, the caretaker of the South Oxford Middle School is to be given three months notice—a move by the Council which flies in the face of NUPE's no redundancy agreement.

Emergency meeting

Millar has called an emergency branch meeting on Wednesday evening, which must seriously discuss strike action as the only means to defend both the nursery and the whole question of jobs against the cuts.

The Oxford and District Trades Council, also rebuffed by the County Council which refused to meet a Trades Council delegation to discuss the Nursery, must meet urgently to discuss the next step, and must mobilise support for Thursday's demonstration from the Oxford trade union movement.

Plans for a rally to bring together fights against the cuts, particularly occupations are going ahead for Saturday May 27 in Oxford. Details and tickets from Ted Eames, 7, East Street, Osney Oxford.

Drivers strike to reinstate convenor

350 car transporter drivers from each of the six companies which handle all car production from the Cowley and Abingdon plants struck this morning in defence of Brian Preston, Senior Steward at Cartransport Ltd, who has remained sacked and victimised for the past 11 months.

The drivers will bring the Cowley complex to a standstill within a few days and will cost Leyland £250,000 a day under the lay off agreement for external disputes.

The action of the drivers, who are to meet again on Friday, has been precipitated by a letter from the Thames Valley Police saying that no charges are to be laid against Preston.

Trumped-up charges

He was sacked 11 months ago following trumped up charges that he had overbooked expenses for wage negotiation meetings.

A two week strike in his defence at the time ended when management placed the matter in the hands of the police.

Since then, the "investigation" has dragged on and has been used by TGWU District Secretary Dave Buckle to block support for Preston each time a move has come from the drivers.

Now the way is clear to achieve full reinstatement.

If the action in Cowley is not enough to change the mind of Cartransport management, the strike should be extended throughout the car delivery industry.

WSL school launches £2,000 appeal

At a school held in Oxford at the weekend, the Workers Socialist League took the decision to launch a Special Fund with a target of £2,000 to be raised by the end of July.

Members and supporters attending the school were told of plans to develop the publishing programme of the Workers Socialist League in coming months.

This will include publication of a book on post-war Stalinism, including Tim Wohlforth's essay, "Theory of Structural Assimilation".

Besides this the Workers Socialist League would be able to republish in pamphlet form a variety of material from the pages of *Socialist Press* as well as new material, including a youth pamphlet on the fight against racism and fascism.

A collection at the weekend school raised £712.77 and at the same time a further £800 was pledged to be paid by the end of July.

We urge all readers and supporters to help us raise this important fund by donating as much as they can spare.

Donations should be sent to:

Workers Socialist League Special Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill
London NW5 1HR

wing dominated parts of the city.

In order to maintain the tension, the fascists poisoned the city's water supplies. As fighting spread to other nearby towns and villages a full-scale curfew was introduced.

Though Ecevit's RPP has claimed that this is a 'last desperate attempt by the fascists to survive', the reality is that their strength is actually increasing—fed by the bankruptcy of working class leadership and the acute economic crisis within Turkey itself.

Bourgeois party

Ecevit's inability to combat fascism flows from the bourgeois nature of the RPP itself—which has set out to "solve" Turkey's economic crisis at the expense of the working class.

When the left-wing trade union confederation DISK called a 2-hour token strike against the fascists, Ecevit's government ensured that hundreds of strikers—most of them RPP members or supporters—were arrested.

As the loyal servant of the International Monetary Fund, Ecevit is obliged to combat any such demonstration of independence by Turkish workers—and in this way also prevent the mobilisation necessary to defeat the

fascists.

And in these reactionary policies he is supported by the reformist and Stalinist bureaucrats within the trade union movement.

Disillusioned

Meanwhile the fascists press ruthlessly forward in a drive to extend their influence among disillusioned and bankrupt petty bourgeois forces and backward workers.

The bourgeois state will not crush fascism in Turkey or anywhere else. The only force that can stop the fascists is the independent mobilisation of the working class into armed defence squads.

This policy is now literally a question of life or death for Turkish workers. The fight must be taken up for every workers organisation—parties, trade unions and associations—to break from Ecevit and fight for armed self-defence.

The demand must be for a workers and peasants government based on the independent organisations of the working class.

In this struggle for a workers' united front against fascism a Trotskyist party must be built within the working class to raise the necessary programme at each point in the fight and lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Turkey.

Hotel pamphlet

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