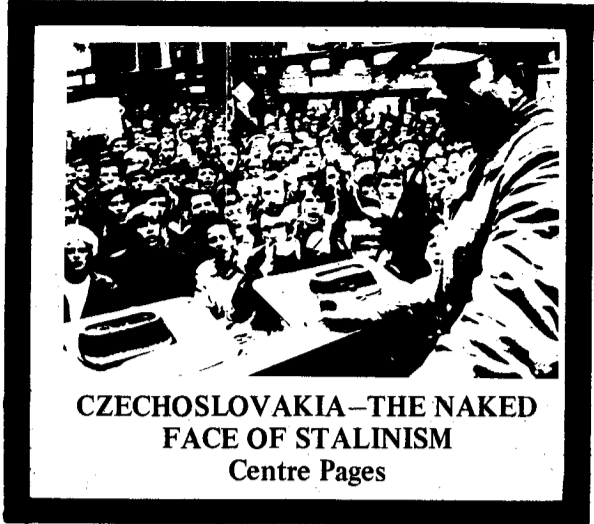


SOCIALIST PRESS



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CZECHOSLOVAKIA—THE NAKED FACE OF STALINISM
Centre Pages

NATIONALISE THE WHOLE MOTOR INDUSTRY!

PREPARE TO DEFEND CHRYSLER JOBS

Every worker who depends for his or her livelihood on the British motor industry stands to lose if the Labour leaders allow the take-over of Chrysler's British operation by the giant Peugeot-Citroen combine.

Chrysler workers—who face the certainty of a ruthless drive to rationalisation and speed up at the hands of one of the most vicious, anti-union employers in France—stand to lose jobs and hard-won working conditions.

Workers in British Leyland—whose outdated and almost unsaleable model range would immediately face strengthened competition from improved marketing of Peugeot-Citroen cars—face an intensified management offensive on speed-up, and the imminent prospects of sackings and even further closures.

And Ford and Vauxhall managements which have been cashing in on the weakness of British Leyland sales, would be confronted with an increased struggle to maintain their share of the market—which will inevitably lead to renewed attacks on working conditions there too.

The experience of the recent period has demonstrated beyond all doubt that in the cut-throat competition of today's economic crisis of capitalism, any firm can only improve its position if it expands at the expense of its workforce and its rivals.

Peugeot's rise to dominance in the European car market is based on precisely this concept.

Peugeot workers have the longest (42½ hour) working week, the lowest (£254) monthly wages and one of the lowest (10%) proportions of unionised employees. Conditions are so oppressive that its absenteeism rate (over 11%) is the highest of any top car manufacturer.

Such employers will not shrink from axing workers by the thousand if necessary in order to trim the unwieldy Chrysler operation to the size they require.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Chrysler pickets outside the Linwood plant



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Chrysler workers fight closure of subsidiary in 1976

End business secrets! Nationalise without compensation!

But what of Chrysler? What has happened to the £81 million of British government loans and grants lavishly handed out by Labour leaders in a deal designed to avoid nationalisation in mid-1975?

At the time this appalling deal was struck—at the cost of thousands of Chrysler jobs—Chrysler's market value was so low that chief executive John Riccardo actually offered the Wilson government £35 million to take the British operation off his hands.

Instead Wilson chose to spend five times as much

in a £162 million deal to bribe the employer to stay on.

The only way this question could be answered is through the fight by Chrysler workers for elected trade union committees to be given access to Chrysler's account books.

This would reveal the ways in which the £51½ million in grants and £30 million in loans were siphoned out of the country into the coffers of the crisis-ridden Chrysler corporation.

And it would reveal how it is that three years later for a mere £118 million in

cash and a shares issue, Peugeot has now been able to purchase the whole Chrysler operation in Europe, lock, stock and barrel.

It would demonstrate beyond doubt the necessity for the nationalisation of Chrysler, without compensation, under workers management.

But the problem does not rest there. The anarchy of the car industry—with rival capitalist firms attempting to force each other out of business by producing virtually identical vehicles—continues only at

the expense of the working class.

The Chrysler fiasco—soon to be followed by an even sharper turn in British Leyland's financial crisis—points to the need to fight for the nationalisation of the whole motor industry, including the highly profitable components firms currently benefitting from Leyland's "losses", and the establishment of a workers' plan of production to protect all jobs.

This policy leads naturally to the fight for the nationalisation under workers management of the banks and other major industries as the basis of a planned socialist economy.

In adopting a policy in each Chrysler plant for occupation to withstand the attacks on jobs that must

now arise, the perspective of nationalisation is one which offers a clear basis for an appeal for support and common action from every other section of car workers.

The major obstacle to such a fight is the complete absence of leadership from convenors and union officials in Chrysler.

John Carty, convenor at the Linwood plant which is most likely for the Peugeot axe, explicitly rejected any call for nationalisation.

"I think our best hopes lie in negotiations with Peugeot-Citroen".

Buckling down

Other convenors and officials are also following Carty's line of buckling down to collaboration with the prospective new employers rather than fighting to defend the interests of their 23,000 members.

The fight for jobs in the motor industry is inseparable from the fight to construct a revolutionary leadership in the unions capable of challenging both right and 'left' wings of the bureaucracy and fighting for a principled socialist programme.

INTERNATIONAL



Fascist threat grows in Turkey

Nearly 300 workers and students have been killed by fascist attacks in Turkey since the Ecevit government took over earlier this year.

The fascists are continuing an all-out offensive aimed at systematically terrorising the masses.

In some places these attacks have reached the scale of open uprising—particularly in the Eastern part of Turkey. There on five or six occasions the fascists have provoked backward, religious peasants into violent action through bomb outrages blamed on to "communists".

Rampage

As the peasants take over the town, the fascists go on the rampage, seeking out militant workers, students and progressive elements.

Even offices of Ecevit's bourgeois party the RPP have been burned down in these uprisings, in which fascists have called for the overthrow of Ecevit's "communist" government and the establishment of a religious-fascist state.

Under these conditions clearly no credence can be given to the recent call by the fascist leader for "peace" or his declaration that "the government will be overthrown in Parliament by democratic means".

This type of demagoguery is a carbon copy from Adolf Hitler, designed to confuse the workers, and disregarded by the big bourgeoisie whose resources are being channelled behind the fascists.

Ailing economy

Ecevit's liberal bourgeois government is plainly unable to cope with this political crisis coming on top of the acute economic dislocation inside Turkey.

At the recent Istanbul conference of underdeveloped countries, Ecevit warned that IMF stipulations on loans to underdeveloped countries could lead to "authoritarian regimes".

Ecevit should know. He has himself been implementing IMF policies in an effort to prop up the ailing economy. And he ended a desperate tour of ten capitalist countries and the Soviet Union almost empty handed, despite the urgent need to cover \$15 billion external debts, \$4 billion short term debts and a trade deficit so far this year of \$4 billion.

But sooner than confront the Turkish working class head on, Ecevit's strategy is to utilise the collaboration of the union leaders.

The devaluation of the Turkish lira and price increases have been followed up by the signing of a British-style "social

contract" with the right wing trade union confederation Turk-is, covering 1 million workers.

This "contract" centres on permanent wage controls and the introduction of "workers' participation" schemes to further class collaboration. With inflation currently at 50%, this amounts to a major attack.

Yet despite its initial criticisms, of the "contract", the left-wing union confederation, DISK, is now also having talks with the government.

The dangers of a military/fascist coup in Turkey are emphasised by the lengths to which Ecevit now has to go to portray the army as "democratic".

Lost control

His recent speech to the National Security Council claimed, in an awful echo of the doomed Allende, that:

"The armed forces' determination not to be provoked and their attachment to the principles of democracy constitute proof that Turkey will emerge from the present crisis with its national integrity unscathed."

But the government has lost control of much of the police machinery to the fascists—to such an extent that 20,000 soldiers are now stationed in the



Ecevit

important cities to do the job of the police!

There is no way that Turkish workers can fight the fascists through Ecevit's bourgeois government or through defending it.

Only the independent struggles of the working class and the formation of armed workers' militias can successfully fight back against the growth of fascist violence.

Workers parties, trade unions and youth organisations must

break politically from Ecevit and the RPP and be forced to fight for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

A working class united front must be built in which the fascists can be defeated, and the existing leadership of the labour movement put to the test.

In the course of such struggles a Trotskyist party must be built as part of a reconstructed Fourth International.

Portugal-Eanes drops the "democratic" mask

The faithful servant has been dismissed.

Mario Soares, the leader of Portugal's Socialist Party who for over two years has dutifully tried to make Portugal safe again for capitalism—has not been asked to form another government.

President Eanes of the Portuguese armed forces has now told Soares that in the eyes of Portuguese capitalists he has failed.

Eanes' decision not to ask Soares to form a new government marks a major change in tactics by the Portuguese ruling class and also a sharp increase in the political dangers faced by the Portuguese masses.



Caetano

The appointment of Nobre da Costa as Prime Minister indicates that the bourgeoisie has decided to abandon its effort to rule through Soares' class collaborationist coalition.

"Independent"

More than that—the bourgeoisie has abandoned, at least for now, its effort to rule through political parties.

Nobre da Costa is a politically "independent" capitalist.

He was chief executive of the state oil company under the fascist government of Caetano.

More recently he was the "technocratic" industry minister in both the sixth provisional government and the first Soares government after the 1976 parliamentary elections.

But the appointment of a man like Nobre da Costa doesn't mean that the bourgeoisie has decided to rule directly without the aid of political agents.

What it does mean is a big stride in the direction of military rule.

Nobre da Costa's power will not be based on political parties or on parliament but on the armed forces.

Nobre da Costa is the direct nominee of Eanes, who did not make the appointment until it had

been squared with the all-military Council of the Revolution.

So the much-vaunted "democratic" constitution which was the offspring of the so-called Constituent Assembly, by which Soares set so much store, now gives Eanes the green light to re-establish military rule.

At the centre of the latest government crisis has been the question of capitalist property.

The coalition of the Socialist Party and the Christian Democrats broke up because of disagreements over the speed of handing back nationalised property to its former owners.

For the Christian Democrats this restoration of property was not happening quickly enough.

More slowly

The Socialists were equally devoted to undoing these nationalisations but wanted to do it more slowly so as not to upset their own rank and file and to throw an easy catch to the waiting opportunistic hands of the Communist Party.

But both Socialist and Communist Party leaders have as usual shown themselves totally unwilling to defend the gains made by Portuguese workers and peasants in the 18 months which followed the overthrow of the fascist government.

The Stalinist leaders have diplomatically opposed the nomination of Nobre da Costa on the grounds that "it doesn't correspond to the characteristics needed to solve the crisis".

These 'characteristics', according to the CP leaders, would be fulfilled by an alliance of all the "democratic and patriotic forces, especially the Socialists and Communists".

But the CP doesn't call in any sense for a CP-SP government.

Person pique

As for Soares and the Socialist Party, their reactions to the new events seem to be based more on personal pique than political principle.

Soares clearly remains as dutiful as ever to his bourgeois masters.

It is typical that Soares is not concerned at the threat posed by the new government to the workers and peasants.

But he has made only the mildest complaints that the government clearly violates his own beloved bourgeois constitution.

He has promised that the Socialist Party "will not systematically place obstacles in the way of" the new "disguised military government."

The bourgeoisie can expect no more faithful servants than this.



Nobre da Costa



Soares

There is now great urgency for a fight throughout the labour movement based on the demands:

Down with the Nobre da Costa/Eanes government!

For a Socialist Party-Communist Party government.

Expel the Soares leadership from the labour movement!

Occupy to defend all nationalised property!

Dissolution of the bourgeois army!

Build workers committees and militias to defend and extend the gains of April 1974!

Further setback in Eritrea

The forces of the Ethiopian military dictatorship and its allies are now preparing an assault on the town of Keren in western Eritrea.

Having raised the siege of Asmara, and with the fall of Agordat, recapturing the last town held by the Eritrean Liberation Front, the Derg's armies have been freed to throw their forces against the resistance of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front.

Keren—which was liberated by the EPLF in last year's advances—is strategically crucial to the control of the west of Eritrea, and the battle will be a critical test of the EPLF's ability to withstand the onslaught of the Ethiopian troops with their Russian equipment and Soviet support.

But with every day of the war in Eritrea, the Derg's domestic crisis intensifies. The chaos of Ethiopian society has now been increased by the invasion of a huge swarm of locusts.

Mengistu's regime is now fighting a desperate battle against time on every front.

While the continuing liberation struggles in Eritrea give an impetus to revolutionary forces within Ethiopia, so this internal crisis restrains the dictatorship from turning all its strength to crush the EPLF and the Eritrean people.

China-Japan pact

To the accompaniment of denunciations thundering from the Kremlin, the ruling Chinese bureaucracy has signed a treaty of friendship with the government of Japan.

The wrath of the Russian bureaucracy has been provoked above all by the 'anti-hegemony' clause.

This declares that neither China nor Japan seeks hegemony (i.e. political domination) over eastern Asia or any other region, and that both oppose attempts by any other state to achieve such hegemony.

Far from standing as a condemnation of imperialism, this clause is understood by all parties as an attack on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The fury of the Kremlin clique has been equalled and surpassed by the jubilation of the Peking leaders—and of every section of imperialism.

Like the major Japanese companies which paid for national advertisements to welcome the signing, the imperialists are enraptured by the economic significance of this 'friendship'.

Individual deals and general negotiations are increasing at a compound rate which reveals more starkly every day the threat posed to the nationalised property relations in China by the actions of the bureaucracy.

INTERNATIONAL



AFTER THE ELECTIONS

IN PERU

By Enrique Alvares

Part two of an interview with a metal workers' leader

We print here an interview with Enrique Fernandez, a Peruvian worker and a leader of the Peruvian metal workers' union, who was elected in June as a member of Peru's Constituent Assembly.

He has had a long experience in the trade union and political struggle in Peru and is a member of the Socialist Workers' Party (PST), a sympathising section of the "Unified" Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The majority of the PST leadership supports the "Bolshevik Tendency" within the USFI.

What is your position of governmental demands?

We think that the Constituent Assembly was a gain by the masses to the extent that they had forced the government to retreat somewhat from a hard policy.

And it presented the possibility of a democratic opening.

We decided to participate in the elections to the constituent assembly putting up independent class candidates.

All this was not in the government's plans.

And even less was it part of the government's plans that the left should take advantage of this to become the second force in the elections. Also the elections to the Assembly didn't serve their purpose in disorienting the struggles of the workers since the teachers have been on strike for 70 days, there are 35,000 public health workers on strike and also there is a sizeable section of miners on strike.

The government's plans couldn't prevent these struggles. On the contrary, the workers see the Constituent Assembly not only as a gain, but they are beginning to see the possibility of confronting the government itself.

So our position consists of this: how are we going to take advantage of this situation, this workers' upsurge, the Constituent Assembly itself elected by popular vote, to call for the overthrow of the government which has been completely repudiated?

There is unity among the masses. The voting was a vote against the military junta. Even the ultra-right centres its campaign against the military junta.

In this situation we put forward the demand for a provisional government of the Constituent Assembly, on the criterion that this demand is the best to accelerate the fall of the dictatorship.

Class independence

Does this imply there can be bourgeois ministers in such a government?

No, we are opposed to any bourgeois ministers. We will put forward the demand for a government of class independence.

But we have a contradiction in the Constituent Assembly. The right has a majority. But it has that position by virtue of a campaign waged against the present military government. When we counterpose the Constituent Assembly to the military government,



Peruvian President Morales Bermudez.

the right comes out as a camouflaged defender of the government.

We say to APRA: we have to overthrow the government, we have to demand "down with the dictatorship".

But they then say: No, because now there is no dictatorship; because from the moment that they called the elections to the Assembly, there was no longer a dictatorship.

And they also say: yes, we are for removing the present government from office, but first of all let us draw up a new constitution and hold general elections and get rid of the government in that way.

The first thing for them now is the constitution which would take at least a year; then there will be general elections and so on.

Our pressure on them is to say: You were elected on a programme of opposition to the military government, but you haven't offered any solution. So we say to them, let us confront the dictatorship, and we put forward our solutions to the problems.

That is going to help ensure that the 2 million votes which went to the right are channelled into a genuine confrontation with the military junta and towards a way out of the crisis.

That is our tactic and that's how we are tackling the concrete political situation.

Of course, at no point do we say that the problems can be resolved through the Constituent Assembly, but rather they must be solved by the mobilisation of the working class on its demands. But the Assembly is a concrete tactical question which we have to deal with.

What are the main union federations?

There are four: the CNT, which is with the Christian Democracy; the CTRP (the Federation of Workers of the Peruvian Revolution) which was set up by the government; the CTP which is dominated by the APRA; and the CGTP which is controlled by the Communist Party.

But each of them is divided. In the CNT there is a large faction (also Christian Democrat) called the Christian Trade Union Movement.

The CTRP is split from the CTRP (Lima); the latter are the people of the PSR.

The CTP remains intact but it doesn't represent anyone; it has lost even its traditional strength in the textile industry.

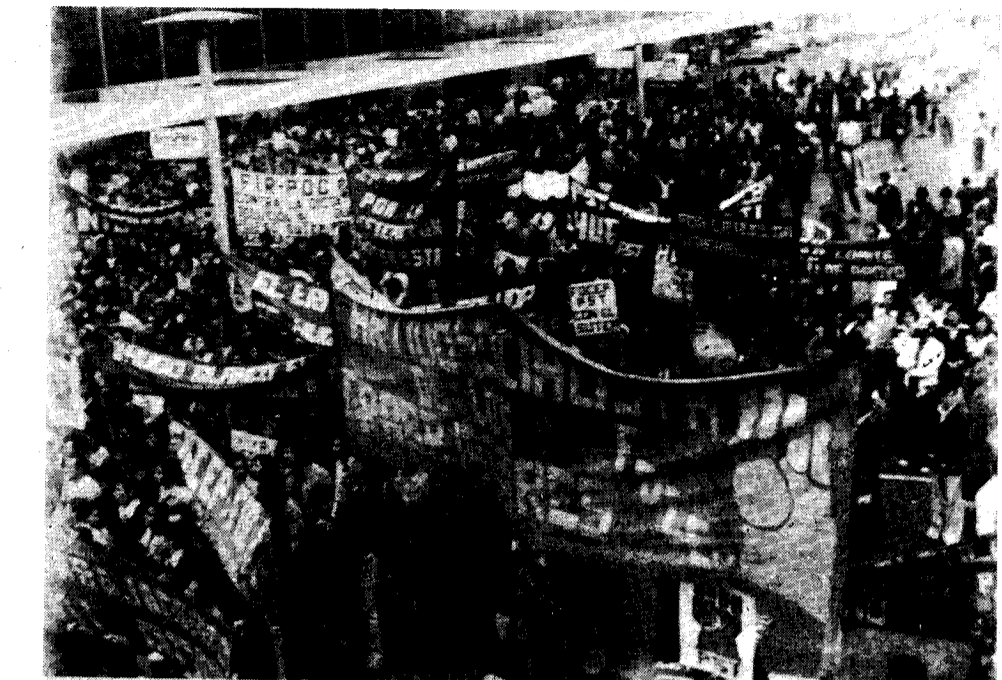
And the CGTP has split in two as well as a result of the split in the Communist Party. Also there are now many independent trade union federations in particular countries.

A unitary co-ordinating body of the trade union federations has been set up. It is called the CUL (Unitary Struggle Command).

It was set up specifically to fight the division. It was set up to organise the general strikes of the last year.

It includes the CGTP, the CTRP (Lima) the CNT and the independent federations which don't belong to any of the four federations. The CUL led the general strike of July 19, 1977.

There was a problem with this CUL. A large section of the vanguard took an ultra-left position and tried to expel the CP from the joint command, organising another national strike on September 20 to demand the re-employment



Crowds welcome returned, exiled 'Trotskyist' Hugo Blanco.

of all those victimised after July 19. But no-one went on strike; it was a failure.

Disciplined

Does that mean that the CP is still the key to the success of a general strike call?

It's not determining but it is key. Because the CP can do nothing without the rest. The working class is very disciplined.

So, still, if the CGTP says 'Don't join the national strike' then a large section of the working class will not do so. But there are now large sectors which have broken with it.

What is the basis of the split in the CP?

Basically there are no political differences. What happened was this: after July 19 the government issued a decree sacking all the organisers of the general strike—6,000 workers' leaders.

In my union, for instance, all the leaders were sacked.

Among the 6,000 were members of the CP. And they put pressure on the CP leadership to organise another strike to demand their re-employment.

But since the leaders of the CP still had the line of negotiating with the government—and in particular after the banning of all political publications they wanted to negotiate the legal appearance of their weekly paper—they made an agreement with the government not to organise strikes. But there was strong pressure from the sacked CP militants and the split was between those who were for and those who were against the strikes.

The so-called CP

(Majority) supported more strikes and the CP (Unidad) —named after the title of their paper—was against.

But in spite of that there are really no political differences between them. For instance I see a good deal of the main leader of the CP (Majority) Jose Chavez because he is also in the metalworkers' union.

He, for instance, is very concerned about the question of Soviet aid.

He says that when the Soviet Union realises that they have the majority and most of the workers' leaders then the assistance will come to them. That's why they took the name 'Majority'.

But since the Soviet Union still supports the idea of the newspaper appearing and negotiations with the government they carry on sending the aid to the CP (Unidad).

The actual struggle has not been about the political differences but about this question of money and the party apparatus and so on.

Both the CPs, for instance, say that Hugo Blanco is a traitor and a CIA agent. The CP (Majority) is in the UDP which announced only a week before the elections that Blanco was a CIA agent who had provoked the repression in the countryside.

What other committees are being formed within the workers' movement?

Whenever there is a strike the first thing that is done is to form a coordinating committee. For example there was recently a strike in a textile (nylon) factory in the Central Highway.

Since the workers lived nearby and all were known by the local people, all the

other sectors of the population supported them and joined together in a very strong march with three or four days of confrontations with the police and so on. The whole population got up to support this strike.

Assemblies

These kinds of committees which are formed in the struggle are called coordinating committees, or sometimes support committees or struggle committees (that's the commonest name), or in some places they are even called people's assemblies...

The problem of the name doesn't matter very much. The important thing is that they perform more or less the same function whatever they are called—the function of supporting the struggle.

They are integrating committees because they integrate not only the demands of the workers on strike or in dispute, but also the other demands of the people in the zone.

And such committees become recognised because the authorities are forced to negotiate with them.

In Arequipa that lasted 8 days and they won. There, there was a committee to cut the cost of living—against the increase in prices of basic commodities.

In what sense did that struggle win?

They won because the government brought down the prices. For example, in Arequipa things cost one price and in Lima another, higher, price. And it's still carrying on like that.

Hasn't that provoked similar committees in other cities?

Yes, yes. But there has so far been no victory. In Lima for instance the trade unions are putting forward isolated strikes rather than a united strike. That's why at present in a factory, I don't merely say "Go on strike", but "Let's push forward the National Strike".

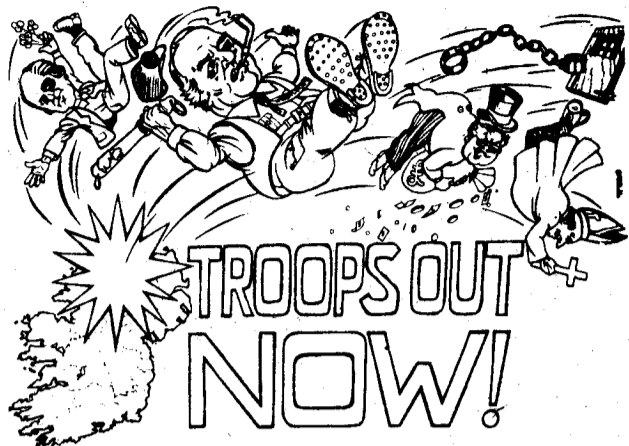
National Strike. National Strike. The demands have to be made as a whole.

That is the new dynamic of the class struggle in Peru. Although the workers are divided amongst various trade unions federation, the demands are being made in a more cohesive way.



Striking Peruvian teachers demonstrate

IRELAND



Internment lives on—drive out butcher Mason!

News last week publicised the scandalous case of John McCallister who has been held on remand in Northern Ireland for 22½ months, after being detained in Britain under the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act.

After six days of the seven day period of interrogation permitted under the Act, McCallister was charged with causing an explosion in Belfast.

The only evidence against him was his statement extracted during detention. And, two years later he still has not been brought to trial.

The practice of using prolonged remands as a substitute for open internment—which was formally "ended" in December 1975—has sharply increased since 1976.

But while these means are used to mete out savage and

instant jail without trial to those accused of violence against British imperialism, there is of course a near-complete silence on the army's daily intimidation and violence against the Catholic population.

The police report on the army murder of 16-year-old John Boyle has only now gone to the Northern Ireland director of public prosecutions, under conditions of mounting scepticism as to the army version of the killing.

It is reported that despite army claims that Boyle was pointing an Armalite rifle at them, the boys fingerprints have not been found on the gun.

And, according to the *Sunday Times* a post-mortem report shows that Boyle was shot in the back of the head by the imperialist troops.

Behind the whole affair is

torture minister Roy Mason's obscene directive to the occupying forces to shoot first and ask questions afterwards, which has led to a sharp increase in army murders in recent months.

The decision of the United Troops Out Movement to focus on Mason's role in Ireland by calling a demonstration through his Barnsley constituency is therefore a correct move which can potentially take forward the struggle on Ireland within the Labour Party.

Called for Saturday 7 October at 1pm, the demonstration commemorates the tenth anniversary of the major Civil Rights march in Derry, and takes up the call for Prisoner of War status for Irish prisoners of war, (though it fails to demand an amnesty for political prisoners), repeal of the "Pre-

vention of Terrorism" Act, an end to media censorship of the war in Ireland, the withdrawal of British troops and self-determination for the Irish people as a whole.

But curiously the march organisers do not include the most obvious demand at all—the demand that Labour Party branches, GMC's and union branches fight for the expulsion of butcher Mason from the Labour Party for his role as chief torture master in Ireland.

This demand offers a tangible way for British workers to take up the Irish struggle within the labour movement and test out the anti-capitalist credentials of their 'left' talking leaders, like Arthur Scargill, President of the Yorkshire Area NUM which has its headquarters in Barnsley.

As hundreds of socialist and republican workers marched through London last Sunday to mark the seventh anniversary of

internment, further evidence was being spotlighted to show the brutality of British military rule.

In particular, *Republican*

Smith's frame-up

"Until this evidence was uncovered, many people were saying that the massacre could have been the work of the Rhodesian Selous Scouts", declared a BBC TV news reporter last week, in one of the biggest frame-ups yet attempted in the Zimbabwe guerrilla war.

Pointing to two dead African guerrillas stretched out for photographers in the sun, the reporter—Ian Smith (sic)—announced that Smith's armed forces had discovered "conclusive evidence" that these men were part of Robert Mugabe's ZANU forces—and that these same forces had carried out the sensationalised murders at the Elim Pentecostal mission a few weeks ago.

The "evidence"? A notebook allegedly found in the pocket of one of the Africans, containing not only references to Mugabe, but a detailed account of the massacre!



Robert Mugabe

Fortunately for Smith and his namesake in Salisbury, dead men can tell no tales, nor refute even this most ridiculous slander.

But as the guerrilla war has begun to reach into the very outskirts of Salisbury itself, as a growing queue of white settlers forms up to flee the country, and as Muzorewa struggles to preserve his position as the regime's leading stooge while finding himself starved of reforms to offer his demoralised supporters, this latest stunt indicates nothing but the desperate weakness of imperialist control in Zimbabwe.

Sun strike reveals plans for union-busting lockout

Sun journalists 'negotiated' a 5% productivity deal last week to put the final stamp of failure on their earlier pay strike.

The strike led with blind ignorance and totally ignoring political questions has nevertheless struck another blow against the Fleet Street employers.

The national newspaper industry is heading for the possibility of a total shut-down through a lockout as the employers become more and more anxious about the massive wave of disputes which broke out early this year and which shows every sign of increasing.

In the wake of the strike by *Sun* journalists, two of



Victor Matthews

the central planks of the employers' strategy were revealed—a complete Fleet Street-wide lockout and a joint multi-million pound fund in which individual capitalists combine to fight Fleet Street workers together.

The fund works by a system of pledges which any

one of the Fleet Street papers can call on if shut down by a dispute.

It is similar to one put together by provincial newspaper managements (and used during the Darlington closed shop last year) but on a very much larger scale.

TV reporter Sally Hardcastle in a series of skilful interviews with the Fleet Street moguls in *The Editors* last week, drew out the strike breaking plans by nudges, embarrassing silences and evasions.

Victor Matthews, owner of the *Daily Express* and the *Evening Standard*, and a proprietor who openly declares his editorial control, was reported to have been refusing to put up his share of the money during the dispute—because

the *Express* was selling hundreds of thousands of extra copies every day that the *Sun* was shut down.

He agreed that a meeting had taken place between all the Newspaper Publishers Association bosses and, asked about the joint shut-down said:

"If that was the right course it is possible that it could have been there... I think it was considered, yes... It was early days".

Looking thoroughly unhappy about the turn the interview had taken, Matthews said:

"It is easy enough to say that we are all going to close, but it is a lot of money..."

Pressed further on the fund, this latter-day Beaverbrook revealed his love of free information.

"I think that financial arrangements that newspapers make between themselves, like those between husband and wife, would be embarrassing to reveal."

However when Sally Hardcastle suggested that the *Express* commitment to the fund might be £1 million there was no hint from Matthews that this was on the high side.

All he would say gnomically was:

"This is not a situation we would talk about, if it exists at all."

"It obviously has its attractions when you get enormous losses but it's a difficult question whether a newspaper should stand on its own feet."

But where Matthews had been coy, the *Sun* editor, Larry Lamb, blundered in.

Still enthusing about the reappearance of his newspaper, he fell into the trap

which Sally Hardcastle neatly set for him by introducing the question of the fund as if it was a well-known fact.

Asked how much aid the paper had been given, he replied:

"We have received a great deal of it and some more of it was promised".

He made it clear that neither the *Mirror* (which is not in the NPA) or the *Express* had paid up.

The only conditions for managements agreeing to pay up was that they agreed that the dispute was one on which the management should stay firm and as Lamb correctly remarked:

"I suspect they are all about to run into the same problem".

Technology

It is also clear that employers are putting increasing pressure on print union officials to break the strongest chapels for them—with the intention of reintroducing plans for new technology, already rejected by the Fleet Street workers.

Richard Marsh, former Labour MP, and now head of the Newspaper Publishers Association, said in the same programme:

"Where rank and file union members will not follow the procedure signed by their General Secretaries, then the General Secretaries have an obligation to take away their union cards".

The problem for the print workers is to develop a political understanding of the task, that faces them, and a leadership which is prepared to turn their strength and militancy onto the offensive.

PRESS GANG BLACKED OUT

A mutilated, toned down version of a documentary film on racialism in Britain was screened on American TV last week to the sound of wind and fury on both sides of the Atlantic.

The film—'Blacks Britannica'—included interviews with blacks beaten up by police and police at target practice—using black targets.

But the target practice scene has been removed, the sequences have been drastically rearranged and the ending of the film has been completely changed.

Only the city of Boston has put out the original film uncut.

Producer David Koff went to court to stop the film being shown in its mutilated form—and lost.

Stopped

British cinema goers in London had the opportunity to see it for a few weeks at the Scala, Tottenham Court Road, but the sponsoring TV company had it stopped.

All in all it's a fairly familiar story of censorship triumphing over those few artistic products which attempt to present a class

perspective.

This butchery is not, however, enough for that champion of press freedom, the *Daily Mail*.

Enraged that any of the original sequences have been screened in America the paper launches an attack on the film as "the most biased propaganda film".

"Its viewers will be told that Britain is the home of racialism, and that we exported it to the States along with the Pilgrim Fathers.

They will be led to believe that our politicians exploit black people, that the police regularly batter them, that we refuse to employ their young, and that we have in short, totally failed to allow them to integrate.

"More important, they will be shown a Britain where the blacks are so desperate that they are on the brink of revolution. Marxism is the only solution, they will hear."

The full page feature contains some fairly tame red baiting and then an instructive description of the censorship by the TV producer David Fanning.

"It (the film) began with talk of a state conspiracy against the blacks, and ended with film of a riot. He was unhappy but

he didn't want to censor it too much. [!]

"He kept the conspiracy statement but moved it further into the film. He took out a sequence in which policemen are shown practicing hand-gun shooting against black targets.

"And that was all. [!]

His version still remains a piece of propaganda of which Goebbels could be proud."

Effrontery

The *Mail's* effrontery is not yet exhausted. It goes on to say that the film would have "terrible potential" in the hands of the National Front.

The answer for the *Mail* would presumably be to rush through some of David McNee's plans for an extension of police powers.

That way those who made or appeared in the film could be held on suspicion for a few days and interrogated—using appropriate force.

With a bit of luck they would be in no state to make any further films embarrassing to the British ruling class.



NUJ pickets during the Darlington strike

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

A 'SOCIALIST' CAMPAIGN THAT ACCEPTS CALLAGHAN!



Socialist Press has received a letter dated 31-7-78 from the 'Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory' (SCLV), signed on behalf of the Steering Committee by Geoff Bender.

We do not have sufficient space to reprint the four-page long letter. We are sure that the *Workers Action* and *Chartist* newspapers can reprint it if they feel it necessary since they support the SCLV.

We can, however, give a summary of the letter and some quotations from it.

Socialist Press 109 carried a report of a SCLV conference which is stated to contain 'factual misrepresentation'. The letter objects to the claim that the conference excluded discussion on programme.

It lists several demands of the SCLV as evidence of a programme—including opposition to wage control, the call for free abortion and gay rights, for the removal of troops from Ireland, support for black

self-defence and 'many other progressive policies'.

The accusation that the SCLV is 'soft' on the Labour 'left' leaders is angrily denied and an SCLV leaflet is quoted to support this, which says: 'The Labour Left has simply failed to offer an alternative to the right-wing leadership of the Labour Party'.

Various conference speakers, including prospective Labour Parliamentary candidates Ken Livingstone and Ted Knight, are listed, with the claim that these people represent real struggles.

(A reply to the *Socialist Press* report's claim that the SCLV conference passed without reference to 'actual struggles within the trade union and labour movement'.)

The letter states that the SCLV 'intends to be in the forefront in the coming months in organising support for struggles' on various issues, and implies that, by continuously

focussing demands on 'left' Labour leaders to act, *Socialist Press* and its supporters engage in 'calls on others to act for us'.

Finally the *Socialist Press* report is falsely criticised for referring to 'members of the I-CL (International Communist League) and the IMG (International Marxist Group) at the conference.

It is pointed out that all who attended were Labour Party members, and that neither of these organisations were involved in organising it.

Despite these criticisms, the letter nevertheless invites *Socialist Press* supporters and WSL members to support the SCLV.

The SCLV thus regards *Socialist Press* as distorting its position. In turn, *Socialist Press* regards the SCLV as a small-time centrist circus that offers no way forward for Labour Party members. Below we print an open reply to the SCLV in order to make our position clear.



Labour Party conference: the problem is leadership

Socialist Press fights to expose this treachery. It calls for the political mobilisation of the working class to drive out Callaghan/Healey.

It demands that the 'left' talkers replace words with action in order to expose their refusal to fight. But the SCLV declines to comment on such matters.

In fact, the *Chartist* thinks the task is to 'debate' with Callaghan!

This is of course the position of all wings of the trade union bureaucracy.

Debate

You write as follows: '(*Socialist Press*) mocks at the idea that some SCLV supporters put of conducting a debate with Callaghan over policies and tells us that the 'right wing leaders must be removed'.

"How this is to be done short of winning the movement to our policies is not stated. A campaign of selective assassinations perhaps?"

"In fact the only way forward... the article outlines is the call on the Labour lefts to 'kick out Healey and Callaghan' and the truly heroic struggle of the comrade who lost by only one vote a resolution calling on her MP to call on the PLP to pass a resolution of no confidence in the Labour leaders.

"Healey and Callaghan are doubtless quaking in their boots at this terrible threat to their jobs and power."

Clearly the hope here is that vulgar humour can smokescreen the most vulgar politics.

Socialist Press is not short of examples of the fight against Labour's coalitionists.

Leadership

The article you quote from contains only one example because it was the only example presented at the conference.

Your bluster and rhetorical questions only cover the fact that you would never risk upsetting your 'left' friends by raising unpleasant questions of leadership.

Indeed, you appear to have developed your political cowardice into a theory. You state that "the job of removing the right is that of conference and their own CLPs".

This excuses you from demanding anything too strenuous from Labour 'lefts' and from people in the Labour Party who are happy to engage in endless debates about the 'best' methods of 'reselection' of MPs.

In all these debates, protocol forbids mention of the main task—driving out the traitors by all possible means.

It is the SCLV's centrism on these programmatic questions that makes the support of *Socialist Press* impossible.

Capitulations

Nor is it possible for us to take SCLV at face value—we look at the forces behind it, particularly here the *Workers Action* and *Chartist* tendencies.

While *Socialist Press* remains willing to support cooperation on specific practical actions that aid the class struggle, it cannot give any credibility to these tendencies.

Workers Action (which attempts some very 'left' criticisms of *Socialist Press*) has committed shameful capitulations in the past and will do so in the future.

It did not balk at calling for support for Benn as new Labour leader when he stood on a thoroughly anti-working-class platform in the backroom parliamentary swindle of a leadership election following Wilson's resignation.

The position of *Workers Action* is all the more revealing since it is the only group that has not

Lenin's characterisation of the Labour Party as a 'bourgeois workers' party' and maintains that the Labour Party is thoroughly capitalist anyway.

Similarly with *Chartist*. What this organ expects from the SCLV can only be guessed at, since it believes that the British working class has been defeated since the time of the *EEC referendum*, that the leadership of the working class only reflects the general 'backwardness', 'chauvinism' etc. of the class, itself, and that all socialists can do is make 'propaganda' against the 'bad ideas' of the right wing.

The pitifully poor production of the monthly paper itself is adequate testimony to the complete despair of this grouping.

It is for these reasons that we believe your campaign poses no threat to the Labour bureaucracy.

The support accorded by sundry 'left' leaders is the standing proof of this. That Arthur Scargill—who has consistently evaded a fight against the NUM right wing—can send a message of support is enough said.

We would only be interested to know whether Scargill intends to translate his 'support' into a fight to remove Roy Mason—the butcher of the Six Counties—from his NUM-sponsored seat in Barnsley.

In short, our opinion is unchanged.

Your aim of "maintaining, deepening and extending the unity of the working class for the coming general election" is, as we noted in our original article, that of a grouping which "will act as little more than the 'left' recruiting sergeants of Callaghan", and is indistinguishable from the 'tame cat' fake 'Marxists' of the Militant group.

Yours fraternally,
Socialist Press
Editorial Board

Dear Comrade Bender,

The 'factual misrepresentation' of which you accuse *Socialist Press* comes from neither ignorance, nor malice as you suggest, but from the difference between our revolutionary, and your petty bourgeois approach to the fight for socialist policies in the labour movement.

The questions of programme, leadership and the actual class struggle which you raise are not separate questions for us, but intimately related. They lie at the basis of our opposition to your campaign.

We do not regard the 'credentials' of your spokesmen (which anyway fail to impress us) as a substitute for the discussion of actual struggles.

Silence

Nor do we regard a few demands on a leaflet as evidence of a fight for a socialist programme, or an ability to bemoan the 'failures' of the 'Labour Left' as capacity to build a new leadership.

We continue to believe that the silence of the speakers at your conference on the question of Labour's 'left' leaders is of far greater importance than all these things.



Callaghan

Let us examine your 'programme'. Its significance is not what it says—but what it leaves out.

Of course the omission of this or that demand could be 'oversight'. But this cannot be the case with your campaign, which advances some very 'left' demands—indeed some borrowed from Trotsky's Transitional Programme—but says nothing on the question of working class leadership.

Your silence on this point reveals your chatter about socialism to be mere phrases.

Since 1975, *Socialist Press* has faced the question of leadership by pointing to the breakneck race of the Labour bureaucracy to the right in order to attack the working class.

Facing collapse in the form of the 1977 tool-makers' strike against wage control, Callaghan and the Cabinet rushed into a coalition arrangement with the Liberals (to which you attach no importance) in order to find a new base of support for anti-working class policies.

Guarded

Thousands of striking firemen shouting 'Callaghan out! Rees out!' showed that workers in struggle understand that there is no advance without removing Callaghan's clique of traitors.

But Callaghan is guarded by the 'left' Labour leaders and the Stalinists who demand the union to preach the need to protect him in office.

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Soviet liberation forces capture Prague in 1945



Stalinist tank burns in the streets of Prague, August 1968

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE NA

By JOHN

On May 9, 1945 Soviet troops liberated Prague from the fascists and were greeted by popular acclaim by the Czechoslovak masses.

"In Czechoslovakia the approach of the Red Army launched a general revolutionary upsurge: occupation of the factories, establishment of plant committees to run the factories, creation of Councils (a kind of Soviet) which gathered into their hands all political authority, concentration of all arms in the hands of the workers' militia..."

But by August 20, 1968, ten years ago this week, the Red Army re-entered Czechoslovakia under very different conditions—with the objective of propping up the tottering Stalinist bureaucracy and forestalling any move to political independence by the working class.

Acute crisis

This move both symtomised and itself worsened the acute political crisis of Stalinism in the post-war period. It must be understood in its proper context.

Stalinist policy in Czechoslovakia, however, had always been fundamentally opposed to the revolutionary mobilisation of the working class.

Even at the height of the spontaneous upsurge that greeted the Red Army in 1945, Czech Communist Party leader Gottwald, speaking in the month of liberation to a confidential meeting of Stalinist bureau-

crats, declared that:

"We must continually remind ourselves that in the present phase, we are following the line of the national and democratic... and not the line of the social revolution."

Bourgeois coalition

Sooner than base themselves on the revolutionary councils created by the working class, the Stalinists deliberately restored the power of the discredited bourgeois parties and established a bourgeois coalition government in Czechoslovakia—as indeed they did throughout all the Eastern European "Buffer" states that had been liberated by the Red Army or by CP-led partisans during the war.

Stalin had no plan to carry through social transformations in these countries, which were to be used as bargaining counters in the post-war division of the world into "peacefully coexisting" spheres of influence between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers.

Nor did he have any wish to see revolutionary struggles overthrow capitalism and assert the independence of the working class on the very borders of the Soviet Union itself.

Measure of control

Such struggles would inevitably have an impact on the Russian working class and possibly spur them into struggles against the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy in the fight for political

revolution.

The formation of bourgeois coalition governments under the watchful eye of the Red Army and including top Stalinist bureaucrats offered Stalin the chance to exert a measure of control over the "Buffer" states and at the same time stem the revolutionary struggles of the masses.

But the stabilisation of such regimes was not a straightforward matter. A series of nationalisations was necessary—to restore to production industry previously owned by the Germans or to provide a pretext to end workers' occupations, and restore the old capitalist managers.

Mistrustful

In Czechoslovakia the bourgeoisie actually hailed the nationalisations law as a victory which transferred the industries from the hands of the workers to the hands of the state.

In 1947, however, the development of the "Cold War" between the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union forced a new development in the "Buffer" countries.

Stalin became suddenly deeply mistrustful of the bourgeois parties in the Buffer coalitions as a possible source of anti-Soviet agitation, and a process of consolidation of Stalinist control began.

Further steps were taken to destroy the social and economic hold of the bourgeoisie, to establish monolithic and bureaucratized

Stalinist parties, and to ensure in each country the interpenetration of the state apparatus and the Communist Party.

1948 coup

In Czechoslovakia, the most politically and socially advanced country of the Buffer Zone, this process was completed last of all.

Indeed so thoroughly had the Stalinists re-established the bourgeois order and ensured the freedom of the bourgeois parties in the period of coalition that they were forced to the lengths of a coup in February 1948, with a controlled mobilisation of the working class being utilised to establish the unchallenged power of the Stalinist party.

On May 9, 1948, Czechoslovakia adopted a new constitution modelled on that of the Soviet Union.

By 1949, when the first five-year-plan was launched, 96% of industrial workers in Czechoslovakia were employed in the nationalised sector of the economy.

The consolidation of the power of the Stalinist parties in the "Buffer" states was accompanied by a ruthless purge of potential opponents of Kremlin control.

550,000 purged

In Czechoslovakia a colossal 550,000 were purged from the Communist Party which itself was the biggest political party in the country.

Among those purged were any elements whose

roots in the masses might make them responsive to pressure for action independent of the Kremlin, and equip them to lead a break from Stalin's control.

A further guarantee of the subservience and reactionary line of the Stalinist parties was their wholesale merger in many cases with the social democratic parties—whose reformist bureaucracy was experienced and dependable at taking instructions from above. In Czechoslovakia this merger took place in June 1948.

At each point of the social transformation of the "Buffer" states the main criterion followed by the Stalinists was to hold back the slightest independence of the working class and ensure that control rested in the hands of the huge and growing party/state bureaucracy.

Social layer

In Czechoslovakia the number of state officials more than doubled from a pre-war total of 345,000 to a 1956 staff of 792,000.

The bureaucracy in this way extended itself to the point where it became a social layer significant in size as well as in its political control of the nationalised economy.

At the end of 1952 the former CP General Secretary Rudolf Slansky was framed, "tried" and hanged in Prague on charges which included "Trotskyism", "Titoism", "fascism", "Zionism" and conspiracy

with western intelligence services.

From then on, for a prolonged period, under the seasoned bureaucratic leadership of Gottwald and then Novotny, the Czechoslovak bureaucracy appeared to have stabilised itself in the saddle, even while crises wracked the Stalinist apparatus throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"Concessions"

In 1950 and 1951 a wave of strikes in the Stalinist prison camps of Vorkuta and Karaganda in the USSR had had to be put down by vicious military action, and had given a stark warning to the Kremlin bureaucrats.

As a result, when Stalin died in 1953 the bureaucracy saw the necessity to make some cosmetic "concessions" to the growing hostility of the working class.

Thousands of prisoners were released, and Stalin's secret police chief, Lavrenti Beria, was arrested and shot, to create the illusion of a "new" regime.

The anxiety of the bureaucracy was increased by the upsurge of the workers of East Berlin in June 1953, in a general strike movement that demonstrated the weakness of the regime and which was only suppressed by the direct and brutal intervention of the Red Army.

Increasingly the Stalinists felt obliged to adopt the tactic of superficial "liberalisation" and token econom-



WRACKED FACE OF STALINISM

MASTER

concessions of heading off the struggles of the working class in Eastern Europe, sooner than press head with direct confrontation.

In 1956 Khrushchev's now famous 'secret speech' to the 20th Congress of the CPSU attempted to give the impression of a clean break with the crimes of Stalin, and staged a selective 'rehabilitation' of many figures Stalin had executed.

But these moves rebounded on Khrushchev. In particular, they weakened the control of veteran Stalinist leader Rakosi, while encouraging the Hungarian masses to seek a complete end to bureaucracy.

As it began to move forward, the Hungarian working class felt its way spontaneously towards the construction of workers' councils—bodies outside the control of, and standing as a direct challenge to, the Stalinist state apparatus.

Uprising

By the time the Hungarian Stalinists recognised the need to change course, and installed 'left' bureaucrat Imre Nagy, an uprising was already spreading from Budapest throughout the country, at the centre of which were the independent workers councils.

In desperation at this direct threat of political revolution, massive military force was used by the Kremlin to crush the rising and massacre the anti-bureaucratic fighters. Meanwhile, to head off

the threat of similar events in Poland, 'left' bureaucrat Gomulka was given support by the Kremlin—on condition that he would prevent any Polish working class support for the Hungarian uprising.

As European Stalinism found itself wracked with confusion as to the best tactical means of controlling the working class, the growing inter-bureaucratic disputes between the Chinese and Russian bureaucracy led to a further division in the post-war Stalinist 'monolith'.

Undisturbed

But throughout this period the Czechoslovak CP remained relatively undisturbed, under its hard-line Stalinist leaders.

Few steps were taken to follow the 'liberalisation' measures of the USSR, Hungary or Poland. The hard liners of Prague continued to rely exclusively on Stalinist use of secret police and rigid censorship.

This set-up first ran into crisis as a virtual economic breakdown emerged in the mid-1960s as a result of the bureaucratic deformation of the economy and slavish adherence to Soviet models of 'planning'.

Economic reforms

Fearful of the impact this could have in stimulating workers' struggles, a tendency within the bureaucracy began to advocate a number of economic reforms.

This at once found an echo from workers and among students—but did not at first lead to any changes.

Dissent and criticism grew sharper—to the point where the working class itself began to move into action.

In Spring 1968 Novotny was pushed aside and his fellow bureaucrat Alexander Dubcek took over.

The Dubcek regime made a series of concessions to the increasingly militant workers' movement—in particular through relaxing censorship and police repression of free discussion.

This was what most alarmed the Kremlin bureaucracy. Limited economic concessions, even token concessions on political prisoners was one thing; but slackening political control at a point of working class mobilisation threatened the very stability of the bureaucracy itself.

Out of control

Dubcek soon reached the end of his possible concessions. But the workers demanded more. Normally dead Communist Party meetings were invaded by workers voicing their demands.

Elsewhere in Europe, Dubcek saw the French working class engage in the massive general strike of May-June 1968 and recognised that the Czech situation was getting out of his control.

In June 1968 he invited Soviet troops for manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia, still hoping to find a compromise solution to stabilise the situation.

But the political ferment continued. Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* was set up in type ready for publication.

Though workers' councils on the level of Hungary 1956 had not yet appeared, this danger was increasingly feared by Moscow.

Demonstrations

On August 20, heavily armed units of the Soviet, East German and Polish armed forces drove into Czechoslovakia and took up positions.

The hostility of Czech workers did not find expression in armed resistance on the scale of Hungary. Prague radio called on Czechs not to resist. The political development had not reached the level of independence where such resistance could have been successful.

But demonstrations by workers and students in Czechoslovakia against the invasion continued throughout 1968 and into 1969.

Without a conscious leadership, however, such actions were confined to the level of protest.

Dubcek was hauled off to Moscow where he was persuaded to reverse the liberalisation measures of the 'Prague Spring'.

He remained nominally in office until April 1969, dismantling the remnants of

his brief bureaucratic attempt to establish 'socialism with a human face'.

These events were a crushing blow to all those who argued that the Stalinist bureaucracy could reform itself and move towards the establishment of workers' democracy.

The secret police swung into action with vicious repression against those who had played a leading role in the 1968 events.

Many intellectuals and militant workers were sacked. Students were forced to give up courses.

The counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, which since 1933 has consciously centred on robbing the working class of its political independence in the vain effort to stabilise the parasitic bureaucracies in the workers' states is demonstrated clearly by the Czech events of 1968.

But to find a way forward for the working class in its struggle to throw off this reactionary caste which feeds off the nationalised economy it is necessary to look back further—to the workers' councils thrown up in the Hungarian events, the Councils spontaneously created by Czech workers as the Red Army approached in 1945 and the Soviets which formed the organised expression of proletarian power after the October 1917 revolution in Russia.

In order to win political power in the post-war workers' states, or regain the political power in the degenerated Soviet state,

workers must organise themselves in such councils or Soviets *independently of the bureaucracy*.

For such independence to be more than simply a form it is necessary to build Trotskyist revolutionary parties in these countries to give leadership in these councils, and to fight for a programme which starts with the defence of the nationalised property relations but leads to the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Political leadership

This programme must include the eradication of bureaucratic privileges and the establishment of genuine workers' management of production and distribution; the legalisation of soviet parties and the genuine freedom of trade unions; the abolition of the Stalinist secret police and the formation of workers' militia; and an end to the oppression of national minorities within the workers states.

But above all the necessity is to build a political leadership theoretically equipped to expose and defeat the 'left' elements of the bureaucracy that have played such a key role in preserving Stalinism in the post-war period.

Such a leadership must be firmly grounded on the programme and principles established by Leon Trotsky in his struggle against Stalinism and must be built as a part of a reconstructed Fourth International.

WORKERS LEADERS IN 'QUANGO' BONANZA

By Pru Chamberlayne

The material forces corrupting leaders of the workers' movement by drawing them into state administration is nowhere clearer than in the furore over 'QUANGOS' (Quasi-Autonomous National Organisations).

Marx described the process whereby incorporation of working class leaders into state functions 'wears them down by turning them into officials, wins them through bribery, flattery, engulfs them in 'work', perverts them through a philistine life'.

900 Quangos

The British ruling class learned early to rely on a lieutenant class to control workers.

Within weeks of the great docks strike in 1889 Tom Mann and Tillet were invited and readily agreed to join the Royal Commission on Labour, the purpose of which, of course, was to destroy workers' independent action, especially strikes.

There are now about 900 Quangos, costing £35 million per annum.

ACAS alone costs £10 million.

The appointments are made by Ministers and a quarter of them are paid, at rates varying from £1,000-£10,000.

It is rumoured that Jack Jones sits on 13. At any rate 39 members of the TUC hold 180 state appointments between them.

Tory privilege

Harold MacMillan is said to have appointed no less than 15 of his relatives to such bodies.

The Labour reply to Tory allegations of Labour patronage is of course that the House of Lords is the biggest Quango of all.

Even Callaghan does not mind the Labour manifesto being pledged to abolish it.

It is of course true that Tories are more likely to enjoy positions of privilege through birth and inherited wealth.

Hypocritical

It is also thoroughly hypocritical of the Tories to accuse Labour of spawning bureaucracy.

Some of the worst examples of bureaucratic excrescence, the NHS and local government as reorganised in 1974 and 1972 respectively, were established under a Tory government.

Current proposals to return control over social services, planning, traffic and education to the non-

metropolitan districts i.e. to split the major towns off from administration by the counties, will only lead to another administrative bonanza.

One third of the cost of the NHS is absorbed in administration.

Almost worse than the Quango system of patronage among trade union leaders is the system of special advisors introduced in the 1960's under the "white hot technology" era of Wilson.

Through this system large numbers of Labour Party members, mostly academics and Fabians, are drafted in as 'advisors' to Ministers.

'Counterweight'

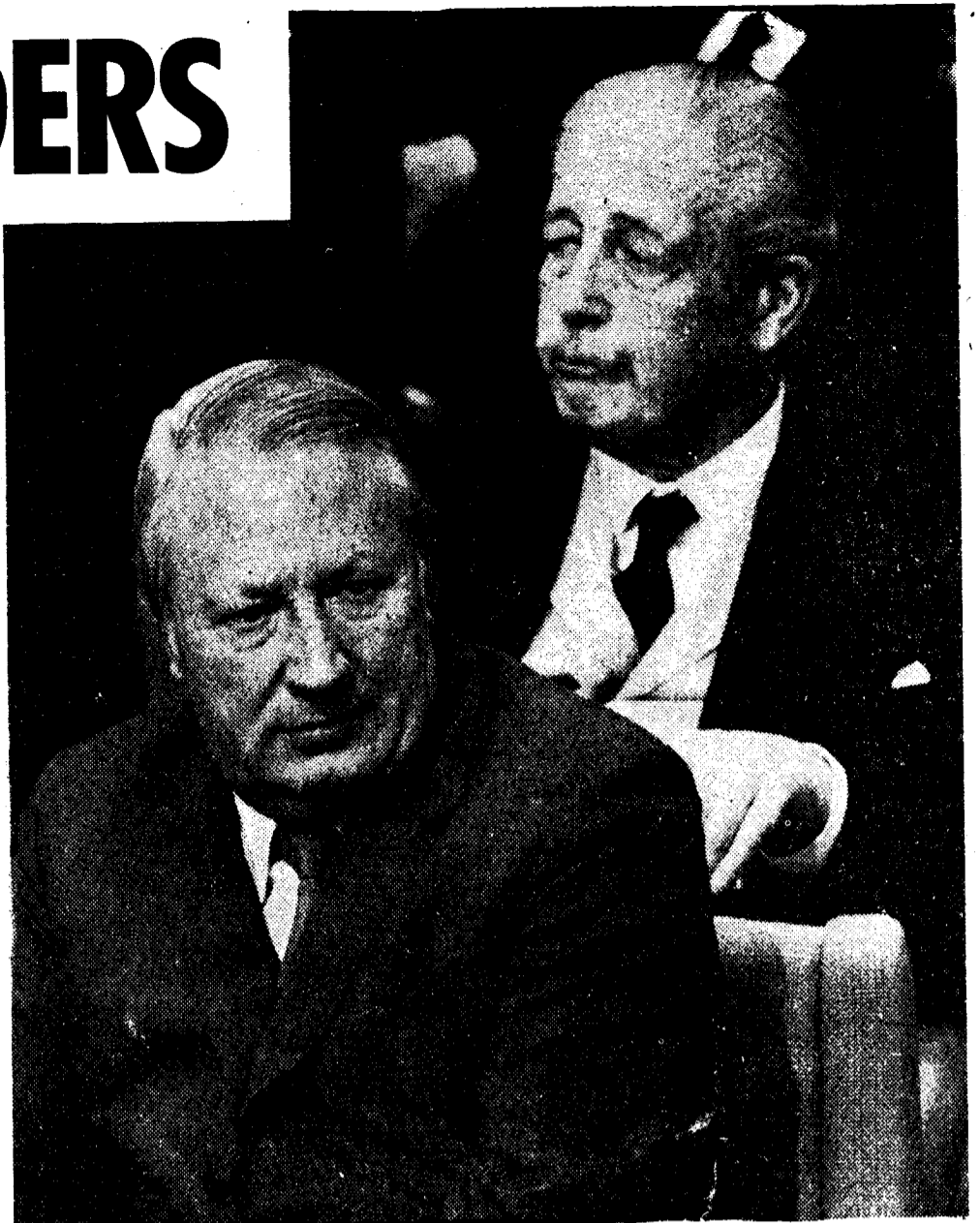
Under the new proposals made for Parliamentary select committees, MPs would also have the services of such advisers.

They are supposed to act as a political counterweight to the wiles of civil servants.

The same thinking lies behind the demand of MPs for a new structure of 12 department-related committees which would also cover the activities of nationalised industries and Quangos.

Membership of the committees would be decided not by the Whip but by a selection committee, and the committees would have the power to order both the attendance of Ministers and the production of reports.

All this is a vain attempt to wrest power from the



MacMillan—rumoured to have appointed 15 relatives to Quango posts—with Heath

cabinet and from the civil servants.

It is the opposite of the proposals made recently by Lord Hailsham and also of the trend within recent governments of centralising power and weakening the role of Parliament.

None of these attempted 'reforms' are likely to be implemented in this period of drastic curtailment of democracy.

Besides, no attempts to rationalise and democratise government can solve the problems of patronage, corruption, bureaucracy and inefficiency which are inevitable in attempts to manage economic and social relations under capitalism.

A glimpse of the system of state administration inaugurated by the Bolsheviks serves as a useful model of the forms of administration possible under socialism.

Instead of trying to rectify the relationship between the legislature and the executive they abolished the distinction altogether, making those responsible for administration immediately recallable and paying them average wages.

Right to inspect

Still worried by the dangers of bureaucratisation Lenin proposed that the Workers and Peasants Inspection should consist only of people who had never served in any state capacity and that these bodies should have the right and duty to inspect the minutest aspects of the work of both the soviets and the commissions.

Only in such a way and not through the medium of Fabian party sycophants and trade union bureaucrats can the working class wield power—and that presupposes the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Certainly the wheeling in of highly salaried bourgeois-minded Fabian sycophants and reformist trade union bureaucrats contributes nothing towards our goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.



Jones

Labourites launch new attack on mothers

Liaison between the police and schools! Parents of young offenders to do community service work! Parents to pay fines or compensation for damage done by their children! Mothers to lose family allowances if they work!

These are just some of the 'radical' solutions to the problem of 'vandalism' that a Sheffield working party has come up with.

This may appear to fit the 'law and order' mould that will be one of the Tories' main electioneering points.

But no! Such reactionary frothing is not the monopoly of the Tories alone—the working party which has produced this report is composed predominantly of Labour councillors.

Readers of *Socialist Press* will already have read about Callaghan's earlier promotion of a stable family unit as being one of the bases of a stable society.

The report concretises

the trend initiated by Callaghan, whereby capitalism is to be stabilised by reinforcing one of its principal points of support, the family, simultaneously redoubling the oppression of women.

The report says:

"There is need to examine the family unit and to ask whether in the later stages of the 20th century it is beginning to break down."

"What measures, if any, can be taken to restore family unity?"

We are told that if mothers insist on their right to work outside the home, therefore 'threatening its stability', they must be made to suffer.

"... the role of a mother is the most important part of family life... It is felt that the present family allowance should be ended and in its place the mother would be given a salary if she wished to continue to look after her children."

"On the other hand, of course, she could choose to go out to work, but then there would be no child allowance and no state salary."

The fact that Callaghan is not just an old windbag and means what he says is confirmed in a recent DHSS circular to Area Health Authorities demanding that all crèches be closed down—where they actually exist!

The Labourites who produced this latest report totally ignore the fact that 'vandalism' is a product of capitalism in crisis—a society which offers youth only street corners, the dole queue and no future.

Rather than propose a programme which would destroy the material basis of this so-called problem, these Labourites continue bolstering that very system which produces it.

It is completely in line with the national programme of subsidising private capital by spending cuts and wage control.

At every level, social democracy confirms that its interests lie with the continued existence of capitalism and will do all within its power to ensure that course of events—at the expense of increased oppression of the working class, in this case particularly of women.



Tory leader Thatcher

PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Imperialist alarm as Afghan coup consolidates

Background article by Adam Westoby.

Soviet control



Troops in Kabul

Afghanistan has been in the news since the left-wing army 'revolution' in April.

Demonstrations in Kabul culminated in the army coup of April 27 that toppled President Muhammad Daud.

It installed a government under Muhammad Nour Taraki, run in effect by his small Communist Party.

Since then the British press has emitted periodic noises of alarm that the country is being 'taken over' by the Soviet Union and/or succumbing to Communist revolution.

What is the background to this situation?

Afghanistan is one of the most underdeveloped countries in the world.

Virtual chattels

It is larger than France but with a population of only about 16 millions.

Almost 90% of Afghans are peasants (i.e. nomads), though much of the land is owned by a feudal aristocracy.

Less than a quarter of land is used, since much of eastern Afghanistan is formed of the Himalayas.

Average annual income is not much over \$100 per person.

Almost half those born die in childhood.

Women remain virtual chattels. Fewer than 10% of people can read or write.

In the villages the hold of Moslem priests has been virtually unchallenged; it weighs far more heavily than the power of the central government.

Localised

Afghanistan's structure remains as it has been for centuries. What

economic advance there is extremely localised.

Kabul suffers traffic jams morning and evening but outside the capital there are only a handful of proper roads.

It remains greatly divided: there are over 30 mutually incomprehensible living languages.



Taraki

This very backward country is set at a strategic crossroads, with over 1,000 miles of northern frontier with the USSR, a similar length with Pakistan, a major border with Iran and a tongue of mountainous territory reaching out to touch China.

Poverty stricken

Under these conditions, politics in Afghanistan—including the relations of class forces within it—are necessarily shaped by the pressures of much greater powers—military, political and economic.

This is inevitable for a country in such a position, so poverty-stricken that its national income (\$2 billion a year) is approximately what the US spends on dry food.

Afghanistan has been a 'buffer state' at least since the early 19th century,

when her territories and peoples became tennis balls in the 'great game' between Tsarist Russia and the British empire in India.

In the period after World War II the Soviet Union has devoted great effort and resources (since about 1954) to influencing Afghanistan.

'Neutrality'

She serves as a counter to the attempts by US and British imperialism to militarily encircle the USSR's south-west flank—originally through the Baghdad Pact treaties of 1954-55, following the CIA's overthrow of Mossadegh's nationalist regime in Iran.

The Soviet Union was then threatened by a ring of US bases in Turkey, Iran, Iraq (until the 1958 'revolution') and Pakistan.

Afghanistan's pro-Soviet 'neutrality', sealed by Khrushchev and Bulganin's ceremonial visit in December 1955, was the break in this chain.

"There is no doubt", Khrushchev recalled, "that if the Afghans hadn't become our friends, the Americans would have managed to ingratiate themselves with their 'humanitarian aid' as they call it.

The amount of money we spent on gratuitous assistance to Afghanistan is a drop in the ocean compared to the price we would have had to pay to counter the threat of an American military base on Afghan territory."

Khrushchev Remembers p.466

Since then, the USSR has been the main provider of aid—especially with road-building and the exploitation of natural gas in the northern border area.

And, even before the coup this year, the USSR provided 90% of equipment and training, and thousands of 'advisers', for the armed forces. (Up to 1956, Afghanistan's 'air force' consisted of a dozen biplanes of World War I vintage!)

Throughout more than twenty years of close and generous 'peaceful coexistence', however, the Soviet leadership never tried to do other than use Afghanistan as a 'buffer state'.

Effectively illegal

They never gave any real support to movements against the religious despotism that ruled the country.

The Communist Party,

for example, remained effectively illegal while the Soviet Union cultivated ultra-friendly relations both with King Mohammad Zahir and, after he was overthrown in 1973, with his cousin, President Daud.

The Soviet Union's involvement with Afghanistan—and the reactionary impact of Stalinism on Soviet policy—go back to the earliest days.

The first Soviet leader to organise military aid to help Afghanistan resist British imperialism (Leon Trotsky in 1919) did so as part of the Bolsheviks' general drive to help the Moslem masses of Asia and the Near East emancipate themselves.

But by 1928, with the advance of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the Afghan King Amanullah was the first monarch to be received on a state visit to Moscow.

'Progressive monarch'

Fifty years almost to the day before the coup in April this year *Pravda* (already transformed into Stalin's obedient mouth-piece) welcomed him as one of the most 'progressive monarchs in the East' as he arrived from his grand tour of western European

Since the mid-1960s, there have been sporadic strikes and demonstrations by students and small groups of workers, mainly in Kabul.

New importance

And the Indian Ocean has taken a new importance in the international military balance, with the USSR getting military facilities in South Arabia and north east Africa, and the US building new bases in the Indian Ocean and attempting to reconstruct a Pakistan-Iranian military axis.

The Soviet Union has for years supported the Afghan claim to Pushtunistan: a state to unite the Pushtun in Afghanistan (the biggest nationality in the country) with those in eastern Pakistan, and give landlocked Afghanistan (and thereby the USSR) a corridor to the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan and the US, of course, oppose the scheme.

Before he was ousted President Daud conducted close talks with the Palestinian government (both President Bhutto and, after he fell, military dictator Zia) on the Pushtunistan claim.



capitals.

Amanullah did have a policy of modernisation and mild reforms.

But in 1929 he was overthrown by a British-backed tribal-religious revolt (though not before rescinding his reforms in the attempt to stay in power).

Thereafter relations with the Soviet Union were cool until the 1950s.

In the last few years, however, quite new pressures have come to bear.

This may well have caused Moscow to think they needed in Afghanistan a more energetic counterweight to American power.

In any event, the army-Communist Party coup in April got the full support of the USSR, and caused the CP factions to sink their divisions.

Thus when papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* inform their Tory readers that Afghanistan is 'going Communist' because it is

infested with thousands of Soviet advisers, they are not pointing to anything new.

Soviet influence has been strong for years. From the British press such alarm is ironic: for well over a hundred years British imperialism unsuccessfully tried to 'pacify' Afghanistan for use against Russia.

The ignominious 'retreat from Kabul' (1842) stands as a monument to British military incompetence, dressed up as public-school heroism.

What the alarmist reports in the western press very probably do signal is the desire of the US and Britain to torpedo the Taraki government and recover some influence (if not a client state) in Afghanistan.

Parallel

They will be prepared to mobilise the most backward and feudal elements of society to do this.

Not only do they wish to retrieve their strategic positions; they are also worried at the possibility of a revolutionary impact on the working masses of the neighbouring states.

The Taraki government has promised land reform at the exact same moment as the Shah's dictatorship in next-door Iran is being shaken by mass opposition.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the Afghanistan government have a policy to 'sovietise' the country.

But they cannot leave it as it is.

There is a parallel with earlier events in Tibet, the even more backward country at the other end of the Himalayas, during the 1950s.

The Chinese workers' state reclaimed Tibet in 1950 (as an 'autonomous' region) but for over eight years Peking Stalinism peacefully coexisted with the serf-owning tyranny of the Dalai Lama and his Buddhist aristocracy.

Strong pressure

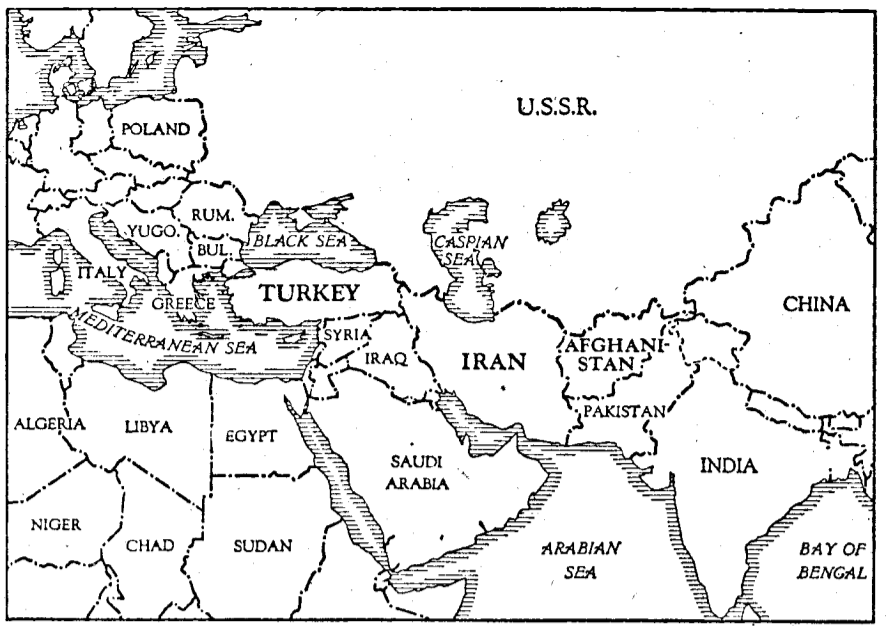
Only when the CIA sponsored an 'independence' revolt against their authority, in 1959, did the Chinese Stalinists destroy the old order and impose—for example—any significant land reforms.

Tibet has now been 'structurally assimilated' to the Chinese Stalinist state.

Although Afghanistan, of course, is not legally part of the Soviet Union, the pressure for Moscow to bring it under firmer and more direct control is real and strong.

But in doing so the Stalinists and their allies in the state machine are fearful of arousing the masses.

The unleashing of real struggles—on the land and for national rights—would release forces they could not easily bring under control or use as a bargaining counter with imperialism.



WSL

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation which fights to build a revolutionary leadership that can politically prepare and mobilise the working class for the taking of state power and the construction of a socialist society.

The fight of the Workers Socialist League in Britain is a part of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, founded in 1938 under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. The basis of this fight is the theory and practice of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

The Workers Socialist League puts forward a programme to defend the interests of the working class today against the attacks of capitalism in crisis. The aim of the programme is the independent political mobilisation of the working class towards the overthrow of capitalism and its state machine in the capitalist countries.

In the workers states which must be defended against imperialism the task is the political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracies which repress the working class and endanger the gains that have been made.

The fight for socialism is impossible without the fight to expose at every step the misleaders of the working class: the Labour and trade union leaders (both 'right' and 'left'), the Communist Party Stalinists (both 'Eurocommunist' and 'pro-Moscow'), the petty bourgeois nationalists who derail anti-imperialist struggles in the underdeveloped countries and those groupings which pay lip service to Trotskyism whilst rejecting its basic methods and programme.

Only through such a struggle can the working class find a road out of the capitalist crisis—falling living standards, unemployment, denial of basic rights, colonial repression as in Ireland, and the threats of fascism and war.

For more details of the policies, programme and work of the Workers Socialist League, fill in the form below.

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name

Address

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



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Yorks pay battle

SANDERSONS WEEK OF ACTION CALLED

A week of action called by the strikers at Sandersons of Croft near Skegness has been given full support by the TGWU Region 10 Committee.

The action will consist of a one week organised picket of the factory from 11-15 September, starting at 6.30 a.m. daily.

There are two factors behind this change of tactics.

One is the pressure brought to bear on the local TGWU bureaucrats by the strength and solidarity of the strikers who remain determined as ever and have received substantial moral, financial and industrial support.

Fight to end

Also Sanderson, the owner of the plant has informed ACAS that he wants no more discussions with either them or the TGWU, and that he regards the dispute as a fight to the end.

The current position of

the strike for union recognition which began on 13 May 1977 is that the company is now unable to maintain production of forklift trucks and the scabs still working within the factory are employed mainly on maintenance work.

Scabs sacked

Recently the benevolent Mr Sanderson sacked six of the scabs who had remained so loyal to him.

And there is no doubt that more of the scabs will find themselves outside the gates as the blacking bites.

Though the week of action should be supported by all trade unionists, much more is necessary for the strike to be won.

The call must be taken up by the strikers and their supporters for the blacking of all essential services to the plant.

But if any lessons are to be learnt from previous strikes for union recognition and the current Garners strike in London, the TGWU bureaucracy is not going to take any of these

steps without pressure being put on them.

This means lobbying TGWU meetings, and resolutions should be fought for at TGWU branch meetings calling on the full time officials to approach the appropriate unions to ensure that supplies are cut off.

In addition, the Regional Committee of the TGWU must be forced to institute a voluntary levy on all the members in the area to support the strike.

Only by implementing these measures can the strike be won.

Meanwhile damaging rumours continue to circulate suggesting that sacked steward Phil Gillatt is prepared to accept a £2,500 out-of-court settlement for unfair dismissal.

Such allegations jeopardise the fight for supporting action in the unions.

If the strike is to be successful Gillatt should at once put an end to the rumours and publicly reject any such payment, focusing the entire attention of the labour movement on defeating this vicious anti-union employer.

Over 1,000 shop floor workers at the Hickson and Welch chemical plant in Castleford walked out last week in pursuit of a pay claim.

Four picket lines were established on the factory gates, and drivers at both of the firm's main transport contractors have pledged support for the strike.

TGWU convenor Dave Newton told *Socialist Press* that the issues at stake involve:

"an effective productivity scheme, a guaranteed week, provision for people off sick and a realistic wage structure. But, above all, we are on strike for basic union rights including the right to negotiate on behalf of our members".

In a letter to employees the previous week, management assessed the value of these demands as a 17.5% increase in pay and claimed that this could result in closure.

Newton discounted the pathetic pleading of management that their profits have fallen in the last six months by 35%.

"The profits of this company have continued to increase during the past ten years. What the company means is that predicted profits have not materialised".

The management letter, an extraordinary document, tries every conceivable argument for rejecting the TGWU demands—from attempting to prove that all employees are better off, through warning that government sanctions could ruin the firm if it paid up, to a potted history of the company, its precarious position in the chemical market and its generosity to its workers.

Even pleas for the pensioners and a Len Murray-style warning that the strikers might unleash spiralling inflation are thrown in, along with the call for a secret ballot.

Workers have decisively rejected these management arguments. But the claim lacks any clear policy to protect workers' wages against inflation—which all independent forecasters are expecting to rise sharply during the coming year.

Such a policy—the demand for a cost-of-living clause in the pay agreement to compensate for the rising cost of living as monitored by an elected committee of trade unionists and housewives—is essential as increasing numbers of workers follow the Hickson and Welch strikers into struggles against the Phase 4 pay limit.

It must be fought for to defend living standards regardless of the profitability or losses incurred by the employers—which in any case can only be assessed if the struggle is taken up to open the books of the employer to elected trade union committees.



Pickets on duty outside Hickson and Welch at Castleford

Trotskyism Today

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WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

"British Leyland and the Crisis in the Motor Industry"

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East Oxford Community Centre
Princes Street, Oxford

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Subscribe!

Support for Hull docks strike

2,000 Hull dockers voted unanimously at a mass meeting last week to support a pay parity strike by maintenance engineers at the port.

The engineers are supported by NUR lockgate operators who are themselves also seeking pay parity with dockers.

The result of the combined action has been the breakdown of cranes and cargo-handling equipment and the trapping of five ships inside and four outside Hull docks.

NALGO token strike

NALGO members in the Notting Hill Housing Trust called a one-day unofficial strike on August 2 in support of their demand for salaries and conditions to be brought up to Local Government standards.

The determination they showed then did more than just worry the management (who are now ready to make substantial concessions).

More significantly it presents the NALGO bureaucracy with the prospect of having to fight a whole series of disputes for recognition and parity in literally hundreds of housing associations.

The housing associations are being used more and more by government as an alternative to local government in the provision of housing.

The benefits to government are substantial—higher rents, lower standards, no troublesome elected councillors involved in management, an extra layer of bureaucracy behind which to hide cuts.

For all these reasons the housing associations have mushroomed since the 1974 Housing Act (written by the Tories and taken over unchanged by Shore and Freeson).

As a result, a whole new area for unionisation has opened up, with NALGO, TGWU, ASTMS and others

scrambling for the new members, at least in the early stages.

The bureaucracy however has not been blind to the lessons of the unionisation struggles in catering and at Grunwicks, Desoutters etc., and is increasingly reluctant to get involved with fighting a new wave of employers.

At this year's NALGO conference a resolution calling for more organisation in the housing associations was placed too far down the agenda for discussion.

However they will find it impossible to resist the demands of their members in the housing associations for long. Hard times lie ahead for the bureaucrats.

Garners strikers still waiting for TGWU to act



Shorter speaking at the Garners conference two months ago

Ten days after the Garners strike committee lobbied the TGWU London Regional Committee meeting demanding action to win their six months recognition struggle, there has still been no official news as to the outcome of the lengthy discussions which took place.

Regional officer Les Shorter has taken his usual diversionary stance over the question of a Day of Action.

The strike committee proposed that one be held on 26 August and were assured of support providing that it was delayed to enable the Regional Committee to fix a date.

But ten days later nothing more has been heard.

Liaison

Last Tuesday a meeting with representatives from nine Trades Councils took place.

The main topic was the formation of a liaison committee.

After a further meeting of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils, it was agreed that representatives of Westminster, Richmond, Kensington and Chelsea and Brent Trades Councils should be appointed as the members of the liaison committee.

Meanwhile squads of police are still protecting Garners' owner Margolis.

Last Saturday another picket was arrested. But police have continued to refuse to take action when picketers have been attacked by scabs—most recently with fire extinguishers.

Invented

Charges against pickets are being invented ad lib by the police.

Early last week the case of M. Mahboob, a member of the strike committee was heard.

The one charge was transformed into two charges resulting in Mahboob being fined £25 and bound over for one year.

Even witnesses were interrogated as to their legal status and how they were being financed.

Significant support has been gained on the picket

lines where a fight is put up to mobilise the membership.

An important delegation from Murphy's Kentish Town site picketed last Wednesday and agreed to come regularly.

One of the restaurants in Berkeley Street has been closed down by the health inspector for a week.

Secret talks

There are rumours about talks between union officials and Margolis, but these talks are being kept secret from the strike committee.

The strike committee should continue its fight to mobilise the rank and file of the TGWU to win this strike and demand:

*No secret talks with the employer.

*No return to work without full reinstatement and union recognition.

*Full blacking and a financial levy organised by the Regional Committee.

POEU action bites

Weeks of overtime ban and now a crippling work-to-rule by Post Office Engineers have begun to take a heavy toll of the telephone system, creating particular problems for business in the City of London, and making dialled international calls impossible in many areas.

But Post Office bosses show no signs of conceding to the union's demand for the establishment of a 35 hour week.

The nearest approach has been a cynical offer of a two stage cut from 40 to 37½ hours a week, recommended by the 'impartial' McCarthy report.

Strikes against victimisation and other management provocation have taken place in a number of areas—all of short duration.

But engineers must soon confront the issue of all-out strike action if they are serious about pursuing their full claim.

Sell-out bid in Yorks lock-out fight

Management and local TGWU officials have engineered a return to work at Hepworth Iron Company under conditions where the convenor Barry Almond remains sacked and the union very much weakened.

The shop stewards committee had met on the Thursday to discuss proposals to put to a mass meeting on Friday morning.

Management had made sure that all those who had scabbed on the strike prior to it being made official were informed by letter of the meeting, whereas those directly involved were not informed.

Between the two meetings Pearson, the personnel officer contacted the TGWU Regional officer and informed him that Brother Almond would be prosecuted for trespass if he attempted to attend the meeting, and was under no circumstances to be reinstated.

This was never discussed as a condition at the stewards' meeting but on the Friday morning TGWU officials including the Regional TGWU Group Secretary confirmed that the meeting would go ahead and that they would recommend acceptance of the terms demanded by management.

At this point the majority of the sacked men decided not to attend the meeting, in defence of their convenor, but eventually went along on the basis of possibly swinging the vote in their favour.

The decision was then taken to return to work.

However there still remains a very strong feeling among sections of the workers and the possibility of continuing the picket is being discussed.

The treacherous role played by the local TGWU officials provides yet another example of the need to build an alternative leadership within the TGWU if even the most basic of rights is to be defended.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Lobby the TUC!

Brighton

September 6

- *Action now to defeat Phase 4!
- *For catching up pay claims with cost of living clauses based on figures from trade union price committees!
- *Strike action to stop the social service cuts!
- *Occupy to defend all jobs! Work sharing on full pay! Force Labour to nationalise without compensation!
- *Kick out the Callaghan-Healey Labour leadership! Fight for socialist policies!

Newsline's conference

In a move to "alert the labour movement to the dangers of increasing military intervention in industrial affairs", the Workers Revolutionary Party's paper *Newsline*, has called a one day conference in London on September 17.

A letter reportedly sent out to organisations of the labour and trade union movement points to the use of troops against the firemen's strike and the dock-

workers' pay struggle, and the collaborationist policies of the Labour cabinet.

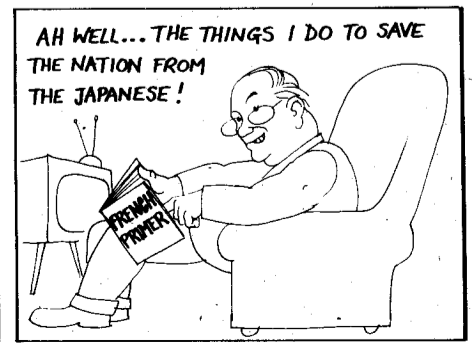
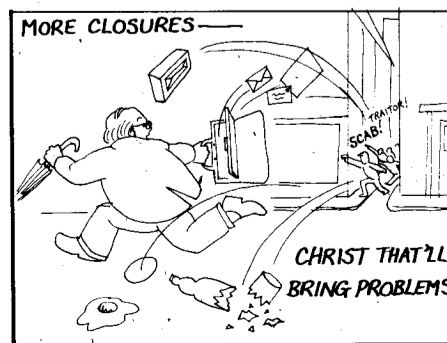
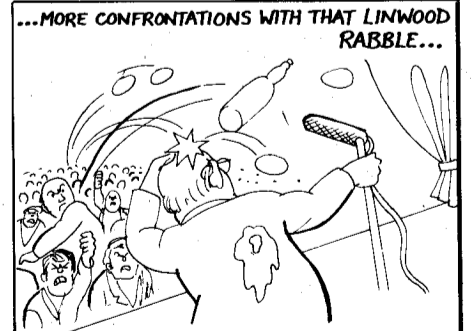
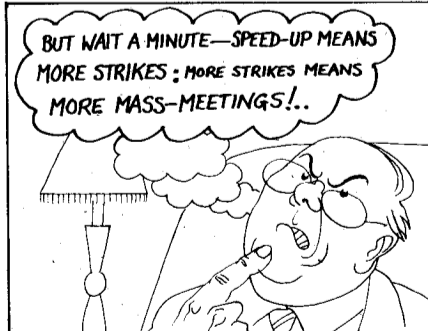
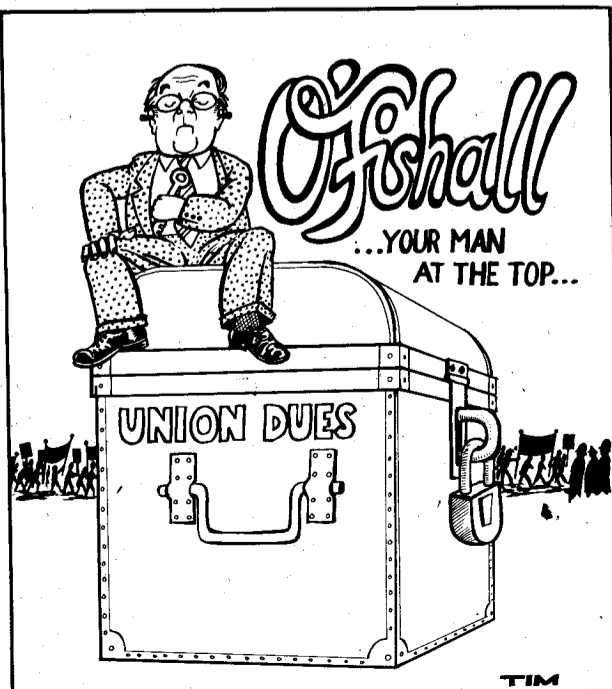
The conference is announced as 'taking the form of a seminar', in which "contributions will be made by experts in the field of military activities in industrial affairs, as well as by speakers from the floor".

Unpleasant

Though the WRP has deservedly acquired an unpleasant reputation for calling conferences from which all but known WRP supporters are excluded, the

importance of an initiative on the question of military strike breaking should encourage *Socialist Press* readers to support this conference, to be held at the Wembley Conference Centre.

Delegates, says *Newsline*, "are invited from trade union branches and trades councils"; and the conference fee is £1 from Alex Mitchell, *Newsline* Editorial Board, 21b, Old Town, London SW4 0JT.



SOCIALIST PRESS



BRICK LANE

The national mobilisation against the National Front called for August 20 in Brick Lane, East London, must be fully supported by the whole labour movement.

In going on to the offensive against a chosen fascist stronghold the local immigrant communities and anti-fascist forces are adopting a correct tactic in the struggle to put an end to racist attacks, bombings and propaganda.

If the National Front are allowed to regain their former positions in Brick Lane it will signify a substantial setback for the working class movement which has repeatedly in the past shown its ability to drive out fascist thugs and paper sellers—from the time of Moseley onwards.

But for a sustained struggle to be maintained against the NF, the whole of the local labour movement must be mobilised, not simply on the basis of weekend demonstrations but into established workers defence squads capable of protecting the local Asian community against fascist violence.

The trade union movement in East London has

Build workers defence squads

not led, but lagged behind the growing militancy of Asian workers and youth determined to defend themselves.

The lead in each of the major anti-fascist mobilisations has come not from the unions but a multitude of 'ad hoc' committees and groupings emerging amongst the Asian community and from the confused pacifists of the Anti Nazi League.

The ANL peddles the illusion that fascism can be defeated through an open door alliance of workers' organisations with "progressive" capitalist groupings, and through purely propaganda activity and protests.

But the fact is that the streets of East London can only be cleansed of fascist filth through the establishment of workers defence squads, in which the trade unions must play the decisive role.

The laggardly response of the unions in East London to the attacks suffered by Asian workers has held back



Police drive back anti-fascists at Lewisham

the essential task of unionising the thousands of unorganised immigrant workers.

This situation must be changed. Asian workers and youth must be urged to join the unions and fight within them for the policy of building workers defence squads, drawing on forces from every workplace, every factory, from working class estates, trade unions and every labour movement political organisation, and mobilising united action of black and white workers side by side to defeat the fascists.

This policy will of course be obstructed by those same labour bureaucrats who have at each point obstructed the fight to defend living standards and the fight against unemployment.

Political fight

The struggle against fascism is therefore a political fight in which the workers movement as a whole must be shown the necessity of constructing a revolutionary leadership on a socialist programme in order to resolve its problems.

Leyland guilty: Barton jailed!

A workers' inquiry into bribery and corruption inside British Leyland must be demanded following the conclusion of the trial of Graham Barton.

Barton has been jailed for two years for forging letters about bribery inside Leyland. But the question of whether some of the letters Barton sold to the *Daily Mail* were forged or not is irrelevant.

The trial lifted a tiny corner of the truth on what went on in Leyland while Barton was a £7,000 a year executive with the firm. For all anyone knows it goes on still.

Doubts about Ryder

Even the judge in the case, Judge Alan King-Hamilton, told the jury that they would probably have doubts about the evidence given by Lord Ryder—former head of the National Enterprise Board.

Ryder had changed his story dramatically in the witness box. At first he had flatly denied that any corruption had gone on at Leyland. Then under later cross examination and when some of the facts had begun to emerge, he said there had been some cases of "trivial" corruption.

But he accepted that the brother in law of the national guard commander in Saudi Arabia had been paid £700,000 to ensure that nothing stopped a deal going through.

Normal commissions overseas are between five and 7.5% of a contract. Barton's inquiries showed that those paid by Leyland were up to 35% in the Middle East.

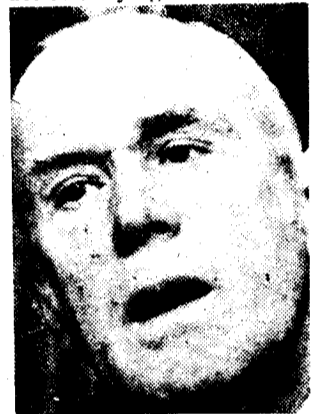
There are other scandals that a workers' inquiry would uncover. In particular what role did the govern-

ment's Defence Sales Organisation play in the company? Evidence was given at the trial that it sold trucks and parts for Leyland in the Middle East.

The Barton papers also showed an undisclosed sum being paid to an account of Sir Shapoor Reporter, described in *Who's Who* as "consultant for major British interests in Iran".

Two Leyland executives took out High Court protection against having to give evidence in the trial—certainly not the action of executives who know that there has been no corruption at Leyland.

And after the case was over Leyland itself in a statement seemed to admit the corruption even in the act of denying it.



Ryder

"No evidence has been found of any contravention of English law (our emphasis) nor of a 'world-wide bribery web'. To equate commission payments to bribery is nonsense."

There is no doubt that the lid will now be slammed firmly back on the Leyland scandal. While workers are denigrated and exploited and laid off, the casual confetti like handing out of money by Leyland to capitalists will not be challenged. Only a workers' inquiry can reveal the truth.

Mass struggles rock the Shah's dictatorship

By the calendar of the Shah's 'white revolution', it is only ten years before Iran enters 'the era of the great civilisation'.

But last week the Shah was driven to impose martial law on Isfahan and 3 neighbouring towns for the

crushing of violent opposition to his regime.

A strict curfew is in force, along with a total ban on assemblies of more than three people, including the religious services for Ramadan.

Seventeen people were killed and scores injured as the security forces of the dictatorship moved in to smash demonstrations and rioting.

In southern Shiraz, three people were killed, over 200 were injured and again mass arrests took place in similar confrontations.

But these clashes were only the most violent in the

latest wave from the flood tide of mass opposition which is sweeping round the feet of the Shah's Peacock Throne.

Rising three weeks ago at Mashad in the north-east, this great movement has raced across the whole country, surfacing at the capital, Tehran, and every major urban centre in the shape of demonstrations and riots.

Reactionary Muslim leaders appear to be riding in triumph on the crest of this turbulence.

Conflict with Islam

The Shah's project of transforming Iran into a major capitalist power, has thrown him into conflict with the power of Islam—most sharply over the proposal to divide up religious property.

With their authority and influence constantly being undermined by the spread of urbanisation and industrialisation, the religious leaders have turned to the mobilisation of the masses as the only road to

salvation.

It would be wrong to dismiss the loyalty which Islam can still command, especially from the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

But, as in Pakistan, this factor has merely coincided temporarily with far deeper and stronger forces.

The transformation of feudal society into a capitalist society is inevitably a violent process of social revolution.

As traditional communities are disrupted and disbanded, the proletariat is born in conditions of agony.

Small traders, peasants and artisans, all cry out in anguish at the new miseries which have been heaped upon them, while the wage-labourers strike out in blind anger to shatter the intolerable chains which fetter them.

Gigantic army

To assert his tyranny upon such anarchy, the Shah has forged a monstrous apparatus of repression—a standing army of

gigantic proportions, a secret police force (SAVAK) that is one of the largest and most efficient in the world, a structure of corporatist unions.

Torture

Thousands of political prisoners, widespread torture, police stations installed inside factories, are all features of this regime.

This brutal dictatorship has been nurtured and sustained by US imperialism, yet its most fawning sponsors have been found amongst the ranks of the British Labour Party.

From left and right alike MPs have made the pilgrimage to lick the bloodstained boots of the Shah.

The Shah's officials claim that the current upsurge has been provoked by 'Islamic Marxists'.

Far from seeking to establish socialism, the religious leaders have called for an 'Islamic government'.

They neither initiated nor organised the mass movement, but rather sanctioned its development and



The Shah

now seek to exploit and direct this force to defend their own narrow self-interest.

But if the Shah does not attempt to head off the growing pressure by making concessions to the clerical faction, it will be only a matter of time before the weight of the mass opposition comes into conflict with its would-be leaders.

Solidarity

British workers must fight for active solidarity with the Iranian masses in their struggle against dictatorship.

Black all arms supplies to the Shah's dictatorship!

For the exposure and expulsion of all Savak agents from Britain.

Force the British government to cut all economic links with the Shah!

Down with the Shah's dictatorship!

FUND

With half the month gone and the total to date standing at £219.55, we are beginning to fall behind on our monthly fund.

It is vital that those areas that have not yet sent any money in do so at once.

We cannot afford to fall short on our monthly fund, even though we realise that August is a difficult month.

Don't wait until you come back from your holiday, send us a donation before you go.

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