

# Workers Press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • MONDAY AUGUST 7, 1972 • No. 835 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY ALEX MITCHELL

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The attack on the Asian community in Uganda was launched by the military president, General Idi Amin, at the weekend. He accused the Asians of economic sabotage and has given them three months to quit the country.

His wild decision to expel the Asians is in direct contrast to the fraternal gestures he made towards the same community when he came to power 18 months ago.

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The President's decision to expel the Asians plays directly into the hands of the Tory Party. As they are pushed towards the brink of a General Election, they are desperately searching for issues to win the support of the middle class and backward sections of workers.

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# What we think

## PROTEST TAKES ON POLITICAL FORM

'HEATH OUT' is a resounding call to action throughout the provinces. On Saturday 2,000 chanting workers marched behind eight MPs through Ilkeston, Derbyshire, protesting against the closure of Stanton and Staveley steelworks (see report p. 11).

As the seriousness of recession has forced the employers' hands from the pruning shears to the axe, the pattern of workers' protests has changed from the relatively mild struggle against redundancies to the bitter bread-and-butter fight to save whole factories.

Redundancies affected the few — closures affect everyone. In the process, layers of ordinary and otherwise meek and mild rank-and-file workers, for years content to pocket their rise negotiated annually by the union, have been driven en masse into a political fight not just against their employers but against the government.

At towns like Ilkeston, Birchley, Shotton, and Kilbirnie, the jobs and livelihoods of large sections of the population depend on a single industry and in some cases on a single factory.

Slump is dealing body blows to all major sectors of the economy, forcing brutal rationalization in foundation industries like steel, machine tools and engineering.

At a time when many families are either barely able to keep their heads above water or have actually sunk beneath the waves, the irretrievable loss of all employment is pitchforking thousands of workers onto the streets with their placards and loudhailers for the first time since the war and in many cases for the first time ever.

Once the protest marches get under way, it is only a matter of minutes before the link is made between the intentions of their employers and the whole gamut of Tory-employer policy.

Both faces are equally intractable and in his thousand days in office, Edward Heath and his bosses' government have drawn the lines of class interest in indelible ink on the minds of the working class.

Mass sackings, stepped-up productivity, stringent factory discipline, crippling living costs and the obvious determination of the Tories to use their anti-union law to smash workers' struggles for their rights, have coalesced to turn such yesterday slogans as 'Save Staveley' and 'Keep Birchley Rolling' into a heartfelt mass demand for 'Heath Out'.

It is a deep-seated hatred which is shattering the constraints of mealy-mouthed and moderate reformist counsel and sweeping aside the diversions of the Stalinists. Above their clamour, the finger of the working class points unwaveringly at the main enemy.

The remorselessness of the onslaught by the employers and their government on the working class is beginning to be matched measure for measure by workers' determination to boot them out of office and return a Labour government that will nationalize the so-called 'ailing' industries and operate those already nationalized under workers' control.

# Troops guard JVP 'trials'

THE TRIAL of 41 students and unemployed youth accused of plotting last April's uprising in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) resumes amid strict security precautions in Colombo today.

The trial opened on July 22, but was almost immediately postponed so that court documents could be translated into Sinhala.

Among the accused are Rohan Wijeweera, leader of the outlawed People's Liberation Front (JVP). They are being tried before the newly-established Criminal Justice Commission, a panel of High Court judges against whose decision there is no appeal.

The rules of evidence have been heavily bent in favour of the prosecution to ensure conviction of the defendants.

The Queen's Club building where the trial is being held is protected by barricades and troops armed with rifles and submachine-guns will search everyone entering or leaving the courtroom.

Even the conservative Ceylon Bar Council has protested against the conditions under which the trial is being held, particularly as the special court was set up after the uprising specifically to prevent the cases going before a jury.

Thousands of other youth said to have taken part in the April uprising are being held in concentration camps without trial.

The devaluation of the dollar in December spelled ruin for the producer states, most of which rely almost exclusively on coffee exports.

# Coffee price war hotting up

THE CONFLICT between the coffee-producing countries and the main consumer countries, notably the United States, is reaching a climax over the coming fortnight with a series of meetings in Geneva and London.

Under an agreement reached a year ago, their prices were fixed in dollars and the devaluation meant a catastrophic cut-back in revenues.

The US and other main consumer countries refused to alter the prices fixed under the 1971 agreement and the producer countries took unilateral action to fix a quota of 48 million bags and thus keep up the price by restricting coffee supplies.

The consumers are now demanding a far higher quota, but refuse to give an assurance that prices will be adjusted to take account of changes in currency parities.

In Geneva this week, the producer countries—Brazil, Colombia, Ivory Coast, Portugal, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, El Salvador, Guatemala, the Malagasy Republic, Mexico and Uganda—are trying to work out a unified strategy to meet the consumers in London later this month.

Brazilian coffee industry chief Carlos Alberto de Andrade Pinto commented: 'We are embarking on a veritable war, a struggle without quarter.'

The coffee-producing countries have memories of the 1930s depression when the plantation workers were reduced to penury and starvation as a result of the world economic crisis.

# Vietnam general swindled troops

GENERAL Nguyen Van Vy, South Vietnam's Defence Minister, has been dismissed for defrauding a soldiers' pension fund. In a decree published in Saigon yesterday he was forbidden to travel abroad until investigations into the fund had been completed.

Each soldier was obliged to pay 100 piastres (10p) into the fund every month from his meagre army pay.

But as the head of the fund, General Vy used it to build up a vast commercial empire with banking, farming and building interests. War widows waiting for payment from the fund never got it.

After widespread protests earlier this year, the Saigon government finally disgorged

5,000 piastres (£5) to each soldier to cover his contributions over the four years since the fund's foundation.

President Thieu has propped up the corrupt general and his many swindling associates for as long as possible, but this particular piece of corruption proved too blatant to cover over.

Thieu's gangster regime is facing even bigger problems on the battlefield. At Quang Tri, their forces were yesterday subjected to the heaviest bombardment since they began the attempt to retake the city.

More than 1,000 shells fired from concealed North Vietnamese heavy artillery well away from the front line landed among the puppet forces.

The Thieu government is also trying to keep open the road from Saigon to the Mekong Delta south west of the capital. Liberation forces estimated to number 6,000 are threatening the road which is a vital supply line bringing food to the capital.

# Japanese seek new deals with China

THE NEW Japanese government appears to be moving rapidly towards establishment of close diplomatic and commercial relations with China despite opposition from its right-wing Asian allies.

Kakuei Tanaka, the new Tokyo premier, is thought likely to visit Peking later this year and a delegation from his Liberal Democratic Party is due there next Friday to pave the way.

Other Japanese political figures who have recently visited China, including the chairman of the Buddhist Komeito Party, have been given VIP treatment by the Peking leaders.

One of Tanaka's first acts on taking office was to approve a £60m low-interest government loan to finance building of a synthetic fibre plant in China.

Tanaka's Foreign Minister, Masayoshi Ohira, last week demolished one of the last barriers to restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

He said Japan would not be able to keep its diplomatic ties with the Chinese Nationalist regime on Formosa after normalizing relations with China.

Formosa's dictator Chiang Kai-shek has been making vigorous protests about Japan's detente with Peking. Japan is one of Formosa's main trade partners and a field of investment for Japanese capital.

# Kremlin—'No change'

THERE has been no fundamental change in the basic social and ideological structure of the USSR since Stalin's death, says leading Soviet nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov in a statement published in Paris by the magazine 'L'Express'.

He says: 'Our society is sick with apathy, hypocrisy, shortsighted egoism and hidden cruelty. To cure this society it is essential, above all, to end political persecution in its judicial and psychiatric forms, and those which favour a bigoted bureaucracy and intervention by a totalitarian government in the lives of citizens—refusal of jobs, exclusion from higher education, refusal of residence permits, obstacles to progress, etc.'

# Chile: Allende's drive against the left...

PRESIDENT Salvador Allende of Chile has warned that he will use force against groups to the left of the Popular Unity coalition unless there is an end to land occupations and factory take-overs. At a public meeting in the port of Valparaiso he named the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), Revolutionary Settlers' Movement (MPR) and Revolutionary Countrymen's Movement (MCR).

Their activities, he said, had damaged agricultural production and the construction industry. They had frightened farmers into not sowing their land and private investors into withholding their money from building projects.

He said the MIR had taken advantage of him 'because they are aware that out of conviction and revolutionary faith I cannot use repression'.

Only a few hours previously, however, police in the town of Nunoa clashed with local inhabitants leaving one civilian dead and six wounded. More than 160 people were arrested in the raid, which police claimed began as a search operation for MIR members.

Allende's coalition government of social-democrats, Stalinists and Radicals claims to be following the peaceful road to socialism.

Over the past period, however, it has openly declared its determination to protect capitalist and landlord property.

The Communist Party leaders, who are on the extreme right of the Popular Unity coalition, have for weeks been demanding forcible action against the MIR and other left-wing groups. They have also succeeded in drastically trimming the coalition's programme of nationalization.

# ...and new purge feared in Egypt

THE LEFT WING of Egyptian nationalism fears that President Sadat's decision to merge with Libya will lead to a new witch-hunt against them along the lines of the Ali Sabry trial which followed Nasser's death.

Libya's Col Muammar Gaddafi is a fanatical anti-communist and now that Sadat has ordered Soviet military advisers to leave, the left-wing nationalists have lost whatever protection the Soviet alliance gave them.

In Friday's 'Al Ahram', the authoritative Cairo newspaper, their spokesman, Mohamed Sid Ahmed, gave a scarcely veiled warning that a witch-hunt is on the way.

He said that to banish Egyptian Marxists under the pretext of preserving national unity would lead into the trap set by 'those who have an interest in opposing both the national force and socialism'.

Since he took office on Nasser's death, Sadat has already staged one major purge of the nationalist left. Ali Sabry, Mohamed Fawzy and other former Nasser aides were given heavy forced labour sentences for an alleged 'plot'.

Not surprisingly, the Egyptian bourgeoisie is in favour of the plan for union with Libya.

They are particularly pleased that the plan will allow them to invest freely in Libya, where there are rich pickings in and around the oilfields.

Despite Sadat's turn to the right, however, the Soviet leaders are trying as best they can to salvage something from their alliance.

A top-level Soviet Communist Party delegation is due in Cairo later this month following the visit of an Egyptian parliamentary delegation to Moscow.

The Kremlin leaders told the Egyptian delegates they hoped relations with Egypt would continue to improve.



1968: Ford sewing machine workers came out on strike and demanded equal pay

## THE EQUAL PAY FRAUD

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

**A progress report on that traditional 'good cause', equal pay, has revealed that women workers are still far from obtaining a living wage.**

Prepared by the Office of Manpower Economics (successor to the Prices and Incomes Board), it shows that the steps towards equal pay are uneven throughout industry despite the promise by the government to make the principle compulsory by December 1975.

Almost half a million women workers are still earning 80 per cent less than male rates more than two years after the Equal Pay Act reached the statute books. The report concludes that progress in manual jobs is particularly slow and especially bad in small companies.

In agreements covering one-ninth of female manual workers there are no moves towards equal pay. At company level, two-fifths have taken no action to introduce it nor have any plans to do so.

A survey of 200 smaller companies with less than 100 employees showed that only four were found to have laid any plans for equal pay—and these are, of course, the small back street operators who sweat their female workers the most.

This news will mean another campaign by the unions to get the Tories to agree to some statutory interim stage by which female pay rates must reach a certain level of male earnings.

This kind of reformist

pleading however dodges the main issue.

The TUC has been passing pious resolutions on the vicious exploitation of female workers since 1888—about 45 are recorded in the Congress minutes.

The campaign, however, was reborn in 1968 when the Ford sewing machine workers came out on strike and demanded equal pay. Their dispute hit the headlines and held up £50m worth of exports.

Since that date the employers have attempted to sidetrack the issue.

One of the favourite weapons is to argue for equal pay for 'work of equal value'. This allows all sorts of subjective considerations—the quality of a woman's work, the operators' strength, time off work due to domestic demands etc., etc. If employers were allowed to bring in these considerations, many women, of course, would find themselves little better off.

Another trick is to suggest that men and women workers are opposed to each other and that the 'greedy' men should take a wage-cut to help their sisters (a variation on the low paid versus high-paid worker story).

Some employers' representatives are quite blatant about this. For example J. C. Butler, secretary of the Retail Consortium, warned: 'In certain cases where there is a differing rate of pay between the sexes and mostly women are employed, the men's pay will have to be reduced.'

This kind of pressure has often worked to the detriment of both men and women

workers, particularly in the retail and distribution industries: 'You will not be marching equal pay row in 1969 the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers got its membership to accept a low pay award because of the concession on equal pay.'

In fact the amount awarded to the workers, male and female, was 25 to 50 per cent BELOW the original demand of £1 for men and £2 for women. The 'palliative' was the 1s extra awarded to female shop assistants.

The other manoeuvre used by the employers is to slip in job evaluation and Measured-Day Work in the guise of a bid to establish a plan for equal pay. Employers argue that job-evaluation is necessary to assess whether women are doing work of equal value. The result, in fact, is speed-up, more productivity and redundancies for all sections of the labour force.

The whole question of 'equal pay' can be a trap for workers that the trade union leaders have already fallen into.

Capitalism does not particularly discriminate against workers because of their sex. Rather it uses women's weak bargaining power to create a pool of cheap labour that threatens all wage rates.

This is revealed by the employers' determined opposition to a minimum wage. This, of course, would cut right across their plans of tricking women workers into accepting less pay because they are not doing 'work of equal value'—they would have to pay up, no arguments.

# SALFORD DEFIES TORY RENT ACT

BY PHILIP WADE

**Salford city council, near Manchester, is now definitely committed to non-implementation of the Tory 'fair rents' Bill when it is put into effect.**

The controlling Labour group has voted unanimously to tell Tory Housing Ministers that Salford council 'intends to take no action' to implement the Bill if and when it becomes law.

At the same time the council is defying Tory orders from Whitehall to proceed with the sale of council houses.

## IN A HURRY

A meeting of three committees—housing, policy and finance—had already rejected Conservative amendments instructing council officers to take appropriate steps to implement the Bill.

The committees had had to process the Labour group's decision in a hurry. The reason for this is that if it was decided to operate 'fair rents', tenants would have had to be given a full month's notice of £1 rent increases from October 7.

The council finally voted on July 26 by 33 votes to 14 not to implement the Bill which aims to double council house rents and smash the whole basis of municipal housing.

Councillor David Robinson told the council that the Act reduced tenants' rights. It would no longer be possible for them or their associations to make representations to individual councillors or to the city council or to influence policy on election day.

Their rents would no longer be decided by elected representatives but by 'faceless civil servants'.

The Labour Party, added Cllr

Robinson, had fought the election on opposition to the Bill. And there had been a massive turn of the tide against the Conservatives.

The Labour group leader, Les Hough, said it was time for local councillors to stand up for local democracy. The Bill would make local authorities merely a 'rubber stamp to civil servants in Whitehall' as far as housing was concerned.

'We are prepared to have a go on behalf of the people who elected us,' he told the meeting.

Tory councillors launched a bitter attack on Labour members, threatening those who happened to sit on the magistrate's bench.

Alderman C. S. Franks, moving an amendment to implementation, said the Tories would vote against any resolution seeking to disobey the law and to encourage civil disobedience among tenants.

They would use whatever means necessary to tell the government about those councillors 'who choose to fly in the face of the law'.

## PENALTIES

He told the Labour members: 'You will not be marching down the road to Strangeways. You will not be made martyrs, which is what you like.' But, he added, they would be laying themselves open to the severe penalties contained in the Bill.

These include heavy surcharges on members, jail or disqualification.

In neighbouring Manchester, the Labour council there has come out against fighting the Tory rent plans.

Instead, they are pursuing the collaborationist line of implementing the Bill and seeing what they can get out of it.

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# THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An international discussion article in six parts

## PART 1

### The Fourth International, the International Committee and Centrism

The break with the VR<sup>1</sup> and the founding of the POMR<sup>2</sup> did not represent a break with centrism but were basically a manifestation of the same centrism: they were an empirical response to the political bankruptcy of a centrist party at the moment when there was a radical turn in the spontaneous development of events.

The documents produced in the internal struggle in VR and the documents worked out by the POMR reflect faithfully the extent of the empirical and consequently opportunist nature of the split and the extent to which our 'turn to Trotskyism' was but an act of desperation in the search for a 'theory of justification' for our own spontaneity. The faithfulness and adherence to Marxism, expressed in successive documents of the POMR in this way, only had a formal character.

By 'understanding' theory as a model ordering empirical facts through which these can be explained, dialectical materialism was totally denied and there was complete adherence to primitive forms of empiricism.

In this way, we repeated old contemplative materialism which Marx criticized so much and which, logically, led to the ignoring of 'revolutionary activity' of critical-practical activity.

Theory, in this way emptied of its transforming activity, of its revolutionary content, was thus relegated to the field of metaphysical speculation, to mere intellectual dilettantism. Theory, elevated to the celestial spheres, was set free from its material connections and acquired its own independent dynamic in which 'facts' were atomized in 'abstract determination'. The divorce between theory and practice was consummated.

The dualist conception of the world which underlies all empiricist conceptions has always led to complete capitulation to 'objective reality', which means that conscious activity is useless. The pessimists forecast inevitable social disasters and the optimists assert the existence of 'objective processes' which lead to the 'universal panacea' or to the 'International Republic of Workers' Councils': both conclude always by denying revolutionary activity and, consequently, by refusing to construct revolutionary leadership.

Only by breaking with dialectical materialism could Stalin 'adapt' to the isolation of the October Revolution and work out his 'theory' of socialism in a single country and, similarly, the Pablos could capitulate to the apparent post-war boom.

All conceptions of spontaneity have implicit in them the rejection of Marxist method and adherence to empiricism or pragmatism. However, such a concession to empiricism has always been denied by its own authors, who have always declared themselves to be the

most serious defenders of Marxist theory.

All this is possible precisely because they are empiricists, because for them theory is totally separated from practice and because their adherence to Marxism is a formal adherence from which they are unable to extract the necessary conclusions.

Having reached this point, it is necessary to understand clearly that the POMR may very well have declared its faithfulness to Marxism, but this is an attitude with only a formal content and consequently everyday it capitulates to the basest forms of empiricism.

The fetishist worship of programme was only the inevitable complement of the rejection of Marxism and the dissolution of the party into centrism. By describing the crisis of VR as a 'programmistic crisis' and by giving it consequently a 'programmistic solution', the fact that programme presupposes a theory and a method is completely left on one side. It was possible to say then that VR, because of its 'class-nature', could not work out a revolutionary programme—this is a conception which presupposes a base capitulation to spontaneity since it implies that revolutionary programme is born spontaneously in the proletariat.

In this way, one of the central aspects of Marxist theory was denied: that class-consciousness does not arise spontaneously from the proletariat but is introduced into it from outside.

It was not because of the VR's 'class-nature' that it could not formulate a revolutionary programme; in fact, Marxism did not arise from the proletariat since the spontaneous development of the working class only leads to what Lenin called 'trade-unionist consciousness', or the politics and ideology of the bourgeoisie in the working class. One has only to read the classics to see that. For example, Lenin affirmed in 'What is to be Done?':

'The doctrine of socialism has arisen from philosophical, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals. Marx and Engels belonged because of their social position to the bourgeois intelligentsia.'

Trotsky, in response to Stalin, declared: 'Marx and Engels come from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois democrats and were, as is natural, educated in their culture and not in the culture of the proletariat . . . their theory was formed on the scientific and political basis of bourgeois culture, although they declared on the latter a war with no quarter given. Under the sharp blows of the contradictions of capitalism, the idea of generalizing bourgeois democracy is raised—in its most honest and worthwhile representatives—to the point of genial self-regeneration, and for that end it was the whole critical arsenal prepared by the development of bourgeois



Lenin: 'The doctrine of socialism has arisen from philosophical, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes. Marx and Engels belonged, because of their social position, to the bourgeois intelligentsia.'

science. Such is the origin of Marxism.'

VR could not formulate a revolutionary programme and develop revolutionary policy because its position was completely outside Marxism, because it had broken with dialectical materialism. The POMR was not formed on the basis of the Marxist understanding of the methodological bases of its centrism, so there was no guarantee that the 'turn to Trotskyism' was not precisely an opportunist manifestation of that same centrism which it declared it was breaking with.

Today there exists more than sufficient evidence to affirm that, in effect, the POMR continues to be a centrist organization. Consequently the only positive solution to the present crisis of the party has its roots in the deepening and extension of the discussion until the methodological roots of its centrism are understood.

Only an implacable struggle for the understanding of Marxist method, for the defence and development of dialectical materialism, will be able to guarantee the future of the POMR as the embryo of the revolutionary party in Peru.

The POMR was founded as an empirical reaction to the crisis of the VR. During the whole of its existence its policy has reproduced the typical traits of centrism—the rejection of theory, expressed in the formal acceptance of theory.

The break with the VR did not take place on the granite base of the understanding of dialectical materialism, so the future of the POMR was inevitably in question. Thus, the rejection of Marxism would imply sooner or later the impossibility of fighting for revo-

lutionary leadership and capitulation to the traditional leaderships in the workers' movement, to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

Today, it is necessary to understand that such a capitulation was implicit in the origins of the POMR and that, consequently, it is necessary to go to the roots in the understanding of the methodological bases which engendered it.

The internal struggle has laid the basis for our total break with centrism and has given rise to a Marxist tendency which struggles implacably to give a positive solution to the crisis in the POMR. We must repeat with all seriousness: it is necessary to break completely with centrism, it is necessary to undertake a ruthless fight for dialectical materialism. This is the only guarantee for the construction of independent revolutionary parties, and it is the fundamental weapon in the struggle for revolutionary leadership.

In moments in which the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy sharpens, and bigger and bigger sectors enter the struggle on a world scale, it is necessary to undertake the biggest offensive against all manifestations of bourgeois ideology in a struggle which defends and develops all the gains of Marxist theory. Without carrying forward this struggle, the future will be marked by defeats of the proletariat which will be even more terrible than those of the 1930s.

Hostile to all international perspectives, the POMR is condemned to being converted into the left wing of petty-bourgeois nationalism. The POMR will be built as a revolutionary party only as a

section of the Fourth International. However, the POMR leadership has broken completely with this basic principle. It considers the question of the International as a problem of 'relations of internationalist brotherhood', in this way denying all questions of principle.

Without ever discussing in a principled way the problem of the International, the leadership has established relations with parties like the POR and Política Obrera and supports the magazine 'America India' ('Indian America') which, in its name alone, reflects the most reactionary positions of the nationalist petty-bourgeoisie (the narrowest national chauvinism and racialism).

Behind the phrase 'relations of internationalist brotherhood' is hidden the crudest pragmatism and negation of the International as the world party of the proletarian revolution.

The position of the party leadership on the International is just one of the most spectacular manifestations of its total hostility to Marxism. It is necessary to struggle against all such conceptions which can lead to nothing other than the liquidation of the party and the dissolution of the International into a centrist amalgam.

### CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> *Revolutionary Vanguard*. A group formed from a split in the Peruvian Stalinist movement in 1964. They based themselves on the theories of the Peruvian Socialist, José Carlos Mariátegui.  
<sup>2</sup> POMR. Revolutionary Marxist Workers' Party. A party formed after a split in VR. The leadership around Ricardo Naipuri supports the position of the OCI (see Footnote 4).

# THE DOLLAR THREATENS THE MARKET

'Will the dollar crisis wreck the EEC?' asked a recent issue of the 'City Press', the authoritative mouthpiece of business opinion.

Commenting on the Common Market Finance Ministers' gathering in London in the middle of last month, it said: 'The Lancaster House meeting has turned out to be a complete non-event.'

'Although a joint European currency float against the dollar was discussed, no attempt to railroad the UK government into a rushed new parity was made.'

'Nor was any progress made towards working the Common Agricultural Policy with flexible national currencies.'

The article added: 'Most of the EEC Finance Ministers agreed that pending the creation of a Common European Currency, individual currencies must be allowed to move up and down when countries hold the balance-of-payments problems.'

'This infuriates the French because the Common Agricultural Policy is unworkable without permanently fixed parities.'

'Currency changes already taking place within the Six have stopped the free flow of food across frontiers and there are four separate agricultural markets already in Europe.'

The effects of the international currency crisis on the Common Market are threatening to smash the increasingly shaky alliance of the European monopolies.

The obvious conclusion from the London meeting is that the Common Market powers are impotent to resist the economic onslaught from the United States.

By swamping Europe with unwanted dollars and by stepping up their demands for trade concessions, the Americans want to force big currency revaluations throughout Europe.

This would enable US goods to be exported more cheaply to European markets and increase the price of European exports to the US.

At the convention of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade last month, the Americans succeeded in forcing the Common Market to lift its tariffs on a wide range of farm produce. Other US demands are under discussion.

The Common Market countries are now held together less by mutual interest than by fear—fear of the rapacious American demands and fear of the working class in Europe.

The formation of the Common Market in 1958 was encouraged and urged on by the United States. Dollars had been poured into Europe after the war to resuscitate capitalism and stave off the threat of revolution. The Market, in the eyes of the US employers, was a further bulwark of the 'free world'.

The Market has always been an uneasy alliance. It grew out of the old European Coal and Steel Community, established to bring together the giant French and German cartels.

German capitalism, cramped within the frontiers of West Germany and deprived of more than half the Reich territory by the advance of nationalized property relations, wanted free access to other markets in Europe.



Left: Prof Raymond Barre and right, Prof W. Haferkamp, vice-presidents of the EEC Commission at Lancaster House

The French capitalists agreed—on condition that the other Common Market members would subsidize the country's peasant agriculture, the traditional political base of the French ruling class.

As a major food exporting country, France wanted guaranteed markets for its agricultural produce in the other EEC countries. To prevent its farmers being crushed by competition with more efficient agriculture abroad, this meant a policy of dear food.

The Common Market erected high tariff walls to keep food prices up. At the same time the French pressed for a common fund subscribed out of national budgets to subsidize the farmers.

In this way French capital gained some compensation for its relative weakness in industrial development. West Germany and the other Market partners have been footing the bill for the continued exist-

ence of the French peasantry ever since.

The policy, however, depended on stable relations between the Common Market currencies. The fund contributions (which could amount to up to 20 per cent of national budgets) were calculated each year on the basis of a unit of account.

The unit of account was the dollar—the equivalent before August 15 last year of one-thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold. So long as the various currencies—franc, mark, guilder, lira, etc.—maintained the same relationship to this basic unit, the policy could operate without snags.

The break-up of the post-war monetary settlement and the increasing rivalry with the United States has radically changed this situation.

All the attempts to establish a Common European Currency have broken down. In March this year, for example, faced

with the imminent collapse of the internal exchange relationships, the six member countries and the four candidates (Britain, Ireland, Norway and Denmark) agreed to fix their currencies around the existing parties and prevent any fluctuations greater than 2½ per cent.

The effect of this agreement was soon nullified by the Tory government. Following the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court not to jail the original three London dockers—Bernie Steer, Vic Turner and Alan Williams—there was a run on sterling and Heath was forced to 'float'.

This immediately led to heavy dollar selling on all the main European money markets, threatening the mark and the guilder with revaluation and forcing the German and Dutch central banks to introduce stringent exchange controls.

There were also fears that the lira might be forced to

devalue, throwing the Common Agricultural Policy into even worse disarray.

The latest scheme, put forward by the French and the Italians, is for a unilateral rise in the official price of gold for internal EEC transactions. This is a move towards the formation of an entirely separate currency bloc standing in hostile opposition to the United States and the rest of the world.

The reactionary alliance of European employers formed during the boom period will not solve its problems by monetary manipulations of this kind. Like capitalism throughout the world, it can overcome the crisis of value only by ruthless attacks on the working class.

The Tories' eagerness to enter the EEC is not an index of that organization's strength, but of the British employers' need to band together with their European counterparts to attack the working class.

# MR MEYER'S MODEST PROPOSAL or BRINGING HOME THE SPOILS OF WAR

BY JOHN SPENCER

The border between Mexico and the United States is now patrolled against smugglers by remote-controlled drone aircraft of the US Air Force.

The planes were formerly used against the guerrilla liberation forces in Laos. They fly over remote stretches of the border, picking up signals from hundreds of electronic sensors on the ground and relay the results to the US Border Patrol's Infiltration Surveillance Centre, where a huge computer keeps track of movements across the frontier.

Like many other surveillance systems now in use in the United States, the Border Patrol's apparatus is a by-product of the Indo-China war. The ground sensors were originally developed to detect the sound of troop movements along the Ho Chi Minh trail. Their use to keep down smuggling—and the influx of poor 'wetback' Mexican labourers seeking work—was suggested to the Justice Department in 1970 by the Sylvania Electronic Systems Corporation.

A subsidiary of the giant General Telephone and Electronics empire, Sylvania had just completed a fat contract to produce sensors for the 'Igloo White' surveillance programme in Vietnam and no doubt found itself with surplus production capacity.

Tactfully, Sylvania explained: 'The political implications of using surveillance equipment along a friendly foreign border have been considered by selecting equipment that can be deployed without attracting attention and easily concealed.' The Border Patrol are not the only users of the surplus hardware produced for Vietnam. Prisons, factories and government buildings all over the United States are sprouting similar gadgets designed to detect intruders.

At his San Clemente White House, President Nixon had a pressure detector installed under the lawn. Unfortunately it was set off by sea-spray from the nearby beach. Local residents are now fighting a proposal to change the shoreline so that the sensor can operate properly.

The White House in Washington is protected by a Westinghouse sensor system.

It is not the only home in the capital equipped with this kind of protection. Just outside the city electronic sensors are hidden in bushes inside a fence enclosing a 'maximum security subdivision' of 67 houses, each costing over £70,000.

Electronic sensors are now almost a commonplace, but there are even more startling 'spin-offs' from the US war effort.

Engineers at the army's Land Warfare Laboratory in Maryland have successfully modified the PPS-14 radar system which was originally developed for spotting guerrillas through the thick foliage of the jungles in Indo-China. The new version of the radar can see through brick or cinder-block walls and is now being made available to selected police departments.

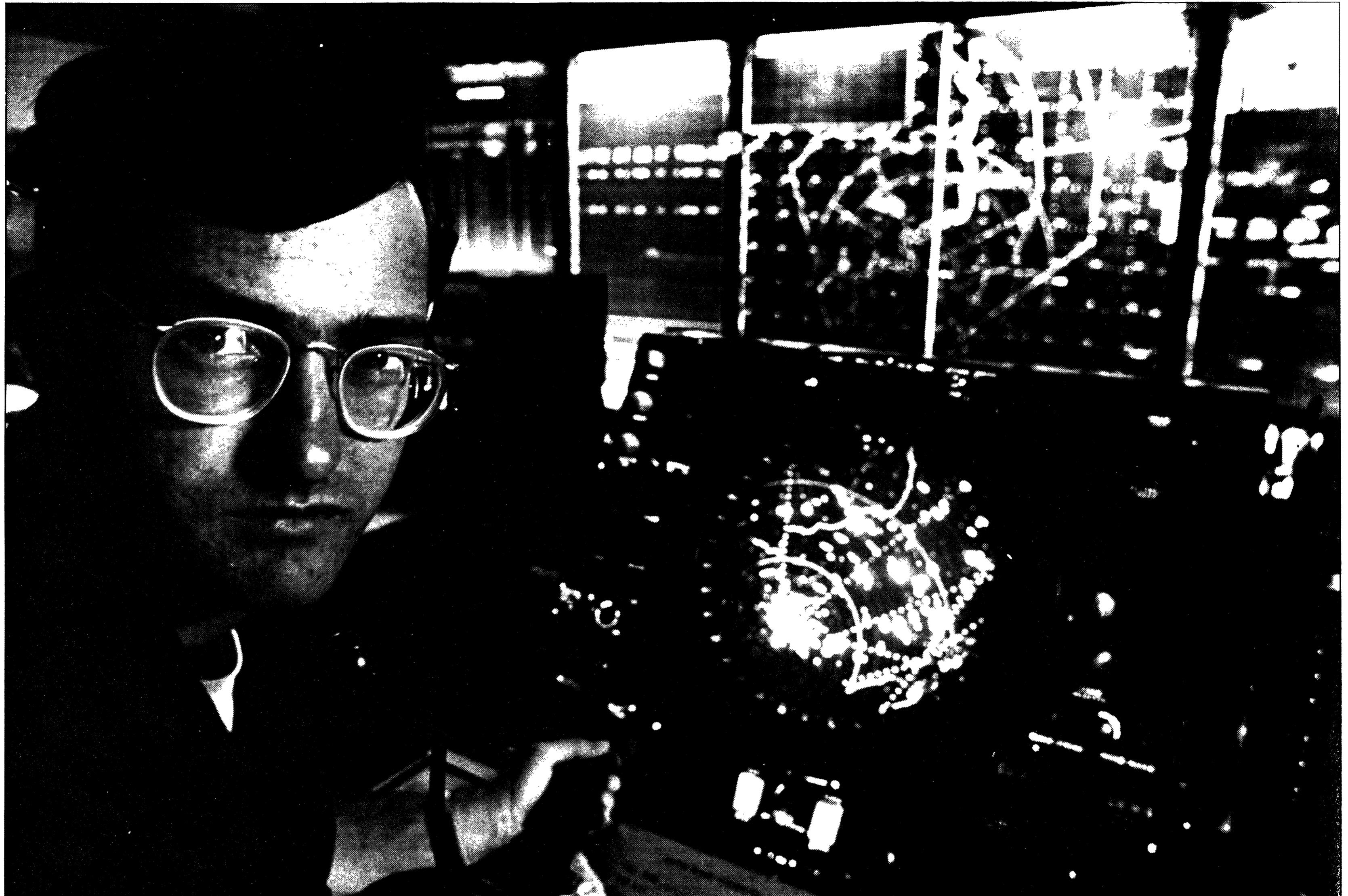
Indoors or outdoors, there's no escaping the long arm of the electronic Big Brother. Even in the dead of night the police can see you in the dark. In New York City and Kissimmee, Florida, police departments are using night vision devices developed in Vietnam to carry out covert surveillance while on night patrol.

## SNOOPERS

The devices can amplify light levels 40,000 times and were used throughout the 1960s in Vietnam. They were taken off the secret list in 1969 and avid police chiefs can now obtain them from military suppliers such as Raytheon, Radio Corporation of America and Aerojet General at prices ranging from \$2,000 to \$8,000 each.

To aid police departments which can't afford their prices, the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration hopes soon to make available a police 'snooperscope' at the bargain price of \$600.

But these are crude devices, requiring the police to actually step outside their headquarters for purposes of surveillance. Much better to be comfortably



ensconced in an armchair watching Sylvania's 'first police-operated low-light-level television system'. This piece of equipment can display a man-sized object in extreme darkness from half a mile away and is now being used to watch over the citizens of Mt Vernon, New York.

The Justice Department, which financed the project with a \$47,000 grant, is hopeful that the inhabitants of Mt Vernon will tolerate the eye-in-the-sky watching them 24 hours a day. But it adds: 'Only time will tell if citizens will object to a "Big Brother" type atmosphere.'

Some of the proponents of these devices—notably, of course, the manufacturers—are not inclined to await time's verdict. Such a group is the National Academy of Engineering, which comprises representatives of a number of key electronics firms. They recently urged the government to implement a pilot programme using 140 low-light-level TV cameras

deployed at every other road junction throughout a city district.

Covering two square miles, the pilot project would cost about \$1.5m a year, including the salaries of 175 men to watch the TV screens. American lawmen are already spending more than \$400m a year on electronic surveillance gear, much of it bought with government grants. Apart from the surveillance equipment, there are such goodies as laser fingerprint analysers, voice-print equipment and mobile digital teleprinters.

## SERIOUS

All this is not enough, however, to satisfy Joseph Meyer, a forward-looking engineer working for the National Security Agency in Washington. Last year in the journal 'Transactions on Aerospace

and Electronic Systems' he outdid George Orwell with a proposal for electronic surveillance of all known criminals. Orwell, however, was writing fiction. Meyer is serious.

He wants to see miniature electronic-tracking devices attached to 20 million Americans with police records. These 'transponders' would be linked by radio to a computer which would monitor the wearers' locations and maintain them under a curfew or prevent them leaving a specified town or place.

Like most of the electronic gadgetry being used by the US police, transponders were first elaborated in Vietnam. The Westinghouse Corporation was paid to test them for US troops to wear so that they could be tracked by computer, thus reducing the risk that they would be bombed or strafed by mistake.

Meyer's transponders would be attached to their wearers as a condition of bail or parole.

Each 'subscriber' would be identified by a code transmitted several times a minute to a computer via a network of transceivers deployed around town like police call-boxes. The computer would record the 'subscriber's' location and compare it with his 'normal schedule' checking for any 'territorial or curfew restrictions'.

If the victim of this electronic nightmare was out of line, the computer would instruct the transponder to 'warn' him that he was violating the terms of bail or parole. To make deception impossible, the transponders would be attached to the subscriber in such a way that they couldn't be removed without the computer knowing it. Tampering with or discarding the devices would be a felony and anyone who did so would be hunted by the FBI 'everywhere he goes'.

According to Meyer, the system should be applied to individuals over a lengthy

period so they 'will acquire long experience in not committing crimes'. In this way says Meyer, the police will be able to 'constrain criminals and arrestees into behaving like law-abiding citizens'.

In fact, the computer would control virtually every detail of their lives. It would keep them 'close to home to avoid being implicated in crimes'. At work a 'human surveillance system' will keep them under control.

Meyer estimates that the number of transceivers needed for surveillance in a large city would be about the same as the number of policemen. He reckons that in Harlem, the New York black ghetto, only about 250 such devices would be needed to monitor the whole region on a street-by-street basis.

Meyer admits, in an uncharacteristic bout of self-questioning, that the police, law courts, media etc, are not perfect. Most people arrested are poor, black or 'products of

deplorable circumstances', he says. However, law and order must be upheld. To dissuade these unfortunates committing 'criminal acts' it is necessary to 'play by the rather arbitrary rules of the social system'.

## PAYOFFS

He wants a carrot-and-stick system of 'costs for misbehaviour and payoffs for compliance'. The costs look like outweighing the payoffs by a long way. 'Attaching transponders to arrestees and criminals will put them into an electronic surveillance system that will make it very difficult for them to commit crimes or even to violate territorial or curfew restrictions, without immediate apprehension.' It could lead to a 'police state', Meyer admits, but the same could be said of

'police, jails, courts, laws, taxes and so on'.

The political implication also set Meyer's mouth watering. Transponders, he suggests, could be used as 'punitive devices' against political opponents, for example, in 'arrests following riots or confrontations'. It could also be extended for 'monitoring aliens and political sub-groups'. After all, it's far more civilized than concentration camps.

And eventually, the whole civilized world could be included. Transponders could be used 'for defence purposes, to monitor guerrilla or dissident activities in foreign areas', Meyer suggests.

He also looks ahead for the possible snags: he fears that 'to evade the street-surveillance system, tunnels could be dug under the streets or movement through the sewer system could be tried'. Even more worrying is the prospect of 'massive destruction' of transponders in 'mutinies and large-scale confrontations'. Meyer

**Above: From Vietnam to America. Computer-assisted, data-linked, intelligence-evaluated, located, tracked and targeted all in a matter of seconds. Continual tracking, the Orwellian aspect of Joseph Meyer's America. Twenty million devices to keep the police in contact with 20 million Americans with police records.**

says: 'An outright revolt by 25 million arrestees and criminals would be troublesome'.

To cover the costs of this exercise, estimated at \$2,000m a year, Meyer has another bright idea. The transponders could be leased to 'subscribers' at a low rent of, say, \$5 a week. In fact this would leave the system making a hefty profit: 20 million subscribers at \$5 a week comes to \$5,000m a year.

'By placing the cost of the system onto the criminal population... and putting subscribers back into the economy to earn the cost of their freedom, a certain poetic justice is achieved,' Meyer concludes.

# LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an oppositionist who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions the book is fundamentally wrong. This series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 8

## THE HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF STALINISM

Once the Left Opposition had been broken and defeated and the Bukharinite right wing humiliated, Stalin was able to establish his personal dictatorship with the full support of the bureaucracy.

The satraps who set themselves up with apartments, cars and dachas thanks to their inordinately large incomes, placed themselves at Stalin's mercy. He had the right of hiring and firing; in a real sense he was the boss.

The corruption of the bureaucracy became the basis for Stalin's dictatorship and the key to his domination over it. When he removed officials because their corruption and incompetence had become too obvious, or because he feared that they were becoming too powerful or too critical, those who replaced them were corrupted all the faster. They became accomplices of Stalin's arbitrary rule.

As Medvedev confirms, while paying lip-service to socialism, the bureaucracy was essentially petty-bourgeois in its outlook (we may ask why he then criticizes Trotsky who had pointed to this as a trend in the mid-1920s?).

'It must be recognized,' he says, 'that the people who rose during the mass repression, who made careers out of persecutions and arrests, were hardly interested in democracy. Uncontrolled dictatorship suited these Stalinists, since they could retain their power only under such conditions.'

'Time-serving and complete submission to those above was their defence against those below, the people. Thus the cult of personality was not only a religious [?] and ideological phenomenon; it also had a well-defined class content. It was based on the petty-bourgeois bureaucratic degeneration of some cadres and the extensive penetration of petty-bourgeois and careerist elements into the *apparatus*. Stalin was not merely a dictator, he stood at the peak of a whole system of smaller dictators; he was the head

bureaucrat over hundreds of thousands of smaller bureaucrats.'

This passage and those which follow it are particularly interesting because they appear to reflect certain aspects of Soviet reality in the Stalin period. They confirm the view that despite the bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet Union remained a workers' state.

As Medvedev puts it: 'The spread of proletarian ideology and communist morality was most intensive at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, and on the lower levels of society. During the mass repression that followed, all levels of the *apparatus* suffered losses, but the lower suffered less than the upper. Thus, even during the years of the cult, genuinely proletarian Marxist-Leninist cadres and a basically Soviet atmosphere prevailed in most of the primary Party organizations.'

Medvedev draws a distinction between the corruption higher up and the 'sincere error and honest self-deception' lower down. In the middle layers, he says, the situation was more complex. As the repression struck, many of those who moved up were unprincipled careerists and the top ranks were filled by Stalinists, 'cruel, unprincipled men, ready to destroy anything that blocked their way to power. Some used physical methods directly, a type that Stalin preferred for the top leadership of the punitive agencies. Others were criminals of a new type, who did their bloody deeds at a desk, jailing, torturing, and shooting by pen and telephone'.

### Stalin's absolute control was decisive

Such men are familiar characters in the accounts of survivors of Stalin's terror. But Medvedev claims that there were other, younger leaders who, while they shared characteristic faults of Stalin's entourage, were not fully informed of his crimes and wanted to serve the people.

It has to be emphasized all the time that Stalin's absolute control of the apparatus of the party, and thus of the state, was decisive. He was able to play on loyalty to the revolution and to the Soviet Union in order to win support and to secure for himself a blind obedience which found its apotheosis in those of his victims who went to their deaths shouting 'Long Live Stalin'.

It is unfortunate that Medvedev is either ignorant of Trotsky's later writings (which



The Stalin cult: Stalin in the clouds over the Kremlin in Moscow

is quite possible as they are banned in the Soviet Union) or deliberately disregards them. Medvedev also has a theory of bureaucratic degeneration which he attributes to an abuse of power and the use of corruption of the leading cadres by Stalin to build up support.

In other words he does not trace this degeneration to its social roots, nor does he see

the bureaucracy as a definite social layer produced by a complex of historical conditions, establishing its control only through a prolonged and violent struggle against the Opposition and against the Soviet working class.

Medvedev wants to attribute the degeneration, at least in part, to the Soviet masses. He says that Stalin had the sup-

port of a majority of the people 'not only because he was clever enough to deceive them, but also because they were backward enough to be deceived'. Medvedev appears to be embarrassed with this explanation, as he does with the explanation of Stalinism by its connection with the Russian peasantry, for whom it was supposed to be a new





Cars for the upper-income bracket of Soviet society at the Stalin Automobile Works

religion.

He says that the Stalin cult probably had fewest devotees in the rural areas. He claims that it was strong among the working class and among the new, young intelligentsia.

'Obviously,' he writes, 'ignorance, lack of education, defects in moral values, and an abundance of potentially authoritarian personality types played a very important role in the establishment of the Stalinist dictatorship.'

Medvedev separates his explanation from the historically-concrete circumstances of the 1920s which were analysed time and again by Trotsky at the time and afterwards. What he fails to do, also, is to link up the degeneration with the theory of 'socialism in one country', though he moves in that direction. As he rightly points out: 'Both Marx and Engels expected that the socialist revolution would simultaneously triumph in the most culturally-advanced countries of Europe.'

The isolation of the revolution in relatively backward Russia was one of the key conditions permitting the rise of Stalinism. But that isolation was made the basis for a policy which was completely at variance with Marxism: that socialism could be built in such a country which, according to Stalin, had everything necessary and sufficient for socialist construction. Medvedev fails to criticize this aspect of Stalinism because it can only be done from the standpoint of someone who has an alternative to propose.

The Mensheviks wrongly said that Russia was too backward to begin a revolution and would have to have a more or less protracted period of capitalism before the working class could take power: this was the 'two-stage theory' which Stalin took over and imposed on the Chinese and other communist parties in the less developed countries. What, then, was the alternative?

It was, of course, the theory of the 'permanent revolution', dismissed in a phrase by Medvedev earlier in his book, of which Trotsky was the leading protagonist, and which the Stalinists anathemised from the time that the attack on the Opposition was fully launched.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that Medvedev remains

ignorant of what this theory really states and how it is relevant to understanding why Stalin triumphed. It was, first of all, a justification for the taking of power by the Bolsheviks in 1917 and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was only under working-class leadership that the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution could be carried to completion in the backward countries.

Secondly, it demonstrated that a continuous transformation of all social relations would be required for a long period after the taking of power.

Thirdly, the carrying through of the socialist revolution cannot be completed on national foundations, but only on the world arena; a conclusion which follows from the predominance of the world market over each national economy.

### The profound breach with Marxism by the Stalinists

Stalinism, so far as it had a theory, completely denied these premises and revised Marxism, which it turned into the ideology (i.e. the 'false consciousness') of the ruling bureaucracy. As Trotsky put it: 'The epigones mechanically separate the democratic and the socialist dictatorships. They separate the national socialist revolution from the international. They consider that, in essence, the conquest of power within national limits is not the initial act, but the final act of the revolution; after that follows the period of reforms that lead to the national socialist society... They proclaimed the possibility of the construction of an isolated and self-sufficient socialist society in the Soviet Union. The world revolution became for them, instead of an indispensable condition for victory, only a favourable circumstance. This profound breach with Marxism was reached by the epigones [i.e. the Stalinists] in the process of a permanent struggle against the theory of the permanent revolution.'

Even when he wrote those words in 1929 Trotsky could not have foreseen the reactionary and utterly disastrous con-

sequences which would flow from the Stalinist theory of 'socialism in one country'. Yet one does not have to look further in order to understand how Stalin was able to rise to mastery of the Soviet party and state and perpetrate the bloody tyranny whose course Medvedev is concerned to describe and explain.

Medvedev breaks off his explanation before taking into account at all the baneful effects of the theory of 'socialism in one country' in providing the theoretical cover for the bureaucratic degeneration and for Stalin's hold on the Party. Once this had been assured, all the most cunning and brutal, as well as profoundly pathological, traits in Stalin's character were able to have full play and wreak the havoc which we know about only too well.

Of course, Medvedev is right in saying that under Stalin ignorant people—we might add psychopaths—were able to come to the fore. Stalinism was inherently anti-theoretical and anti-cultural; its keynote was a petty-bourgeois Philistinism which characterizes the bureaucracy to this day, and finds expression in its preferred forms of art, literature ('socialist realism'), architecture, music and drama.

What passes for 'Marxism' in the Soviet Union is really a rigid orthodoxy tailored to the needs of the bureaucracy which crushes all creative thought. Theoretical bankruptcy is as complete today as it was in Stalin's time in fields such as history, political economy and the social sciences. Scarcely a work in these fields is worth translating on its merits into a foreign language. In fact even the stooges of the bureaucracy do not bother to translate more than a select handful.

As for the literature which lays down the line for the world communist movement, it is a grey and indigestible pap constantly reiterating a few set themes. Thus Marxism is reduced to a dogma, a form of ideology to justify the policies of the bureaucracy and its very existence.

CONCLUDED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> L. Trotsky 'The Permanent Revolution' p. 10.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## DELACOURT SMITH

Just as he was telling the Lords that the Industrial Relations Act was an 'extremist charter', leader of the post office engineers Lord Delacourt Smith was struck down. He died later in hospital.

Many of Britain's 200,000 Post Office workers will remember him for his refusal, even in the face of pressure from his own members, to call his union out in support of the Union of Post Office Workers during their seven-week strike last year.

As Delacourt Smith sank to the floor, the Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham flung down the pad on which he was making notes for a later reply.

He said afterwards: 'His speech was perfect in its logic and its restraint and as he sank back and the level of his voice faded his sentiments were perfectly illuminated.'

The Lord Chancellor, with all his associations with the law, was certainly a suitable person to pay tribute to his fellow peer, himself a Justice of the Peace and adviser to the Prison Officers' Association.

The leader of the Lords, Earl Jellicoe, said the House had lost one of its 'most valuable members' and his Labour opposite number Lord Beswick added: 'We have lost somebody who could have made and was making a tremendous contribution to this House.'

A Fabian socialist, Delacourt Smith was made a life peer in 1967 after holding ministerial rank in the Labour government.

He believed that individual unions should fight their own wage battles and that industrial action to force even a government as universally unpopular as the Tories to resign was wrong.

From the point of view of

the imperatives of capitalist enterprise Delacourt Smith was well aware of what industry could and couldn't afford.

Apart from being Minister of State at Labour's Ministry of Technology, which was



Lord Delacourt Smith

spearheading the technological revolution, he also served on the Civil Service National Whitley Council, the Shipbuilding inquiry Committee and the committee which investigated the use of labour in the construction trades.

We shall never know what the man 'who was held in great affection by the staff at Horse Guards Avenue' was planning to say at the end of his speech on the Industrial Relations Act.

During the Post Office strike the most he would commit himself to was amendment and he was very firmly in the centre of the section of the Labour Party prepared to say there were at least some good things in the Act.

We leave it to the Post Office workers he could have helped and all those workers now smarting under the Tory legal heel to make their own tribute.

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# BIG MONEY OLYMPICS

West German tax and rate payers will be picking up a £45m share of the bill for the Olympic Games which begin at Munich in just a few weeks' time.

But most of the profits from the £256m enterprise will land straight in the lap of big business—those that have not found their way there already. And the remainder will soon show up on the credit side of company balance-sheets in terms of spin-off from the new roads, hostels and other construction projects the Games have entailed.

## NO REFUND

What is more, some Bonn government economists calculate that extra tax revenue from the new business they will generate will reach £49m—more than offsetting federal spending on the event.

There is, of course, no suggestion that payers of taxes and rates will get a refund on their contribution.

The Games themselves are a bit of a far cry from the original conception of a digni-

fied celebration of human endeavour.

For one thing a ticket for the opening ceremony can cost you up to £70 on the black market. And once you're in, a cup of coffee will knock you back 25p and a glass of beer 50p.

## GRABBING

Meanwhile nearly every big West German construction firm had a hand in the building work—400 all told—have been busily grabbing for their share of the gravy.

Siemens got £8½m worth of orders ranging from the flood-lighting to facilities for the 60 television stations that will be covering the games directly. The electronics giant also won the contract for the Games' computer system in direct competition with IBM.

The bulk of the financing for these firms' profits is to come from the sale of special Olympic coins (estimated to raise £83m), a levy on the national lottery (£32m) and the sale of tickets and TV rights.

One to 2 million extra visitors are expected into the city for the Games. They will pay through the nose for the privilege.



# FILM MEN RESIST STUDIO CLOSURE

BY DAVID MAUDE

**Assets - stripper John Bentley may have run into his first spot of real industrial bother at Shepperton film studios.**

Bentley's company, Barclay Securities, specializes in taking over ailing firms, rationalizing production so as to reduce the wage-bill to a minimum and then disposing of the surplus assets.

In a series of recent deals he bought up three toy factories in Kent, London and South Wales, closed down the Kent and London operations and thus left himself with two valuable sites available for profitable redevelopment. Production was pushed up at the Welsh factory, making Bentley a winner both ends up.

Of course, in most such deals a large number of workers lose their jobs.

But when Barclay Securities more recently took over filmmakers British Lion in a £5.5m bid, the firm's employees had already been alerted by publicity of the company's previous operations.

They became even more anxious last week when British Lion disclosed a £1.2m loss in the year ending last March (compared with a depressed profit of £143,000 the previous year).

£805,000 of the 1971-1972 setback was due to a 'write-down' of the value of the company's library of old films, some of which are irreplaceable and, in the old owners' view, certain to make money in specialist showings and television rights.

The 'write-down' (this simply means that the value of the library appeared less in the 1971-1972 balance-sheet than in the previous year's) was made by Bentley's man at British Lion, 38-year-old Jeremy Arnold.

Arnold's justification for this action is that 20-30 library films made under the previous management over the past five years did badly at the box office and have no hope of recovering their cost.

But the 'write-down' also adds considerable power to Bentley's elbow in his talks with the unions about closing Shepperton, which British Lion

owns, and concentrating film production in a smaller operation centred on Pinewood studios in Buckinghamshire.

This would leave a highly desirable, 60-acre site in Middlesex open for redevelopment.

Union resistance, however, is strong.

Cinema technicians at Shepperton are pressing their leaders for action to force a 16-week Boulting feature, due in the autumn, into production there rather than at Pinewood. And for the first time the millionaire assets-stripper may be thinking he has bitten off more than he can chew.



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**BBC 1**

9.45 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 Attenborough and Animals. 10.50 Tin Tin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 12.55 All in a Day's Work: Doctors. 1.30 Pogles' Wood. 1.45 News, weather. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Penelope Pitstop. 5.15 It's Your Word. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.

**6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.**

**6.20 ANIMALS AT HOME.** Tropical Fish.

**6.40 THE MOVIE QUIZ.**

**7.05 Z CARS.** Relative Values, Part 1.

**7.30 THE VIRGIN FELLAS.**

**7.55 THE OLYMPIANS.** Peter Snell.

**8.00 PANORAMA.**

**9.00 NEWS, Weather.**

**9.20 DOOMWATCH.** Cause of Death.

**10.10 AN HOUR WITH MIKE YARWOOD.**

**11.10 NEWS.**

**11.15 ATHLETE.** Part 10.

**11.40 Weather.**

**BBC 2**

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University.

**7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.**

**8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL.** Surtee.

**8.50 A. P. HERBERT'S MISLEADING CASES.** The Usual Channel.

**9.20 HORIZON.** The Missing Link.

**10.15 INTERNATIONAL GOLF.** The United States PGA Championship.

**11.05 NEWS, Weather.**

**11.10 MERE STRANGERS.** John Seymour walks in search of the 'Landsker'.

**11.40 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.**

**TV**

**ITV**

11.35 Seven Seas. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted House. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Perils of Pauline'. 4.40 Cliff's Kids. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Treasure Island. 5.50 News.

**6.00 YOU AND THE WORLD.**

**6.20 CROSSROADS.**

**6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS.**

**7.30 CORONATION STREET.**

**8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.**

**8.30 LOLLIPOP.**

**9.00 MAN AT THE TOP.**

**10.00 NEWS.**

**10.30 NAME OF THE GAME.**

**11.55 OFT IN DANGER.**

**REGIONAL TV**

All regions as BBC 1 except:

**Wales:** 1.30 Ar Lin Mam. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.20 Telewele. 6.45 Tom and Jerry. 6.55 Newyddion. 10.10 'Steddod Sir Benfro. 10.40 A Lasting Joy. 11.42 News.

**Scotland:** 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 11.15 Open to Question. 11.45 Athlete. 11.42 News, weather.

**Northern Ireland:** 6.00 Scene Around Six. 11.42 News, weather.

**England:** 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.42 News, weather.



Roy Dotrice as Albert Haddock in A. P. Herbert's Misleading Cases on BBC-2.

**CHANNEL:** 2.55 Cliff's kids. 3.05 Puffin. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Film: 'Dangerous Voyage'. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 11.55 Visages de France. 12.10 Weather.

**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 2.40 Gus Honeybun. 3.05 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 11.50 News. 11.53 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 12.55 News. 1.00 Tennis. 1.25 My three sons. 1.55 Cook's trade. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Let's face it. 3.30 Bird's eye view. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.10 Twizzle. 4.25

Lucy. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

**ANGLIA:** 1.40 World war I. 2.05 Arthur. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Brian Connell. 11.05 Spyforce. 11.55 Reflection.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Nanny and

the professor. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 Treasure island. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 Opportunity knocks. 7.30 London. 10.30 Joker's wild. 11.00 Aquarius. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 4.00 Let's face it. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Smith family. 6.35 Cartoons. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Name of the game.

**YORKSHIRE:** 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Bowery to Broadway'. 4.35 Calendar. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Cartoons. 6.15 Shirley's world. 6.45 London. 11.55 Yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 2.20 All our yesterdays. 2.45 Pippi longstocking. 3.15 Danger man. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.15 Treasure island. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Bugs Bunny. 6.15 European journey. 6.40 Opportunity knocks. 7.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'Appointment With Crime'.

**TYNE TEES:** 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Cook book. 3.00 Film: 'Forever Female'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 H.R. Pufnstuf. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Perils of Pauline. 6.30 Cartoons. 6.45 London. 10.30 Brass tacks. 11.00 Spyforce. 11.55 News. 12.10 Us and them.

**SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Casebook. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.10 Late call. 11.15 Frighteners.

**GRAMPIAN:** 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather, farming. 6.15 Me and the chimp. 6.45 London. 10.30 Watts on with Elli. 11.30 Shepherd.

**Revision of law threatens liberty — NCCL**

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

THE PROPOSALS of the Criminal Law Revision Committee, involving changes in legal procedures, represent a 'grave threat to the civil liberty of the individual,' says a memorandum published by the National Council for Civil Liberties today.

'We urge very strongly that no legislation be introduced until it is certain that there has been adequate opportunity for public discussion of the far-reaching changes now proposed, and for organizations like the National Council for Civil Liberties to brief their members and the public at large on the issues involved,' said the memorandum.

It added: 'The Committee's report is often marred by the uncritical adoption of propositions for which little or no evidence exists and for which the committee itself provides none.'

On the right of a suspect not to answer questions, the memorandum says that the committee proposes that failure to do so 'may be treated as amounting to corroboration of evidence against him'.

The memorandum claims that the committee suggests changes which would fundamentally reduce the safeguards available to suspects while offering no new protections.

**Peers' wealth 'makes MPs look like barrow boys'**

THERE ARE 60 millionaires in the House of Lords and their lordships have property holdings totalling more than 5.6 million acres.

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

These are two facts to emerge in 'Lord on the Board', a book on the business interests of peers by Andrew Roth, published today.

He says that MPs' business connections pale into insignificance compared with the lucrative stake that British peers have in industry and commerce. 'Peers make MPs look like barrow boys,' Mr Roth says.

His latest book took ten years to prepare and runs into 840 pages. The American-born author told a friend the other day that one difficulty in compiling the book was that his subjects kept dying and the book had to be continually re-edited over the years.

Only last week Lord Delacourt Smith, a trade union official, collapsed in the House, although he appears alive and well in Mr Roth's pages.

Roth estimates that there are 60 millionaires in the Lords, 20 times the number in the Commons.

'The disparity between the

Lords and the Commons is also underlined by land holdings. Their lordships hold an estimated 5,655,096 acres as against 375,199 acres in the Commons, or 16 times the acreage.

'This estimate is arrived at by adding to the known 3,157,620 acres held by 184 peers the average of 17,106 for each of 146 other peers known to be landed.

'Peers are very modest about their possessions. Lord Margadale insisted he had only "a few thousand acres", which turned out to be 80,000 acres, including the whole of the Isle of Islay.

'The Countess of Sutherland complains that she is down to her "last 150,000 acres". Both of them are among our top ten landowners.'

Roth says the use of peers to add respectability to a board has long been used by firms ranging from the 'dodgiest' upwards.

'This habit is so distinctively British that visiting Americans have tried to cash in on it. One set up a sort of "rent-a-peer" outfit called "Noble directors".'

'He would offer a list of vetted peers in the hope of securing

for them between 100 and 250 guineas per directorship, of which he would retain 30 per cent as his cut.'

The author points out that few people realize that over two-thirds of the titles in the Lords have been created this century.

Even before the industrial revolution commercial shrewdness did not go unrewarded, although Defence Secretary Lord Carrington's ancestor, the first Lord Carrington, got rough treatment in 1797.

All the peers walked out of the Lords except for his sponsor in protest against the ennoblement of a man in 'trade'.

Other typical snippets from 'Lord on the Board':

● The former wife of the 11th Earl of Coventry was the daughter of an American hamburger millionaire.

● The Earl of Drogheda sold eggs from his Surrey farm to his staff on the 'Financial Times'.

● Baron Gladwyn sold for £8,000 a Ming Grey Jade water buffalo which had been removed from the Summer Palace outside Peking during suppression of the Boxer Rebellion.

'Lord on the Board' is published by Parliamentary Profiles.

**Container workers picket cold store**

DEPOT WORKERS on official strike are picketing UK Cold Storage at Dagenham, Essex, after being sacked by the company because the dockers' action has led to work drying up.

The company, a subsidiary of the powerful Proprietors of Hay's Wharf group, employed 16 Transport and General Workers' Union members.

After a meeting between management and the T&GWU commercial services group, the men succeeded in postponing their dismissals until July 21. But when they struck in support of the five jailed dockers, they were told they would have to go within five days of resuming work.

Shop stewards met manage-

ment for two-and-a-half hours last Tuesday to suggest work-sharing and bringing forward the annual two weeks' holiday. This was rejected. Now the men have struck.

Later in the week an attempt was made to split the men by offering some of them their jobs back. This was unsuccessful.

Dockers had picketed the

**Stanton closure: Marchers chant 'Heath out'**

TWO THOUSAND ironworkers, miners and Midland trade unionists, chanting 'Heat Out', marched through Ilkeston, Derbyshire, on Saturday behind eight MPs.

They were protesting against the closure of the Stanton and Staveley ironworks which will throw 1,500 men onto the dole in the next two years.

At an open-air meeting after the march, local Labour MPs Tom Swain, Raymond Fletcher, Donald Concannon and Eric Varley were cheered by the audience when they said that everything must be done to force the Heath government to resign.

But South East Derbyshire MP Peter Rost was howled down when he tried to justify the government's action and demanded the denationalization of the industry.

Stanton action committee secretary R. Dunbar told the crowd that the action committee was non-political.

'You start a sit-in and see how non-political it is,' roared a voice from the crowd.

Steelworkers from Teesside pledged support for the Stanton fight and a representative promised help in running a sit-in.

store for 12 weeks before the sackings, but T&GWU depot steward Tony Knightsbridge told Workers Press there was no division between his members and the dockers.

'We are both fighting for the right to work,' he said. 'The press blew the picketing and counter-picketing up out of context.'

# Stalinist and Texas oil rig chief sign deal

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

**MARATHON MANUFACTURING** will be launched in the Clydebank shipyard on Wednesday on a tide of goodwill from unions and shop stewards led by the two Communist Party members James Reid and James Airlie.

Viewers in Scotland got a foretaste of the so-called new era for Clydeside on Friday when Reid, member of the Communist Party's national executive, grasped the plump hand of Wayne Harbin and paid tribute to this capitalist from Texas.

The gesture symbolized the Clydebank settlement. Marathon have come out of the negotiations with nothing less than a blueprint for corporatism tucked safely in their pockets. More than this. They have a well-founded belief that with the help of stewards like Reid they can make it work.

This marks a new important precedent in trade union bargaining and vividly exposes the extremely right-wing development of sections of the Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

Marathon is a watershed that can be compared to the introduction of Measured-Day Work into Britain's car and engineering plants.

Everyone, in retrospect, recognizes that MDW was the key factor behind the labour 'shake-out' that has devastated the two industries since 1968.

But what is not acknowledged is that the men responsible for accepting MDW were the Stalinists and the union officials.

For example, it took Rootes management 12 months to introduce the first MDW scheme in British industry at their Ryton plant, Coventry. At no time in this battle did the Communist Party members in the plant come out four square against the system.

They confined themselves to the national Party line, which was to 'resist' these deals, but concentrate in practice in negotiating safeguards.

At the two Rolls-Royce plants in Coventry, Communist Party stewards did not fight MDW either, but spoke in favour of productivity deals for non-pieceworkers. Once management won this concession they forced pieceworkers to begin trial MDW schemes at the Parkside plant.

This phoney war by the Stalinists against MDW gave union leaders the vital cover necessary to get the deals past a suspicious labour force.

Workers paid the price. Productivity was forced up and tens

## AUGUST FUND REACHES £204.48

**AT A time when workers everywhere are determined to make this government resign, the wheeling and dealing of Victor Feather and the TUC chiefs is more treacherous than ever.**

**Trade unionists all over the country must be mobilized in support of the dockers. Workers Press is vital therefore to lead this fight.**

**We appeal to all our devoted readers. The target for August is £1,750. We know from past experience that you will do everything possible to raise this amount in good time. Your record so far has been magnificent. Can we better it this month? Let's try. Raise extra amounts, take collections at work, post every one of your donations immediately to:**

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Reid (left) shakes hands with Harbin for the sake of the TV cameras.

# Marathon deal a step to corporatism

of thousands of jobs were sold for a few extra pounds in the wage packet.

Now, of course, it is fashionable to beat the anti-productivity drum. Everyone is against MDW. But five years ago the Socialist Labour League stood in a minority of one against the employers' schemes.

And it is the same today on the Clyde. Alone we can warn that the Clydeside working class will pay a bitter price for the Marathon deal.

One clause in it establishes machinery for binding arbitration. Another will mean Marathon can take an entire six months' bonus from workers who strike unofficially for any length of time. The icing of the cake is Reid's servile promises that the deal will be 'honoured' and that no one likes to strike for striking's sake, etc.

The pattern is not difficult to discern. Disputes will be immediately swallowed by a series of negotiations and committees, with the final prospect of outside arbitration.

If the workers should dare to act independently, Reid and his honourable band of men will be down talking about 'resolving trouble without conflict'. If this friendly persuasion fails, there is always the threat of the penalty clause and a substantial loss of earnings.

This is corporatism in embryo—an attempt to deprive the working class of independent action and merge its unions with the machinery of monopoly capital.

This is a direct result of the ideology now espoused by men like Reid. He has now converted himself to the belief that the class struggle can be abolished, that new arrangements can be made with 'enlightened' employers to resolve conflict.

It is the same ideology that allows Reid to share a platform with Enoch Powell before a businessmen's seminar.

Apart from congratulating the Tory government and declaring himself a Christian, Reid said this about the future for Clydeside:

'I am hoping that in the two companies that emerge that sufficient will be learned from recent experiences so that the structure of the company will allow the latent abilities of the workforce to express itself.'

And Saturday's 'Morning Star', the CP paper, was silent on the bonus clauses, silent on the binding arbitration. All emphasis was placed on the guarantees of employment won by the Clydebank workers.

What are these concessions from the Texan oil rig builders? Marathon are committed to employing only 150 workers. They say they will employ 500 by the end of September, they say they

will have jobs for 2,000 in 18 months' time.

Meanwhile 1,000 men who are likely to be fired at Clydebank must live on promises—they are apart from the 2,000 who left the yards during the long demoralizing months of 'work-in'.

All these terrible 'sacrifices' have been made so that a rump labour force can work on in the yard for £40 a week (the same as car workers in Birmingham get without MDW and certainly

without acceptance of a four-year corporate contract).

The Marathon settlement, however, must be taken as a great warning. Worse can follow. Men like James Reid and others in the CP are now disarming the working class with talk of 'good times'.

The struggle to force the government to resign, therefore, must also involve a bitter fight against Stalinism which is the most treacherous force in the body of the working class.

## Bid to split the dockers

FROM PAGE 1

a generous estimate 1,000, while even the interim report admits almost 6,000 are needed now.

And the jobs shrinkage is a continuing one spurred on by changes in technique and the trade slump.

Secondly the joint committee of union leaders and port employers was a fraud from the outset.

The Road Haulage Association, whose members initiated use of the Industrial Relations Act in the jobs row, maintains bitter hostility to the dockers.

The RHA has said it will fight any attempt to extend the Dock Labour Scheme. Heaton's Transport summed up their attitude, after being approached by the committee, when they said they were quite prepared to let dockers stuff and strip their containers as long as the port employers paid.

Just how seriously many employers take the committee is indicated by the resignation of George Tonge, a director of Proprietors of Hay's Wharf, as chairman of the National Association of Port Employers.

Tonge apparently thought even the interim report too generous to the dockers. Hay's Wharf is also thought to be bitterly resisting employment of dockers

ONE HUNDRED and eighty-four process operators, all members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, are into the fifth week of their official strike at the International Synthetic Rubber Company plant at Fawley in Hampshire.

The strike began when the company, part of one of the largest synthetic rubber makers in Europe, sent home men operating a union ban on overtime.

The ban was introduced after ISR refused to negotiate on a newly imposed grading scheme.

During the 24-hour picketing the police are present in very large numbers. Sometimes they outnumber pickets more than two to one.

at its depots, Dagenham Storage and UK Cold Storage.

Every moment Jones continues on the joint committee is a moment the Tories use to plan the dockers' defeat—as is every moment the TUC spends talking to them about pay and industrial relations.

Dockers must demand that Jones leaves the committee, fights for the complete ending of TUC talks with the Tories and recalls the T&GWU conference to mobilize the full strength of the union in unity with the dockers.

There must be no redundancies on the docks or transport industries. Every docker, container worker and driver must be maintained on full pay until the industry can be nationalized and planned on socialist lines.

The TUC must be recalled on an emergency basis to call a General Strike in solidarity with the dockers to force the Tories to resign.

A Labour government must be elected to repeal the Industrial Relations Act and nationalize the docks and transport industries without compensation and under workers' control.

# Builders fear a sell-out on claim

BY PHILIP WADE

**BUILDING UNION** leaders have already accepted the employers' latest pay offer and will try and call off official strikes for the £30, 35-hour week claim.

However, rank-and-file workers feel that their claim has been sold out by the leadership. There is a possibility that the present selective stoppages will escalate into unofficial all-out strikes up and down the country.

Last Wednesday, union leaders met the employers at the national joint council. One thousand building workers stood outside demanding immediate settlement on the basis of the full claim.

Afterwards, George Smith of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, which represents most building workers, said there had been no settlement.

But it now seems clear that something was fixed up at the meeting. For the following day the UCATT executive met in London and recommended acceptance of the latest offer at next Tuesday's NJC meeting.

The settlement is nowhere near the original claim and represents a clear betrayal by the union leadership.

The claim, drawn up and fought for by the rank and file, was for an immediate increase in basic rates to £30 and a five-hour cut in the working week with another week's holiday.

The employers' offer is only for an immediate rise in the craftsmen's basic to £23 from £20 and a £2.60 rise for labourers to £19.60.

Next May, craftsmen would get another £3 and labourers £2.40. Employers have also offered higher guaranteed minimum earnings of £24.80 for labourers and £29 for craftsmen.

Not a minute off the working day is offered and there are only two days' extra holiday, and only one this year.

Shortly before the seven-week selective strikes began, employers offered an 18-month package deal which gave basic rates just below the current offer. As the latest offer lasts for an extra six months, it is in substance the same.

Transport and General Workers' Union regional and national building group officials meet in London today to decide their attitude to the offer.

Meetings all over Britain have condemned the union leadership and called for all-out stoppages. In Leeds on Saturday there was a demand for an all-out strike throughout Yorkshire. Workers in Bristol and Birmingham have passed similar resolutions.

On Tuesday, London building workers will strike for half a day and march from Speakers' Corner to the pay talks to demand 'no sell-out'.

Undoubtedly there will also be—as there were last week—calls for the resignation of George Smith and other union leaders.

Smith, as chairman of the TUC General Council, was one of those who fixed up the new 'conciliation' anti-strike deal with the Confederation of British Industries.

**SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE**

**PUBLIC MEETING**

**CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON, WC1.**

**Thursday August 10, 7.30 p.m.**

**END THE TUC TALKS WITH HEATH**

**VICTORY TO THE DOCKERS**

**NATIONALIZE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES**

**MAKE THE TORIES RESIGN**

**Speakers:**

**Larry Cavanagh, dock worker  
G. Healy, SLL national secretary**