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Associated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

Tanzania's
'non-aligned
socialism'

CENTRE PAGES

Starvation and food mountains . . . p.5

S. African blacks in mass revolt

For Botha's racist regime in South Africa the troubles are now coming in battalions.

The most dramatic and surprising of last week's events was the remarkably successful attempt (reportedly by the ANC) to sabotage two of the country's supposedly intensely guarded SASOL plants.

The SASOL coal-to-oil

conversion plants are crucial to South Africa's plans to overcome any international economic sanctions which might be imposed against it and towards which Arab oil producing countries made new moves last week.

This glaring failure of state security can only have intensified the fears of South African whites.

These fears will not have been settled by the monstrous 30-year jail sentence dished out last week to Renfrew Christie, a white academic who had "revealed" to the ANC the location of the SASOL plants—a fact which anyone can discover in a public library.

But while the SASOL sabotage makes the racists jump, what now makes them permanently sick with fear is the daily evidence of growing mobilisations of the black masses.

The "independent" homeland of the Transkei last week had to impose a state of emergency in response to the massive school boycott and the growth of demonstrations against the stooge black regime.

Gathering struggle

In the Cape, the leaders called off the school boycott, reportedly because of fears of massacres as the anniversary of Soweto (June 16) approached.

But no one can see this as a defeat for a mass movement of youth and workers which is bound to continue and which is still gathering strength.

The textile strike ended with a partial victory for the strikers. But a strike of meat workers continues and is being backed up by a consumer boycott.

And in the all-important gold mines, thousands of angry workers had to be dispersed by police tear gas at a mining community centre near Klerksdorp in the Transvaal, and one gold mine had to stop production because of strike action.

Leadership

All these events have highlighted the problem of leadership of a mass movement which is everyday more clearly on the offensive.

The Zulu homeland leader Chief Buthelezi has, as during the Soweto events four years ago, demonstrated the extreme dangers of the kind of "leadership" he and his fellow bourgeois and petty bourgeois politicians provide.

His reaction to the SASOL sabotage was to call for armed black vigilantes—to protect buildings!



SASOL plant



Police attack demonstrators in Johannesburg

UNION LEADERS PLUMP FOR CALLAGHAN



Clive Jenkins

Morecombe and Wise; Rogers and Hammerstein; Marks and Spencer; it is hard to find two names so clearly fused into a single entity as Callaghan and Healey.

Together, both under Wilson and then with Callaghan as Prime Minister, these twin advocates of IMF policies in the Labour movement worked to ram home three solid years of wage controls; together they imposed successive rounds of spending cuts; together they raised unemployment; together they inflicted the biggest cut in real wages on British workers for over 100 years.

Unseemly rush

Yet amazingly enough workers' credulity is now to be tested with a campaign by union leaders to support Callaghan, supposedly to support Healey out of the Labour leadership!

In the wake of the stage-managed "socialist" rhetoric of Labour's Special Conference there has been an unseemly rush of formerly left-talking union leaders anxious to back Callaghan.

TGWU leader Moss Evans, and ASTMS General Secretary Clive Jenkins led the way: they have even been joined by Stalinist Ken Gill, General Secretary of TASS.

Lame story

Jenkins specifically called on Callaghan to stay on beyond the autumn—to lead Labour in the next election.

As an excuse he offered the lame story that this would give Tony Benn the opportunity to prepare himself to lead the Party!

This rightward swing by the 'lefts' has been greeted by a chorus of praise for Callaghan from such bureaucrats as GMWU leader Basnett, NUR leader Weighell (who last week

appealed to Thatcher to introduce a "fair" incomes policy!) as well as the extreme right wing AUEW leadership.

More committed

The story retailed in the press is that union leaders would rather keep Callaghan in place than allow Healey to step in—because they believe Healey is more committed to wage controls!

Of course it is impossible to be more committed than Callaghan to wage controls. In reality, TUC leaders are panicking at the clear evidence of the leftward movement in the ranks of the Labour Party and the unions.

The standing ovation for Benn at the end of the Special Conference has been correctly recognised not as an indication of support for Benn's actual reformist policies, but as support for the "socialist" image he has created with the help of the media.

Talk about socialism is one thing: but with the economic crisis now pulling the rug from under the Thatcher government and creating the prospect of major class battles this autumn, TUC leaders suddenly recognise that what could be at stake is not simply leadership of the Labour opposition, but selection of the next Prime Minister.

Benn of course is wedded to the bankrupt parliamentary reformism of the "Peace, Jobs and Freedom" document: a Benn government could resolve none of the problems facing the working class.

Consciousness

But the election and exposure of such a government in conditions of mass struggle would open up the possibility of a rapid development of revolutionary consciousness in the working class.

This would challenge the cosy privileged positions of the

entire labour bureaucracy.

With the right wing leaders of the Party at a loss to deal with a militant rank and file and openly feuding among themselves, desperate measures were therefore needed to keep Benn out.

Hence the "resurrect Callaghan" campaign. It is designed to prevent the issue of the Labour leadership being sharply raised this autumn; to head off the certain tide of anger that would erupt if Healey were forced in by the PLP; and to provide a breathing space for the Party's right wing to work out a longer term strategy.

It must be combatted in trade union branches and CLPs. The fight must be redoubled for the ousting of Callaghan and Healey, and for the construction of a socialist leadership as the basis for a workers government to carry out a programme of nationalisation of banks and basic industry without compensation under workers' management.

INTERNATIONAL

MUGABE FACES

MASSES' DEMANDS

Shackled to the restrictions of preserving capitalist profitability by its reformist petty bourgeois nationalist programme, the Mugabe government is unable to meet the most basic demands of the working class and rural poor in Zimbabwe.

Farmworkers, industrial workers, miners and women workers in the service industries moved into action against their bosses fully expecting the support of those nationalist leaders whose militant manifestoes had won mass support in March.

At every turn, however, Mugabe and his cabinet have abandoned their mandate for a 'socialist Zimbabwe' and have sided with the plantation owners, mining magnates factory owners and bankers.

National interest

As their calls to workers to go back to work in the name of the 'national interest' have increasingly fallen on deaf ears, the Mugabe government has sent in the police to break strikes and force the strikers back to work.

The police—the same force that served Smith so loyally—were also sent in to the Salisbury townships to make 800 arrests in order to stop workers dealing with the informers and hired killers of the Smith regime.

Police also baton charged 400 women protesting outside parliament against police brutality.

While acting to reassure the capitalists inside Zimbabwe, Mugabe has sought meetings with key South African employer Oppenheimer and other leaders of international capital in order to establish closer links and assure them that there will be no nationalisation.

Borrowing bureaucrats

At the same time Mugabe has drafted in hundreds of advisers from the BBC and the British civil service, army and police to oversee the restructuring of the state apparatus.

There is even talk of borrowing bureaucrats from the TUC to organise official trade unions on behalf of the capitalist state

of Zimbabwe!

The undefeated Zimbabwean working class that has for years faced the blows of a viciously repressive capitalist state in crisis is now set to move into escalating levels of struggle, with the potential of giving a powerful leadership to the broadest layers of the oppressed masses.

Defence

As growing numbers of workers come to realise through the experience of struggle that Mugabe's government acts as the first line of defence for big capital, 'left' reformists and Stalinists will emerge around demands relating to government, the economy and foreign policy.

Whether they seek to lead opposition to the government or simply to become its 'left face', their objective role will be one of heading off the development of the independent struggle of the working class.

Workers and militants must fight for the building of independent organisations in the townships and workplaces which can mobilise the mass oppressed around a transitional programme of demands that start from their independent interests and point the way forward in the struggle for a workers' state.

In taking up such demands, the working class will come to assert increasing control over leaders seeking to represent its interests, exposing the hesitations and betrayals of the fake 'lefts' and clearing the way for a revolutionary leadership.

Central to the programme is the demand for a workers' and peasants' government on a platform of nationalisation without compensation and a massive development of public works



Mugabe

and services under workers' management, together with free credit and assistance for small farmers, and collectivisation of the large capitalist farms.

Through such a programme the fight can be taken up to give decisive working class leadership to the rural poor.

Now that the imperialists have created the conditions for the petty bourgeois nationalists to take over the administration of the government and thereby politically confuse and militarily demobilise the mass struggle, they will not sit in paralysis while all the advantages they have gained are taken from them.

For while Mugabe attempts painfully to balance between the implacably opposing interests of capital and the working class, imperialism looks even now for means to defeat

the working class in order to increase profitability and reassert stable capitalist control in the region.

Under these conditions that exist today in Zimbabwe a workers' militia is vital to provide the working class with the organised defence necessary to defend and extend its interests.

Revolution

To this end it is crucial that workers and militants with military training oppose Mugabe's efforts to integrate the ZANU and ZAPU guerrillas into General Walls' army.

Instead they must be urged to place their arms and training at the disposal of the independent organisations of the working class and rural poor, united around the programme of the socialist revolution!

Zionists fight to control West Bank

There could scarcely be a more striking reflection of the mounting militancy and tenacity of the anti-Zionist struggles on the West Bank than the action of the Mayor of Nablus, Mr Bassam Sharka.

Even after having had both legs blown off by a Zionist car bomb attack, and suffering from gangrene, he adamantly refused to be treated by doctors from the Zionist occupation forces: shouting "Long live the PLO!" he was eventually carried on a stretcher to a hospital in Jordan.

His fellow mayor—Karim Khalaf, of Ramallah—suffered a similar bomb attack and is still in hospital.

Focal point

Their stand—part of an offensive by Mayors from other Palestinian ghetto areas in the Zionist state—formed the focal point for new mass demonstrations of workers and youth against the military occupation.

The Zionists have responded by a renewed crackdown not only on the occupied West Bank, but also against the 600,000 Arabs who are citizens of the Jewish state.

The latest barbarism by the

racist oppressors against the Palestinian people is a mark not of strength but of weakness: the growing international recognition of the PLO, and political isolation of Israel are an imper-

ialist attempt to head off the anti-imperialist struggle which can only attain its goals by the destruction of the Zionist state, and the establishment of a secular Palestine.

What might have been by far the biggest item of US and world news on two occasions last week—computer failures that twice put American nuclear bombers and missile bases on alert and brought the USA to within 25 minutes of all-out war—was in each case averted in the nick of time.

But as military chiefs re-emerge blinking from their bunkers, pocketing the keys that could launch a devastating battery of intercontinental and submarine-launched missiles against the Soviet Union, the false alarms raise important political questions.

Speed

Firstly, the impact of Carter's frenzied cold war campaign against the Soviet Union can be seen from the speed at which the armed forces responded to these false alarms as compared with the last such incident seven months ago.

Despite the fact that there was absolutely no political basis to assume that any form of military attack should be forthcoming from the USSR, the computer signals last week found crews leaping into 116 B-52 nuclear bombers, starting their engines preparing to take off; Air Force command planes were alerted—and one actually took off; and missile launch officers unlocked their launch keys and awaited the order to fire.

Yet last November a similar false alarm which lasted twice as long did not even lead to the B-52s being manned.

Carter's bluff and bluster in the wake of the Afghanistan invasion has therefore been accompanied behind the scenes with real preparations for all-out war.

In this situation it is important to look at the kind of situation that could develop if such a computer fault were not so quickly detected.

Command plane

In the final analysis the decision as to whether to strike back against what appears to be a Soviet "attack" before any of the supposed missiles actually lands in the USA is entirely in the hands of the US President, circling high in his personal command plane.

Defence experts claim that it is certain that no President would give the order to fire

until he was completely convinced that the attack was genuine.

But we are dealing with a current President who gave his personal approval to the lunatic military fiasco in Iran, and has dithered and lurched around wildly on virtually every political issue.

Geriatric

And, if the pundits are correct, the front runner in the Presidential elections this autumn is geriatric reactionary Ronald Reagan, whose willingness to contemplate nuclear attacks on any and every opponent of US imperialism is exceeded only by the frenzied jingoism of his advisors and top military supporters.

Reagan is scarcely a man with a reputation for checking his facts. The primary elections have brought repeated press revelations of his tendency to trot out the most absurd and unverified "facts" and allegations in major speeches—many of them culled from Readers Digest or odd news clippings.

Examples have included his false assertion that Vietnam veterans are not eligible for the GI Bill of Rights on education; his claim that US Occupational Safety and Health Administration has "144 regulations on climbing ladders" (it has 21); his confusion of Indochina with Indonesia; and his claim that General Motors employs 23,000 people just to do Federal paperwork (the real figure is 5,000, mainly dealing with tax returns).

Challenged by a reporter on one of his more picturesque blunders, Reagan's reply was: "Oh, don't tell me that's not true. It's such a lovely story, I'd really love it to be true."

Between now and the elections the US bourgeoisie must decide whether it can afford the prospect of such a man holding the reins of office.

His Thatcherite economic sums don't add up; his foreign policy is rudimentary; his anti-abortion stand and hostility to women's rights seem set to alienate millions of American women; and, taking office at 70 years old, there would be consistent concern as to his ability to stand the pace of four years as President.

Meanwhile sections of the capitalist class are so alarmed that the absence of any choice for US workers might drive them towards the launching of a labour party that John Anderson, the dissident Republican, has emerged as a third candidate.

Anderson points out that his objective is to save the system of two capitalist parties that dominates US politics, and that he is not asking voters to leave their parties but to "take a leave of absence" from them.

Labour party

With only 53% of the US electorate having bothered to vote in 1976, and still less likely to vote this time around, Anderson's move is a desperate attempt to enlist the working class and middle class to the cause of capitalism.

US capitalists are calculating that at worst Anderson can hope to siphon off 'liberal' supporters from Carter, and ease Reagan into the White House.

But the necessary step is clear: the US trade unions must break their links with both bosses' parties, and build a labour party pledged to fight for the interests of the working class.

USA

WEEK BY WEEK

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INTERNATIONAL

STALINISTS BACK ARGENTINE JUNTA!

There should be absolutely no doubt for any class conscious militant, let alone anybody claiming to be a Marxist, that the Videla dictatorship, which has murdered over 25,000 people in four years, is a brutal agent of imperialism hell-bent on destroying the political and economic organisations of the proletariat. It would seem a self-evident truth.

However, it is not so for the Stalinists of the Argentine Communist Party.

Indictment

As an indictment of the extraordinary treason practiced to this very day in Argentina by the Stalinists we reprint extracts taken from an interview with a leading member of the Argentine CP.

There could be no more eloquent vindication of Trotskyist politics, no more cynical Stalinist betrayal of those thousands that have died in the cause of the working class.

The French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy interviewed Roberto Vallarino, Central Committee member of the Argentine CP for the Spanish magazine *Camilo* 16.

How do you see the balance of forces within the Armed Forces?

I'd say, very generally, that on the one hand there are ultra-reactionary Pinochetist elements

and on the other there are progressive elements with democratic tendencies. This is the fundamental reality which no analysis can ignore.

Who are these progressive elements?

If you want names, I'll name them: Videla, Massera, Agosti, Suarez, Masson, for example.

In other words, you're referring to the entire leading apparatus of the Junta?

Yes, in a certain sense. But I must emphasise that we are dealing with progressive elements and tendencies.

This means definitely and conclusively that the present Argentine government is a progressive government?

It is a government which contains progressive elements which in effect occupy the leading positions within it.

Do you support the Junta?

Not directly. It would be better to talk of critical support.

In sum, you believe it is a mistake to equate Videla with fascism.

A classic adventurist mistake which can only take the Argentine people backwards.

Backwards in relation to what?

In relation to the recent successes of the democratic and workers movement.

For example?

Well, for example the fact that Argentina today has commercial relations with all countries independent of the ideol-



Argentine Junta

ogical orientations of its governments. But don't forget that there exist Pinochetist elements which are opposed to this.

Progressive therefore means trade with the USSR?

In this case it means putting relations between states on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

Don't the violations of human rights worry you?

Naturally they do. 71 of our own party militants have disappeared.

Out of a total of 15,000 disappeared persons according to Amnesty International.

That is an exaggerated

number which doesn't square with reality. Moreover you have to be very careful with the problem of human rights as to where you draw the dividing line. This is interpreted differently by left and right.

When the USSR opposed any condemnation of Argentina in

the UN, was this a left position?

Naturally. If this were not so our people would be isolated and this would strengthen the Pinochetist gang.

Gonzalez offers 'national unity'

In stepping up its "opposition" to the Suarez regime in Spain, Felipe Gonzalez' Socialist Party has found a new way to back up increasingly shaky bourgeois rule—and to prepare a new stage in its class collaboration with the heirs of Franco.

Ten days ago the Spanish parliament saw its first vote of censure on a government since the 1930s.

The result was ambiguous. On the one hand the ruling Democratic Centre Union (UCD), though it won the vote, stood completely isolated.

No other parliamentary group was prepared to vote beside the now deeply discredited Suarez regime.

The extreme right—in the streets and in the army—has given increasing evidence recently that it is preparing for a new bid to reestablish pure Francoism by force.

Workers, faced with unemployment which last week reached nearly 12% of the labour force, are rapidly losing any faith they might have had in the new "parliamentary democracy" as a way of solving their problems.

The people of the oppressed nationalities within Spain's borders are so disillusioned with Suarez' betrayal of national autonomy that even the right wing parliamentary representatives who in 1979 helped vote Suarez into office did not dare vote for him in the vote of censure.

But on the other hand the Socialists' new oppositional tactics—which produced the first apparently real debate of this parliament—has been used by the bourgeoisie (with the reformists' and Stalinists' ready connivance) to try to resurrect illusions in its post-Franco "democratic" regime.

The press coverage was intense; the two day debate was broadcast in full on the state-controlled radio and TV.

Parliament, they all tried to say, was not a fraud, a mere talking shop but an arena of authentic political struggle.

What this ignores, of course, is that there was never for one moment (as Suarez, Gonzalez and CP leader Carrillo all knew) the slightest possibility of any result other than a victory for the UCD.

But in the longer term the UCD's isolation, lack of authority and complete inability to resolve the economic crisis or

the national question are all disturbing to the bourgeoisie.

Sections of it have already clearly moved towards a military solution. But the majority of the bourgeoisie still probably favour a more "democratic" way forward.

If Suarez became incapable of continuing this, it is very unlikely that an authoritative substitute can be found from the timid time-servers in the UCD leadership.

There remains, however, one as yet untried alternative for the bourgeoisie—the one offered by the charismatic Felipe Gonzalez in the debate.

He looked towards a class collaborationist government, participated in, or even led by the reformists of the Socialist Party.

The political programme presented by the Socialists in the debate was even more right wing than that put forward in last year's general election.

Not a word of socialism or the interests of the working class—only a plea for a government of national unity to "preserve democracy", "reform" the administration and, of course, bail out the ailing sections of Spanish capital.

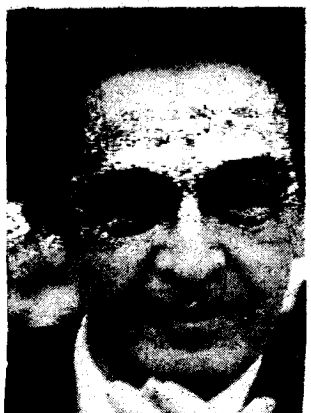
ITALY STALEMATE

There is one certainty about the outcome of the local elections in Italy on June 8—if will be indecisive.

Like all recent elections in Italy, it produces no basic resolution of any of the problems of bourgeois rule. The results simply underline the problems.

During the campaign it emerged in a dramatic way that the failure of the bourgeoisie to gain the political authority needed by a ruling class is not merely the result of the continued failure of the Christian Democrats to gain an electoral majority.

The other elements contributing to this profound lack of authority is the internal state of the Christian Democratic leadership itself.



Berlinguer

Not only is the leadership divided politically but also very few sections of it are uncontaminated by political or financial scandal.

The usefulness of faceless Premier Francesco Cossiga in the last few months has been that, among the main leaders, he was almost alone in not being known for any specific scandal.

Rare commodity

In fact he was not known for anything—except for having a vague reputation for "moral uprightness" (a rare commodity among leading Christian Democrats).

In the last two weeks all that has changed. Everyone has now heard of Cossiga—and, no doubt, he wishes they hadn't.

Because he is now at the centre of one of the biggest of all the many scandals of Italian politics—the Donat Cattin affair.

Until recently Carlo Donat Cattin was one of the two vice-presidents of the Christian Democratic party, a long established leader of the party's right wing, opposed to any agreement with the Communist Party.

He resigned in embarrassment from this elevated position when it was revealed that his son Marco was being hunted by the police as an alleged left-wing terrorist, specifically a member of a group called Prima Linea (First Line).

Cossiga is under fire because he is alleged to have tipped off Donat Cattin (the father) that his son was being sought. Cossiga denies the tip-off

and has been exonerated once by a parliamentary committee—but by only a narrow margin, thus constitutionally allowing a form of impeachment in parliament.

The Stalinists seized the opportunity to further embarrass the Christian Democrats a few days before the local elections.

CP leader Berlinguer says the CP will proceed in parliament against Cossiga (who is Berlinguer's cousin).

The whole procedure reeks of opportunism.

On the one hand the CP was trying to produce a smoke-screen to cover its own dismal failures in control of the main municipalities since the last municipal elections in 1975.

On the other hand the CP is trying to present itself as the main enemies of left terrorism in Italy, suggesting that the Christian Democrats really connive at it.

Although in the aftermath of the elections the CP may well wish to soften the bitter rhetoric of the campaign and struggle up once again to the bourgeoisie in parliament, it has now probably opened up a Pandora's box of scandals which it will be hard to close again.

At least the mud slinging allows the CP to battle it out with the Christian Democrats without ever having to talk about programme.

If forced to do that the CP would be obliged to reveal its political bankruptcy and total inability to offer Italian workers any way out of the effects of the growing slump.

Ireland: fight on in labour movement!

The struggle against British military repression of the Irish people is gathering strength in the British labour movement.

One recent indicator of this was the vocal support at the Labour Party Special Conference for those delegates who challenged the alliance between the Labour leadership and the Tories over the war in Ireland.

A new bulletin "Labour and Ireland", produced by the newly-formed Labour Committee on Ireland, hammered home to all delegates the fact that no less than 44 constituency parties were represented at its founding conference, which endorsed a model resolution for the 1980 conference calling on the next Labour government to "immediately begin" what it calls "the process" of a full "political and military withdrawal" from Ireland.

Another indicator was the

strong support won on the same day by lobbyists outside the conference of Trades Councils, protesting at the TUC disaffiliation of Tameside Trades Council for convening a labour movement conference on Ireland.

Opposed

This bureaucratic attempt to censor discussion of Ireland in the labour movement has now been opposed by a growing list of trade union and labour movement bodies—and thus seems likely to unleash the very sort of discussion the TUC was attempting to suppress!

Meanwhile the NUJ is now committed to convene a labour movement conference on media censorship of the war in Ireland.

Elsewhere, a "Charter 80", in solidarity with the Irish republican prisoners still engaged in their heroic four-year "blanket" protest in the 'H' Blocks of the Long Kesh

concentration camp in Northern Ireland, has been launched by a group of supporters including Ivan Hartal, a socialist dissident from the Czech "Charter 77" grouping.

The Charter—now being circulated throughout the labour movement—spells out the basic demands for the restoration of the political status stripped from republican prisoners by the Labour government in 1976 in a vain effort to browbeat the nationalists into submission.

In the midst of these developments another conference "Voices for Withdrawal" has been organised by a wide range of sponsors and based, rather ironically, at the National Liberal Club.

The Liberal Party of course like both the Labour and Tory parties supports the continued British military occupation of the six counties of the North of Ireland: but the Young Liberals have not been slow to

recognise the opportunity to project a "radical" and "independent" image by adopting a general call for a British "withdrawal".

A march convened under this slogan last autumn demonstrated precisely how slender is the "middle ground" support to whom the Young Liberals' pacifist demand is addressed.

Unlike almost any other international question, a stand in opposition to the war in Ireland demands in reality a stand against the British ruling class.

Though opinion polls have repeatedly shown a majority of British voters opposed to the troops remaining in Ireland, only the most conscious layers can generally be mobilised on a demonstration to that effect: and few of them are so confused as to be firmly committed to the Young Liberals.

In the event the "Troops Out Now!" contingent on the



march last August far outnumbered the Liberals.

A conference is rather different from a demonstration, however. It is able to convey much more information to forces possibly only beginning to grasp the importance of the war in Ireland.

It offers the possibility of a measure of debate over policy and programme. The "Voices for Withdrawal" conference can in this way make a contribution to the struggle against "bi-partisan" and pro-imperialist

positions within the labour movement.

But in angling towards hopes of a "broad", all-embracing, cross class campaign for a withdrawal of British troops it offers workers nothing but hollow illusions.

It is towards the increasingly responsive ranks of the trade union and labour movement that the fight must be directed, in conflict with the existing bureaucratic leaderships.

*Troops out NOW!

LEYLAND WORKERS PREPARE TO FIGHT BACK

An important step forward was taken last Saturday in the struggle to build an alternative leadership to the Stalinists and social democrats in British Leyland.

A conference called in Birmingham by the Leyland Action Committee attracted militants from five important plants—Cowley Assembly plant, Cowley Body plant, Rover Solihull, Longbridge and Jaguar, Browns Lane.

Although the conference of 36 was smaller than the organisers had anticipated it was able to address itself concretely to the appalling crisis of leadership in BL, which has helped turn

the corporation into a testing ground for the employers' general strategy against the whole of the working class in Britain.

Action proposals

The conference addressed itself to a series of action proposals around which the struggle for alternative leadership in the corporation can be focussed at this stage.

Central to this over the next few months is the 1980/81 wage review, around which there are serious problems to be confronted.

Since the call earlier this year by the BL National Joint Negotiating Committee for an

official strike from April 8 against Edwardes' imposition of the 5% and 92 pages of strings, moves have been made by the union bureaucracy to supercede even this servile body.

The JNC is to be "reconstituted", presumably along even more bureaucratic lines than before and a new body of General Secretaries and National Officers has been set up above the JNC and given ultimate authority within BL—including the right to sign agreements over the heads of the 90,000 workers in BL Cars!

In fact they have already signed such an agreement. They met in secret on May 8 and signed an agreement with management giving management complete control of grading

appeals.

To do so, the officials overrode objections from both the JNC and the convenors' conference. The agreement is now being operated by management.

The conference approached this major tightening of the bureaucratic grip by fully supporting the initiative taken a few days earlier by the shop stewards committee at the Cowley Assembly Plant.

Delegate conference

They have called for a delegate conference of BL workers to be set up as the highest body within BL—to which an elected JNC would be answerable.

This policy was formulated into a petition, which has met with a mass and enthusiastic response in the Cowley Plant.

The LAC Conference therefore called for this petition to be extended into the other plants and developed in a mass way throughout BL in order to directly involve the mass of workers in the struggle for democratic procedures.

This campaign would go alongside the preparation for the opening of the wage negotiations in August.

The conference decided to campaign for a claim based on a basic rate for production workers of £120 per week and pro rata to other grades, a cost of living clause offsetting the full effect of inflation; a 35 hour week, the abolition of the 92 page document and the restoration of all agreements.

The resolution adopted by the conference stressed the importance of strike action on the claim immediately the review date is reached on 1 November.

The conference also addressed itself to the current situation in the plants, calling for a policy of no recognition of the 92 page document and the organisation of action against it.

It called for support for the growing number of strikes on

the question of the five grade structure and no recognition of the "appeals procedure" of May 8.

Full support must be mobilised to fight any victimisations.

On jobs, the conference called for continuing opposition to the Edwardes plan—despite the impending switch by the TGWU to support it. Voluntary redundancy must be opposed and where redundancies are forced in, vacancies must be filled and manning standards defended.

In arguing for a policy of opening the books of BL, occupation against closures and work sharing on full pay in place of redundancies, the conference went on to take a stand in opposition to any call for import controls.

There was a report from the convenor of the Adwest plant in Reading—a BL supplier—whose workforce is now in the sixth week of strike action against victimisation.

And there were fraternal greetings from the Ford Workers Group.

At a point where the Tory/Edwardes offensive has workers in many industries confused as to the way forward, this qualitative conference marks a vital step towards an organised fight back.



Mass meeting at Cowley Assembly Plant

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement CONFERENCE

AFTER THE STEEL AND BL STRIKES—
NEW LEADERS NEEDED!

Saturday 5 July at Digbeth Civic Hall,
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11.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. Credentials £1

Write to G. Webster, 169, Barclay Road., Warley
West Midlands

Starvation in Uganda Food mountains in EEC!

Television news broadcasts last week brought home the full horror of starvation that now threatens the lives of at least 12 million people in Africa alone.

But the very next day they threw their weight behind the reactionary pronouncement by Shirley Williams, David Owen and William Rodgers that they would split from the Labour Party if it called for a withdrawal from the Common Market.

The EEC of course provides the most glaring testimony to the inability of capitalism to feed the world or administer production in the interests of the vast majority of the population.

Its beef mountains, butter mountains, milk and wine lakes, its silos packed with unused grain, its subsidised crops ploughed back into the ground—all at a cost in excess of £5 billion this year—stand in stark contrast to the grinding poverty, the tortures of hunger and deprivation that face whole peoples in Uganda, and elsewhere in Northern and Western Africa.

The EEC shows the wanton destruction of foodstuffs on a monumental scale by capitalist vandals in the pursuit of private profit.

But there are still more resources available to feed, clothe and house the impoverished masses: the money used for the huge arms programmes

now being embarked upon by imperialist leaders in their Cold War offensive.

Thatcher is even now finalising the decision to spend £5,000 million on the new Trident missiles for the Polaris submarine fleet: £1,000 million is already being spent on developing a new British torpedo.

Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent by US imperialism deploying Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles throughout Europe.

And \$50 billion has been allocated by Carter to building the absurd MX missile system in the USA!

Meanwhile imperialist spending on existing armed forces totals tens of billions of pounds

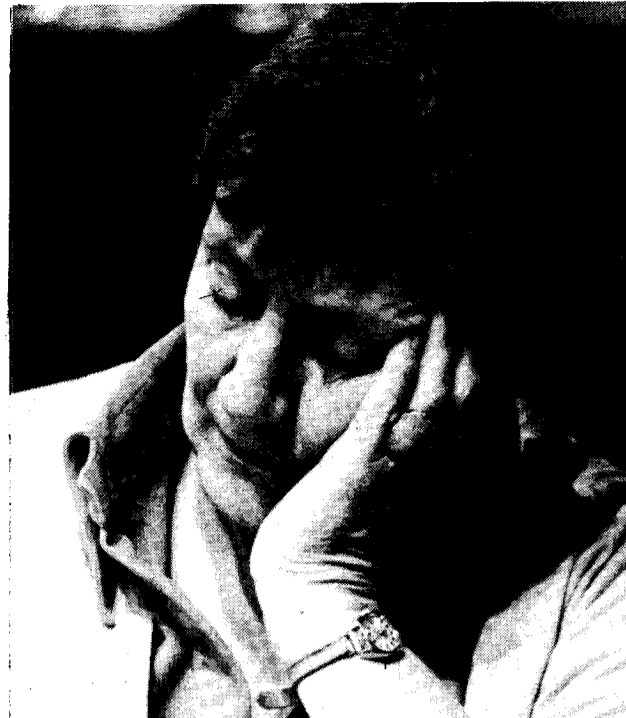
each year.

All this extravagant hardware and expenditure is designed to perpetuate imperialist rule over the masses of the world: yet there is scarcely even a token gesture of concern when starvation—whether in Kampuchea or Ethiopia; whether in Uganda or West Africa—strikes at millions of men, women and children.

Meanwhile in Uganda itself the workers and peasants have suffered the multiple burdens brought about by years of savage dictatorship under Sandhurst-trained butcher Amin, and now by the presence of 10,000 Tanzanian occupying troops propping up the military regime. And the inability of the

Ugandan economy—in the clutches of imperialism—to plan or develop systematic agriculture in one of the most naturally fertile and abundant countries on earth spells out unmistakably the material necessity for the overthrow of imperialist and capitalist exploitation and the establishment of a planned, socialist economy not on a national but an international basis.

Until then, despite all the occasional handwringing of liberals, and despite food parcels from charities, starvation, poverty and hunger will remain the ever-present reality of life for the majority of the world's population.



Defending food mountains: Williams



Thatcher

Labour's "Peace" gimmick

Though the anti-nuclear power campaigns so popular in Europe and the USA have largely fallen flat in this country, growing sections of the workers' movement are opposed to being blown to smithereens in a nuclear war.

This stand is causing consid-

erable annoyance to military chiefs, irritation to the Tories and embarrassment to Labour's right wing.

Labour's Special Conference saw the novel exploitation of the call for "Peace" as a major element in the diversionary document put forward by the Party's NEC.

Only former Foreign Secretary David Owen at the Special Conference tried to argue the case in favour of a further expansion in nuclear weapons programmes—to offer, he argued, a bargaining counter in arms limitation talks!

Owen was howled at for his pains. And a succession of floor speakers—including Agricultural Workers' Union leader Jack Boddy got up to voice vocal opposition to the siting of hundreds of US Cruise missiles in Britain, targeted on the USSR.

Out of 580 Cruise missiles in the whole of Europe, 170 of them are to be sited in East Anglia!

"If the bomb is to fall, I hope it falls on me", declared Boddy—a sentiment no doubt echoed by thousands of militant farmworkers angered by successive pay sell-outs!

Opportunism

'Left'-talking MP Martin Flannery however pointed out that while the Party prattles on about "peace" only 70 Labour MPs went into the lobbies to vote against the latest Tory defence estimates.

There is certainly a hefty measure of opportunism and cynicism in Labour's present verbal commitment to "peace".

Conspicuously the talk has grown louder while Labour is in opposition, and not in government. The policy statement

declares that:

"The Labour Party opposes the manufacture and deployment of Cruise missiles and the neutron bomb, and refuses to permit their deployment in Britain by the United States or any other Country".

But of course there is no commitment to withdraw from the imperialist NATO alliance that is masterminding the missiles programme or from the other reactionary alliances of British capitalism.

Only last week NATO ministers reaffirmed their commitment to the deployment of Cruise missiles and other aggressive military hardware against the Soviet Union.

Until this alliance against the workers of the world is broken, there can be no guarantee of "peace" or safety.

But the whole woolly notion of "peace" has only recently dawned on Labour's leaders as a vote winner.

The June 22 "peace" rally—complete with posters, badges, balloons, sticks of rock and a £500 TGWU sponsored band—is the first anti-war gesture called by the Labour Party since the Suez crisis of 1956!

The Party's squalid record includes support for British imperialism in two World Wars, and support for imperialist aggression in general.

The Party sat firmly on its hands throughout the barbaric US war in Vietnam—while Harold Wilson as Prime Minister hobnobbed with US mass murderer Lyndon Johnson.

Labour leaders have time and again given tacit or open backing to the aggressive colonialist policies of the Zionist state of Israel against the Palestinian and Arab people.

And even now they support the vicious military repression

of the Irish people by British imperialist troops.

For such leaders to talk of "peace" is a fraud. But there is also another deception involved.

The Labour leaders know full well that the Thatcher government is hell-bent on an aggressive cold war militaristic policy: and they know that the only way this can be stopped is to bring the government down.

Yet the "Peace" rally and the Special Conference statement are a conscious attempt to head away from any such fight.

Only through revolutionary, not reformist action can the working class of Britain and the whole world secure the right to live in peace.

Sit-in backs gay worker

Youth and staff have occupied the Third Feather Youth Club in Earls Court in protest at the victimisation of their youth leader, Richie McMullan.

McMullan was sacked by Major Raymond Seymour and the management committee because he is gay.

He was dismissed at a moment's notice after 15 years' work in the youth club.

He turned at once for support to the Community and Youth Services Association—affiliated to the NUT. The Association is now investigating the case while the occupiers demand McMullen's reinstatement.

The management committee's case has been refuted by the protestors.

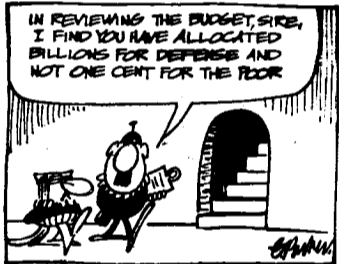
Management claimed membership had fallen: it has almost doubled in the last year; they claimed he alienated the rest of the staff; in fact 8 out of 10 have supported him.

Another charge—that he put up a friend, a priest, for the night—is clearly ludicrous.

The campaigners have taken some steps already. They have pointed out that the ILEA—which pays all the wages and 50% of the running costs of the club—has been forced to adopt a policy of no discrimination against gays.

Until now the ILEA have handed over money without control on how it is spent. The occupiers have now pressed for Labour ILEA members to press their case.

This firm stand in defence of Richie McMullen is an important initiative in defence of the rights of gay workers in education and social services.



PRESS GANG



"Behind its white surrounding wall Russian soldiers lie swathed in bandages on the makeshift cots in overcrowded wards.

"They scream in disbelief when told they will never see or walk again".

So ran part of the report wired from Kabul by Bruce Loudon in the Daily Telegraph. His inside source is not revealed at the hospital—which he says is under heavy Russian guard, and the whole report is riddled with the signs of a fantastical allegory.

"I learned . . . according to East European diplomats . . . people I spoke to at Kabul International airport . . . apparently because . . . it is believed that . . ."

Behind this smokescreen of guesswork and invention the two paragraphs of how the Soviet troops react to their injuries comes as a triumphant jeer.

'Violence'

Clearly for the newspapers, whatever their editorial line on 'violence' as an abstract thing in itself, reaction to violence depends entirely on who is on the receiving end.

This admission of materialism is nowhere more evident

than in the spate of publications which have spewed onto the streets following the SAS raid on the Iranian Embassy in London.

Barely a single Fleet Street newspaper has not been associated with one of these special commemorative issues.

The Sunday Times is producing a book. The Express has published a 'pictorial' account of the raid; the Mirror is involved in production of another and the Observer used the presses at the lockout bound IPC to produce its account complete with an introduction by John Le Carre.

Corruption

What does this symbolise? Everywhere the evidence which depicts the image of the 'democratic' forces of law and order stands tarnished and abused.

Hardly a day goes by without police defending themselves at one inquest or another into the death of someone in police custody or during a police action.

Trials of police involved in theft and corruption continue unabated. In Ireland the army suffers one defeat after another at the hands of the IRA.

During the embassy siege itself an SAS soldier was shot dead in Belfast raiding a house.

News was suppressed until after the siege was over.

Editorials about 'one rotten apple' begin to look threadbare set alongside evidence that the whole barrel is of one piece.

Fervour

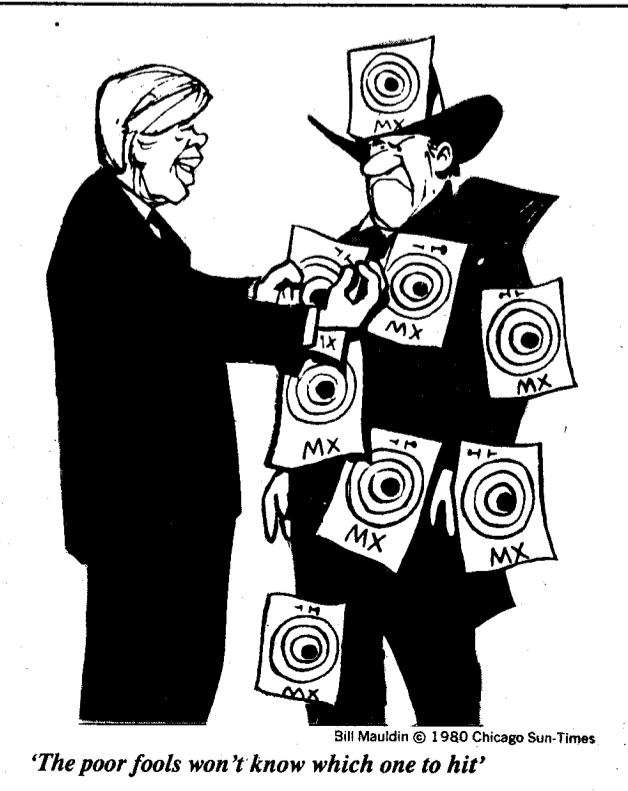
The SAS raid has therefore stirred Fleet Street into a nationalistic fervour unseen since England's World Cup win in 1966.

No doubt the National Front are holding meetings in celebration of the SAS's stirring deeds in which they made the nationalists holding the embassy get up off the floor where they had surrendered and shot them in cold blood. Excellent heroics!

But however fervently the fascists celebrate this victory for the trained killers they will not be able to exceed the display which the press has churned onto the streets.

No doubt there will now be SAS tee-shirts, SAS coffee mugs and SAS bed socks flooding onto the market.

But next time an SAS man or ordinary soldier gets blinded by a bomb in Derry or Belfast his cries of disbelief are unlikely to be marketed in the pages of the Telegraph.



'The poor fools won't know which one to hit'

TANZANIA: THE MYTH OF 'NON-ALIGNED SOCIALISM'

For nearly two decades Julius Nyerere has posed as a leader taking his nation of Tanzania along a path of "non-aligned socialist development", to the great applause of bourgeois reformists of all shades and of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

But behind the opportunist mask of "African socialism", lies the reality of an agent of imperialism, compelled to step up attacks on workers and poor peasants as the world crisis of capitalism deepens.

The Nyerere regime balances more and more unsteadily between its imperialist overlords and the working masses of Tanzania, as it battles to stabilise its rule in the face of a developing threat of mass struggle.

Decline

The Tanzanian economy is now plunging headlong into decline, reflecting its organic ties to a world market that is gripped by capitalist crisis.

Following a temporary breathing space in 1976-7, the recession that set in with the international downturn of the early seventies has picked up momentum dramatically.

Falling prices for the agricultural exports on which the economy is based, and a rocketing oil bill (which now devours half of the total export earnings), have wiped out the country's foreign exchange reserves.

This has badly disrupted supplies of vital imports like inputs for industry and food. Tanzania is drawn ever tighter into the orbit of finance capital through its growing reliance on bank loans.

Interest payments on these loans consume increasingly large shares of the total surplus value produced in the country.

The imperialist drive for profits means that the conditions for granting loans laid down by the major banks and the international institutions of finance capital (IMF, World Bank), involve increasingly severe attacks on the living standards of the masses.

Last November Nyerere was forced to turn down a desperately needed IMF loan for fear that the IMF's conditions could unleash mass opposition that rapidly advanced beyond the control of the government (particularly with the army tied up in Uganda).

Nyerere called on the masses to make sacrifices in the face of an imperialist attack on Tanzanian "socialism".

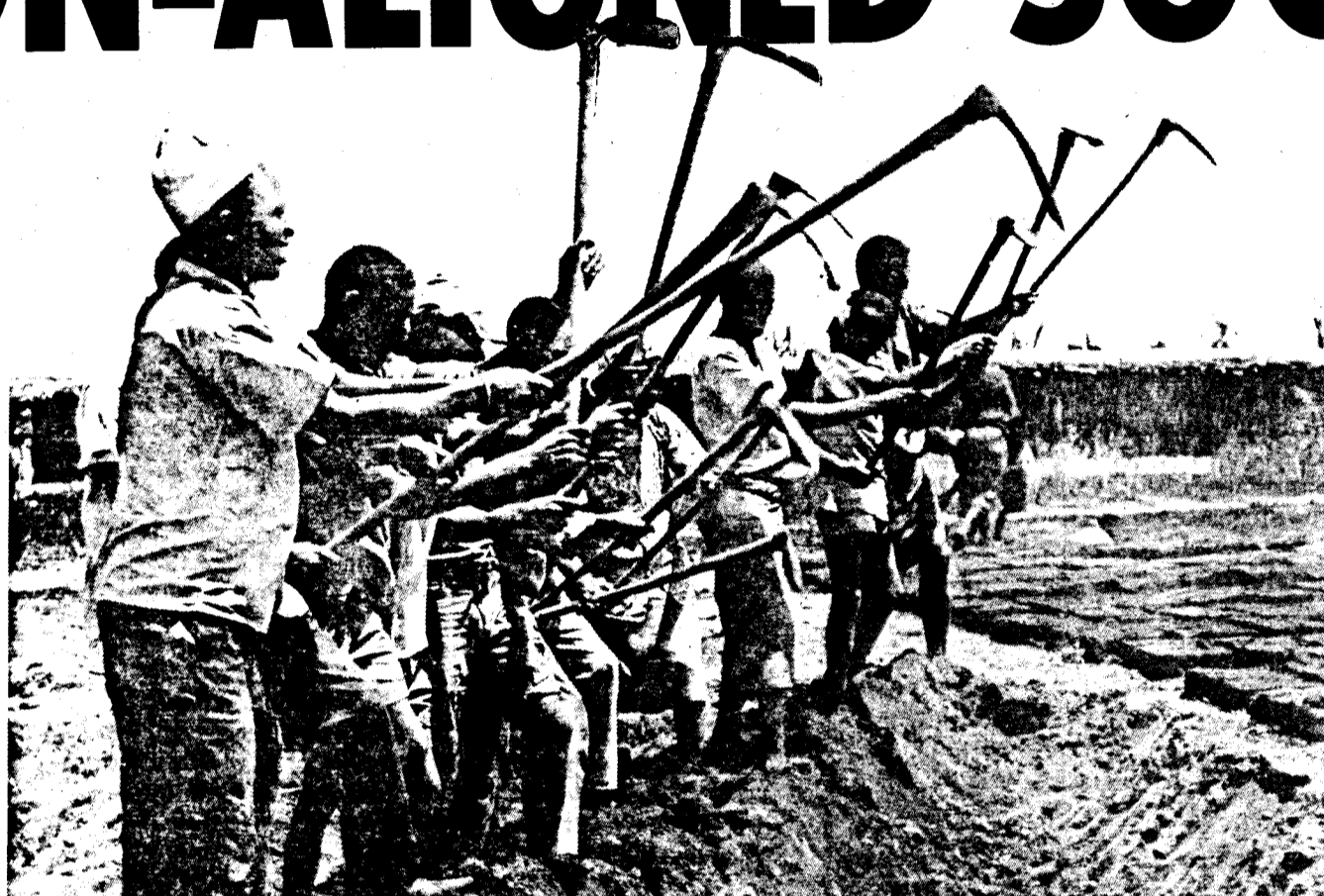
Bailed out

By March of this year the chronic shortages of essential foodstuffs could no longer be disguised as temporary.

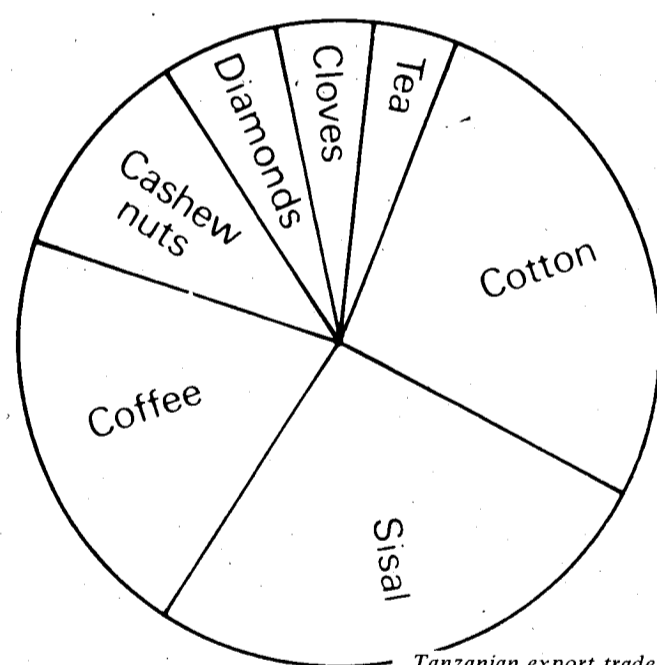
Nyerere put out an urgent plea to imperialist governments and banks, and was bailed out by a World Bank loan. This was followed by the recall from Uganda of 10,000 Tanzanian troops.

The levels of combativity of the undefeated Tanzanian working class and poor peasantry are rising.

This is developing within an overall forward movement of the working masses on a world scale and in particular in Central and Southern Africa—regions with which Tanzania has close



Workers on Tanzanian collective farm



Tanzanian export trade

historical, economic and political ties.

A weakened imperialism is seeking desperately to stem the revolutionary tide of struggle and create conditions for restoring capitalist stability.

The stability of capitalist control in backward Tanzania, a country in itself of little importance to imperialism, is one of the crucial factors in shoring up imperialism's more strategic outposts (most directly Kenya).

Under the heel of imperialism, the development of capitalism in Tanzania moulded the country's productive forces to serve the profiteering of foreign monopoly capital.

Tanzania, as a German and then a British colony, was drawn into the world market as a source of raw materials (mainly agricultural), and a market for capital and manufactured exports from the imperialist nations.

Conquest

Industry, transport and technology were introduced by imperialism only to the extent that they improved the systematic and organised plunder of the country.

The integration of Tanzania

into the world market went hand in hand with the chaining of its masses to the international division of labour.

On the basis of armed colonial conquest, finance capital squeezed super profits from the forced cheap labour of the pauperised rural masses.

Backwardness

The legacy of colonialism, and the continuing neo-colonial domination by imperialism, mean that the economy suffers extreme backwardness and severe unevenness.

Production—which takes place solely in search of profits—is so heavily geared to the export of cash crops (mainly coffee and cotton), that these account for nearly 80% of total export earnings, while food production has been retarded.

The economy is completely dominated by fluctuations in the prices for these commodities on a world market controlled by finance capital.

Industry was stunted under colonialism, and remains backward despite the growth that followed the destruction of direct imperialist rule.

The backwardness of industry undermines the development of agriculture, yet the economy

is structured in such a way that local investment in industry depends on export earnings from agriculture.

In the epoch of imperialist decay, the stranglehold of capitalism can lead only to the further disintegration of the productive forces and impoverishment of the masses.

Force-moved

Over 90% of the total population of nearly 18 million lives in the countryside. Out of this rural population, over 90% (that is about 14.5 million) have been force-moved into over 8000 government-controlled villages, where peasant families are granted the use of small plots.

The great majority of the village population in turn consists of the semi-proletarian and poor layers of the peasantry.

Barely subsisting through working the land, this down-trodden section of the peasantry is forced in varying degrees to seek wage-labour as a supplement to the miserable family income from backward small-scale farming.

This provides industry and large-scale agriculture with a potentially massive reserve army of labour, which is the basis of the low wage structure, and which discourages strikes by unskilled workers.

Workers who lose their jobs, either through run-downs and cut backs or as a result of militant action, face being forced with their families into the villages by the regime.

Peasant farming

In this way the impoverished rural masses serve to relieve the capitalist state of the bulk of the burden of social services.

Part of the means of subsistence for the exploited layers of the peasantry may frequently come from selling cash or food crops to government cooperatives, which are dominated by rich peasants and capitalists involved in trade, storage and transport—all of whom take their share in the robbery of poor peasants by finance capital.

Although agricultural pro-



duction for the internal and world markets is dominated by large-scale enterprises, a significant share of this production comes from small-scale peasant farming. Much of this peasant production is enforced by the regime in a drive to increase vital foreign exchange reserves (through earnings on cash crop exports and savings on food crop imports).

The workers on the big capitalist farms form the largest fraction of the employed sector of the working class. (The total number of wage-workers in Tanzania is under half a million, out of a total labour force of nearly 7 million).

The domination over the countryside by the towns, which are the economic and political nerve centres in capitalist society, assures to the urban proletariat the decisive strategic position in backward countries under the domination of finance capital.

Together with the agricultural proletariat, the urban

working class is in potential command of the chief industrial, transport and agricultural enterprises.

Commanding

On the other hand, the overwhelming domination of the backward capitalist countries by the imperialist bourgeoisie, means that the national bourgeoisie is weaker than corresponds to the level of development of the productive forces.

The uneven and combined nature of capitalist development in Tanzania has raised the numerically small working class to the commanding social position in the nation.

But to mobilise the underlying strength of the working class in a struggle to smash imperialist control, a revolutionary party based on a transitional programme must be built.

In the struggle against imperialism, the working class faces

OF SM'

Last month the supreme body of the Nyerere regime met to investigate the "violation of democratic rights" in Tanzania. This cosmetic showpiece along with other desperate postures and rhetoric, arise in a context of gathering mass militancy that is fuelled by a rapidly deepening economic crisis. Jim Farnham looks at the workers' struggle in Tanzania.



Getting on famously: Nyerere with imperialist envoy Andrew Young



Coffee picking

historical legacy of petty bourgeois nationalist leadership. Nyerere's TANU party (renamed Chama Cha Mapinzi since 1977) came to power on the basis of the political strength of the working class in a mass struggle against British colonial rule. The smashing of colonial rule unfolded as the high point of the working class movement of the period of the second imperialist world war. During the war, the working class had been structurally strengthened through the economic growth that was stimulated by the appetite of the imperialist war machine, and by the disruption in imports from the imperialist nations.

Workers moved into struggle in defence of their living standards from a position of strength, against a weakened ruling class, and the movement gained force.

With relative ebbs and flows this forward movement developed, drawing in its wake the anti-imperialist struggles of the broadening layers of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie. The oppressive social relations maintained under the racist colonial regime, combined with the escalating levels of workers' struggle, served to radicalise broad layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The democratic demands made by the petty bourgeoisie coincided in form with many of the demands raised by the working masses.

Recognising the strength of the working class in struggle, the petty bourgeois nationalists projected an all-class national alliance on the basis of these demands, and sought to organise workers in the trade union

(TFL) and workers and poor peasants in the nationalist party TANU.

The working class turned to TANU/TFL as vehicles of struggle.

An indication of the growing mobilisation of workers in the late fifties is given by the official annual strike statistics. These recorded that between 1954 and 1960 the number of strikes increased from 40 to over 700; the number of workers involved from 4,600 to nearly 90,000; and the number of days lost from 7800 to 1.5 million.

Defensive

The power of the movement of workers' struggle in this period dragged the petty bourgeois nationalists in its wake and threatened to cast aside all elements seeking a compromise with British colonialism.

The British imperialists, forced increasingly onto the defensive by the mobilised strength of the working class, sought to create the conditions for the nationalist leadership to assert control over the working class.

The success of this unavoidable policy rested on the fact that workers in struggle reached the limits of spontaneity. Lacking the leadership and programme to challenge the reformist programme of TANU, the working masses were diverted from carrying forward the struggle for their own independent interests, and saw victory in the concession forced on British imperialism—the handover of the administration of the capitalist state to the Nyerere leadership.

For British imperialism, to retreat from direct political control under the attack of the working class was a setback.

Shipwrecked

But the reformist politics of Nyerere and the political disarming of the working class, promised to keep Tanzania under the overall sway of world imperialism—at least while the new balance of forces persisted. All the attempts by the new



Sisal is a major export

government to tackle the problems of backward productive forces and social relations were shipwrecked on the rock of finance capital.

The unfolding logic of a reformist programme in the era of imperialism drove TANU to attack the oppressed masses and betray their interests in the cause of imperialist profitability.

Mounting grievances amongst the working masses over the inability of the new government to implement the reforms demanded in the struggle against colonial rule, threatened the stability of the regime.

These grievances came to a head in 1964, when Nyerere faced a soldiers' mutiny over wages and against British officers and the threat of workers' strikes in solidarity with the soldiers.

Nyerere called in British troops from his imperialist masters and crushed the soldiers' rebellion.

Under conditions of martial law, he arrested militants and opponents, dissolved the TFL, and banned all political organisations outside of TANU.

The TFL was replaced by a government-controlled trade union federation, NUTA.

On the basis of those repressive moves Nyerere strengthened his political regime.

No threat

In 1967, he announced plans for sweeping "nationalisation and collectivisation".

The state ownership of banks, trading houses and plantations, and a controlling state share in imperialist industry posed no threat to international monopolies. They were paid generous compensation, while management, finance, technology and distribution remained under their control.

At the same time, profit repatriation was guaranteed, and favourable tariffs and contracts offered.

TANU/CCM's programme of nationalisation has protected and supported a fledgling neo-colonial bourgeoisie, too weak to accumulate capital in competition with the international monopolies.

Through the government securing the political conditions for the increased exploitation of workers, local capitalists entered as junior hirelings in imperialist profiteering.

The collectivisation of peasant farming had been launched on a limited experimental scale in the early sixties, together with the national introduction of peasant cooperatives.

Weakness

These measures were part of the moves toward an alliance with the peasantry by the TANU leadership which came increasingly to represent the interests of the upper echelons of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the embryonic bourgeoisie—layers acutely aware of their weakness in relation to the working class.

But collectivisation under the continuing domination of big capitalist farms and on the basis of backward productive forces is doomed to failure. The product of this failure

was the increasing necessity to reassert the levels of control over small peasant production that were maintained under colonial rule. The failure of the alliance with the poor peasantry propelled the government closer to finance capital.

In this way, the "collectivisation" became in reality the enforced "villagisation" described above.

During the sixties, the working class had undergone a significant strengthening of its urban component in relation to the agricultural.

This was based on the decline of the agricultural proletariat numerically (following a catastrophic fall in the price of sisal), and an increase in the numbers of urban workers, following the growth of manufacturing industry.

Proletariat

In addition, the colonial migrant labour system had been smashed in the struggle against British rule, contributing to the growth of the settled urban proletariat.

These changes in the structure of the working class enhanced its strategic position in the nation. And despite the setbacks it had suffered in the sixties, the working class remained undefeated.

The underlying build-up of militancy in the working class erupted in a wave of strikes and factory occupations in the early seventies. Without the leadership necessary to consolidate and develop the levels of political independence, spontaneously forged in these struggles, the actions were put down by vicious state repression.

In the coming period of struggle, an undefeated Tanzanian working class, facing growing attacks on its already miserable living standards, is bound to move into escalating open struggle.

With the undoubted growth of opposition to Nyerere amongst layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie, there is a perspective of the emergence of contenders for the leadership of the mass struggles ready to erupt.

Leadership

This highlights the crucial task of revolutionary Marxists in Tanzania—the building of a revolutionary leadership armed with a programme of democratic and transitional demands to take up the fight—in conflict with all reformist or Stalinist currents—for the dictatorship of the working class.

Only the overthrow of capitalism under the regime of the proletariat, based on an alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry, offers a way forward for the oppressed masses in backward Tanzania.

The social and economic position of the peasant masses under capitalism means they are incapable of playing an independent political role. Only with the working class in power can the peasant masses be liberated from oppression and ruin.

Marxist theory, as confirmed by the Russian revolution, shows that although the down-trodden peasant masses of the countryside have an objective economic, social and cultural interest in the socialist revolu-

tion they do not automatically give it their consistent support.

In the struggle for power, the working class must advance a bold revolutionary programme for agriculture to secure the support of the poor peasants.

Expropriation

The elements of this programme will include: expropriation under workers' control of agricultural workers and poor peasants; a programme of aid for the small farmer (cheap credit, implements, fertilisers, use of facilities of the large-scale enterprises, etc).

The working class must offer the same decisive leadership towards the oppressed layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The artificial separation of the national and international revolutions in the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" conceals the counter-revolutionary self-interest of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

For revolutionary Marxists, the absence of the economic basis for the independent construction of socialism in Tanzania does not imply the impossibility of the proletarian dictatorship.

On the contrary, it means that the socialist revolution is international; that the development of the struggle in Tanzania and the building of a workers' government able to carry through a massive programme of socialist development will require the solidarity and aid of the international working class and that the Tanzanian revolution can triumph finally only as a link in the world revolution.

Fourth International

Only the dictatorship of the working class opens up this road for the Tanzanian masses—all other roads lead in the end towards defeat and barbarism.

The defence of the Tanzanian masses against imperialism and its agents demands the building of a revolutionary proletarian leadership rooted in the strategy of permanent revolution.

Only in this way can the struggle be taken forward from spontaneous militancy towards the overthrow of capitalism.

The fight for revolutionary leadership is the fight to build the revolutionary workers' party, section of a reconstructed Fourth International.



'MISADVENTURE' THE MASS KILLER STRIKES AGAIN

By Bill Davies

In recent weeks the questions 'Who killed Blair Peach?' and 'Who killed Jimmy Kelly?' have been pushed to the fore in spotlighting the ruthless tactics of the forces of the state.

A less publicised case has centred on the death in Walton Prison of George Wilkinson, a 33 year old convict who took his own life by refusing food and liquid for an incredible 17 days.

Hunger strikers normally take liquids to avoid the violent agony of immediate and total dehydration.

Wilkinson died on 5 December 1979 in the most physically painful way possible. It was the only way he could escape from a systematic and patient campaign by the prison authorities to break his spirit.

In Wilkinson's case it is not so much a question of who killed him but of who destroyed his sanity.

The inquest ended last Wednesday with a verdict of "misadventure" and with an almost total media silence on the crucial questions involved.

In order to forestall the anger of Wilkinson's family and friends and to defuse any public campaign, the press and the state painted George Wilkinson as "Britain's most violent prisoner".

He was presented as a raging animal with colossal physical strength and given to uncontrollable fits of rage.

In fact, for the last two years at least, Wilkinson had been reduced to the state of vegetable rather than animal and even the prison authorities could find no fault with his conduct during that period.



Demonstrators protest the plight of Irish political prisoners

Yet why was he kept for the last 18 months of his existence in a caged cell in solitary confinement with a brick wall specially built to block off the view from the one obligatory window?

Why was he shunted round

10 different prisons in four years?

Why was he in solitary confinement for nearly all of that period?

Why was he subjected to daily taunts and insults by warders from the other side of

the special mesh and bars?

And why was he pumped full of massive drug doses and given electric shock treatment?

Faced with this sustained and co-ordinated campaign Wilkinson clearly took the only decision he had left within his power—he decided to starve himself to death.

There is no doubt that George Wilkinson was a violent and aggressive man when first imprisoned. But his fate seems to have been sealed when he got involved in two hostage-taking incidents while in prison.

Though neither incident was serious and the warders concerned were unharmed, the mere fact that he refused to bend down before 'screws' meant that he had to be broken.

Coming from a close working class family in Durham, he was sent as far away as possible to Parkhurst in the Isle of Wight, then shuttled around 10 other remote prisons from August 1975 to December 1979.

He was consistently refused permission to marry his fiancée. He became a human guinea pig for psychotropic drugs.

The only prison doctor to attempt to treat Wilkinson through psychoanalysis rather than drugs was ignored by the authorities and has now left the prison service in protest at the general attitude of the Home Office to medical treatment of prisoners.

In each of the ten prisons

doctors pronounced him mentally and physically fit yet he was continuously treated as mentally ill (at one stage he was on 900 mg of Largactyl a day).

And all this took place (and is without doubt taking place today) in Walton Jail, Liverpool and in prisons throughout the country.

Dubious tales of what goes on in Soviet mental hospitals, tales so beloved by the bourgeois press, are often trotted out under the banner of 'human rights'. But what 'rights' does capitalism offer to workers on demonstrations, on picket lines, in police custody or in prison?

The cases of Blair Peach,

Jimmy Kelly and George Wilkinson are the tip of a very ugly iceberg.

The time is long overdue for a workers' enquiry into the activities of the forces of the state.

Such an enquiry cannot ignore atrocities committed by the British troops and RUC in the occupied North of Ireland.

The time is approaching when the state will certainly resort to the most violent methods of attacking workers who come forward in struggle.

The refusal of the present labour movement leaders to take up such questions can only disarm such workers at the most crucial time.



Chief warden Whitelaw

Spartas and their sick notes

Sheffield
S. Yorkshire
5 May 1980
Socialist Press

Dear Editor,

We recently read your article "Spartas set up opponents for the sack" in the *Socialist Press* No. 195 dated April 23, 1980, and would like to correct some of the untruths and lies that you printed about the Spartacist League and their involvement during the steel strike.

The allegations that the Spartacists were despised by steelworkers is totally untrue. While many steelworkers did not always agree with their political strategy and views, they were nonetheless respected for their involvement and seriousness, wanting as we all did, the victory of the steel strike. As an example the Spartacists were welcomed and invited to the BL [British Leyland] Cowley flying picket during the steel strike because they committed themselves to supporting the victory of our strike.

This we would ask of any organisation in the labour movement, we needed all the support possible. Equally many steelworkers, ourselves included, found what they had to say was always something to think about, interesting and we at least benefited by discussing with them.

As far as we can tell, a lot of your arguments centre around

the Spartacists attacking people who cross picket lines. As far as we are concerned after our 13 week strike, where a lot of strikebreaking/scabbing took place, like Hadfields, Sheerness etc., we don't like people who cross picket lines either.

We hope that in future that if you wish to treat yourselves more seriously you should address yourselves to a more truthful account of events.

Waiting for the publication of our letter in the next publication of your paper.

Yours fraternally,
K.J. Hall (Stainless Wks., Sheffield)
M. Hart (Shop Steward T&G Stainless Works)

Dear brothers,

Thank you for your letter which we read first in the *American Spartacist* paper *Workers Vanguard* and then received.

We note that neither your letter, nor the article attached to it in *Workers Vanguard*, makes any attempt to answer the substantive charge we have raised against the Spartacists: that one of their members, having covered his own absence from the track by getting a sick note, stood on a picket line at Rovers calling workers "scabs" because they refused to risk certain victimisation by taking strike action as



Steel strikers: WSL fought for solidarity action

individuals! Such conduct in our view is a brazen provocation.

The Workers Socialist League, while struggling politically against other political tendencies, has always sought to unify all tendencies in common action during such struggles as the steel strike.

Our fight during the steel strike focussed on the need for other sections to come out in support. It was Workers Socialist League members and supporters who first argued for the steel picket to be brought to Cowley to stop lorries carrying

supplies and we discussed in detail with steel strikers on the picket how to fight against the organised TGWU scabbing that was taking place.

It was also the case that our members offered as individuals to refuse to cross the pickets (which were aimed at deliveries into the factory and which never asked the production workers not to cross).

We were told to go into work by the steel strikers themselves, who correctly saw the need not for a few individual martyrs, but for a class response which would bring the factories to a halt.

To suggest that we supported in any way scabbing at Hadfields or Sheerness is scandalous. We can only assume that you have been fed a series of false allegations about our members.

Our dispute with the Spartacists is not over whether picket lines should be honoured. We have consistently fought against scabbing.

The nub of our disagreement with the Spartacists comes down to whether you see the task of revolutionaries and militants as gaining a class response in support of struggles, or whether it is the task of revolutionaries or militants to keep their own hands 'clean' at the expense of a class response.

The Spartacists' slanders against us have reached such a pitch that a supporter of *Socialist Press* who successfully brought out journalists in support of locked out NGA members (and to do so was obliged—with NGA agreement—to cross the picket line for two days) was denounced by the Spartacists as not fit to be regarded as a member of the working class!

We would be glad to discuss with you in more detail our record in the steel strike and on picket lines. We don't think the Spartacist technique of using sick notes as a substitute for strike action is the method for winning workers to support each other in struggle.

'SOCIALISTS' WHO OPPOSE REVOLUTION

By Colin Morrow



Ebert (in overcoat) chats with troops

The Labour Party, like its fellow social-democratic parties throughout the world, is a reformist party, committed to struggling for reforms within the framework of capitalism, through parliamentary means.

Yet despite the fact that their politics are confined within the limits laid down by the capitalist class and its formal bourgeois democratic system, the reformist parties continue to parade themselves as 'socialists' committed — in the indefinite future — to the establishment of a socialist society.

In practice, however, this is not the case.

Their disagreements with the capitalist class are not as to whether capitalism should continue, but simply on how it should be run. The differences are, therefore, purely tactical.

How best should they try to keep bankrupt world imperialism on its feet?

Where the Tories preach direct confrontation with the working class and the smashing of basic rights, the Labourites urge caution, collaboration and compromise.

There is, as the saying goes, more than one way to skin a cat. The central emphasis remains, however, the maintenance of the capitalist system come what may.

We see this clearly in the period of the 1920s and 1930s, when the world economic crisis drove capitalism to the very brink of destruction. The role of reformism in preserving class society was, then as now, crucial.

If we look, for example, at the position of social democracy in Europe, faced with economic catastrophe, mass unemployment, pauperisation of millions of workers and the rise of fascism what do we find?

In 1932, speaking in the Belgian parliament Vandervelde the Chairman of the reformist

Second International had this to say:

"The capitalist system is cracking in all its parts. It can only be saved by serious and urgent measures. We are at the eleventh hour. Take care that the proletariat, like Sampson, does not bring crashing down the columns of the temple."

That is, perhaps, the most succinct statement of the position of reformism with regard to the capitalist crisis one could hope for.

But it is, in fact one of many, a culmination of the whole politics of reformism.

In Germany, for example, we find Leipart, the leader of the trade unions stating:

"One must not lose sight of the fact that the working class is part of the capitalist system, the downfall of which system is its own downfall; and therefore the great historical duty of the working class is to obtain by means of the regulation of its place in that system the improvement of the whole social structure."

Similarly, in France, Montel, one of the Socialist leaders, had proclaimed as early as 1928:

"The Socialist Party will present itself as the only party capable of saving bourgeois society."

With their view totally confined within the bounds of the continuity of capitalism these 'socialists' are unable in the end to offer the working class anything at all.

So when the crunch came in Britain in 1929 Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald voted with his feet and went to take up his seat amongst the Tories in the National Government.

Agents of capital

Such politics take these traitors much further, however, than mere collaboration.

In order to preserve capitalism they are also obliged to act directly as agents of capital against the working class. And this they do quite consciously! Two examples will suffice.

In an infamous court case in 1924 the German Socialist



Armed workers march through Berlin in 1921

leader Ebert, defending his actions in a strike six years earlier:

"Declared that he had entered the Strike Committee to bring the strike to an end as soon as possible."

He was supported in this explanation by fellow leader Scheidemann who said:

"The strike broke out without our knowledge. We joined the Strike Committee with the firm intention of putting a speedy end to the strike by negotiating with the government. There was a great deal of opposition to us in the Strike Committee: we were known as

"the strike stranglers".

We see the actions not of confused or misguided men but of the political leaders of German Social Democracy — carrying out their programme to the letter.

The strangling of the strike wave was a conscious political act, provoked by fears that the strikes might challenge the very foundations of the capitalist system in the wake of the Russian Revolution.

The leaders of the British TUC acted with equal resolve to destroy the General Strike of 1926.

Thus, J.H. Thomas, the

railwaymen's leader, entered the strike praying that the government would win, and was to comment after the Tories' unqualified victory:

"What I dreaded most about this strike more than anything else was this, if by any chance it should have got out of the hands of those who would be able to exercise some control, every sane man knows what would have happened."

As Joynson-Hicks, the Tory Home Secretary, gleefully informed his constituency association:

"The responsible trade union leaders retained their hold upon

the trade unions, and took the constitutional course of admitting the general strike was illegal and called it off."

Social Democracy, therefore, in times of crisis is obliged by the logic of its politics to line up with the employers and the ruling class against the working class.

This is the bitter reality — as true today as the Labour Party debates its way forward as it was in 1926.

The only answer — now as then — requires the building of a principled revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

Archives refute WRP

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Joseph Hansen

Underneath a full page piece by the OCI's leading Trotsky historian Pierre Broue, giving an account of the newly opened Trotsky archives at Harvard University and what they contain, appears a short boxed piece with the title 'On the Slanders against J. Hansen', which reads as follows:

"I cannot resist the temptation to add a few lines. Readers of *Informations Ouvrières* will be aware of the slander campaign which has been conducted on a world scale against Joe Hansen and George Novack, who are accused by the British WRP of being 'agents' of the GPU and of the FBI.

The charges against Joe Hansen are particularly disgraceful in that they allege he was an agent of the GPU who played a direct role in the murder of Trotsky.

Faced with this campaign, Joe Hansen was led, two years before his death, to state that he had been contacted in 1939 by the GPU and, under instruc-

tions from Trotsky, had prolonged this 'contact' in order to strengthen the protection of the house at Coyoacan.

The slanderers howled scandal, certain that Trotsky could never have approved such a 'contact', that Joe had therefore 'confessed', etc.

Their structure is in smithereens. I have in my hands a letter from Joe Hansen to Trotsky where, in 1939, he confides to him his anxiety on the eve of his 'first contact' with the GPU.

It seems probable to me that this is the only evidence that we will find on this affair, since this letter will have escaped a 'cleaning out' that Trotsky carefully made when there was a question of documents that might, if the archives were stolen, risk the life or the security of anyone (Joe Hansen in this case). But this one letter is decisive evidence.

At least the slanderers cannot now show that Trotsky was himself an agent of the GPU and that he took part in the preparation of his own murder! If they wish to do that, we can only wish them good luck!"



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Firemen prepare 1980 claim

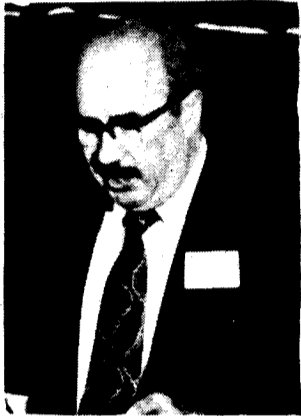
The Fire Brigades Union's 9-week long strike during the winter of 1977 will not be far from the minds of the union membership over the next few months in the run-up to this year's wage review.

And though that historic national action was isolated by the TUC and sold out by the FBU leadership leaving Callaghan's Lib-Lab coalition and its Phase III wage control policy intact, the present Tory government will need no reminding of the enormous display of solidarity and militancy shown by the union's rank and file.

A part of the return to work deal in January 1978 was the tying of firemen's pay to the wages earned by the top quarter of industrial workers—for the following two years.

That agreement is now at an end and as from October they are back in the open market.

So it was an older and wiser FBU bureaucracy, headed by veteran Terry Parry, who took



Parry

the rostrum at the union's annual conference last month.

Parry it was who fought bitterly against the all-out strike proposal three years ago, only to be heavily voted down. This time he was more circumspect.

With an EC-backed resolution declaring only the union's desire to 'seek to maintain' their position in the pay league, their stress was on the need for discussion within the Brigades

membership and a 'testing of the temperature'. In other words a complete absence of leadership.

Nevertheless, events within the union since the strike indicate an important strengthening of its ability to defend itself from attack in another direction.

For not only has an additional 'McCarthy enquiry' post-strike recommendation that the working week be cut from 48 to 42 hours been implemented, it has been by no means wholly at the expense of working conditions since manpower has increased overall by 8%.

And this has been achieved in the face of an escalation in public spending cuts generally.

More important, when last autumn Nottingham authorities attempted to sack a number of firemen, a national call brought a massive response with a high proportion of the FBU's 33,000 members turning out to demonstrate through the town. The sackings were scrapped.

This experience of the power of class action in defence of jobs was confirmed by the conference support for a resolution moved by Bucks Brigade committee delegate Mick Rowlinson calling for an immediate recall conference to consider action in the event of any redundancies being declared.

A similar special conference was agreed to consider the union's position on the wages issue, which is to be convened when both the employers offer is known and the national earnings table published.

While Howe and other Tories drop hints about pay rises in the public sector having to be way below the inflation rate, it is clear the firemen will need 20% plus to retain their present position.

Thatcher may yet be turning out alongside her super-paid army and navy strikebreakers at the wheel of a Green Goddess!

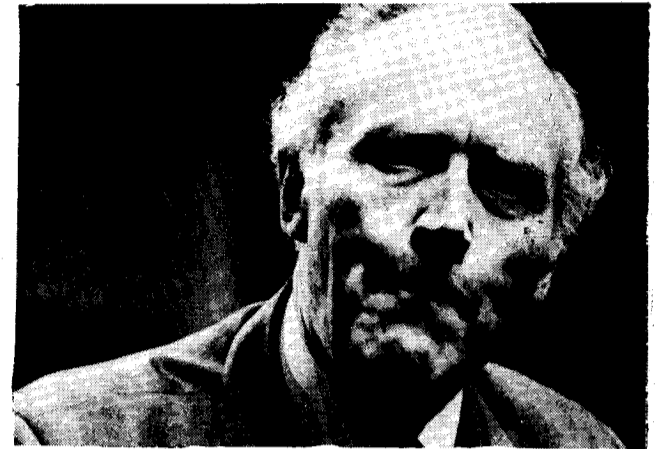
Chix battle sold out

The attempt by strikers at the Chix bubblegum factory to throw out the sell-out "settlement" accepted on their behalf by the GMWU negotiators was met by sustained sabotage by local official Gerry McMullen.

He obstructed all attempts to reconstitute the picket line and the blacking campaign that had brought the firm to the point of defeat—arguing that he was due to meet ACAS the following Tuesday.

In the event strikers, increasingly suspicious of McMullen's antics, organised their own lobby of the ACAS talks.

When McMullen reappeared he declared he had a "very good" new offer. He arranged a strike meeting for Thursday.



Basnett

shift workers who were already offered reinstatement this would ensure a majority to end the strike!

After intensive work persuading day-shift workers to accept the deal, McMullen took a card vote and declared it carried by 21 votes to 18.

Night shift workers are bitter at the vote—pointing out they were not allowed to see the cards, while a show of hands had indicated that the nine had in fact still voted with the night shift.

Asked by Socialist Press to state his view on the deal, McMullen argued in time-honoured fashion that it was "the best under the circumstances".

But leading strike committee member Mrs Brar retorted that the "circumstances"—8 months on strike—applied equally to day and night shifts.

"We have been on strike to get our union recognised and to get our jobs back—not to be made redundant!" she pointed out.

In fact the outcome of the strike is in line with the requirements of the GMWU bureaucracy.

The union only paid any attention to the dispute because it took place at a time of a GMWU recruiting drive on the Slough Trading Estate.

With two full-time officials, Paul Kenny and McMullen, in attendance, they have worked both to win recognition and to keep control of the workforce.

They, like management, clearly hope that the deal, which secures recognition while jettisoning the most militant and class conscious strikers, will achieve this objective in the long term.

The reality is of course that Chix management will seek to whittle away at the remaining union members over the next few months, with the long term objective of eliminating or decimating GMWU membership.

The victimised and betrayed night shift workers are now calling on all union branches to send resolutions to GMWU leader Basnett condemning the deal.

And they are correctly calling for a national conference on the Chix strike to hammer home to the labour movement the lessons of the sell-out.

Little difference

There was in fact little difference between the new offer and the original offer of recognition of the GMWU coupled with the sacking of the whole night shift—including all the strongest militants.

Under the new proposals nine named production workers from the 28-strong night shift were offered the 'possibility' of their jobs back if vacancies arose in the next six months.

The significance of these nine names was to swing the vote—since if they threw in their support with the 19 day

JOIN THE WSL!

Returned to office after five years of Labour betrayals, the Tory government has immediately begun wielding a sharpened axe on jobs, conditions and social services. Trade union rights face imminent legal attack. Prices are already rocketing upwards.

Plum sectors of state industry will be handed to the Tories' profiteering big business backers; and the pay rises to police and armed forces mark only the prelude to increased state violence against pickets and anti-fascists and an intensified army crackdown in the occupied North of Ireland.

The Callaghan-Healey leadership has made it clear that it will oppose any perspective other than settling down and meekly accepting five years of Tory devastation.

And, though they have once more dusted off their near-forgotten "socialist" speeches, Labour's 'left wing' MPs have continued to duck away from any fight to remove Callaghan.

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan.

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles in the winter of 1978.

These experiences are not dead. They point to the way that jobs, social services and hard-won union rights can be defended against renewed Tory attacks.

But a principled, revolutionary leadership is needed if the Labour traitors, the TUC collaborators and their hangers-on in the Communist Party are to be exposed and pushed aside, and the mass struggles mobilised that can defeat and remove the Tory government.

Such a leadership must fight day in and day out for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's conditions and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

And in taking up democratic demands—such as an end to racial and sexual discrimination, it must show the crucial role that must be played by the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

And it must fight on an international basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, South Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in Iran. This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

To this end, the Workers Socialist League is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee which fights to reaffirm and develop the method and principles of the 1938 Transitional Programme, and for full discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

The next period will see major class struggles in Britain. A principled Marxist leadership is essential. Our movement though strong in programme is small in numbers.

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

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Dairy fight defeated

A recent unionisation struggle at a Runcorn dairy, P.L. Rigby and Son, has resulted in the sacking of the two shop stewards.

The events which precipitated this reactionary step developed from a one-day strike ostensibly over unjustified disciplinary measures against one of the stewards but implicitly linked to a demand for recognition.

The solidarity of this action resulted in management rescinding the warning and agreeing to talks with the GMWU.

Two weeks after the meeting took place, the company contacted the union refusing recognition.

This was immediately followed by a number of spurious written warnings and verbal threats.

Union members responded to this with a decision to curtail any further collection of monies outstanding on the various milk-rounds.

Unfortunately excessive management pressure on individual roundsmen, whilst shop stewards were barred from the depot, resulted in a demoralisation which split the workforce to a point where half the men returned to normal working without informing either their colleagues or shop stewards.

This left management free to victimise the stewards with no danger of united action in their defence from the workforce.

The stewards were accordingly sacked on the Monday following the action.

In retrospect the correct tactics would have been to stay out on the day of the strike and call upon the local labour movement to mobilise solidarity action.

It is imperative that workers in similar unionisation battles appreciate the lessons to be drawn from the struggle at Rigby's.

Tameside conference defies all threats

Fifty black youths from Moss Side were among 200 anti-fascists who defended the conference on the war in Ireland held last Saturday in Manchester by Tameside Trades Council.

Inside, several delegates referred to the identification by blacks and Asians in Bristol, Southall and elsewhere, with the national liberation struggle in Ireland.

The postponed conference—held in defiance of the TUC's disaffiliation of Tameside—marked an important step in the struggle to defeat British imperialism in the six counties.

Opening the conference of over 80 delegates, Tameside secretary Dave Hallsworth said the left in Britain must defend armed colonial struggle, in Ireland as in Vietnam, against

the imperialist tactic of creating a majority out of a minority by partition.

A speaker for Belfast Women Against Imperialism said it was impossible to separate the role of British imperialism from other factors in the double oppression of women.

TUC apologists

Alf Cotterell of the Liverpool IRSP Support Group welcomed the conference's exposure of the TUC apologists for British imperialism and named Seamus Costello and five other IRSP leaders assassinated by forces of the British state.

Pat Lally (TGWU, Oxford) described how the struggle against the labour movement bureaucracy and the Communist Party in Oxford, particularly on the question of Ireland, showed that those forces could be defeated.

In the witch-hunt following the Provisional Sinn Fein's October demonstration in Oxford the real development had been the CP's witch-hunting intervention.

Only a consistent method of work, away from abstract propaganda and into the mass movement, had ensured the defence of the right to speak out on Ireland.

During the discussion, trades council delegates from Leicester, Tower Hamlets, Oxford, Runcorn and Widnes and Wirral drew out the essential fight with the TUC, and the importance of local labour movement conferences and bulletins on Ireland.

from generous and could have been delayed for up to twelve months.

Again Swale threatened to close the three newspapers and said the company was going to go into liquidation.

The NGA met again and confirmed their rejection of Swale's proposals; two management deadlines passed without action and then last week employees were sent photocopied letters telling them the company was closing.

But there was no mention of liquidation and there is now speculation that Swale will wait a few months and then try to open again, with a carefully selected workforce.

LATEST of the union bureaucracies to vote themselves a handsome pay increase are the 1,600 officials of the TGWU—with rises of 20%. Moss Evans of course was the key man responsible for ending strikes by BL workers demanding more than Edwardes' 5% pay offer.

Sit-in print firm closes down

Journalists on the Runcorn Weekly News arrived for work on Wednesday to find security men with guard dogs occupying their office.

It was a bizarre farewell from proprietor John Swale, signalling the closure of his three Merseyside weekly papers and the loss of over 200 jobs.

For seven weeks union officials had faced confusion and contradiction trying to negotiate with an autocratic management.

Sacked

And their members had been living in uncertainty as rumour and speculation filled the vacuum left by a lack of proper information.

It all began when Swale sacked eight printers after the NGA refused to call off their work-to-rule and overtime ban, part of a nationwide campaign in support of their pay and hours claim.

All 120 printworkers walked out in protest over the sackings. And in their turn, they too were dismissed.

When the national dispute was settled, part of the agreement between the NGA and the

management organisation, the Newspaper Society, was that all workers would be reinstated.

Closing down

But Swale, retiring President of the Newspaper Society refused to give his printers their jobs back. And instead he announced the following week that he was closing down the print division altogether.

Twelve NGA jobs could be saved, he said, but 61 would have to go, along with all 40 NATSOPA men.

Journalists and clerical staff employed on the Runcorn, Widnes and Liverpool Weekly News were told that their jobs would also go unless the NGA agreed to the redundancies.

The NGA's response was to occupy the company's Widnes headquarters in a widely-reported "SAS-style raid".

The sit-in ended seven days later when management reinstated all the printers in the belief that a solution had been found.

But when the settlement terms were put to the workers themselves they met with wholehearted rejection.

It would still have meant only 12 jobs out of 120, and redundancy payments were far

Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

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in town NF paper sellers were rapidly persuaded to disperse.

The police Tactical Aid Group (550-strong in all) was called out and made most of the six arrests of anti-fascists.

Scots teachers confer

As one delegate at the EIS Annual Conference at Stirling last weekend said, the union Executive are being dragged "kicking, screaming and smiling" all the way to arbitration.

Despite their protests at discovering that the management side can unilaterally this week convince the chairman of the Scottish Teachers Salaries Commission, Lord Robertson, that negotiations have irreparably collapsed and that the dispute be put to arbitration, they will in the majority sigh with relief that they have been let off the hook of pursuing further industrial action.

It may be the case that a minority of the Executive are resolved to press on in pursuit of the 18.6% claim but the majority clearly have no heart for the struggle.

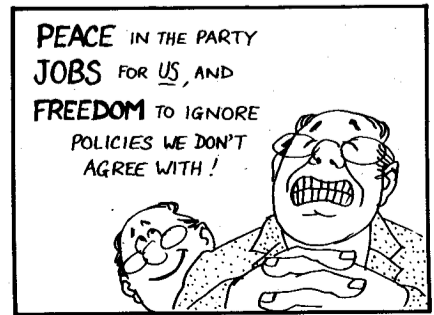
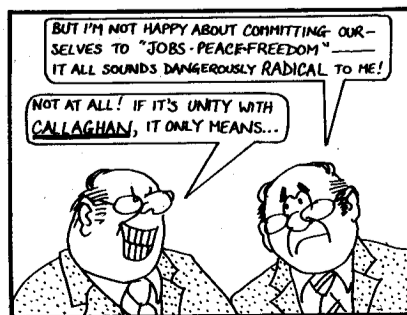
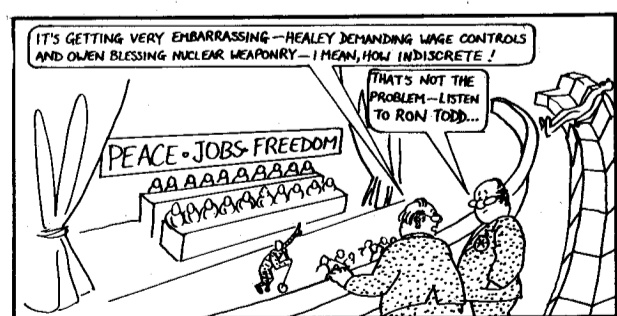
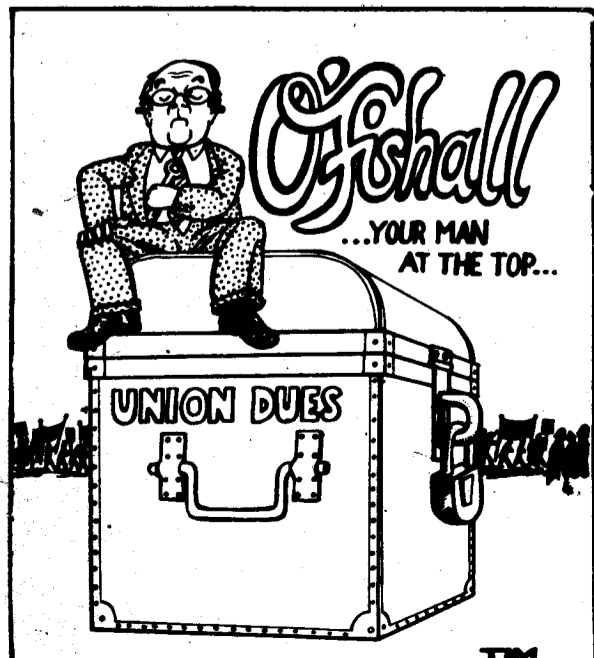
The Executive submitted four emergency resolutions on wages on Friday morning of the conference. But none of these committed the union to the figure of 18.6% and the only concrete proposal for the following week was industrial action involving 10% of the membership for one day.

Even the dispirited manner in which this extremely limited action was submitted to the delegates suggests that the leadership will meekly accept whatever pittance is doled out by the arbiters.

Having allowed the militant delegates to let off steam in the salaries debate the Executive then used the right wing dominated conference to rubber stamp its do-nothing position in relation to conditions of service ably abetted in this by its glib whizz-kid Chief Bloomer—the union's klier negotiator.

One bright spark in the darkness was a conference decision that "a teacher's known homosexuality should not justify dismissal from his/her post or lack of promotion".

A more thorough examination of the issues raised at the EIS conference will appear in next week's issue of Socialist Press.



SOCIALIST PRESS ★



American dole queue

THE INTERNATIONAL JOBS MASSACRE!

It is not only in Britain—where unemployment is now the worst for 30 years—that recession and rationalisation are taking a savage toll on jobs.

The capitalist system internationally is throwing workers by the tens of thousand onto the scrap heap.

In Holland, the jobless figure of 229,500 is a new post-war record.

In Spain unemployment at 1½ million is now a staggering 11.2% of the workforce.

And in the USA over 1 million more workers have been thrown onto the dole queues in the last two months alone, as Carter's recessionary policies have thrown the economy abruptly into reverse.

Alongside the rise in unemployment has gone a massive crisis in a wide range of industries hit by falling markets and cut-throat international competition.

At the forefront stands the car industry, which in both Britain and the USA recorded May sales down by a catastrophic 33% on last year's figures.

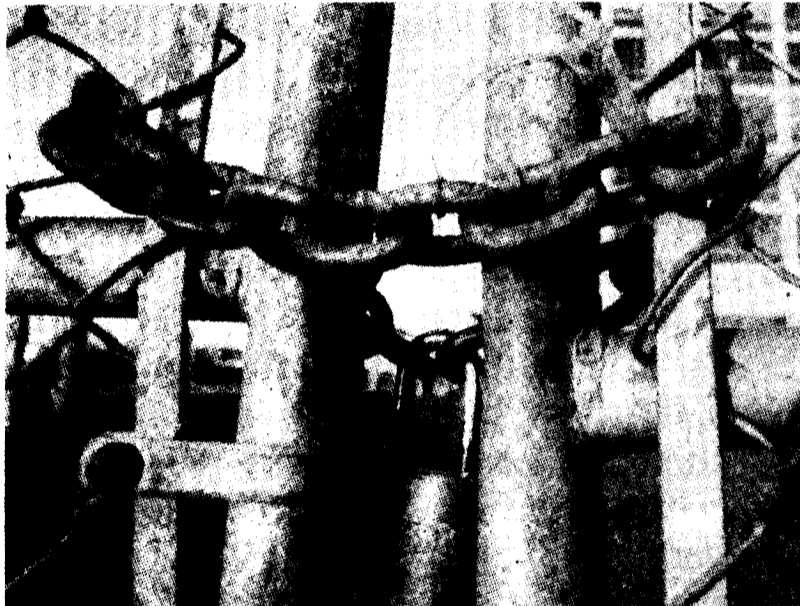
Giant US car firms Ford and Chrysler have seen their sales fall by 41% and 34% respectively and are carrying huge losses in the US market, while market leader General Motors is doing little better.

Short time

One US carworker in every four is now temporarily or permanently laid off.

In Britain, where BL workers were laid off earlier this year, total unsold car stocks are now estimated at 400,000, and both Vauxhall and Ford have now announced production cuts and lay-offs.

Elsewhere in the engineering industry there are similar cut-backs: Perkins diesels last week put 6,500 on short time in Britain; International Harvester are already operating on short time; and in the USA Massey Ferguson is to shut down production for an extra two months this summer.



The plunging market for cars and other vehicles has brought a parallel slump in the component market. Last week Lucas announced the closure of two plants and 3,000 redundancies, over and above the 1,500 jobs already axed this year through "natural wastage".

Other component firms, particularly in the Midlands, are also engaged in redundancies and production cutbacks.

At the same time the textile industry, boot and shoe industry, potteries, steel industry and even the computer industry are similarly engaged on rationalisation, closure and redundancy programmes.

And there is worse to come. Last week Sir Peter Matthews, the chairman of Vickers, the engineering monopoly, warned of the devastating impact on firms large and small of the Tory policies of a high exchange rate for the pound, high interest rates and economic slump on the home market.

"Industry is not infinitely elastic. As a business shrinks it reaches a point from which recovery is either not possible or extremely slow."

Echoing a similar prediction by ASTMS leader Clive Jenkins on the lack of investment plans by major industry, Matthews pointed out that:

"Many companies are forced to devote all their attention to the immediate impact of today's orders, cash flow and profits."

It is hard to recall a time when planning ahead for even two or three years has been so uncertain."



Minister for sackings: Joseph

Matthews' arguments are borne out by the growing failure rate of British businesses: collapses are up 17%; compulsory liquidations up 20%; and receiverships up by 34% in the first quarter of 1980.

Growing complaints

Such growing complaints by top industrialists have now even been taken up by the government run Manpower Services Commission, which has forecast unemployment of over 2 million at the end of 1981, and protested at Tory cuts of £114 million in the Commission's budget.

While such complaints are an

indicator of the unease among weaker sections of the capitalist class and the state at Thatcher's "cold shower" treatment for British industry, none of them offer any guidance to workers who bear the brunt both of redundancies and the speed-up inflicted in the hunt for increased profits.

The fact is that a bankrupt capitalism can offer workers neither the right to a job nor a secure standard of living. And jobs are under similar attack not just in Britain but throughout the world.

The answer must in each case be independent class action to challenge the right of the

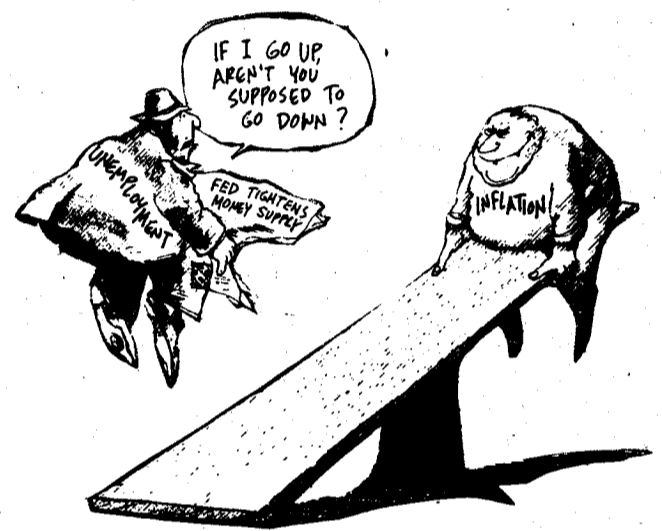
employers to protect their private profits at the expense of the workforce.

*No to the nationalist policy of import controls: confront the bosses' attack!

*Defend all jobs! For occupations, strikes and blacking action to force a policy of work sharing on full pay!

*Open the books of the employers who threaten redundancies or refuse wage increases, and of their suppliers and bankers! Prove the case for their nationalisation, without compensation under workers' management!

*Remove the Labour and trade union leaders who won't fight. For a workers' government!



NALGO vote for action on nurses pay

The Health Service group of NALGO has voted in favour of industrial action—if necessary strike action—to force an increase in the 14% pay offer to nurses.

NALGO represents 30-50,000 nurses, and the forms of action considered include a ban on overtime, refusal to supervise wards unaided, and a refusal to wake patients earlier than 7 a.m.

Each of these forms of action would clearly benefit patients—but it is essential that union leaders prepare the membership for strike

against any form of action—to the delight of AUEW leader Terry Duffy.

26% increase

action to secure a wage increase to defend living standards against inflation.

Telegrams

In NUPE, health service official Bob Jones has admitted receiving telegrams, phone calls and letters calling for a fight to improve on the 14%.

Meanwhile leaders of the nurses' "professional body, the Royal College of Nursing, have set their faces

"It's a wonderful gesture" he enthused. "These people are putting patients before themselves", raved Duffy, who only weeks ago voted himself a thumping 26% pay increase.

The fact is that the RCN is, as always, putting management interests before those of their members: nurses who wish to defend the NHS and defend their own living standards should leave the RCN and fight for action in one of the health service trade unions.

CASH NEEDED

The good news this week is that we have now topped £2000 in our £3,000 Special Fund and with the total now standing at £2106.45 we have to raise £893.55 by the WSL Summer School in July to complete the target on time.

One supporter has been very enterprising and got himself sponsored to give up smoking. We received a first payment of £13 this week and are reliably informed that anything up to £60 could be coming our way (not to mention the fact that the comrade concerned should enjoy better health

as a result of giving up his unsavoury habit).

Perhaps other readers and supporters would like to follow the example of this comrade and raise some cash for the WSL in the process.

On a less cheerful note, however, the Monthly Fund continues to come in too slowly. We should have received at least £225 by the time we went to press to keep on target but we have only received £157.70 leaving us a long way to go to catch up.

We have stressed time and again that the inflation-

ary crisis is leaving the finances of *Socialist Press* very stretched and it really is essential that we raise this monthly fund in full each and every month if we are to avoid storing up problems for ourselves.

We therefore urge all our readers and supporters to chip in with a donation to this vital fund.

Our address is:
Socialist Press Fund
BM Box 5277
London WC1V 6XX
Socialist Press Tote
2 June: 1st-64; 2nd-74;
9 June: 1st-16; 2nd-94