

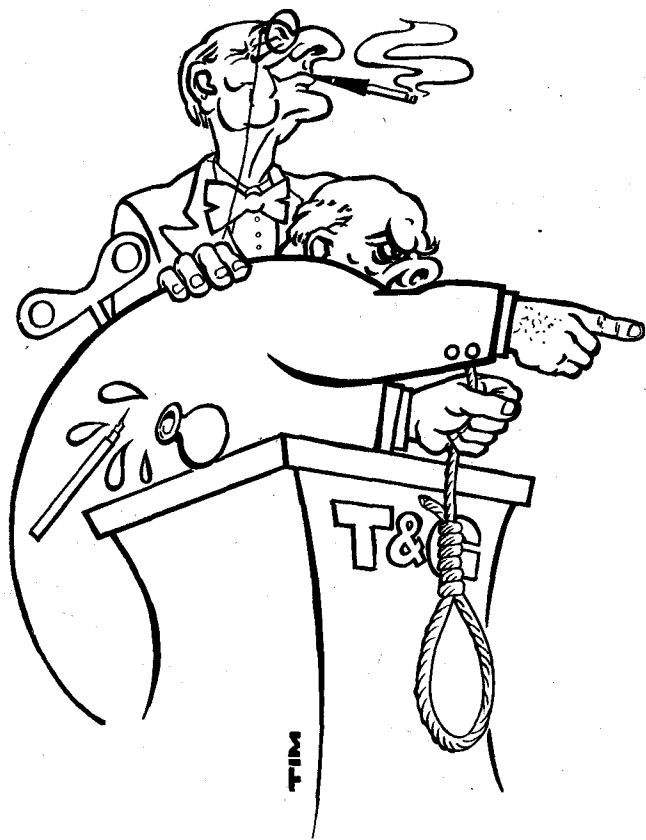
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COWLEY WITCH-HUNT THREATENS ALL WORKERS



State troopers escort scab coal

Break with Democrats!

The shattering 2-1 ballot decision by 160,000 US coal-miners to reject a contract offer endorsed by their union officials, and to continue their 90-day strike has created a dramatic new situation in the USA.

President Carter, forced into action by a mounting energy crisis that has caused tens of thousands of layoffs and huge power cut-backs, has declared he will invoke the union-busting Taft-Hartley laws to break the strike.

Such action is a direct challenge to the entire American labour movement. It must be met by a general strike in defence of the United Mineworkers Union that has historically played such a central role in the unionisation of American industry, and is now fighting for its life.

Taft-Hartley means in practice the Carter administration seeking a court injunction to instruct the miners back to work—and the intervention of Federal troops to

escort shipments of scab coal.

But on both occasions it has been previously used against the UMW it has been defied.

There is little doubt that in voting to reject the bosses' offer, miners were last week declaring their willingness once again to defy the law and the US state's strikebreaking machinery.

Behind this tenacity is bitter hostility to the contract proposals which, while conceding most of the UMW's cash demands, also included provision for the sacking of unofficial strike leaders, and substitution of a private company run health scheme costing \$10-14 a week in place of the previous free scheme that was controlled by the union.

This offer had been endorsed by a majority of the union's 39-man bargaining council in the hopes of avoiding a confrontation with Carter and a disruption of the long established links between the UMW and the capitalist Democratic Party.

Now the offer has been thrown aside miners are posed

with enormous political questions—and have the opportunity to give a lead to the entire American working class, whose support has helped make the miners' strike so effective.

Their task is to sweep from office the bankrupt officials and negotiators who lent their support to the bosses' offer, and to break all links with the Democratic Party that is now invoking the powers of the state against their union.

In defying the Taft-Hartley legislation, the miners must issue a call to every section of the US labour movement to support their struggle.

All those union bureaucrats that have made speeches declaring support for the miners must be called upon to translate their words into general strike action to defeat the Carter government.

Now is the time to fight for the formation of a Labor Party to represent the independent interests of the American working class—to scrap all anti-union legislation, and nationalise coal and other major industries.

Any worker will be open to expulsion from his union for the 'crime' of disagreeing with union officials if the unprecedented McCarthy-style witch-hunt against militants within the TGWU is allowed to continue.

Nine TGWU members from British Leyland's Cowley Assembly plant were summoned last week to a two-day "inquiry" held by the union's Regional Committee.

Political views

They were interrogated as to their personal political views and affiliations.

And they were asked if they agreed with the views of the TGWU leadership by a closed kangaroo court of hand-picked Regional and District bureaucrats.

The victims knew before the "hearing" even started that a previous inquiry by the Oxford District Finance and General Purposes Committee had recommended that two newly elected Deputy Convenors in the Assembly Plant, Frank Corti and Tom White, be banned from all office for life.

Flimsy case

And another elected Deputy Convenor, Alan Thornett had been recommended for expulsion from the union for "campaigning against elected and unelected officials of the union".

But so flimsy was the case, and so spurious the frame-up charges on which the proceedings were based, that even the hired hands of the TGWU's kangaroo court clearly felt reluctant to proceed at once.

Instead they called in additional assistance—from AUEW District President John Power, and ASTMS Divisional Council member Keith Dancey, President and Secretary of Oxford District Trades Council.

Further inquiry

Using charges laid by these right wingers, TGWU officials announced there would be a further inquiry—into the conduct of Alan Thornett, Dave Pinnington and Tony Homer at Trades Council meetings!

This new development makes it quite clear that an inter-union conspiracy is involved, with implications much wider than the TGWU, and much wider than Cowley.

If the TGWU attack succeeds, no militant in any union will be safe from frame up and attack.

The trade union bureaucracy is not simply attacking Trotskyists.

Desperate

In carrying out a turn to unprecedented levels of class collaboration in every industry, union officials are desperate to impose discipline on their members, and crush anyone who resists.

In steel, in shipbuilding and throughout British Leyland, union chiefs have lent their support to no-strike clauses, to speed-up and sackings.

And, after three years of wage control TUC leaders are now openly discussing plans for a fourth phase of pay restraint.

They know these moves are not accepted by their membership. Only last week EETPU leader Frank Chapple was chased off by 100 power workers furious at his refusal to lead a fight on their 40% pay claim.

But dedicated as they are to advancing the pro-capitalist policies of the Lib-Lab coalition government, in defiance of the interests of their members, these union bureaucrats see no alternative but to increase repression of dissenting views.

The crackdown on democratic rights within the unions is thus part and parcel of the moves by the whole labour and trade union bureaucracy to block any independent movement of the working class in defence of jobs and wages.

Ban on marches

While those with the temerity to oppose the official leadership are lined up for expulsion from the unions, workers are denied the right to take independent action against the fascists by the Lib-Lab government's ban on marches.

The fight for democratic rights within the unions, as part of the fight for a principled programme in defence of jobs and living standards, must therefore connect with the fight throughout the labour movement to break the reactionary Lib-Lab coalition.

Conspiracy

The TGWU McCarthyite conspiracy must be challenged not only in TGWU union branches, stewards committees and other bodies, but in every other union also.

Resolutions and petitions demanding the dropping of the charges and an end to political witch-hunting in the trade unions must be sent to TGWU head office, to Region 5 headquarters in West Bromwich, and to 5/293 Branch Secretary Frank Corti, 4, Queens Close, Botley, Oxford.



INTERNATIONAL

FRANCE-FIGHT FOR CP-SP GOVT.

As we go to press it is difficult to predict the likely result of the election for the French legislative assembly to be held on 12 and 19 March.

Whatever the outcome, however, there can be no doubt that the election will heighten the political and social crisis of the Fifth bourgeois French Republic. There can be no doubt of the advanced character of the crisis in the forms of bourgeois rule in France.

It is now 20 years since De Gaulle was called upon to set up the semi-bonapartist Fifth Republic in order to bring together warring factions of the bourgeoisie and through centralised Presidential power to come to terms with the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria.

It is 10 years since the general strike movements of 1968 were held back by the devout support from Stalinist and social democratic leaders of capitalist rule.

Yet the shock and stresses since then have clearly shown that the French bourgeoisie finds it increasingly difficult to go on ruling in the same way.

Jacques Chirac, Gaullist leader and inheritor of the centralised party organisation cobbled

together by De Gaulle has tried to continue in the Gaullist mould by becoming Mayor of Paris and offering a populist policy of an "independent" France with unclear economic policies.

Raymond Barre, former economics professor and current Prime Minister was appointed by the Gaullists as an outside "technocrat" but has since tried to take over other aspects of the Gaullist-Bonapartist tradition.

Alliance

In the face of these divisions supporters of President Giscard d'Estaing have set up an electoral alliance known as the Union for French Democracy, the main aim of which seems to be to create a coalition with the Socialist Party if the electoral arithmetic makes this possible.

With these divisions within the capitalist parties and with the opinion polls consistently predicting 51% of the votes or more for the workers parties, it would seem that a government of the workers parties was almost inevitable.

However this can by no means be said to be so.

The leaders of Stalinism and reformism in France are so tied to the institutions of the Fifth

Republic that they refuse to take any of the steps necessary to mobilise the working class against it.

For one thing the "Common Programme" of the left on which they were campaigning till last November was signed by a tiny breakaway from the Radical Party, just in order to ensure that the "Common Programme" had a seal of respectability from the bourgeoisie.

However, towards the end of last year, the Stalinists decided that this alliance did not provide for enough weight for the bourgeoisie in their Popular Front.

On the excuse of a 'left' argument about the number of firms that ought to be nationalised the Stalinists withdrew from the electoral alliance.

The Stalinists know as well as any other student of French history that when the Popular Front government of 1936 came to power it unleashed mass struggles of a scope which forced the most enormous concessions from the government such as the legal minimum wage over which controversy is currently raging.

The French Stalinists know very well that a government with any weight of the workers' organ-

isations within it will cause further movements of the working class.

They know that these movements will not only exacerbate the crisis of the capitalist republic but will also place enormous pressure on the leaders of the main workers' organisations and compel them to fight for concessions which they are not at this moment prepared to consider.

It is all very well for them to talk about the numbers of firms they might nationalise but everyone knows that without the mobilisation of the workers they will buckle under every capitalist argument about "economic necessity".

When it comes to slogans on which workers might well go into action such as for a 37% increase in the minimum wage, then they naturally grow more coy.

Pretensions

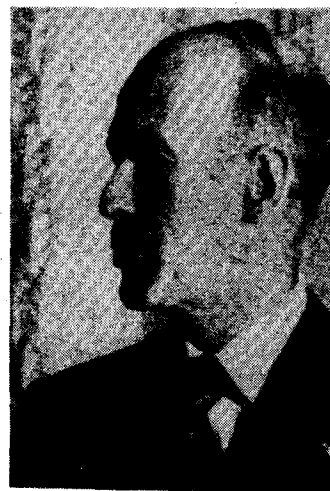
The real meaning of the left pretensions of the Stalinists is shown by the support they have given in some constituencies to the 'left' Gaullists, preaching national independence and prosperous capitalism even against the candidates of the other workers' parties.

The Socialists meanwhile, while protesting their adherence to the 'Union of the Left' including its bourgeois participants, have certainly not precluded an alliance with the 'liberal' bourgeoisie of the Giscard d'Estaing variety against an advancing working class.

There can be no serious doubt about the policies of Trotskyists in this situation. They must centre on the need for strike action, occupations and workers control demands in order to enforce the economic demands of the working class and the policies of nationalisation being promised by their leaders.

The demand in this election must be for a government of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party without any bourgeois participation.

Within this general policy it would seem to us preferable to vote for the best placed workers parties in both the first and second rounds.



Giscard d'Estaing

However, there can clearly be no principled objection to putting up "revolutionary" candidates—voting for those who call for a clear break from the Popular Front and the formation of a Socialist Party-Communist Party government.

There can be no doubt that the call for workers unity in this election is of considerable importance.

Sliding scale

However, it does not seem to us adequate to campaign on this alone in the manner of the "Trotskyist" Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), without raising independent programmatic demands such as the sliding scale of wages for workers in struggle or without placing other demands on the CP-SP leaders for nationalisation of basic industries and for a workers' plan of production.

The inadequacy of the OCI perspective has been indicated over the last weekend of the election campaign with definite moves now for CP-SP unity.

Co-operation

Stalinist leader Marchais, seizing on a statement by the reformist trade union confederation the CFDT, about the numbers of nationalisations has now spoken about the possibility of a closer co-operation with the Socialist Party over the election and an agreement on voting in the second round.

In proposing this Marchais obviously responds to the desire for workers' unity on the part of numerous rank and file workers and also to the electoral interests of the CP.

It is necessary now for revolutionaries to demand that the treacherous leaders go well beyond this—before they come into inevitable conflict with the actions and expectations of the working class.

Gandhi rises from ashes

Gandhi's electoral successes have stunned and bewildered bourgeois commentators.

Having pronounced that the former dictator was politically dead, they were then confronted with an undoubted resurrection.

The Congress (Indira) which she leads now holds an absolute majority in two southern states—Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. In the north, its impact has been much weaker, but a handful of seats were won in Assam.

The Janata coalition has emerged as the largest single force in the crucial state of Maharashtra, which contains Bombay.

But there too the Congress (I) gained a quarter of the total seats, and could form a government with the Congress (Reddy), which secured an equal number.

Gandhi's party has inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Chavan-Reddy faction of the old Congress, and all the opportunist rats are now scurrying at full speed to escape imminent shipwreck.

"Reunified"

The first step towards a new realignment of forces will be the submission of the Congress (R) to Gandhi's leadership in a 're-unified' Congress.

These elections have proved a sombre indication of the political consciousness achieved by the oppressed Indian masses from their long and arduous struggles.

The vicious repression of the Emergency dictatorship was ended less than a year ago, when workers and peasants solidly rejected Gandhi's government in the national elections.

In a perverted form, the votes recently cast for Gandhi express their hostility and resistance to bourgeois rule, their search for a new leadership with policies that can fulfil their demands.

No faction of any bourgeois party could ever satisfy these requirements. Armed with populist rhetoric, personal charisma and an efficient party machine, Indira Gandhi has been able to step in to fill the yawning void created by the absence of a revolutionary workers' party.

It is only the proletariat that can prevent this demagogue's return to tyrannical power by uniting the peasants, unemployed and petty-bourgeoisie behind its independent leadership in the fight for revolutionary programme.

Historic crisis

The resurgence of her power today starkly demonstrates the monstrous historic crisis of working class leadership.

The Stalinists offer only different varieties of the universal species of Popular Front and class collaboration with the bourgeois leaders of the Janata or the Congress.

Although the struggles of the Indian masses are entering a new phase, the central and vital task remains the building of a Trotskyist party within a reconstructed Fourth International, that can consistently direct these efforts toward the socialist revolution.

West German battle lines drawn

The prospect of battle on two fronts now looms before the capitalists of West Germany.

As the skirmishes of protectionism steadily mount to the scale of full blown trade war, the bourgeoisie in Japan and West Germany is under sustained pressure from other national sections of imperialism.

Their object is to secure from these states sacrifices that will supposedly lead to an ending of the international capitalist crisis.

But the strength of these two economies is only relative and they have been unable to escape the consequences of world crisis. Every effort has been made by the West German employers for workers to bear the cost of capitalist anarchy.

Most of this work has been carried out under sub-contract by the Social Democrats in the coalition government.

Envy

Their skilful endeavours have benefitted from the rigidly bureaucratic union structure which was imposed on a working-class still weakly organised after the years of fascist rule. The envy of class traitors everywhere, this system was designed to stifle any independent action from workers.

The two major disputes which have now driven a way through all these obstacles, are a telling indication of the forces that have built up within the proletariat in West Germany.

Deadlock has been reached between IG-Metall (the metal workers union) and employers in talks on the union's wage claim.

Members in two key industrial areas (North Rhine-Westphalia and North Wuerttemberg-North Baden) are being balloted this week on the question of strike action.

The vote is expected to produce the 75% majority required by law for action to take place.

But the ballot itself is only taking place at all because of the determined militancy of rank-and-file workers, already engaged in a long-running struggle with inflation.

It is their mounting demands which have pushed the union's president into muttering reluctant threats of a lengthy strike, while he searches around for a new formula to sell out the claim of 8%.



Schmidt

At the same time, the dispute in the printing industry is swiftly reaching national proportions.

In place of inadequate guarantees as to the security of jobs, the printers are demanding full protection of pay and conditions.

Ballots in printing plants at Munich, Duesseldorf, Kassel and Wuppertal showed an overwhelming majority in favour of an indefinite strike.

Official strikes were called there from Tuesday while one-day stoppages and unofficial action increased elsewhere. No major national daily appeared on Friday.

Along with the recent dockers' strike, these two disputes give the lie to any theory that West German workers are hopelessly passive—a deadweight of cosy reformism and class collaboration.

In these struggles, the social democrats and other labour bureaucrats will reveal their endless capacity for betrayal.

Whatever economic gains they may win from their present action, the real test of success will be the extent to which the printers and metal workers are able to make that basic political assessment.



French workers on the march

Ecevit shows true IMF colours

The 32.5% devaluation of the Turkish lira, coupled to a series of new anti-working class measures is further proof of the reactionary nature of Ecevit's bourgeois RPP government.

Ecevit is implementing to the letter the demands of the IMF—just as the previous National Front coalition attempted to do.

But instead of reliance on the brute force of the state and the fascists, Ecevit's policies rest on the collaboration of the Stalinist and reformist union bureaucracy.

These leaders have been peddling the line that Ecevit must be supported as a "lesser evil"—the only alternative being fascism.

Now Ecevit has shown his hand with savage devaluation, price increases, cuts in state spending, wage freezing and talks with Greek prime minister Karamanlis which are designed to create conditions for resumed arms deals with the USA.

But still the Turkish labour bureaucracy continues its dedication to Ecevit. As a peace offering, the Stalinists in control of the Metal Workers Union have finally succeeded in forcing home the imposition of centralised pay bargaining.

The Stalinists have now accepted precisely the proposals made by the employers' federation MESS that they rejected in December.

This includes the following points:

*All collective agreements will end on 1 September 1979. [This means some factories will have no review for 3-4 years].

*No payment to strikers for the strike period.

*Reduction in working hours to 46.5 over two years.

*No increase in redundancy money.

*No reinstatement of workers sacked for striking against state security courts.

*Fringe benefits to be introduced according to the employers proposals.

The Stalinists, who did nothing during the strike to mobilise other sections in support

of the 11,000 actually on strike in 42 plants, are now dressing up this betrayal as a "victory".

But there is no doubt it will greatly strengthen Ecevit in his determination to press full ahead with further attacks on the Turkish working class. To resist these attacks political independence is essential.

The crucial fight is to break the Stalinist and reformist parties and trade unions from their alliance with Ecevit, and force them to fight for the formation of a workers and farmers government.

In the course of such a fight workers can learn in practice the need for revolutionary leadership based on the Trotskyist programme.

INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH AFRICA WEEK: PROTEST NOT ENOUGH

The week of protest against the policies of the South African government is due to begin on 13 March.

Students in particular are likely to be deluged with calls from Stalinists and social democrats to boycott the "bad" capitalists in favour of the "good" ones, to place confidence in the thieves kitchen of the United Nations and to support various 'peaceful roads' to neo-colonialism in Southern Africa.

It is vital that a clear view should be put in meetings and in preparations for this week about the inextricable links between racialism, neo-colonialism and the imperialist system and about the need to fight for revolutionary leadership in the working class to overcome them.

The fight to mobilise the working class for blacking of communications and trade is the central fight in Britain.

The Workers Socialist League therefore fully supports the call for the

labour movement in Britain and internationally to express solidarity with the struggle of black workers in South Africa against apartheid and capitalism.

Maximum support, material and political must be given to all forces engaged in that struggle, to assist in the building of the independent organisation and programme of the working class.

Responsibility

But we insist that such

support is an *ongoing* responsibility of the labour movement, and cannot be collapsed and dissipated into symbolic "weeks".

The WSL does not oppose, out of hand, any token and symbolic acts of solidarity. But it does reject the substitution of mere symbols where real acts of solidarity are possible.

And it does reject the belief, invariably underlying such substitutions, that only British capitalists have the power to affect the course of events in Southern Africa.

Unlike the Stalinists and reformists who believe that the only real contribution the labour movement can make is by pressuring omnipotent capital to reform itself, and pull back from its supreme activity—the extraction of maximum profits—we believe that developing the *independent* political struggle of British workers can lead to real solidarity.

Vulnerable

The struggle to show such solidarity demands a rejection of tokenism and its underlying reliance on the power of capital to reform.

As we have consistently pointed out, the crisis of leadership facing the workers and peasants of Southern Africa is rendering the gains



The Vorster government won't be moved by protest

made in struggle over the last few years increasingly vulnerable to a state-imperialist offensive.

At the present time a certain impasse has been reached in South Africa itself where the working class lacks the leadership and programme to develop and consolidate the gains of Soweto.

Manoeuvres

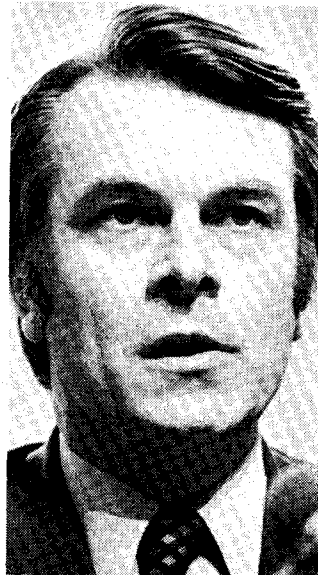
In this situation the dangers of demoralisation become increasingly real and can be very strongly affected by the general development of the struggle in southern Africa.

The manoeuvres of imperialism in seeking to secure neo-colonial solutions in both Zimbabwe and Namibia thus threaten not only the interests of workers and peasants in those countries, but the continuing combativity of South African workers, even in the face of a vicious, growing state reaction.

Defence and development of the gains won by workers and peasants in struggle in southern Africa thus involves an all out struggle against the manoeuvres of imperialism.

British Foreign Secretary Owen plays a fundamental and crucial role in the efforts to secure 'solutions' in the interests of capital, manoeuvring secretly with collaborators and racists in an effort to head off the struggle of workers and peasants against racism and exploitation.

British workers can make a material contribution to the defence of the gains made by their oppressed class brothers and sisters in southern Africa by systematically taking up the demand for an end to secret diplomacy, as part of the struggle for a government which starts from the interests of workers, not capitalists.



Owen

Such real solidarity demands not token "weeks" of action, not symbolic denunciations, not pressure on (or collusion with) capital, but a struggle to break the Lib-Lab coalition.

It demands too a struggle against those union bureaucrats who are themselves staunch defenders of a coalition government which protects the interests of capital. The same bureaucrats who head off solidarity into mere tokens and gestures act

at the same time to head off the struggle of British workers to regain and defend their living standards.

Real solidarity

Only the *independent* action of workers in Britain can achieve real solidarity with their class brothers and sisters in South Africa, just as it is only independent action which can defend their own immediate interests.

The Lib-Lab coalition, and the bureaucrats wedded to it stand as obstacles to that independence.

And in precisely the same way that the "left wing" Labourites make every sort of radical noise but serve merely to protect the persistence of this anti-working class government, so too the constant expressions of abhorrence, outrage, condemnation of the vileness of apartheid serve merely as masks behind which the real struggle for solidarity is reduced to mere symbolism.

"Horror"

Thus it is that "lefts" stand up as a man to express their horror at the viciousness of a regime which murders Steve Biko, while they take up *no* struggle against a government which is so wedded to the interests of imperialism that it tolerates South African agents operating in England to choose their next victims at the same time as Owen attends memorials for the last victims.

A clear example of this is the arms "embargo"—an attempt to replace the independent mobilisation and actions of the working class by the capitalist state, which, having been subjected to pressure was then expected to reform itself and take action in support of the interests of the South African working class!

But of course the imperialists had first ensured that the South African state was "strong enough" by stockpiling and its own productive capacities, only then announcing support for an embargo, while at the same time making quite sure that arms continued even to be supplied through secret deals, phoney third agents, etc.

Break coalition

For this reason we call for the opening of the books and nationalisation of all firms and banks trading with South African, not only to ensure effective embargoes in the interests of black workers, but to ensure supplies of goods essential to the struggle of those workers.

*We demand an end to secret deals to promote neo-colonial governments. Break the Lib-Lab coalition!

*Expel all agents of the racist regimes.

*Solidarity with the struggle of black workers.

*For the building of independent factory and workers committees in South Africa to lead the fight for democratic and transitional demands.

*For the building within this fight of the revolutionary party, South African section of the reconstructed Fourth International.



A picket last week outside the South African Embassy

PEKING REGIME OUT OF THE SEWERS, ONTO TV

It would be interesting to know what the two Catholic bishops, the old president of the Islamic Association of China and the Panchen Lama of Tibet, Erdeni Chuji Detseng thought of the Fifth National People's Congress at which they were delegates.

The way that these people have been dragged out of cold storage has prompted comparisons between this Congress and the situation in the early 1950s when the new Mao regime searched round for non-communist elements, remnants of the national bourgeoisie and religious leaders to try and give legitimacy to the new regime which was to "unite all classes" in China against imperialism.

Even an old Kuomintang general seems to have been lucky enough to be elected as

a delegate to this latest conference, convened on 26 February in Peking for the first time since 1975.

The organisation of the Congress was certainly entirely different to the Fourth Congress held in 1975 where the delegates had to enter through the sewage system of Peking and news did not leak out until near the end of the proceedings.

This time the opening sessions were even relayed by satellite to Japan and Europe.

The Hua-Teng leadership displayed a confidence in their control of the situation which is related to the purges of political opponents and use of incentives to try and buy off sections of workers.

It is estimated that two-thirds of the provincial leaders have been purged since the downfall of the so-called 'Gang of Four'.

Certainly the Party leadership knew the delegates would be absolutely loyal to

them.

Alongside the purges, there are efforts to rehabilitate tens of thousands of CP veterans who have been attacked through the years from the anti-right movement in 1957, the Peng Teh-huai affair in 1959 to the cultural revolution.

The *People's Daily* recently gave details of 2,300 "rehab" in one district in Kwangsi and 10,000 in Shanghai.

The main lines of the Congress were contained in Hua's address. He put forward the new economic plan to be carried out in three stages.

In the first two stages, up to 1985, industrial production is to be increased from 10-12%; agricultural production is to grow from 5-8% per year; there is to be an intensification of plans to set up agriculturally-based industries such as sugar beet; and there is to be a general improvement in the structure of agri-



Mao

culture.

The details of the third stage of the plan, up to the end of the century, were not spelled out.

Foreign trade is also to be a major area of development and the new emphasis on workers motivation through wage incentives and a commitment to improve the standard of living were ratified.

Resurrected

"Popular mass organisations" such as youth and women's groups, suitably cleansed of undesirable elements, are to be resurrected by Peking's Stalinist bureaucracy.

A new text of the national anthem was also agreed.

Details of the changes are not as yet available but it is presumed that these will be to delete unfavourable references to the Japanese, with whom a trade agreement has just been signed.

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

For a few dollars more...

Last week the *Financial Times* quoted a journalist as saying:

"What utter nonsense that a piece of clothing, rather cheap and fundamentally democratic elsewhere, has become a luxury article and a class symbol in our country".

The country was Hungary. And the article in question—the Levi blue denim jeans.

The authentic American Levi Strauss company is about to start the machines rolling in a million-pairs-a-year plant which it has established in the Hungarian town of Marcali.

Five-year venture

This is part of a five-year joint venture with the Hungarian government.

Although the same technology is being used, productivity in the Hungarian plant will be only half of that in San Francisco.

But that is not so important to the Hungarian government because the purpose of the factory is not to produce goods for the Hungarian consumers but to produce desperately needed dollars.

Like other bureaucratic workers' states in Eastern Europe, Hungary has in recent years become increasingly indebted to the capitalist countries as a result of a chronic trade deficit with the west.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has allowed itself to be seduced into this position by tempting offers of trade credit from capitalist governments trying to solve their



Making Russian Steel

own economic crisis.

Now the bureaucracies are searching around for some way of paying up their pound of flesh.

That means exporting more—and specifically more goods of sufficient quality to sell in the increasingly competitive capitalist market.

Exported

And that very often means exporting goods produced with

capitalist technology back to the capitalist world.

And that is where the Levis come in. 60% of the output of the Marcali plant will be exported straight back to the USA and Western Europe for hard dollars!

Meanwhile the Levi Strauss management do not have to lift a finger except to collect their licence fee, making Hungary in effect the only place in the world where they are guaranteed profit on their activities.

It is not only foreign investment from the capitalist countries which is changing the economic landscape in Eastern Europe.

There is also an increasing spread of small-scale private trade and production.

Encouraged

In the Hungarian capital Budapest, for example, the number of private craftsmen operating rose last year from 149 to over 15,000.

Nearly half of all services are provided by private craftsmen.

This state of affairs has been deliberately encouraged by the Kadar bureaucracy through tax concessions and other measures to encourage private business.

In Poland policies of this kind have existed since 1964. Now all petrol stations and one third of the catering industry are in private hands.

And in East Germany two thirds of services are in the hands of private enterprise.

In the Soviet Union this trend has been much more restricted.

It still has only 100,000 private traders and craftsmen in a population of 260 million—a proportion fifteen times less than Hungary.

Even so the continued importance of the private plot on Soviet collective farms means that 10% of total Soviet production is in the private sector.

Threatens

The growth of the private sector in Eastern Europe reflects the contradictions produced by bureaucratic planning.

It has not meant yet that the progressive socialised production

relations of Eastern Europe are significantly undermined.

But the bureaucracy's incapacity to map a way forward towards an economy democratically planned and controlled by the working class constantly threatens the gains of the October revolution in the Soviet Union, and in those countries to which post-October property relations have been exported under bureaucratic control.

Advance

But it is also important to see the other side of the coin—the almost incredible advance in production which even the bureaucratically dominated Soviet economy has been capable of achieving.

The Soviet Union now produces 50% more steel than the United States.

This and similar economic achievements are reflected in the vast and growing military superiority of the Warsaw Pact over the NATO countries, especially in Europe and the Atlantic.

More jeans

The American imperialists may still have more blue jeans—they even wear them nowadays in the White House—but they are falling far, far behind the Soviet Union in the forms of production which influence the balance of international power.

Only with the political overthrow of the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucracies by political revolutions led by the working class will this vast economic power finally be put to uses which fully benefit the masses of these countries and of the world.

MORE HOT AIR FROM LYNCH

Following close on the heels of his recent speech about British withdrawal from the North of Ireland, Eire Premier Jack Lynch has made another opportunist gesture against British imperialism.

At the recently held conference of Fianna Fail, he announced the setting up of a committee which will study the relationship between the North and the South and

whose recommendations will be included in a future White Paper.

At the same conference he also called on Britain to 'actively assist in seeking Irish unity'.

While Lynch was making these empty gestures the main opposition parties in the Dail, Fine Gael and the Irish Labour Party also announced their conversion to the cause of Ireland's self determination.

Not to be outdone, the wretched collaborators of the

Northern Social Democratic Labour Party, obviously seeing the myth of 'power sharing' crumble before their eyes, declared themselves in favour of a federal solution to the 'Irish' problem.

These opportunist scrambles by Irish politicians North and South should not of course be taken seriously by Irish workers who every day face increased attacks on living standards and jobs and a whole battery of repressive legislation against those who dare to speak out against

British imperialism.

Only last week the Lynch government set up an elite anti-terrorist task force, clearly designed to increase repression of the Republican movement and socialists.

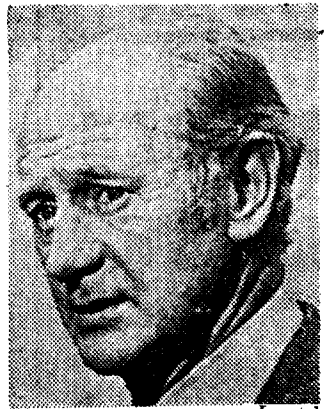
The 40-man squad will be on continuous standby, and will be headed by a former Dublin Special Branch Superintendent.

Meanwhile the war in the North continues. The tragic deaths of twelve people at the Le Mon roadhouse as the result of an IRA incendiary

device once again highlights the futility of individual acts of terrorism and the lack of any political perspective by the IRA.

Needless to say the British press and media have been shedding crocodile tears over the twelve victims and have used the tragedy to increase repression against the nationalist population in the North, as evidenced by arrests and increased SAS activity.

Individual acts of terrorism will not defeat British imperialism.



Lynch

A revolutionary leadership must be built, capable of mobilising the working class on both sides of the border in the fight to drive out British imperialist troops, expropriate foreign capital and establish a workers' republic in which democratic rights for all are guaranteed.

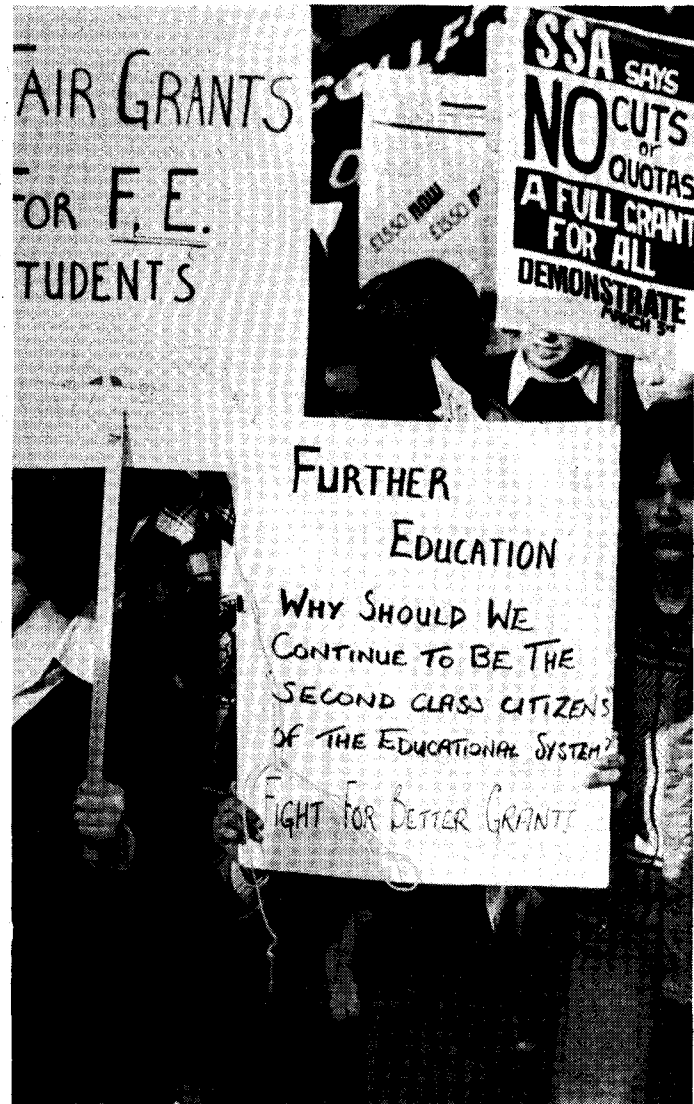


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Students march through Birmingham last weekend to protest against the low level of grants which have been greatly cut in real terms over recent years by massive inflation. A national demonstration on this issue, expected to attract over 10,000 students has had to be postponed because of the police ban on public demonstrations for two months.

ORGANISE THE UNEMPLOYED

Some 40 unemployed workers, trade union delegates and trade unionists in an individual capacity attended a conference in Coventry to discuss the setting-up of a "Trades Council Action Committee against Unemployment and Redundancy".

With unemployment in the city now above the national average and the trend continuing upwards the initiative by the Trades Council is timely.

Investigation

The conference, which was chaired by Trades Council President Colin Lindsay, heard speeches from John Pennington, who outlined the findings of a Coventry Workshop investigation into the unemployment in the area, NUPE full-time official Roger Poole and Lil Smith, TGWU Convenor at GEC's Stoke plant Coventry.

A *Socialist Press* supporter argued against those who wanted to separate out "political questions" from immediate issues, and went on to outline briefly a programme to fight unemployment which included demands for work-sharing on full pay, the opening of the books of companies shedding labour, a system of public works and a campaign to break the Lib-Lab coalition,

oust Callaghan and Healey and fight for a new leadership in the Labour Party.

Programme

The proposal from the Trades Council is that half of the places on this Action Committee should be for unemployed workers, and the other half for delegates from factory shop stewards committees and union branches.

A 3-point programme has been put forward for discussion.

1. To combat the isolation of unemployed workers, and to build their links with the organised trade union movement by calling for full union facilities to be made available at reduced rates, to unemployed members, and to organise union recruitment campaigns and legal and welfare rights advice at the labour exchanges.

2. To prevent the further loss of jobs in Coventry in both the private and public sector (eg. through opposition to redundancies and cuts in public expenditure; the banning of overtime; moves towards a 35-hour week with no loss of pay; the call for systematic re-training programmes).

3. To create permanent new jobs in Coventry (eg. through expansion of apprenticeships, training and further education schemes; the recruitment of unemployed youth; the restoration and

expansion of public sector jobs).

The call for the organisation of the unemployed is a very important one and must form a central part of the Action Committee's campaign.

Circulate

Following the discussion the conference went on to agree that the Trades Council

would circulate the Coventry labour movement asking for affiliations from trade union branches, shop stewards committees, etc.

Socialist Press will continue to follow the progress of this important initiative which could help to start a real fight against unemployment in the Coventry area.

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

The WSL fights at every step against the existing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party — now firmly harnessed to the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party in an unspoken coalition arrangement.

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

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

Blocking moves for reselection of MPs

To most Labour Party members, the vote for a Labour candidate in an election is seen as a vote against capitalist policies, and for the party traditionally linked to the workers movement.

Only a tiny handful of benevolent eccentrics would vote Labour in order to keep an established Labour MP from the dole queue.

And, given the chance freely to dispose of extreme right wing Labour MPs who, once elected, act as eager servants of the employers, few Labour Party militants would have any compunction about doing so.

Major issue

This is why the call for reselection of Labour MPs has become such a major issue within the Labour Party.

Right wing MPs have been anxiously seeking ways of heading off rank and file pressure, in order to preserve the existing state of affairs, in which a Labour MP is answerable to nobody, and can only be removed after years of wrangling on the pattern of Newham NE.

Latest bid to take the steam out of the campaign for automatic reselection has come from Joe Ashton MP.

Writing two weeks ago in *Labour Weekly*, Ashton elaborated a 'compromise' plan for each MP to face an "endorsement" procedure involving a secret ballot.

No avenue

Once this hurdle was over, there would be no further avenue for criticism until after the next election.

By ensuring that reselection moves could begin only if the MP failed to win endorsement, and isolating these proceedings to one fixed time in the life of each Parliament, Ashton hopes to defuse the kind of violent resistance from disgruntled right wing elements as was displayed by ousted candidates Dick

Taverne, Eddie Griffiths and Reg Prentice.

Political offensive

But of course with or without Ashton's plan such elements would continue to attract the support of the Tory press, and would continue to campaign against any attempt to remove them.

The only answer to such a fight is a *political* offensive against their reactionary, anti-working class policies.

Ashton has good reason for wanting to avoid such a fight in the Labour Party.

Colleagues

He knows that Prentice was backed to the very last moment by his cabinet colleagues—Healey, Callaghan, Williams and Rodgers—and that his views on almost every key question are identical to theirs.

To politically arm the



Ashton

Labour Party for the ousting of right wing MPs means to sharpen the whole fight against the Lib-Lab policies of the leadership.

Ashton also stresses the fact that MPs get no redundancy pay, "nor can they appeal to the unfair dismissals tribunal and get compensation there".

Severance pay

The fact that Labour MPs are elected to represent the interests of the labour movement and not to provide themselves with a comfortable pay cheque each month

seems to elude Ashton who says:

"Of course the rules ought to be altered so that MPs do get severance pay. But, with the present government pay policy, can anyone see that happening?"

This pathetic statement sums up the bankruptcy of those who wish to detach the reselection issue from the question of political leadership in the Labour Party.

Desperate

It is partly *because* their MPs have devotedly supported successive stages of state control of wages and other anti-working class measures that sections of the Labour Party want to remove them and replace them with people prepared to defend working class living standards!

But Ashton seems more concerned to give these reactionary MPs a big enough 'golden handshake' to get them out without a fight!

This desperate effort to cut politics out of reselection also emerges in the proposals advanced by the crypto-Tory "Campaign for a Labour Victory"—whose members include Shirley Williams—who basically accept Ashton's position, but advocate an additional appeal procedure to give added protection to beleaguered right wingers.

Delighted

And union bureaucrats are also likely to back the Ashton plan as a means of avoiding a full scale fight inside the Labour Party.

Most MPs of course are delighted that the Ashton plan is massively biased in the favour of the sitting MP, and will add their backing to it.

The fight for the unrestricted right of Constituency Labour Parties to ditch reactionary and unrepresentative MPs and replace them with candidates of their choice must be stepped up, as part of the general fight to remove and drive out the Callaghan-Healey coalitionist leadership.



Williams



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Reformist youth lobby Parliament against unemployment

'LEFTS' RUSH TO PRAISE 'MILITANT'

Transport House's tame cat has just had kittens. The weekly paper 'Militant'—laughingly described as "the Marxist paper for Labour and youth" and amiably tolerated by Labour's right wing leadership has just gone to 16-pages.

First to congratulate the *Militant* group on their new offspring were 'left' MPs Eric Heffer, Arthur Latham and Syd Bidwell.

These gentlemen have long been noted for their capacity

an asset to win the endorsement of such spineless individuals.

The lead article of *Militant's* first 16-page edition calls on "the Labour government" to "sweep aside" the capitalists and "free industry from their parasitic grip with a socialist plan of production".

Yet *Militant* knows as well as anyone else that without a decisive break from the Liberals and the ousting of the viciously anti-socialist Labour leaders no such course of action is feasible.

They make no call for such a policy.

Such accommodation to the Labour bureaucracy remains the hallmark of *Militant* politics.

Unless the question of a break in the coalition and independent working class action is raised, all their front page "demands"—for a £15 rise, a £60 minimum wage tied to the cost of living, opening the books of the supermarkets and nationalisation of the 200 top monopolies—serve merely as a left cover for support to the coalition policies of Callaghan and Healey.

No coincidence

But *Militant's* accommodation to the reformist bureaucracy goes much further than capitulation to the Labour leaders themselves and groveling to their 'left' accomplices.

It also prevents an independent mobilisation against the union bureaucracy that keeps the Lib-Lab coalition in office.

It is no coincidence therefore that in an expanded 16-page paper, and in the week of the Cowley TGWU witch-hunt, *Militant* has not a word of support to the 10 victimised militants or opposition

to the McCarthyite tactics of the TGWU bureaucracy.

This is not because some rank and file supporters of the *Militant* do not feel strongly on the question.

In the Midlands in particular they have expressed eagerness and already taken steps to campaign against the witch-hunt.

But the *Militant* leadership are clearly reluctant to give national prominence to a struggle that could jeopardise their cosy relations with the top echelons of the Labour and TGWU bureaucracy.

Far from acting as 'a really powerful weapon to arm the working class', the 16-page *Militant* has already established itself as a dead weight retarding the political development of workers and youth.

Left cover for Benn

While militant workers might be highly sceptical of the 'socialist' credentials of coalitionist Energy Minister Wedgwood Benn, there is one man who is not.

David Steel, Liberal Party leader, speaking in Yorkshire over the weekend said that the Liberals would be prepared to block any legislation introduced by Benn if he refused to "accept the spirit of cooperation" that lay behind the Lib-Lab pact.

Benn, of course, has no intention of doing any such thing. He is quite content to tow the line of the coalition government, making the odd 'left' noise when necessary to head off any move towards independent mobilisation by the working class.

PRESS GANG

Class against class

What was 'Comrade' Svetlana Nikulina doing teaching the children of the bourgeoisie?

Brought to Britain from the USSR on an exchange visit she found herself teaching the streamlined children at Bristol Grammar School and 'visiting' the children at the most expensive private school in the country, Millfield.

This calculated insult to the gains of the 1917 revolution was the latest exercise in detente, made little better by the exchange visit of Galina Polshack to Hackney Downs Comprehensive.

Their varying experiences formed the basis of a mocking piece in the *Daily Mail* "Comrade Galina gets a lesson in class warfare".

Nikulina (who teaches 'extra-bright' children in

Moscow) had nothing but the best. "I could only be impressed by the conditions and traditions of these schools", she told the *Mail*.

This is no doubt partly because class sizes in Russian state schools average only 16.6—equivalent to those in elite British private establishments like Millfield.

In contrast, Polshack (according to the *Mail* at least) found the pupils lacking in refinement. She refused to use text books because she claimed they were full of pornographic drawings.

The differing experiences of these two teachers of Stalinism provided the *Mail* with a Kremlin sent opportunity to compare comprehensive schools adversely with selective schools.

In an editorial headed Top Marx for Grammar, the *Mail* explains with heavy

sarcasm how the two "simple Russian teachers" fared and concluded:

"This is not a fairy story dreamed up by some Dr. Rhodes Pushkin in Tory central office. It actually happened, dear reader.

"And the moral is... if Soviet teachers can give Britain's grammar schools top Marx, shouldn't our own proletarian progressives pause a little longer before storming those that are still left".

Let us not blame all this on Polshack. She did her best to stress the poverty of the children and refused to compare the black kids unfavourably.

But providing the *Daily Mail* with the means to chalk up a cheap jibe at the fight against grammar schools, the official responsible for teacher exchange has given a whole new meaning to class collaboration.

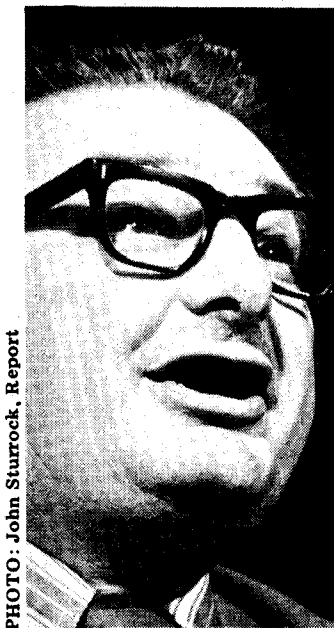


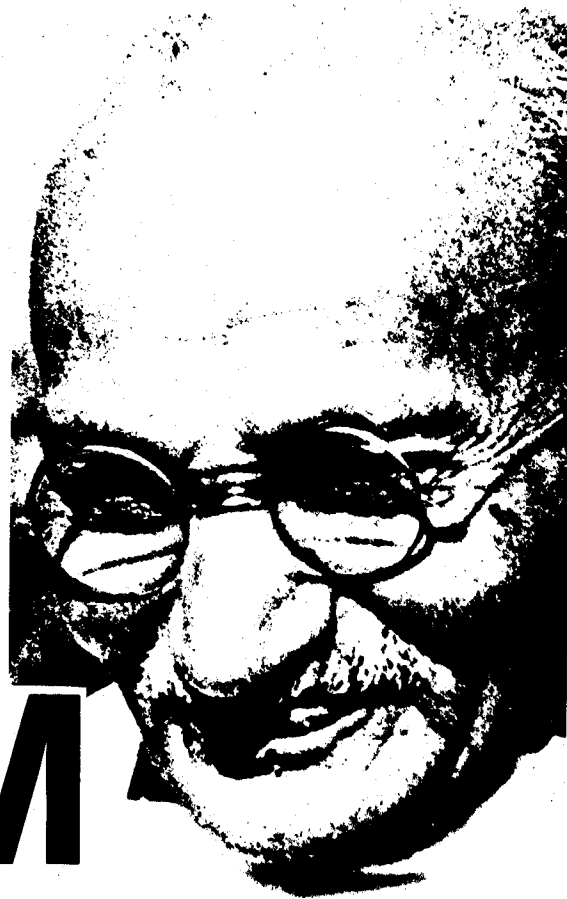
PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Heffer

to combine "left wing" oratory on selected occasions with loyal Parliamentary support for the Lib-Lab coalition and diehard opposition to any fight to oust the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

It is more than fitting that the *Militant*, which, like the Tribune 'lefts', continues to describe the Callaghan-Steel coalition as "the Labour government", should feel it

'GREAT SOUL' OF INDIAN CAPITALISM



By David Whitfield

In the colourful myths which the bourgeoisie hands down as history, Mohandas Gandhi is a man respected and revered. He figures as a saintly hero who led the Indian people forward in a movement of noble dignity that aroused the compassion of the great British nation.

In a gesture of equal nobility, the Western power was then moved to free these Eastern children from their oaths of allegiance to the mighty Empire which had nourished and advanced them.

The reality of the Indian national movement, and Gandhi's individual participation, is naturally very different from the glossy images of Hollywood epic.

Gandhi's political career was prolonged and intricate and cannot be easily summarised.

Significance

But his activities in India from 1915 to 1934 display all the characteristics that were typical of his politics, and give an accurate picture of the actual historical significance of the 'Mahatma' ('great soul').

Between 1893 and 1914, he lived in South Africa, where he began to develop his theories in leading a campaign of the Indian community against racialist laws and customs.

With the outbreak of the first imperialist world war, he travelled back to India via London.

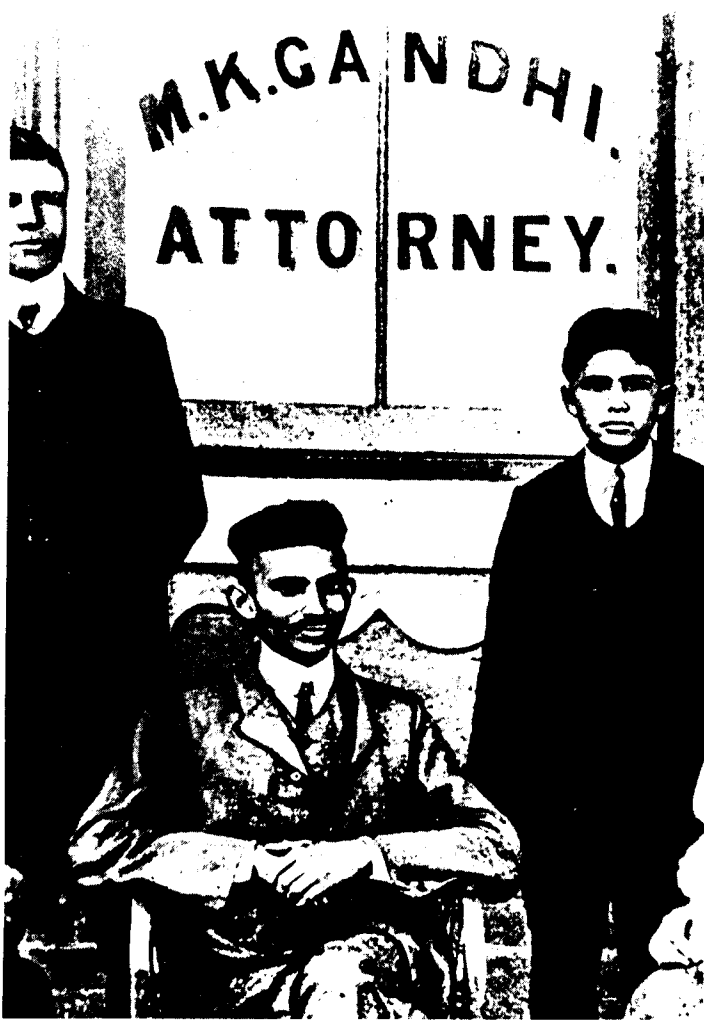
At this time Gandhi publicly urged his Indian friends to 'think imperially' and 'do their duty'; as late as 1918 he was campaigning vigorously for army recruitment, arguing that the British government, inspired by gratitude, would then grant some form of home rule.

Long history

The Indian nationalist movement already had a long history by this time. The British administration had founded the Indian National Congress in 1885 as a means of diverting the militant peasant movements into the safe channels of collaboration.

But this plan misfired, and the Congress became the property of the dissatisfied Indian capitalists.

In this form it was generally impotent, but sprang to life in 1905 as the mass movement gathered pace and momentum, and for five years developed its demands for Swaraj (self-government) and fumbled for a programme of action.



Gandhi as a lawyer in South Africa

After the October Revolution of 1917, reforms were hastily proposed by a British government that was haunted by historic parallels.

These reforms were never realised and, by the end of the war, Congress had grown enormously, with its power massively boosted by close association with the Moslem League.

It was at this time that Gandhi rose to prominence. His meteoric course was assisted by the political confusion that reigned within the party, and by organisational turmoil in which the most open advocates of collaboration with the British were driven out into isolation.

Towards the end of 1918 a strike movement broke out on a completely unprecedented scale—125,000 workers participated in the Bombay mill-strike alone.

As a flu epidemic raged across the country to kill 14 million people, mutinies erupted throughout the army and peasant risings followed each other almost ceaselessly.

British repression

The British responded with the Rowlatt Acts, which continued wartime repression in all its viciousness, and Gandhi then formed the Satyagraha League in February 1919.

Satyagraha literally means 'persistence in truth', but Gandhi also called it the 'truth-force', 'love-force' and 'soul-force'.

The essence of this method was non-violent non-cooperation with an evil system, and Gandhi insisted on distinguishing this from passive resistance.

Where passive resistance was the only weapon available to the weak, Satyagraha (he claimed) was born of strength—the moral strength of the ideally pure who never sought to embarrass or humiliate their enemies, only to transform them by example.

Partial

Non-cooperation was not only to be non-violent. It was also partial, since Gandhi extended critical support to the illusory reform projects of the British;

"I would cooperate a thousand times with the government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment cooperate with it to continue that career";

The hearts of the colonial rulers may have been moved, but they reached for their weapons all the faster as a result.

In Amritsar, an unarmed crowd was trapped in an enclosed space with no exit and then machine-gunned. Three hundred and seventy-

nine were killed, 1,200 wounded.

General Dyer proclaimed that he had aimed for "a moral effect from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab".

Martial law was imposed, and an orgy of shootings, hangings and bombings was initiated by the army.

Dyer received a pension of £20,000.

Strikes

Amritsar was only the most famous incident in a period of endless strikes, riots and demonstrations.

Gandhi had called a hartal (general day of suspension of business) for April 6, and had soon become alarmed by this massive response which went well beyond the limits of non-violence.

The government was particularly alarmed by the increasing unity between Hindus and Moslems, which seriously undermined their colonial policy.

The situation was developing headlong and passing out of the control of Congress. As it grew to its highest point, Gandhi intervened to call off the campaign solemnly declaring

"a civil resister never seeks to embarrass the Government".

This was only the first of many identical betrayals. Again and again, as the mass movement reached a climax which threatened to overwhelm the Raj, Gandhi called for a truce.

Control

On the one hand he needed to suppress a movement that would certainly discard his leadership as it grew more powerful.

At the same time he also needed to show the British that he was able to control the ebb and flow of resistance, in order to secure his position in any future discussions or negotiations.

Although he wrapped them up in pious platitudes, Gandhi's motives and needs are quite apparent. But it is not so clear how he managed to impose his requirements on the direction of the mass movement.

Attraction

Several factors combined here. Gandhi's policy of Satyagraha was put forward when the Congress' old strategy of cooperation had become totally unviable.

The non-cooperation element had an obvious attraction to all layers, while the non-violent aspect proved particularly attractive to the fast-growing professional class

who had little to gain from a violent overthrow of imperialist rule by peasants and workers, when a gradual process of reform would ensure them a privileged position in a self-governing India.

No alternative

Crucially, there was at this stage no alternative revolutionary leadership. The Indian Communist Party was barely conceived, and not even the most determined spontaneous militancy could substitute for conscious Marxist direction of the revolutionary struggles.

The critical moment had been dissolved by Gandhi's action, but the national movement continued its resistance during the next two years.

As economic crisis developed, 1½ million workers were drawn into the massive strike wave in early 1920. But Congress only moved more resolutely to adopt Gandhi's perspectives, which he guaranteed to win Swaraj by the end of the next year!

Not jailed

In fact by that time there were 20,000 political prisoners, including all the Congress leaders—except Gandhi.

When the Congress met at Ahmedabad in December, he was voted virtually dictatorial powers—there was nobody left out of prison to stand against him.

His immediate programme had two main points. Firstly, a boycott of the legal and educational institutions of British rule. This was mainly directed at the educated middle class.

Secondly, for the masses, a revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

This did provide a short-term improvement in their economic condition for the millions of landless labourers but its main function was to prevent any mobilisation of the poor peasants as a class.

Dangers

Gandhi was fully conscious of the dangers his leadership faced from the developing political education of the proletariat, and his writings make this clear:

"I do not deny that labour strikes can serve political ends. But they do not fall within the plan of non-violent non-cooperation.

"It does not require much effort of the intellect to perceive that it is a most dangerous thing to make political use of labour until labourers understand the political condition of the country and are prepared to

work for the common good.

"This is hardly to be expected of them all of a sudden, and until they have bettered their own condition so as to enable them to keep body and soul together in a decent manner.

"The greatest political contribution, therefore, that labourers can make is to improve their own condition, to become better informed, to insist on their rights and even to demand proper use by their employers of the manufactures in which they have had such an important hand.

"The proper evolution, therefore, would be for the labourers to raise themselves to the status of part proprietors.

"Strikes, therefore, for the present, should only take place for the direct betterment of the labourers' lot, and, when they have acquired the spirit of patriotism, for the regulation of prices of their manufactures".

This remarkable homily needs little comment. But the apologetics of bourgeois liberalism take on a more sinister character when translated into action.

In 1920 Gandhi had also advocated a later stage of the campaign, where the peasants and workers would refuse payment of taxes and rents.

Dropped

Local campaigns erupted sporadically, but at the Ahmedabad Congress, all reference to the No-Tax campaign was decisively dropped.

Such activities had been shown to provide the basis



of independent unity between peasants on rent-strike and workers in industrial action.

The demands for complete independence from colonial rule, and an end to the non-violence policy became louder and more urgent.

But Gandhi turned a deaf ear, and the programme of Congress was even scaled down.

While the Congress leadership prevaricated, a local No-Tax campaign began in the district of Guntur. Less than 5% of all taxes and rents were being paid, until Gandhi instructed that this isolated challenge end at once.

He now moved himself, sending an ultimatum to the Viceroy which demanded amnesty for political prisoners and the lifting of the repressive legislation.

87,000 people

If these demands were not met, mass civil disobedience would begin—but in Bardoli alone. The population of Bardoli was a mere 87,000, firmly loyal to Gandhi's direction.

A few days later, angry peasants stormed and burned the village police station in Chauri Chaura; 22 police were killed.

The Viceroy reported to London in alarm:

"The lower classes in the towns have been seriously affected by the non-cooperation movement . . . In certain areas the peasantry have been affected . . . agitation has penetrated to the rural Sikhs.

"A large proportion of the Mohammedan population throughout the country are embittered and sullen . . . The government of India are prepared for disorder of a more formidable nature than has in the past occurred, and do not seek to minimise in any way the fact that great anxiety is caused by the situation."

Condemned

Congress Working Committee met on February 12, 1922. Far from working to extend the action, they condemned the 'inhuman conduct' at Chauri Chaura, and called off the entire Satyagraha campaign.

In its place, they substituted a 'constructive' programme of spinning, temperance reform and educational activities. Their statement was not the product of pacifist beliefs.

Criticism was directed almost exclusively at the rent strikes, which had brought Indian peasants into conflict with Indian landlords.

It was a priority for the bourgeois leaders of Congress to stifle such precedents of class struggle, which cut across the 'united' national

complete independence were widespread, the 'Great Soul' narrowly carried a vote for Congress to restrain action for a year.

The British colonial rulers showed no such scruples. Almost every working class leader was rounded up in March 1929 and removed to Meerut.

Remote

At this remote court no jury was needed and the detainees were held in prison for four years before sentence was even passed.

But pressure continued to mount until Congress was forced to declare its commitment to Purma Swaraj (complete independence).

Gandhi hastened to tell the world that "the independence resolution need frighten nobody".

Soon after the gigantic demonstrations to celebrate the first 'Independence Day' on January 26, 1930, he was once more given complete control of the Congress' non-violent, non-cooperation campaign, with the agreement that his own followers should operate as the totally unelected organisers.

No plan

No plan of action was made public, but in a letter Gandhi confided his intentions to no less a person than the British Viceroy:

"The party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt . . . It is my purpose to set in motion that force [non-violence] as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as the unorganised violent force of the



MacDonald

and some handed over their arms to the demonstrators.

After this alarming development, both military and police were immediately withdrawn. For ten days the city was completely in the hands of the nationalists. After the re-imposition of imperialist control a vicious court-martial was held.

All news of the events was suppressed by Congress.

Gandhi did not equivocate on this issue. The advocate of brotherly love between Hindu and Moslem, the apostle of non-violent non-cooperation, he two years later utterly condemned the solidarity action of the troops: 'A soldier who disobeys an order to fire breaks the oath which he has taken and renders himself guilty of criminal disobedience. I cannot ask officials and soldiers to disobey; for when I am in power, I shall in all likelihood make use of the same officials and those same soldiers. If I taught them to disobey I should be afraid that they might do the same when I am in power'.

This was declaring his class interest with a vengeance.

When it had become clear that Gandhi could no longer control the accumulating struggles, the colonial administration moved to arrest him on May 5, 1930.

Attack

An even greater wave of hartals and mass strikes developed in response to what was seen as an attack on the nationalist movement. This centred in Bombay, where the disturbances were continuous.

At the height of this movement, industrial workers held Sholapur for a week and established their own administration. The government hired thugs to carry out its most vicious repression to date.

British commercial interests were severely hit and the capitalists began attempts to negotiate. The Labour government, which operated the British state apparatus under Ramsay MacDonald, was driven to convene the Round Table Conference in January and Gandhi was released to attend. In March, the Irwin-Gandhi Agreement was signed.

Limited gain

This agreement did

battle to arrest every militant and activist.

The 'Great Soul' himself reacted with a characteristic—ally sublime indifference,

New fast

In May of the next year, 1933, he began a new fast—not against the government this time, but 'to change the hearts of his countrymen'. He was immediately released from detention, unconditionally—the colonial rulers jumped at this new opportunity.

Mass civil disobedience was to be replaced by individual civil disobedience. Gandhi accounted for this shift in his 'analysis' of the failure of non-violent non-cooperation:

"I feel that the masses have not yet received the message of Satyagraha, owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media . . . The indifferent civil resistance of many . . . has not touched the hearts of the rulers".

Uncontrolled

But even individual civil resistance had its dangers; such a campaign still left the masses uncontrolled by the bourgeois leaders, and it was not necessary to go further:

"Satyagraha needs to be confined to one qualified person at a time . . . In the present circumstances, only one, and that myself, should for the time being bear the responsibility of civil disobedience."

The All-India Congress Committee met a Patna in May 1934 and resolved to end civil disobedience unconditionally—except for Gandhi's example of splendid isolation.

It must have been difficult to see how much further the nationalist leaders could go along the road of a complete betrayal of the liberation struggles. But Gandhi himself was not satisfied with even these abject declarations of bourgeois identity. In opposition to the growing weight of the left-wing within the Congress, he resigned in the autumn of 1934.

This marathon career of political betrayal was not closed with this.

Only three years later he was back as the acknowledged leader of the right-wing, and threatened a complete split of the party when Bose was elected President in 1938.

Fanatic

The end finally came when he was shot by a Hindu fanatic, incensed at Gandhi's verbal opposition to both Hindu-Moslem rivalries and the partition into the Pakistani and Indian states.

The assassination in itself suggests the image of a man martyred for his political ideals. But the false prophet had laid down a more faithful summary of his own character: "I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist".

The machinations of this idealist within the leadership of the nationalist movement were but a pale reflection of the real substance of his life's work.

Actions

But the reality of history confirms itself very little with good faith. Marxists do not analyse political characters from their moral fibre, but from their actions. Gandhi's actions tell their own tale of a sordid and all too frequent variety.

His ideological commitment to Indian independence was over-ridden at every critical moment by his class allegiance to the bourgeoisie. Far from identifying the struggle for national liberation with the class struggle within the perspective of permanent revolution, Gandhi clearly counterposed the two. Although at times he was reluctantly drawn into direct conflict with British imperialism, he was always prompt to prevent any extension of these enforced hostilities towards the native bourgeoisie.

"The Indian bourgeoisie is incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle. They are closely bound up with and dependent upon British capitalism. They tremble for their own property. They stand in fear of the masses. They seek compromises with British imperialism no matter what the price, and lull the Indian masses with hopes of reforms from above. The leader and prophet of this bourgeoisie is Gandhi. A fake leader and a false prophet!"

Leon Trotsky, July 25, 1939

The politics of Gandhi stand as a model of the role played by the democratic bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialist decay. They conform in every respect to the Marxist analysis developed by the international communist movement through revolutionary struggles.

But the central problems remain of how the leadership of this persistent traitor could be accepted by the Indian workers and peasants.

Firstly, it must be said that the image of Gandhi as a figure universally followed in trusting loyalty, is a mythical distortion of history.

Nonetheless it obviously cannot be denied that Gandhi regained great popular power. A full analysis of this phenomenon can only be undertaken within a comprehensive history of modern India and its revolutionary struggles for liberation.

Crucially, Gandhi's political dominance was assured by the absence of a revolutionary socialist party to mobilise the peasantry behind the independent leadership of the proletariat.

The Indian Communist Party was fraught with problems even before its founding, and later became almost fanatically subservient to the dictates of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Inflated 'soul'

In these conditions, the 'Great Soul' was inflated to fill a critical vacuum which history could not tolerate for long.

The slaughter of sacred cows is necessary to the vital material interests of the Indian masses. The herds of bourgeois politicians are no exception, and in the process of demolishing the reputation and prestige of Mohandas Gandhi, Indian workers will be freed to develop necessary lessons for their future struggles.



The Round Table Conference, January 1931

movement.

Throughout the country militants were stunned, but reluctantly followed these central directives. Consternation gave way to apathy and cynicism—no protests were made when Gandhi was arrested the next month.

Released

Sentenced to six years imprisonment, he was released after two; the crisis had passed.

Although the national movement was disorientated and disorganised for several years, the labour movement grew powerfully.

As its organisation and militancy matured politically, a left-wing emerged within the Congress led by youth leader Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru (later prime minister).

The right wing sought out Gandhi as their saviour, and by the end of 1928 he was back in full swing.

Although the strike movement had reached a new peak nearly 32 million working days were lost by strikes that year), and demands for

growing party of violence.

"To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned."

The Great Soul stood up, and walked out of the arena of struggle, confident that many combatants would follow him into a new diversion.

Yet again Gandhi's attempts to divert the mass movement into placid channels were frustrated by the violent militancy of the masses themselves.

The independence campaign was not to be contained within the restrictions sought by the native bourgeoisie.

Armoured cars

In April 1930, angry mass demonstrations broke out in Peshawar to protest against the arrest of the local nationalist leaders. Armoured cars were sent in and wholesale firing from British troops resulted in hundreds of deaths and casualties.

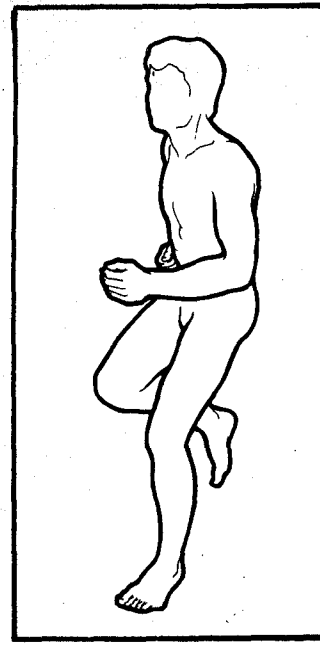
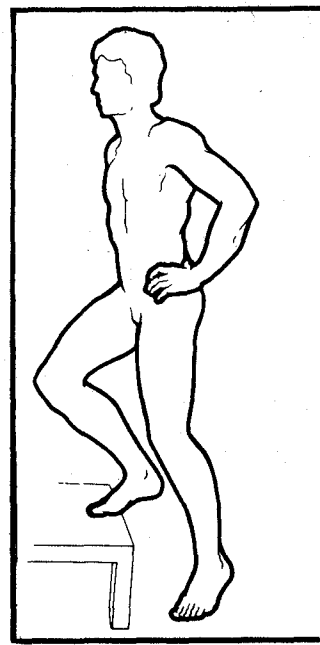
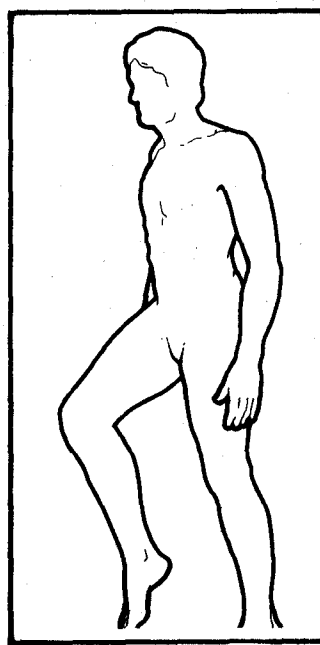
The crowds were composed of Moslems, but in the confrontation two Hindu infantry platoons refused to fire, broke ranks to fraternise



Gandhi with the Aga Khan

IN REVIEW

IF YOU GET SICK, THEY WON'T COME RUNNING!



Keeping fit for capitalist speed-up?

A guest review of *Look After Yourself*, a Health Education Council booklet.



Behind the propaganda—Hounslow Hospital closure

Readers might be wondering why the Health Education Council (backed by the DHSS) have suddenly taken such an interest in their health.

Why, when the health service is being brutally cut back, is the DHSS channeling £700,000 through the HEC in one year to exhort you to take more exercise and eat less?

'Your fault'

It might be clearer if the campaign was called "Look after yourself, because nobody else will".

What could be better for those cutting health services than to foist responsibility

for health onto each individual worker.

From now on, if you get ill it must be *your* fault—you didn't jog to work often enough or ate too much rich food.

"Education"

If illness is the victim's fault, then what is needed is "education" to make him pull himself together—not the provision of expensive medical care.

What does the campaign tell us?

If people change their diet and make right use of their leisure they will feel better. Sounds good until you look further.

On the diet front the HEC stress the need to count

calories and provides us with an "eating plan".

But nearly every main meal contains expensive cuts of meat, and the list of low calorie vegetables begins with globe artichokes and asparagus!

Perhaps the HEC believes the press stories about car workers and caviar sandwiches!

Certainly their propaganda adds to the occult literature of calorie counting, peddled by advertising agencies, all of which leads away from the three simple key nutritional points:

- *Decrease sugar intake.
- *Decrease total fat intake.
- *Increase fibre intake.

Nor does the HEC draw attention to the way the working class diet is shorn of

valuable ingredients by capitalist food monopolies.

White sliced bread, white flour, and white rice all have valuable fibre content removed by manufacturers.

More nutritious

And when the HEC advises workers to start the day with "your favourite breakfast cereal", it covers up the fact that the main ingredient of such a meal is more than likely sugar, while the cardboard packet itself is often more nutritious than its sales-promoted contents.

Of course exercise and eating well can make workers healthier.

So can an end to physically and mentally arduous production line work in

polluted working conditions, an end to speed-up, and end to the hardships of the dole queue, an end, in short, to the conditions inflicted on workers by capitalist exploitation.

The HEC in fact admit that their objective is to enable people to "cope with a stressful environment".

So after working 8 hours in a "stressful environment" the individual worker is cajoled to devote his/her remaining waking hours to "running on the spot", cooking low-calorie meals, and generally organising to stay fit—for the next day's work!

The "Look After Yourself" campaign is a hollow fraud designed to divert workers from action to secure adequate health care and

healthy working conditions into attempts at individual "solutions".

But in case this latest cynical abuse of health information seems a new development it is worth remembering that the government made use of a report by the Royal College of Physicians—linking high fat intake to heart disease—as a pretext for slashing the butter subsidy!

Revolutionaries take a different position on health care. It is a right that must be jealously guarded and extended.

Workers need every ounce of strength and vitality at their disposal as well as a revolutionary leadership if they are to overthrow capitalism and establish a planned socialist economy.

US farmers fight Carter

While US union bureaucrats draw ever closer to their imperialist masters, the workers' movement—spearheaded by the miners—is seeking ways of asserting its independence.

And in this situation an important "middle layer"—thousands of exploited small farmers suffering from the plunder of the banks, the food monopolies and the giant farming syndicates—is also emerging in independent struggle, in conflict with the capitalist Democratic Party.

Motorcade

Labor News, paper of the US Socialist League (DC) reports from St. Louis, Missouri:

"St. Louis, February 11.

Farmers from as far away as California joined forces today in an impressive motorcade and rally sponsored by the American Agricultural Movement. Over 800 farm workers clogged the streets of downtown St. Louis in an appeal to the consumer to support the Movement's five-point program centering on 100% of parity.

Tractors

The many banners and signs on their tractors explained vividly the problems of the farmer, whose income under the present market and price-support system does not meet his expenses. In response to this situation the farmers are pledging a 50% reduction in planting to curtail available food supplies and asking the American consumer to put pressure on the Congress to

pass legislation supporting their program.

Teamster support

The increasing support of the organized labor movement for the farmers strike was represented by Matt Adoud, a high official of Teamsters Joint Council 13. Pledging continuing Teamster support for the farmers, he encouraged them to organize themselves and maintain control of their own movement. Bob Williams of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists was also present in solidarity.

Although some farmers were taking up the incorrect idea of import controls, others were correctly demanding a producer-elected board to control the Department of Agriculture and an end to secrecy in market



Farmers protest against Democrats' policy

forecasting and government policies which affect long range futures.

Confrontation

Some farmers from Quin in southeast Missouri told *Labor News* reporters about a confrontation which 26 tractors had with state troopers last month near Hayti, Missouri. The farmers wanted to cross I-55 highway for a few miles in order to attend a rally against agriculture Secretary Bergland in Tennessee. Hundreds of troopers blocked

the access road and one farmer was arrested after being knocked down by a road grader. After this, other farmers set up picket lines to block I-55 which were honored by some Teamster truck drivers. Eventually some of the tractors got through to Tennessee by taking back roads and bean fields. After "almost every state trooper in Missouri" failed to stop the farmers, Governor Teasdale, a Democrat, called off the cops and

American Agriculture caravan passing through the state to

Washington DC. With both the farmers and miners coming up against police and politicians, it is time for workers, consumers and farmers to form a new alliance for a new political party. One of the first tasks of such a party would be to campaign for the nationalisation of the food chains and monopolies under worker-farmer-consumer management.

OUR POLICIES Break the Coalition

We are publishing part two of the section dealing with the coalition government contained in the British Perspectives recently adopted by the 2nd Annual Conference of the Workers Socialist League.



PHOTO: John Smith, IFL

The coalition polices the working class in more than one way

Whenever 'left' MPs or trade union leaders bleat about the evils of the right wing or make 'left' gestures by supporting strikes or demonstrations the Workers Socialist League demands action, not words.

"Break with the Liberals! Break with the right wing! Vote and campaign against the Coalition and its supporters! Declare yourselves mandated by the labour movement and not by the Parliamentary Labour Party! We will critically support every action along those lines. But if you do not act, you are nothing but left fakers!"

We can critically support the 'lefts' only insofar as they break with the right wing.

Whilst they do no more than lend 'left' credentials to the Lib-Lab Coalition, our task is to expose their prostration to the workers who retain illusions in them, and to demand their removal as we would with any other Coalitionist.

Critical support

We must avoid any tendency to tie the fight against the Coalition and for a Labour government to represent the working class to the whims and manoeuvres of the 'lefts' in Parliament or in the unions.

We must concentrate on forcing the 'lefts' to take an open stand on the coalition issue.

To those who show the slightest sign of fight we extend both critical support and the demand they press on further in the fight.

Infantilism

In this way we can demonstrate that they are incapable of seriously challenging the



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Left talker Audrey Wise right wing reformist leaders. Careful use of demands on the 'lefts' can reveal to workers their complete lack of any perspective for the working class.

While the mass of workers still adhere to the Labour Party we continue to call for a Labour government.

To advance the idea, in whatever form, that there is no difference between Tory and Labour (even Labour under Callaghan) is sectarian infantilism which serves only to assist the reformists, who would quite likely be strengthened by a period of Thatcher in power.

Break politically

The WSL follows the method of the Transitional Programme in finding concrete ways of expressing the need for a workers' government, given the political balance of forces in the working class as it is, not simply as we would like it to be.

"Of all the parties and organisations which base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name we demand that



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

'Left' Mikardo they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government.

"On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. And at the same time, we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should in our opinion form the programme of the 'workers' and farmers' government".

(Transitional Programme)

While the workers support Labour we will help them to put it in office independently of the openly capitalist parties.

At the same time we encourage workers to demand and force measures on Labour in defence of their interests and to break the resistance of the capitalists.

Orientation

While the specific demands we place upon Labour will vary in particular class battles, the slogan 'Force Labour to implement a socialist programme' sums up our general orientation in the present situation.

In our general explanation of this position the WSL warns the working class not to trust its leaders; explains that a socialist programme cannot be implemented by parliamentary edict; and shows that the task posed is for the working class to impose its rule over the bourgeoisie, smash the existing state apparatus, and institute a planned economy.

Best means

In no sense does the fight to force Labour to implement a socialist programme "sow illusions", as the sectarians would have it.

On the contrary, it is the best means through which the working class can test out its leaders and organisation and develop a new, revolutionary leadership for the task of seizing power.

It is because we need to expose all the wings of the mass reformist party that we continue to call for a Labour vote in bye-elections, while at the same time fighting for the adoption of anti-coalition candidates and the removal of coalitionists.

We must struggle to bring union branches into this fight for the breaking of the Coalition.

Not sufficient

It is not sufficient to convince ourselves that the Lib-Lab Coalition must be broken; we must convince the working class. In doing so a correct tactical orientation towards the Labour Party remains important.

We must be clear that there is no barrier in principle to us continuing to give critical electoral support to Labour candidates so long as the Labour Party continues to stand in its own name in elections.

The question is a tactical

one—to be decided in the context of the fight to break workers from reformism.

Trotsky spelled out his attitude to voting for a workers party in alliance with a bourgeois grouping when he discussed the Labour Party question in the USA.

It then seemed likely that the Labour's non-Partisan League would adopt an agreement with the bourgeois politician La Guardia.

Trotsky declared that if he were in the LNPL he would get himself mandated to oppose support for bourgeois politicians:

"If you send me as your representative, I will fight for this programme in the LNPL, in the Labour Party. When the LNPL makes a decision to vote for La Guardia, I either resign with protest or protest and remain: 'I can't vote for La Guardia. I have my mandate'. We get large new possibilities for propaganda". (Transitional Programme for Socialist Revolution, P123)

Tactical question

In other words, Trotsky centres his position on refusing to vote for bourgeois politicians.

For him it is then a tactical question whether or not to resign. And he does not say he would refuse to vote for the LNPL's own candidates.

We do not vote Labour through any agreement with its programme. Nor do we so simply because workers traditionally vote for this party.

We extend critical support

to it in elections in order to expose its refusal to break from the policies—and now even the political parties—of the bourgeoisie.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan

We do so because the Labour Party represents a certain stage in the development of the consciousness of the working class and its struggle for political independence. It has historical roots in the trade unions.

To break these roots, the Labour Party, 'left' and right wings alike, must be exposed in action to workers in struggle.

In this way those who begin to break from reformism can be directed not towards syndicalism but towards the construction of a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class.

Concluded

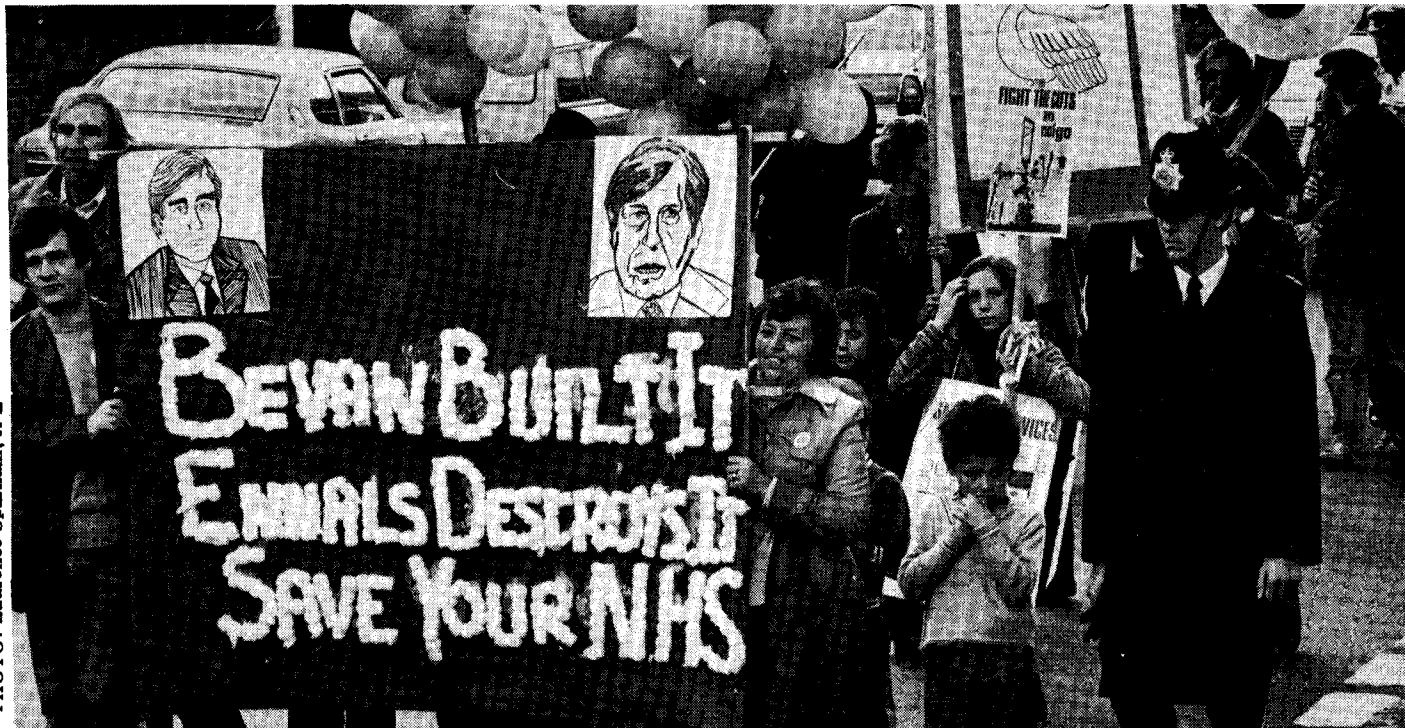


PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

It is in the fight against the cuts that the 'lefts' have best preserved the illusion that they are against the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

The Transitional Programme

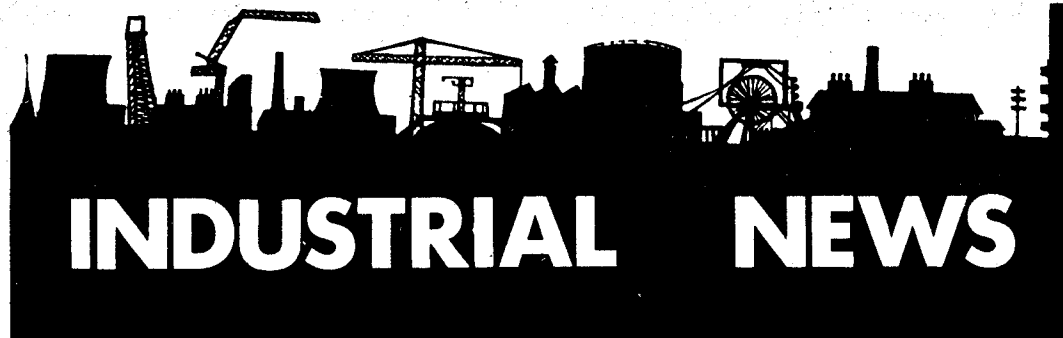


"It is a programme for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution.

And from the practical point of view what is now the most important is how we can guide the different strata of the proletariat in the direction of the social revolution".

TROTSKY

30p plus 10p p & p from WSL, 31 Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

NUT calls for token action

The National Executive of the National Union of Teachers is asking its members throughout the country to undertake a 'programme of action' in protest against the employers' 9% pay offer.

The employers claim that the government's 10% "guidelines" apply strictly to teachers.

They have said that annual increments and various "anomalies" such as catching-up rises for headmasters earning over £8,000 should come out of an overall

10% increase in the wages bin.

This would reduce the real increase for the vast majority of teachers to 9%.

The NUT Executive, having put in an already grossly inadequate claim of only 12%, and having been prepared to accept 10% have now balked at the thought of explaining to the membership at the Easter Annual Conference the acceptance of a mere 9% without a murmur.

"Productivity"

They have therefore seized on the "productivity" aspect of the government "guide-

lines" and are calling on members to protest against the employers' claim that 'teaching is a 9 - 4 job' and therefore cannot contain an element of productivity.

The "actions" the National Executive is asking members to take involve refusing to carry out voluntary duties in the lunchhour and after school.

This course of action leaves all responsibility for organisation in the schools themselves—and an ideal opportunity for the national leadership to blame the membership when the action falls through and they are "forced" to accept the 9%.

In Oxfordshire the local leadership has not even gone this far.

Having just completed a sell-out of some 400 jobs after imposing sanctions for 18 months there, they have panicked at the thought of leading more action.

"Protest"

In order to "protest" against the National Executive's complete lack of organisation and their habit of making announcements to national press before informing union members, the Oxfordshire Executive resolved that it 'could not

urge the Oxon NUT members to follow the National Executive's recommendations' and have withdrawn from voluntary actions.

Their resolution has been—understandably—misinterpreted by the press as a direction to the members not to carry out any action.

This misinterpretation has been backed up by the Divisional Secretary Jack Stedman, announcing that 'the members have had enough of this sort of action'.

Not true

While it is of course true that teachers in Oxfordshire

have experienced the divisive and demoralising effect of carrying out sanctions it is by no means true that they will not respond to determined national action over wages.

Willing

Had the national leadership campaigned for a wages claim which sought to catch up completely on the wages lost over the three years of wage control and to include a cost of living index to keep up with inflation, they would find that teachers throughout the country were anxious and willing to fight to support this claim.



STOP THIS RIGHT WING CONSPIRACY!

On the second day of the TGWU Regional Inquiry in Cowley, a letter was produced from Oxford Trades Union Council secretary and ASTMS Divisional Council member Keith Dancey attacking the activities of various TGWU members on the Trades Council.

Both Dancey and Trades Council President John Power—who is also AUEW District President—also gave evidence at the hearings attacking TGWU members Alan Thornett, Tony Homer and Dave Pinnington.

Both of these people are notorious right wingers who were first elected after a witch-hunt against left wingers who used to be Trades Council officers led to the TUC closing it down and reconstituting it under right wing control.

Two of the major charges raised against the left wing on the Trades Council were that they criticised officers of the TGWU and NUPE on the Council and the false claim that sub-committees were taking decisions.

Now not only are these two right wingers criticising officers of other unions, but they are actually part of moves to expel and remove trade unionists from office for life.

What is more, they gave their evidence as officers of the Trades Council without ever having raised their complaints before the full Trades Council.

At a meeting of the Trades Council on Friday 3 March where the matter was raised, the President, John Power, ruled it "out of order" to discuss what he and the secretary had done.

But Power and Dancey are not the only members of other unions involved in this witch-hunt.

When Alan Thornett's section

of drivers held their meeting to discuss action in his defence, AUEW Convenor Doug Hobbs instructed the AUEW members amongst them to "work normally" as this was "an internal TGWU affair".

All of this highlights the co-ordinated nature of the witch-hunt by the right wing of all unions.

Drop evidence

They obviously hope that if they assist the TGWU bureaucrats now, then they can count on support in dealing with their own militants in due course.

We call on all AUEW and ASTMS members to show their solidarity with those witch-hunted and demand that Powers and Dancey drop their evidence in support of the TGWU bureaucrats.

Resolutions should be sent through to all levels of these unions demanding this.



Part of the TGWU Kangaroo Court arriving at Transport House, Oxford

40 week strike at Skegness Grunwick

As the strike for union recognition at Sandersons (Forklifts) Ltd, at Croft, Skegness, enters its fortieth week, the thirty-six strikers remain resolute in their stand against the owner of the plant.

They are still maintaining a seven-day, twenty-four hour picket on the gates of the factory.

Although disillusioned by the lack of any urgency by the local full time officials of the TGWU, and the feeling that they have been overshadowed by the Grunwick dispute and the firemen's strike, they are still convinced that they can win this struggle.

Threatened

About seventy scabs are still working inside the plant, and of these a quarter are school leavers.

Up to this week they have been putting in between sixty and sixty five hours a week.

Now they have been put on a forty hour week and have been threatened with more cuts in hours if things don't improve.

The strikers feel that the limited blacking of components to the plant has brought about this situation.

When the scabs were told of the management's intentions they asked that the forty hours be spread over four days, to enable them to get part time work on the remaining days!

The benevolent Mr Sanderson refused this request and reminded them according to their contract of employment the forty hours could be implemented over five and a half days.

Declined

This episode gives some indication of the employer and the wages he pays.

The strike is due to come up for discussion at next week's meeting of the TGWU General Executive in London.

When it was suggested that the strikers call for a mass lobby on the day of the discussion, 9 March, they declined, feeling it would somehow aggravate their case.

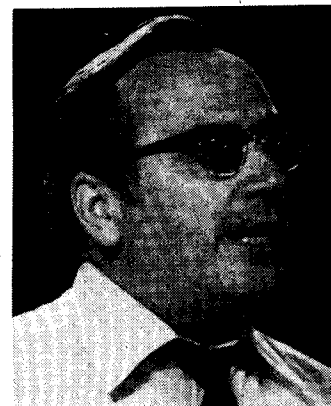
Lot to learn

It is obvious the strikers have a lot to learn when they place any faith whatsoever in the TGWU bureaucrats and such bodies as ACAS, but there is no doubt their attitude will harden as the strike continues.

Demands must be put on the TGWU and the TUC to black all Sandersons products and all supplies going into the plant.

Mass pickets are necessary to give the strike much needed publicity and to put pressure on the TGWU to force them into some action.

Just like the Grunwick



TGWU leader Evans

fight, the struggle at Sandersons could set the trade union movement back years if it were lost.

Financial donations should be sent to Sanderson Strike Fund, Appeals Office, 24, High Street, Burgh-le-Marsh, Skegness, Lincs.

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Liaison committee for defence of bureaucracy



The Liaison Committee conference

The latest Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions Conference on 4 March took place against the background of a massive shift to the right by the trade union bureaucracy in its commitment to the Lib-Lab coalition government.

Accordingly it proved even more bankrupt than usual in providing the means of mobilising the working class in defence of its independent interests.

Considering the increasingly active involvement in this rightward shift of many of its closest supporters in the Communist Party and elsewhere, few could have expected otherwise.

And any pretensions the LCDTU may have for living up to its name in the face of a mounting offensive on the independence of the trade unions, not only from the capitalist state but from their own bureaucratic leaders, were eloquently answered by its refusal to oppose the victimisations of militants at Leyland's Cowley factory.

Central theme

The central theme of the conference speakers in covering over the betrayals of the labour leaders (in a number of cases themselves) with talk of the movement 'being on the defensive' was set early on by 'left' bureaucrat George Guy of the Sheet-metal Workers.

As a TUC General Council member he did however provide an interesting insight into the meeting which voted to sell out the firemen's strike.

Groveling

Predictably, John Deason, one of two Socialist Workers Party speakers (who had seemingly been agreed beforehand as every other speaker was a Communist Party supporter) fully supported the conclusion that the working class was to blame.

He saw the solution in 'decent and honest unity' between the LCDTU and the Right to Work Campaign.

Despite this groveling it was a Right to Work supporter who threw the conference organisers into disarray and confusion by demanding the platform take a position on the victimisation of the Cowley BLMC workers by the TGWU.

Tommy Gorman, a delegate from British Leyland's Albion Motors Shop Stewards Committee, spoke strongly against the witch-hunt of Alan Thornett and called on conference to condemn the attacks on elected union representatives.

"Fairly big"

Following several hastily convened discussions, chairman Kevin Halpin—himself a victim of the anti-commun-

ist purge by Fords in 1962—announced that though it was a 'fairly big issue' it was an 'internal matter for the TGWU' and had to be 'settled' by TGWU members.

Support for this ruling was far from widespread, with the vote showing a majority of less than two-to-one, with as many more abstaining.

With this unexpected inconvenience bureaucratically disposed of it was business as usual.

Syd Harroway, Fords AUEW convenor, looked forward to a 'new era' with Moss Evans and Bob Wright as TGWU and AUEW General Secretary and President.

Collaboration

Govan Shipbuilders convenor Sammy Barr called for an end to the selling of jobs in industry.

It would have been more enlightening if Barr had told the truth about how he and fellow Stalinist Jimmy Airlie had spearheaded the attack on shipbuilders' jobs through tearing up job-protecting movement of labour agreements.

The previous day's *Morning Star* had carried glowing compliments to the effect that "fratricidal and divisive demarcation disputes have been virtually ended" and hailing the "sophisticated" and "politically and industrially responsible" class collaboration which now reigns on Clydeside.

Fitting comment

No Communist Party-backed conference would be complete without a contribution from Jack Dromey, Secretary of Brent Trades Council and, along with Council President Tom Durkin, a major political influence in the Grunwick strike.

The fact that both of them referred to that 18 month long struggle as though it were now dead and buried is a fitting comment on their treacherous role in containing the strike within the limits imposed by APEX and the TUC.

It was also a timely warning for the speaker from Garners Steak Houses, whose strike for the same basic union rights has too many similarities for comfort.

Garners - six weeks for a union

After its sixth week the Garners Steak House union recognition strike testifies yet again to the inability of union bureaucrats to win even the most elementary rights for their members.

Officials of the two million strong TGWU prefer to see low paid workers remain unorganised than to take up a determined fight for improved wages and working conditions.

Threatened

TGWU official Abrahams in the Garners strike replies to every demand for all-out supporting action with the statement "it takes time".

But after six weeks he has succeeded only in agreeing with the police to limit pickets to four in number, and taking steps to ensure no outsiders assist the strike.

Strikers have even been threatened that all support will be withdrawn from them if they have anything to do with the Workers Socialist League.

Strikers must clearly keep their independence from TGWU officials who want to isolate and weaken their strike—as happened in last year's hotel unionisation betrayals.

A strike committee is needed to extend and strengthen the strike.

And the Garners TGWU branch must demand Region 1 Committee act to: impose full blacking on supplies, suppliers and maintenance; implement a Regional levy to finance the strike; call mass pickets on Saturdays.

Critical support to Wright

AUEW members in the next month will face a choice between the right-winger, Duffy, and the Broad Left candidate, Bob Wright, in the union's presidential elections.

In the current sell-out over the national wage claim no

principled alternative to the right wing Confed. betrayal has emerged from Wright.

From the dropping of the original claim of £70 minimum rate for skilled workers (a 7.9% rise) and the 35-hour week, to the call for an overtime ban and a two-day protest strike centred on the implementation of a reduced claim—the Broad Left reveal in practice their lack of principled differences with the right wing.

The current secret discussions between the AUEW right wing and Chapple in the EETPU are a blatant move to consolidate and entrench through bureaucratic manoeuvre in order to destroy every democratic procedure in the union, and to prevent any challenge to their position.

In order to retain their base in the rank and file the Broad Left cannot openly go over completely to the right wing.

This is why Wright enters the election standing in defence of the amalgamation with TASS (which the Broad Left helped to hinder for five years) and opposed to negotiations with the EETPU.

This is why *Socialist Press* argues for critical support for Wright. The amalgamation with the right wing EETPU would remove even the most elementary conditions necessary for the struggle to oust the union bureaucracy.

We stand for the exposure of Wright in office, to take workers beyond the Broad Left in practice and to revolutionary leadership.

GEC stay out

Despite desperate attempts by TGWU and AUEW officials to end the dispute, 300 storemen at GEC Stoke plant Coventry have voted overwhelmingly to continue their pay strike.

In a mass meeting held last Friday the officials argued there was no chance of winning the battle.

AUEW official Jim Griffin tried to use the defeat of the firemen to scare the storemen into giving up.

The strikers, however, voted 5-1 in favour of their stewards' recommendation to continue the fight for a £2.88 parity claim backdated to January 1977.

A sit-in at the plant's

personnel office and computer room ended when the Company brought a court injunction, but the strike is now sharpened by a strike by computer operators.

In the current round of pay talks GEC has offered 10% and refuses to consider the demands of the storemen and operators because they say they conflict with government pay policy.

The weakness in the attitude of the unions is that they claim their present demands do not conflict with the 10% pay policy, and that therefore the Company should pay out.

Unless GEC workers come to terms with the need to fight government policy then the problems of low pay in the plant will never be solved.

O'fishall's Diary
...YOUR MAN AT THE TOP'S
FIGHT TO STAY ON YOUR BACK

HI FRANK!...WHAT'S THIS TROT BOOT BOYS AGAIN?

LEFT WING FASCISTS I CALL THEM!

TRENDY BLOODY LEFTIES!

BUT IF WE'RE GOING TO RAILROAD PHASE 4 THROUGH WE'LL HAVE TO OUTWIT THEM WITH THE OLD LIAISON COMMITTEE ROUTINE AGAIN!

HASN'T THAT OLD LINE WORN A BIT THIN?

WE MUST WHEEL OUT THE ARGUMENT THAT THE WORKING CLASS IS IN RETREAT...

BUT THINGS ARE GETTING DESPERATE... RIGHT FRANK?

AND IF THEY DON'T BELIEVE US NOW—A FEW BADLY ORGANISED TOKEN STRIKES AND LOBBIES OF M.P.'S SHOULD PERSUADE THEM, AND NOBODY DOES THAT LIKE THE L.C.D.T.U.!



FIGHT ZIMBABWE SELL-OUT

Not even the imperialist governments have been able to summon up much jubilation over the 'settlement' between Ian Smith and the gang of black chiefs and clerics.

'Too little and too late' seems to be the general gloomy response. Nobody could accuse the US or British governments of not trying their hardest to fabricate a suitable compromise between the white settlers and the black leaders.

"Shuttles"

Conferences have been strung together by notorious diplomatic "shuttles" to form an unbroken line of futile attempts to achieve imperialism's necessary but impossible objective.

Smith's agreement to the prospect of black majority rule is not the act of a repentant sinner, converted by the Reverend Sithole or Bishop Muzorewa.

The guerrilla armies of the Patriotic Front are continually increasing their control over Zimbabwe, despite the punitive raids inflicted on their bases by the Rhodesian security forces.

For all their heritage of racial supremacy and the traditions of heroic, empire-building spirit, the white Rhodesians have been driven to recognise the inevitable.

Boundaries

After the victorious liberation struggles in Angola and Mozambique, the South African government has steadfastly refused to become heavily committed to a war that could not be contained within the boundaries of the Rhodesian state.

It is no part of the Vorster government's plans to encourage a conflict raging throughout southern Africa,



Smith's forces 'interrogate' blacks

that would impel revolutionary opposition within the racist heartland to far greater activity.

Salvage

With their economy in disarray and slow defeat in protracted civil war their only alternative, the Rhodesian racist leaders have elected to salvage some worldly goods from the impending wreckage of this once proud nation of free (white) men.

For their part, Sithole, Muzorewa and Chief Chirau have avidly seized the only remaining opportunity to establish their authority before the struggles of the liberation armies consign them to humiliating oblivion. With negligible support amongst black Africans, the strategy of these puppet nationalists has always been to secure a passage to power through the good offices of some sector of imperialism.

Nothing settled

But the 'internal settle-

ment' has settled nothing. It has simply altered the conditions of revolutionary ferment within the whole of southern Africa.

The petty bourgeois nationalist leaders of the neighbouring states will be understandably reluctant to give their blessing to an interim regime of such brief life-expectancy.

The Patriotic Front has not given the subtlest hint that it will renounce its battle for power, and its chances of success have now been markedly improved.

Exodus

It is barely conceivable that white farmers will fight to defend a black majority government with the same tenacity they displayed in preserving white supremacy.

Many will simply pack their bags and leave in an exodus like that of the white settlers from Angola.

In the past, Kaunda and Nyerere have kept a firm paternalistic hand on the guerrilla organisations by detaining or eliminating troublesome radical figures who rose to prominence.

Now their support is thrown behind Joshua Nkomo, who appears to aim to install his leadership in Zimbabwe on the crest of a military victory by the Patriotic Front.

Shoddy deal

The Labour Party bureaucrats in Britain have also seen this outcome as the best of all possible evils, but David Owen's latest manoeuvres in discussion with Muzorewa indicate their readiness to do



Nkomo

The Labour Party suffered a crushing defeat at Ilford—a defeat born of nearly three years of rigid wage-cutting pay policy, social service cuts, record unemployment and concerted attacks on working conditions.

It is worth making this point at a time when the cohorts of servile apologists for the Labour leadership are chiming in unison with the most cynical observers in the bourgeois press, stressing Labour's "achievement" in limiting the size of the Tory win.

Anti-working class

The sole "achievement" that counts is that a Labour majority of nearly 800 was turned into a Tory majority of 5,500.

If this were repeated in a General Election, Thatcher would sweep to power, to implement a battery of measures even more viciously anti-working class than those undertaken by Callaghan and Healey.

Of course the swing to the Tories was less than many had expected, and less than in previous by-elections.

But since Labour was exhibited for all to see as a party completely unable to offer policies to benefit the working class, and tied to the coat-tails of the Liberal Party, it is hard to see workers drawing any great comfort from this fact.

Spawning ground

They have been treated to the sickening spectacle of the arch wage-cutters and dole queue millionaires that make up Callaghan's right wing Lib-Lab cabinet parading themselves as anti-fascists.

Denis Healey, for instance, had the temerity to describe Tory leader Thatcher as a recruiting officer for the National Front—when Healey himself as Chancellor by implementing Tory policies has created the social conditions of falling living standards and decimated social services that provide the spawning ground for the fascists.

And Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, even while thundering about preserving "peace on the streets" and warning the National Front to "watch it" dealt a major blow in practice at the workers' movement by invoking a two-month legal

a shoddy deal with any figures willing and able to betray the revolutionary struggles of the Zimbabwean masses for self-determination.

British socialists must take up the fight against this latest sell out attempt, and pass resolutions in labour movement bodies demanding:

*No recognition to the Muzorewa-Smith regime!

Build political and material support from the labour movement to the black liberation armies!

Throw the right wing agents of imperialism out of the labour movement—Break the Lib-Lab coalition!

—2 days not enough

THE DECISION of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to call for a 2-day strike on March 20 and 21 must not just be supported at face value.

Such token actions are quite common, and it is already clear to both the employers and the membership that the Confed leadership are not in the least concerned to defend their members.

Instead of using the great strength of the engineering unions to smash the 10% pay limit and win the original £70 claim (which would benefit particularly low-paid workers), the Confed leaders are turning the 'battle into a charade.

The demand must be raised for the 2-day strike to be turned into an indefinite strike for the original £70 claim in full.

ban on marches throughout the London area.

This attack on basic democratic rights is just the latest reflection of the increasing turn by the Lib-Lab government to use of the state apparatus to hold back and attack the independent mobilisation of the working class.

Last summer saw thousands of police turned out to escort scabs through mass pickets at Grunwick and huge police squads to protect National Front meetings and marches.

The firemen's strike saw the most massive military scabbing effort since the 1926 General Strike—and was followed by threats that similar measures would be used against petrol tanker drivers should they strike.

Now every independent move by workers to crush the emerging forces of the National Front are blocked by police sent into action by self-professed anti-fascist Merlyn Rees.

And the Police Federation is openly talking of the need for additional forces to police a General Election campaign—to general murmurs of approval from government ministers.

That the National Front was reduced to 2,500 votes under such conditions is no thanks to the hypocritical breast beating of reformist leaders.



Rees

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

It is an expression of widespread revulsion against the fascist politics of the NF, whose supporters are now consolidating into simply brutalised and vicious squads of anti-union, racist thugs.

The NF cannot be defeated peacefully through the ballot box. It must be confronted by a workers' movement mobilised in independent struggle in defence of living standards, jobs and working conditions.

This means a clean break from the reactionary policies of the Lib-Lab coalition.

Workers must demand those 'left' MPs that claim to oppose the ban on marches take action to break the Lib-Lab coalition that imposed it and campaign throughout the Labour and trade union movement to oust the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

In the course of this struggle workers will recognise the need to go beyond the 'left' rhetoric of these leaders and construct a revolutionary leadership within the workers movement.



Thatcher

NEXT ISSUE

"In Defence of a Revolutionary Orientation"

A statement on our struggle against sectarian revisions of Marxism which led to the split of 22 members from the Workers Socialist League at its Second Annual Conference.

FUND

The February fund finished well over the top at £654.71 thanks largely to a magnificent collection at the WSL conference.

The March fund has begun well with £134.65 arriving in the first week of the month.

This pace will have to be maintained, however, if we are to raise the full £600 by the end of March.

All donations should be sent to:
Socialist Press Monthly Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR