



Thatcher plays on Callaghan race record

Tory leader Margaret Thatcher put her personal stamp of venom on her party's vicious immigration proposals at the weekend.

In a populist speech to the Tory Central Council in Leicester, she described opposition to the anti-black laws she proposes as 'humbug'.

But she reserved her sharpest remarks to show that Labour politicians did not in fact oppose the measures to shut black families out of the country.

"Every time we have brought in tighter controls over immigration Labour politicians have attacked us. They have fought our proposals root and branch. They have accused us of every sin in the book.

"But they do not repeal the laws we introduce when they come to office. Indeed, I recall that the present Prime Minister brought in more controls when he was Home Secretary".

More reactionary

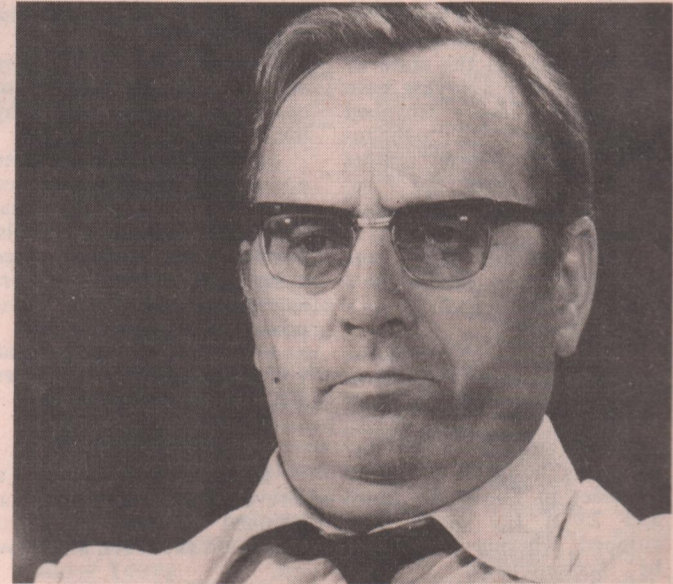
Time and again in her speech Thatcher referred to Callaghan's spell at the Home Office—when he showed himself to be more reactionary on race and immigration than many Tory Home Secretaries.

Labour politicians have no basis for attacking the Tory proposals because their own plans are riddled through and through with racialism.

The Select Committee report on immigration did more to show the unanimity of thinking between Labour and Conservative politicians on race than all the protestations of Rees manage to conjure up any division.

*Thatcher builds on Labour immigration fever, see page 5.

TGWU WITCH-HUNT CONFERENCE STEPS UP DEFENCE CAMPAIGN



T&G witch-hunters Evans (top) and Region 5 Chairman Davis

An important step forward has been taken in the campaign to defend nine militant TGWU members at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant from disciplinary action at the hands of the TGWU Regional officials.

A conference of nearly 200 TGWU members from nearly every region of the union met in Oxford last Saturday and unanimously backed a resolution calling for a mass mobilisation should TGWU officials decide to proceed with the threatened discipline.

The resolution condemned the "continuous disciplinary action being taken against

leading members in the Cowley Assembly Plant", and called for the charges to be dropped.

Those present voted: "To go back into the Branches and Committees represented and obtain the affiliation of those bodies to this campaign.

"To extend this campaign within the TGWU and obtain the maximum affiliations to the campaign".

And the resolution pledged:

"To reconvene the conference, on the basis of the affiliated branches and committees, in the event of any disciplinary action being taken against any of the Cowley 9. This conference will decide what further

action should be taken in defence of those disciplined".

It is urgent that this resolution is acted on immediately throughout the union. Once the victimisation takes place TGWU officials must be confronted by a much larger conference, based on branch and shop stewards committee sponsorship.

Even on Saturday it was clear that there are strong supporters of the campaign who could not attend this conference, which was the first of its kind for many years within the TGWU.

A number of additional branches and leading militants sent apologies and messages of support, and a large number of branches and stewards committees have sent motions of protest to Regional Committees and the General Executive Committee.

Political motive

The conference itself was sponsored by 130 prominent TGWU members including branch officers, convenors and shop stewards.

A central issue dealt with in speeches and in the subsequent discussion at the conference was the political motivation for the victimisations.

TGWU officials have decided that those who speak up for the independent interests of shop floor workers in Leyland have to be silenced at all costs.

This has brought them to the unprecedented step of attempting to expel, bar from office or discipline newly elected shop stewards.

convenor Bob Fryer, along with three newly elected deputy convenors, three shop stewards and two militant TGWU members.

This McCarthyite purge is aimed not at the individuals concerned, but at the policies for which they stand.

It was pointed out that deputy convenor Alan Thornett—who is now threatened with expulsion from the union—opposed Jones' call for a Phase 3 of wage control at the last TGWU conference, and fought for the alternative strategy of cost-of-living clauses to protect wages against inflation.

All of the Cowley 9 have opposed 'worker participation' and the job-cutting Edwardes plan.

Leyland management and their allies in the TGWU bureaucracy, know that a leadership placed in office by a majority vote of the membership fighting on such a perspective could strike heavy blows at Edwardes' proposed closures, redundancies and speed-up.

One speaker in particular, showed this when he detailed the fight that had been waged in the plant for the policy of

the company to expose the links between Leyland and major sections of the privately owned component industry and the banks.

He told the conference how the policy—taken up in the face of threatened redundancies—had won widespread popular support in the plant and led to the setting up of an Open the Books Committee by Assembly Plant stewards.

The support won for the policy had been a major factor in the growing isolation of the right wing and the re-election of Alan Thornett as the chairman of the 5/293 TGWU Branch.

The open the books policy and the fight for working on full pay and factory occupation is now crucial in the fight to defend the Triumph plant at Speke which is threatened with closure under the Edwardes plan.

This is why the struggle to defend the Cowley 9 against victimisation, as part of the struggle for democracy within the TGWU, is an essential part of the fight for a new principled leadership in Leyland and throughout the trade union movement.

TUC role exposed

Previous TGWU inquiries into the Cowley Assembly Plant are now being openly admitted as aimed at TGWU militants.

John Power, President of Oxford Trades Council told more than 100 delegates last Friday that he had been authorised by the TGWU to describe the previous inquiries as "aimed at curbing the activities of certain people, some of whom are delegates to this trades council".

He also told delegates that he and the secretary, Keith Dancy, had been called in to the latest witch-hunt on the orders of the TUC, and that they were not solely responsible to Trades

Council delegates.

Power said he was considering libel action against unspecified leaflets which had attacked his decision to join the TGWU witch-hunt.

Neither Power nor Dancy had any mandate from Trades Council to attend the inquiry or give evidence against any delegates.

Not necessary

But they claimed that no such mandate was necessary since they had an independent responsibility to the TUC.

Power said he had had "a lot of formal and informal contact with the TGWU".

And he stunned delegates by saying that he no longer cared

whether or not they had the support of their branches.

"We can't complain to the branch because all we get back is a round robin saying how this is the best delegate you could possibly have".

"We have complained to the TUC and were advised to take it up. We sent complaints in writing. We won't withdraw and don't withdraw from them".

Dancy's speech pinpointed the date at which the officers first started their back door moves as last November—precisely the time when the right wing began to lose their majority on the council.

Power closed the meeting rather than allow Alan Thornett to speak about the witch-hunt.



INTERNATIONAL US WORKERS ROUT NAZI MARCH

The plans of the Nazis to hold their national convention in St. Louis on March 11 was, quite simply, a declaration of war against the working class of St. Louis.

The Nazis selected St. Louis proper because of the excessive unemployment, and South St. Louis in particular because of the nineteenth century background of many of the workers who live there.

These considerations, plus the fact that in the state of Missouri the employers have organised a highly financed campaign to instill "right-to-work" laws directed against the unions, were the basic components of the Nazi formula.

And for the first time since 1945 they were given a permit to march and rally in a major US city.

The debate among leftist and centrist organisations, as a whole opposed to the racist ideology of the Nazis, revolved around 1) whether the Nazis should be permitted to meet in South St. Louis and 2) if the Nazis were stopped, whether this should be accomplished by the police and courts or by the organised working class in action.

Hostility

The debate was resoundingly answered in practice by thousands of workers and

youth.

They lined the "parade route"—some just to see what was going on, but most to register their hostility to the fascists.

Incensed

By 12.00 noon hostility had reached the point that the police contingent sent to protect the Nazis decided that for their own safety the fascists had best climb onto a truck and be driven down the "parade route".

The crowd was more incensed at this display of cowardice and weakness by the Nazis.

Huddled on the back of an open truck, the Nazis formed a target for any missiles that could be found. Snowballs, bottles and bricks rained down on them, and they were forced to use their "white power" placards as shields.

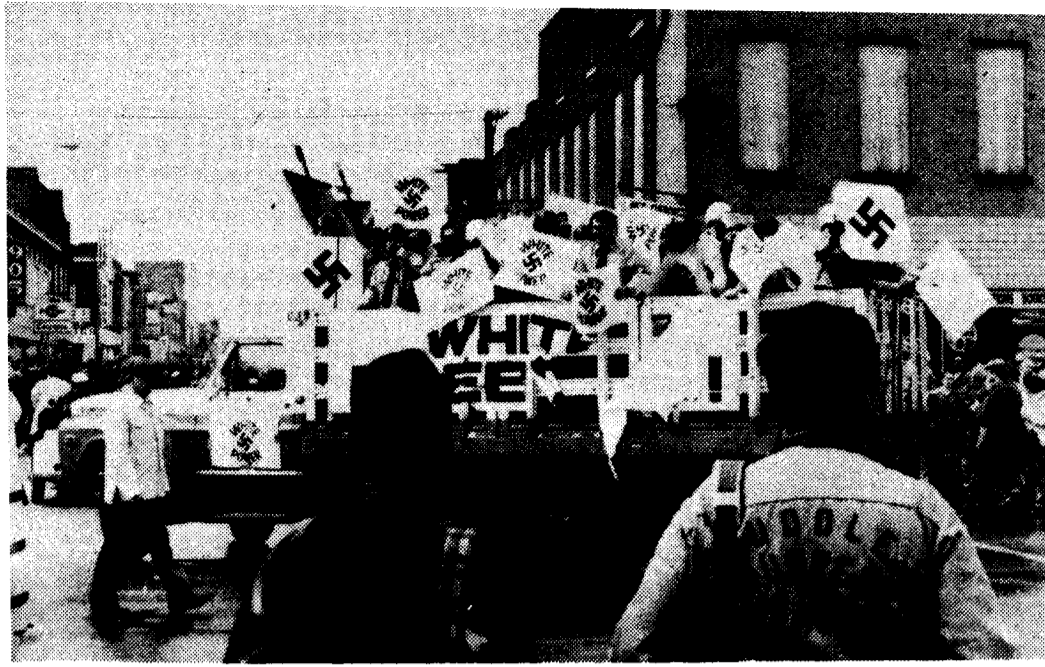
Hundreds of workers and youth chased the truck down the "parade route".

Squads of police

Rather than stop at Gravois Park, where they had planned a rally, the Nazis stayed on the truck and drove on.

Squads of police rushed to protect the Nazi headquarters from the angry crowd and eventually loaded the fascists into police vans for protection.

The grand Nazi revival had turned into a fiasco in which



Crowds of St. Louis workers bombard the Nazis

the fascists had even had to flee from their own offices.

This lesson must be made part of the preparations in the Chicago labour movement to counter a fascist march scheduled to go through the suburb of Skokie on April 20. Mass action by the

working class—and not passive appeals to the bourgeois courts that have begun granting the Nazis permission to march—shows the way to crush the fascists and strengthen the workers movement.

This must be combined

with the fight for the political independence of the working class, breaking the unions from their allegiance to the bourgeois Democratic and Republican parties and fighting instead for a Labor Party to implement a socialist programme.

WAGE CUT IN PORTUGAL

The Communist Party-dominated trade union federation, CGTP-Inter-sindical, last week hailed a 'victory' when the coalition government of Mario Soares announced a 26% increase in the minimum wage and a 22% increase in pensions.

This is just what the CGTP had been demanding insistently since its February congress.

The following day it became clear what an utterly hollow victory had been won.

Soares followed up this move by raising the price of basic subsidised foods by an average of 22%; he raised tariffs on public services (electricity, gas, transport) by between 25% and 50%; he raised taxes by 15%; he put up the interest rate from 13% to 20%.

These are the measures agreed with the International Monetary Fund as conditions for a new loan.

They are a monstrous attack on working class living standards very much greater even than Soares' previous set of austerity measures in February 1977.

Unemployment

They will, along with the control of wage increases to 20%, lead to a huge fall in real wages.

And they are expected to increase unemployment beyond its present level of 15%.

demands made by the Stalinist leaders of the CGTP which can be simply played with in this cynical way by Soares, and the demands on wages and jobs of the Transitional Programme—such as the sliding scale of wages and work sharing on full pay.

Fraudulent

The Stalinists will not make these demands because they know that capitalism in Portugal cannot grant them.

The Stalinist union leaders prefer to maintain their position by winning fraudulent 'victories' which can be wiped out, as in this case, in a matter of hours.

The Communist Party has

also shown in another respect this week its contempt for the independence of the working class by uncritically declaring its support for the 'left' commander of the Lisbon military region, General Vasco Lourenco, who was dismissed by President Eanes at the same time as the right wing army chief of staff General Rosca Vieira.

These dismissals follow a spate of rumours, fostered by Sa Carneiro the former leader of the Social Democratic Party, that Eanes plans to abolish constitutional government and stage a coup in order to bring to power a 'Peru-style' military dictatorship.

Although these are no

doubt the ravings of a defeated reactionary, there can be no doubt that the army crisis, which follows the reinstatement of both right wing and 'left' officers removed over the last four years, reflects the weakness of bourgeois democracy in Portugal and the readiness of certain sections of the army to seize power again in the event of any major working class upsurge.

Though that threat is real enough, the Stalinists who dominate the organised labour movement abuse it to justify their abject refusal to mobilise any serious opposition to the increasingly anti-working class policies of the reactionary Soares coalition.

Round-up of Italian left-wing

As the final ultimatum arrives from the 'Red Brigades' stipulating the conditions for the release of Christian Democratic Party President Aldo Moro, the Italian police and Interior Ministry have taken the kidnapping as the occasion for a vast round-up of the Italian left.

Hundreds of militants have been arrested and questioned; a large number have been detained for 'belonging to a subversive organisation'.

Documents and papers have also been confiscated.

The extent of this wave of repression can be judged from the fact that even the Communist Party, which has been in the vanguard of the move to strengthen the repressive state apparatus, has been forced to protest against what it describes as 'indiscriminate police intervention'.

But the CP deliberately blames the police and exonerates the Christian Democratic government which it keeps in office. And it fails to mention that the wave of anti-left arrests has been facilitated by the special

Problems mount for German officials

In their bureaucratic engineering, the union leaders of West Germany are running into mounting problems.

Eugen Loderer, president of IG-Metall (the metal-workers' union), had good reason to congratulate himself on the deal with which he ended the recent strike in North Wuerttemberg-North Baden.

The agreement conceded a 5% pay rise, and compromise terms on the introduction of new technology, speed-up and cuts in manning levels.

Although totally inadequate to meet the needs of the metal-workers, this package did represent a significant concession from the employers.

In achieving this settlement, IG-Metall's Executive had successfully confined their members' militancy to a partial strike in one region, despite overwhelming support for a total national strike.

Their work seemed a model of how to contain irresistible pressure from their base by controlling the dispute so as to cause the least possible pain to the capitalists, and reduce to a minimum independent action by workers.

But Loderer's triumph was short-lived. The employers' federation refused to accept the deal as a national norm.

The terrifying spectre of further strikes rose up before him, and he denounced this move as "extraordinarily inflammatory, political behaviour".

Snags had also developed within North Wuerttemberg-North Baden.

Official strike action continued while a ballot was held on the agreement.

But in other factories, where employers lifted the lockout they had imposed, workers refused to go back.

This unofficial action was the first clear indication of open opposition between rank and file members and the bureaucracy.

The union officials may well be able to smooth over this difficulty, but that will not solve their problems.

The metal workers' strike has been one of the longest in post-war Germany. By creating lay-offs it has been one of the most financially damaging to capitalism.

But its importance is not simply a question of quantity. Following the dockers' and print-workers' strikes, it has displayed the militancy of German workers and given a lead to other sections.

Already miners and workers in the public sector have come into conflict with private and government employers over their wage claims, and other groups are lining up behind them.

During these confrontations, union bureaucrats and social democratic politicians in Schmidt's coalition government will find it increasingly necessary to try to end the formal 'neutrality' of the state in labour relations and establish some form of 'social contract' such as their fellow-traitors have developed in Britain and internationally.

IRAN

THE WAVE OF anti-Shah demonstrations in Iran two weeks ago was much greater than originally reported.

The demonstrations came 40 days after the massacre at Tabriz on February 18 when the Shah's police shot dead dozens of demonstrators who were themselves protesting against a previous massacre 40 days earlier.

According to the Committee for Human Rights in Iran, a Paris-based organisation, the toll of these demonstrations was: Isfahan 50 dead, many wounded; Meched, state of emergency; Kashan, many wounded; 4,000 workers on strike; Qom, a student killed, 300 arrests; Jahrom, six dead; Jaar (Teheran), several hundred prisoners on hunger



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

At Zinat Jannati Anishe Eboliab addressing a Palestinian Solidarity Campaign meeting in

IMPERIALISM PARADES ITS IMPOTENCE IN

AFRICA

Jimmy Carter is the first ruling President ever to visit black Africa.

He went because, unlike previous presidents, he needed to.

He was on a rescue mission on behalf of the rapidly worsening fortunes of imperialism.

Africa was the last continent to emerge from direct colonial rule.

Before, and then after, "independence" it has been policed for imperialism largely by its historical imperialist states—by Britain, France, Portugal and Belgium.

But the growing weakness of these imperialist states and the involvement of the United States in its imperialist wars in Indo-China has left during the 1970s a political opening in Africa which the Soviet Union and its allies have been quick to fill.

Crucial

Castro's government in Cuba has played a crucial role in this.

In the first place the Cuban leadership maintained links with various African liberation movements, offering military training and other material support, even when, in deference to Moscow, they had cut off support to such movements in Latin America.

Among the African movements assisted by the Cubans were Frelimo in Mozambique the MPLA in Angola, the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau and the Eritrean liberation movement.

Partly as a result of this, the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in 1974 and 1975 produced a crucial change in the international political configuration of Africa.

Cuba's large-scale military intervention in the Angolan war of independence in 1975 more than anything else showed up the weakness of the imperialists, who could in practice do little more than stand and watch as their clients were defeated.

Bureaucratic

Under the protection of the Cuban forces, the MPLA leadership under Agostinho Neto set up a bureaucratic regime increasingly modelled on that of Cuba.

Cuban soldiers continue to be a crucial support to this regime against both imperialist-backed and genuine popular opposition.

Thus a defeat for imperialism was prevented from being extended any further than the MPLA, Cuban and ultimately the Soviet bureaucracy wanted it to go.

Nonetheless, the formal national liberation of Angola and Mozambique was one of the factors which lead to the next major setback for the imperialists.

It gave a new stimulus



Carter with Nigerian dictator Obasanjo

ation movement in Zimbabwe and to the black anti-apartheid forces building up in South Africa after years of demoralisation.

This dramatically shortened the time which the imperialists had expected to have to devise some compromise neo-colonial regime in Zimbabwe and even (they hoped, in their most optimistic moments) in South Africa, to replace the increasingly provocative white racists under Smith and Vorster.

Inability

Meanwhile, in both the North-west and North-east of the continent two more struggles were developing which were also affected by the inability of the imperialists to intervene decisively.

In the Spanish colony of Western Sahara, the Francoists whose power was under growing threat at home did a hasty deal in 1975 in which, for a share of the economic spoils of the territory's rich phosphate deposits, Spain handed sovereignty over to Morocco and Mauritania.

Thus began the increasingly successful struggle of the West Sahara liberation movement (the Polisario Front) which threatens to upset this neo-colonial deal.

Sudden end

In the North-east 'horn' of Africa where the Soviet Union had a friendship treaty

military dictatorship in Somalia, the medieval despotism of the pro-imperialist emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia came to a sudden end in a revolution which threatened to move in a socialist direction.

The main forces holding this back were the "radical" military leaders who formed an alliance with the United States.

But, still licking its Vietnam wounds, the US was unwilling to commit its forces in sufficient strength to protect its client generals against a growing number of enemies within.

A coup inside the ruling military junta (the Derg) brought to power the unscrupulous Colonel Mengistu who, though trained in the USA and initially pro-imperialist, responded rapidly to offers of aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba.



Stirred by the events in Angola, Mengistu saw the alliance with Havana and Moscow as the only way in which he could preserve in power his left-talking military clique, which was now under attack from both right wing and left wing armed oppositions as well as from national liberation movements in the Somali populated areas of Ogaden and in Eritrea in the north.

The Soviet and Cuban aim in allying with Mengistu was to contribute to the setting up of a pro-Soviet alliance in the area consisting of Ethiopia, Somalia and perhaps a partly autonomous Eritrea.

Contradictory

In the short run at least, however, this aim proved internally contradictory.

The Soviet Union suffered the embarrassment of being sent packing by the Somali regime in retaliation for its support to Mengistu in putting down the Somali-supported guerrillas in Ogaden.

But the embarrassment looks like being very short lived. Once again the paralysis of the imperialists showed itself in their unwillingness to send any significant aid to Somalia.

Now, when Somali troops have been forced to withdraw from the Ogaden altogether, it is reported that the disillusioned Somali junta is contemplating making the best of a bad job and renewing its ties with the Soviet Union, whose material aid is regarded as better than the guarded words of encouragement offered by the USA.

Into battle

It remains to be seen to what extent the thousands of Cuban troops now in Ethiopia will be thrown into battle against the Eritrean liberation forces, many of whom were trained in Cuba.

In any case the 'friends' of the Eritreans are as few and as unreliable as those of the Somali regime.

Despite their almost complete control of the territory, the Eritrean liberation forces must now be facing the possibility of physical liquidation.

The apparent ability of the presence of Cuban troops to permit the Soviet Union to become the arbiter of events in Africa has, not unnaturally sent the imperialists into a state of panic.

They look next to Zimbabwe where undoubtedly conditions exist in which a similar Cuban intervention could have a decisive effect, though Castro has insistently denied any such intention.

This is even more threatening to Carter and Callaghan since imperialist economic

threatened in Southern Africa than in the Horn.

That accounts for David Owen's sharp anti-Cuban and anti-Soviet speech last week, though in spite of the 'sound and fury' it signified, if not nothing, then very little in terms of a real material threat.

Adverse effect

The worst that Owen could think of to threaten was that Cuban military intervention in Zimbabwe would be bound to have an adverse effect on East-West relations.

Their weakness leads the imperialists into a rather pathetic diplomatic offensive in which their chief representatives are the British 'reformist' Foreign Secretary Owen and the American 'reformist' former civil rights activist Andrew Young.

It is only by liberally flashing their 'reformist' credentials that these two men can hope to rescue anything for imperialism in Southern Africa.

Last year, for instance, the Nigerian foreign minister obligingly described Young as "the new black conscience who comes to us from America . . . a symbol of the new and constructive policy of the United States towards Africa".



Mengistu

That accounts for the launching, simultaneously with the verbal attack on Cuba and the Soviet Union, a new effort to impose the Anglo American solution in Zimbabwe, as well as a new effort to force South Africa not to introduce a unilateral solution to Namibia, excluding SWAPO.

After a couple of weeks of hesitancy the US and British governments have now seemingly decided that the 'internal settlement' in Zimbabwe between Smith, Muzorewa and Sithole has no chance of long run survival against the more radical sections of the black liberation movement.

Their main aims, therefore (as in Namibia) are to preserve capitalist interests by retaining the confidence of the present leaders of the guerrilla movements, and forcing the whites and the more overtly collaborationist

mise deal which concedes at least a portion of political power to the guerrilla leaders.

Offensive

This strategy is backed up with more and more bullying and verbal warnings to Havana and Moscow not to intervene, along with a diplomatic offensive to get the support of other black African states for this solution.

That was the objective of Carter's visit to Nigeria where he behaved with humiliating deference toward the Nigerian dictator General Obasanjo (like Carter a fervent Bonapartist).

At Obasanjo's request Carter beefed up the anti-apartheid section of his prepared speech; without public comment he agreed to Obasanjo's insistence that no reference to human rights should appear in the final communique after their talks.

Carter's tour, far from re-establishing the power of imperialism in Africa has simply given further evidence of its weakness.

Weakness

This weakness, however, is not directly reflected in the advance of socialism.

The Cuban and Soviet presence and its alliances with petty-bourgeois leaderships is a major obstacle to that, aimed at heading off independent revolutionary struggles by the black masses of Africa.

Although in Angola Cuban forces have fought against the agents of imperialism and racism, the Stalinist presence in Africa is an opportunistic and counter-revolutionary one.

It marks not a genuinely anti-imperialist strategy but an attempt to redraw the boundaries in a world which the Stalinists accept should be divided between themselves and imperialism and in which they see no place for communism.



Eritrean fighters

IMF statutes bid to prop money system

It was, not inappropriately, April 1 which the capitalist world's leaders had selected as the day when the world monetary system which was born at Bretton Woods in 1944 was finally laid to rest.

This system was based on the American dollar being fixed in terms of gold (one dollar was 1/35 of an ounce of gold) and all other currencies being fixed in relation to the American dollar.

Dollar

The dollar was to be the almighty god which the capitalist world worshipped. And that was possible, in fact inevitable, because of the overwhelming economic power of the United States at the end of the Second World War.

Over the next twenty years, however—imperceptibly at first, but precipitately later on—the relative economic power of the United States (and Britain) declined. This was partly through the more rapid growth of productivity in Western Europe and Japan (not to mention the workers' states) but also as a result of the desperate and costly attempts by the United States to police the world.

Vietnam war

The process culminated in the Vietnam war—a massively costly disaster for US imperialism.

The dollar and the monetary system based on it could not survive these pressures. By 1971 the huge American expenditure on the war and the declining relative productivity of its industries had led to an outflow of gold which threatened to leave the dollar completely defenceless.

Nixon was forced to acknowledge the extent of the United States' economic weakness and broke the link between the dollar and gold and let the dollar sink to a new lower level in relation to other currencies.

Collapse

The collapse of the dollar was a signal for the outbreak of a period of extreme instability in the capitalist world. All the moves towards international economic integration and the relative stabilisation of the previous two decades were dramatically reversed. They have been replaced by runaway inflation, protectionism, cut-throat intercapitalist rivalry, international slump and dizzy fluctuations in exchange rates.

In January 1976 at a meeting in Jamaica the Bretton Woods system was officially declared by the major capitalist governments to be dead. On April 1 this year it was finally laid to rest with little ceremony.

That was the day on which the new International Monetary Fund statutes came into force. Unlike the Bretton Woods statutes, which actually forced a set of rules on the member nations and produced a semblance of stability out of the previous disorder, the new statutes are an admission of the powerlessness of the main imperial-



Carter contemplating new attacks on US workers?

So in the new statutes gold is abolished officially as the bedrock of the international monetary system and replaced with a 'basket' of currencies whose value fluctuates from day to day.

Countries are no longer expected to maintain fixed exchange rates. The IMF pleads desperately, however, that they should not use fluctuating exchange rates for their own short term commercial advantage (i.e. they call on the leopard to change its spots).

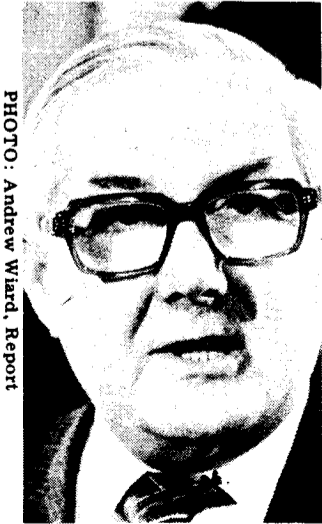
The last six months has seen a further sharpening of national rivalries between the capitalist states as they all try to simultaneously raise the rate of exploitation of the working class and yet at the same time maintain or increase their share of a virtually stagnant world market for commodities.

One feature of this has been a new round of currency instability.

Once again the dollar has been falling in relation to the other major currencies.

In relation to the Japanese Yen, the dollar has been devalued by nearly one third since the beginning of 1977.

The dollar's decline began in response to the massive and growing US trade deficit which reached \$25 million in 1977 and is expected to be well over \$30 million in 1978.



Callaghan

In February alone there was a deficit of \$4.5 billion.

Carter fears to reverse this situation by action on the US economy since that would send the unemployment rate up and his own already waning political power down.

situation contains the seeds of its own worsening. As the price of the dollar falls and world inflation continues, so the decline in the income of the OPEC oil exporting countries accelerates. A report published last week estimates that the real income of the oil exporting countries will have declined by two-thirds in the five years following the increase in the oil price in late 1973.

Who will fight the NUS Stalinists?

A moving appeal from retiring NUS President and Communist Party member Sue Slipman to the Federation of Conservative Students provided a fitting end to the Easter Conference of the National Union of Students in Blackpool.

Slipman's opening address had spelled out the complete lack of leadership and direction from the NUS Executive that has characterised her year as President.

Focussing almost entirely on racialism, she called on the NUS to build a 'broad-based non-sectarian' strategy against racialism, which she counterposed to the 'sectarianism of the ultra-left'.

The reality behind Slipman's 'non-sectarian' position was shown up as soon as she went on to discuss union autonomy—which is currently under government attack.

Since the unions are financed from public funds, they should be publicly accountable, she declared. This implicitly accepts that court actions will be taken against student unions that make 'ultra-vires' payments to support political or trade union struggles.

Within OPEC, therefore, there is tremendous pressure to raise the oil price, which would immediately throw the American balance of trade even further into deficit.

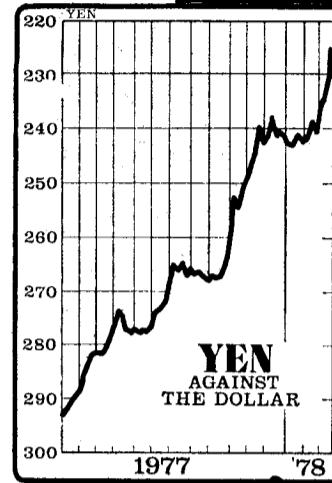
Tumbling

The OPEC countries in the last week have found that even an announcement that they are going to hold a meeting sends the dollar tumbling. That is one of the things which still holds them back from raising the oil price again—that, and massive diplomatic pressure from Carter (expressed in his visits to Venezuela and Nigeria ten days ago) and the unwillingness of the British government to go along with OPEC on oil pricing policy.

Last line

The British government's pricing policy on North Sea Oil, therefore, has become the last line of defence for Carter and the dollar. Although Britain is not yet one of the largest oil producers, its actions are able to make a significant effect on world prices in a situation of excess productive capacity. So some OPEC countries were actually forced to reduce their prices a few days ago in order to compete with North Sea Oil.

The decline in the dollar is increasing profits in the USA and so it is accepted with silent pleasure by many



"Hello, New York?—Get me stability at once..."

this pressure which has come very forcefully in the last few weeks from both the US and the EEC.

Already in spite of the relative 'success' of Japanese capitalism, the unemployment rate in Japan has leapt from 4% to 8% in the last year.

Far

For the working class, the meaning of these economic contortions is that the world capitalist crisis is as far as ever from being resolved.

It is the inability of the major capitalist states to impose a historic defeat on the working class which intensifies their cut-throat competition with each other.

But for all of them the working class and its economic and political gains remains the overriding strategic target.

industrial capitalists. Carter is still forced to try to halt the decline because of its inflationary effects and its provocation to OPEC.

Force

Carter's only way to stem the decline of the dollar without a direct attack on production in the USA is to try to force other capitalist countries—in particular Japan—to reduce their trade surpluses and import more American goods and/or export less Japanese goods.

The Japanese capitalists, however, have not surprisingly shown strong resistance to



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Slipman (right) when newly elected

made this clear when he declared: "The Broad Left stand for a broad-based do nothing campaign; I'm for a broad-based do something campaign".

There is little difference between this statement and that of newly elected Broad Left President Trevor Phillips, who announced that "Racialism is bigger than our political differences".

There was virtual unanimity in the Conference therefore on support for the Anti-Nazi League—a movement so broad-based as to include Sidney Bidwell MP, a signatory of the racist Select Committee report!

NOISS even condemned the Tories for not participating in the standing ovation for ANL speaker Peter Hain!

The idea that fascism can be defeated by leaflets, protest and propaganda divorced from any socialist policies whatever, is one that the SSA and NOISS clearly found completely acceptable.

Defeat

The sole significant defeat for the Broad Left was when the 'no platform for racists or fascists' policy was reinstated—thus jeopardising the Broad Left-Tory

Yet while the Conference revealed the lack of a coherent political challenge to the Broad Left, it did not persuade those sections in struggle or facing real problems that the Broad Left has an answer.

Students recently in occupations, Further Education students, mature students, gays, womens' groups and a black caucus all managed at intervals to penetrate the bureaucratic set-up to voice their protests at the Executive's failure to implement mandates.

These disgruntled forces must now turn to the question of building a principled leadership on a clear programme to stop the cuts and defend students' rights if they are to strike real blows at the Broad Left-Tory bureaucracy.

Need

Such a programme must stress the need for students to join with the workers movement in fighting to break the reactionary Lib-Lab coalition.

And it must include the demand for grants and education expenditure to be protected against inflation by automatic increases based on an assessment of inflation by elected committees of students and trade union-



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Three years ago Bidwell in different company, on the platform of an IWA meeting (right)

Callaghan defends Front

It's alright for the government to ban workers' organisations from marching in London under the pretext of banning the National Front: but it's not alright for unions to take steps to sling fascists and racists out of their ranks—according to Prime Minister Callaghan.

Speaking in Parliament last week Callaghan pompously declared that he "utterly deplored" and "did not find at all acceptable" that people should lose their jobs because of their political views.

This was in reference to the correct decision two weeks ago by the National Union of Railwaymen to take disciplinary action, including fines or expulsions against known members of the National Front.

Closed shop

Since the NUR has a closed shop arrangement on the railways this would involve fascists being driven out of the industry—to the particular satisfaction of thousands of black railwaymen.

Motions have since been tabled for the GMWU conference demanding similar bans in Britain's third largest union.

Callaghan's position on these moves makes it absolutely clear that it is no accident that the recent decision to ban all marches in London for two months in order to forestall a clash between the NF and the anti-fascists in Ilford was no accident.

The Lib-Lab government, as mouthpiece of the capitalist state, would sooner impose swingeing restrictions on the workers' movement than allow independent class action to crush the fascists.

This is why we can make no calls on the state to ban the National Front, but must rely instead on mobilisations of the working class movement to combat the fascists.

Speech

Callaghan's speech shows that he would actually sooner see the fascists free to work within the unions to destroy them than the union leaders forced to take action to get rid of them.

This is just further evidence of the need to couple the fight against fascism with the fight to break the Lib-Lab coalition.

But union militants must take care in formulating demands for the expulsion of fascists, since union bureaucrats no less than the Labour leaders will be eagerly searching for loopholes through which they can link action against the NF with a crackdown on their left-wing opponents within the unions.

Already the Southern District Council of NALGO has received an amendment to a resolution calling for the expulsion of NF members - substituting a call for the expulsion of Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and Labour Party members from the union!

Though this move was thrown out, it is on the cards that union officials could soon seize on such opportunities to rid themselves of

Thatcher builds on Labour immigration fever

The Tory strategy of using racialism as a means of rallying a reactionary anti-union base of support took a further step forward last week through the door opened by the Labour leaders.

Years of reactionary Lib-Lab policies, slashing living standards, jobs, conditions and social services, have created the necessary mood of frustration among layers of workers and the middle class.

Refusal

Labour's continued enforcement of Tory immigration laws and TUC refusal to mobilise working class action against the fascists of the National Front have created new openings for the racists.

And the racist recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee report, signed by Labour MPs including Tribune MP Sydney Bidwell spelled out the basic elements of the Tory policy for a drastic curbing on the democratic rights of black workers announced last

week.

The Tories' plan goes a bit further than Bidwell's racist proposals. It calls for:

*A register of dependents wishing to come to Britain, to be followed by a strict quota of entrants from the Indian sub-continent.

*An end to concessions on entry of male fiances; tighter restrictions on parents, grandparents and children over 18.

*A new Nationality Act aimed against workers from Hong Kong.

*Further ruthless harassment of "illegal" immigrants, with possible internal controls—meaning effectively the introduction of a system of "Pass Laws" in Britain parallel with those in South Africa.

Answer?

What then is the answer of Labour's professed non-racist MPs?

In the main they have followed the reactionary line

of Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, who last week argued there was no need to implement the provisions of the Select Committee report, since "sufficient controls already exist on the inflow from the Indian sub-continent".

Racialism

Such a position is merely racialism with a "moderate" face. It rests on the fact that racist legislation, passed years ago through parliament is now having its effect on immigration.

For socialists, however, the issue is not whether "fair" or "foul" means are being used to cut immigration but to assert the right of all workers to live and work in the country of their choice, without harassment from the bourgeois state.

The Labourites on the Select Committee starting from the mass unemployment created by a slump-ridden

capitalist economy, argue that this basic right of workers must be sacrificed to make the system work.



Whitelaw

But the issue is to fight poverty and unemployment through a programme of socialist policies designed to overthrow capitalism and bring about a planned socialist economy.

The fight must be taken up throughout the Labour

Party for resolutions condemning the five Labour MPs' decision to endorse the Select Committee report.

Trade union and Labour Party sponsorship for them must be withdrawn in the next election because of their clear advocacy of racist positions.

And Labour Party branches and CLPs must demand the repeal of all Immigration Laws, coupled with action by the trade union and labour movement to ensure that workers defence squads are mobilised to protect immigrant communities against racist attack.

This fight for policy on immigration must be combined with the fight to break the Lib-Lab coalition and for a programme of socialist policies to restore public spending cuts, create new jobs through a programme of public works, and nationalise major industry and the banks without compensation under the management of elected workers' committees.

PRESS GANG

Let them eat smoke

It is getting harder and harder to pretend that anyone cares—but it was royal revelation week again.

The headline writers have one eye on posterity, in the hope that a future Dimbleby will pick their front page as proof that the 'nation' sweated over whether Margaret would stay or go.

Leader writers calculated which possibility would shake the Royal foundations least.

We will leave it to *Socialist Challenge* to finally assert which were the progressive sections of the monarchy.

Until then we will have to remain neutral, and hope. Even the Dales were taken off the air eventually.

Scabbing

It was also a week in which a man charged with killing his wife was provided with a partial motive that he was scabbing on an NUJ dispute and was at the time under a great deal of pressure.

Any moment now we expect the knock on the door as Lord Goodman at the head of a special freedom of the Press detachment of police

of the NUJ as accomplices.

Last week an Italian businessman, terrified by thoughts of the Red Brigade, shot his wife and children dead and then blew his own brains out.

Even the tragedies of the bourgeoisie seem to have an extravagant revoltingness of their own.

Chatter

These titbits provided the background chatter to the newspapers last week. The redundancies are being recorded. Another factory closes, a thousand more here or there out of work.

The *Sunday Times* back after two weeks away and as self satisfied as ever, produces 'exclusive' charts to show how well the world economy is likely to do in the next two years.

No-one, even* in their article, really sounds convinced.

The *Daily Mail* hails the Tory racist plans with the boast that the Tories stand alone against immigration.

They have a hard job making a case out of it. Most of the week was spent in

Tory plans are with the Labour leadership's racism.

Even the BBC noted that Mrs. Thatcher kept harping on Callaghan's period at the Home Office because he had done more to introduce racist immigration measures than just about any other Home Secretary.

Horror stories

The *Daily Telegraph* hung the flags out for the poor old British Tommy. The horror stories about their low pay were enough to make anyone weep.

Workers, of course, are only low paid because they are lazy or for some other good reason.

But, according to the *Telegraph*, one army sergeant has just had to take up smoking to quell hunger pains, because he is too poor to buy food.

Perhaps they could persuade Healey to introduce such a scheme as part of next year's pay restraint plans.

He could ask the Royal Family to back the scheme, which should clinch the support of the TUC.

Non smokers and asthma sufferers will have to cope as best they can. If they cannot



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Living conditions in Garscadden, Glasgow, where right wing Labourite Donald Dewar is attempting to beat off Scottish Nationalist opposition in order to hold the seat. Scottish workers in the area clearly have nothing to thank the Lib-Lab coalition government for: but the 'socialist' alternatives fighting the by-election (CP, SWP and Scottish Labour) all fail to confront the need to break the coalition and fight within the workers' movement to build a new leadership.

CND rides again

"A MASSIVE propaganda campaign like the CND" can reduce the fascist vote at the next election and finish them for ever, according to Labour 'left' Joe Ashton last week.

It took a speaker from the audience to point out to Ashton that in spite of the efforts of CND we are now faced with the advent of the neutron bomb.

Ashton hopes will become the present-day CND has as much chance of seeing off the fascists with leaflets and placards as the CND had in ending the threat of nuclear holocaust.

To defeat the fascists means mobilising the working class in the streets and a political fight for a revolutionary leadership in the working class in which the likes

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

The science of analysing movement of matter

By Andy Lowe

In the rapidly changing conditions of the international class struggle an adequate revolutionary leadership can only be built if it is equipped with the most advanced scientific method of analysis—designed to comprehend contradictory and changing events. For Marx, too, the problem of understanding things in the real world is the problem of grasping that they are in *motion*. This is made more difficult by the fact that in the ordinary course of events it is by no means obvious that this is the case.

Beneath surface

Only when things suddenly crack and break does it become clear that there was a dynamic force of movement and change operating beneath the surface within them all the time, but under ordinary circumstances many things present an appearance of being at rest. Things superficially seem unchangeable or solid at any given point. But material reality is in fact a continuing conflict of opposing forces—both in the natural and social world—which will eventually shatter the appearance of stability and create something new, which will contain the essential content of the previous apparently stable thing but which will be essentially different from it.

Changes

A rock in the desert, for example, can appear very solid, very real and very unchangeable in the short-term. Yet it is continually eroded and changed by the process of slow erosion or the blowing of the rock. And desert travellers will confirm that the sun may under certain conditions heat the rock to a point where it can no longer maintain itself in its existing structure. It literally blows up. The fragments and all that remains is a series of widely dispersed

al content, but nevertheless a different and new thing has been created by the destruction of the old thing.

The contradictory forces within the rock have sprung to the surface and brought an abrupt change in practice.

Eruptions

This is not a phenomenon confined to one example. The whole material world abounds with examples of such change—the cracking of the egg to produce the newborn chick; the bursting of the bud to produce the blossom; the shattering of the cocoon to reveal the butterfly; the mushroom cloud that indicates the pent-up contradictory forces of an atom bomb have produced their cataclysmic change.

All these sudden eruptions of change are preceded by longer or shorter periods of apparent "stability".

The essence of Marxism is its understanding of the inner dynamic, the tension, the potential change within all phenomena, all social and material forces, that flows from their own internal contradictions.

Material forces

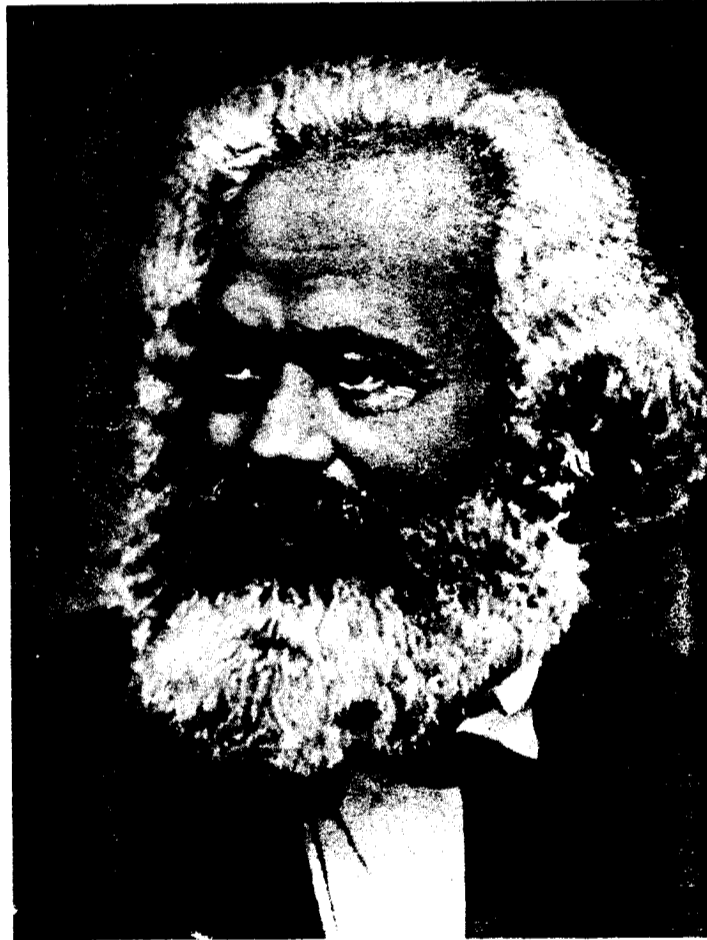
Contrary to all forms of religious world views, Marxism asserts that the inner laws of the *material* universe and *not* divine intervention have produced all of the physical, chemical, biological and historical processes that have resulted in the present situation of mankind.

And Marxism insists that there is no absolute obstacle to man learning to understand these laws and understanding the complex workings of the world.

Indeed, Marxists argue, it is the historical struggle of man to survive in and shape the material world which has led to his developed understanding and given rise to his ideas.

Ideas, with varying degrees of accuracy, *reflect* the material world: they do not and cannot have any independent existence, nor can they flow from any non-material influence.

Opposite



Marx—combined dialectical philosophy with materialism

is fundamentally *materialist*. And in its conception of the material world as a moving, changing, internally contradictory whole, it is also a *dialectical* theory.

Dialectics has a long history. The term comes from the Greek "dia" meaning two, opposed, clashing elements, and "logos" meaning reason.

Hence we mean by dialectics "to reason by splitting into two" and this concisely establishes the importance of dialectics to Marxists to their understanding of class struggle within capitalist society.

Practice

We see the working through of dialectical materialism not as an abstract, nor just as an applied theory.

We see it as absolutely essential to the practice we carry out within capitalist society to win the working class to a programme which will destroy capitalism through the process of the internal contradiction within capitalism, the physical battle and struggle for power between social opposites: the propertyless working class and the propertied capitalist class.

ition when the situation demands.

The method adopted depends on the state of profitability and the condition of the authority of the ruling class.

Those reformist politicians who see the state in a fixed way simply as a vehicle for conceding reforms are perpetually confused as soon as it exhibits its true role as the mechanism of capitalist rule by violently suppressing the workers movement.

Opposed to this organised power of the capitalist class is the progressive movement forward of the propertyless and exploited working class—fighting to liberate the productive forces from the shackles imposed by private ownership and production for profit.

Leadership

Though the working class contains within itself the power to destroy and overturn the capitalist social order, this potential strength can only be fully tapped through the development of a conscious revolutionary leadership.

This concept of opposite forces in sharp conflict is vitally important in our understanding of the class struggle, the way that in an ever-deepening crisis the respective and diametrically opposed poles attract and develop their forces and enter direct confrontation with each other.

There is many an armchair "Marxist" who will debate dialectics till death and will present a horde of fascinating polemics about the nature of reality, absolute truth, nature, existence and the rest.

But those who do not see the relevance of taking the conclusions of that concept of dialectical materialism into a revolutionary programme with which to fight in practice within the working class, can never grasp the relevance of the dialectical materialist method beyond the still and motionless pages of the formal textbook, nor even understand its practical lessons.

Material conditions

But the methods of dialectical materialism did not spring ready-made to the mind of Karl Marx.

The complex processes that brought this theoretical development in the mid-nineteenth century are related to material and historical conditions.

Among the early Greek philosophers, who were also among the earliest natural scientists, were some whose special interest lay in studying change and motion.

In seeing a stone thrown across a field, they saw that in its *motion* the thing is *changed* from being here to being there, and they reasoned that motion is the change of the state of things into their opposites.

Since some philosophers went further and saw that *everything* is in motion, it is easy to see why dialectics became an important tendency within philosophy from very early on.

Rationalisation

In its theoretical form, modern socialism originally appears as a more logical extension of the rationalist principles laid down by the great French philosophers of the eighteenth century.

Like every new theory, modern socialism had first to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade ready to its hand, however deeply its roots lay in material economic facts.

Before the emergence of Marx, there were theoretical "isms" taking place, but they were not yet in the form of a scientific theory.

These uprisings were led in that period by the emerging bourgeoisie in conflict with the landowning aristocracy.

Yet in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts from that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat.

Not yet developed

Thus early socialism was a theoretical development from a class not yet materially developed.

In the eighteenth century actual communistic theories began to develop.

The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights—it was extended also to the social conditions of individuals.

It was not simply class privileges which were to be abolished, but class distinctions as well.

An acid Spartan communism, denouncing all pleasures, was the first form of the new teaching.

Then came three Utopians—Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen.

One thing is common to all three—not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat which historical development had by now produced.

They looked to emancipate all humanity at once.

Unjust

In the view of these three social reformers the bourgeois world was unjust and irrational and must inevitably soon end up on the dust heap.

Pure reason and justice did not rule the world because men didn't rightly understand them. To the crude conditions of capitalist production and the crude class conditions corresponded crude theories.

The Utopians attempted to evolve solutions to social problems from out of the human brain alone.

One genius was thought enough to show the world its wrongs, and the rest of the world would follow.

Fourier began to use the dialectical method to argue that every historical phase has its period of ascent and its period of descent, and applied this to the future of the whole human race.

Robert Owen, however, was for long a philanthropist and the conditions of work at his New Lanark factory were counterposed to the squalid conditions of the proletariat elsewhere.

But he advanced beyond philanthropy in the direction of Communism, and came out with communistic theories concerning private property, religion and marriage which laid valuable foundations for Communism to develop.





Grunwick saw the class struggle erupt to the surface in a mass movement of workers

To all the Utopians, however, socialism was not a material necessity but the ideal expression of absolute truth, reason and justice.

They saw it as independent of time, space and the historical development of man.

The examination of such roots of 16th, 17th and 18th century philosophy is important to understand how the theory of dialectics was directed or redirected in its application through Marxism.

While in France and Britain utopian socialists propounded their theories in a situation of developing capitalism, in Germany very different material conditions prevailed.

Germany remained divided into countless virtually impotent and economically backward statelets and the German bourgeoisie looked enviously at the achievements and profits of their British and French fellows.

Dialectics

In these conditions a new turn in philosophical thinking took place in Germany, culminating in the work of Hegel.

Hegel looked for his models not to the materialists and rationalists in England and France but back to the dialectical philosophy of the early Greeks.

As a sychophantic court philosopher to the Prussian autocracy, his motives were profoundly conservative and reactionary. Yet in spite of this the objective outcome of his work was to open the way to the most revolutionary and scientific theory of knowledge yet devised.



How, then, did Hegel approach reality?

The simple answer is that he didn't, in any materialist sense.

The idealist side of his philosophy was that he denied the reality of what our senses perceive.

He recognised that there are senses, and that they do perceive something, and he also correctly pointed out that these perceptions by themselves can grasp only the appearance of things, the surface appearance, and not reality.

Logical

Reality, he argued, is only worked out through constant criticism and logical reasoning.

From this correct principle Hegel drew the false conclusion that only the logical concepts worked out in the mind have any reality.

He went further than this, and envisaged the mind separated from the body completely.

The abstract, idealist "mind" was said to be the only force that could perceive and comprehend reality. This concept is one short step away from "God".

By thus "proving" the existence of God, Hegel made his position secure within the Prussian autocracy, behaved properly and was buried with state honours.

Inadvertent

But the conservative Hegel inadvertently contributed to a major theoretical part of Marxism.

He reviewed and gathered together in systematic form the previous history of dialectics

from all world civilisations.

His greatest merit was to have brought the dialectic to a new, higher, level, by founding an entire system of logic upon dialectical principles as he understood them.

The doctrine of Hegel, taken as a whole, left plenty of room for giving shelter to the most diverse practical party views.

And in the Germany of that time—cut off from the material progress of Britain and France—theoretical conflicts on religion and politics took the place of practical action.

Hegel's system as a whole enabled its supporters to be conservative on both religion and politics.

But the dialectical method emphasising that there is both a beginning and an end to all social institutions, had room for the most extreme radical opposition.

Abandoned reserve

Towards the end of the 1830s the left wing—the Young Hegelians—in their fight with religious orthodoxy and the feudal reactionaries, abandoned bit by bit the "philosophic reserve" to the burning questions of the day which up to that time had secured state toleration and even protection for their teachings.

And when, in 1840, the absolute in terms of religious orthodoxy and feudal reaction in the form of Frederick IV sat on the throne, open partisanship became unavoidable.

The fight was still carried on with philosophical weapons, but no longer for abstract philosophical aims. It turned directly into the destruction of traditional religion and of the existing state.

The main body of the most determined Young Hegelians was, by the practical necessities of its fight against religion, driven back to Anglo-French materialism.

Conflict

This brought them into conflict with the system of their school of thought. While materialism conceives nature as the sole reality, nature in the Hegelian system is an alienation of the ideas of the mind.

And faced with this contradiction they floundered as best they could.

Then came Ludwig Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. With one blow it pulverised the contradiction and placed materialism back on the throne again.

foundation on which we human beings, ourselves products of nature, have grown up.

Nothing exists outside nature and material things, and the higher beings created under religion are only the fantastic reflection of ourselves.

Marx, making many critical points, greeted this work enthusiastically, and anyone wishing to follow this up should read *The Holy Family*.

Love

What were the problems with Feuerbach? His work was of a high-flown literary style, and he deified in a most extravagant way the concept of love.

It was precisely these weaknesses of Feuerbach which so-called "true socialism" took as its starting-point, putting literary phrases in the place of scientific knowledge.

These people looked for the liberation of mankind by means of "love" in place of the emancipation of the proletariat, through the material conflicts and contradictions within society opening up the way to the economic transformation of production.

Marx in 1845 demonstrated in his "Theses on Feuerbach" that he had grasped this essential weakness.

At the centre of Marx's "Theses" is the recognition that only man's practical struggle to change the material world can resolve the theoretical and philosophical problem mused about by idealist philosophers.

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

Method

Having examined the various aspects of the application of dialectics up to the middle of the 19th century, it is possible to turn towards an examination of dialectical materialism as the method of Marxism.

To begin, we must return for a moment to the work of Hegel.

One of the questions Hegel asks is "What is a thing? What is it to have a concept of a thing?"

To have a concept means to grasp the thing mentally and to hold it still. That's the way we think.

But what if the thing is in motion or is active, and this motion is part or all of its reality?

Imagine a wheel half way down a hill.

If we visualise it, it is a still object in our mind at a fixed point of progression down the hill... but in reality it is not still at all, it is hurtling

downhill under the natural impulse of gravity.

Marx goes on to say that our fixed ideas themselves become fluid in the course of their development. But it is also true that only by holding ideas "fast" at the beginning "is their development possible without confounding everything". (Grundrisse).

The question for us, then, as Marxists, is how to confront the difficulty of "fluid" concepts.

It is an overall concern—we don't look towards a special branch of philosophy devoted to the study of changes, nor do we look towards a special "faction for political economy" devoted to the questions of development.

Matters in motion

We recognise that everything—all matter, is in motion; everything is in motion—it has a beginning and an end.

Let us consider how Marx applies this concept of motion in his *Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy*.

Here, Marx is examining bourgeois society and production:

"When we consider bourgeois society, in the long view and as a whole, then the final result of the process of social production always appears as the society itself: that is, the human being itself in its social relations.

Everything that has a fixed form, such as the product, etc, appears as merely a moment, a vanishing moment, in this movement.

The direct production process itself here appears only as a moment".

Marx directs us to the overall nature of production, an essential element of Marxism.

Because movement, or matter in motion is the only constant we can use in our theoretical assessments, Marx uses the term *moment* to describe what would be called an element of factor in a system at rest.

The chair is a moment up to the time it openly regains constant motion by rotting and disintegrating.

On a shorter time-scale, a cake is a moment. From the point it emerges fresh from the oven, to the point internal chemical changes reduce it to an inedible block, uninterrupted processes continue beneath the apparently "stable" exterior.

Relative

Stability, equilibrium, are thus not absolute terms but relative ones—determined by the balance of internal and external forces affecting the particular thing or process under observation.

Let us look again at the concept of fluidity of our concepts, because it has an important lesson for us.

We used the concept of a wheel to express how we take a thing in motion and hold it still in our minds.

Another analogy would be a moving picture show of a sausage machine—all the elements within the show are in motion... the machine is churning out sausages, which themselves are moving down a moving conveyor belt where human labour moves them into packets.

So then you freeze the frame. Still, machine, still labour, and still sausages. The system is "at rest", its surface appearance is of permanence.

Freezing the frame

Start the projector again, and the system is back in motion again. The lesson here is important in the sense that as Marxists we make consistent attempts to understand the particular nature and character of the class struggle within capitalist society—but we cannot "freeze the frame".

struggle to stand still for a few months so we can examine it more closely to gain an understanding for our "still" mental concept, upon which we will project our tactics and our programme.

We have to make that assessment, reach that understanding while events are in motion, and while the class struggle moves on to a new stage—taking us with it.

Product of history

The brain that we bring to bear in this struggle to grasp and intervene in the complexities of the class struggle is the product of centuries of real human history.

We are driven on by objective, particular, changing social forces and economic factors. As material beings within a material process we are capable of changing the course of history, which flows not along predetermined channels but through the actions of men and women.

This world view, the view of dialectical materialism, is revolutionary to its very essence because it sees both the inevitability of change and the necessity for conscious action to shape that change and produce the social transformation that is necessary to open the door to socialism.

Though dialectical materialism first made its appearance with Marx in the mid-nineteenth century, it complements the most modern technology and scientific concepts.

Darwin

Firstly, dialectical materialism insisting on the material origins of man and the continuous changes in all things is complementary to Darwin's theory of evolution.

Secondly, it is entirely complementary to the discovery of the "electrical nature of matter" atomic structure and the motion of the atom, and all such similar scientific advances.

In that sense it is a supreme method of grasping the concept of reality of every kind, both social, economic and technological. Nothing exists, no example, which can overturn its embrace.

Engels writes: "The great basic thought that the world is not to be comprehended as a complex of ready made things, but as a complex of processes, in which the things apparently stable no less than their mind images in our heads, the concepts, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away..."

For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything: nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher.

And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process in the thinking brain."

In developing this method of analysis we are able to equip the Workers Socialist League with the means of understanding and intervening in today's class struggle.

As Trotsky pointed out: "Marxism is above all a method of analysis—not analysis of texts, but analysis of social relations".

(Permanent Revolution)

NEXT WEEK

A second article will examine Historical Materialism, the scientific study of the development of human society.

Grunwick, Garners and Sanderson : Three faces of official betrayal

Three strikes for union recognition now being fought out have major problems in common. They all face employers who have openly challenged not just the right of their own workers to organise, but trade unionism itself, and who are all supported—openly or otherwise—by other sections of the capitalist class in the National Association For Freedom.

All have been extremely protracted strikes: the dispute at Grunwicks North London factory has now been going for 18 months; that at Sandersons Forklift plant in Skegness is approaching its first anniversary and the strike at Garners Steak Houses in London's West End is into its third month.

But in fact, the real common denominator is that all three strikes involve members in, and are officially backed by, the Transport and General Workers Union, whose local and national leaders have through a combination of inaction and deliberate sabotage brought them dangerously near to defeat.

Ban

As attacks on basic rights increase all round (and demonstrations by Garners Strike supporters have themselves been hit by the ban on London marches) the centre of this offensive is inevitably within the trade unions.

The right to organise within a workplace has never been something which could be taken for



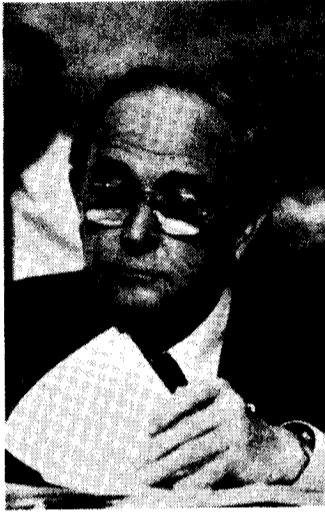
granted, and the winning of every democratic right within capitalism has demanded struggle and sacrifice.

But now the sharpening of the bosses' crisis of profitability and therefore the drive to weaker workers resistance has coincided with a turn to unionisation by more and more sections of the working class.

The Sanderson's struggle confirms that this movement is not simply confined to immigrants and low paid workers.

The recent rapid growth of the TGWU to beyond the 2m mark reflects the involvement of that union in this process.

But those same forces of inflation and increasing unemployment which have forced on this recruitment, also drive bureaucratic union officials increasingly to the right and into an even more vigorous defence of the system



which gives rise to these symptoms.

In the case of the TGWU under Jack Jones, this has culminated in actually assuming direct responsibility for drawing up and forcing through the Labour Government's wage-cutting Social Contract.

Class collaboration

This commitment by the union bureaucracy to class collaboration demands a strategy for the suppression of every trace of the membership's independent organisation and mobilisation.

It is no accident that the ACAS apparatus, which sets out to subordinate the class struggle to 'arbitration' and 'conciliation' procedures was, also predominately the prodigy of Jack Jones.

And ACAS figures prominently in the current recognition



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Mass picket outside Garners in Oxford Street

strikes.

In Sandersons and Garners, the employers had sheltered behind ACAS for a year or more.

They had benefited from the breathing space they had been given, not only through the growth of complacency and unpreparedness which reliance on the state produces within the union membership, but also through the chance to prepare elaborate strike breaking measures.

Confrontation

Finally they were able to choose the most suitable time to provoke the inevitable confrontation.

In Grunwicks, as is common knowledge, ACAS has been and is being used not just to direct and defuse the fight at key points, but even at this moment to find a 'settlement' which can serve as a suitable burial place for the strikers.

The respective union bureaucracies are more concerned about patching up the credibility of this bankrupt body for their future use than anything else.

The real treachery of the TGWU leadership, however, is over the blacking of supplies and services on which to some extent, the victory of all three rests and without which in some cases defeat is almost inevitable.

In Grunwicks where TGWU members have been involved since July last year, the blacking of services to Ward's factory rests primarily on action by workers in other unions.

But pledges of support from the TGWU for any union which cuts off supplies would clearly provide the basis for the renewal

of such measures which have already been shown to be possible and effective.

But just as with the call last August for a mass picket, which the London Regional Committee voted unanimously to support and then bureaucratically overruled, no initiatives of this, or any other kind have been taken.

And the answer is not hard to find. In actual fact, the TGWU's attitude to blacking is crystal clear.

As with the Trust Houses Forte strikes, the General Executive Council has ruled that blacking of Sandersons is 'illegal'.

In other words, the mere threat of legal action by NAFF's lawyers (and the Sanderson management employ the same firm as George Ward) has meant the leaders of the biggest union in the country have voluntarily surrendered one of the most important weapons in the arsenal of trade union solidarity.

Blacking

Laws to prevent blacking were in fact a significant part of the defeated Tory industrial Relations Act of the early '70s which these same bureaucrats claimed to oppose.

No-one can be in any doubt about the importance of blacking in the Sandersons strike—three quarters of all the factory output goes to the giant Wimpey building contractors and are handled therefore by large numbers of trade unionists—and the chassis on which the trucks are made are actually produced by the TGWU organised Ford plant in Basildon!

Despite this, Cairns, the strikers Regional Secretary last

week pronounced that in his view the strike 'cannot be won'.

A decisive contribution to the union bureaucracy's ability to sell out, has been the lack of a consistent and independent alternative within the rank and file Strike Committee leaderships.

This has meant for instance, that even the Sandersons strikers themselves do not raise the crucial importance of blacking in their calls for support.

Grunwicks

In Grunwicks it has ensured that the division of labour between open right-wing officials and the Communist Party's favourite 'left progressive' jack-of-all-unions Dromey has kept the action within the bounds of the bureaucracy.

Strikers in Garners, however, have begun to raise the possibility of a real fight against these same obstacles—in many cases represented by the same individuals!

This gives them the opportunity of decisively breaking from the bureaucratic stronghold and mobilising the action needed to win the strike.

In conclusion, two points should be stressed.

First, there is no doubt whatsoever, that all of these strikes can be won.

Second, that the dangers of defeat are not so much an indictment of the TGWU in particular as an exposure of the limits of all individuals and organisations who seek to hang the working class with the rope of reformism.

The lessons for the building of new leaderships can still be learnt by every section of workers.

By Pat Lewis

IN REVIEW

Oscar-winning romanticism

The film columns of the bourgeois newspapers have received *Julia* with high praise.

Newsline, paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party, gave it a sycophantic review—not unexpectedly, since Vanessa Redgrave is still a leading WRP member.

Redgrave herself has made it known that she actually identifies with the character Julia, and has won a 'best supporting actress' Oscar for the part.

The film is based upon the recollections of authoress Lillian Hellman (played by Jane Fonda) of her relationship with Julia from child-

Julia's death at the hands of Nazism in the late 1930s.

Both are children of the ruling class, but Julia is the more 'exceptional' of the two, exhibiting praiseworthy moral concern for the poor and starving whom she stumbles across occasionally whilst on holidays abroad with her incredibly rich grandparents.

As Hellman sets about becoming a successful authoress, Julia becomes involved in the resistance to Nazism while studying in Austria.

The film deserves compliment for the striking scenes depicting the Nazi take over of the university in

out the mindless petty bourgeois hysteria that characterises fascism as a movement.

Hellman meets Julia, heavily plastered and bandaged after this violent episode, and but for one further occasion this is the last we see of the character who gives her name to the title of the work.

Hellman

Much of the film centres on the trials and tribulations of up-and-coming authoress Hellman, who despite unease in the company of some of the more repulsively seedy and warped representatives of high society, gets on quite



Redgrave

Lines like "I'm the toast of the town", "I like being famous" and (ugh!) "I'd look swell in a sable coat" sum up the tedious success story subplot that occupies a central part of the film.

The dry wit of Hellman's occasional lover, thriller writer Dashiell Hammet, (of Maltese Falcon fame), is the only saving grace of this section.

Amidst all this Hellman's constant concern for, and desire to contact, Julia, lost somewhere in the stormy European political situation, is somewhat incongruous.

As Hellman chafes up a

difficult to see what the two women are meant to have in common at all.

In fact it is unfortunate that there will never be a film based upon 'Julia's' recollections of Hellman—which could well be a much sparser, less warm and affectionate affair altogether.

Contempt

The two women have moved into worlds and classes apart, and while it was possible to imagine a bourgeois authoress finding Julia's world a subject for romantic fantasy, it is hard to see how Julia could have considered Hellman's world as anything other than beneath contempt.

The two finally meet in Berlin, after Hellman, through a system of carefully arranged contacts, has agreed to smuggle \$50,000 (for bribing out prisoners of the Nazis) to Julia.

The warmth of the brief encounter stands in contrast with the reality of a bourgeois woman, taking a relatively small risk after much indecision and a revolutionary minded woman, now crippled by her fascist enemies and shortly to be dragged from her bed and brutally killed.

That Hellman recollects being warned "Try not to be heroic" is perhaps the most ironic line in the film.

Zinnerman's directing nevertheless means that the cinema-goer is presented with a well executed piece.

The hectic conclusion in which Hellman is unable to make a single contact with anyone who knew the deceased Julia sharply underlines the unique character of their relationship.

'Flashback' technique is cleverly used, with child access 'doubles' for Redgrave and Fonda so well chosen that they in no way appear to disrupt the continuity of the plot. The camera work is superb.

The overall result then is a tolerable evening out for anyone with one to spare for watching an excursion into sentimentalism.

Disappointment

It is only a disappointment to those who would go in the belief that a film in which a self-styled 'Trotskyist' appears, and which touches upon European fascism in the 1930's should have a serious bearing upon anything of importance.

In so far as Redgrave identified with Hellman's picture of 'Julia', this only goes to show the extent to which a woman once a 'romantic Tory' now sees political commitment to the working class movement through the 'romantic' idealist spectacles of middle class radicalism.

OUR POLICIES

The fight for women's rights

By Jill Ford

The bourgeois family is the most basic social unit of capitalism, and is the central institution for the oppression of women.

Capitalism is unable to develop the productive forces to overcome the anachronistic limitations of the family.

As a result domestic labour remains individual, petty and private instead of social, mechanised and collective.

From this material basis stem all the bourgeois notions and prejudices that a woman's "natural" place is in the home.

The most devastating social and political consequences, which permeate all the pores of capitalist society, flow from the material confinement of women within the family.

strengthens the positions of the bureaucratic leaders of the labour movement, who are allowed to turn their backs on the mass of the oppressed.

Fight

Lenin emphasised the need to link agitation on women's day-to-day problems with the fight to weld them into the revolutionary party struggling for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

"Must I avow, or make you avow, that the struggle for women's rights must also be linked with our principle aim—the conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

At present, this is, and will continue to be, our alpha and omega. That is clear, absolutely clear.

But the broad masses of



PHOTO: Angela Phillips, IFL

International Women's Day March—an early victim of the ban on marches in London

as well as for men.

The right to a job must be accompanied by the right to claim unemployment benefits, by full nursery provision for all children under five and adequate paid maternity leave.

If women are to participate equally in the workforce they must have control over their reproduction. Therefore free abortion and contraception on demand are vital demands for women in achieving social equality.

The WSL takes up these democratic demands of workers as a means of bringing about a change in the balance of class forces to the advantage of the oppressed and exploited.

the bourgeois state.

For this reason the WSL fights for transitional demands in its work with women.

*In the fight for equal pay we raise the need to fight low pay, and defeat the imposition of wage controls by government and TUC intervention.

We fight for the policy of defending wages against inflation through cost of living clauses based on figures drawn up by elected committees of trade unionists, tenants representatives, nursery committees, etc., to draw in and involve women in monitoring the cost of living.

*The fight for the right to work involves defending existing jobs through work sharing on full pay where redundancies and closures are threatened, backed up by factory occupations. At the same time we fight for the creation of new jobs through the breaking of the Lib-Lab coalition and the demand for a programme of public works.

*The public spending cuts, that increase the oppression and exploitation of women, must be fought by the struggle for strike action, and the demand for a sliding scale of social service spending to protect against inflation.

The main obstacle in the fight for such policies is the bureaucratic leadership of the trade union and labour movement.

Only when drawn into the organised labour movement will women become part of the central task of overthrowing the bureaucracy and building a new revolutionary leadership.

A crucial step in the fight for new leadership in the unions is the exposure of the existing bureaucrats. The demand that the union leaders take action against the cuts plays a key role in this.

This demand must begin in the union branches and be broadened to draw in other unions, housewives and others—organised if necessary into parents' committees or cuts committees.

In each case the focus must be on the diversionary and inadequate actions of the trade union and labour leadership.

This method can be clearly seen in the campaign to stop the closure of a nursery class in Oxford, which is currently being occupied by parents

and supporters in the Oxford labour movement and the wider community.

Expose

The consistent focus of the campaign has been to draw out and expose the local trade union leadership, particularly the fake lefts in the Labour Party and the Stalinists of the Communist Party, by placing demands on them that they support the occupation and approach the County Council demanding the filling of the jobs "saved" by the closure and the reopening of the nursery.

At the same time the occupation campaign has no illusions that the battle will be won by these people and is calling for a working class inquiry into the books and the finances of the council, and an end to secrecy surrounding the profits made by private business out of supplying the education service.

Shackles

The nursery campaign—which so obviously combines the fight to liberate women from the shackles of the family with the fight against the cuts—is a clear example of the way the struggle for women's rights connects up at each point with the fight for new leadership within the workers' movement as a whole.

This political task which involves a break from mere protest and single issue campaigning is shirked by every tendency other than the Workers Socialist League.



Oxford nursery struggle puts bureaucrats on the spot

Denied full equality in the social process of production, barred from full participation in industry by family oppression and by mass unemployment, women find themselves confined socially within the family, where their life is restricted to the narrow arena of personal relations.

The frustration at this impotence and the pettiness of domestic drudgery, and the separation of housewives from the organised strength of the trade union movement makes them potential fodder for fascist agitators and the pat demagoguery of religious fanatics.

Obstacles

At the same time the material obstacles which prevent the majority of women from playing a part in the political arena of the class struggle are increased as the state imposes social spending cuts, throwing more and more social functions—health care, nursery education, etc.—back onto the family.

Meanwhile the exclusion of women from political life...

working women will not feel irresistably drawn to the struggle for state power if we harp on just this one demand, even though we may blare it forth on the trumpets of Jericho.

No, a thousand times no! We must combine our appeal politically in the minds of the female masses with the sufferings, the needs and the wishes of the working women.

They should all know what the proletarian dictatorship will mean to them—complete equality of rights with men, both legal and in practice, in the family, the state and in society, and that it also spells the annihilation of the power of the bourgeoisie."

On the Emancipation of Women, p.113.

Oppressed

Because we see women as one of the most oppressed sections of the working class, the WSL fights in particular for the democratic rights of women.

We say that every woman has a right to a job, and that...

We do not restrict our struggle for democratic demands to the parliamentary arena—on the contrary we have long maintained that the battle for equal pay will not be determined in the rigged tribunals set out in legislation but, as at Trico, by class action in the workplace against the employer.

Expansion

Similarly, while we oppose all anti-abortion legislation we say that the call for free abortion on demand cannot be achieved without an expansion of the NHS under the control of the working class.

In fact, in the current period, any struggle for such democratic demands will bring workers into conflict with the bourgeois state, which must now take away democratic rights as it attempts to solve the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the working class—so we see cuts in social services, hospital and nursery closures, etc.

Thus the need is posed for a programme which develops...



PHOTO: Laurence Spaham, IFL

BOOKS

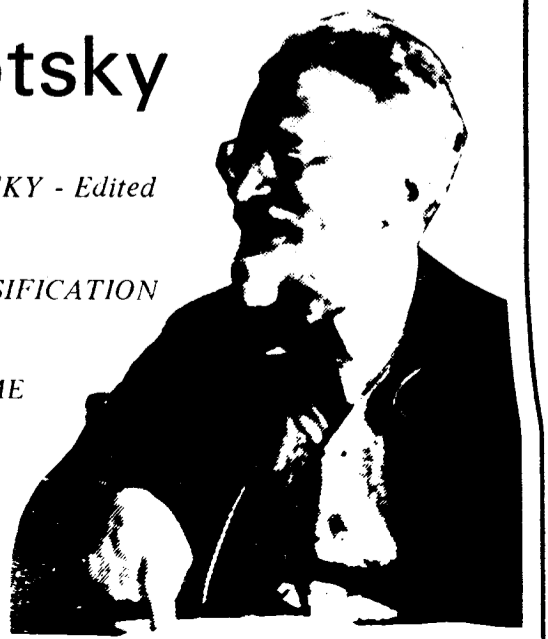
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INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Ebbw Vale faces mass sackings



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Foot

British Steel Corporation plans for the Ebbw Vale steelworks will mean redundancy for half the existing workforce unless a determined fight is begun now.

This week saw the start of negotiations on the early closure of the heavy end of the works, in which management are attempting to press through 2,200 immediate sackings.

There is no hint that the steel union leaders have any intention of revising their well-established policy of selling the jobs of their members to the employers for token "compensation" payments.

The fruits of this can be seen in the 10.5% unemployment rate in the area, and a 30% cut in the steel workforce over the last three years.

BCS's new plans would leave a workforce of only just over 3,000 who themselves face speed up in BCS's drive to achieve what they euphemistically describe as "internationally competitive" manning levels.

Ebbw Vale has traditionally been one of the safest of safe Labour constituencies, presided over by one-time 'left' talker Michael Foot, now a senior Lib-Lab coalition minister.

The fight to defend these jobs in the steel industry is thus bound up at every level with the fight for a new leadership in the trade union and labour movement and the struggle to break the Lib-Lab coalition.

BCS's books must be opened to elected trade union committees, and the available work at Ebbw Vale divided between the whole workforce within each trade—at no loss of earnings.

The private sector of the steel industry—which is expanding capacity in the midst of the slump—along with private supplies, manufacturers and hauliers must be nationalised without compensation and under workers management.

Spillers slash 8,000 jobs open food firms' books

One result of reformist politicians grovelling for crumbs from the capitalists' table was announced last week with the decision of food monopoly Spillers to withdraw from bread production, at a cost of 8,000 jobs and almost certain price increases affecting every working class family.

Since the re-election of the Wilson government in 1974 bread prices have virtually doubled to an astonishing 28½ pence for every tasteless prepacked sliced loaf.

Snatched

This is despite crazy reformist schemes such as food subsidies—which snatched money from workers in taxes and handed it to the food monopolies as cash handouts in return for minimal concessions on prices.

With bread so expensive and so unappetising it is scarcely surprising that demand has fallen consistently since the war—leaving the bread manufacturers with a surplus of baking capacity—which could be usefully employed in producing more attractive food stuffs.

Avaricious

But, as in every other industry, the response of these avaricious private employers has been ruthlessly to cut back productive capacity in pursuit of maximum profitability.

The figures trotted out to justify this latest closure can-

not be accepted at face value. Spillers claim to have lost an incredible £28 million over the last six years in bread baking—suggesting that the whole affair has been run as a charity for years.



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Castle—proposed subsidies

Yet Spillers' gigantic milling operation—as that of its main rivals (Rank Hovis McDougal and Associated British Foods)—has remained profitable throughout. So has the Spillers combine as a whole.

But in pursuit of maximum profits, Spillers management have decided that 8,000 bakery workers must join the growing dole queues.

The whole affair, and the enormous prices being charged by the food monopolies, indicates the futility of reformist attempts to tinker with this highly organised area of capitalist exploitation which lives both by exploiting its workforce and

Massey cutbacks bring jobs attack

Production cutbacks at Massey Ferguson in Coventry have led to attacks on jobs in the companies which supply components for the firms.

Birmid Qualcast at Warley are to sack 390 and 15 staff out of the 600 who work in one of the foundries.

One whole gang has been cut out and the other reduced.

At present the sackings are going through procedure but the fight has been weakened by the acceptance by the Maintenance Department of redundancy and redeployment.

At Sterling Metals, Nuneaton, the Iron Foundry is working a 2-day week and workers there expect redundancies to be announced.

Massey Ferguson itself is expected to make an announcement of future

plans some time this week.

There have been large scale lay-offs over the Easter period and the company stated some weeks ago that full-time working could not be guaranteed past April 1.

The big five producers in Britain, Massey Ferguson International Harvesters Ford, David Brown and British Leyland (the only British-owned firm) each export over 75% of tractors produced.

It is the downturn in world sales of tractors in 1977, following a boom in 1976, which has led to the sharp reduction in work available at Massey Ferguson. The decline in tractor exports from Britain can be seen by looking at the figures 1975—136, 289; 1976—140, 570; 1977—126, 077.

All the indications are that sales will further decline this year.

Not only Massey Ferguson is being hit by these developments. The International Harvesters for example, are planning 18% redundancies out of 1700 workers at their factory in Bradford.

In each case the employers aim is to force the effects of the economic crisis of capitalism onto the backs of the working class.

The central demands necessary to begin a fight against sackings at all these plants are for a restricted amount of work available to be shared between the workers in those plants—with no loss of pay.

And alongside this a campaign for the opening of the company books must be fought for.

Inspection of the companies' books would prove the need to save jobs through nationalisation without compensation and under workers' management.

by selling its products to workers.

The closures must be resisted. The fight must take up the demand for full access to the accounts of all divisions of the Spillers combine as well as those of RHM and ABF, and other food monopolies.

There is no doubt that these figures will show convincingly that the whole bloodsucking privately-owned food industry must be nationalised without compensation, under workers management.

Bakery workers must join with workers in the rest of the labour movement in fighting to break the Lib-Lab coalition, and to win support

for a socialist programme for an expanded planned, integrated nationalised food industry in which all jobs are guaranteed.

Mass picketing continues at the Oxford Street Garners Steak House in support of the strike by TGWU members for union recognition.

Readers and supporters of Socialist Press are urged to support the mass picket, 12.30pm onwards at Oxford Street, (nearest tube, Bond St).

Messages of support and contributions to the strike fund should be sent to: TGWU, Room 84, 12-13, Henrietta Street, London WC2.

Thorn false start

Shop stewards at Thorn Consumer Electronics—which announced last week the closure of two factories in Bradford and Shipley with the axing of 2,200 jobs, have made a false start to any fight for their members.

Two initiatives have been launched, both of which accept the logic of closure and the responsibility of the work force to pay for the problems of the owners.

One is to ask Hitachi, the Japanese firm which failed to get permission for a factory of its own, to take the plant over. This electronics group would of course, no more be able to turn loss into profit than the British firm without reducing jobs massively.

The second initiative has been to form an alliance with middle management to make the company 'more efficient' and therefore more profitable.

This will inevitably lead to a worsening of the working conditions at the factories and again accepts that redundancies are inevitable.

In the *Yorkshire Evening Post* of Friday April 7, the Secretary of the Shop Stewards Committee, Matthew Teale, said:

"It is in no sense an occupation or take over".

The leadership of this factory should be warned against attempting to solve the problems of the company

That is the same attitude which at International Harvesters allowed 250 redundancies to be carried out with absolutely no fight.

Although the leadership of the International Harvesters—like some of those in the leadership at Thorn in Bradford—is subjectively opposed to class collaboration, it did not even carry out the policy of AUEW District Committee, which called for a policy of non-cooperation with voluntary redundancies. There are now big dangers that similar failure to lead a fight will occur at Thorn.

Now a major development has taken place which could lay the foundations to turn

this situation round.

The last AUEW Shop Stewards quarterly meeting on March 29 passed a resolution from the Anderton International Shop Stewards Committee at Shipley, calling for a policy of a sliding scale of wages to counter productivity deals which lead to redundancies. It also called for a special meeting of Shop Stewards in Bradford to discuss unemployment and redundancies.

This motion was endorsed last Wednesday (April 5) by the District Committee of the AUEW.

The conference should be used as a focus for policies which can counter the closures and sackings.

NUJ chapels win one battle

The long fought struggle by NUJ members in nine Westminster Press newspaper offices against victimisation showed its first signs of paying off last week.

Journalists on the *Barrow Evening Mail* were offered a deal giving them full backdating on the national pay settlement—two days after a similar offer was brusquely withdrawn.

It is the first time for several weeks that there has been any move in the dispute

force Westminster Press to backdate the £7.09p agreement.

Although every other employer in the provincial paper field has paid the increase Westminster Press has held out, partly in retribution against chapels which showed willingness to support Darlington in a six month strike for a closed shop.

Now the eight chapels left have taken fresh heart from the Barrow settlement. The deal does not offer all the

actually leaves the NUJ members there better off within one week than if there had been a straightforward settlement over backdating.

Similar claims are being prepared by the other eight chapels left in dispute.

Moves are also afoot to call for major industrial action throughout the Newspaper Society membership at the annual conference which starts on Tuesday.

The Barrow settlement is a blow against the campaign by Westminster Press to destroy the NUJ. The remaining eight chapels should take heart from this partial victory, dig

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Militant sacked as TGWU official complains to management

Pete Barnes, a leading TGWU militant in the Export Packing Services factory in Banbury, Oxfordshire, was sacked last Friday following complaints made to management by Bill Morris, District Official of the TGWU.

Morris made his complaint four days after he had refused to accept a motion of no confidence in the right wing convener of the factory at a mass meeting on the site—causing an angry reaction from workers.

Closed meeting

Morris had closed the meeting down, which resulted in workers gathering around

the convener to voice their dissatisfaction. Angry exchanges took place.

Morris now claims that Pete Barnes punched the convener in the back—although he has only one witness against a large number of on-the-spot witnesses stating clearly that nothing of the sort took place.

The method Morris has used points itself to trumped

up charges. The alleged attack took place at a union meeting. But Morris did not take the matter up within the union.

No representation

Instead he went straight to management and got Pete Barnes sacked with no chance even of representation, since both the convener and the union official who are supposed to represent him are laying the charges!

It is clear that Morris is out to witch-hunt leading militants out of a plant which has long been a problem for the officials.

Last autumn the factory

was on strike for six weeks against the government's 10% wage policy.

Now as Pete Barnes was escorted out of the factory, Morris has set himself up in an office on the site to conduct an "inquiry" into the TGWU 5/194 branch which covers the factory.

SIXTY CHEFS formed a picket outside Claridges yesterday in a spontaneous strike against the sacking of their GMWU steward for allegedly "putting too little salt in the ratatouille".

This unionisation fight is simply the latest reflection of the growing militancy and class consciousness among catering workers. (See unionisation feature p 8)

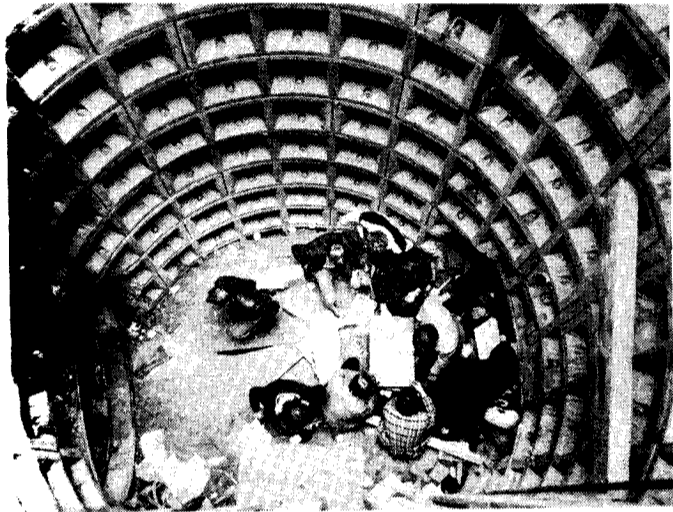


PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Tunnel miners, who last year hit the headlines by their occupation of a Finsbury Park site (above), last week picketed preliminary work on the new Jubilee Line at Bond St. tube station. 14 tunnel miners, members of the 1/955 TGWU Branch, were completely successful in their fight for severance pay of £600 from contractors Nuttals at the end of their job.

This victory will strengthen the tunnel miners in efforts to improve conditions as the building of the new line proceeds.



Export Packing workers during their pay strike last year.

LEYLAND WORKERS REJECT BONUS FRAUD

The ballot vote by Leyland manual workers to reject the management's incentive scheme reflects bitterness on the shop floor.

The voting was 46,106 to 21,759.

Management and the capitalist press are doing everything they can to underplay this vote because there are no advantages in a bonus scheme if the work-force is hostile to it.

Having said in the run-up to the ballot that the vote was expected to go in favour, they now say it was expected to go against.

Leyland management is highly skilled and have

become particularly adept at using the senior stewards to help them achieve their policies.

All the talk of the result being 'expected' means that they are now thinking of ways of rehashing the scheme and having another ballot.

This technique they have learnt from their experience with the 'Security of Earnings' document which was unanimously rejected by the workforce and then one year later brought in, slightly changed, through a ballot.

So the management are busy planning their next

move. Now the problems of leadership for Leyland workers comes out clearly.

Aspects

None of the senior stewards opposed incentive schemes on principle as creators of unemployment.

They only oppose certain aspects of the scheme.

None of them is leading any struggle against speed-up now taking place in their own plants.

It was workers on the shop floor, and not the senior stewards that produced the rejection of the incentives. The way the senior stewards argued for rejection only helped the company.

And they were all in favour of participating in a corporate ballot, accepting the principle of corporate as opposed to plant decisions.

There is no doubt that the company will utilise this at a later stage.

So the struggle in Leyland must continue for a new leadership that fights on principle against incentive schemes and for plants to take their own decisions.

We will be making a detailed analysis of the Leyland scheme in our next issue.

WSL Public meetings

Leeds

Wednesday 19 April
7.30 p.m.
Trades Council Club

Oxford

Friday April 21, 8.00pm
East Oxford Community Centre
Princes St.
The Nursery Campaign and the fight against the cuts

Birmingham

"The Struggle for Leadership in British Leyland"
Sunday 16 April, 7.45
Lecture Room 4
Digbeth Civic Hall

MAY DAY

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

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

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

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

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

I would like more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

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

Find out more!

O'fishall's Diary

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

I'VE RECENTLY HEARD A LOT OF IDLE GOSSIP FROM SOME MEMBERS ABOUT HOW UNION NEGOTIATORS OUGHT TO BE ANSWERABLE TO THE SHOPFLOOR—
WHAT STUFF AND NONSENSE! FOR EXAMPLE, I'M ENDORSING THE BASNETT PLAN FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:—

OUR PROFESSIONAL TEAM TAKES A RIGOROUS SCIENTIFIC TRAINING IN ECONOMICS...

TO STEEL ITSELF FOR THE STRUGGLE, STRIKING TERROR INTO THE HEARTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT!

WE CLEVERLY OUTMANOURE THEM AND DEVASTATE THEIR ARGUMENTS.

THEY DARE NOT REFUSE US!

SO GO TO THE EXPERTS—THE "BASNETT PLAN" OFFERS ALL THESE SERVICES TO MILLIONS OF WORKERS—YOU KNOW IT MAKES SENSE!

SPLITS OPEN UP IN W. EUROPEAN

The crisis within the so-called 'Euro-communist' parties has sharpened rapidly in the last few weeks.

As these parties move into an ever closer embrace with the capitalist class so open opposition movements have been developing.

This opposition is by no means homogeneous or consistent. In Spain at present it revolves round the largely formal question of whether a party which has not been Leninist for over 40 years should continue to call itself 'Leninist' in its statutes.

But the apparent issues are not the real ones. Beneath such questions lies the growing discontent of the working class base of the Stalinist parties of Spain, Italy and France with the systematic class collaboration of the leaderships of those parties which make them every day more openly the pillars of the bourgeois order.

Publicly opposed

The leadership of the Spanish CP, already publicly opposed by the local leaders of the party in Asturias, last week suffered an even more dramatic reverse.

The powerful United Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC—the name the Communist Party uses in Catalonia), which represents one quarter of the CP membership in the whole of Spain, voted decisively against Santiago Carrillo's plan for the coming party congress to abolish all reference to 'Leninism' from the party statutes. 'It is not', Carrillo declares, 'the Marxism of today'.

In Carrillo's mind it would seem that Francoist premier Adolfo Suarez is closer to 'the Marxism of today' than Lenin.

Last week in a press interview Carrillo, for long a supporter of Suarez called him approvingly, 'the only guarantee that Spain will not once again be divided into two irreconcilable camps'.

Last week, Malaga in the south joined Asturias and Catalonia as a centre of opposition to the Carrillo leadership. 200 leading members of the party there were circulating an open petition against the undemocratic methods of the leadership.

Questioning

Several party members have also written openly critical articles in the bourgeois press.

The same crisis which besets Carrillo has since the elections broken out also in the French CP.

Here too, there is evidence of widespread questioning and open opposition to the leadership.

Its extent is so great that Party Secretary Georges Marchais was forced last week to acknowledge the opposition in a long press statement in which he tried very unconvincingly to put a gloss on it.

'It is true that in the French Communist Party at the present time we are engaged in an unprecedentedly wide-ranging debate: in the party cells, sections and federal committees. And I say frankly we are pleased about it...'

'This great democratic debate has been encouraged by us through our efforts in favour of democratic life within the party and also by our decision to postpone the meeting of the Central Committee until the end of April. Thus we have tried to give communists a time to discuss and reflect.

That being said, it is true: there is some opposition. I can

CPs

individuals, others from groups of 2 or 3 comrades. Finally 2 or 3 letters were written in the name of whole cells opposing our policy.

Head to roll?

Most of this opposition is to our policies as a whole. Basically we are finding again the same positions we saw at the time of our 22nd Congress. As a general rule, those who are opposing our policies today are those who opposed them at the 22nd Congress.

That is also what one sees from reading certain newspapers which specialise in putting these positions...

Before this press conference I was asked 'Is your head going to roll?' I replied 'No; the basket will remain empty'. Undoubtedly there are some who would like to be expelled from the party but there will be no expulsions. The time of expulsions is definitely over for us.

In the same way there are those who would like to challenge the 22nd Congress. That also is completely inadmissible. The 22nd Congress is a definite gain...

It is because there are no tendencies in our party that the debate can develop generally among all communists about the whole policy of our party.



Carrillo

Our method—categorically not to exclude or sanction anyone at all—doesn't constitute the recognition of tendencies but a considerable advance along our party's road to democratic life. I repeat: on this point we wish to move ceaselessly forward''.

As in Spain, the CP opposition in France is composed of several diverse elements. None of them at

present represent a clear principled break from the class collaboration of the Stalinist leadership.

But the crises attest to the growing realisation by the working class of the disastrous consequences of this class collaboration. They create unprecedented opportunities to win CP militants to Trotskyism and the Transitional Programme.

Officials dodge nursery jobs lobby

As Oxfordshire schools reopen for the Summer term the occupation of the South Oxford Nursery class enters its fourth week stronger and more developed than its organisers ever considered.

A class of nearly 20 nursery children is being taught by unemployed teachers and helpers and more children are being enrolled daily.

This however must only be a temporary situation.

The occupation campaign is determined in its demand for the nursery class to be fully financed and run by the County Council's education department with all the jobs filled.

They have taken these demands into the local labour movement.

The campaign has aimed particularly towards the three public service unions directly concerned with the jobs—

It has pressed the local leaderships of these three unions to join a deputation to the County Council with the occupation committee.

However on the other hand, the NUT only three months ago concluded lengthy sell-out negotiations on the question of the cuts, and NUPE and NALGO have just signed extensive redeployment and early retirement schemes.

To join a deputation would have raised the question of re-opening these negotiations and reopening the floodgates of dissatisfaction from their members.

John Power, celebrated right wing witch-hunting President of Oxford and District Trades Council saved the day for the NUT, NUPE and NALGO leaders.

He amended the triple



While TUC leaders and 'left' Labour MPs continue to shed crocodile tears about unemployment, employers last week proceeded with their efforts to stoke it up.

Certain that the union bureaucracy will organise no resistance, they confidently announced plans to slash another 13,411 jobs.

*536 jobs are to be lost in rationalisation moves by the Tootal textile firm.

*350 jobs are to go in the closure of a Decca colour TV plant in Willenhall.

*2,200 jobs are threatened in the decision by the Thorn combine to shut plants in Bradford.

*125 redundancies are scheduled in Sunderland ship-builders.

*2,200 steelworkers in Ebbw Vale face a planned early closure of their workplace.

*8,000 workers face redundancy with the decision of Spillers to pull out of the bread baking business.

These major cutbacks come on top of the countless individual jobs lost through 'natural wastage' each week as union leaders up and down the country collaborate with employers' attempts to speed up production in every industry.

Declining workforce

Indeed a new report by city stockbrokers Wood MacKenzie points out that productivity is likely to grow 3.5% this year with a static or declining workforce.

North Sea Oil, which produces no jobs, will increase productivity by 1%.

Cuts in employment in the "unproductive" service industries will improve productivity. And savage reductions in manning levels and "overcapacity" in steel and the car industry, coupled to speed-up are also major factors.

TUC leaders are tacitly relied upon in the report to assist the bosses in jacking up productivity in manufacturing industry by 4% this year and next, without additional employment.

Phase 4

And a fall in employment in the service sector is expected to raise productivity by 2%.

In case anyone believes that these conscious efforts to inflict the burden of the crisis of British capitalism onto the backs of

workers will be compensated by an end to wage controls, Healey is already talking of a Phase 4 embodying a repeat of the 12-month rule coupled to a lower rise in average earnings than the current 10%.

So as Healey puts the finishing touches to another Lib-Lab budget—grandly giving workers a pittance in tax cuts and a token hand-out for the latest special "job-creation" gimmick—now is good time to get an assessment of the devastation in workers' living standards brought about by the treachery of their trade union and political leaders.

Stamp of approval

Indeed it is certain that the 'left wing' stamp of approval will be given to this state of affairs this week as Labour 'lefts' continue to tramp loyally into the Lib-Lab coalition lobby to support another Healey budget.

Labour Party members and union branches must demand that their MPs vote against this budget and struggle to break the anti-socialist coalition deal with the Liberals.

But there is little chance that the 'lefts' will set aside a lifetime of spinelessness to wage any fight at this stage.

Leadership

The struggle to reverse the attacks can only succeed if centres on a complete rejection of all forms of class collaboration and the construction of a revolutionary leadership within the workers' movement.

*Break the Lib-Lab coalition

*Defend all jobs—occupation must demand work sharing on full pay.

*Open the books of employers threatening sackings or closure. Fight for nationalisation and workers management.

*Stop the cuts! Strike action to demand restoration of public services protected by a sliding scale of spending.

*A programme of public works under workers management to create new jobs.

*For a planned, social economy.

union delegation to a general Trades Council delegation, thus turning the move into a mere protest gesture instead of a serious move to pressure the council by three unions which could have been backed up by industrial action.

Campaign supporters must ensure that pressure is kept up on these bureaucrats in

the unions and in the Labour Party by raising resolutions demanding the reopening of the nursery and the filling of the jobs in union branches and Labour Party wards. be sent up to union Division committees as and Labour Party General Management Committees.

National youth meeting

The Economic Crisis and the Way Forward for Youth

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

Birmingham

Credentials (20p) available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR