

SOCIALIST PRESS



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TGWU PLAN TO EXPEL THORNETT



Alan Thornett

PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

In an unprecedented move, Alan Thornett, a shop steward in Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant for the past 16 years, chairman of the TGWU 5/293 Branch, and elected by shop floor ballot only last December as deputy TGWU convenor on the plant, has been recommended for expulsion from the union.

The proposal comes from the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TGWU Oxford District Committee.

Although some newspapers have reported that the recommendation has since been changed to a call to ban Thornett from all union office for life, this has not been confirmed by any source within the union.

A life ban is recommended however for Frank Corti, secretary of the 5/293 Branch and also elected deputy convenor in December.

This recommendation followed an original proposal from the Oxford District

Kangaroo Court victimises Cowley stewards

that Corti, too, should be expelled.

These recommendations are to be considered at a TGWU Regional Inquiry to be held in Oxford on February 27 and 28.

Seven other militants from the Assembly Plant—against whom no specific recommendations have been revealed—are also summoned to appear at the Inquiry.

They include newly elected Assembly Plant convenor Bob Fryer—who ousted right wing extremist Reg Parsons in the December

elections. Tom White, freshly elected as deputy convenor is also summoned. So are Dave Pinnington and Andy Brown—two shop stewards victimised by the company and by union bureaucrats in August 1976.

Chairman

Ivor Braggins, a steward on the Princess track, and Tim O'Sullivan, a paint shop steward and chairman of the 5/55 Branch, are called on to attend.

And also included, though not involved in the earlier District inquiry is Tony Homer—also a steward victimised in 1976. His activities as a delegate to Oxford Trades Council are cited as the basis for charges against him.

The recommendations and the conclusions to be considered by the Regional Inquiry stem from an "inquiry" carried out by the Oxford District F&GP last November.

By decision of the full District Committee the F&GP was given powers to conduct a classic kangaroo court. The

Thatcher defends racist line

Anyone expecting Tory leader Margaret Thatcher to backtrack on her stand on immigration will have received a jolt last weekend.

The 'Valentine' of the Young Conservatives Conference at Harrogate told her reactionary audience that if the Tories won the next election there would be an immediate reduction in the number of immigrants allowed into Britain.

Thatcher's speech makes it clear that the Tories are planning a campaign aimed at building a base of support for the most reactionary Tory government since the war to be returned at the next

the working class in order to force through policies that would enable the capitalists to restore the profitability of industry.

The responsibility for such a prospect lies clearly on the shoulders of the right wing Labour leadership, who through their alliance with the Liberals and their wage-cutting policies have paved the way for the Tories to bid for power.

All the more urgent, therefore, is the fight to break the Lib-Lab coalition and remove the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

Tanker drivers denied firm leaders

Oil and petrol tanker drivers—whose industrial strength if mobilised could have paralysed British industry—seem certain to be the latest victims of TUC efforts to uphold the 10% pay limit.

Just at the point that their overtime ban—despite its obvious inadequacies—was beginning to have an impact on production, the drivers have been confronted by a reworded offer that appears to concede marginal improvements but falls miles short of the claim for a £90 per week basic wage.

The fact that substantial votes have been recorded against acceptance of this deal shows that the possibility exists for a fight for the full claim.

But the drivers have never been offered the kind of firm and principled leadership necessary to win.

Their TGWU officials have dragged their feet to ensure the claim would be fought out after the end of the firemen's strike. TUC leaders have manoeuvred to head off claims by other sections of workers, using the 12-month rule and every trick in the book to ensure the tanker drivers acted alone.

This last week alone the sale-out of the miners 90% pay claim has dealt a further blow at those sections seeking to break the pay limits.

To make matters worse drivers' unofficial leaders had begun the fight half-heartedly, by calling *not* for all-out strike action but simply for a ban on overtime—which would inevitably take weeks to have any effect.

Rigged

Under these conditions Shell management took the initiative, rigging their earlier offer in such a way as to satisfy both drivers' stewards and the Lib-Lab coalition government.

The lesson—a parallel with that from last year's unofficial strike by British Leyland tool-room workers and the later work to rule by power workers—is that militancy and "rank and file" organisation are not enough.

Power workers—who are the major section next in line for a similar struggle—must take note.

Treachery

They must turn to the construction of a revolutionary leadership capable of fighting not only the employers and the government—but also resisting the treachery of their own union officials.

At the same time, along with every section of workers, they must fight throughout the trade union and labour movement for action to break the wage-cutting Lib-Lab coalition and throw out those Labour and trade union leaders whose actions keep it in office.

The TGWU officials make their moves against Thornett at the same time as Leyland management—who refused to recognise him as a deputy convenor after his election in December.

The latest determined thrust follows a long line of failed attempts.

Since Fryer and Thornett were bureaucratically removed from the plant leadership in April 1974 numerous efforts have been made to stop them regaining office.

Disbanded

The Joint Shop Stewards Committee was disbanded when Alan Thornett was elected chairman.

The Automotive District Committee was disbanded when the left wing gained a majority.

The 5/293 Branch—originally created in 1974 as a right wing rubber stamp for Parsons—was itself split last summer when, with Thornett as chairman, it began to fight to defend workers in the plant.

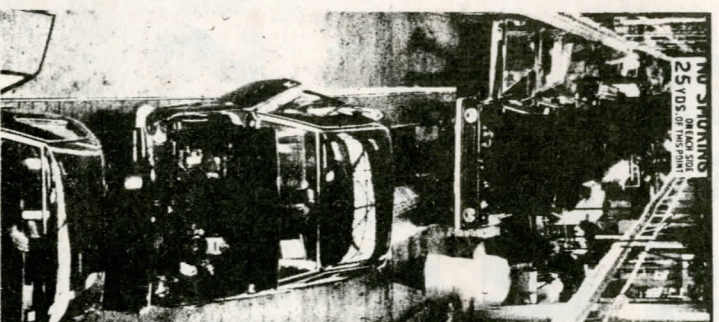
It is essential that this latest move by the extreme right wing TGWU bureaucracy is defeated.

TGWU members must ensure that Branches and shop stewards committees express outright condemnation of the kangaroo court and the Regional Inquiry, and demand the trumped up charges and disciplinary recommendations are abandoned.



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Such a government would face the task of taking on



Cowley Marina Track

mend expulsion of democratically elected convenors in one of the biggest plants in the combine!

They went on to vote for 12,500 redundancies, for speed up, and to reduce the number of disputes in Leyland plants.

Defence

The election of a militant leadership cut across this and pointed the way towards a defence of jobs, agreements and the independent interests of the working class.

OPPORTUNISTS ENDANGER FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID STATE

In last week's Socialist Press we described the danger to the independence and mobilisation of the working class which are posed by the leadership pretensions of political opportunists like Chief Buthelezi.

Within hours of the article's going to press, Buthelezi was confirming this danger.

Taking advantage of being one of the few remaining "opponents" of apartheid not under restriction or in jail, Buthelezi was addressing a 15,000-strong crowd in Soweto.

Legitimacy

He used the occasion to cloak the Soweto Ten (now under restriction) with a new legitimacy as "radical" leaders of the fight against apartheid.

But what is the real political nature and role of the Ten whom Buthelezi now describes as the true leaders of Soweto?

The events of Soweto which began in June 1976 were an example of spontaneous action by the working class generally, but especially by working class youth.

Within the general ideological framework of the "black consciousness" movement, and under the specific leadership of the Soweto Student Representative Council, the working class for a time made real progress towards a fighting unity and

independence.

Yet that leadership lacked the political training, experience and programme needed to consolidate and develop that independence and unity.

Without political leadership based on a revolutionary programme the gains of Soweto were vulnerable.

Leading role

As inevitably happens with such spontaneous movements, the absence of such a leadership allowed the petty-bourgeoisie and sections of the black bourgeoisie to assume a leading role.

This was the origin of the Soweto Ten—a committee of black capitalists and professional men.

It was just when the Soweto mobilisations were being threatened by the limits of spontaneous political developments on the one hand and state repression on the other, that this opportunist clique acted to demobilise the class and undermine its independence.

The Soweto Ten's master plan was to turn the working class away from reliance on its own strength towards reliance on such bodies as the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and allegedly "progressive" sections of capital in order to gain the "autonomy" and "liberation" of Soweto.

Central agent

Buthelezi now emerges once again as a central agent of those who wish to de-



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Picket of South Africa House last week: revolutionaries demand the release of all political prisoners as a partial demand within a revolutionary programme.

mobilise the South African working class as an independent force.

And it is not surprising that he hopes to cement an alliance with those who have played an equivalent role in Soweto.

This open alliance is a continuation of the capitulationist role Buthelezi played during the Soweto events.

The Ten with whom he allies himself attempted to use the events of Soweto as a stepping stone towards a more equal partnership with the white capitalists.

Pathetic

Buthelezi now "confronts" Vorster with the pathetic demand for the release of the Soweto Ten.

Revolutionaries demand the release of *all* political prisoners, not as a concession by the racist state but as

a partial demand within a revolutionary programme based on the independence of the working class.

Unlike the Stalinists, who join Buthelezi in seeking "progressive" sections of capital to support, revolutionaries do not surrender the independence of the working class at any price.

Meanwhile the traditional nationalist movements (the African Nationalist Congress and the Pan African Congress) are increasingly shown to be incapable of providing a political alternative which



Gaddafi with Algerian President Boumedienne

Tanian armies of occupation. At the same time the Mauritanian state is fast approaching total collapse. Its underdeveloped economy is almost entirely dependent on iron ore production, and this has been severely disrupted by the Polisario's activities.

The massive war mobilisation has produced further strains, and now drought has returned to the region. With 80% of the population employed in herding and agriculture in unfavourable, semi-desert conditions, the inevitable mass migration to the towns poses colossal problems.

Exploited

Both leaders exploited the Polisario Front's capture of French technicians to boost their status as mediators between imperialism and its enemies.

There are dangers in this strategy. The escalation of war in the Sahara has thrown the Algerian government into a dilemma.

The Polisario Front has continued its guerrilla attacks despite the direct intervention of French forces alongside the Moroccan and Mauri-

purged of all elements hostile to this takeover. Emboldened by this success and the promise of increased arms supplies from the US, Morocco's self-styled "revolutionary king" Hassan, has renewed claims on Algerian territory and threats of border conflicts.

Puppet

This stance has been copied by Ould Daddah, Mauritania's puppet President who argues that Algeria is waging a war which "threatens the very existence of Mauritania, while Morocco is no longer just a brother, but a friend and an ally".

Boumedienne's problem is serious. If he abandons support for the Saharoui liberation struggle, this will further undermine the already shaken belief amongst

guards against those betrayals and the vulnerability of the working class which they promote.

Threatened

This record of betrayal, along with the bankruptcy of the traditional nationalist movements and the growth of state repression, means that all the gains made by the working class during the battles of Soweto are threatened with reversal.

The crucial task was in the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership which can consolidate and build upon these gains.

Exposure

So the construction of a revolutionary leadership will demand the pitiless exposure of all opportunists like Buthelezi and all the "democratic" institutions and elections through which Vorster seeks to win legitimacy for the maintenance of capitalism and racism in South Africa.

Revolutionaries must call for the boycott of all such elections—whether those are for Community Councils, Cabinet Committees, Coloured and Indian Representative Councils or Bantustans.

Both the building of independent workers' committees and the demand for free elections to a constituent assembly must form part of a programme of transitional demands, which alone can provide the basis for the consolidation and development of the gains of Soweto.

N AFRICAN

LEADERS

FEAR MASS

STRUGGLES

As conflicts within northern Africa develop and expand, diplomatic missions and dignitaries are scurrying from coast to coast.

All this frantic activity is an understandable reaction to the situation: war in the Sahara, war in Chad, insurrection in Tunisia, mounting unrest in Mauritania and Morocco, and developing liberation struggles in the Canary Islands.

The purpose of this strenuous activity is to secure the good office of the Algerian and Libyan governments for the stabilisation of the region for imperialism.

Dictatorship

Boumedienne's "socialist" regime and Gaddafi's military dictatorship give verbal and

occasional material support to anti-imperialist struggles so as to justify their own revolutionary pretensions.

For them, whether or not to collaborate with the imperialist states is not one of principle, but purely a problem of tactics.

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Purged

As a result of the joint military campaign, the Moroccan army now controls the country and the one-party government has been

purged of all elements hostile to this takeover. Emboldened by this success and the promise of increased arms supplies from the US, Morocco's self-styled "revolutionary king" Hassan, has renewed claims on Algerian territory and threats of border conflicts.

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Boumedienne's problem is serious. If he abandons support for the Saharoui liberation struggle, this will further undermine the already shaken belief amongst

the masses of the underdeveloped nations that is a Algerian government is a progressive force.

At the same time, this would leave an aggressive and hostile Moroccan regime as a neighbour of strength and increased capacity.

On the other hand, continued aid to the Polisario Front would mean the further escalation of the war which must shatter the delicate balance of forces and plunge the Maghreb into uncontrollable turmoil.

Opposition

There is of course a third option, which the petty-bourgeois nationalists of Algeria shrink from even considering.

Ould Daddah's recent pronouncements clearly indicate that political opposition to the war has begun to take an organised form.

Within Morocco, the fervent patriotism of the reformists and Stalinists has to be seen in opposition to the militancy of the proletariat.

Shanty towns

Rapid urbanisation and industrialisation have made Casablanca into a daily expanding city of some 2 million people, living for the most part in abject poverty in the shanty-towns that sprawl for miles.

Again and again these workers have surged forward to fight the bourgeoisie and the reactionary monarchy, only to face defeat with opportunist or confused leaders who could not effectively challenge the formidable repressive state apparatus built up by Hassan.

Conscription

There can be no doubt that a prolonged war will bring about further explosions, as conscription is added to the miseries of unemployment and near starvation.

For Boumedienne and his colleagues such a prospect is terrifying. The independent mobilisation of Moroccan workers in struggle would immediately bring every Algerian worker to challenge the Bonapartist state that has frozen the course of the revolution, and objectively works to restrain and mislead the international fight against imperialism.

Italian Stalinists play cat and mouse with Tories

Strike short

The Italian political crisis, at least at the level of the party leaderships, has come to take the form of a game of "snap".

Every few days Premier-designate Giulio Andreotti on behalf of the Christian Democrats and Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Communist Party emerge from conclaves of their political lieutenants and place a new card on the table.

On the card is a form of words to describe a formula for a government which will be some form of compromise between the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party.

When both parties propose the same form of words on the same day the immediate crisis will be over though, as with the previous agreements

of the last 18 months, the overall crisis of bourgeois rule must deepen.

Since Andreotti's previous government resigned in December the Communist Party has been consistently playing a card marked "CP ministers in the government".

And Andreotti has equally consistently played a card "CP parliamentary support, yes, CP ministers, no".

Last week that changed. It was predictably Berlinguer who showed himself as usual willing to comply with the wishes of the bourgeoisie.

He has abandoned his demand for CP ministers and now only insists that the Stalinist MPs should be allowed to vote for the Christian Democratic government and to be counted as part of the recognised parliamentary majority, along with the "democratic" bourgeois parties.

Grudging

Even this grovelling subservience is officially too much for the Christian Democrats but it now looks possible that out of a series of cards containing ambiguous empty formulas one will soon be picked up by Berlinguer and be held to mean what he wants.

All this rigmorale will, say the commentators, enhance the prestige of the Communist Party.

If so, it will not be among the class conscious proletariat from which the CP has traditionally drawn support, even if that has often been grudging.

The Italian Stalinist leadership like that of every mass workers' party in Europe is expressing its fear of its proletarian base by holding out a hand to plead for the support of the bourgeoisie.

Permanent

All such leaderships practice class collaboration on a permanent basis.

Stalinist troops enforce national oppression

Counter attack in Ogaden

The expected Ethiopian counter-attack in the Somali-occupied Ogaden region of the country has reportedly begun.

Mobilisation

Somalia last Thursday declared total mobilisation to resist the onslaught which, the Somali government claimed, was backed by active Cuban troops and Soviet bombers.

In addition to Cuban and Soviet aid the Ethiopian

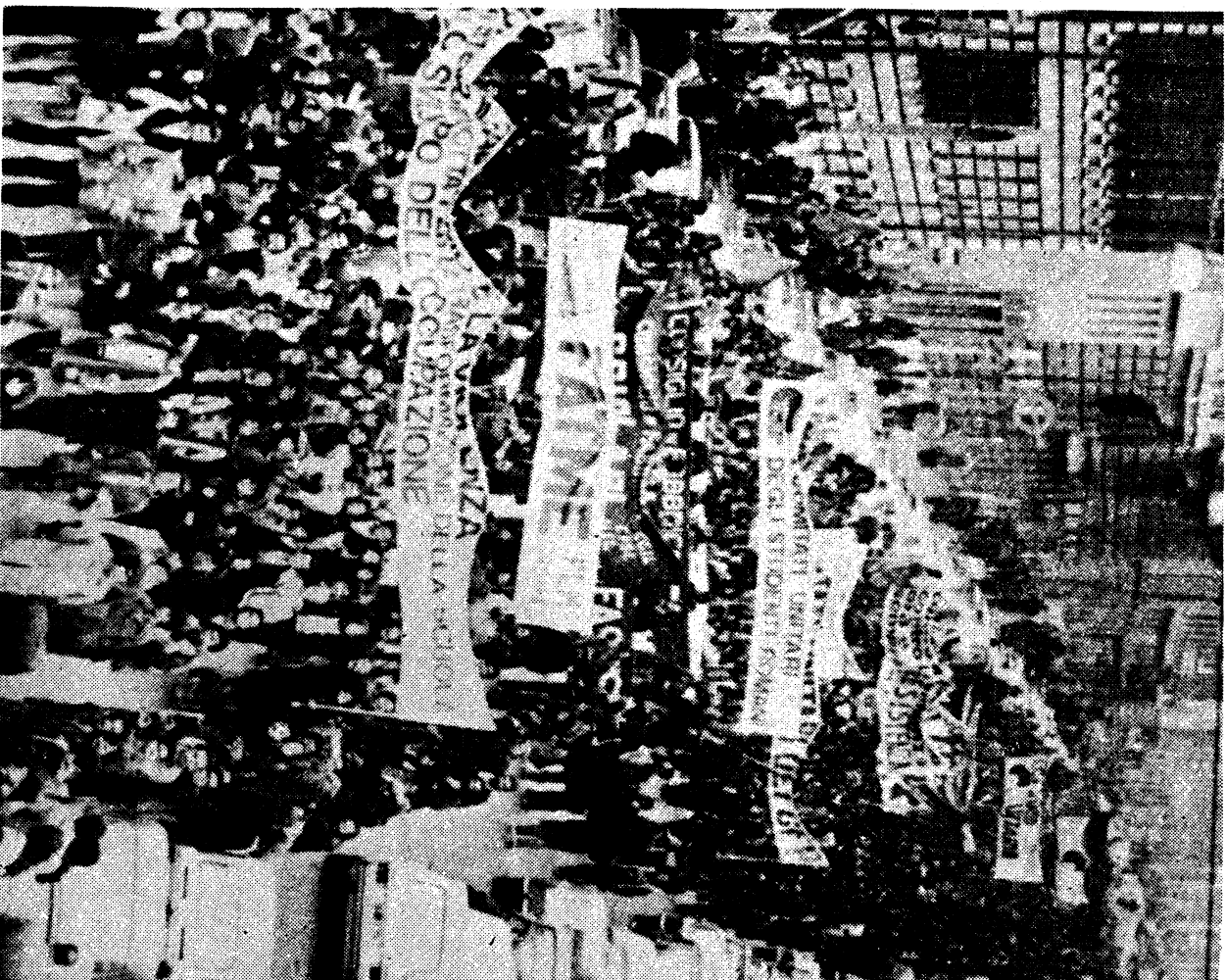
military dictatorship (Derg) is, according to a statement by General Dayan, receiving the help of Israel.

The ruling Derg has not denied this but has protested to Dayan for saying it.

No doubt this was to prevent embarrassment, given that the Derg also gets aid from Libya, South Yemen and other "radical" Arab nationalist states.

Determined

Despite desperate (probably US-sponsored) efforts by the Organisation of African



Italian students march demanding jobs

But it is at times of crisis for bourgeois rule that those leaders feel compelled to abandon even their formal independence from the capitalist class.

As its leaders attempt to drag it into the inferno of the "historic compromise," the Italian working class has already shown itself to be

searching for a new leadership which can defend its independence and outline a programme in defence of jobs, wages and democratic rights.

Trotskyist party

Only the construction of a Trotskyist party in Italy

based on the fight in practice for the demands and principles of the Transitional Programme can answer this political crisis.



Expelled Cubans leaving Somalia last year

position of the US imperialists. So far the US has channelled arms to Somalia only indirectly via Iran and Saudi Arabia.

But last week Vance announced that the US would intervene directly if the Ethiopians and their allies cross the border.

So it looks as if there is

The "general strike" against the Somoza dictatorship was called off last week by the bourgeois political organisations that supported it. This was no surprise since, with the growth of large demonstrations, it showed every sign of getting out of the control of the bourgeois leaders.

Many demonstrators were killed in attacks by the National Guard which stayed loyal to Somoza. But also National Guard members were killed during a number of daring and successful raids by the Castroite Sandinist Liberation Front.

Weakened

None of the demands of the strike were met not even an enquiry into the murder of bourgeois newspaper editor Joaquin Chomorro.

But Somoza's position was clearly weakened, a fact emphasised by the almost complete boycott of the municipal elections which were staged on February 5.

Also the strike showed to the Nicaraguan masses both the potentiality of mass action and the cringing cowardice of those "democrats" who claim to lead the opposition to the Somoza dictatorship.

Guyana

After the defeat of the sugar workers' strike at the beginning of January, the ruling "socialist" People's National Congress (led by Forbes Burnham) is calling for the destruction of the "socialist" People's Progressive Party (led by Cheddi Jagan).

The PNC says the PPP should no longer be permitted to "jeopardise the interests of the working class".

It was the PNC government which broke the PPP-supported strike by sending in scab workers and defending them with the army.

The "Marxist-Leninist" People's Front for the Liberation of Eritrea has claimed that already the Eritrean occupied areas have come under attack from Soviet ships and Cuban-piloted planes. This is an accusation they make with particular bitterness since their struggle originally had Cuban (as well as Libyan) assistance.

Comecon—the benefits of a nationalised economy

Most of the bureaucratic-ally ruled workers' states of Eastern Europe have in the last week issued figures about their economic performance during the last year.

Without detailed analysis we cannot fully judge these figures. But the overall impression they give of the Eastern European economies is one of continued growth of production far in excess of the European capitalist countries.

continues to be shown by these growth rates and by the fact that, in sharp contrast to the chronic mass unemployment of Western Europe, the Eastern European economies continue to provide work for the whole population.

Long term problems

But also, after the pattern of the last few years, growth rates have slowed down and in some cases failed to keep up with planned rates.

Beneath the surface there are also signs of new long-term problems and contradictions faced by these economies. The growth rate of national income in 1977 varied between 4½% in Czechoslovakia and about 8% in Hungary and even more in Romania.

Industrial growth was higher than this in nearly all the countries—from nearly 6% in Czechoslovakia to over 12% in Hungary.

But the variations are not only in the growth rates themselves but in how much they fulfilled the economic plans.

growth in the economy lagged behind planned growth. In Poland this gap was only marginal in relation to the overall growth of the economy; but the growth of exports and imports were far from what had been planned.

Worsened

The balance of trade, especially with the capitalist countries, worsened sharply and unexpectedly.

And this pattern seems to have been repeated in the other countries, including Hungary where overall growth looked very healthy.

A declining proportion of the trade of the Comecon countries is being done with each other.

This seems to be a self-generating process. Imports from the capitalist countries have expanded to compensate for absence of goods of the requisite type or quality in the Comecon countries themselves.

In order to get the hard convertible currency needed to pay for imports from capitalist countries, the Comecon countries have diverted their highest quality exports from Eastern European to capitalist markets.

And that means an even greater shortage of quality goods from Comecon sources and so the process is reinforced.

Dependence

At the same time the other way of covering the deficit with the capitalist world is to get loans from either banks or capitalist governments.

Attempts, therefore, to escape from some of the consequences of the bureaucratically managed Comecon economies have increased the dependence of these economies on world capitalism.



East European leaders (second row) listen to Brezhnev

This is the kind of problem which cannot be solved without the liberation of the full productive potential of these economies.

This will only be possible with the full democratic management of production by the working class.

And that in turn will require the political overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the working class under the political leadership of Trotskyist parties.

Meanwhile, despite the obvious achievements, the resources of the Comecon countries will continue to be put by the Stalinist bureaucrats to distorted and irrational uses which prejudice the continued existence of socialised property relations.

That state of affairs will continue as long as resources are used to solve the problems not of the mass of workers but of a parasitic bureaucracy.



PHOTO: Mike Tomlinson, IFL

Fascist youth. Shortly after this picket NF youth attacked a nearby gay pub

PRESS GANG

Profit of doom

"They have bullied, badgered, blacklisted and bamboozled all and sundry in a frenzied effort to make their discredited and unworkable pay policy stick".

Where does that come from? A left MP about to vote for the government? The *Morning Star* two days before the end of another unsuccessful fund appeal?

Not quite. The quote plus much more in the same vein comes from last Wednesday's *Daily Express*, part of a unanimous howl of protest from the *Tory* press about the government blacklist.

So united was the response that the unwritten rule by which popular papers ignore each other was suspended.

The *Sun's* lead story 'Method of Mussolini' was quoted with approval by the *Express*.

The *Daily Mail* devoted the whole centre page to 'This sinister Pandora's box of power . . . examining the range of government's powers (including interception of mail and phone-tapping) as if they had suddenly been invented. For three years the press

have supported all shackles on the working class—regardless of constitutional niceties. What has been at question for them has not been the method of the coalition or the bullying of the TUC but the profitability of the capitalists.

The *Tories* have not reverted to 'stunts' and neither have their Fleet Street mouthpieces. The task for the *Tories* is not to catch votes to win an election but to feed and tap a source of reaction which will make it possible to dispense with the Labour Party, the Lib-Lab coalition and the TUC bureaucracy as managers of capital.

The present outcry is not a change of heart—nor is it hypocrisy.

The *Tory* Press—in support of the CBI and the dominant section of the *Tory* Party—has reacted not on the constitutional grounds stated, but on the capitalist grounds left unstated: attacks on the working class which are delivered via the employers are bound to cause casualties which these sections find unacceptable.

Socialist

(confused by the *Tory* Party in the same way as the SWP is confused by most developments in the class struggle) falls precisely into this trap.

The 'What We Think' column of February 11 states:

"Callaghan and Healey have stoved the Labour government so far to the right that the *Tories* have no real quarrel with any of its policies. They have got to invent stunts to catch votes".

James Anderton—Chief Constable of Greater Manchester—is rapidly earning himself honorary membership of the National Front.

He provided 2,000 police to defend their latest meeting in Bolton from 1,000 demonstrators—and also supplied a whole range of special effects.

Coaches approaching the area were stopped and anything which could have been interpreted as an "offensive weapon" was confiscated.

Battered

Twenty one people (all anti-fascists) were arrested and several demonstrators were taken to hospital having been kicked in the groin, battered around the ribs or otherwise restrained by police.

Police obligingly held back the demonstrators while fascists gave salutes from the windows of the Town Hall.

Small wonder that the appearance of Anderton at the Town Hall earned almost

as big a reaction among the anti-fascists as did the appearance of NF chairman John Tyndall.

But Anderton's services are not confined to providing an escort agency for the fascists.

Special passes

He also introduced special passes to be issued to journalists attending the meeting.

Reporters were told to apply for special passes at Manchester police headquarters as press cards would not to get them into the building (last year's NUJ conference specifically instructed members to refuse to accept special police passes, and to insist on the NUJ card being accepted).

As the struggle raged, the secretary of the north-west Committee Against Racism, Colin Barnett, distinguished himself by appealing for "calm".

Puny numbers

The anti-fascists ignored this piece of collaboration



Anderton and responded by hurling smoke bombs, fireworks and bricks at the fascists.

Police from eleven forces were used to protect the puny numbers of fascists who attended the meeting.

The next public appearance by the fascists is a youth rally in Birmingham on Saturday.

All anti-fascists in the area should mobilise to prevent this taking place.

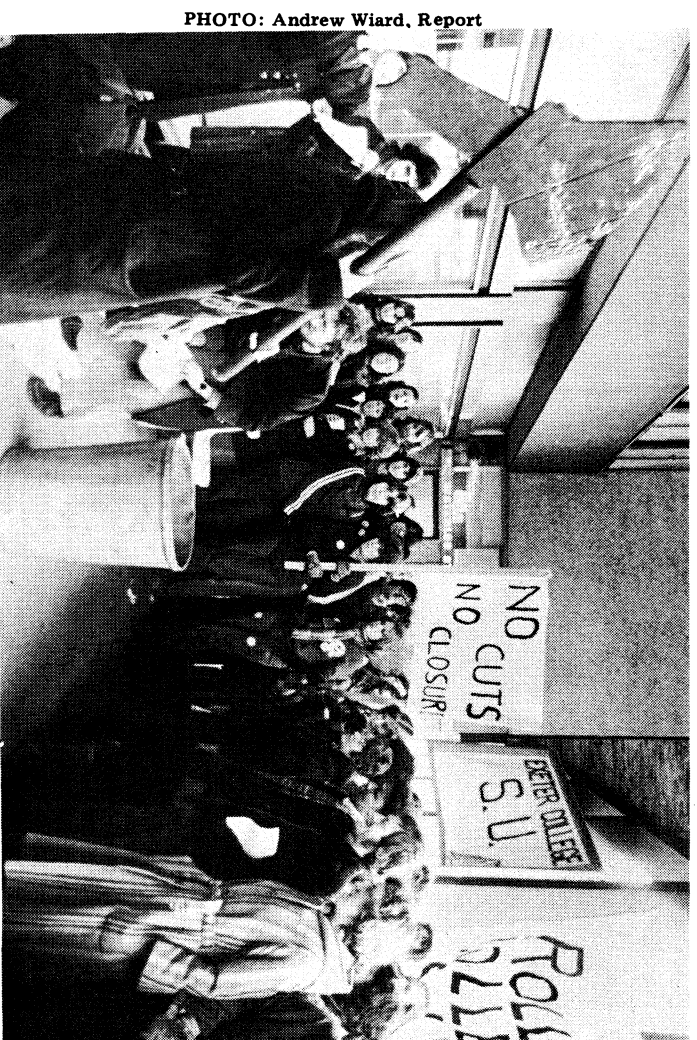


PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

Students picket against college closures outside the Department of Education and Science



Right wings cling to office

House building caught in Lib-Lab vice

By John Lister

The 1977 housebuilding figures—revealing almost the lowest number of starts in new building since 1958—are a crushing indictment of the capitalist policies of the Lib-Lab coalition government.

Only 1974, the year that

saw the collapse of the Tory government's speculative property boom and the emergence of the bankrupt Wilson government, has seen less houses begun.

This crisis embraces both

the public and private sectors. The public sector, reeling under the impact of Chancellor Healey's swingeing spending cuts and cash limits, has cut new house building by 38,000 over last year's figure.

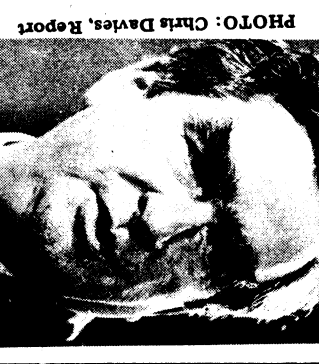


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Even the arch-reformists of *Labour Weekly* while trying to pass off the blame onto Tory councils were forced to admit: "But the Government must take a large share of the responsibility. Its new system of cash limits and the whole climate of cuts induced many councils to adopt an over-cautious approach and the inevitable result was under-spending."

Not interested

According to business forecasts, public sector house starts are likely to fall again to 125,000 in 1978 and 1979.

But while the homeless and poorly-housed were suffering from the one side of Healey's pro-capitalist policies, the other side was reflected in the 20,000 drop in housing starts in the private sector, to a mere 134,000.

Behind this fall is the fact that private builders are not interested in responsibly providing houses but in lining their pockets with profit extracted from selling them.

Harnessed

When this section of the employing class regards profit margins as too small or considers the "risks" too high then the supply of houses begins to dry up.

Yet the Labour leaders—who have voluntarily

Sanctions charade

Labour 'left' MPs proved yet again that they have no intention of embarrassing the Lib-Lab coalition.

Producing familiar arguments about 'not supporting the Tories', they allowed a dozen of their number to abstain on the Tory motion attacking the pay blacklists, a small enough number to ensure that the government had a healthy majority of 14.

Why then have the Tribune MPs put down their own motion attacking the sanctions?

The main strategy of the Tribunes is to encourage protest abstentions or votes against, while ensuring in practice that the coalition continues its attack on the working class.

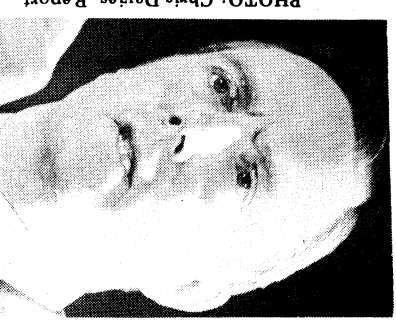


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Sanctions man Booth

In this way workers can learn through their experience the real political nature of these 'left wing' wafflers, who preach "socialism" to their supporters while propping up the capitalist coalition government and learn the need to build an alternative revolutionary leadership to these 'lefts'.

The comfortable alliance of the 'mafia' supporting sitting MP Michael O'Halloran and right wing old Guard Labourites is desperately fighting to retain its majority on the GMC of North Islington Labour Party.

The round of ward meetings to select candidates for the council elections in May and the AGM's electing delegates to the GMC have been attended by 60-90 people.

In stark contrast several wards in Central and South Islington Labour Parties, where the fight against the Old Guard has long since been 'won' by Fabians and other middle class careerists, were unable to assemble a quorum.

These so-called 'progressives', with their modern management techniques of programme planning, their enthusiasm for 'participation' and their ambitious housing programme have lined up solidly with the Callaghan-Healey leadership in implementing cuts.

Notorious

Their failure to build a base in the Labour Party has led to a restrengthening of the Old Guard. Bill Bayliss, an old leader of the council, notorious for his hostility to the immigrant community has climbed back to chair the key finance sub-committee of the policy and resources committee.

Normally speaking the process of elections would have been completed by the end of January. But a key tactic used by the O'Halloranites is to recall meetings which have gone against them.

Three outstanding meetings which will decide which side has the majority both among council candidates and on the second if not third time. Hillrise ward which initially returned nine anti-O'Halloranite GMC delegates at a meeting

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.

For more details on the WSL and its work, fill in the form below.

Name:
Address:
Trade Union/Occupation:

Send to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London, NWS 1HR



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Striking tunnel miners show their understanding of O'Halloran's politics

lasting until 12.15 am was declared invalid because not all ward members had received notice of the meeting.

Oppose Coalition

The person recalling the meeting had herself sent out the original notices!

A resolution in Tollington ward last month insisting on the need for an MP who would actively oppose the coalition and support struggles on wages and jobs, calling for O'Halloran to be

And the banning of one councillor from the panel of candidates because of his record of trying to draw workers into the Labour Party has shown how far the "New Guard" will go to ally themselves with their "Old Guard" enemies in the face of socialist opposition.

Steve Bundred, recently elected to the Council in a by-election, had been active in supporting tenants from Blythe Mansions, an old slum estate.

Open letter

Bundred recruited 16 members of the action committee into the Labour Party but at the next GMC twelve of them were rejected on the grounds that a politically motivated group were out to wreck the Council's housing policy.

When Bundred issued an open letter to Labour Party supporters on Blythe Mansions explaining the situation and arguing "The Labour Party needs to be broadly based if it is not to continue as a tool of those who bend the rules in order to further their own ambitions", he himself was hauled up before the Local Government Committee, a body dominated by the "New Guard", and banned from the list of candidates by a vote of 25-20.

Workers in North Islington have no interest in replacing one set of anti-working class intriguers by another.

Principles

The fight against O'Halloran must be waged on clear socialist principles.

Such an attempt is being made by six councillors in Wandsworth who have drawn up 'A Socialist Strategy for Wandsworth' on which to campaign for the council elections.

Their programme includes: "1) Accountability to and increased links with the labour movement. 2) A crash campaign of public

Unemployed

Hundreds of thousands of building workers are currently unemployed, and one third of contractors thought they would further cut their workforce this year.

Raw materials, labour power and productive forces are all being kept in enforced idleness by the requirements of crisis-ridden capitalism.

There is no answer to this in tinkering here and there with the surface workings of capitalism.

This can be proved by the fight to reveal the accounts and the wheeing and dealing of private building firms to the labour movement through the work of elected trade union committees.

Vague protests

This would provide the basis for a job-creating programme of useful public works including expanded housing construction and buildings for the hard pressed health and education services.

No such policy will be implemented while the Labour Party remains tied to the Lib-Lab coalition, and while the Callaghan-Healey leadership remains intact.

'Shelter' spokesman Neil McIntosh described the housing figures as "a disaster for those in need of homes and for those who build them". Similar vague protests will no doubt be echoed by 'left' MPs posing as opponents of Callaghan and Healey.

Break Coalition

Those that make such criticisms must be pressed by workers to turn their words into concrete action—and launch a struggle throughout the Labour and trade union movement to break the coalition, and oust its supporters.

In this way workers can learn through their experience the real political nature of these 'left wing' wafflers, who preach "socialism" to their supporters while propping up the capitalist coalition government and learn the need to build an alternative revolutionary leadership to these 'lefts'.

WELFARE IN THE SOVIET UNION



Shoppers queue

of socialist relations among men, our children and grandchildren will realise this aim', the leaders are forcing people to glue together again the shell of the broken family, and not only that, but to consider it, under the threat of extreme penalties, the sacred nucleus of triumphant socialism. It is hard to measure with the eye the scope of this retreat".

The turn towards punitive methods with youth and their parents was directly opposite to the Bolshevik approach to social problems.

Progressive

The philosophy of the Bolsheviks was that with the changing of society new ways of behaving would develop. They opposed the blaming and punishing of individuals.

Both Kollontai and Trotsky, while appreciating

to be regarded as a right, an institution for securing the welfare of the working class, rather it must serve the socialist offensive".

Stringent Conditions

In 1933 the administering of insurance was handed over to the trade unions, by then tightly controlled by the party, in order to achieve 'more direct contact with the masses' and throughout the 30s and 40s ever more stringent conditions were used to decide entitlement.

Insurance was used as a system of sanctions and rewards to enforce labour discipline, and it soon became a system of privilege and of splitting the unity of the working class along occupational lines.

The legislation introduced by the Bolsheviks in 1918 concerning welfare proved

entered or to interfere. The scheme was to be funded by the employers and benefits paid to temporarily unemployed wage earners at the average local wage but not exceeding the individual's previous wage and not to those earning more than three times the average wage. A year later coverage was extended to 'all toilers who do not exploit others', i.e. to handicraftsmen and landless peasants.

Public canteens and nurseries were set up, alimony abolished abortion legalised, consent accepted as grounds for divorce, first by both parties, later in 1926 by one alone.

Outlawed

Adoption was outlawed on the grounds that:

"Our [state institutions'] guardianship must show parents that the social care of children gives far better results than the private, individual, inexperienced, and irrational care by individual parents who are 'loving', but in the matter of bringing up children, ignorant".

Socio-legal bureaux were established to help mothers with legal and social problems preventing their full utilisation of medical services.

The distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children was eradicated in 1918 and in 1926 registered and unregistered marriages equally recognised, although by then the motive was to make partners materially responsible for each other.

Free catering

In 1918 already health care was made free with an emphasis on building the medical services up from below, with sanitary sections attached to soviets.

The All-Russian Federative Union of Medical Workers was formed to unite all sections of health workers.

Its function was to participate in administration and promote labour discipline as well as defend its members' interests, although in 1920 it was excluded from management.

In 1920 free catering for children was introduced in towns, along railway lines, in factory centres, in educational establishments. In 1919 all localities with curative factors and all resorts including residences of the aristocracy were nationalised to be turned into holiday centres, rest homes and sanatoria.

Curtailed

Those in the Crimea were to be used for the international workers' movement for those sent by the International Council of Trade Unions.

Many of these reforms were soon curtailed, both under war communism and NEP. The running of social

consecutive

"The changes in the approach to the problem of the family in the Soviet Union best of all characterise the actual nature of Soviet society and the evolution of the ruling stratum."

Revolution Betrayed By 1936, at the height of the purges, the worst years of famine and civil war and deprivations necessitated by forced industrialisation were over.

Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, could write: "Our country has become rich, mighty and prosperous".

As a consequence, she said: "The question of the family and of abortion appears in a new light".

Opposite

But the changes made that year in the 'All-Union Code of Family Law' to consolidate the family and in the new constitution—as well as the failure to change the use of social insurance as a harsh instrument of labour discipline—were the opposite of what revolutionaries would have advocated in that period.

Instead of seizing on the new economic base to drive forward the social and political objectives of the revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy turned to increase their repressive stranglehold over the masses.

The Bolsheviks had aimed at 'the complete absorption of the housekeeping functions of the family by institutions of the socialist society'.

Only in this way could the family unit, described as producing "nests of mediocrity, female slavery and hysteria, daily humiliation of children, feminine and childish superstition," be dissolved.

New cult

Superficially the reforms of 1936 furthered this task. Maternity benefits, maternity homes, nurseries, kindergartens and aid to families with seven or more children were increased.

But in reality these services were a prop to the new cult of motherhood and aimed to supplement rather than replace the consolidated family.

For at the same time food cards, which encouraged people to eat in public canteens, were withdrawn, abortion was made illegal, divorce made more difficult and expensive, non-payment of alimony made punishable and homosexuality made an offence.

Legally responsible

Children, who had previously been charged with educating their parents in revolutionary ways and encouraged to defy their backwardness, were told to 'love' their parents. Parents were made legally

responsible for their

children's 'criminal' acts, heavy fines were imposed without trial by 'comrades courts' on those found guilty of neglecting their children, and more punitive methods of dealing with delinquent youth for whom the age of criminal responsibility was lowered from 16 to 12 were brought in.

All this was heralded as a sign of the victory of socialism.

Now that the worst economic problems were overcome, it was declared, no women would want abortions but could enjoy the 'natural instinct of motherhood'.

Without economic constraints the repressive aspects of the family would vanish. Now 'the main importance of the family comes from its work in preparing the new generation for communism'.

Inadequate

In fact of course, in the aftermath of forced collectivisation, appalling living conditions in the cities and intense political repression it was highly unlikely that families were raising good communists.

Moreover, backstreet abortions and prostitution were rife and kindergartens wholly inadequate.

In *Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky commented:

"Instead of openly saying, 'We have proved still too poor and ignorant for the creation



Brezhnev

the suffering caused by the social chaos of the 20s, regarded it as progressive in many ways and essential to the working out of a new social order and political morality.

Severe methods were used, especially under the NEP, to force youth to work, including labour colonies, although protective legislation prohibited the employment of those under 15 and limited the hours of those under 18 to six hours a day.

The Labour Code of 1922 ruled out night work, overtime, heavy, harmful and underground work for those under 18.

Not criminals

In 1923 there were seven million children on the homeless register, and residential provision for only 600,000.

But those who lived on their wits and at the expense of others were not regarded as criminals.

Stalinism revised the whole approach to welfare. In 1929 a central committee meeting, the proceedings of which were not published for two years, declared that social insurance was no longer

extremely shortlived.

Yet it is important in showing the principles they applied to welfare and in highlighting the reactionary methods of Stalinism.

Peaceful road

This is particularly crucial since Stalinism claims the example of the 'gains' in welfare, "a most perfect organisation of society" and "the creation of all conditions for the happiness and well-being of man" will 'win the hearts and minds of the masses on the peaceful road to socialism'.

Already in 1914 the Bolsheviks had drawn up a draft bill on social insurance and had fought for it in the Duma.

Within four days of seizing power it was enacted.

It was to be administered directly through elected councils, local regional and All-Russian, consisting of representatives of insured workers, trade unions and factory committees.

Extended

Neither government nor employers were to be repre-



period, the process whereby millions of peasants were incorporated and disciplined into the organised labour force.

In 1932 alone, 4.1 million peasants were absorbed into the towns. And the insured workforce, which excluded agricultural peasants and workers and the self-employed, rose from 10.9 million in 1929 to 25.6 million in 1936.

But revolutionaries have to look at the political trends within the methods used in the 30s and whether there has been a reversal since, particularly in the so-called 'liberalisation' since 1956.

The welfare methods used under forced collectivisation and industrialisation were incomparably harsher than those used under war communism.

Work record

Already in 1927 voluntary quitting became the basis for denying benefit, and in 1930 temporary unemployment benefits were abolished altogether.

In 1931 the freedom to choose one's place of employment, asserted in the 1922 Labour Code, was ended.

Full benefits required a solid work record of three years and trade union membership. Others were scaled down. 'Comrades Courts' could take action against negligent workers and impose fines for violation of industrial discipline.

By 1932, one day's non-appearance at work could result in sacking, loss of ration cards and eviction, even if that meant being homeless.

Penalties increased

At this point absenteeism, labour turnover, lateness, loafing and drunkenness were all major problems.

In 1938 penalties for lateness and absenteeism were increased, and workbooks traced each individual's work record.

Periods of corrective labour were not counted in making assessments for benefit, nor was the work of those sacked at any time or considered 'malicious disorganisers of production'.

In 1940, under conditions of war, it became illegal to quit without permission of the management, and this law remained on the books until 1956. In 1955, 12 years of unbroken service were still required for entitlement to full unemployment benefits.

The administration of welfare was radically changed in this period.

Regional funds were replaced by occupational funds and administration turned over to trade unions.

Egalitarianism was decreed a heresy since welfare was used as a system of incentives

Desperate

The register of 'fictionous' claimants and new arrivals from the rural areas not added on.

Again this was a desperate attempt to concentrate resources on industrial workers under conditions of mass unemployment where half the population of Petrograd had fled to the country and production was still far below pre-war levels.

Stalinists justify the approach to welfare in the 1930's by pointing to the part it played in the achievement of the massive economic gains of that



In 1932 alone 4.1 million peasants were absorbed into the towns

and soon of privileges, as well as a system of sanctions.

The productive sectors accumulated massive funds which could be used for credit loans and for social facilities such as sanatoria and holiday homes for that section of workers.

In 1930 social insurance delegates took over the main job of welfare workers from the personnel of the Commissariat of Labour.

These were elected by open vote of the trade union or professional group and visited in unpaid time anyone who had not come to work. Their function was anything involving 'constant comradely concern'.

Entitlement to sickness benefit and redirection to other work was decided by VTEK, medico-legal expert commissions consisting of medical and trade union

according to the funds available, taking 2% of the yield of any particular enterprise. Only in 1964 were collective farmers brought into the state pension scheme.

Important role

Local control over welfare services extends to the health and education services, both of which developed rapidly under Stalin.

Parents committees play an important role in education, with subcommittees concerned with questions of instruction and upbringing, culture, sanitation, health and housekeeping.

Children not doing well at school are visited at home by parents and school personnel. The latter are regarded as upbringers as well as educators.

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Other organisations



Bukharin: Trotsky ridiculed his formula "build socialism even on a pauper technical basis"

personnel. Since 1937 local plant soviets have disbursed benefits to working pensioners, the temporarily sick or injured, maternity cases and burials, and have controlled visits to sanatoria, rest homes, cultural centres, pioneer camps.

Cinderella

The socio-legal bureaux, which were set up earlier as assisting rather than vetting agencies, have already been mentioned.

Those unable to work and without support come under the Ministry of Welfare, a cinderella department dealing with physically and mentally handicapped, non-working pensioners, unmarried mothers, widows, and orphans.

Public assistance is still only given to those who are certified destitute by the manager of the building in which they lived, the local militia or the local soviet and benefits are low—a quarter of the minimum wage.

Farm workers, peasants and the self-employed between the NEP period and 1964 came under mutual aid schemes based on groups of farms or producers' co-operatives.

Benefits

These were responsible for the full range of welfare benefits and also to make loans to farmers suffering major misfortunes and assist with major construction and repairs.

But benefits varied greatly

tal."

In the 1930's even control of the Young Communist League, by the removal of the age limit of 23, was incorporated into the bureaucracy.

And the soviets, the main organ of local government are not soviets in the Bolshevik sense, but are "democratically" elected along the lines of bourgeois democracy, 'based upon the so-called "universal, equal and direct" vote of an atomised population'.

Soviets, on the other hand, as properly constituted, are organs of class rule, consisting of representatives of proletarian and industrial organisations.

Tyranny

In his attack on the 1936 Constitution Trotsky shows how Stalinism elevated

measures which may have been temporary expedients to socialist principle.

In order to defend the early revolution the Bolsheviks banned political parties: Stalin continued this to exert his own tyranny and then defended it as the essence of socialism.

The Bolsheviks had to drastically modify the Marxist maxim of "to each according to his need" to the formula "to each according to his labour" in order to survive economically.

But the new 1936 Constitution brazenly declared: "In the Soviet Union the principle of socialism is realised: from each according to his abilities to each according to his work."

Similarly marriage, that 'spiritual and moral' union has been rehabilitated, even though abortion was again legalised in 1955 and divorce is very common despite the efforts of comrades' courts to effect reconciliations.

Illegitimacy

The 1944 Family Code introduced the title of 'Hero Mother', the order 'Clory of Motherhood' and the 'Medal of Motherhood'. It reintroduced the status of illegitimacy by saying that only the name of married fathers could be included on the birth certificate, the others being left blank and denying inheritance rights to the illegitimate.

The very glorification of the family implies a stigma on the fatherless. These

trends have not been reversed since Stalin's death.

Kruschev made plans for more provision for children, for boarding schools for all who wanted to use them by 1980 and for 'extended day schools' which provide meals, supervised homework and recreation until 6pm.

But these facilities do not replace the family, they merely support it.

In fact boarding schools are mainly used for those from 'incomplete or socially unsuccessful marriages'—illegitimate orphans, children from large families or disabled parents.

'Problems'

Illegitimacy and divorce are seen as 'problems'. Single parent families are included in the category of the 'socially anomalous' along with alcoholics and delinquents, and in 1964 it was said that there would be no 'good Soviet' girls amongst unmarried mothers.

Pressure on fathers to pay alimony has been greatly increased.

Homosexuality and lesbianism are regarded as a moral outrage.

There obviously have been major improvements in welfare since 1956. That year saw the Pension Law which raised the minimum levels 50% above the previous maximum, pensioners having been extremely neglected up till then and most having had to work to survive.

Reactionary

Retiring age is 60 for men, 55 for women, and five years less for those from dangerous or difficult jobs or with very large families.

In schools the average class size was 16.6 in 1960 and the health service excels.

Great efforts are made to make everyone useful; pensioners are encouraged to assist on committees, act as volunteer health inspectors of premises, care for orchards and gardens and to help children read.

On the other hand some of the changes have been positively reactionary and major problems remain.

Housing is still grossly inadequate, with many families occupying one room in shared flats. 43% of the workforce still only get 12 days holiday.

Sociology

Since 1965 sociology has been introduced, partly to assist in dealing with the recognised problems of delinquency, crime, begging, drug peddling, child neglect, work-shyness and alcoholism.

Alcoholics are denied any welfare benefits and can be sacked or forced to be interned for medical treatment for two years.

Gains

None of the changes since 'liberalisation' and the encouragement of 'socialist humanism' affect one iota the major criticisms made by Trotsky on the 1936 Constitution and Code of Family Law which he described as 'an immense step back from socialist to bourgeois principles', and which even 'creates the political premises for the birth of a new possessing class'.

Yet it is clear that for all these defects, the gains of the October Revolution do live on in a material way for the Soviet working class, and must be defended unconditionally against imperialist attack.

By Pru Chamberlayne

IN REVIEW

DADA-ART

FORA WORLD

GONE MAD

TIM SUMMERS reviews the art exhibition "Dada and Surrealism Reviewed" at the Hayward Gallery, South Bank, SE1 until 27 March

This exhibition has brought together exhibits from an international spectrum and provides a unique opportunity to examine and feel the important and related currents of Dada and Surrealism.

There is a heavy irony in seeing the deliberate debunking of the art establishment by the Dadaists now presented as hallowed objects in such a prestigious display.

If the Dada movement, (famous for its found objects like the urinal displayed by Marcel Duchamp) is now assimilated by the bourgeois order, we can also note how "Le Surrealisme au Service de la Revolution" (with its explicit support of the Third International) has provided the stock-in-trade dream imagery of advertising ever since.

Carnage

In understanding Dada, we must take the carnage of the First World War as our starting point in order to understand the exasperation that lay behind the phonetic poems, junk art, nihilistic manifestos and seeming childlessness that characterised the Dada movement from Paris,

New York and Zurich to Berlin; worthy tributes to a "world gone mad".

Hugo Ball, writing of Zurich, said:

"When I founded the Cabaret Voltaire, I was convinced that there must be a few young men in Switzerland who like me, wanted not only to enjoy their independence but to prove it."

Different perspectives

While the literary-inspired Cabaret Voltaire was presenting its programme of spontaneous onomatopoeic poetry and considered visual incoherence, just over the road Lenin formulated different perspectives for confronting the bourgeois "order".

If Zurich Dada was largely deaf to these, Berlin Dada was not.

The high point of class struggle that characterised post-war Germany had an immediate reflection in the acid social criticism and truculence of the Berlin Dadaists, of which two founder members, John Heartfield and George Grosz were also members of the Communist Party.

While the latter's criticism of Dadaism as a petit-bourgeois folly may well have

justification in major respects we should note the development of the periodical *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (Each man his own football) towards *Die Pleite* (The Bank-rupt) and *In Blutiger Ernst* (in Deadly Earnest) as steps along a road leading from early idealistic nihilism towards fashioning a vehicle for working class insurrection.

The Berlin section of the exhibition displays a famous cover drawing by Grosz for *Die Pleite* showing the bloodhound of Social Democracy, Ernst Noske, raising a glass as a victory toast, surrounded by the bleeding and mutilated bodies of the working class.

For obscure reasons this section of the exhibition as opposed to others, has little or no translation of its captions.

Violent peak

Other works by Grosz, like the outstanding oil paintings 'The little wife murderer' and 'Dangerous Street' take Cubofuturism to its most violent peak.

Heartfield's early photo-montages developed within the Dada movement were a springboard to the later brilliance of the anti-fascist AIZ magazine covers.

Meanwhile, in Hanover, Kurt Schwitters was developing delicate and refined compositional miniatures from montages of refuse.

These ethereal works were composed of labels, sweet wrappers, tram tickets and paint and cloth textures.

The exhibition gives strong testimony to the level of international artistic cross-pollination taking place at the time.

Picabia's "Udnie" flows directly from Italian Futurism at its most flamboyant, while at the other extreme, several works by Picasso are of the most severe and formal of the early classical Cubist period.

High expression

Other early works of Paul Klee and Hans Richter have clear roots in German Expressionism.

The theme of human life seen in mechanical metaphor dominates the plethora of Dadaist writing, and in visual terms, finds a high expression in works by Marcel Duchamp. His painting 'Bride' is a mechanised staccato movement of wood-coloured forms, prefiguring the more famous 'Nude Descending a Staircase'.

His readymades include a bicycle wheel free to rotate above a stool, and the famous urinal entitled 'Fountain'. Perhaps his most notorious

work on display is the Mona Lisa sporting a curled moustache.

Man Ray's contribution continues this sardonic vein: his "Gift Object" is a household iron with a barbaric extrusion of nails from its work surface and more subtly his row of mundane coat-hooks is entitled "Trap".

Hybrid

Man Ray's photography is first rate and the exhibition also includes Paul Citroen's "Metropolis", a brilliantly photo-montaged city construction of Bauhaus vintage.

The essential link between the Dada and Surrealist movements is Max Ernst; his 'L'elephant Celebes' is a curious hybrid somewhere between an elephant and an industrial vat, while the suggested metamorphosis latent in most of his work finds a sinister expression in 'Joie de vivre' where, within a dark Rousseau-esque forest, plants become insects.

Ernst's 'Dadaville' is a sombre cityscape composed of strips of heavy-grained cork. This was an important point of departure for him towards a whole series of city and forest studies rich in Gothic menace.

In his outstanding work 'The Illustrious Dreamsmith' (surely an autobiographic title?) threatening bird-like creatures lurk behind evaporating and coalescing forms as in a vision reminiscent of Hieronymus Bosch.

The deeply obsessional character plus the technical range of Ernst place his work above the more self-conscious artifice of his successors.

Ominous silence

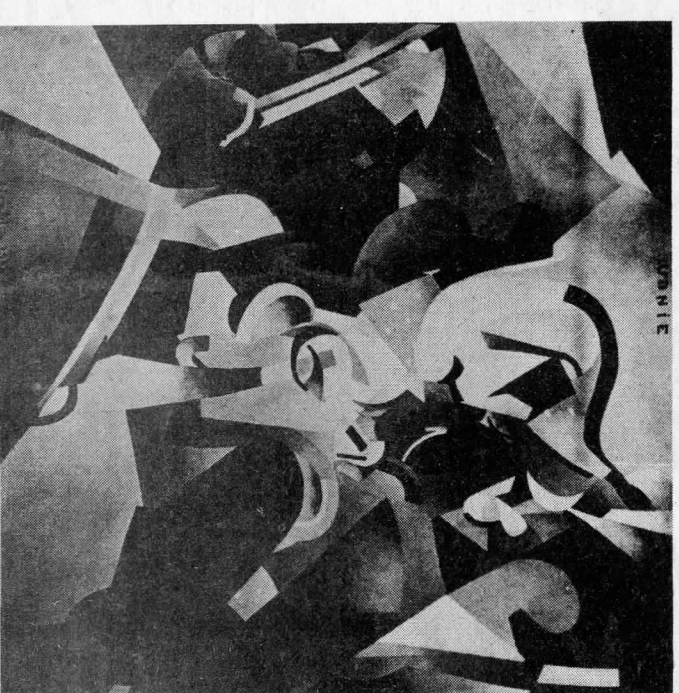
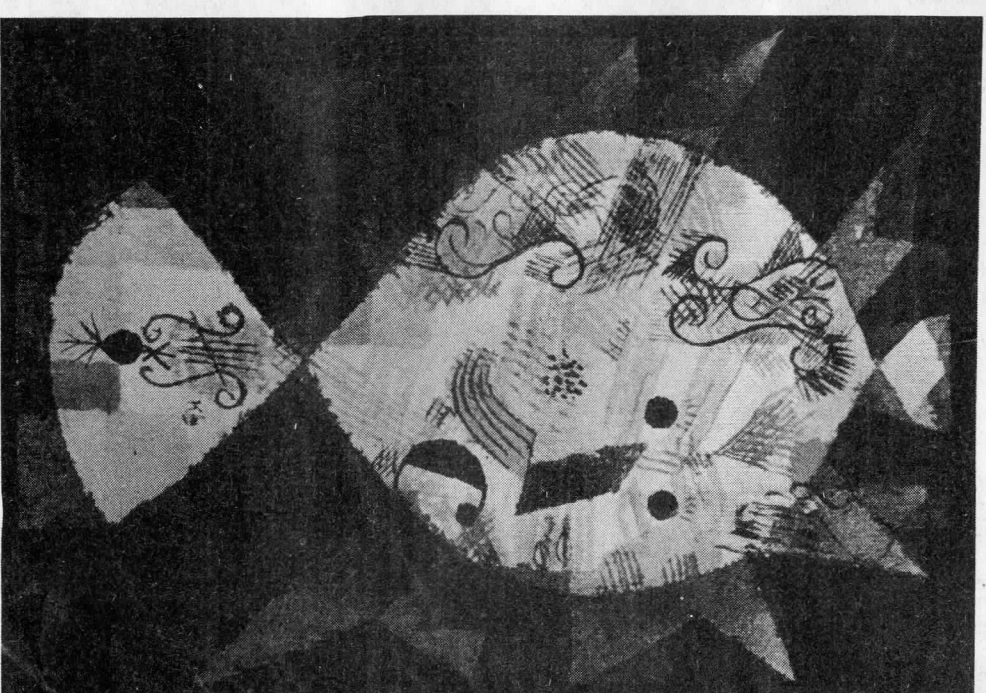
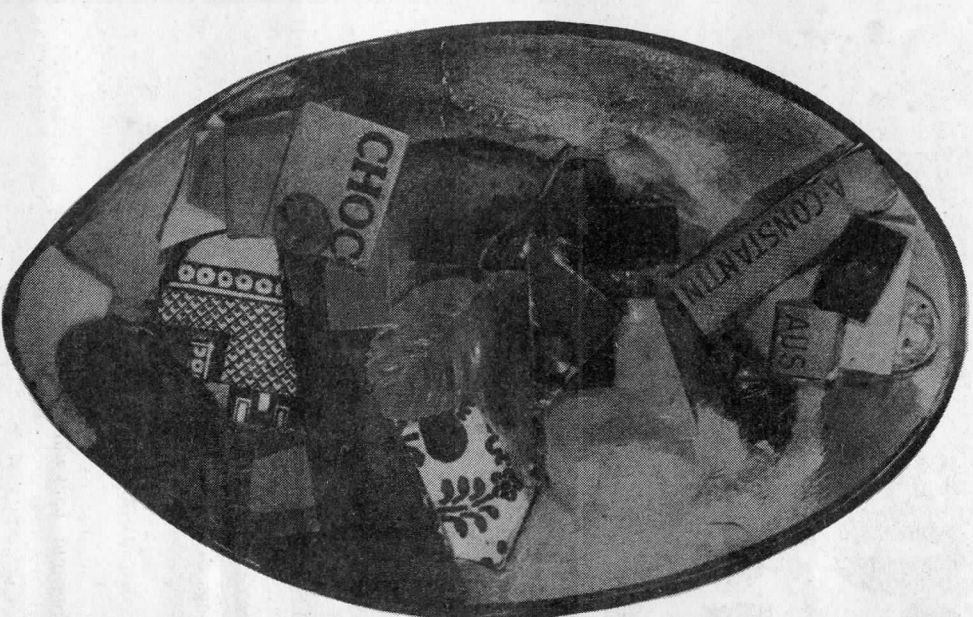
A central painter of the Surrealist movement is De Chirico, whose images of ominous silence and threat have paved the way for most Surrealist painters since him.

In particular, one can detect his influence on Magritte, Dali and Delvaux. The movement, basing itself on Freud's theories of the subconscious

was programmed by Andre Breton towards "pure psychic automation"—scarcely the case in Dali's work for example, but certainly a factor in the calligraphic work of Arshile Gorky, Andre Masson through to Jackson Pollock and American Abstract Expressionism.

The exhibition is too large and demanding on the senses to be navigated without a long break mid-way.

This cautionary note should be taken as a compliment to the exhibition



OUR POLITICIANS Defend the USSR

Part One. By Ian Swindale

In October 1917, for the first time in history, the working class in Russia overthrew capitalism and established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the following years the key sections of the economy were taken out of the hands of private owners and the beginnings of a planned economy were established.

Bureaucracy

But a number of factors, the economic backwardness of Russia, its continuing isolation in a capitalist world after the failure of the post-war revolutionary upheavals in Europe, the virtual elimination of the already small proletariat in the Civil War and famine, led to the rise to power of a conservative bureaucracy, intent on calling a halt to international revolution and opting instead for what it saw as a gradual path to socialism in a single country.

bureaucracy deprived the working class of any control over the political, economic and foreign policies pursued by the Soviet Union. All opposition was branded as counter-revolutionary and purged, and in conditions of acute scarcity, the bureaucracy cramed off a disproportionate share of the wealth that was being produced.

The question which confronted the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, which arose in opposition to the growth of the bureaucracy, was whether the bureaucracy had succeeded in destroying all the gains of the October revolution (in which case the working class would have to start again) or whether some of the gains of the revolution still existed and therefore had to be defended against imperialist attack.

Class nature

In order to answer this question it was necessary to decide what was the class nature of the Soviet state.

Did the dictatorship of the proletariat still hold sway in the Soviet Union or was the bureaucracy a new ruling class in a society where a counter-revolution had overturned the nationalised property relations established after 1917?

Massive defeats

Because the appalling crimes of Stalinism, all carried out in the name of socialism, were leading to the most massive defeats for the working class in one country after another in the late 1920s and 1930s, there were many in the revolutionary movement who wanted to declare that Russia was no longer a workers' state.

The dictatorship of the proletariat had been replaced, they argued, by the rise to power of a new class which had politically dispossessed the working class and which had established a state capitalist society.

Taking as their starting point the new depths of betrayal to which the Stalinist bureaucracy daily

sank, these largely petty-bourgeois elements within the workers movement, skated the surface of the real developments taking place in the Soviet Union, rather than base themselves on a class analysis of the USSR.

How did Trotsky answer his critics within the International Left Opposition and later, the Fourth International?

Assessment

He insisted that any understanding of developments in the Soviet Union must begin from an assessment of the objective class nature of the Soviet Union.

If a counter-revolution had taken place and the dictatorship of the proletariat overturned, when did this happen? "The Marxian thesis

relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods... but also to the periods of counter-revolution when society rolls backwards.

"He who asserts that the Soviet government has been gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism."

No gradual return

If there had not been a violent counter-revolutionary overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship and if there could be no gradual return to bourgeois rule, what had in fact happened in the USSR? Trotsky explains that social classes do not at all times rule directly. He shows



Dentists extract profit from workers

By a Special Correspondent

Dentists, in the main, are not simply a professionally skilled section of the middle class, but fully fledged—if small scale—members of the bourgeoisie.

90% of them act as independent contractors to the NHS, own their own 'means of production' (drills, chairs, spittoons, amalgam and old magazines) and employ wage labour.

A complicated calculation is carried out to ensure that the dentist is reimbursed for the use of these means of production. Each fee for an item of treatment is loaded 56% to cover his "expenses".

Dentists are not obliged by contract to treat any particular number of NHS patients—they can take as many or as few as they wish.

One Course

Their obligation to a particular patient extends

only for the duration of one course of treatment designed to make that individual "adequately dentally fit"—a delightfully vague term.

But despite this it is estimated that the average general dental practitioner takes in 90% of his or her income from providing treatment to NHS patients.

No pressure

Dentists were the last professional group to complete negotiations with the Department of Health and Welfare in 1948, and have insisted on their 'independent' status.

Even today there is no pressure among dentists for abolition of payment and the system of payment and the introduction of a salaried scale.

36% of the students at a London teaching hospital, questioned on their preferred career wanted to practice privately—as against only 6%



wanting a salaried service.

Interestingly, over 50% of those same students had attended privately or direct grant schools!

This bourgeois-middle class grouping exhibits a complete contempt for the workers it employs.

Most of those employed by dentists are women, non-union, low paid and provided with few facilities.

Many also face health hazards: an estimated 50% of the X-ray machines in use in dental surgeries scatter too much radiation.

As for the dentists' patients, they too get a rough deal if they come from the working class.

Disease of affluent

When sugar was a luxury item dental caries (decay) was a disease of the affluent. But now dental decay among working class children is much more prevalent than

among children from other classes.

In Camden a survey revealed 10% of working class children suffering from rampant caries—with 10 or more teeth decayed.

Inferior

As workers get older they face barriers to dental care. Hourly paid workers generally lose wages on top of the cost of treatment—whereas the middle class gets time off with pay.

When they go to a dentist, workers frequently receive inferior treatment. Many working class patients are fitted with dentures called 'gun strippers' by dentists.

These speed up the loss of support for remaining teeth and hasten tooth loss.

Dentists will often not go through the procedure of supplying the alternative, superior, types that are in theory available on the NHS—

feeling that the profit margin involved in the job is too low.

This profit factor is also why crowns and bridges are so seldom supplied on the NHS.

Meanwhile a majority of patients given private dental treatment turn out to be workers—often persuaded under pressure of pain and the fact that they have no 'regular' dentist to pay penal fees for basic treatment.

The dental profession, despite the fact that it is trained in state-run facilities, stands almost united against the most elementary concept of socialised provision of health care.

The fight for the reversal of NHS cuts—involving the breaking of the Lib-Lab coalition—must include not only the nationalisation of private clinics suppliers and drug monopolies, but also measures to introduce a planned, state run provision of dental care.

For Trotsky, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was a *stick* dictatorship.

"The frightful difficulties of socialist construction in an isolated and backward country coupled with the false policies of the leadership—which in the last analysis also reflects the pressure of backwardness and isolation—have led to the result that the bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order to guard its social conquests with its own methods.

"The anatomy of society is determined by its economic relations. So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October revolution are not overturned, the proletariat remains the ruling class".

No responsibility

Trotsky, in other words, argued that one must distinguish the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy from the *social base* on which Soviet society is founded.

Revolutionaries can accept no responsibility and give no support to the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism. On the contrary, at every point it is the task of Trotskyists to distinguish themselves from these positions, to fight in the workers movement to reveal the dangers to which these policies expose the working class.

It is our task to advance precisely those policies which can mobilise the working class around their own independent class interests.

At the same time, however, it is the duty of revolutionaries to give *unconditional* support to the defence of those gains of the October revolution that still remain, and in particular the nationalised property relations.

Continued next week

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

No victory yet at EGA

After nearly two years of attempts to close the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital, Camden Area Health Authority has finally admitted that it is unable to defeat the work-in that has kept the hospital open for the last 15 months.

At a meeting last week, the AHA washed its hands of the problem of closing the EGA by stating that if David Ennals wished to provide facilities equivalent to those at the hospital (their original terms of reference) finance should be provided from national resources.

Important step

This is an important step in the fight to maintain the EGA but it is not the victory which the capitalist press has trumpeted—and sections of the workers think.

Rather it means that the fight is no longer with the petty bureaucrats of the AHA but with the Lib-Lab coalition government itself; and that fight is not one that can be won using the present orientation of the EGA workers.

By a Health Service Correspondent

The bankruptcy of that orientation was seen only too clearly at the AHA meeting where the EGA staff had been invited to put their case.

Senior consultant

Incredibly the spokesman for the first-ever hospital occupation in Britain was senior consultant of Boutwood, accompanied by two peers of the realm—One, Lord Bowden, ex-Labour minister and the other President of the Royal College of Physicians.

Special case

Their policies—apparently worked out in conjunction with the hospital shop stewards were that the EGA should either be treated as a special case by the DHSS (presumably at the expense of another hospital elsewhere) or that the EGA campaign should be allowed to raise money by public subscription to repair and maintain the hospital (there-

by placing the financing of the EGA back in the pre-NHS days of charity hospitals.

Either of these options represents the betrayal of these workers inside and outside the EGA who have fought day and night during the past fifteen months to maintain picket lines outside the occupied hospital which they see as central in the fight to defend the NHS as a whole against the ravages proposed by the government.

Socialist Press has argued from the very beginning of the fight to save the EGA that only a campaign based on the strength of the working class could defend the EGA as part of the NHS.

United fight

If the EGA is to remain a by-word for the fight against the cuts the stewards must reject the present policies of collaboration with consultants and worse and return to a united fight with workers in other hospitals against the cuts in general.

This fight should include the demand for a sliding scale of public expenditure linked to the rate of inflation as assessed by trade union com-



PHOTO: Derek Speirs, IFL

mittees.

The Committee of London Area Stewards in the NHS (CLASH), fights for this and other policies to defend the NHS from the cuts and must be built into the main focus of the struggle in London to resist attacks on the NHS.

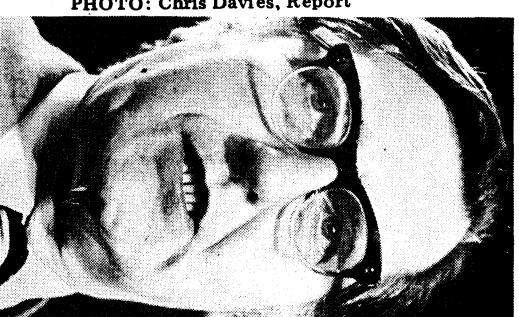


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Ennals

participated in a protest stoppage in their support along with backing from workers all over the country.

Scabbing

Now the yard has seen this militancy completely misled to the point of scabbing on other yards and becoming a show-case of speed-up for capitalism and company unionism.

The Stalinists turn the threat of closure—which is becoming more and more a reality for the masses of workers because of the capitalist crisis of overproduction—into a weapon to bring workers closer to the employers.

We must fight to show that this danger to workers' livelihoods is inherent in the capitalist system and only through the fight for the independence of the working class can this be opposed.

Defend jobs

The Stalinist betrayers at Govan must be thrown out and a new leadership built that will defend all jobs and conditions, demand the opening of the books of the employers and their suppliers and demand work-sharing on full pay, with occupation of any yards threatening job losses. This must be made a national struggle against unemployment.

Govan bosses' jewel CP helps double productivity

The 'Observer' newspaper last weekend carried a revealing interview with James Airlie, Stalinist convener of Govan shipyards.

After quoting the head of British Shipbuilders describing Govan as the "jewel of the corporation" and the industrial relations director who praised the spirit of co-operation in the yard it goes on to show the basis of this management praise.

Part of industry

Airlie attacked "working methods that belong to the nineteenth century" and the "yards with pay differentials and inter-union squabbles" that have the "lowest wages" and belong to "the museum".

He says "You have to make workers realise they are part of the industry if it is to succeed". He can't remember when there was last a strike.

Airlie and the other stewards at Govan have signed agreements in practice. Amongst these are:

"Complete mobility of workers between yards", and

"Introduction of work study and work measurement techniques; as well as agreements for mobility between trades and between helpers to tradesmen.

Also in the new agreements is a cover-all clause: "Any changes required that will help make the company more efficient will be introduced at any time, subject only to the normal processes of consultation and mutual agreement".

Although the man hours per ship have been reduced from 850,000 to 600,000, with the new agreements, it is planned to cut this to 400,000 by next year.

The *Observer* says that these agreements: "... provide a model blueprint of what newly-nationalised British Shipbuilders will now be demanding from other yards".

More jobs lost

So not only is it no surprise that the majority of the Polish order was diverted to Govan but this will continue to be the case until the other yards accept Govan-type



Airlie

Miners reap fruits of Scargill sell-out

The bitter fruits are now being reaped by miners from 'left' talking Arthur Scargill's refusal to fight for strike action on the union's 90% pay claim alongside the firemen last November.

Scargill's failure to call for an immediate strike ballot as soon as the NCB failed to meet the NUM conference's demand for £135 per week from November 1 left the right wing leaders the leeway to ram through their reactionary incentives scheme which has now seriously weakened the union and taken the steam out of the fight on basic rates of pay.

Denounced

The 14-10 vote last week by the NUM Executive to accept a 10% pay increase and a further year of the 12-month rule has been widely denounced as a sell-out.

At the forefront of those bureaucrats trying to accumulate some verbal 'left' prestige after the sell-out were Scargill's confederates in the Communist Party, including Kent area secretary Jack Dunn. He described the

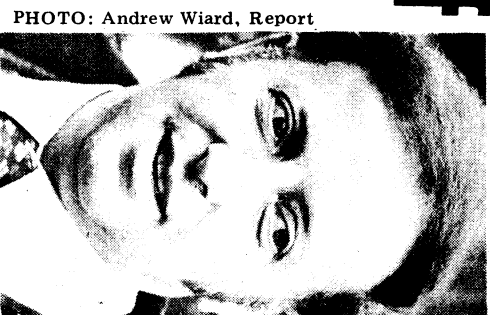


PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

executive's decision as "a disgrace" and the negotiations as a "charade".

Disgraceful

But miners will remember the disgraceful charade in which Dunn and Scargill, hiding from a fight on the £135 pay claim, attempted to use the bourgeois courts to intervene on their side against the right wing's incentives plan.

The repercussions of these diversionary antics on the future strength of the NUM in pursuing national level pay claims will be drastic.

The harsh lesson miners must draw is that a conscious revolutionary leadership is needed in order to challenge both wings of the NUM bureaucracy—the open right wing defenders of the Lib-Lab coalition around Daly and Gormley, and the spineless 'left' around Scargill and the Communist Party.

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INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Speke sell-out strategy

Garner's strike spurs new fight

In a move designed to "bring the dispute to an end" the TGWU bureaucracy has—after 15 weeks—declared official support for the strike by 2,000 workers at Leyland's plant at Speke, Liverpool.

The strike has halted production of the Triumph TR7 since November 1.

Leverage

Now the TGWU officials are prepared to pay out backdated strike benefits amounting to £170,000 in order to obtain the leverage to implement a rapid sell-out.

The declaration of official support—which has been consistently withheld in the vain hope that the strike might collapse of its own accord—was synchronised by a management statement on the future of the plant.

Leyland's personnel director Pat Lowry wrote to union officials saying that as a result of the strike:

"It must now be very doubtful if it is worthwhile continuing to operate the plant . . . when the TR7 could be built elsewhere at the sort of relaunch quantity



Jones—made it official

likely to be needed".

This threat will no doubt be the basis of the line put forward by TGWU officials who will now take over the running of the dispute from the Speke stewards.

Sacrifice

The argument that workers must tailor their demands and sacrifice their agreements in order to accommodate to the financial problems or rationalisation plans of management is a never-ending excuse for class collaboration by Leyland

convenors and union officials. The Speke strike is the clearest instance of an entire workforce rejecting this logic, and sticking tenaciously to its agreement that manning levels can only be altered by management by mutual agreement with shop stewards.

Leyland management has repeatedly announced it will not give way on disputes involving manning levels—and the Speke battle has put them to the test.

Any attempt to close the plant or transfer work must be met by occupation and the call for backing of all work on the TR7 and Dolomite usually done at Speke. And the strike, now official, must continue until management honour the mutuality agreement.

Interesting to note that the local National Front organiser in the Hammer-smith-Shepherd's Bush area of West London—one Martin Hill—is an employee at the Metropolitan Hotel, Paddington. Just before Christmas last year the workers there struck for higher wages.

During the period of the strike, Hill—who is employed as a security officer—was noted to cross the picket line every day, greeting the strikers with the Nazi stiff-arm salute.

Little incidents such as these reveal quite clearly the anti-union core of NF "politics".

As the important unionisation strike at Garner's Steak Houses in London continues into its third week, other hotel workers are attempting to join the struggle to defend and improve their wages and working conditions.

60 workers at the Cafe Royale in the West End—part of the giant Trust Houses Forte empire—went on strike last Monday—only to be intimidated and forced back to work by GMWU official Tliston.

Bloody nose

Even while 40 kitchen staff were joining the union and agreed to come out, Tliston told a mass meeting:

"The company is big. You've hit them on the nose and it's bleeding. But if you stay out you will show your weakness".

Tliston—the man behind the betrayal of the strike at the Metropolitan Hotel—offered no advice on how those workers should fight for their rights.

It is obvious that if jobs and wages are to be defended, Tliston's nose must be kept out of workers' struggles.

Consolidated

The Garner's Steak House strike has consolidated after two weeks on the picket lines, and there is no sign of demoralisation among the strikers.

It is the employers who show signs of pulling back.



Garner's strikers on the march

Provocative posters denouncing pickets and defending the scabs' "right to work" have been removed from restaurant windows. The employer has declared himself willing to refer the matter to ACAS, and is now apparently prepared to discuss with strikers—a step he previously rejected.

Recognition

But strikers must insist that no return to work takes place without union recognition.

They must demand TGWU officials implement full-scale backing of Garner and any firms that continue to deliver goods to these scab restaurants.

Meanwhile many strikers are already in dire financial straits. The TGWU has only just started to pay out £6 a week hardship money—and social security refuses to pay out anything to the strikers. This is another sign that the strike committee must place no faith in the willingness or ability of the TGWU bureaucracy to carry through this strike to victory.

They must fight for a district levy on TGWU members to finance the strike.

*Strike headquarters for the Garner's strikers is at 12-13 Henrietta Street, London WC2, to which all donations and messages of support should be sent.

Newspaper bosses forced to back down

Provincial journalists have scored a notable victory towards a struggle over wages when they forced the Newspaper Society employers to back down on attempts to rule out local pay bargaining.

Before signing a ten per cent national pay agreement the employers demanded that the NUJ guarantee local claims would be ruled out.

But after two weeks of a 'work to rule' during which NUJ members reduced most large provincial news rooms to a state of near anarchy, the employers agreed to a clause under which both sides agreed that the Government ten per cent limit would be 'taken into consideration' before local claims were submitted.

This meaningless phrase has not brought the dispute

to an end. The employers refuse to backdate the agreement to January 1, the date from which members of the scab organisation, the Institute of Journalists, received their ten per cent increase.

The work to rule continues. Journalists on the *Western Telegraph* at Havertownwest, in Wales, are on strike after one member was sacked for operating the sanctions, and journalists at Worcester, and Hereford are occupying editorial offices after they were deemed to have 'dismissed themselves'.

Journalists at both the *Kentish Times* and the *Oxford Mail* succeeded in beating off management attempts to victimise members.

The central question, once the issue of backdating is resolved, is that the principle of local deals be translated into

action. The NUJ work to rule has already succeeded in splitting the employers so that local deals on backdating have been offered.

Claims

Wage demands to restore living standards to 1974 and to defend them against inflation must be submitted. Workers committees, drawing in the unemployed and housewives, must compute the necessary rises to combat the rise in prices.

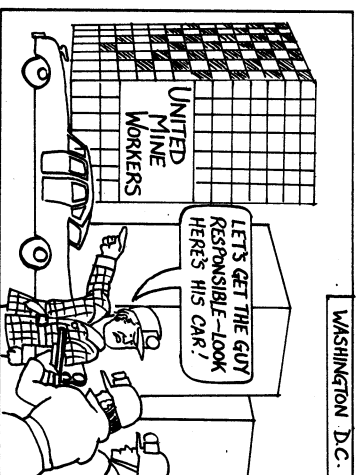
Group chapels, where they exist, must draw together all journalists who face the same employer. The fight for the right to negotiate over wages must be translated into the fight for wages themselves.

Action now for a sliding scale of wages. No to all wage controls!

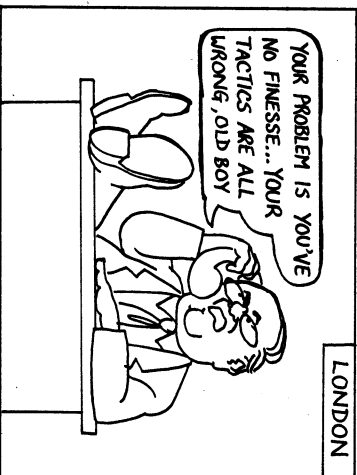
Fishall's Diary

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

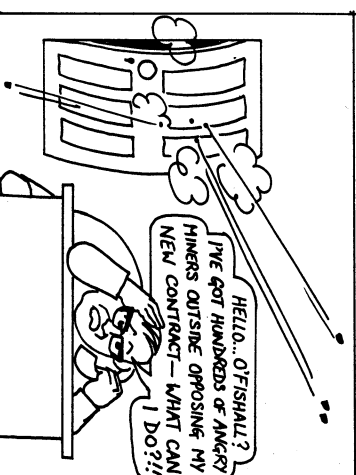
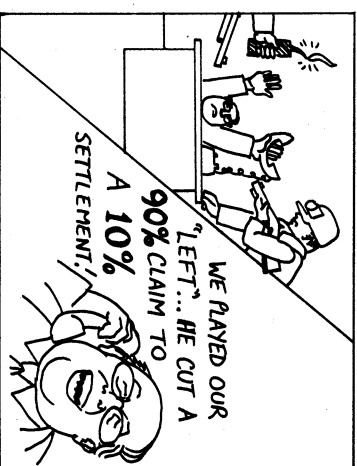
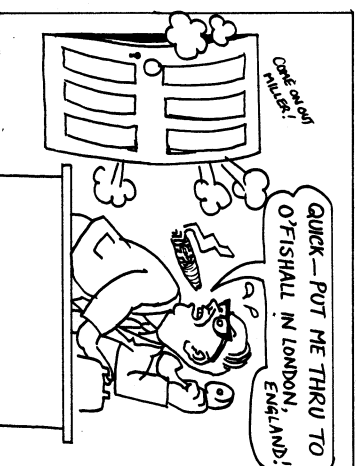
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LONDON



Speed-up still held up

The determination of press room workers at Ford's Halewood plant to resist management speed-up plans has now cost the employers production of over 20,000 Ford Escorts in a five week strike.

The company plan includes the following points:
 *Men must work to the speed of the production lines.
 *No automatic rest period every hour. Production lines to stop only when the rate for the line is achieved.
 *No changing round of jobs every hour. Only one job rotation per shift.
 *Working ahead [building up banks to give longer breaks] after the first five hours to be reviewed.
 *Line operators not to leave place of work without permission.
 *Operators to be responsible for quality, and told to watch for faulty panels, missing parts, etc.

*Hourly counts to be taken on pieces of workdone.
 *Failure to meet the line rate to be booked to production inefficiency and recovered before the operator allowed to stop work.

All of these provisions represent a worsening in existing working conditions and a further attempt to step up the exploitation of the Ford workforce.

It is a sign of the inadequacy of union leadership in the Halewood dispute that at one point all the company's demands with the exception of the third point were conceded by negotiators, though now apparently the second and the final points are being contested.

It seems more than likely that TGWU officials will soon seek to take over the dispute—which is proving so costly to Ford management—in a bid to bring it to an end. Any attempt to impose such a sell-out must be fought.

US MINERS STORM HQ UNION HQ

In a dramatic move to head off a concerted bid by union leader Arnold Miller to sell out their ten week strike, hundreds of US miners last Friday invaded the United Mine Workers headquarters in Washington to prevent a meeting of the bargaining council.

The miners were responding to increasing evidence that their strike, coupled with the impact of sub-zero winter temperatures on energy supplies, is beginning to grip the wind pipe of US industry in the Mid West and Appalachia.

Insidious

They have recognised that they now face the most insidious danger of all—the efforts of the Miller leadership to impose an ignominious sell-out.

But their resentment has forced a move at an unofficial meeting of the bargaining council, which voted 33-3 against Miller's proposed settlement terms.

No date has yet been set for reconvening the bargaining council, which must ratify any settlement plan before it is referred to a membership ballot.

Picketing

Meanwhile the strike, which in itself was expected to halve US coal production, has succeeded through tenacious picketing and successful calls for support from other unions, in cutting production to a mere 32% of the output prior to the start of the strike.

Attempts to use non-union coal to run the hard-hit Ohio

power industry have failed abysmally.

"We have told them we will receive any coal they can truck to us. To date, we haven't received any", said one official of the Columbus and Southern Ohio Electric Company.

Crisis level

As a result the private monopolies that provide electricity to US industry and consumers are announcing that stocks have reached crisis levels in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, Indiana, West Virginia and Kentucky.

Employers warned last week of the threat of electricity "brown-outs" that could put 500,000 Ohio residents out of work inside a month.

More than 100 State and Federal electric power officials gathered at a crisis meeting convened by the Department of Energy Executive, and the call emerging was for a settlement with the union.

Amenable

The New Jersey representative urged the Carter Administration:

"to call upon the electric utilities to call upon the mine owners to be a little more amenable".

But despite this evidence that the bosses' pre-strike strategy of stock-piling coal for a prolonged union-husting battle has begun to crack in certain areas, UMW leader Miller has been concentrating on watering down the miners' claim and accommodating the employers' demands for no-strike clauses.

Miller has agreed to a plan that would force any miners who took unofficial strike action to reimburse the

union's benefit funds for the income lost.

This would amount to fining miners up to \$22 a day for engaging in unofficial strikes—and also includes provisions to sack unofficial strike leaders.

This bid by the employers and officials to break miners' strength on a local level is part of a major attack on working conditions.

It is these stringent anti-strike clauses that have piled the pressure even on the bureaucratized 39-man bargaining council.

One council member declared last week that: "People in my district would hang me if I ever ratified something like that".

Carrying gun

Signs of impending violence over the sell-out emerged last week when Miller, (who is now reportedly carrying a gun for protection against his members) returned to visit the UMW headquarters in his hometown.

A fist fight broke out between his bodyguard and militants opposed to the reported terms of the settlement.

It is not only the no-strike provisions that have riled the miners. It seems clear that the other aspects of their claim—on pay, on health benefits and pensions—have also been abandoned.

Miners who had been conscientiously saving and preparing for this fight are prepared to hold out for the whole of their demands now the employers are in a corner.

State troopers

As one UMW district president said: "If ever we're going to get anything from the operators, it'll be in the next 10 days. Our people are saying back home—if it takes ten more days, take it".

Meanwhile in Oakman, Alabama, 200 state troopers used tear gas to rescue seven scab miners who had been surrounded in a house by hostile pickets, and told they would not be allowed to leave alive.

Police cars and helicopters were riddled with bullets from small arms, and dynamite was thrown by miners at the troopers—through most went wide of the target.

One stick of dynamite was thrown under a patrol car but failed to explode.



Pickets had earlier closed down the non-union Oakman Mining Company only to find the seven scabs working to reopen it. 800-1,000 miners quickly rallied to the scene to stop them.

In Petersburg, Indiana, a striker was shot dead in a gun battle outside a scab pit.

Strength

This militancy indicates the enormous strength of the UMW—and rallies in various parts of the country show the popular working class support for their struggle.

But such militancy alone is not enough. There are signs that anti-Miller bureaucrats within the UMW may be prepared to use the hostility to the settlement in order to make a bid for power in the union on their own behalf.

But what is needed is not merely a change of bureaucrats but a political leadership within the union that will mobilise the full independent strength of the working class to win the full (though inadequate) demands of the strike, and press forward to fight for full unionisation of the scab pits.

Political opening

The fact that large sections of miners have moved into direct confrontation with their bureaucratic leaders offers an opening for such a

**5000
march
for
gay
rights**

The Gay News Defence Campaign march on Saturday was a great success.

Some four to five thousand people joined in what was the largest demonstration for gay rights yet seen in this country.

Contingents from gay groups and women's groups marched with others from political organisations and students unions, but only one trade union branch banner was in evidence (TGWU 5/833 Blackwells, Oxford).

This turn out reflected the perspectives of the organisers but it also showed the stage of development of the gay movement in Britain.

Gay caucuses have been built in some unions as part of a turn towards the organised labour movement.

But in general gays have not recognised how their problems are tied up with those facing all workers.

Seeing only the total refusal of the Labour-bureaucracy to fight for their demands, most gays see no reason to take up a struggle against these traitors and build a new, revolutionary leadership.

Typically this situation has not been improved by the interventions of the SWP and the IMG who offer no alternative to the prevailing mood of self-congratulation last weekend.

By putting forward such slogans as "Whitehouse out, Gay Rights In", the centrists of the IMG showed once again how they adapt and dissolve their politics in an abdication of leadership and principle.

Being "good" and "angry" won't win gays their democratic rights if they have no programme with which to fight oppression under capitalism.

FUND

With half of February now behind us, a total of £209.25 has arrived in the office for our February £600 Socialist Press Monthly Fund.

With a short month, this means we are trailing behind and we urge all readers and supporters to make a special effort to ensure that we achieve our fund target in good time.

Donations received so far this month include Oxford car workers £13.20; Central London, £7.55; Coventry, £2. Hull, £2.50; Oxford £32; Islington, £68; Liverpool, £5; Leeds, £10; Hackney, £15; East London, £27; Sheffield, £10; West London, £17.

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Miller talks with UMW members