

THIS BULLETIN IS, in its temporary form, for a group of comrades sharing similar positions and in close contact with one another, a means of exchanging news on struggles, discussions and criticisms and of publications based essentially on the New Movement i.e. on all the struggles of all kinds carried out by those directly concerned for their own emancipation. It is, therefore, important that each recipient make his own contribution to this end, in exchange for what he expects from others. He will, of course, determine the nature, the importance and the regularity of such contributions himself.

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Only articles etc. that are produced by Echanges themselves are available directly from us at the price indicated.

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DISCUSSIONS AND DOCUMENTS

Pannekoek and the workers councils by Serge Bricianer (in French) published by E.D.I. New edition.
"This is an anthology presented as a contribution to the history of the birth and development of the idea of workers' councils. The workers' rebellion, the wildcat strike against all constituted authority takes on a sense here of the first stage in the appearance of a mentality and a form of social organisation which is new. Here an unknown stream of thought is revealed which owes everything to rigorous reflection and to the highest moment of historical experience and nothing to expounding or the camouflage of oppression with the help of dead ideas" - from the text presenting this new edition produced in Spartacus in the no. for Feb./March 1978 (available from Lefeuvre, 5 rue Ste Croix de la Bretonnerie, 75004 Paris) under heading of "Connaissez-vous Pannekoek?" (do you know Pannekoek?)

Lutte de classe has produced its last number. It contains a major article "Reflections on theoretical work" which explain the reasons for which those involved in the group GLAT explain "the total failure of attempts to establish contacts with groups or individuals having similar preoccupations to themselves." They explain that their bulletin is in fact only "just one more piece of revolutionary merchandise" and that the passive interest shown towards them underlines "the need to take more radical steps, i.e. the maximum concentration of our efforts to be better equipped to carry out the programma" which they have

fixed for themselves. (in French)

From an English comrade: "I hear Pluto Press have just published a book entitled Gorter's and Pannekoek's Marxism. Price £ 2,95. The review in Socialist Challenge blathered about "primacy of politics" and the low level of the contents suggesting it is an anthology. It describes Gorter as a "really raving economist and syndicalist", "concedes" that Pannekoek was more sophisticated than Gorter and suggests the two were both some sort of precursors of Tony Cliff and the Socialist Worker Party (trotskyist). I get the impression it is an anthology of their writings in the period when they were in the Comintern".

Who can write more about this book?

Solidarity for Social Revolution, no. 2 of April '78 (in English): texts on Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland). Dossier on the British National Health Service.

On autonomy:

Le mouvement "autonome" en Italie et France, (the "autonomous" movement in Italy and France) written by a collective published by Spartacus (costs FF 4,90, address see above). The section on Italy is comprised of two pieces translated from Collegamenti. The other two texts are criticisms of the "autonomous" movement of leftists and their incredible mass meetings in Paris and the second of these two articles reopens the question violence and leftist groups. Also on the same subject is the leaflet Fossoyeurs du vieux monde (grave diggers of the old world) which attacks the new usage of the term "autonomous" in itself

deliberately vague which "unmasks those who use it. For them the age of refusal is brought down to the level of purile imitation of spontaneity, the latest fashion of an ideology in decomposition". This leaflet was written for the "Three days of proletarian autonomy" organised by the Toulouse "Autonomes". (photocopy of leaflet in French from Echanges-Paris).

There is also an article debating the issue in the review *Les Révoltes Logiques* no. 7 (20 FF) available from Les Revoltes Logiques, 1 rue des Fossés St. Jacques, 75005 Paris.

On Spain:

Three bookshops in Barcelona for newspapers, pamphlets and books by "Libertarians", "Assemblyists", "Autonomes", "Situationists" and others, which sell "Echanges"-pamphlets:

Epsilon, Calle Casanova 82, Barcelona
Documenta, Calle Cardenal Casanas 4, Barcelona and
Cosa Nostra, Calle Hospital 90, Barcelona.

Also available at *L'Ateneo Libertario del barrio Chino*, Calle de la Luna 18, Barcelona, "Echanges"-pamphlets and pamphlets from the publishing collective *Etcetera* (apartado de correos 1363, Barcelona).

Etcetera have republished in facsimile the old newspapers of "Los amigos de Durruti" who during the Spanish Civil War and above all during the riots of May 1937 opposed their "comrade ministers" and the CNT-bureaucracy. They have also published for the first time in Spain the interesting analyses of the Spanish Civil War published by the Belgian Bordigist review "Bilan".

Still in Barcelona we would like to draw attention to the birth of the *Centro de Documentacion Historico-Social*, open to the public on Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 5 p.m. - 9 p.m. Address Ronda San Pablo, 42-44, entresol, appartement 77, Barcelona. Those running the centre appeal to all individuals, groups, collectives, publishers etc. for originals, microfilms or photocopies and all documents about the history of the libertarian movement and social history in general since the last century, although their main interest for the moment is in completing their collection on Spain in the period 1936-1939. The centre is totally independent of all other organisations. Write to: Centro de ... etc., apartado de correos 22.212 (means P.O. Box) de Barcelona.

"Quienes na han tenido jamás el derecho a las palabra(s), la(s) tomanya" (Those who have never had the right to speak, speak out!) This is the title of a bulletin which arose out of the prisoners' struggles ("political" or "common law" without distinc-

tion) which have to come to a head above all in the last few months. The no. 5 has a balance sheet of prisoners' conflicts since 1976, an article on the mutiny in the prison "La modelo" in Barcelona in October '77 and other articles on the abolition of prison or against "popular justice". Some friends in contact with this group and other prisoners hope to produce a pamphlet containing translations of articles about the struggle in Spanish prisons.

In February of this year dozens of Spanish libertarians were imprisoned and tortured. For information and texts (letters from these prisoners etc.) write to Echanges-Paris, who will forward.

In the no. 6 (available in limited numbers only due to unfortunate circumstances beyond the publishers control) contains articles on "democratic" repression, the development and use of the police in Spain, the role of the media and a very detailed account of the Spanish prison movement. Prison mutinies continue in Spain. The article speaks of the ambiguities of the "Coordination of Prisoners in Conflict" - COPEL - and its position when faced with the reformist policies of the government on this issue, tendencies towards dialogue and negotiation are the logical conclusion among the prisoners' "representatives" (whose rallying cry is still "Freedom or death"): in other words, even in the prisons the problems of unionism, negotiation and the power game are beginning to influence the movement.

Three other reviews appearing monthly with news of workers' struggles, the factory and local assembly movement, the evolution of the CNT and other debates on the Spanish ultra left (workers' autonomy versus anarcho-syndicalism etc.)

1. *Bicicleta* (anarcho-syndicalist, fairly close to the CNT, but rather eclectic) Founded during the "Libertarian festival" of July '77, with the evident aim of recuperating for the anarchist "bureaucracy" all the aspirations of the ecologists, environmentalists, alternative culture supporters, autonomous elements etc. who began to emerge among the ranks of young students and workers in Spain now as elsewhere. Address: Calle Pinilla del Valle 1, Madrid 2.

2. *Emancipacion* "monthly review for workers' autonomy" Address: Apartado de correos 47.019, Madrid. Published by a collective which wants to "build the organisation of workers' autonomy in Spain" (!) Nevertheless this collective is among those who have provided both analysis and information in these last few years of the most complete kind, especially in the field of struggles at work (see 2 volumes published by Zero in Spain under the title "Luchas autonomas en la transicion democratica").

See also an article in French on these two reviews (Bicicleta and Emancipacion) by Ch. Reeve in the Mai-June '78 number of Spartacus (address see above) This article refers to the debate between these two reviews on

"workers' autonomy" with participation of other groups and collectives.

3. *La Solidaridad Obrera*: this monthly of the CNT of Catalonia has been changing and getting better since last May's issue. Recent articles are on peasants struggles in Catalonia last March and their demands: health benefits for farmers, no more evictions of farmers from their land etc. Their methods are a.o. occupations and blocking roads with tractors and they spread rapidly to other regions and, although controlled by a farmers' union there were huge general assembly meetings during the conflict. It lasted two weeks until the negociaciones which maintain prices for 19 agricultural products.

On the strike by lorry drivers in Barcelona, there is an article which speaks of the baseness and cowardice of the workers' commissions (C.P. dominated trade unions), the UGT (Socialist Party unions) and SU (maoist trade union). The majority of the workers at the mass meeting (assembly) voted to continue the strike (supported by the CNT and CSUT, which is another maoist trade union). The representatives of the other unions attacked the CNT and the CSUT and closed the meeting calling for a return to work because "our forces are now not large enough to continue the strike"(!) We point out that in this article all leaders are criticised together and yet this is an official paper of the CNT; it appears that the editorial staff of this paper has undergone changes incorporating elements who do not support any union including the CNT. It remains to be seen how long they will keep the editorship of the paper, for it is clear now that the CNT nationally (headquarters Madrid) is pursuing a more and more strictly syndicalist line, expelling or criticising sections or groups considered to be "assemblyist" i... for the power of the mass meeting. While no CNT section has as yet signed employer-trade union conventions they have been present at negotiations and their criticisms of the new contracts are quantitative rather than qualitative.

New pamphlet from the collective *La Huelga*, (*ediciones de la Torre, Augusto Figueroa 17, Madrid 4*) "*Contra el Pacto de la Moncloa algunas respuestas de la clase obrera*" Contains an analysis of this "social contract" and a chronological table of all the major conflicts between October '77 and January '78.

Manuscript found in Vitoria, written by Los Incontrolados has been translated into French in January '78 by AAEL, 34 rue des blanchers, 31 Toulouse, France, price 5 FF. This pamphlet takes the intensity of struggle in Spain into account especially those at Vitoria over a year ago which forced the opposing elements in the power structure to join forces against the workers' threat (see the famous Moncloa pact).

Del tiempo en que los revolucionarios tenian razon (the time when revolutionaries were right) is a (not translated) pamphlet that tells of a strike from August 22nd to September 3rd in 1977 in the shoe factories and of the "assembly movement" in the province of Alicante. From the start more than 700.000 workers declared themselves to be in permanent assembly coordinating factories in opposition to the unions and the employers who in the end were forced to negotiate and recognise the assembly's delegates.

IN PREPARATION (Echanges projects already announced in no. 14)

Refusal of work: french edition being printed, English -edition being prepared. To continue this work beyond the discussion pamphlet we would like to collect material which is more direct, either from individual contributions sent to us or through discussions with groups of workers from the same workplace if possible. We are especially interested in firms affected by short time working or redundancies. Contact H. Simon, address see above.

U.S.A.: project for pamphlet (first in French, translated later into English), see list below. The following texts are available (from Echanges Paris) for criticism and comment before the end of August. Then we are holding a meeting in Paris to decide which of these articles will appear in the new pamphlet on the USA (list no. 1 plus possible additions). The articles in List no. 2 will be produced in a separate pamphlet on the car industry (+ one article on the Japanese car industry)

List no. 1

1. Iron mines on strike in Minnesota and Michigan
2. Three months of strike - the coal miners
3. "Let Taft-Hartley come and get the coal" translation of an article by "A world to win", a group from San Francisco on the miners' strike
4. About food-stamps
5. Black-out in New York on the 14th July '77
6. A political view of the Seabrook occupation (the anti-nuclear movement in the USA)
7. Bibliography of works available (esp. in French) on the USA

List no. 2

8. Fleetwood wildcat (article in Radical America, vol II, no. 5, price \$ 2, P.O. Box BN, Cambridge Mass 02140, USA or from bookshops)
9. Ford 1967-1977
10. Class struggle and strike at General Motors
11. Struggles at Datsun-Nissan factory in Japan

INFORMATION

France

(from a french comrade): "At the moment at St. Nazaire the conflict in the Eaton factories has reopened and hardened. The management was sequestered and then handed over to the police. The workers have occupied the factory. The struggle will not be easy. The management absolutely refuses to give in and won't negotiate anything. They consider the present wages linked to the classification to be adequate. The workers don't agree and for a reason. Many of them come from another factory (SEMM-Trigano-Caravelair) in St. Nazaire which has closed down. Compared to their former pay they are now losing quite a lot of money even compared to their unemployment benefit. Most were taken on as O.S.3 (a semi-skilled category) whatever their previous qualifications and experience. Will the struggle get anywhere? Will it hold fast? There are many factors working against this.

From the employers' side the intransigence is total. They have refused all demands all along the line and have taken steps to lay off the assembly section of the factory. There is a possibility of lock-out with sacking for the most militant. There is even a possibility that the factory will close. The factory has been here for three years and the machines are not yet sealed or screwed to the ground. What is hurting the management most is the movement over production slips. Each worker has to fill up a daily slip on which he notes his work done, absences etc. Production is organised around these slips. Since workers have refused to fill them in production control has been impossible the last two weeks. We are asking for the abolition of these slips, but the unions are against this, because they are chained to the prosperity of the factory. We don't have to exploit ourselves. Since this strike over production slips, it seems that lots of parts are being sent to the British Eaton factory in Manchester. We'd like to know more; it would be very satisfying if a link could be established.

From the union side, according to the grape-vine, the local branch has decided that work should start again on Tuesday. In fact this conflict doesn't fit in at all with the sort of "sacred union" which has been established. From the workers' side, the only element that can make them hold out would be the setting up of a big solidarity fund, given the meagre wages of the strikers." (12-5-1978)

We ask all English readers to do all in their power to establish links between the St. Nazaire workers and those at the Eaton factory at Worsley (manchester). Write to Echanges-London or -Paris.

Sales assistants (mostly women) at "Printemps-Nation", a Paris department store, went on strike on May 25th (two days before the French

"Mothers' Day"). The Printemps-Nation is a branch of the store in the east of Paris which was opened about 15 years ago. For several weeks the sales girls had been complaining that their fellow workers in the main store Printemps-Haussman in the main shopping street in the centre of Paris earned 300 to 500 FF (£25 - £45) a month more than them, but it had not got further than talk. The unions seeing that the climate was right, sent out leaflets calling for a strike for the Thursday at 4 p.m. stressing that they were not over-optimistic as to the possible result. It was a success since at 4 p.m. sharp 400 salesgirls, cashiers, maintenance men and office-workers (even the "specials" and the store detectives) walked out of the shop. Only one cashier and a few sales girls stayed behind. Many customers filled their bags as quickly as possible. The reactions were the same as those of the customers in a Toulouse supermarket a few months previously, when the check-out girls had made an on the spot walk-out (see Echanges no. 9). Many left without paying. The next day the employees picketed the entrances to the store to stop the temporary workers the store management had taken on for working in the store. The strike ended the next Wednesday through general lassitude. The employees took no new initiatives. An across the board 300 FF was demanded but hardly anything was obtained. Before the return to work many expressed their anger against the unions who were accused of being too soft and selling out (only the CFDT made a show of being militant, but they exhorted the employees to stay on strike on the Wednesday when more than 300 had already gone back to work. The CFDT are looking for supporters these days, because of the extreme inactivity of the CGT and encouraged by their recent success in union elections in several department stores. However many of the sales girls promised that from now on they will turn a deaf ear to management directives, especially those for increasing "turnover and sales" (information from direct sources).

Brasil

While we could compare the struggles and bloody repression in Egypt, Tunisia, Iran and Peru, what is happening in Brasil is closer to what is happening in Argentina or even Spain in the early 1960's. Certainly in all these countries inhabitants are faced with the results of the economic crisis, which the more industrialised countries - chiefly the USA - are exporting to the weaker countries, because of their economic and military strength. So those most harshly affected are those countries at the bottom of the ladder whose economies are those of semi-colonies. Here, dictatorship, which also maintains the super-exploitation

INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN BRAZIL

Workers rediscover the strike weapon

BY SUE BRANFORD IN SAO PAULO

THROUGHOUT Sao Bernardo leaders with one year's imprisonment and Santo Andre, in the heart of the Sao Paulo's industrial hinterland, charges are brought under the factory machinery has been coming to a halt, giving way to noisy years' imprisonment. In most assemblies of workers, who for the first time in 10 years are collectively expressing grievances about pay and conditions. By last week-end, some 50,000 workers were involved in the movement.

The wave of strikes began a week last Friday in the toolshop of the Swedish lorry manufacturer, Saab Scania. It spread rapidly, mainly to other foreign-owned concerns, including Ford, Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz, Chrysler, Perkins, Philips, Pirelli, and General Electric. A number of Brazilian companies were also affected, such as Cofab which makes car parts and Otis which manufactures lifts.

The strikers' main demand is for a 20 per cent. wage increase, but other claims include cheaper company bus fares, cheaper meals and better medical services. Most employers agreed to study the demands and some have already agreed to give what the others concede. But a few, like Ford, have completely refused to negotiate. Many workers have gone back pending a reply from the management, but promising to come out again if they find the proposed settlement unsatisfactory.

Caught in an election year when it is already under heavy attack from the business sector and the liberal community, the Government has attempted to be conciliatory. Nonetheless, the regional labour court ruled the strike movement illegal last Thursday, though the effect seems to have been to increase the number of strikers.

Although all news of the strike wave has been censored from radio and television, public opinion seems to be firmly behind the workers. For the workers, bringing the factories to a halt has been no less than a historic experience. "After the 12.30 whistle, one or two turned their machines on," reported one. "But they saw that they couldn't really carry on or they'd get it. I almost cried when I couldn't hear any noise. It was strange to realise our power."

The last strike in Brazil took place in 1968 at Osasco, also in Sao Paulo, and ended when workers occupying a number of factories were marched out, their hands on their heads, through lines of soldiers. The law banning strikes in Brazil was passed in 1964, two months after the military took power. It provides powers to dismiss workers from their jobs, and to punish strike

is already more advanced, these methods cannot be used for long, because the proletariat becomes aware of its force and power and new methods of production require other methods of domination. This was what we saw in Spain in the last 20 years. It is what is just beginning now in Brazil. From this flows another important consequence for capitalism on a world-wide scale: Brazil among other things was the promised land for the profits of the multinationals. The explosion of an autonomous class struggle may destroy the means that capitalist investors have to offset lower profits in industrialised countries with the high profits from countries in the process of industrialising. The aligning of struggles on a Western model which is the consequence of this very industrialisation can only increase the difficulties of capitalism all over the world; the internationalisation of class struggle could result from this situation.

Spain

Letter from a French contributor returning from a visit to Barcelona:

"We had a meeting with K. and a friend of his, who is a print worker. In 1968 they left the Workers' Commissions to work in the CNT; they have now left the CNT and prefer now functions in the autonomous groups in the factories where they work.

They confirmed what I heard elsewhere during my visit. They were fairly pessimistic about things at present. At the moment the workers in the graphic section are on strike (this touches books and other allied industries including paper, distribution and sale of certain papers and magazines). K's friend had just come from a mass meeting of 3,000 people. But the strike was union controlled. It finished after two days. In the mass meeting the UGT had microphones and megaphones. Small groups protested, but nobody could hear them. It seemed that those who were there were ready to do something, but the dynamism of a year ago is no longer there. A year ago, everyone would have left the factory for the meeting and gone on a demonstration.

According to K (an engineering worker) when you see things from outside you could be led to believe that the very advanced organisational forms of the workers - mass meetings, direct democracy (revocable delegates) - represent their contents, but he thinks that the contents of the conflicts are not so progressive. The principle of the mass meeting (assembly) is very interesting and does work but only in some places and on a few occasions. When something is happening, the workers get together in a meeting very quickly and act, but when the factory is very big or different sectors meet in one big mass gathering, the unions tend to dominate. The same is true for negotiations. The unions know more about the legal situation and are organised for that; therefore, they take the initiative. The unions, especially the CP dominated Workers' Commissions and the UGT (growing similar as the French social democrat

Financial Times 24.5.78

tation of the multinational companies, that can only be maintained by more and more direct and savage violence. Poverty and the low level of industrial development authorise this form of repression. On the other hand in states where industrialism

"advanced" CFDT), are beginning to become powerful because they are "filling a vacuum". In addition the Workers' Commissions and the CP live still on the myth of the symbol of resistance to Franco (clandestinity); the CP militants were well-trained in the period of "under-ground" activity and its "police" is very efficient.

It seems that everything happens very quickly in Spain. The movement of struggle has to slacken off a little and everyone becomes very pessimistic. Many points need to be developed to explain the relative reflux in the situation. Spain is living through a period of entry into mass consumption. As in France 10 years ago mass consumption is racing ahead, but the difference is that it is now ten years on and they have the benefit of our experience" (April '78).

U.S.S.R.

Although civilian production is reaching American levels and mass consumption is coming to Russia, the problems of the distribution of goods surely plays an important role in the widespread phenomenon of refusal of work in the USSR.

"In December 1977 in Tula, an industrial town 250 km to the south of Moscow, workers in several factories began a strike on the spot to protest against the poor availability of stocks in the town's shops and stores. It is said that they may even refuse to turn up for their wages on pay-day. They say "What good to us are roubles if we can't buy anything with them" "(Le Monde/Paris, 9.11.77)

In the March issue of the anarcho-syndicalist paper *Tout le pouvoir aux travailleurs* (Editions L., B.P. 51902, 75067 Paris Cedex 02) there are four pages on the "free unions" in Eastern block countries, information containing useful material for understanding this movement of "democratisation" of the unions which seems to be developing.

West Germany

More strikes (contd. from no.14)

"In the federal republic the rank and file are on the move". This is how we explained (in no. 14 of this bulletin) that the present German trade unions breaking with their recent past were amenable to using the strike weapon to achieve certain social or economic improvements to the profit of their members. In fact there seems to have been a remarkable change which can only be explained by shop floor pressure. The comments of the weekly

"Der Spiegel" leave no doubt about this: "The time is over when the German union leaders could quote the maxim that "negociating on wages, we can only give and take the extras you make by working."

Until the beginning of the 1970's wage rises kept pace with economic growth in an elastic way, so that the economy recuperated its investment capacity very quickly. Today wage rises seriously hamper profit margins for innovation. Günter Friedrichs, bureaucrat of the IG Metall trade union has said that as soon as a firm is forced to pay wages which outstrip its capacity, jobs are in danger. At this moment it is rare to hear a union leader say something like that ... unions don't want or even can't (our underlining) go back to previous wage policy ... A personality who would dare to stand up to shop floor demands is lacking ... there are more and bigger negotiating commissions. Individual courage needed to accept unattractive compromises is more and more rare ... In the past whenever there was a question of making such a compromise between employers and print workers, for example, the vice-president of the union led the talks. What he decided was law ... Now employers complain about the number of negotiators present who no one can make accept doubtful compromises ... As far as the head of the IG Metall is concerned what distinguishes him from his predecessor is the fact that he can no longer control his subordinates" (Der Spiegel nr. 10/1978)

This is why the printers' and engineers' strikes were quite tough. The workers no longer accept that one bureaucrat at the top decided everything behind their backs, as was the case when the famous vice-president of the printworkers Herbert Schwiedel was still alive and knew how to get round the printworkers. Today there are too many negotiators mutually suspicious of each other, who know that the rank and file might rise up at any moment and they are well aware of the dangers threatening the unions' existence such as, for example, an autonomous action. While they still accept the ideas of capitalist economy in their hearts, they can't lose face at the same time. They can't risk losing control of the leadership of the working class (which wasn't entrusted to them, but which they have taken without consulting anyone). All this doesn't mean that they reject compromises which cannot satisfy their members, but they cannot accept them too quickly, as with each day the German workers become more sceptical of economist arguments. The German federal President Walter Scheel at a union congress at Hambourg may well insist on the need to make progress, but the rank and file remain deaf. He declared "Nothing can work without sacrifices" (Die Welt of 22.5.78), but the German workers don't want to be sacrificed on the altar of technical development. "Wage rises threatens investments, too bad for the workers" the unions used to say; "Too bad for investments" the workers are beginning to reply. Such an attitude, similar to that of the British miners in the 1972 strike, when they refused to carry out pit-maintenance, reflects a change of heart on the part of the German workers. To the extent that such a change is showing

through we can witness a radicalisation which gives to the recent strikes an "importance which surpasses that of other social conflicts of post war federal Germany" (Martin Buchholz in "Berliner Extra Dienst" of 3.3.78).

The radicalisation in question hardly has an ideological character. Even so it would well surprise all those who couldn't believe this possible because of the "integration of the working class in the consumer society". According to them such a level of combativity would contradict a state of things in which the German worker is only interested in his future house (to be built with his savings) or in his new Volkswagen. But once again the development of workers has shown itself to be contradictory. The German workers have become radicalised just because they want to save the gains of the "economic miracle" and as a result they are putting uninterrupted accumulation in danger and therefore endangering the German capitalist economy as such.

What the German strikes show above all is that unions are forced to follow. Of course they follow reluctantly and not right to the end. At the very moment that the IG Metall union was preparing for battle, its leader Eugen Loderer stressed his willingness to be called back at any time to the negotiating table. Despite their proclaimed intransigence the printers' leaders accepted a temporary solution which in no way satisfied the workers. It is true that the men went back to work after three weeks in which most German newspapers had not been printed, but negotiators on both sides realised that they had signed a truce rather than a social peace formular, perhaps no more than a cease-fire, scarcely obeyed by the rank and file always ready to fire. The employers characterise the situation realised by the cease-fire as "problematical" (Die Welt of 21.3.78); the president of the printers' union is trying to delay a confrontation with his members by saying that it is premature to talk of a victory or defeat (Die Welt 21.3.78). Even so he had to admit that the workers who struck had not achieved their aims. (Die Welt 21.3.78).

In any case one thing is clear: the return to work has hardly improved the social climate which no longer resembles what we knew in previous times. Although unchanges, the union bureaucracy must support a struggle, which has been described by a journalist as "a struggle on two fronts: against the employers and against the rank and file which is tending to overwhelm it". (Die Welt 11.3.78) The leaders of the IG Metall union were in the same position as the printers' leaders, first of all because their members are even more combatative than the print workers. The printers' leader Leonhard Mahlein did in fact present the compromise obtained by the printers as a "model" for the engineers (Die Welt 21.3.78), but the engineering workers were of another opinion, so here the position of the bureaucracy was worse than in the printing trade. Before talking about this in a further addition to these remarks (in a future number of Echanges) I would like to make some remarks about the newspaper printers' strike.

As we saw, it was inevitable because of rank and file pressure (see no. 14). As expected this pressure made itself felt as grassroots level constantly. There is nothing surprising therefore in the fact that the rank and file were ahead of the union at certain points in the struggle. They - especially at Frankfurt - found a reply to the employers' lock out. It was a reply as simple as it was effective - occupation. What was fairly strange was that the occupation took place at the "Frankfurter Rundschau" a paper to which the strike had not yet spread officially. However a lock-out had been ordered by the employers' federation for all newspapers. Although the management of the Frankfurter Rundschau hesitated they leaned towards following the employers' federation. At this point the workers intervened (Die Welt 21.3.78 en "Frankfurter Informationsdienst - ID - of 18.3.78) The management did not call the police. Perhaps they wanted to keep up the "progressive" and "social" image of their newspaper. It is also true that in opposition to federal law, the law of the State of Hessen forbids lock-outs. In the occupied print-shops the workers produced a "provisional paper". When they were preparing the second number of this paper the management cut the electricity (ID 18.3.78). At Wiesbaden, strikers produced another "provisional newspaper" outside their premises (ID 18.3.78). A young woman involved with the Frankfurter Rundschau said that during the occupation an atmosphere of gayety and solidarity reigned (ID 18.3.78). At the same time Heinz Oskar Vetter, president of the German trade union federation (DGB = Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund) spoke of a "worsening of the social climate" (Die Welt 21.3.78). The two views of the young woman and the union bureaucrat illustrate that the workers and the bureaucrats speak a different language.

(to be continued)