



VOTE TORY



WHO'LL WIN THE ELECTION? WE ALL WILL! Together we can

FIGHT INFLATION

We will **allow** free collective bargaining but our new laws on picketing and the prohibition of strike action in essential sectors, will guarantee total freedom for employers and bureaucrats.

CONTROL IMMIGRATION

Labour's soft approach is still allowing some blacks in. We refuse to be 'swamped'. We will put an end to it! Who needs the National Front?

IMPOSE LAW AND ORDER

H.M. Government's policies in Northern Ireland will continue to be adopted in England, Wales and Scotland under a Conservative Government. In addition we will hold a referendum on judicial state murder. We believe in a sensibly structured society. We may all be in the same boat but you lot should continue to do the rowing.

STREAMLINE PUBLIC SERVICES

We will expand the Whitehall bureaucracy so as to ensure once and for all the virtual disappearance of useful but 'costly' public services leaving the ground clear for private hospitals, expensive schools, profitable supermarkets and riverside marinas. Only fools will then believe that

**WE'LL ALL WIN WITH
THE CONSERVATIVES**



VOTE LABOUR

**THE LABOUR WAY IS
THE BETTER WAY TO**

FIGHT INFLATION

TUC leaders have helped us to cut wages and break strikes. This special relationship will continue.

CONTROL IMMIGRATION

Our record of keeping immigrant families divided, harassing black youths in the streets, intimidating people in their homes and imposing racially-based quotas, stands for itself. Who needs the National Front?

IMPOSE LAW AND ORDER

Our policies in Northern Ireland are being adopted by the police in England, Wales and Scotland. Armed police, telephone tapping, detention without trial, imprisonment of dissidents and beating suspects to death are enough without restoring capital punishment.

STREAMLINE PUBLIC SERVICES

We will expand the Whitehall bureaucracy and set up committees to look into ways of further rationalising every aspect of your life. Our record of closing hospitals, cutting investment in schools and colleges, high-priced and inefficient public transport shows beyond all doubt that

THE LABOUR WAY IS THE BETTER WAY



A MESSAGE TO THE ELECTORATE

But what are these troublemakers saying? "Every day", they say, "people get together and refuse to be pushed around by those with wealth, power and privilege. They suggest that "we CAN have a society where peoples needs come first, not those of big business or the state. We can ensure that production is not useless or wasted, that work isn't boring and tedious. Communities could be planned by those who lived and worked in them. Housing, food, clothing, transport etc could be provided on the basis of need and not profit or ability to pay.

We would no longer be the subject of other peoples plans. We would work and make decisions *together*, on an equal basis. When we are all bosses, no-one will be boss."

To us this is intolerable and dangerous nonsense. It could soon put us right out of a job. So continue to rely on the bureaucrats and politicians, the bosses and trade union officials. And things will remain as they are.

Remember that we who rule you are a minority and a very small one at that! So we are relying on your help and cooperation to ensure that things don't change.

HOW CAN YOU HELP US? VOTE ON MAY 3rd. And rest assured that whoever you vote for a Government will always get in.

Yours Faithfully,

**Jim Callaghan
Margaret Thatcher
David Steele**

**HOUSE OF COMMONS
WESTMINSTER
LONDON SW1**

Dear Voter,

Once again we call on you to exercise your democratic rights. You may well be thinking, as some troublemakers have been suggesting, that it makes no difference who you vote for. We can assure you that this is not true. We really have rather *different* ways of screwing you.

Our esteemed colleague, Ted Heath, gave you incomes policies, laws to control immigration, more bureaucracy, cutbacks in health, education and social services — and a three day week. Now, things are different. With Labour many of you have no jobs at all. And there have been better cutbacks in health, education and social services.

The next Government will continue to rule Britain in the same responsible manner. The Liberals and others will, of course, continue with their helpful approach of backing whichever Party is in power.



structure, by their ideas and by their activities, both social-democratic and bolshevik types of organisations discourage this kind of understanding and prevent this kind of participation. The idea that socialism can somehow be achieved by an elite party (however 'revolutionary') acting 'on behalf of' the working class is both absurd and reactionary.

9. We do not accept the view that by itself the working class can only achieve a trade union consciousness. On the contrary we believe that its conditions of life and its experiences in production constantly drive the working class to adopt priorities and values and to find methods of organisation which challenge the established social order and established pattern of thought. These responses are implicitly socialist. On the other hand, the working class is fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication, and its various sections are at different levels of awareness and consciousness. The task of the revolutionary organisation is to help give proletarian consciousness an explicitly socialist content, to give practical assistance to workers in struggle, and to help those in different areas to exchange experiences and link up with one another.
10. We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership, but merely as an instrument of working class action. The function of SOLIDARITY is to help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in industry and in society at large, to generalise their experience, to make a total critique of their condition and of its causes, and to develop the mass revolutionary consciousness necessary if society is to be totally transformed.

details from

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solidarity

as we see it

1. Throughout the world, the vast majority of people have no control whatsoever over the decisions that most deeply and directly affect their lives. They sell their labour power while others who own or control the means of production accumulate wealth, make the laws and use the whole machinery of the State to perpetuate and reinforce their privileged positions.
2. During the past century the living standards of working people have improved. But neither these improved living standards, nor the nationalisation of the means of production, nor the coming to power of parties claiming to represent the working class have basically altered the status of the worker as worker. Nor have they given the bulk of mankind much freedom outside of production. East and West, capitalism remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work, and manipulated in consumption and leisure. Propaganda and policemen, prisons and schools, traditional values and traditional morality all serve to reinforce the power of the few and to convince or coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading and irrational system. The 'Communist' world is not communist and the 'Free' world is not free.

3. The trade unions and the traditional parties of the left started in business to change all this. But they have come to terms with the existing patterns of exploitation. In fact they are now essential if exploiting society is to continue working smoothly. The unions act as middlemen in the labour market. The political parties use the struggles and aspirations of the working class for their own ends. The degeneration of working class organisations, itself the result of the failure of the revolutionary movement, has been a major factor in creating working class apathy, which in turn has led to the further degeneration of both parties and unions.
4. The trade unions and political parties cannot be reformed, 'captured', or converted into instruments of working class emancipation. We don't call however for the proclamation of new unions, which in the conditions of today would suffer a similar fate to the old ones. Nor do we call for militants to tear up their union cards. Our aims are simply that the workers themselves should decide on the objectives of their struggles and that the control and organisation of these struggles should remain firmly in their own hands. The forms which this self-activity of the working class may take will vary considerably from country to country and from industry to industry. Its basic content will not.
5. Socialism is not just the common ownership and control of the means of production and distribution. It means equality, real freedom, reciprocal recognition and a radical transformation in all human relations. It is 'man's positive self-consciousness'. It is people's understanding of their environment and of themselves, their domination over their work and over such social institutions as they may need to create. These are not secondary aspects, which will automatically follow the expropriation of the old ruling class. On the contrary they are essential parts of the whole process of social transformation, for without them no genuine social transformation will have taken place.
6. A socialist society can therefore only be built from below. Decisions concerning production and work will be taken by workers' councils composed of elected and revocable delegates. Decisions in other areas will be taken on the basis of the widest possible discussion and consultation among the people as a whole. This democratisation of society down to its very roots is what we mean by 'workers' power'.

Self-managed institutions and collectivities will be the living framework of a free society. There can be no socialism without self-management. Yet a society made up of individual self-managed units is not, of itself, socialist. Such societies could remain oppressive, unequal and unjust. They could be sexist or racist, could restrict access to knowledge or adopt uncritical attitudes towards 'expertise'. We can imagine the individual units of such a society - of whatever size or complexity (from chicken farms to continents) - competing as 'collective capitalists'. Such competition could only perpetuate alienation and create new inequalities based on new divisions of labour.

Genuine freedom will only be possible when our lives are no longer the object of economic, cultural and political forces which we experience as external to ourselves, and which constantly tend to regenerate capitalist or authoritarian social relations. A socialist society would therefore abolish not only social classes, hierarchies and other structures of domination, but also wage-labour and production for the purpose of sale or exchange on the market. To fulfill their needs and desires, people would live and work in free cooperation. The national frontiers of armed states would be replaced by a democratic human community, on a world scale. The elimination of competition (and the decay of competitive attitudes) would have profound social effects which we can hardly imagine today.

7. Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification. Sterile and harmful action is whatever reinforces the passivity of the masses, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others - even by those allegedly acting on their behalf.
8. No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its power without a struggle and our present rulers are unlikely to be an exception. Power will only be taken from them through the conscious, autonomous action of the vast majority of the people themselves. The building of socialism will require mass understanding and mass participation. By their rigid hierarchical



Solidarity is a paper, a flow of pamphlets, and an organization of rank-and-file activists with new ideas. Our purpose is to develop and extend these ideas, to promote their discussion and, wherever possible, to act upon them. A brief outline of our approach is printed overleaf. A more detailed statement will be sent to all enquirers

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a question of power

Few of us run our own lives. This is because we have no control over the main decisions that affect us. These decisions are made by small self-perpetuating minorities. This situation cannot be 'democratically' changed. What our rulers call 'democracy' is a system which operates for their own protection. As long as their 'democracy' is not seriously challenged, their dominating position in society is secure

Their threatened use of violence is intended to frustrate any challenge. It is implicit in the large police force, the courts, and the armed forces which they control. The limited freedom that their 'democracy' allows us is further restricted or curtailed altogether whenever they think their power is seriously threatened

They hold the power to maintain their power. This is the key to their security. They determine the kind of education provided, and the ways and means of providing it. By controlling what and how people are taught, those who rule us seek to preserve the structure of existing society. Children are educated first through the family - i.e. through the already-conditioned parents. Then the education factories (schools and universities) take over. Their aim is to produce people conditioned to fit into this rat-race society

Workers created Trade Unions and Political Parties to change all this. But by gradually adopting similar patterns of organization to those of their oppressors, and by concentrating the struggle almost solely on improving working conditions and living standards, the original revolutionary intentions have been bypassed. Working people have gained considerable material advantages but they have lost control of their own organizations. Today the hierarchies are in control. They can neither be removed nor brought back to the initial aim of freeing people

Those who dominate production dominate society. So long as they have their kind of industrial stability, control will remain in their hands. This control enables them to continue deciding what is to be produced, who is to produce it, where, when, how, and in what quantities. All this conflicts with the interests of the real producers - the workers. Those who run our lives continually seek ways of blurring the conflict and of manipulating workers into accepting that management alone is capable of making these decisions

The union hierarchy assists them in this fraud. While acting as middlemen in the labour market, the union bosses do all they can to frustrate any awareness in workers of their own ability to run industry. In fact, so-called working class organisations are today an essential part of the set up. The formation of new unions or parties would not solve the problem. In today's conditions, they would suffer the same fate as the old ones

But the system is contested. There is a constant struggle in which the objective is self-management. In a large majority of disputes, workers have taken real democratic decisions to act without the consent of the union bureaucrats [so-called unofficial strikes]. This is one of the signs that our rulers' 'industrial stability' is under strain. The strain is also visible in the education factories, where students are increasingly demanding the right to take decisions on fundamental issues. There are many other signs of the crisis that is affecting every aspect of this society

Solidarity participates in the struggle wherever possible. We try to expose the true situation. We seek to strengthen the confidence of working people in their *own* ability to manage their *own* lives - at work and outside of it. People's reliance on others to do things for them has led to defeat after defeat. It is time for victories! Victories depend on people consciously taking action themselves. To help in the development of this consciousness is the only reason for the existence of **Solidarity**