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Soli

# solidarity

FOR WORKERS' POWER

aberdeen

PAPERMILLS stoneywood  
culter  
netherlands

 Consolidated Pneumatic  
TOOL COMPANY LIMITED

EDUCATION

no. 5

6<sup>d</sup>



# STONEYWOOD: BEATERMEN

Stoneywood Paper Mills in Aberdeen is the largest Mill, producing the widest variety of papers in Britain: with the building of the new envelope factory beside the Mill, the Wiggins Teape complex may eventually employ 2,500 workers.

Wiggins is one of the 'big four' British paper-makers, producing 200,000 tons a year, and with a turnover in excess of £101 millions. Their profits have risen almost every year from £3,388,000 in 1959 to £7,973,000 in 1968. Attempts to rationalise production in the mill, including the present job evaluation, have been covered in Solidarity Vol 5, Nos 6 and 10, and in Aberdeen Solidarity No 1. The following letter, received from a Stoneywood worker, describes resistance to management attempts to create divisions on the shop floor.

## LETTER

Under the No 10 Agreement we are obliged to work 72 hours every six months, compulsory overtime, any other overtime is purely voluntary. The beatermen in Stoneywood (about 90 men on three shifts) have decided to ban this voluntary overtime because of the new pay structure which has been introduced into the Mill.

Ever since this Mill started production, early in the 18th century, the beatermen and machinemen have always been paid the same rate - grade I or class I. But this has changed since the job evaluation was carried out. This was done, according to the management, because of anomalies in the wage structure, in which there were something like 200 different payments. This statement by the management was obvious rubbish, since before we had only 4 grades (I, I-A, 2 and 3) but now we have 8, H, G, F, E, D, C, B, A - note the scale is inverted, another method of confusing the workers.

Anyhow, after they had done the evaluations, which were mainly carried out by Departmental Managers none of whom had been on the beaters, they came up with the previously mentioned categories. The beatermen were placed in category F, which meant that there would be a difference of 10d per hour (between them and the machinists - ed.). But the management had claimed that no one would lose under the new structure! The beatermen's case was overcome by making the beatermen on the job, or those who had done the



six months probationary period, named men, which meant that those on the 6th, 8th and 9th machines were getting the same (as machinists), being on fixed bonus; but the beatermen on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 7th machines still had less. After some badgering backwards and forwards they were given a little more.

Now after numerous meetings between the management and the workers, the management and the union are in a vacuum or stalemate, and the men are being accused by the management of "damaging the industry" because some part-time workers in the Overhauling, Cutting and Rolling departments had not enough work to keep them going, and had to be paid off. The manager maintains that he cannot run the Mill efficiently without the extra overtime.

An interesting comment on all this was made in the yearly Trade Review of the local "Press and Journal" (20/1/70), which stated that Stoneywood workers had received a substantial rise in wages last September. The majority of the process workers and those in the engineering department are infuriated with this statement, because after consolidation, some of the workers are actually getting a farthing less per hour. It is essential that these statements in the press are refuted, as some of the workers' wives after reading it think that their husbands are keeping the extra.

"One who is involved."

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## JOINT MILLS LEAFLET

The following leaflet is the result of the first joint action of the Aberdeen Group, and the newly established Dundee Group. The leaflet was produced for distribution at the Culter and Guard Bridge, Cupar, Paper Mills, both parts of the same combine.

The distribution at the Culter Mill was met by a generally favourable reaction, but as yet there has been no report from Dundee as to the reception at Guard Bridge.



## CULTER - GUARD BRIDGE

Workers in both the Culter(Aberdeenshire) and Guard Bridge(Fife) paper mills should be taking careful note of the announcement that the profits of Culter-Guard Bridge Holdings have fallen to £167,000 for the six months to September 1969, compared with the 1968 figure of £552,000.

The management of this paper group have been accustomed over the years to a very high profit level extracted from the labour of the workers in the two mills. Both mills are big employers of labour (over 700 each) in rural areas with little alternative employment. Consequently the bosses have been able to avoid disputes, keep wages down and profits high. The average gross pay of workers in the paper and printing industry in this country is £26:2:0 weekly, a figure much higher than that paid in either of these mills.

It is unlikely that the bosses will make no effort to increase their profits once again. Other firms in the paper industry have reacted to their profits problem by sackings, speed ups, productivity agreements and job evaluation, and there is no reason to think that this is not on the cards at Guard Bridge.

Workers should be preparing now to combat any such moves by the management. As a bare minimum shop-floor level contacts should be established between the two mills; (Solidarity is prepared to help in this), the prospects of a joint mills bulletin should also be discussed. Redundancies or increased exploitation inside the factory can only be fought by the workers themselves, no help can be expected from a union like S.O.G.A.T which has recommended to its members acceptance of agreements allowing for increased costs to be met by reductions in manning and overtime. Traditional methods of struggle have many limitations, and in the final resort, occupation of the factories is the surest means to combat attacks on the working-class when they occur.

JOINT LEAFLET PRODUCED BY 'SOLIDARITY' ABERDEEN AND DUNDEE.

READ 'SOLIDARITY' a socialist paper for militants in industry and elsewhere. Discusses the crises of modern society and new methods of struggle against Capitalism.

AVAILABLE FROM:- Dundee; F. Browne, 444 Perth Road.  
Aberdeen; N. Roy, 138 Walker Road.

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# C. P. T. & CUMMINS

This is our third consecutive issue with material on the Consolidated Pneumatic Tool Co. factory in Aberdeen. We know the magazine is widely read and discussed there, and we appeal once again to workers to send us articles, comments etc., (anonymously if desired). Send all material to:- N. Roy, 138, Walker Road, Aberdeen. About 36 of the last edition were sold at C.P.T., twice as many as on the first occasion. The sellers were thrown out of the factory by one of the under-managers, who then made strenuous efforts to discover the author(s) of the articles.

## C.P.T. AND THE CUMMINS CONTRACT

An interesting example of how managements are prepared to juggle with the livelihoods of the workers on the shop-floor has just occurred inside C.P.T. History seems about to repeat itself.

C.P.T. produces a wide variety of pneumatic tools in the Aberdeen factory, but they also do contract work; the most important in the past few years being that for the Cummins Engine Company (most of the famed "Genuine Cummins" parts are made by C.P.T.) A few years ago the main contract work was done for Rolls-Royce, and when the management then came up with the brilliant idea of cutting this to concentrate on their own products, the result was a pay-off of over 100 men in a few months.

There are over 400 manual workers in C.P.T., and at least 10% are engaged practically full-time on Cummins work, and have been for some years. As a result of this they have been earning a decent bonus regularly. However, C.P.T. recently lost a big contract for their own work because they could not guarantee delivery, so once again the management have decided to cut contract work. The Cummins contract will cease in about six months. It is also rumoured that it is intended to switch work on the Reichdrill (a C.P.T. designed drillrig) down south to a subsidiary of the firm. Many workers are already mentioning redundancies...

The point which should be made here is the complete lack of control of the workers over something like this, which deeply affects them. We were not even informed, let alone consulted, about this great change, and rumour has fed on secrecy. However, we are not helpless; unless an assurance is received that there will be no redundancies, the workers should forcibly prevent the movement of the machines, jigs and guages which are being sold to Cummins to continue this work. It is also time that the stewards convened a meeting to discuss the situation with the workers.



# EDUCATION

In Aberdeen Solidarity No 4 we published an article on students, which suggested the problems facing manual workers and students were increasingly similar. In this issue we print a reply from a comrade in Belfast which attacks this view and also an article by a member of a newly-emerged pupils action group in Aberdeen. Solidarity has never taken the Trotskyist view that struggles like these are peripheral or jumped into uncritical identification with any struggle in the anarchist tradition of non-politics. In this sense the following two articles are complementary in seeking to analysis the potential of struggles by pupils and students, both in their own right and in relation to the struggle in industry....Further contributions are invited.

## STUDENT REVOLT

Comment on Solidarity (Aberdeen), No 4.

In Aberdeen Solidarity No 4, K.N. suggested that there are parallels between the situation of students at University and that of workers in industry: superficial similarities were pointed out, with the S.R.C. compared to official T.U. leadership. But there is more to the position of students than this, and deeper analysis is needed before workers are asked to accept them as kindred spirits.

The majority of students are still drawn from the non-proletarian social class groups which the entire educational system is geared towards, and in most cases the bourgeois values of their backgrounds are easily able to survive a few years at University. At the same time, all students are being trained to take over privileged positions in society, as the technocrats, professional types and managers required by modern bureaucratic capitalism. The process of their training, while it may alienate some, is far from being the same as the direct exploitation undergone



by industrial workers; in fact, students are destined to assist and perpetuate this exploitation.

The alleged revolutionary potential of students is a favourite theory with some sections of the left, such as International Socialism and "Black Dwarf", who thus justify their largely student-based support; and their view might seem to be confirmed by experience in some countries, notably France. According to them, the requirements of present-day capitalism have brought a change from the old situation where the small ruling class educated its own heirs to assume their inheritance, occasionally incorporating a few strays from the lower orders who gratefully accepted their new status. In recent years the auxiliary rulers have had to be recruited much more widely to run a more complicated set-up, so that the base from which students are drawn has broadened out greatly. Simultaneously, the overcrowded conditions of the "degree factories" increase the tendency for them to become dissatisfied, question established ideas and draw revolutionary conclusions.

This analysis is fairly plausible and may give us hope for the future. The only trouble is that its optimism does not stand up very well to the test of meeting and observing large groups of students at first hand. The dual process of broadening-out and alienation is slow to take effect; old outlooks and aspirations are depressingly prevalent. Unrest, where it does exist, may only denote impatience at not being already full members of the ruling group.

We can, however, admit that there are some good things about student protest: disruption has nuisance value for the establishment; the dissenting minority seems to be growing; the critique made by student activists is often extended to society outside the university; the self-activity of the people involved increases, and small numbers of those affected may refuse to fulfil their appointed role in the exploitative system. But the hopeful signs must be seen in context, and student revolutionaries have to consider whether the student movement as such is worth spending much time on.<sup>x</sup>

Revolutionary change cannot be brought about by an upheaval in the educational system alone. It is quite easy for the authorities to grant "concessions" towards representation and consultation, or participation, and for trendy Sociology departments to adjust their courses in accordance with student preferences. Until the social



system itself is changed, and with it education as a whole, the student movement will in any case be limited by the social composition and position of the student body.

Another aspect of the optimistic view of students is the idea that their activities may spark off a wider movement like that of May-June 1968 in France. If this is to occur, it is necessary not so much to "link the struggles" of students and workers, as is usually suggested, as for students to see their own struggles as being comparatively insignificant and to make themselves instruments of the workers' movement wherever possible. At present it is extremely unlikely that an outbreak of student unrest in this country would initiate a proletarian uprising, even if some preconditions for the latter existed. Most workers view students with a deep-rooted hostility and suspicion which is understandable and justified as long as even revolutionary students remain preoccupied with their own limited and already comparatively privileged environment.

L.A.W.

This is not to accuse K.N. or other student solidarists of confining their activities to the student scene.

## FREE SCHOOLS GROUP

Solidarity has been contacted and informed that a group has been formed by several participants in the merry-go-round of education in Aberdeen. This includes some teachers as well as pupils. The function of this group, the Free Schools Group, is to be an attempt to change an educational environment directed towards producing dutiful young servants for employers and authorities. Among other things the group will be demanding "that such things as work and strikes be debated" in the previously moribund school debating societies and that strikers militant students etc., be brought in to speak.

The most recent development on the educational scene has been the production of "Pupils Own Revolutionary Newspaper" and we have received a copy of the first edition. The editors first sentence states that "This newspaper is produced by Aberdeen pupils who believe in a worldwide society based on free socialist principles" and sums up by saying that, "We stand for the creation of an industrial and educational democracy."



The development of any autonomous group, holding principles as stated above, is one which we would be only too pleased to encourage. This is the primary function of Solidarity. And the whole scene of education is an extremely important one.

On the editorial page of PORN, ten demands are made, consisting of several very important ones, these in my own opinion, being that "societies be run by these engaged in them, and not by the school authorities", that "all decisions on the running of the school be taken by an elected council of staff, pupils and parents subject to the right of instant recall", that "the perfect system, prizes and exams be abolished" that all political groups be allowed to organise within schools and that "all forms of punishment be abolished".

However there are other demands that "both uniform and restrictions on dress and length of hair be abolished", and that "all cadet forces militarism and army recruiting in schools be abolished", which seem to refer to problems largely peculiar to senior secondary schools. Indeed there is an article in PORN devoted to the subject of school uniform, in which the writer claims that solidarity with working class comrades is prevented by the alienating influence of school uniforms must inevitably lead to difficulties in communication. I would dispute that this factor deserves the importance which the writer attaches to it. This alienation is induced by factors far more fundamental than the simple imposition of uniform, indeed, I think the writer earlier expression of an effect of uniform, "they suppress the personality" is of greater importance.

If that is so, that the lack of communication is due to more basic reasons, then the removal of uniforms is not going to radically change the situation. This leads me to what I really want to know. How are school militants in senior secondaries going to bridge this massive lack of communication between themselves and their "working class comrades" in the junior secondaries? In fact, what is their relationship, if any, going to be? It seems to me that the relationship needed between senior secondary pupils and junior secondary pupils bears some resemblance to the kind of relationship desirable between students and workers.

\*since this article was written a few copies of PORN have been sold at the junior secondaries; we welcome this effort (editors).



The promotion of a degree of social consciousness in universities and in senior secondaries (or in the top streams of comprehensives) alone is absolutely meaningless in terms of the democratic socialism that we want.

The article by N.K. in Solidarity (Aberdeen) No 4 on Aberdeen students has prompted a reply from L.A.W. and in this issue we publish an editorial comment. Further comments on that issue, or any raised by this review will be welcomed.

R.A.

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The tactic of occupation of a place of work or education to force the authorities to concede to demands is not a new one. The students of L.S.E. and the workers at Renault in 1968 were only adopting a tactic which had been used successfully for many years and the origins of which can be traced back to before the occupations in America in the thirties and in Italy in the twenties.

The pupils of Aberdeen Grammar School played their part in the development of the tactic of occupation when the magistrates tried to shorten their winter holidays. The pupils, suitably armed, barricaded themselves in the school and held out against the forces of "Law and Order" demanding that their holidays be left intact. They held out for four days until their food ran out and they were forced to leave the building. Although the pupils were thrown into jail and expelled from the school, the holidays were left intact. A remarkable achievement in 1520.....

## GERMAN PAMPHLET

Work has finally started on our pamphlet on the "German Revolution". Much little known material will be incorporated; the pamphlet will be at least 30 pages and should sell about 1/6. It should appear in three months. Estimated cost is £50... and loans or donations are welcome.... SEND TO ABERDEEN GROUP ADDRESS



# HOLLAND

## INTRODUCTION

Workers in the paper industry will see some similarities between the situation of the carton workers in the following article and their own economic and geographical situation. The main conclusion to be drawn from the struggle is that even organisations established in the course of struggles by the workers themselves, can, by default, become bureaucratic or controlled by groups whose aims are not identical with those of the workers themselves.

When we repeatedly insist that workers must control the form, content and duration of any struggle themselves, we do this firstly because this concrete form of self activity enables people to take decisions in a collective and democratic manner, and this is essential in the development of socialist consciousness; and secondly that this type of democracy based on the widest discussion, accountability of delegates etc., is the only guarantee in the short term that a struggle can be waged with any degree of success. This does not mean that workers in struggle should remain isolated or turn their backs on those willing to help. But these contacts themselves should be made by the workers, and help from outside should be on the workers, not the outsiders' terms.

## CARTON WORKERS

In the past few years, there have been two strikes in the carton industry situated in the north of Holland in the province of Groningen. Between these two strikes are differences both characteristics and instructive. In both strikes, the first in 1965 and the second in 1969, the workers came out on strike against the will of the unions, but this is almost the only similarity between them.

In the first strike, the workers formed their own strike committee and conducted the strike without submitting to outside influence. The first strike was on



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unlimited one. On the other hand, in September and October 1969, the strike was virtually controlled by a local politician from the Dutch communist party whom the strikers invited to join their committee. The strike even allowed this outsider to become their spokesman.

Both strikes were caused by working conditions. The north of Holland is under developed compared to the rest of the country, wages are lower and alternative employment more difficult to find than in the rest of Holland. The carton industry is centred on several small towns in the east of the province of Groningen. According to the economic experts of the government, the future of this industry is uncertain but this must be seen in relation to the position of other Dutch industries. During the strike a Dutch newspaper published the industries profits which had risen over the last few years.

### STRUGGLE OVER THE CONTRACTS

The unions have always in this industry signed yearly collective contracts on the 1st of January. In 1965 the content of one of these contracts caused the strike as the unions did not manage to reach an agreement which was acceptable to the men. The bosses had completely refused to increase wages or meet any of their other demands and by the end of March '65, no agreement had been reached and the negotiations were dragging on. For this reason the workers came out on strike at the beginning of April. Their struggle was not only against the bosses but also against the union bureaucrats. The union immediately called for a return to work but the workers rightly ignored them. In the first 36hrs about a dozen small firms joined the strike and the workers marched from town to town spreading the strike.

The union bureaucrats were inactive for a month and then renewed their attempts to force a return to work. Mass meetings were organised at a hotel in the town where the strike had originally broken out. These meetings were convened by the unions to persuade the men that their demands would not be met until they returned to work. The men reacted violently and even before the meeting the men were in sharp conflict with the union. The unions intended to overcome the workers opposition by resorting to the old trick of closing the meeting to non-union members. The union members, however, insisted that their mates be admitted and the union were forced to give in with the result that the motion to return to work was soundly defeated and the



men threw the union officials out of the meeting and continued without them. The unions then said that they would not continue negotiations with the management until the men returned to work. It was this threat that finally broke the strike. The strike did however result in some of the men's demands being incorporated in the new contract.

In September and October 1969, events went completely differently the action was a series of one day strikes, and no attempts were made to spread the strike as in '65', the men's position was much weaker. There was a feeling on the strike committee for a total strike but the majority were swayed by the local Communist Party representative in favour of the one day stoppages. The men came out on strike on the Monday of every week and although attempts were made to increase the stoppages to two days, these were blocked.

#### THE STRIKE COMMITTEES AND THE UNION.

Another major difference between the two was the attitude to the union bosses, while in both strikes, the men were anti-union, in the second the strike committee were in favour of working with the union. During the second strike, the strike committee's line was that it was the union bureaucracy that was the enemy, the union was in itself good. They said that it was necessary to strengthen the unions in order to replace the bureaucracy by others who would represent the rank and file. There is a difference in consciousness of action between the two strikes. In 1965 the workers realised the gulf that existed between themselves and the unions and each attempt to trick the men was met by a violent reaction. In 69 they listened to the Communist politician who told them to stay calm and the union would be forced to do as they wished. Thus the men did not feel it necessary to attack strongly the unions and what they stand for, in 1969 the strike committee did their best to maintain the men's illusions concerning the unions.

The composition of the strike committee was not the same in both the strikes. In 1965 it was elected by the strikers, in 1969 it was composed of union militants who had formed an action committee. It cannot be denied that this second committee held the men's confidence as much as did the '65' committee but their ideas were somewhat different. The rank and file realised this difference and tried during the strike to change the emphasis of the committee by electing workers to it during the strike.



In spite of the fact that the action committee still held illusions about the unions, the attitude of the men towards the unions remained clear. At a meeting on Sunday 5/10/69, the president of the socialist trade union said "our hands are tied by the national agreements". The meeting reacted with contempt. "If I suggested to the union leadership that we support your strike, I wouldn't have a chance of them agreeing" (Ironical Laughter). "The unions want the carton industry to return to normal work". As soon as he had finished, a worker got up on the platform and took over the microphone after protest by the bureaucrat. The workers said, "Fuck you, we don't give a fuck for your orders", and amid applause continued.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SETTLEMENT.

The carton workers strike met with a great deal of sympathy in the country as a whole. Many workers donated to the strikers funds; practically every factory in the province of Groningen donated. The attitude of the Communist party of Holland was typical of its politics. The general attitude of the party was "certainly, collect money for the strike but through the channel of our party". That is why the P.C.N. (Communist Party of Holland) violently attacked student groups outside the party who were collecting for the strike. You couldn't but get the impression that for them collections were another way of influencing the form the struggle took. The P.C.N. even gave money collected by an independent student group to the strike fund in its own name and refused to allow representatives of the left-wing union O.V.B. to speak at any of the strike meetings.

At one point the bosses made a compromise offer of 10/- a week to compensate for the rise in prices in 1969, which had been one of the causes of the strike. They also wanted the four or five Mondays lost through strikes to be made up by extra work on Saturdays. The strike committee refused. Among the strikers there was a feeling that they were achieving nothing and that the 10/- was the equivalent of wages lost during the strike. In the upshot the unions were able to attain what they sought; the vote for calling off the strike was taken and almost unanimously.

Based on an article in "Informations Correspondance Ouvriers"



# DUSTMEN

The strike of Aberdeen dustcart drivers ended early in the New Year after seven weeks. The men gained part of the pay increase they had been asking for, but their wages are still not in line with Edinburgh's and Glasgow's as they had originally demanded.

McKay, Aberdeen's Cleansing director was quoted in the press as saying "the strike actually saved the Corporation money". During the strike there were several periods of bad weather during which the drivers would have normally been on overtime sanding roads and clearing snow. The money the Corporation saved on overtime in this period more than compensated for the cost of the external contractors who were called into clear the piles of rubbish in the streets.

The car owning rate payers who could take their rubbish to the tips by car were scarcely affected either, and only put pressure on the corporation to employ private contractors to clear the rubbish and break the strike. As there were growing piles of rubbish in many streets, the Labour council found easy justification for strike breaking by pointing out the health risks.

Undoubtedly the strike was only a limited success. Dustmen should be asking whether an overtime ban and partial strikes would have been more successful; saving the men money and giving the corporation no excuse to bring strike breakers.

## SCOTTISH GROUP ADDRESSES.

Aberdeen.....c/o N. Roy, 138, Walker Road, Aberdeen

Dundee.....c/o F. Brown, 444, Perth Road, Dundee

Edinburgh.....c/o T. Wooley, 14, West Preston St,  
Edinburgh.

Clydeside.....c/o D. Kane, 43, Valeveiw Terrace,  
Bellsmyle, Dumbarton.

## LIES AND DISTORTIONS?

"The whole history of Bolshevism, both before and after the October Revolution is full of instances of manoeuvring, temporising and compromising with other parties, bourgeois parties included (Lenin : P.51-52 of 'Left wing Communism')



# 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 nationalization 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 a 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 the exploiting society is to continue working smoothly. The Unions act as middle-men 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 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 remain the same.

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 man's understanding of his environment and of himself, his domination over his



work and over such social institutions as he 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, without this no change will take 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.

7. Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is what ever 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 structure, by their ideas and 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 patterns 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 help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in industry and in society at large, to generalize their experience, to make a total critique of their condition and its causes, and to develop the mass revolutionary consciousness necessary if society is to be totally transformed.