

SOLIDARITY

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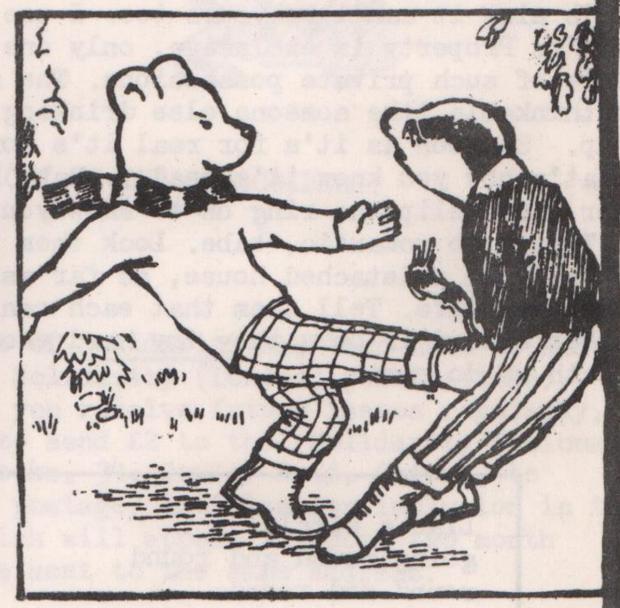
FOOTBALL SPECIAL



*Rupture and Willie are in dismay,
Uniteds defeat has spoilt their day*



*Bill's chants are too much for our pair,
Such untimely reminders cause deep
despair*



*Bill Badger means to rub it in
But Rupture is going to do Bill in.*

**contents : birth, hotel strikes,
sex roles, syndicalism, food,
the crisis & television.**

FREE RELATIONSHIPS

"The monogamous relationship is the foundation of our society. I'm not going to lash out at that..." (Victor Lowndes, of PLAYBOY, talking on the Radio 4 programme WOGAN'S WORLD in 1974)

The idea of property gives the form to all relationships in our society. It underlies our personal relationships too. It does not matter whether you are legally married or merely living together; the chances are that you suffer from the same basic mystification. One person is the property of the other. Each is each other's property, especially the woman. The message from the media sings the same tune: "Baby be mine....I know she's mine....You ain't woman enough to take my man".

Capitalism. Relations of Production.
My factory, My workers, My profit,
My wife, My husband, My child,
My shoes, My God, My God,
Why hast thou forsaken me ?

Then the bitterness, the inevitable jealousy. If it's mine it can't be yours too. I use her so you can't. Property is exclusive, only one owner is possible of such private possessions. The alternative is unthinkable like someone else drinking out of your cup. So soon as it's for real it's for only two, that's how you know it's real....Babe I'll love you for ever, slip the ring on to show you're mine alone.. ..That's so romantic, babe. Lock them together, ideally in a detached house, as far as possible in a detached life. Tell them that each can satisfy the other's need if only they try hard enough....Till death us do part.

Like a circle
going round and round
round and round
the same centre with perpetual motion
endlessly nowhere

Closed with a vow that
shuts like a lock
with a circular ring
in the end of its nose
symbolising
POWER

When it all falls through, don't try something new - repeat the old medicine - "adultery" is followed by a new marriage. Monogamy must prevail - it's the easy way of keeping us all isolated in our most dynamic feelings, handcuffed together. Frustrated people, unfulfilled people, will work harder, to achieve the mythical self-realisation that only advertising can give.

But socialism is about sharing, about breaking down our isolation, about setting people free to control their own lives in cooperation with others.

If our relationships aren't free, what else can be? Jealousy isn't inevitable. It is agonising to be rejected, of course, but is it always rejection of me for him/her? She insisted she loved us both, at the same time, and courageously went on insisting it, and in the end I realised she meant it, though I went through all the useless, pointless, conventional agony of jealousy. And after all, ~~wasn't~~ not arrogant

to suppose that I could have satisfied everything she wanted from her relationships, myself alone? What ultimate machismo, to think she should have no needs I could not supply! The age-old male illusion, building self-respect on sexual prowess in particular, a satisfied harem, or the next stag will take over and leave you cuckolded, the impotent failure.

Me Tarzan, you Jane,
Me satisfy you
All your life through
You not complain
Or I go away again

Just because he is accepted, I am not necessarily rejected. I knew I wasn't. Change the images you use and you can begin to change yourself. It's not "mine" so I can't "lose" it, no one can "steal" it from me, but she can go away from me even without that. She's free, I'm free, we don't "belong" to each other, we just want to be together, and share certain things. So we don't blackmail each other into staying. In open, free relationships everyone is there because they want to be there and not somewhere else. They don't stay together because of the blackmail threat - "You'll hurt me if you go, so you must stay". It feels good to know you're there because you like me and want to be with me, not because I won't like you again if you go away.

Andrew loved his wife so much
He shut her in a rabbit hutch.
In front there were two lovely doors
But they were always shut of course.

Their marriage limped along just fine
Rather like this stupid rhyme
Until she gnawed a hole one day
So the wire netting fell away

Poor Andy flew into a rage
And swore that if she left the cage
He'd never let her back again
Because she'd caused him so much pain.

Rather than see him so upset
She said She'd stay and be his pet
And now when Andrew needs some petting
They do it through the wire netting.

No, I'm not talking about sexual holidays but about non-competitive, parallel relationships (going on at the same time - but not necessarily in the same place !!) that don't involve people rejecting A for B. A sexual holiday is one side of the knife edge - it's the recuperation of the act of open relationship, the trivialisation of it - only one relationship really matters. A bit on the side doesn't count because it doesn't change anything. If open relationships succeed there's a dangerous domino effect (for capitalism) - there's always another person involved; to convince, to convert, to try and get them to abandon the old mystifications. Of course people do get hurt - sometimes even free relationships can involve real rejections. But you never know - people might get too interested in sex to go to work.....

"Adultery" is the other side of the knife edge. It's not at all an attack on monogamy, any more than

crime is necessarily an attack on property. It confirms the original idea of exclusivity, simply by destroying one exclusive relationship in order to establish another. It would have been easier, when I began to relate to J. if "adultery" had been my aim, (or hers). That would have been comprehensible, but a free open relationship where you can't "lose" because I "gain" or vice versa, is a lot harder. "Her" man couldn't grasp that.....Nor could some other people.

So in the end there were four of us in the middle of it all, trying hard to work it all out, but the other people we had to convince weren't ready for it. It broke down in the end. But it wasn't less meaningful for all that. We learnt a lot. You don't reject the idea of revolution because the Hungarian revolution failed, do you? If that sounds a grandiose comparison, you may be right, but it still expresses the significance of the experience for me. You only learn what the forces are that hold us down when you actually start to challenge them by doing what isn't done.

Like no parking land
Jackie luvs Kevin Kellogs
cornflakes cover my
emotion feeling from one
lampost to the next prices
all slashed in a pool of
jealousy Christmas will soon be
here and I haven't thought what
to give her when the revolution
comes

when we were together
the trains offered us
political asylum till
securicor behind the avantgardian
cared for us too and
we got an X certificate for
improper use who needs a
police state when you've got
the 7.10 to Waterloo friends and
relations any
questions?

Jealousy isn't a fundamental human characteristic unless you teach people to feel it, to grasp certain situations as justifying it. Children are taught not to feel jealous of each other in the family. They have to share love. Why not adults? It's not the old male chauvinist dream of polygamy. It's for both sexes, straight and gay. If A is good, isn't 2A even better? How do you know you haven't the potential within you to demand and satisfy more than you're getting and giving now? Our creativity, our potential, is so frustrated and crushed out of us by the concealed but terrifying pressure of conformity, that we just don't realise half the time that there is anything to liberate in us. But "when the workers rise/not with the alarm clock but with their desires/the capitalists must beware....."

M.O.

(all poems except "Tarzan" and "Relations of Production" written at the time. All the rest four years later).

CRISIS! WHAT CRISIS?

It has been accepted almost throughout the Left in Britain that we are currently experiencing a world crisis. I believe that this is a complete misrepresentation of the real state of affairs. There is no fundamental world crisis of capitalism. There is merely a steady decline of the British economy.

Britain was the first country in the world to become industrialised. It established itself very early on as the workshop of the world. It supplied manufactured goods to the world and took in exchange raw materials and wealth. It established large areas of the world as its exclusive territory (colonies) and was able to sell its goods at high prices and obtain its materials cheaply. Consequently it established a privileged position for itself on the world market. Britain was at or near the top of the hierarchy of nations.

That position of privilege has now been eroded. Since the Second World War Britain has been forced to give up the vast majority of its colonies. The people of the colonies themselves forced this upon Britain and so did the powerful Americans who wished to take over dominance of these markets. The base of the British economy has consequently been eroded. The British no longer get their raw materials cheaply and they no longer have a secure market for their products. This is the obvious reason why the price of British raw materials has gone up and British sales have gone down.

During the years of Britain's industrial supremacy the people of Britain were able to achieve the highest standard of living in the world. Now that this supremacy has been undermined the standard of living has declined relatively. Britain is using out-dated machinery and methods to compete with the



rebuilt machinery and modern methods of Japan and Germany. Small wonder that the older sections of British industry cannot compete.

The press may ramble on about the British disease of strikes and industrial militancy. The fact is that it is not strikes which have undermined British industry. It is rather the shift in the balance of power of the modern capitalist states.

The Marxists may ramble on about the arrival of the final crisis of capitalism. The fact is that there is no insoluble world crisis. What is happening is that the world economy is going through one of its occasional and quite controllable periods of recession. This recession is hitting particularly hard the countries who are declining in the world hierarchy of nations. This has created a state of affairs which could be described as a crisis in such countries as Britain and Italy.

But this is not the old type of crisis which the Marxists take it to be. From the first days of capitalism, until the end of the Second World War, the world economy was always subject to periods of violent boom and slump. There were periods in which everyone wanted to buy and expand their businesses and there were periods in which everyone wanted to sell and to contract their businesses. The boom and slump followed one another in an uncontrolled manner.

Those days are gone for good. At the end of the Second World War the capitalist countries of the West learnt that if the state intervened it could reduce the severity of the booms and the slumps and achieve a steady growth of the world economy. This they did by the simple device of increasing or decreasing state expenditure.

If the tendency was for the economy to go into boom and for the capitalists to want to expand their businesses then the government was careful to increase taxation and to reduce the amount of money available to businesses. This cut down the demand for goods and restricted production and so the boom was reduced in intensity.

If the tendency was for the economy to go into slump and for the capitalists to want to contract their businesses the government was careful to

reduce taxation and to expand the amount of money available to business. This increased the demand for goods and expanded production and so the slump was reduced in intensity.

This planned intervention of the state was highly successful. It has worked so well that there has not yet been a fundamental crisis of capitalism since the war and we can safely conclude that there

will never again be a crisis of the old type. This does not mean that a crisis is impossible but it does mean that any crisis will take new forms. Nor does this mean that a state can create a prosperous economy out of the remnants of a declined Empire.

If British industry cannot compete with the industry of other nations then the prosperity of Britain will decline relative to that of other countries. The intervention of the state cannot prevent this. But the intervention of the British state and of the states of the world (in the form of the International Monetary Fund) can prevent a complete and sudden collapse of British industry.

This is the explanation for the latest round of spending cuts carried out by the government with the assistance of the IMF. The government has agreed to reduce our standard of living so that it corresponds more accurately to our position in the hierarchy of nations. The IMF have agreed to make sure that there is no collapse of the British economy.

The British crisis is therefore under control. There will be no inevitable collapse of British capitalism. Equally there will be no inevitable collapse of world capitalism. Neither in the Western world nor in Britain are its problems terminal.

This is not to suggest that capitalism has no problems. International capitalism does have significant problems. But these problems do not constitute the driving force for an inevitable crash. The problems are both social and economic and the two are thoroughly interconnected.

On the economic front capitalism has a number of problems which it has yet to find a solution for.

Firstly, there has been a steady but varying tendency for money to fall in value (inflation) and for the

rate of interest to rise. This causes periodic currency crises and discourages investment. But there is no reason why closer international cooperation and more careful planning of the international economic relations could not overcome these problems. The very creation of the IMF and the steady increase of its powers is proof that the capitalists are already seeking to solve their currency problems by an increase in planning.

The second major problem on the economic front is the constant need to locate new supplies of certain raw materials. There is only a fixed amount of fuel and raw materials in the world. Capitalism is using it up at a staggering pace. This enables the countries with large stocks of fuel and raw materials to club together and charge monopoly prices for the supply of these products. This is the explanation for the sudden increase in the wealth of the Arab nations. It is also the explanation for the current recession in the world economy. But this is not a completely insoluble problem. Alternative sources of power are gradually being sought for by the capitalist nations. North Sea oil is one such source. Nuclear power, water power and solar power are other sources that are increasingly being utilised.

Capitalism can therefore in principle solve the problems which the world economy is currently experiencing. But there are certain fundamental social problems which capitalism can never solve. In all the capitalist countries (and this includes Russia and China) the controllers of industry are faced with a working class which is unwilling to work. The workers concentrate not on how to do the job as effectively as possible but on how to avoid working as effectively as possible. Capitalism constantly has the problem of bringing an unwilling workforce to heel. This problem it cannot solve and it is here that worker's self-management can provide the only answer.

This is an important conclusion for socialists. Since we cannot wait for capitalism to fall down of its own accord we have no grounds for apathy. We must continually stress that capitalism can offer us nothing but a life of following orders. We must avoid being caught up in the general despair which is a characteristic feature of any period of economic decline. We must reaffirm the tried and tested formula - 'If you don't hit it, it won't fall !'

A.B.



HOTEL STRIKES

To enter Oxford's most expensive hotel (The Randolph) you have to cross a picket line. The hotel has sacked 20 workers for joining a trade union. 15 of the strikers are chambermaids earning 75p an hour - their take-home pay is thus not enough to spend a night at the hotel.

A mile away, outside the Linton Lodge, there is another picket; conditions here are even worse. When the Transport & General Workers Union asked the management to recognise them, the two shop stewards were sacked and fourteen other workers came out in sympathy. We interviewed one of the pickets, Seamus Keyes (a chef) who used to get £20 for a 58 hour week.

HOW DID THE STRIKE BEGIN ?

"At the beginning of November a Mr. Ian Ratcliffe and a Mr. J. Tosti, both waiters at the Linton Lodge, went to see Mr. H.L. Levy, a director at the Linton Lodge, to discuss contracts of work; they were speaking for the majority of the staff at the hotel. At this meeting he agreed to issue contracts of employment to the staff, but as he was going to America for 3 weeks we agreed to await his return.

Joseph Tosti and Ian Ratcliffe then managed to recruit 17 members of the 37 people working in the hotel - this figure includes the manager and wife, one assistant manageress, three heads of department, three office staff and six people not eligible to join a trade union.

On Sunday November 14th Joseph Tosti was elected shop steward by the members of TGWU in the hotel and on Monday November 15th we notified the assistant manageress of the fact as Mr. Natali was out for the day.

On November 16th, a letter was sent by Mr. Hulet, the district organiser of TGWU, to the manager of the hotel asking for Union recognition. The letter arrived on November 17th and on this day Mr. Joseph Tosti and Mr. Ian Ratcliffe were sacked, supposedly for shoddy work after working at the hotel each for five months.

On November 18th Mr. Tosti and Mr. Ratcliffe went to see Mr. Hulet with the letters of dismissal. He then telephoned Mr. Natali who referred him to his solicitor. In the mean time, Mr. Natali was seeing certain members of the staff asking if they were in the TGWU if so telling them to resign from the TGWU or lose their jobs.

Mr. Hulet then decided to go to the hotel to have talks with the manager. As the manager would not speak to him, he asked us to withdraw our labour, which we did. Only one member of the TGWU decided to carry on working. The other 13 members who came out on strike received their notices on November 18th saying "I hereby terminate your employment at this hotel; the reason for your dismissal being that you are now taking part in this strike". This notice is illegal".

HOW MUCH SUPPORT HAVE YOU HAD FROM THE UNION ?

"The union realised the importance of the strike, as they know that in the catering industry a union is badly needed so four days after the strike started the union made the strike official on November 22nd.

Since the TGWU made the strike official they have supported us very well financially. But getting to inform the different levels of bureaucracy in the TGWU was and is a long hard job."

HOW MUCH SUPPORT HAVE YOU HAD FROM OTHER WORKERS ?

"The support from the workers comes through the financial backing by the workers' union branches and also workers coming down on the picket. This support is much appreciated, but it is also an advantage to have more support especially in body form on the picket".

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTS OF THE STRIKE ?

"The objects of the strike are to attain the right which legally entitles anybody to join any union of his or her own choice and not to be victimised for doing so. And also the law, legally saying that a person should have a contract of employment after being employed for being employed for 13 weeks."

APART FROM PICKETING WHAT OTHER FORMS OF ACTION HAVE YOU TAKEN ?

"We have taken various forms of action other than picketing, by putting proposals from our branch (5/670) to Trades Council, and the District Committee of the TGWU. We've had a demonstration through Oxford City Centre organised by Trades Council.

We've also had a proposal passed by the District Committee of the TGWU to black all Trust House Fortes Hotels; the threat of this has resulted in Trust House Fortes having talks with the union".

(NOTE: The last remark refers to the dispute at the Randolph Hotel, Oxford, which is owned by THF and is also on strike at the time of writing.)

G.J.

In the last fortnight there have been several developments. The hotel is said to have lost £50,000 in the last 6 months and Levi (the owner) is now threatening to turn it into a hospital for geriatric millionaires (not much difference from its current use) - wouldn't it be easier to recognise the union and take back the strikers? Also, some workers are not waiting to support the Randolph strikers. West Midlands T&GWU members are already starting to black Trust House Fortes Establishments (owners of the Randolph) including deliveries to motorway hotels. The strikers urgently need financial help. Donations to the Randolph Strike Fund c/o 41, Bridge Street, Osney, Oxford. Linton Strike Fund, c/o 127, Botley Road, Oxford.



His Majesty Jack Jones.

"Isn't it beastly of you to stop people going into the hotel? You've driven the poor people nearly bankrupt. If some workers were sacked it must have been because they were bad workers. Why do they have to do this to get their jobs back? They could easily get other jobs. Why should they get higher pay? My husband hasn't had a rise for years. You don't if you earn over £8,000 a year. He's a judge. I might as well work as a cleaning lady. Do you know you have to pay cleaning ladies £1 an hour in Summertown? It's disgraceful."

(Irate upper class client to pickets at Randolph Hotel)

THE POLITICS OF INDIGESTION

A REVIEW OF "HOW THE OTHER HALF DIES" BY SUSAN GEORGE (PENGUIN 1976).

The fact that World Food Production has increased by 155% since 1949, as against a population increase of 67%, hasn't led to fuller stomachs, and Susan George's book explains why. Over the same period, the amount of rice available per person has doubled. These figures give the lie to the reactionary assertion made by the cabinet office earlier this year, that "only the improvement and widespread use of contraceptive methods can prevent mass starvation."

The real problem is that, in Europe as well as in Latin America or Asia, trade in food is increasingly dominated by multi-national, agribusiness companies and by a mere 2.5% of land owners with holdings of more than 250 acres, controlling 75% of all the land in the world.

Of the 1,250 million tons of food and feed grain produced annually in recent years, industrialised countries eat half - though they account for only about a quarter of the world's population - and their animals eat a quarter of the grain, equivalent of the total human consumption of India and China together.

It is not desirable for individuals to harbour guilt, however. The system whereby millions of consumers are eating such a proportion of the world's cereal grains in this form is one which the consumer generally has very little control over. It is, moreover, a system which needs to be understood in order that it can be changed.

Modern agriculture has become a highly sophisticated, highly energy intensive system for transforming one series of industrial products into another series of industrial products which happen to be edible. In this, farming has become almost incidental. In the U.S.A., for example, it occupies a mere 4% of the population. The energy- and capital-intensive food system, expressly geared to consuming enormous amounts of grain and industrial products, is the one the U.S. is trying to inflict upon the rest of the world. Chickens in Argentina are now being fed just like those in Alabama.

It is a tragic irony that over 80% of the starving people in the world live off the land. Why can't these people make a living? Because the social inequalities in their own countries make this physically impossible. They are held back because land is concentrated in so few hands. Existing social structures in the Third World prohibit people from producing even a fraction of the food they could grow if only a small measure of social justice was applied. This, you may feel, is their problem, but the role of imperialist nations

East and West in nurturing and sustaining local elites is important. There is, however, another vitally important factor in keeping poor people hungry for which the industrialized nations cannot shirk responsibility. This factor is the so-called 'cash crop' that demands so much time, space and effort in the poor countries. Here again most of us have nothing to do with how the world economic system is set up, but all of us profit from it to a degree in that Third World people are subsidising our breakfasts, lunches, dinners, clothes, car tyres etc, through their cheap labour.

This present world agricultural division of labour which assigns the poor to producing food and raw materials for export to the rich is a hang-over from the colonial period. Entire continents and economies were adapted to the vampirical needs of the 'mother' country. If you examine the transportation system, for example, in nearly any poor country, you will see that roads and railways have not been geared to facilitate commerce between neighbouring countries, or even regions of same country, but to getting food and other raw materials moved from the hinterland to the capital and the ports and from thence northwards.

Now the producer countries simply do not control the international price for their products - they take what they can get. O.P.E.C. has brought higher revenues to raw-material producers because of their remarkable unity and exceptional western dependency

on the commodity they sell. But bananas? A banana producers combine was tried and squashed!

The US Foreign Agricultural Service published a survey last year which admitted that 46 of 50 food-importing countries applied policies which directly or indirectly discouraged domestic production.

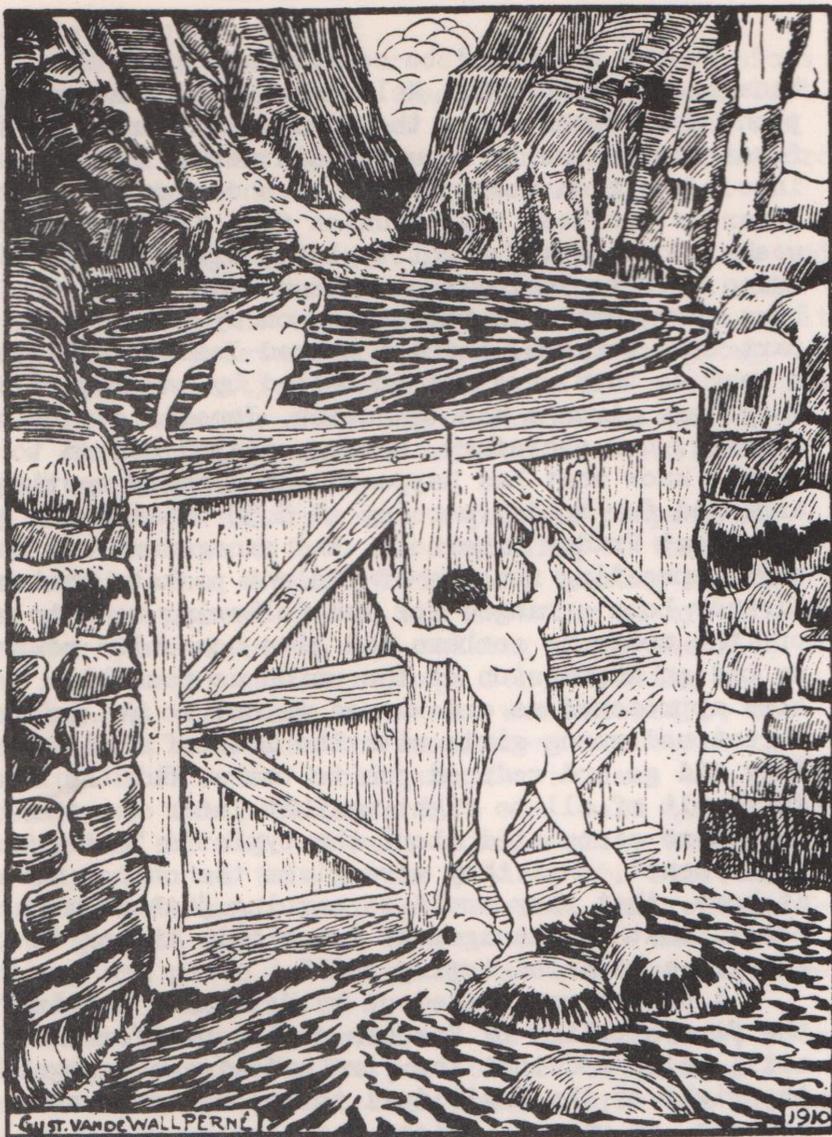
But in Latin America it is largely US multi-national companies which, with the active support of governments, control food production at the expense of the local poor. With the growth of integrated firms controlling land use, shipping and distribution, multinational corporations, such as Nestle, Del Monte, or Brooke Bond Liebig, are estimated to control 40% of total world output in the processed food sector.

As Susan George puts it: "Africa is now supplying not only its traditional palm, peanut and copra oils to Europe, but fruits, vegetables and even beef.... Mexico and South America are purveyors of luxury foods like strawberries and asparagus to the US. Cattle ranching is being pushed into areas such as the Sahel, the Kalahari Desert and Ethiopia."

In the sense of providing this kind of information the book is very useful. However the author's reformist conclusions (such as advising those concerned about the problems to join War on Want or the World Development Movement, and encouraging the setting up of Third World 'workers' co-operatives') tend to blur the impact it could have had.



CHAINED MALES



One of the most fundamental features of present society is the radical difference in behavior expected from men and from women. We are brought up to conform to rigid, socially - determined sex-roles. Women are supposed to be submissive and docile - 'natural' mothers and homemakers, dependent on men. Men are supposed to be tough, emotionally unexpressive, venturesome and dominant.

Under capitalism, people live in monogamous nuclear families; one man, one woman and their children. For satisfying the basic human need for sex and companionship, this arrangement is extremely inadequate. It is unlikely that many people can be happy in lifelong holy deadlock with one individual (although they may pretend to be). On the other hand, the nuclear family performs two important functions for the capitalist system. Women, doing housework, carry out the vital economic task of providing domestic care for the workers of today, and bringing up children, the workers of tomorrow - by way of unpaid labour. Secondly, the patriarchal structure of the family serves to pass on the authoritarian values of class society from one generation to the next.

Male and female role conditioning exists to mould people's personalities to fit the system. Women (whose role is the subservient one) and gays (who suffer ostracism and persecution because they do not conform to prevailing ideas of sexual differentiation) clearly get the worst of it, but it is a burden and a misery to 'straight' men too (or at least some of us). In this article, I want to look at the problem of sexism from a male (heterosexual) point of view.

From early childhood, we are expected to live up to an ideal of 'masculinity' which involves suppressing our emotions and not showing 'weakness'. 'Big boys don't cry'. Very early, we learn that the worst thing that can happen to us is to be considered 'feminine' - a 'sissy' (or later, a 'queer'.) If a little boy should happen to prefer dolls and flowers to toy soldiers and football, powerful

forces of ridicule and disapproval are soon brought to bear to force him into line. Consequently, we are led to regard women as inferior, as well as having to suppress 'feminine' qualities in our own makeup - i.e. gentle and aesthetic qualities.

As boys, we are taught to seek achievement by competing with others. Success is something to be attained by our own efforts, at the expense of others' failure. At school we do compulsory games, where we must 'prove ourselves' in physical strength and skill. Such is the obsessional importance attached to sport during boyhood that an informal social hierarchy is built up, on the basis of how well we perform. Those of us who do badly - usually because of physical weakness - are humiliated. Those who perform well win admiration and are chosen for leadership positions. Competition in games prepares us to compete with each other in the capitalist system - 'the game of life' as headmasters often call it.

In films, T.V. series and so forth, the hero-figure is almost invariably a man who is proficient in violence and dominating towards women. An authoritarian social order, which is held together (in part) by violence and threats, teaches males to repress their fears and adopt aggressive attitudes, so that it can select some of them as soldiers, cops and the like.

There is a powerful social taboo - which applies to men more than women - against openly expressing one's real feelings. Men are oppressed because society expects them to appear self-reliant, cool and confident at all times, even when they feel afraid, lonely, vulnerable and need emotional support. We are pressured into maintaining a constant facade of being self-assured and forceful. We are drawn into useless ego battles in which we compete for prestige. Society inhibits the extent to which men can show feelings of tenderness and affection, towards women and, especially, each other. Men can't touch each other in a friendly way (as women can) without being branded as 'queers' and 'wierdos'.

Any movement for social revolution which seeks to free humanity from all forms of oppression must involve men, as well as women, in a serious attempt to overcome social conditioning. The idea

that people can achieve 'personal liberation' outside the class struggle is an absurdity, but it is equally wrong to say that radical change in personal relations must wait until after the overthrow of the capitalist system. We need a movement that will fight like hell against capitalist oppression in sexuality and personal life as well as in industry and the community at large.

Every socialist should support the demands of the women's liberation movement for reforms such as equal pay, a real end to discrimination, abortion on demand, socialised childcare, etc., which are necessary to provide the material basis for sexual equality. But it is important for men to realise that sexism is not purely a 'women's issue' - that it is a matter of direct and fundamental importance for us all.

Men can, and must, play a part in fighting sexism, by struggling to free themselves from the masculine-role stereotype, not in a spirit of guilt and self-mortification (which is more appropriate to feudal Christianity than socialism), but with a view to being able to live fuller, more human lives, and to relate to others, both men and women, freely and spontaneously, with sensitivity, warmth and honesty.

Dick A.

COLLIER MACMILLIAN -

My first experience of a strike came about a month ago, and it's certainly one thing I will never forget in my life. For me, too, it showed up unions in a new light. Although I had previously criticised them relentlessly, and often they do deserve criticism, there are still cases where the only protection against a ruthless employer lies in the backing of an official union with all the bureaucratic and financial status it has.

I went to work for Aldermaston College in Reading, a correspondence college owned by the American concern Collier MacMillians, who also publish scientific textbooks and arrange business conferences. The job I had was as a correspondence clerk, at the grand salary of £1400 p.a., but as I was unemployed at the time I certainly could not afford to turn it down. During the first week I found out that some people were making attempts to form a new branch of the TGWU, (ACTS), and I joined and went to a few unofficial meetings in people's houses. Needless to say the managers found out that this was going on, and my own manager tried to intimidate me in various ways. First he began the reasonable approach, arguing that he knew the wages were low, but then people knew what they were before they came, and that the firm would go totally bankrupt if it paid more money out to the staff. Then he implied that it would certainly not go unnoticed that I was a member when it came to the end of my three month assessment period. At the same time he was working on a young girl from the general filing room, telling her not to sign her union form and to tear it up "you stupid girl" as it would get her nowhere.

At the meetings I met other people and learnt about the wages of other people which were incredible. To give a few examples, one woman was employed part time, 20 hours a week, and was earning 40p an hour, a printer was earning £17 before tax, and a school leaver £14 a week for fulltime clerical work. Even the audio-typists, normally a reasonably well-paid job for women, were only earning £17 to £20 a week. There were many other grievances too, for instance the firm's policy was that a doctor's certificate must be produced after one day's absence from work, and some people complained that they had great difficulty in getting leave to go to the doctor or dentist and one young lad had even lost his dentist because he had to cancel so many appointments. One manager, a Mr. Finch of the print shop, was revealed as a real Hitler. He insisted that the printers clean out the toilets and the drains among their other duties, and was constantly rude and vicious in his behaviour towards them. The firm had a history of victimisation towards union members, and printers who had attempted to start their own union a time back had all been dismissed.

In a few days the number of paper members had risen from a very few to 70 and the union representative decided to put in a claim for recognition under the Employment Protection Act.



He had attempted to communicate with the Managing Director, Mr. Wellsman, without success, by phone and letter. Then the management struck their first blow at us in no uncertain terms, and forced us into a position where we had to show our strength after we had been paying union fees for less than 3 weeks. They sacked eight typists, six of them being union members including our branch secretary who had been very active in recruiting on my floor. They were part time workers, and all worked less than 21 hours a week so they were not protected by any legislation. They were given a minute notice. Immediately before leaving, our secretary, Hester, stayed behind to let us all know what had happened and a hasty meeting was arranged for Monday morning at 8.30 outside the gates.

That Friday afternoon, the management set to work, spreading rumours of violent pickets that had already been arranged for the following week to scare off the moderate members and give non-union members as bad an impression of the union as possible. My boss approached me and warned me not to go, he also threatened young girls with the loss of their job if they did go and reduced one to tears. But the most difficult of all to fight against later was the lies that were circulated about the typist's "alternative employment", that they were given the chance to work at home, that they would be earning just as much money, that the management "were only trying to achieve a balanced typing pool".

A notice was posted up by Wellsman, stating that the firm's policy of "secure employment for all" still held, and that the firm had always recognised the right of the individual to belong to a union. However, he warned, unions had been known to imply that their members had been victimised, and circulate leaflets in an attempt to recruit people and therefore his loyal staff must be on the lookout for this kind of intimidation.

Attempts were made to set staff against each other, managers saying that the typists were earning more than full time staff, trying to arouse jealousy, which was easy to do because of the general discontent and lack of communication between the staff. (These barriers were successfully broken down forever amongst the staff out on strike on the picket line).

On Monday morning, when we all got off the buses (free transport was provided by the management as the place was so remote) there were police cars already waiting in the lane, and a group of managers at the gate noting down people's names as they passed by to join the meeting.

The meeting took place on the village green (the first public meeting ever held in the village since the Normans, we were later told by an interested villager) and the real facts about the typist's "alternative employment" were given to us. Aldermaston college were very fond of home workers and had quite a nice little list of married women with children on their lists, some of them being qualified tutors who worked for as little as 14p a test paper. Now they wanted their typists to work at home too for 7p a letter, doing the same output as before. This would have meant for the same hours they would earn £8.40 a week instead of £16.80.

The union representative recommended strike action as he saw this as an attempt to squash the union, and the vote was taken for the first ever strike. Our demands were to be recognition of the union and reinstatement of the typists.

The problems of arranging pickets were tremendous, people lived in Basingstoke, Reading and Newbury, and as coach drivers were instructed not to let us on to the buses it was virtually impossible for most of us to get there. But somehow people managed to be there every day, although we soon realised that there were not enough people. 20 people returned to work out of the 40 at the meeting by the end of the strike returning in dribs and drabs, and were grilled by the management when they returned

ANATOMY OF A STRIKE

about our activities.

The support that we received from other unions was marvellous; cleaners, factory branches and left wing groups all contributed to the fund, which was distributed according to need. Most support came from unions which had only recently won recognition themselves.

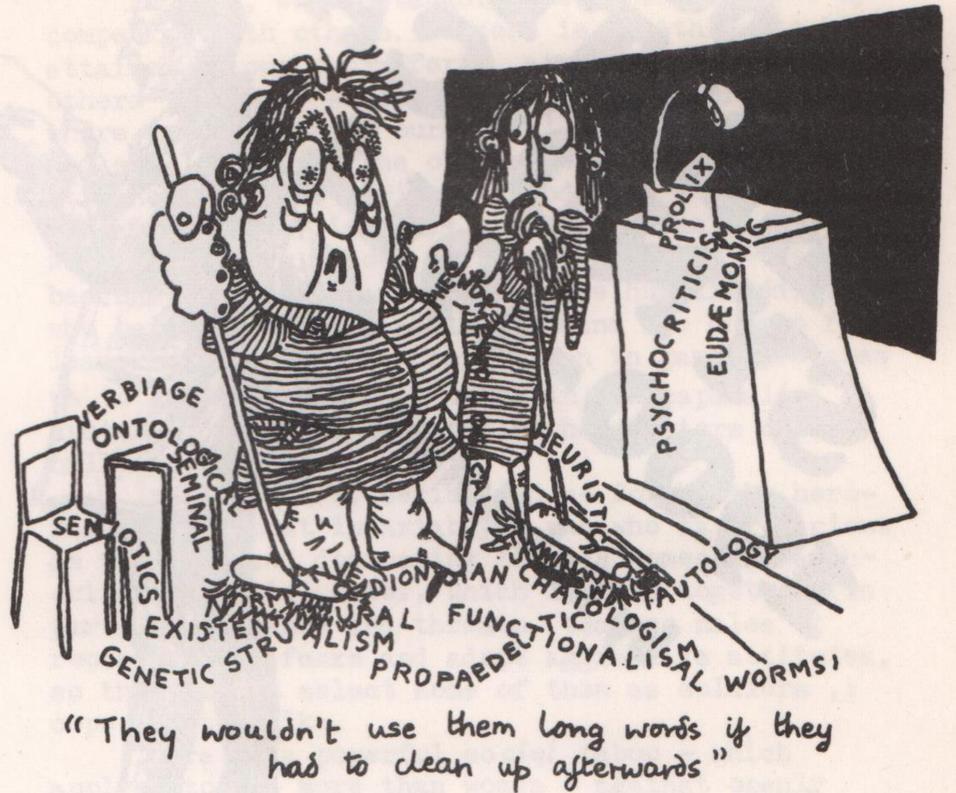
All during the picket it rained, and at the end of the first week the manager brought out tea and umbrellas when he thought he had succeeded in splitting off the printers from the rest of the group after a conversation in private - on the pretext that he didn't know why there was a strike and wanted to know what their grievances were so he could think about rectifying them.

The coach drivers were a private company who were non-union and from the beginning to the end of the strike were extremely vicious, tearing through the gates at great speed, and swerving at myself and another striker as we were walking along the side of the road to get to the college for picketing one morning. At one stage one woman was knocked to the ground by a car. Also the management succeeded in banning us from the local pub, for a time, by speaking to the publican's wife who said quite blatantly that she did not want union members in the pub. We duly reported this to the police, who said they could do nothing to help us. However, our representative got all deliveries of beer blocked until an apology was given to us, which was considerably more effective.

Also abuse was hurled out at us from cars, from "friendly villagers". The post office cooperated by not crossing the picket line but letters were picked up by management cars, and home workers were brought in from the village. We suspected night workers, which later proved to be true, but were too few to be able to keep up a 24 hour picket. At the end of the month it was decided to return to work. The government officials from the Arbitration and Conciliation Board had been brought in and dates arranged for tribunal hearings for unfair dismissal of the typists. The general feeling was that our numbers were insufficient to continue, and the picketing was getting less and less effective as people grew more tired. But people were still prepared to continue if it was thought that we would gain anything by staying out, and there was never a real decision reached, it was all very confused. There was a vote taken to return to work, but the Union representative's feelings that we should do this weighed very heavily against those who were willing to stay out.

A meeting was arranged with the top brass of the Union and our representative and Wellsman while we remained outside the gates, waiting the outcome, prepared to vote again. By this time people's resolve had weakened considerably. The cold and the lack of money were beginning to wear us down, but most of all the news from inside that people were doing overtime made us feel we were fighting a lost cause. There was a good deal of bitterness and bad feeling amongst us.

After two hours our representative succeeded only in getting a written promise that there would be no victimisation if we returned to work. And so it all fizzled out, in a very undramatic way, and we returned after a month. Although we did not win either of our demands, improvements had been made while we were on strike. Safety guards had been put on dangerous machinery and some stairs had been mended. Overtime pay instead of time off in lieu had been introduced (but this was only paid when the reason for working overtime was a strike!) A staff welfare committee had been set up which fooled no one, not even the non-union members, as it stated from the outset that it was not a "decision making body" and that Mr. Wellsman was "the democratically elected chairman". Most ironical of all the only issue not on the agenda was wages which Wellsman refused to discuss.



Perhaps the funniest thing of all, indicating the kind of firm Collier MacMillian is, was the issue of the Xmas party. Of the goodness of their hearts a staff party was held every year on Xmas eve, but owing to financial difficulties it had been cancelled before the strike. Now it was on after all, it seemed, and in addition we had all been granted a half day's pay leave, generosity unheard of before!

Technically our strike was a failure, but it could be argued that we had been persuaded into going back before we should have done, and that our leaders had "sold out". But I think that would be a very black and white way of judging the situation. The most important thing that happened to us all was that we were formed into a union together then, with a unity that will never break down, and is still as strong as ever now we are back at work. The stupid divisions of petty status and jealousy that separated the typists from the correspondants and the office workers from the printers had all gone during that month outside the gate. The printers now found that their manager respected them as a force and was even afraid of them.

The union fund has neen left intact for the next strike action which will be much better organised. We have seen on the picket line how women can be pushed aside, how natural timidity is taken advantage of, and are determined to increase our numbers next time with help from local factories.

Although we are suspicious of the Workers' Revolutionary Party which printed a leaflet on our behalf without consulting us and tried to manipulate a vote at a meeting, (until thrown out), and even doubtful of the union bureaucracy above us which seems to underestimate our strength, we feel the need for a union. Without official support we would have had no money, no duplicating facilities to print leaflets, and most important of all, no structure to build on.

No one knows how our union will develop in future - but one thing is certain, Collier MacMillians will never be the same again.

Anon.

book review BRITISH SYNDICALISM 1900-1914 by Bob Holton



Pluto Press £2:95 paperback £6:60 hardback

Bob Holton's book, which looks at the era of mass strikes and violent industrial struggle just before the First World War, contains a wealth of information about one of the most dynamic periods in British labour history.

The syndicalist movement, which grew up between the 1890s and the 1920s in many parts of Europe, the U.S.A., Latin America and Australia as well as Britain, sought to overthrow capitalism through industrial struggle and create a new society free from oppression and exploitation. The unions, as organisations of workers at the point of production, were seen both as instruments of class warfare and as organs of administration in the post-revolutionary society. However, a union could only be revolutionary if it were run democratically by its rank and file members and not dominated by officials. In America, the syndicalists abandoned the conservative A.F.L. unions and created 'one big union' of their own - the Industrial Workers of the World. In Britain, where a much higher proportion of workers were already union members, syndicalists followed a different strategy (outlined in 'The Miners' Next Step', a famous pamphlet written by Welsh miners in 1912) of struggling for rank and file control, local branch autonomy and class struggle policies within existing unions - while encouraging unofficial action.

Syndicalism reached its peak in Britain from 1910 to 1914. Although committed revolutionary syndicalists never numbered more than a few thousand, their influence was much more widespread, and a general mood of direct action and militant confrontation with the bosses (which Holton terms 'proto-syndicalism') affected large sections of the working class. Mass strikes took place among the miners, seamen, dockers and railwaymen. The ruling class was frightened by the unofficial, insurgent character of the movement, and the failure of the union bureaucracy to channel industrial grievances into the safe institutions of collective bargaining and conciliation.

The strikers challenged capitalist law and order with acts of sabotage and attacks on scabs. Miners attacked power houses kept going by the coal owners to operate pumps and ventilation machinery. Railwaymen disrupted scab-operated train services by tearing up tracks, putting obstacles on the line and damaging telegraph systems. At Chesterfield, a strike crowd set the railway station ablaze, and was only dispersed by repeated bayonet charges. In Llanelli, strikers seized food from goods trucks and set them on fire. Two of them were killed by soldiers.

3,000 troops were sent to Liverpool, supported by gunboats in the Mersey, to keep the strikers under control. A peaceful demonstration, 80,000 strong, of workers and their families, was broken up violently by police and troops, who inflicted many injuries and made mass arrests. Working class communities fought back, throwing bricks, bottles, slates and stones, to prevent police and soldiers entering their neighbourhoods in pursuit of demonstrators. 'The Times' reported that on Netherfield Road 'the crowd erected barbed wire entanglements on a scientific scale and entrenched themselves behind barricades of dustbins and other domestic appliances'. Two strikers were shot dead trying to rescue comrades from a prison van.

Syndicalist criticisms of other currents of socialist thought were very perceptive, and have mostly been confirmed by subsequent events. The syndicalists placed little faith in the state welfare measures which were being introduced by the Liberal government under Labourite pressure, or in the Labour Party's proposals for nationalising industry. They saw these things as steps towards a system of state-managed capitalism which would strengthen, rather than weaken, the bosses' control over the working class. Syndicalists opposed the programme of state ownership advanced by H.M. Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation (the state-socialist revolutionary party of the time) on the grounds that it would lead to industry being directed by a state bureaucracy, instead of private capitalists. Syndicalism stood for direct management of industry by the workers themselves, through democratic and decentralised industrial unions.

I found Holton's book unfortunately dry and academic in style (though never turgid) but well worth reading for the amount of fascinating information it contains, about the only explicitly libertarian mass movement in British working class history. Dick A.



BUREAUCRATIC BIRTH

Bureaucratic birth - an expectant father's experience of alienation at the point of reproduction.

"the concept of alienation cannot help us to understand the present crisis unless it is applied not only to the purposeful and productive use of human endeavour but also to the use made of men as the recipients of professional treatments." (Ivan Illich: After Deschooling What?)

Despite the sexist phrasing, I know what he means. It was a classic illustration of the workings of the manipulative institution and its hierarchies. I never knew whether what was done was done for our good or for the convenience of the institution and its staff. First there was "the drip". Because a breech birth was expected too late to turn the baby round (a right balls-up by the consultant so far as I could see - it was our friendly and non-manipulative G.P. who at last got them to X-ray and found out what was up) she had to go in and be "induced", though it seems that nearly everybody is induced no matter what the problem - but as they only put the drip on in the day-time and took it down at night the suspicion lurked that really the whole business was for the benefit of the organisation and its smooth running - can't have babies born at night (like they apparently are if you leave the matter alone, generally,

UNCLE JOE'S PROBLEM PAGE



so I've heard because it's too much bother. OK I wouldn't want to go to work the night shift either but then we didn't ask to go into hospital in the first place. From the start you have to adapt to the routine of the institution - only visit at certain hours, out when the bell goes - you're the human element, only there on sufferance, the knot in the wood that they have not quite eliminated yet. But the machine is adapting. You can wait in the "fathers room" with a choice of magazines - subscription to "Punch" "from a grateful father". They "Like husbands to be there" but of course husbands have the smell of home and human relationships and have to be carefully controlled and managed, like worker participation - they can't do without you but they can't let you take any decisions either and must exclude you psychologically if not in physical fact.

The division of labour in the hospitals seems to give the nurses a divided loyalty - they're split between obedience to doctor and solidarity with patient (yet at a home birth a midwife could be in sole charge). The consultant descends like the god out of the machine at the last moment to deliver the baby or rather to "take control" - never other-

wise seen by patient or husband. Does not introduce herself or register husband's presence. (Husbands are too low on the scale divine-human). First words to husband are to remove me. Ostensibly for my own good - it will be a forceps delivery, I might be upset. These are the "women's mysteries" in which only the initiated may participate, the rites are unclean for men (sexual oppression now works in reverse for me!) who are profane and secular in this context.

Yet this throwing out broke the real human significance of the event for me and her - the realisation as never before of our genuine deep understanding of each other - we had been getting on fantastically till this crude interruption. I retreat in fury to the "fathers' room".

The doctor's authority rests on the "mystery", (i.e. the alienation of the experience) not her superior skill or knowledge (at home I would have challenged her). Also the authority of the institution. You come here to be treated, not to take decisions, you must be passive. It's also a kind of institutional drama with front and back stage (cf E. Goffman - "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life"). The humans here (she and I), are forced to do without any privacy, any "back stage", yet we manage to relate incredible well, as never before, despite it. But the doctor will not have her back stage opened to "outsiders" so I must get out. The reason is just an excuse, a cover. She (the doctor) has brought two or three student doctors with her. They may observe the "mystery" and learn. I may not. Lis is not asked if she wants them there. She's not in a state to care or resist. Afterwards the doctor disappears, never to be seen again. The "patient" was useful for demonstrating skill. No more.

Key elements in this confrontation are:

"Efficiency" - husband would impede the smooth working of the machine.

Sexist stereotyping - husband would faint at sight of blood.

"Staging" of the event - husband might understand the situation as it is - as a drama where human parts were played by machines, and see the real, not the desirable meaning of it all. Exclude the audience from the back-stage and the show can go on. *①

"Reduction" to an object - the "manipulative" aspect of the medical process which requires the reduction of persons to things - the relationship of husband and wife interferes with this reduction, so it must be controlled or ultimately broken up.

"Blackmail" - a common weapon against resisters of any kind - if you resist you have the fear



CONTINUED ON P. 5.

ALL IN THE GAME...

FOOTBALL IS MORE THAN A GAME. FOR CENTURIES GOVERNMENTS TRIED TO SUPPRESS IT AS "WORTHLESS" AND "SUBVERSIVE".....BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.

THEN IN THE 1880s LOCAL BUSINESSMEN AND POLITICIANS BECAME DIRECTORS OF THE FIRST PROFESSIONAL CLUBS.

IT WAS A WAY OF GAINING POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL PRESTIGE - AS WELL AS MAKING LOTS OF MONEY.

INCREASINGLY, GOVERNMENTS TOO CAME TO REALISE THE VALUE OF FOOTBALL AS A MEANS OF RECRUITING TROOPS, BOOSTING MORALE AT HOME AND NATIONAL PRESTIGE ABROAD.

BUT FEW PLAYERS AND FANS CAN LEARN THE HISTORY OF THE GAME - AND ITS SIDE-EFFECTS - IN THE POPULAR PRESS. THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES DESIGNED TO PLUG THE GAP. IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE WE HOPE TO PUBLISH A PAMPHLET ON THE WHOLE AREA OF SPORT AND LEISURE UNDER CAPITALISM. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY CONTRIBUTIONS BY READERS.

Various forms of football have been widely played in England since at least the 12th Century. Before the 19th Century the game was very rough and loosely organised, with no official rules. Most forms involved the carrying or kicking of a ball by two opposing teams from one side of a town to another, or across a parish boundary. Such games were often played on public holidays.

Up to 500 people took part during the day's game and damage to property and serious injury were frequent. Some deaths are even recorded.

"In 1796 John Snape was an unfortunate victim to this custom of playing football at Shrove Tide; a custom which is ...disgraceful to humanity and civilisation, subversive of good order and government, and destructive of the morals, properties and very lives of the inhabitants."

The sensitivity, in pre-industrial society, of the ruling nobility to large, uncontrollable crowds of workers and apprentices was reflected in their persistent efforts to ban the game of football.

Laws were passed on five occasions between 1314 and 1410 alone, but few people took any notice. (The game was banned in Liverpool in 1555.)

These persistent attempts to suppress football were due partly to the fact that the game's popularity was interfering with military training. In 1365 Edward III had a proclamation made:

"That every able-bodied man shall in his sports use bows and arrows...forbidding them under pain of imprisonment to meddle in the hurling of stones, loggatts and quoits, handball, football...or other games of no value."

The reason given was that: "The people indulge in the games aforesaid and in other dishonest and unthrifty or idle games, whereby the realm is like to be without archers."

More important, the crowds who gathered to play football were not controlled. There was no effective state-controlled police force to maintain the public order (ie to look after the interests of the nobility). This was only possible later when the rural workers surged into the towns during the industrial revolution.

The anxiety of the ruling nobility was not unfounded. Following parliamentary approval for the enclosure of 2,000 acres, much of it common land, in Northamptonshire in July 1765, the Northampton Mercury advertised a match to be played on the enclosed land.

A large crowd gathered, but not to play football. Instead they tore down the enclosure fences and burned them in front of the powerless Dragoons



The dislocation brought about by the industrial revolution and the growth of towns made social control much easier and drastically changed the traditional forms of football.

1d. ARE YOU A FOOTBALLER? 1d.

We presume so, or you wouldn't be at this Match!

Perhaps you also run a bike?

WELL

SPORTS

IS THE PAPER YOU WANT.

(Illustrated. 32 pages.)

People Swear by it,

Rivals Swear at it,

Agents Pant for it.

The Public Fight for it,

And you can Buy it EVERYWHERE.

Nothing succeeds like —

SPORTS!

The lack of clear, open spaces and the sheer exhaustion of factory work meant that people had both less opportunity and less time and energy to play football.

Paradoxically, at this time the game was flourishing in the Public Schools, and it was from here that the game of football as we know it today emerged.

ELLIMAN'S FOR BRUISES



ACHES AND PAINS.

Miss ROSE ALPHONSINE, Spiral Ascensionist, writes: "When doing my Spiral Ascension at the Jardin de Paris my feet and knees became swollen and very sore. I tried your Embrocation, and after two good rubbings I was able to perform. I now use it after every ascension, and will always keep some by me."

23, Helix Gardens, Brixton Hill, S.W., London, October 29th, 1894.

Before 1840 Public School football had been just as unruly and dangerous as the game played by apprentices.

At Winchester between 1770 and 1818 there were six rebellions by players against their masters' authority, the last of which was so serious that the militia had to be called in.

However, the new middle class of entrepreneurs created by the industrial revolution demanded that Public Schools should no longer be the preserve of the sons of the landed gentry.

The middle class expected Public Schools to encourage values such as leadership, self-restraint and competitiveness needed for the maintenance and development of the new social order.

One of the important by-products of the imposition of these values was that prefects were encouraged to write down the rules of football, explaining the techniques of play as well as defining the legitimate forms of physical contact.

Thus between 1845 and 1862 each of the major public schools drew up their own rules for playing football.

The following rules produced at Rugby school in 1845 illustrate the brutal physical nature of the game at this time:

- i) No hacking with the heel or above the knee is fair.
- ii) No player may wear projecting nails or iron plates on the soles or the heels of his shoes or his boots.

The disparity which existed in the rules from one school to another made competitive matches difficult to arrange.

A meeting was therefore called in London in 1863 where representatives of eleven London clubs and one Public School (Charterhouse) met to establish a Football Association which would unify the rules.

With the foundation of the FA in 1863 the version of football developed in the public schools was widely encouraged. Ex-public school teachers and clergy taught these new rules of football in the working class areas where they taught. Many of today's clubs were founded in this way, including Everton FC which, in 1878, grew out of saint domingo's church, and Blackburn Rovers, which was founded in 1874 from Blackburn Grammer School Old Boys.

By the 1880's the dominance of the "old boy" public school teams such as the Wanderers and Royal Engineers was being challenged by the large number of teams which had sprouted in working class areas around the workplace.

During the First World War the FA bureaucracy played a large part in recruiting volunteers as soldiers.

Football by this time was firmly entrenched as the main working class pursuit, and the FA - with its links its strong and substantial links with both professional and amateur clubs throughout the country - was able to provide the state with a swift and acceptable entry into working class areas for its recruitments drives.

The FA agreed with the War Office that the clubs "be requested to place their grounds at the disposal of the War Office....for use as drill grounds....where football matches are to be played arrangements (are) to be made for well-known public men to address the players and spectators, urging men who are physically fit, and otherwise able, to enlist at once".

By the end of 1914 an estimated 500,000 men had done so.

Similarly in World War II the equipment available in grounds and the space itself was used for military training.

Many professional footballers became army physical training instructors.

The ban imposed on organised football at the outbreak of the war was soon lifted as the government realised that the game was of clear value in boosting morale.

The magazine Mass Observation reported in 1940 that "sports like football have an absolute major



George wanted the Best

-so his 'dream house'
architect specified

COLD SHIELD

sealed unit double glazing

George Best enjoys home comforts. investment he makes in luxury must be a practical proposition. It came to choosing double for his luxury "glass house",

permanently sealed glass-air-glass barrier. It keeps inside warmth and outside cold apart 24 hours a day, and cuts heat lost through windows by up to 50%.

In 1879, Darwen, a team of local cotton mill workers, were drawn to play Old Etonians, recognised as one of the strongest sides of the day, in the 4th round of the FA Cup at the Oval. A public subscription had to be raised locally to pay for their journey to London. They drew twice before losing. For the third game both the FA and Old Etonians had to give financial support so that darwen could play.

At the same time as this expansion of the game was occurring, the hours worked by most industrial workers began to decline and in particular Saturday afternoons became accepted as the time when cultural and recreational activities could be pursued.

effect on the morale of people, and one Saturday afternoon of league matches could probably do more to affect people's spirits than the recent £50,000 poster campaign urging cheerfulness."

Substantial amounts of money were raised by the FA in aid of war charities such as the Red Cross. Foreign Office files which have recently been made available show that the FA were given firm instructions which countries they should visit. It was considered particularly important that the touring national side should perform well in politically sensitive areas.

A swift glance at the list of honorary vice-presidents of the FA Council - one duke, two earls, two knights, one lord, one field marshal, one admiral, one general, one air marshal - gives some indication of the historical roots of the FA.

In this situation it's not surprising that no present professional player, manager or referee sits on either the executive or the disciplinary committee.



'Jeffo'

BIGGEST INFLUENCE ON CAREER: Uncle Tommy.
BIGGEST THRILL IN SOCCER: A good 50-50 tackle.
IF YOU WEREN'T A FOOTBALLER WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE BEEN: Something to do with animals.

Wolves' 1974 League Cup brochure



in the
 not too distant
 future
 sport will
 no longer exist.

but there will be

Football



BOB THWAITES



With growing numbers of workers attending football matches, which were still played on a "friendly" basis it became increasingly clear that to maintain a successful team "back-handers" would have to be paid to the better players.

It wasn't long before the issue of professionalism, a dirty word to the public school educated rulers

of the game, was raised, and in 1883 Accrington were expelled from the FA for making payments to a player. More disputes followed until, recognising the inevitable, the FA accepted professionalism in 1885.

Improved transport and communications as well as the free Saturday afternoons which most industrial workers enjoyed, increased the demand for more organised and regular football, and in 1888 twelve leading clubs met to establish a football league. This regular fixture programme of professional teams created a situation ripe for commercial and political exploitation.

Parliamentary reform in the 19th Century, ending with the 1884 Reform Act, meant that the vast majority of working men had the vote. Thus when in the 1880's and 1890's the game was adopted by large numbers of industrial workers as their own, local politicians and businessmen anxiously sought seats on the boards of clubs.

Politicians clearly recognised the vote-catching potential which a seat on the local side's board of directors offered and local businessmen too were clearly aware that shares in football clubs offered prestige that would be very good for business.

A more recent example of a man who mixed football business and politics is John Moores, founder of Littlewood's pools and for many years chairman of Everton. He was a Conservative Councillor in Liverpool for five years before the war. He stood - unsuccessfully - for parliament at Clay Cross and Nuneaton.

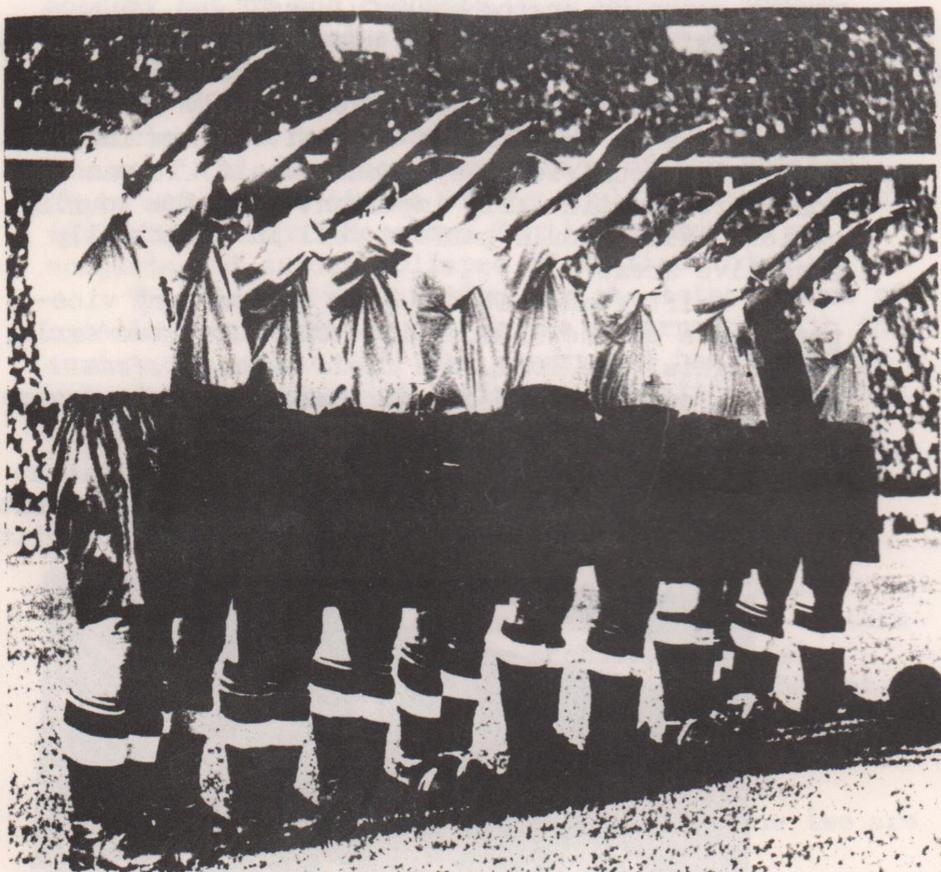
Moores once said, "In Liverpool, outside the Council Chamber, the councillors are not so much Conservative and Labour as Evertonians and Liverpoolians. Football unites them all."

By the 1920's schoolboy comics, fag cards and football accessories were all cashing in on the boom the game was enjoying.

In recent years the motor industry has sponsored two competitions, both of which have been abject failures. The Ford Sporting League folded after one season when Oldham Athletic not only won every monthly prize for topping the sporting stakes but also collected a cheque for £50,000 as overall winners. Oldham modernised their ground with the money, but Ford, who had expected far more competition and publicity for their money, made the very unsporting gesture of dropping their scheme.

The Texaco Cup met with a similar fate when, in the face of a glut of different competitions, it became clear that fans were not prepared to watch games whose only function seemed to be providing Texaco with cheap publicity.

More importantly, perhaps, TV coverage of the matches was virtually non-existent.



(TO BE CONTINUED)

A.W.

PORTUGAL

THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION?

by phil meyer

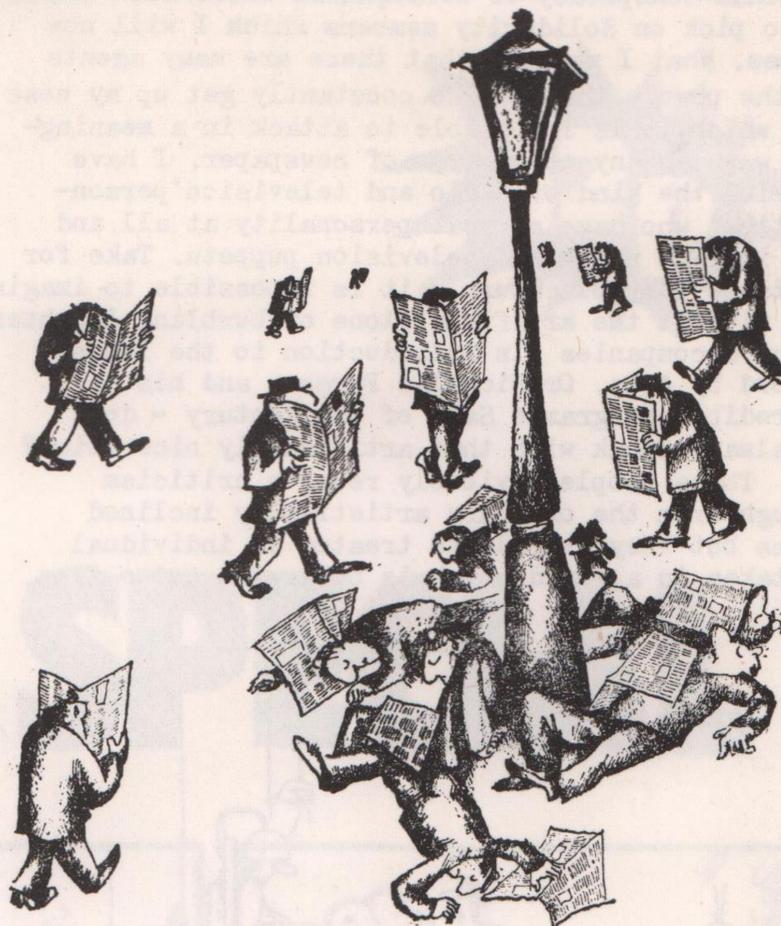
The still unfinished story of the Portuguese upsurge of 1974-75. An eye-witness account of a deeply involved spectator. An exercise in a new type of historiography (official documents and texts, and ministerial pronouncements, relegated to Appendices, while ordinary people, in action, crowd each other off every page).

At the same time, a serious attempt to analyse the economic and cultural background of modern Portugal, and to depict an overall pattern: the drift towards state capitalism, the challenge and limitations of self-management, and the recuperation of popular power by the various 'cupulas'. Two lessons fearlessly hammered home: the consequences of 'the putchist and militarist concepts of the social revolution', and the gradual realisation that, in Portugal, the 'revolutionaries' were 'part of the problem, not part of the solution'.

A significant, exciting and disturbing book, written from an explicitly libertarian communist viewpoint.

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POW!

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continued from page 11.

that your wife may be endangered by doctors, annoyance, or by the further stress on her as a result of verbal punch-up with authority. Husband left defenceless and psychologically undermined and demoralised - absolutely functionless.

"Division of labour" and Hierarchy: nurses - who actually have most human contact with the "patient", are controlled by hierarchic conflict in their role: instruments of the controlling power, executants, as well as "humanizers" of it. But they don't have the skills to control it all and where they do have these are linked with a measure of higher "authority" (Sister, like an N.C.O. The use of uniform reeks of it!)

How can you prepare for this sort of shock? The "progressive" back-rubbing natural-birth school often seems to make a mystic experience of it and plays straight into the hands of the institutional stage managers. Women are carefully "prepared" for the "greatest experience of their lives", a religious event, like marriage, except you don't need a husband this time. The whole atmosphere of the antenatal build-up reeks of Motherhood, Fatherhood, Initiation into Parenthood, (and hence authoritarian adulthood, "responsibility", "maturity" etc. etc.). You need to work hard at

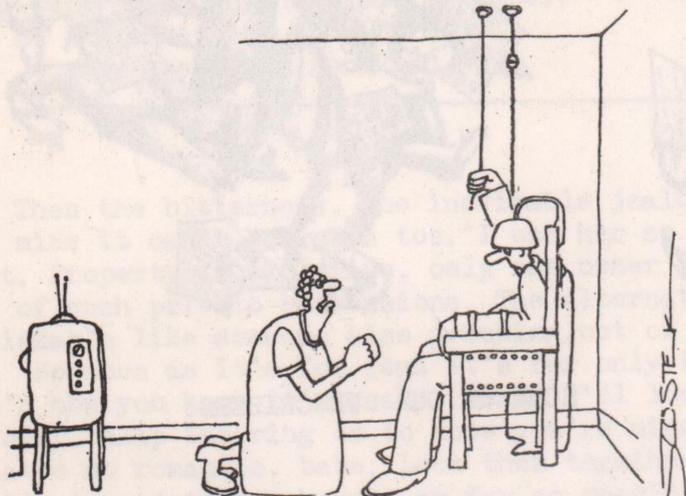
demythologising it all, I think. We put a lot of work trying to understand it as our experience, rid of myths and mysticism, clearing the decks of the clutter of other people's experience beforehand, and I think this paid off in a closeness between us of a really high order at the time, despite the mechanization of the event, until they broke us up just before the end. Next time, if there is one, we may be able to resist even that. Of course you could decide to have it at home. But when there are "complications" it's not so easy to resist, especially if it's the first time, like it was for us. But I learnt a lot about the nature of oppression and alienation in the process.

Ⓛ *This point about "staging" is very important. Consider the symbolic use of curtains in hospitals to achieve "privacy" - for whom?? The ruling class needs its "props" !

LEISURE

The advantage of having a paper run by libertarian socialists is that it means we can hit back at all those who have been getting at us for so long. I do not mean by this that there is an international conspiracy of evil powers whose sole aim is to pick on Solidarity members which I will now expose. What I mean is that there are many agents of the powers that be who constantly get up my nose but which it is impossible to attack in a meaningful way in any other type of newspaper. I have in mind the kind of radio and television 'personalities' who have no real personality at all and are in fact radio and television puppets. Take for instance Tony Blackburn - it is impossible to imagine him without the artificial tone of burbling laughter which accompanies his introduction to the latest record by Abba. Or Nicholas Parsons and his incredible programme Sale of the Century - does he always speak with that artificially nice voice?

These people obviously receive criticism enough from the ordinary artistically inclined press but they are always treated as individual mistakes in a world which is otherwise quite fine.



"For pity's sake dear, not during Opportunity Knocks."

The 'serious' press looks down on the culture of the masses and it is assumed that the 'prols' are only capable of consuming a culture based on bingo and booze. In actual fact however the culture which is foisted on the 'masses' is merely the most glaring example of a general destruction of leisure.

In the 1960s it was fashionable to tell us that we were going to have more and more leisure and we were going to be stuck with the awful problem of not knowing what to do with ourselves when we weren't happily working. It's now quite clear that the only group for which this problem of increasing 'leisure' is becoming a reality is the unemployed. For them the problem is how to fill the day without any spare cash. For the rest of us the leisure time is either reducing or remaining constant because overtime hours have increased as the working day has reduced. It is therefore particularly important that we should be able to enjoy ourselves as much as possible in the limited time which we have to ourselves.

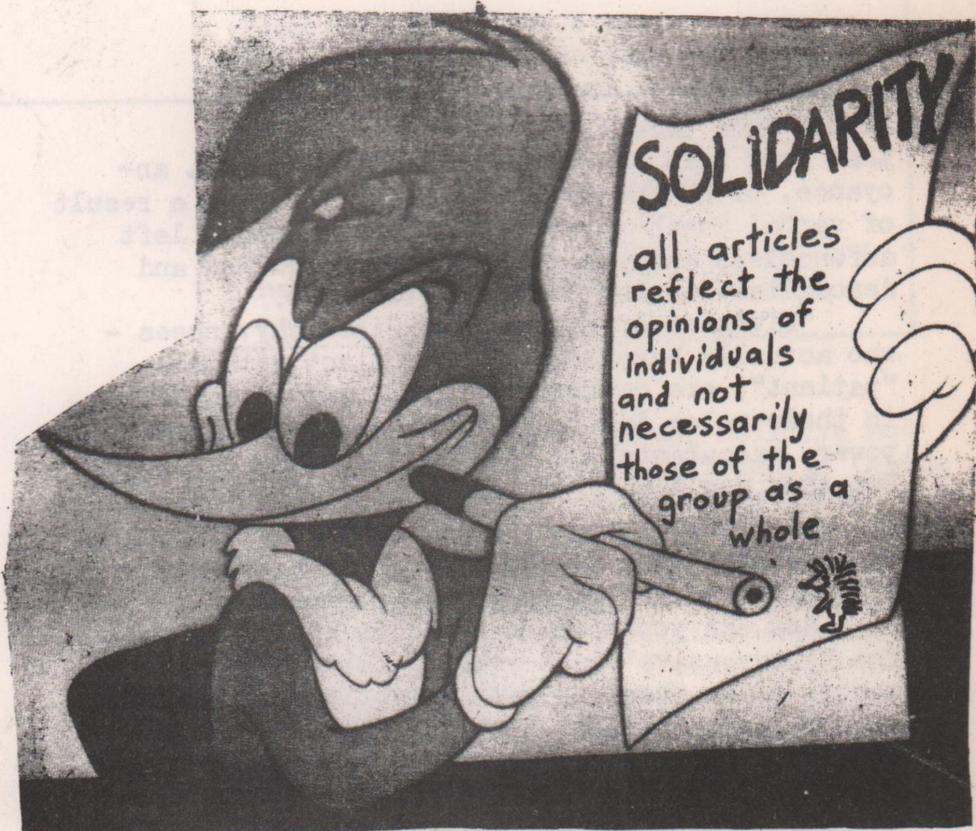
But in the spare time which we have we are being increasingly attacked by the Blackburns and Parsons of the world who present us with what I call negative or passive leisure. The activity consists not in doing anything but in watching others doing an activity or in hearing music which values highly 'clean' morals and 'motherhood'. It is impossible to describe such activities as 'free' time. There is nothing remotely free about passively watching others act. Parsons and other quiz-masters (it is interesting that there are no quiz-mistresses) specialise in utilising the mystique of television. They get their audience to imagine that they could actually one day participate in the programme themselves and win all those

products. They use the fact that almost all the audience will never participate in any programme, use in fact the very passivity of the audience, to create a fascination in observing those ordinary people who do participate. By this means they condemn millions of people every week to 'enjoy' being oppressed in the most direct and total way. Firstly they are being robbed of their time in a way which is worse than any robbery which may take place in the work situation or at the hands of a husband because it is completely unpaid and because it succeeds like all great con-tricks in making the 'mug' enjoy being conned. Secondly the oppressor instead of being hated or at least disliked as the majority of bosses are is converted into a hero who is somehow above us because of an association with the mystical box. It is interesting to note how in America television person-

alities are both entering politics (Reagan for example) or else are used as advertisements for one particular candidate. Just as firms find it profitable to use 'personalities' to advertise their products so politicians find it useful to receive the seal of approval from a personality. In fact the very term 'television personality' implies that it is only through the media that it is possible to acquire a personality. Whilst this confirms my sneaking suspicion that the Parsons and Blackburns would have no personality without the media it also implies that the rest of us are something less than people because we lack the identification with the media which alone could make us personalities. The more we elevate the heroes of the media the more we condemn ourselves to the passive role of a mass without personality, a mass which is incapable of thought unless it is conditioned into us by the media.

In short let us give the system its due. The early idea of Marx was that the workers were oppressed in the workplace. Thanks to the women's liberation movement we have become increasingly aware that the oppression also takes place between the sexes. But the truth of the matter is that oppression is wider still. The system abounds with professional personalities who can oppress people who are relaxed and being entertained. We should devote more time to attacking those entertainers who attack us directly. They are destroying the value of our leisure and they are making their audience accept their oppression.

These 'stars' are amongst the worst exploiters of the people - they should be treated as such.



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