

BLACK + RED OUTLOOK

Your power lies in organization



MONTHLY PAPER OF THE ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST ALLIANCE **5p**

No. 11 FEBRUARY '73



"WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF THE MANAGEMENT of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. More over, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all".

PREAMBLE OF THE I.W.W.

CONT'D ON PAGE FOURTEEN

2 rent strike

A direct link between the Government's policy of allowing rents to go up and the massive rate increases due to be imposed on the working-class in April has now been definitely established. Houses in the London area whose rateable value was £62 p.a. last year are due to be increased to £214 p.a. in April 1973. Part of the revaluation is because of the new "fair rents" which are being charged for the houses now. Acting on this information, two tenants from Tower Hill (Kirkby) visited the Council buildings and inspected the books containing the new valuation list. They were absolutely staggered to find that in April the average rateable values for Tower Hill tenants are to be increased threefold. The Tower Hill Unfair rents action group has drawn up a small cross-section of dwellings on Tower Hill for tenants to compare their own homes with. To find out the net rateable value of your house get out your rent book. On the left hand side of the book opposite your name and address you will see a number sideways up e.g.

This figure represents the amount of rates that you pay yearly. The number 74 means you're paying £74 in rates per year. The following examples will help to expose the terrific rise per year in rates :

- 1) A 3 bedrooomed house with carport on Tower Hill will go from the present rateable value (£74 p.a.) to a 1973 rateable value of £222.
- (2) The rateable value of a four bedrooomed house now £90 p.a. will go up to £234

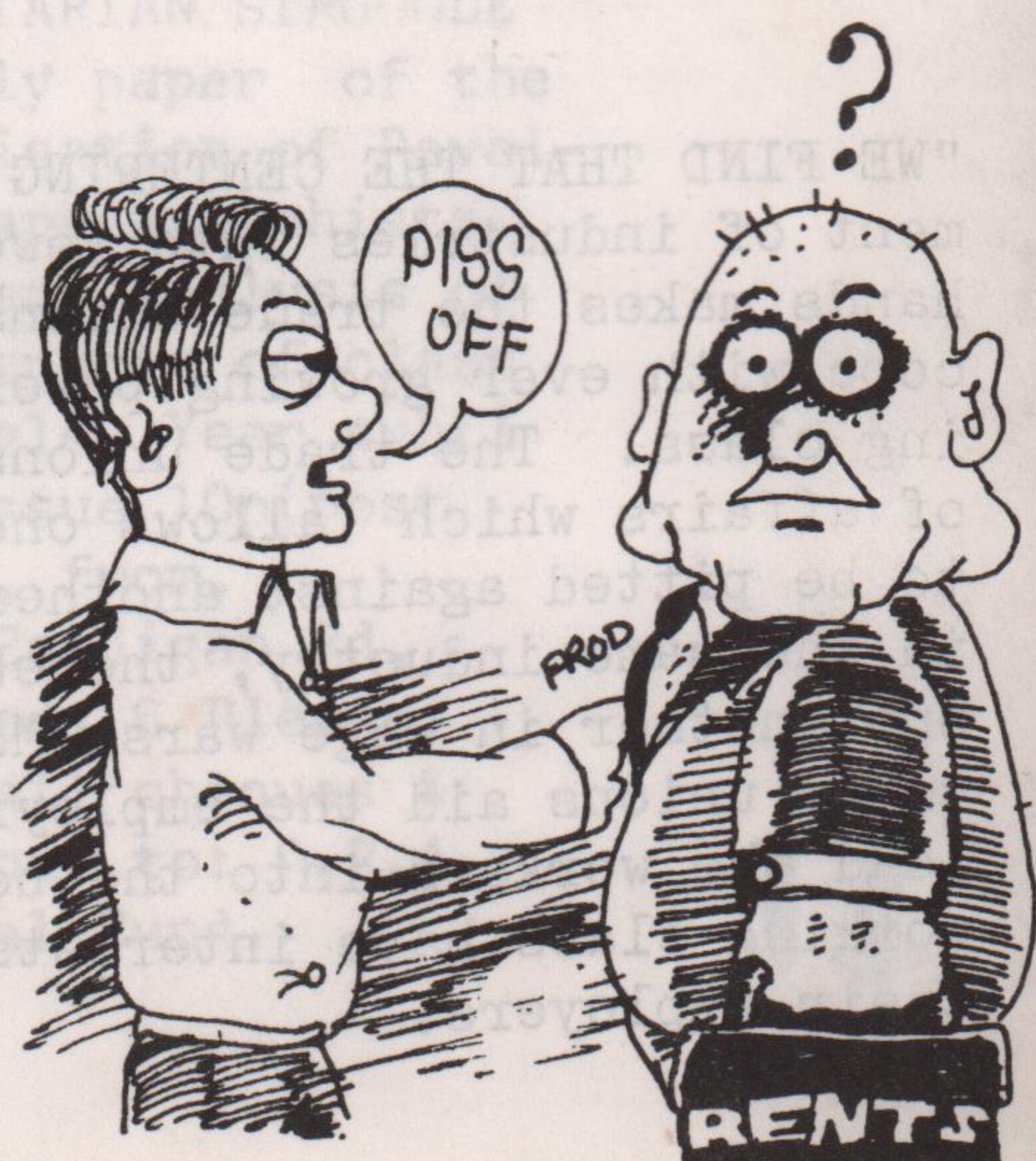
p.a. (3) A two bedrooomed 5th floor maisonette rateable value will rose from the present £78 p.a. to £190 p.a.

The figures mentioned above are not the rates that we expect you to be paying in

April 1973. These new evaluations will also be accompanied by reductions in the rate in the £.levied by local authorities. Even if the council does reduce the rate in the £. it still won't be enough to prevent large rate increases in April. The local authorities are not obliged to publish these figures until March. To give tenants an idea of what sort of rate increases can be expected Liverpool council expects the rates to go up by 30% per week and Bootle are talking about a 50p per week rate rise.

Kirkby Council has been delivering letters to every tenant on the estate informing them of the provisionally assessed 'fair rent' for their particular dwelling. This assessment had been drawn up by Kirkby Council for the rent assessment board. It is this board which has the final word in any assessment. These new assessments are approximately the same rent that we should be paying now plus the last increase. It comes as no surprise to the Action Group that this assessment is about equal to what we should be paying. This is due to 2 reasons (1) The Council is hell bent on smashing the rent strike so they are trying to kid the

tenants on rent strike that we will be getting no more rent increases on Tower Hill (2) There is an election in May for the new metropolitan Council wards. The Council knows full well that the rent scrutiny board are almost certain to increase the Council's assessment to what they consider to be 'fair rent'. In fact Kirkby Council claimed only two years ago that the average economic rent for dwellings on Tower Hill would be in the region of £9.50p per week. The Action Group has in fact got well-documented evidence that the rents on Tower Hill could be as high as £6. per week, not including rates and as we have already indicated, they are due to go up in April. We might still be getting a further rent increase in October as well. The figures that the Council has been putting out are deliberately misleading in an attempt to crack the strike. By the way, comrades, tenants on Tower Hill have been on rent and rates strike since Oct. 11th 1972.



KIRKBY RENTS

In the last leaflet that the Tower Hill Unfair rents action Group put out claimed that the average rateable value in Kirkby, Liverpool was due to be trebled on the April 1st It was also stated that the rate in the £ levied by local authorities was to be reduced, but not by enough to prevent the massive rate increases which would come about this April (It is worth remembering that a rate increase is also a rent increase) All this information was confirmed as true at the Action Groups last meeting by Coun J. Wylie who is Chairman of Kirkby Council's Finance Committee. Wylie informed the meeting that up to now Tower Hill tenants are already due to have their rates increased by 28½p per week by Lancashire County Council, and on top of this it is expected that Kirkby Council will be forced to increase their rates by 25%.

What this means is that the tenants on the estate will be paying another 62½p per week on their rent (for those who are paying rent) on April 1st. The only way to keep these expected increases down is by cutting down on the social services and amenities. As tenants know only too well there are very few of these to cut down on.

Another important factor in the new rate evaluation system is the relationship of commercial ratepayers (factories and businesses etc) and the domestic ratepayers (council tenants and owner occupiers). At the present time commercial rate payers pay 3/5ths of the total rates to the local authority, and domestic pay the remaining 2/5ths. The factory owners and

the Government are now trying to reverse the situation, so that in the future domestic rate payers will be paying 3/5ths of the total rates, and commercial ratepayers only 2/5ths. Not only do the employers want the people to make large profits for them slaving in their factories, they also want you to pay their rates as well. They're just not on. And neither is anybody else who thinks that he can force this garbage onto the tenants of Tower Hill. Many tenants are still confused about the letters that the council has been sending out the other week. In the 2nd paragraph of these letters it is pointed out that the new so-called 'fair rent' is a provisional assessment and does not include rates. The council's assessment will have to go before the rent scrutiny board in June and there is no doubt that this board of Government lackeys will raise the rent still higher. These letters are nothing more than a deliberate attempt to crack the Tower Hill rent strike. This fact can be proved by the assessments that Kirkby Council have given to the other dwellings they control outside of Tower Hill. For example:

TOWER HILL
3-BEDROOMED HOUSE
BUILT 1969
CENTRAL HEATING
CAR PORT

Kirkby council's 'fair rent' £4.55p (not including rates).

LONGMOOR LANE
3 BEDROOMED HOUSE
BUILT 1945
NO CENTRAL HEATING
NO CAR PORT OR GARAGE
Kirkby council's 'fair rent' £4.45p (not including rates).

As we all know, a fair rent is assessed by the age, locality and state of repair of the dwelling. It

is perfectly obvious that the council have deliberately put down much lower estimates for Tower Hill, knowing that the rent scrutiny board will overrule them and raise the rents to what they consider to be a 'fair rent level'. The only reason that Longmoor Lane tenants got a more truthful estimate is because they are not on rent strike.

Starting on Sunday 18th Feb. the Un-fair Rents Action Group will be touring Tower Hill once again. The purpose of this is to explain to tenants exactly what is going on and what progress is being made by rent strikes locally and nationally. We will be talking to tenants who were with us on rent strike and have since started paying their rent through pressure that has been put on them by the council. As tenants can see and judge from the groups bulletins, 50% of the estate is still on rent and rates strike. Some 40% have dropped out of the strike. We also intend to start organising now for the struggle against the rate increases which are due to be imposed on us in April. Many other areas of the country who were on partial rent strikes are now organising for a total rent and rates strike. (Tower Hill has been on this path since Oct 11th 1972).

In addition to this we expect many owner-occupiers to embark on rates strikes, as these new rateable values will hit them as hard as they will hit the council tenant. The gasmen are in headlong collision with the government's anti-working class wage freeze. The Fords workers, civil servants, hospital workers, teachers and the miners are preparing themselves for a confrontation, United we too can, and are striking a blow at this stinking system. Correspondent

4 two articles on the hospital people

HOSPITAL ANCILLARY WORKERS NURSE THE FREEZE.

It has not been widely recognised that the principal reason why the December strike went without much notice was that so small a proportion of the staff came out.

Certainly we shouldn't forget that no profits were hurt, it was only a token stoppage, emergency staff remained on duty, and that the nurses soak up the extra duties anyway. Nor has it passed unnoticed that unpaid volunteers were drafted in - with the Unions' connivance; it's worthwhile noting some of these young folk commented later that they didn't fancy the heavy duties at the end of the day, especially considering the pitiable pay.

WHAT'S THE FUSS.

The ancillary staffs get some of the lowest wages in Britain. For a 40 hr. week a porter may earn something of the order of £22, of which up to £6 may be docked off before he touches it. That's enough!

But then there's the conditions. Ancillary workers do spend a lot of the time hanging about, but they are "providing a service" and consequently this must be expected.

A lot of them, like nurses, display

a tendency to absenteeism; yes there is a high incidence of back ruptures.

Bad lifting? Maybe, but there are many awkward manoeuvres with badly injured or incapable patients that have to be done - someone will. Spend long enough, and your back goes too!

WHO CONTROLS AND WHO DOES THE WORK.

For those who still see hospitals staffed by doctors (men) and nurses (women) in wonderful compassionate accord, stand by for disillusion:

There's not just a hierarchy, but several parallel and inter-related hierarchies building up a mesh of specialisation and non-responsibility

The short of it is that you end up doing not only the dirty work, but also use poor equipment and methods that are distasteful to you. The next one up in the hierarchy does not have to make contact with the patient and so the blame and shoddiness is associated with you - A typical power system.

WHERE'S THE MONEY IN IT?

Patching up the ailing to return them to the mill of wage-slavery is essential in a society that exploits as well as a compassionate one

(for differing differing reasons). But when there is a strong authority and lots of expense, the anarchist tends to look and see who is profiting from it (or us - it's our taxes paying).

Pilfering? Not very much of use to you or I, that you don't get when you're ill and need it. Supplies? Yes. They extort incredible sums for bulk orders of feeble materials. Commercial travellers are probably very busy at this moment introducing new bargains that will rot before we can use them once.

Wastage is often encouraged on the mistaken grounds of hygiene. In fact, infection has no end of openings from simpler routes, and most diseases would be afraid of the competition with the mental disease of waste.

SO WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT?

Although ancillary workers have the greatest diversity of unions, there are enough odds and sods in the other sectors. There is little to back hopes of working against all the unions and it might achieve nothing. What is really needed is, within each premises, a liaison between organisations and a strengthening of personal contacts - in a militant vein.

To be realistic too, withdrawal of labour isn't acceptable to most, and would therefore never really be felt. Other restrictive practices maybe....

we can operate more discrimination against the materials we use some of us are beginning to send more stuff back already.

we also make clear to patients, our contempt for Heath's 'helping the lower paid workers' perhaps we should have leaflets handy too.

Overall we require better conveyance of the hospital workers' predicament to the public. Then if we get no joy from the "negotiations" we can begin to call the tune with respect to organisation and conditions.

IT'S NO GREAT EFFORT.

The health services offer jobs that appeal quite strongly to people of libertarian attitudes. Most are not politically active, obviously. But there's plenty do recognise the faults and are vocal about them.

If a few of us contact the ASA Secretary, we can more credibly get associated with the organisation of the industrial network. Write in! Hospital ancillary worker.

The lot of State nurses is something of which most people are aware, and sympathise. However action to improve it even from the ranks is not greatly in evidence, and awareness and sympathy on the part of fellow-workers doesn't mean help from them.

Moreover, it's arguable that most of us are not aware exactly how bad the conditions of the nurse are. The pay is an insult, that is clear but it is in the conditions of work and the false mystique surrounding their "calling" that the real injustice lies.

Below are quotations from a nurse who is now in her third year and feels utterly disillusioned, having stuck the course through a sense of duty.

(1) Nurses are "reprimanded for not doing small things when emptying bins in ward - which isn't a nurse's duty anyway - after having worked really hard all night making sure that patients are comfortable". An example of the use of nurses for auxiliary jobs due to short-staffing, which the authorities have no right to tell the nurses to do - but which the system requires that they do because they aren't in a position of power. Leading on from this

(2) "You are treated like a two year-old, yet expected to take the responsibility at nineteen years of age of life and death" And the personality persecution continues with

(3) "Bitchiness" The system allows personality clashes to develop, inevitably at the expense of one or other of the combatants.

(4) "Complete disregard of the social life of the nurse" The idea of "dedication" is so much bullshit. Nurses aren't told when their day off will be.

(5) "Only being allowed three weeks sick leave in three years, otherwise finals are put back. Thus the nurse often works when she is not fit" - this endangers the patients.

(6) "Too many nights for student and pupil nurses, some girls (boys) do as much as thirty-six weeks of nights per year" and academic work is pushed upon the nurses during the working week.

(7) Poor Wages (!)

(8) "Cleaners are paid double time for Sunday Nurses time and a quarter for Sundays, nights and Bank Holidays" and have to work these duties.

(9) No overtime rate - much overtime worked.

(10) "Victimisation by an outdated heirarchical system - no communication"

Nurses are victimized for being nice people. They are mainly motivated to take up the profession thinking they will help people, comfort them and so on. In reality they have time only to tend them basically, which is often distasteful to them. The desire to comfort and be respected is exploited in advertising. One advert includes the line "take the responsibility of an adult at nineteen" implying proper respect, instead of which the nurse meets with sourness and "Hatchet-faced Sisters" eager to take out on the younger ones what was taken out on them.

The nurses must remain in the gutter held down by the ruling class because the ruling class can't afford for them not to be

As with other low grade workers, we find that those in the gutter are there because they have no power. The nurse has no power because they can't withdraw their labour, for fear of causing pain or death.

Thus the State relies on humane reluctance to cause suffering in order to maintain its rule. Further, as with other low grade wage slaves, the working class won't fight for them because divide and rule tactics cause paranoia as to who will foot the bill.

So the nurses case remains unfashionable with no sense of urgency or impulse.

This is an indictment of the anti-people capitalist system. The workers must take action on behalf of the wage slave class as a whole rather than for near-sighted aims in a narrow platform with no relation to the struggle as a whole. Those of us in a position to must help our brothers and sisters.

The system of Welfare State repression by handout must be destroyed and replaced by a community-socialist system where all concerned with the welfare of everybody else; under the guidance when needed of physicians and nurses who work for the people, for themselves and for each other.



RTZ



R.T.Z. AND AFRICA

The Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation is a world wide mining and natural resources company. The basis of the company's action is profit maximisation or in ordinary terms, greed. R.T.Z. is both a product and an accelerator of the economic system which it serves. The extent of RTZ's power is seen in over twenty countries through its 97 subsidiary companies.

In Africa, RTZ's interests are centered around South Africa, South West Africa (Namibia) and Rhodesia; all three police neo-fascist states, the latter two being virtually run as satellite states of South Africa.

RTZ & SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's apartheid laws have been in existence for quite a long time now, and any company wishing to take advantages of the government enforced low-wage policy must co-operate with the upholding of this law. A United Nations report in 1970 said,

"They (the African workers) are given living conditions, food and medical services which will keep them healthy and such education as is needed to enable them to do simple jobs. Those non-material needs that distinguish human beings from animals are ignored"

The whole economy, and therefore the existence of this police/fascist state depends mainly upon its mining industry, and its low wage, high profit policy, enforced by law. The gap between African and European wages in growing year by year as profit becomes a god unto itself. In 1968, European wages were 20 times higher than African wages, whereas in the early 1930's they were a mere 11 times higher. The most prominent mining corporation to expand in recent decades has been RTZ, which means it is one to co-operate wholeheartedly with the South African government. RTZ's wage bill for the years 1966-71 was £4.6 million, and the profits (before tax) for the same period were £138 million.

In order to stop African workers organising against such cruel exploitation, RTZ conveniently hides behind the law, which makes it illegal for an African to strike, and also illegal for Africans to form a trade union. To avoid any other safeguards applying to African workers, a 'black' worker is not legally 'an employee', therefore any laws like our Factory Acts etc. do not apply to him.

RTZ & SOUTH WEST AFRICA
South West Africa was ruled by South Africa under a United Nations mandate until 1966, when it was re-named

Namibia, and declared a free state. South Africa refused to leave, even though in 1971 they were declared to be in illegal occupation by the International Court of Justice.

Namibia is very rich in minerals like South Africa is, and mining under South African government control goes on on an enormous scale. RTZ is prominent among the companies carrying on this illegal mining, and has contracts for its ore with both the South African government, and the UK Atomic Energy Authority. RTZ's latest mining project is at Rossing, near Swakopmund, which produces uranium for again the South African government, to speed ahead with their atomic weapon projects.

African workers are sent from South Africa to Namibia by law, they are not told where they will work, they stay in guarded, wire fenced camps (like World War 2 Concentration Camps), they may not leave until their long fixed-term contract is over, they may not go sick, they may not leave to see their families (on compassionate grounds) and they may not bring their families with them. All these conditions, enforced by the South African government, by law, are willingly co-operated with by RTZ; and the reward for its co-operation is high profits.

RTZ & RHODESIA

When UDI was declared

in 1965, and United Nations sanctions in 1966, the combined force of the world was supposed to defeat that neo-fascist regime. Since 1965, RTZ has opened a very successful nickle mine in Rhodesia to help keep the Smith regime together. Apart from this new venture, RTZ also own 4 gold mines, the Sandawana emerald claims, exploration rights on land that contains about one million tons of nickle ore and the Great Dyke Chrome mines.

Without this massive expansion in the Rhodesian minerals industry, largely due to RTZ, the Smith regime may well have been forced to agree to consider its African population seriously quite a while ago. But until that happens black Rhodesians are treated much the same as the black South Africans. RTZ's Rhodesian subsidiary increased its profits from £0.87 million in 1967 to £1.6 million in 1971, while still maintaining a low-wage policy for Africans. The average black miner's wage for 1972 was £343, compared with a white miner's wage of £4456.

A left over from British rule is that in Rhodesia trade unions for black workers are legal, but in fact anyone who tries to get positive improvements is immediately arrested and imprisoned. The International Labour Organisation reported that in 1970 that 85% of

Continued page THIRTEEN ^{now} read on!



The Sweet Smell of PROFIT



At Manchester University, the Environmental Action Group runs a packaging campaign which is working to increase awareness of the problem of over-packaging. Ideas have come forward to develop this into a Consumer Group designed not to help the consumer, but to work along lines tending to render the consumer obsolete. This raises a number of interesting ideas from a libertarian angle.

Consumerism covers a number of traits to be found in modern industrial production such as overpackaging, built-in obsolescence, disposability, advertising, even to the point where entire artificial subcultures are created for the purpose of selling useless articles.

All these things are designed to make us consume more, because the system relies on ever-increasing growth and consumption through material "prosperity" for its very existence. Things are warped to serve the ends of this society, which aren't the natural ends of a free society. For example, advertising's real function should be to advertise that a product is available, but today it serves to tell us that such product is better than other ones. This is a lie, which shows that the Trades Description Act is a tool to maintain the repression of us all.

In such a system, clearly we have a situation where much effort is wasted perpetuating irrelevancies (in the context of human need). Worse than this, however, is the fact that much actual damage is caused to the wage-slaves who form the driving force of the system. Damage has also been done to the Ruling Class who live under long inculcated codes of conduct which are, effectively, a repressive force upon themselves.

If we only did necessary work we wouldn't even have to work two days a week. All the extra days aren't so much wasteful, but as I say, directly harmful. An example of this is the fact that somebody dies every ten minutes on the U.S. roads, which also destroy community after community. This serves not the people, but the State, which is in no way geared to the needs of the community. We don't need cars, but mass advertising says we do. A working man will scrimp and go without many things for his car, damage to which causes him graver concern than more important affairs.

I think to illustrate how this aspect of capitalist society life can be severely disturbing, we could examine how the system can create an entire artificial subculture in order to create yet more growth, the sacred cow of the industrial

society. A good example is the manufacture of hang-ups for the cure of which one can produce consumable goods.

Magazines devoted to the interests of young women - such publications include Jackie, Petticoat, Honey, 19, Over 21, Look Now, Cosmopolitan and similar junk - contain advertisements backed up by articles designed to exploit the anxieties of adolescent girls. Everything from deodorant advertises to Marc Bolan dream pillows strikes me as being a threat to the well being of the consumer it's aimed at. Tapping the sexual energy and the sexual worries of young women has proved very profitable.

But this doesn't involve the actual creation of hang-ups, it rather relies on the exploitation of those already being suffered. Related, however we do see a growing interest on the part of industry in the manufacture of mythical needs, for which a cure can be provided. This results in the creation of entire new markets at a time when growth is as urgently sought as ever.

Men are given worries about early ejaculation, impotence, and similar psychological fuck-ups, and then are offered remedies.

Girls are told that their vaginal smells are distasteful and that they mustn't sweat, and that similar natural functions must be ruined by technology. The fact that the vagina should normally smell and that we should sweat, and that

normally we would not go putting make-up on every morning is overcome by several arguments.

"Cosmopolitan", says that it's a matter of taste, saying if you feel you need them, then you do. Having convinced women that they exude noxious odours from every available orifice, and having screwed-up women's attitudes to everything from menstruation to men, under the guise of outspokenness, they have started on men. In America, they have saturated that market already, so that it will be interesting to see what they baton on to next.

It's easy to see that this kind of thing can disturb people.

A libertarian society would naturally exclude such things after a time, because it would be geared to people's needs relative to one another.

Resource-exhausting consumerism is unthinkable in a rationally based community. The inhuman nature of capitalism is detectable in the smallest detail of our lives.



mad anarchist plot

As yet the urban and regional planning sector of the A.S.A. Industrial Network is not at the stage to present itself as a viable network. But, as part of that development, it is felt that an attempt must be made to define its structure and theory - in short this is an attempt to work towards a manifesto for libertarian planning. "Libertarian is taken for want of a better term to incorporate the different ideas of revolutionary socialism, anarchism and syndicalism. The Left is stricken by the shibboleths of labelling - libertarian planning attempts to liberate itself from the restrictions imposed by such labelling without denying the original and distinct meanings behind these labels. It is towards the realisation of libertarian socialist unity that we seek to develop relevant ideas from whatever source rather than the slogans of one particular faction.

ORGANISATION

We organise together in the traditional sense of a trade union to represent our own interest and those of the workers' movement as a whole against the interests of the controlling class. We organise vertically in terms of one union embracing all workers in the fields of urban and regional planning. The definition of the boundaries of membership is left deliberately vague to permit the overlapping of interests as a means to creating channels of communication between different interest groups. Power resides in the base of the organisation; it is the rank and file membership who define the shape and function of the national organisation.

Both on the local and national level we seek to confederate horizontally with other industrial and community networks. Again it is the local based confederation which defines the confederation on a national level. In this way we are attempting to integrate the strength and efficiency of the industrial union or syndicate with the continuity of confederation both at the local and national level.

The problem of organisation that we are faced with seems to be the essence of anarchism - that is the problem of relating individual freedom to group responsibility, and that of local group autonomy to the needs of society as a whole. This is the problem of anarchist organisation. We make four points:-

- (1) The way in which we solve our problems of organisation now will to a great extent determine how we solve our problems of organisation in the future revolutionary society.
- (2) Power must reside in the base of society for only in this way can the mass of the people come together to exercise control both over their everyday lives and over society as a whole.
- (3) We must accept that there is a natural tension between the individual and the group, the group and society. This tension or conflict must be built into our organisational structures; conflicting demands provide checks and balances against the usurpation of power by any one particular group or individual. It is out of this conflict that we seek to maximize the choices that people can make in their own lives.

This is pluralist organisation in the true sense of the term.

(4) This leads into our final point which stresses the importance of the inter-meshing of organisations as a means of understanding and locating problems in society and dealing with them in a democratic and efficient way.

REVOLUTIONARY EGALITARIANISM.

Libertarian planning affirms the principles of revolutionary egalitarianism as the only means of creating a classless society. In the present society people are differentially rewarded according to wealth, status and power; these are the three basic elements of class formation.

At present trade unions pay mere lip-service to the closing of pay differentials. We must be concerned not only with the removal of wage differentials between those employed in urban and regional planning, but the removal of differentials of reward between all workers. This way we stress the principle of from each according to their ability, to each according to their need.

Despite the closing of wage differentials, white-collar professional workers remain differentially placed in terms of job satisfaction and status. Revolutionary egalitarianism demands that workers are flexible in their work roles and as such we accept the Maoist principle of job rotation - the planner must become the navy and the navy must become the planner - though this must be conducted on a libertarian and, as far as possible, voluntary basis.

The principle of job rotation also militates against the growth of class or elite groupings based upon the power of certain positions in society. We must emphasize the separation of positions based on service and positions in society. We must emphasise the separation of positions based on service and positions based on the delegation of power. The libertarian planner has no administrative or legislative power, he is truly the servant of the community.

Positions of service are reached through ability, positions of power are reached through election and mandate.



WHIPLASH

THE SOCIAL SECURITY office at MANCHESTER is reported to have been annoyed at a claimant's union leaflet distributed by an A.S.A. member during a strike at Whipp & Bourne Engineering Ltd., Rochdale over the victimisation of a works convenor and ex shop steward.

The leaflet warned strikers to look out for trickery on the part of officers at Social Security Offices who might try to deprive them and their families of benefits. This document was welcomed by the strikers and many of the pickets took extra copies to give to their mates.

A move by the strikers to bring about a sit-in at the factory plus the fact that Whipp's were behind in their deliveries finally forced the management to back down. The sacked men were reinstated and the management is having to carry out a review on wages.



GROUPS

Capitalist planning is primarily concerned with the creation of profit, only secondary in a liberal democracy is it concerned with social welfare. Capitalist planning does not actually alter the division of wealth between the classes, but redistributes capital in order to maximize industrial growth and profit. In this sense planning is not a tool of social enlightenment as the liberal bourgeoisie would have us believe, but a tool of enlightened capitalism. Capitalism is increasingly dependant upon the state management of the complexities of modern industrial society. Because capitalist planning does not redistribute wealth equally between classes, it is of necessity authoritarian planning. Other than mandating a government every five years to clear the slums and provide better housing, the elector has little control over how these demands are translated into reality, if indeed they are. Whether it be conservative or labour, planners provide what they think people should get. At the same time what people get is also

related to the kind of economic strength they can bring to bear. The result is a perpetuation and extension of the rights of the rich and powerful over those of the poor and powerless.

Libertarian planning can only function in a society in which wealth is owned by all and where it is distributed according to need. It recognises that many of the problems of industrial society that faced capitalist planners will still remain. By crystallizing the problems of regional development and urban growths for all groups in society, we attempt to help facilitate the distribution of wealth in the future society. We repeat that libertarian planning has no legislative or administrative powers, it is the servant of the workers and members of the industrial and community networks - it is they who make decisions, it is they who actually do the planning. The libertarian planner provides information that will assist in the making of decisions, and help to resolve the demands of conflicting groups. Once a decision has been made, the libertarian planner has the job of providing the expertise to overcome whatever technical difficulties are involved. In this sense the libertarian planner operates like a tailor, or an actor, or a bricklayer - he has the skill to translate other people's ideas into reality.

We have talked in terms of job rotation as a measure working against the formation of classes or the building, transport and appropriate industrial and community networks. The planner who realises fully the consequences of his plans is helping to sophisticate the planning process, making it readily available to those persons most concerned and sensitive to their problems. But once this stage is reached the planning process in many ways ceases to exist as a separate entity because each community and industrial network will have within them people with the necessary planning skills to plan their own development. Libertarian planning is about people controlling their own environment and this we see as the ultimate aim of our work.

IMMEDIATE AIMS.

- (1) To radicalize and organise all workers in urban and regional planning according to the principles we have laid down.
- (2) To de-mystify bourgeois planning and provide information and assistance to all struggles against capitalist and authoritarian planning.
- (3) To develop the theory and practice of libertarian planning as a contribution to the wider revolutionary movement.

GROUP ADDRESSES OF THE A.S.A.

- BATH GROUP.
c/o3, Abbey St,
Bath.
- BRIGHTON GROUP
C/O 29 St Micheal's
Place, Brighton.
- HARLECH GROUP
C/O G. Briggs.
Coleg Harlech,
Harlech,
N. Wales.
- LONDON GROUP
K. Perlo,
3 Grange House,
Highbury Grange,
London N5
- MANCHESTER GROUP
M. Cunningham,
19a Meadowside Ave
Walden,
Worsley,
Lancs.
- SOUTHAMPTON GROUP
C/O 35 Priory Rd,
Southampton.
- SHEFFIELD GROUP
C/O 4 Havelock Sq,
Sheffield.
- LEEDS GROUP
21 Kelsall Terrace
Leeds.

SSSSSS

SYNDICALIST WORKERS'
FEDERATION
S.W. ENGLAND
COMMITTEE
Bob Mander,
86a Albert Rd,
Parkstone,
Poole
Dorset.

To some anarchists and libertarians, Syndicalism is a narrow based ideology suited only to the task of emancipation of workers from wage-slavery.

To Anarcho-Syndicalists, Syndicalism is much more : it is not only the vehicle for ensuring that the fruits of production are enjoyed by the actual producers but also a broad-based seat of government from which will emerge the institutions necessary to the bringing about of the classless society. Such institutions : Education, Medical, Defence, economic etc., would not be under the control of either independent or state controlled bureaucracies (in such lies the path to class-elitism); but which will draw directly from the Industrial Syndicates; both ~~form~~ authority and actual staff.

What do you mutter ! How can a Navvy perform a difficult operation or teach languages ? Except perhaps you sneer; Scouse, Irish or Geordie !

As you travel the country, encapsulated in your minis, railway carriages or perhaps just your own personal reflections do you not look at the engineering marvels of the Industrial Revolution : the Thames Tunnel, Clifton Suspension Bridge, all the beautiful, yes, beautiful ! Aqueducts and Viaducts which criss-cross the rivers and valleys of the industrialised north. And while you marvel at them, do you not wonder who built them; those massive arches and spans, etched out in delicate traceries of brickwork. Who were these men ! Surgeons, Teachers ?

When it comes to inter-regional or international economic institutions the problems are not so easily solved. In the first three cases Health, Education and Security both the State and local authorities share the financing and control, though not equally and it would merely be a matter of running down state control.

Modern industrial societies demand a high degree of inter-relation whether between countries of the same or of political systems. The difficulty is that negotiating committees must often have plenipotentiary powers or they become

ineffective which, of course, means that they become an independent power-base. This is a problem which will have to be resolved through practice. To give you an idea of the extent of this problem I can tell you that today (1969) the E.E.C. has 1300 civil servants who sit severally on 3000 committees in the course of a year.

One hopes that within the foreseeable future people will increasingly become to realise how much they are shackled by the present society and how often they themselves help to forge the links of their own fetters.

Our task - the Anarcho-Syndicalist - is to help people to realise their plight and to present Anarcho-Syndicalism as a POSSIBLE alternative society.

Given the destruction of the oppressive power of the state all that is needed is that all people give a little time to learning to govern and defend themselves. Once people agree never again to accept the state in its oppressive role it can pursue a useful role in society as an overall co-ordinator without any power function whatsoever.

The DEMOCRAT

I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU BUGGAZ ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT - YOU CAN ELECT ME EVERY FIVE YEARS



Maybe ! but in those days they were called Navvies. To the Anarcho-Syndicalists, the first task on taking power, yes Power ! Workers-Power ! is to replace the organisation which cocooned his slavery with institutions which will enable him to develop his future and life style as he himself wishes and not be as he is now a mere appendage of the Industrial machine receiving the drippings of its huge output and in no way able to control its quality or distribution.

After forging an organisation which will produce only that which is useful and necessary, he, the Anarchist-Syndicalist worker - which means everyone, must turn his attention to the social institutions which affect so largely the quality of life such as :

A medical system which takes as its first priority the eradication of Industrial and Environmental disease which at the moment mocks any notion of equality between workers and others

A Regional system of Education which teaches children that which they have to know to be able to control their own life alongside a technical system related to the technology of the region.

A defence system staffed by members of the Syndicate on a rota system would probably; have to carry out many of the tasks which the present day police force do, but given that it will be a form of National Service it should not acquire the repressive nature of a capitalist police force. One can see it being instrumental in developing some of those secondary social institutions which will not or need not be a direct responsibility of the Syndicate. The obvious one is Sport taking into account the factor of age, fitness and free time available to Militiamen

A National Militia, would have to be drawn from Regional Militias but one obviously hopes would not have to be used as such.

balls up

Anybody who still has faith in the ability of Government and State backed agencies experts and the like to sort out our social problems in a responsible way, should have had it shattered by the recent Government clanger dropped in the docks.

Having spent £25,000,000 in redundancy pay to cut down the labour force in the docks it has now been found that there is a labour shortage at many ports. Because of this there are serious delays to ships at some ports and the ports industry is starting a major recruiting drive to get the labour force up to strength by the Spring.

At Preston, Bristol, Avonmouth, Liverpool, Grimsby, London and ports in South Wales, the grand plan of the Government experts seems to have gone sour and the ports may have a hard time getting the right type of labour back.

Why State solutions fail

As anarchists we can draw some comfort from the fact that the state's solutions so often result in blunders of this kind, just as most managers usually make a muck of it when they try to impose solutions from above.

In reality no amount of skill on the part of managers or force on the part of the State, can ever get round the problem of the conflict of interest between the broad mass of wage earners and consumers on one side and on the other, the interests of small groups of owners of capital managers and economic functionaries.

Against this basic conflict of interest all the moral appeals, the pep classes

for shop stewards, the opening of the books, the involving of union leaders in a state incomes policy will count for nothing. No amount of managerial ingenuity can remove what is built into the system.

All the industrial Relations Act seems to have done is make the workers more militant, if the sit-ins, factory occupations etc. are anything to go by. And if the government could pass and enforce a law, which made all open industrial action impossible, then we know that machinery would become accident prone and sabotage would soon become the way in which workers would exert pressure on their bosses.

The answer to the chaotic situation which exists in the management of the factories and the solution to such national problems as inflation, is that the factories must be brought under workers' control.

This seems to be readily recognised by many who are in touch with the mood of current opinion. Less and less we hear the cry for the nationalisation of this and that and increasingly we see journalists and economists like Dr. Ota Sik, talking of Society, not the State taking over capital, and advocating that wage earners control capital through elected supervisory councils. In addition there have been reports of partial experiments in workers' control from places as different as Spain and Sweden.

All this is to the good as possibly is the insistence by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers on a new status quo

clause, which could result in forcing a firm to put any new schemes to its workers and their unions, before introducing them, and so reducing the so-called management's right to manage.

North West Workers.



Cardiff's biggest single employer- the British Steel Corporation's East Moors works- is likely to close down. This scheme is only part of the plans that B.S.C. have to "rationalise" the whole industry, in other words to sack perhaps 80,000 workers in the next few years.

The plight of the 5,000 Cardiff workers and their families is the culmination of a long history of mismanagement in the steel industry. Profits have been accumulated, or used for other industries, while the steel industry has been neglected for lack of investment. The result has been that we have had to stand the losses through nationalisation. The bosses haven't lost much sleep over this because of the generous compensation offered by the last Labour Government. For example G.K.N. received £45 million (losing the Brymbo works at Wrexham)-most of this money left Britain and the steel industry.

The biggest contributor to Tory Party funds, G.K.N. are also the largest steel firm left in private hands. They hope to do a deal with B.S.C. to fix prices and guarantee a share of the market. Apparently they have a rosy future; they already pay lower wage rates and will probably get a package deal whereby they can get their former Wrexham works back. If East Moor isn't scrapped it is possible G.K.N. will take the works on and phase it out of existence over a longer period.

The resistance to the bosses manoeuvres has so far been disappointing.

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK

The Industrial Network is a list of contacts in various industries. If there is no contact in your industry get in touch with the industrial coordinator, so that your name can be added to the list.

INDUSTRIAL COORDINATOR & BUILDING WORKERS.

W. ALLIN.
127 Hamilton Rd.
Manchester

ENGINEERS

R. Hick,
9 Hillcourt Grove,
Leeds 13.

ROAD TRANSPORT

T. WEBB,
c/o 3 East Medway
Shoreham-by-sea,
Sussex.

POSTAL ENGINEERS

P. Guest,
101 Rock St,
Pitsmoor,
Sheffield.

PRINTERS

K. NATHAN,
29 Cardigan St.
Leeds 6

SHIPBUILDING

R. Lynn,
487 Cumberland St
Glasgow C5

SOCIAL SERVICES

R. Mander, 86a, Albert Rd,
Parkstone, Poole,
Dorset.

URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

D. BELL,
559 Didsbury Rd,
Stockport,

RANK AND FILE EXPORT

39 Norton St,
Old Trafford,
Manchester 16.

While at Ebbw Vale the scene is set for a U.C.S. type battle, the East Moors struggle has been left so far to M.P.s, Lord Mayors, newspaper articles and campaign "spokesmen". This sort of campaign will not win the struggle. Only the organised efforts of the workers themselves will save Cardiff from the disastrous whims of the B.S.C.

This

'FROZEN'

Britain



Church bans anti-fascist meeting

LLOYDS - the second big bank to report its 1972 results - yesterday announced a bumper handout for share holders.

Pre-tax profits soared to £74,645,000, up from the 1971 figure of £58,749,000. And as a mouth-watering extra goodie - a property revaluation in 1972 had thrown up a £120 million surplus.

The lucky shareholders will get a one-for-one scrip issue and collect a final dividend of 9.5173p which has already had Treasury approval.

The bank investors - Heath inflation-beaters every one - will thus collect a total payout for 1972 of 17.5173p a share, compared with 16p last time.

FUN AND GAMES

"Which means making our politics as exciting and heady as the sight of Liverpool in full flood, as unanswerable as Rodney Marsh bamboozling a groggy defence, as decisive as Bobby Moore moving inexorably forward. It is an attractive proposition."

From "Socialist Worker" 27-1-73

Ah well, if they did it would still be a game for professionals, with the masses looking on as spectators

EDUCATION NETWORK

is now separate from the industrial network, and includes both teachers and students.

M. Bashforth

23 Needwood Close,
Wolverhampton.

A COMMUNITY NETWORK is being organised all enquiries to the secretary of the A.S.A.



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BOOKS?

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AMPHLET

The Arrow Mill Sit-In, a case for shop stewards in Textiles.

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Castleton
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Lancs.

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long struggle between the anti-fascists and over a hundred police.

However, when the Manchester district committee of the A.U.E.W. booked the hall for an anti-fascist meeting on the 17th of February the hall was the booking was cancelled at very short notice.

Mr B. Panter, district secretary of the AUEW, said:

"The directors of Church House refused to cancel the fascist booking because they claimed they had a policy of non-discrimination, but they have cancelled the arrangement on the ground that a breach of the peace may occur.

This is your
life?

WORKERS'
CONTROL
TECHNOLOGY
FOR THE
PEOPLE



Book Review



Review. Stuart Christie & Albert Meltzer: *The Floodgates of Anarchy*. Sphere. 35p.

This book is the best cheap book on anarchism available at present and also one of the few written by activists rather than sympathetic liberal academics. Anarchism is discussed as a practical theory and as a living revolutionary movement whose basis, and this is stressed, is the class struggle. The authors analyse the present capitalist system and also the nature of the authoritarian 'socialist' countries and parties &

show that "class struggle implies not merely collective action but the breaking down of that sequence of events ingrained in our society as command-and-obey". The class struggle is seen as germinating in the masses and Marx's critique of capitalism is accepted while his centralist ideas are rejected. Thus their basic analysis of the contemporary society and the modern ruling classes is essentially Marxist. This leads to an emphasis on the procedure system which results in the statement that: "only productive classes can be libertarian, because they do not need to exploit others". Marcuse's ideas of students and the lumpenproletariat as the new revolutionary class is dismissed because these groups are not directly involved in production. They see the protest movement as "militant liberalism" rather than as revolutionary. That a new class is in the making, Christie and Meltzer accept. Along with students and the unemployed, it consists of people employed in "driving jobs, offices, shops or other peripheral trades". Divorced from production, this class is helpless in social and economic affairs. The

increase in numbers of this class, whilst the industrial working-class declines, is seen as a threat: "The industrial worker has to choose between looking over society or disappearing as a productive class". The only answer is for the workers to take over and run the means of production themselves and not through the lie of a "worker's government" which would by definition of being a ruling group become a dominant class.

This idea is followed up by an attack on economics and the planned state both of which are seen as concentrating power in the hands of a few. This is the ultimate aim of all political parties although it does not seem so: "Party lines may coincide with the class struggle but they have nothing to do with it". However the authors do not reject all reforms out of hand. They put forward the view that certain reforms

should be critically supported, though with no illusions as to their revolutionary potential.

A strict division is made between sectarianism between individuals and groups of individuals and actual political parties. The fundamental mistake of the Russian Revolution is seen as that of letting political parties be represented within the Worker's Councils by individual delegates which led to the takeover and nullification of the councils by the counter-revolutionary Bolsheviks. Sectarianism is preferable to the imposed unity of political parties. It also may be necessary: "The task of the revolutionary is resistance to oppression, even if the resistance is that of one person alone".

Sectarianism prevents the ossification and dilution of the revolution.

However emphasis on the individual as a revolutionary outside of an organisation leads them onto dubious ground when they discuss violence. After stating that there is a distinction between their violence and ours, they appear, though this section is very confused, to reject any form of organised violence and conclude that "imposed power by force can only be answered by individual". Their proposals are those of the terrorists of the eighteen-nineties. They seem to think that the assassination of individual rulers will in some way affect the power structure, an idea and a view of history that is surely disproved by the events of the twentieth century if not earlier. This chapter is certainly the least well argued and most confusing in the book.

With that one criticism only though, I do think this is an excellent book. It is well-argued and written in clear non-jargon language unlike much produced by the 'left' these days. The main difficulty is availability and I would urge everybody whether they have a copy or not, to try and get all their local shops to stock it.

Continued from page SIX

political detainees' were trade unionists.

RTZ & US

It now appears obvious that RTZ and South Africa have a very friendly cozy relationship, South Africa, and its two 'colonies', need to develop to stay alive in a world growing more hostile to them. They need to make maximum use of their own raw materials, and to export them. Most of all, they need a world wide minerals corporation to extract and sell their minerals for them, for without this vital link they would be forced out of existence. RTZ provides this 'service' and for this it is rewarded with gigantic profits. Inter-

nally, the only way to provide these profits, which the ruling white minority need to stay in their privileged position, is to legally and physically suppress the majority black population into no more than a mass of slaves.

The lesson which comes through clearly from this explanation of RTZ's exploits in Africa is the closeness between the government and big business, and the fact that every method is used to suppress the workers so as to maintain the minority ruling class in power. If profit is the motive which keeps RTZ and South Africa together, and keeps the white South African on top, then it is this profit that must be our

target. RTZ has many subsidiaries in this country which could apply pressure to help our fellow African workers. We can't rely on politicians, and even the UN is powerless to stop RTZ so it must be in the hands of the workers to change the situation.

The strength of the international working class lies in solidarity; so let us fight not just our fight, but the international class-war to overthrow the profit system which produces monsters like RTZ.

G.B.

* I strongly recommend the buying and reading of "The RTZ Anti-Report", from CIS 52 Shaftesbury Ave., London W.1. at 25p.

SELF — MANAGEMENT

LIVERPOOL GROUP
M. Stone,
C32 Summerfield,
Tower Hill,
Kirkby,
Liverpool.

(Continued from page 15 (!))

at all--as happened in Russia and more recently in Yugoslavia and Algeria. A condition of 'dual power' between the Councils and the state, under the control of however progressive a Party, is an unstable condition.

The contradiction between the workers' organisations and the vanguard party seems to have been neatly resolved by IS. Workers Control will become Control by (ex)Workers. But as they denounce the movement towards Workers Councils, Industrial Syndicates and Collectives as "bourgeois, individualist, Liberalism" they forget that the idea of sectional interests in society fighting through a political party is typically bourgeois; it was the method of the bourgeoisie themselves, and properly belongs to an earlier, lower state of class-consciousness (that is to say, it is necessary in party politics that the majority of the people are inert, or at least willing to surrender control of their lives to 'representatives', who may or may not be recallable at infrequent intervals. It is the structure of the most advanced form of minority class rule)

The inability of largely middle-class Trot groups like IS to deal with these questions may well be why neither anarcho-syndicalism nor Council-communism were more than hinted at; they do not fit the cosy "Anarchism-is-pettybourgeois-liberalism" formula as well as the Maoists and Pacifists.

Not all anarchists want to live on hippy communes, Ode Harris.

"People have differing talents, propensities and tastes. And of course different people will fancy doing different things. The division of labour is sensible and is efficient. But expertise all too easily gets mixed up with domination and with deference."
(Robert Young)

Robert Young would like to abolish the correlation between divisions and power. But one of the main reasons for this 'mixing up' is that people do not equally want to do all the tasks that need to be done, indeed there are many jobs that few fancy but many have to do. These tasks in everyday production and services are repetitious and require little skill. In order to break down the manual-mental division of labour these are the tasks that most need to be shared out.

This is why the radical scientist earns his living in blue overalls. He is one among a group of workers. He not only designs products, but also collectively shares in all stages of development, production and selling. The tasks that he and any other of his workmates do at any one time are collectively decided by the work-group as a whole. Much manual work requires an expertise which he will learn. On the other side he will put scientific knowledge at the disposal of his fellow workers and users to use in ways they decide are most socially useful. He is more than a scientist with radical ideas; he is a worker-scientist, with the task of sharing his scientific experience with his fellow workers.

His objectives are: that the people working with him will take over much of his specialist decision-making role, that they develop the ability to appraise critically his own scientific judgement, and that collectively the working group as a whole can take informed decisions in order to control as far as possible all aspects of their working and living situation. Which is where the 'radical scientist' converges with a totally different reason why we want to do what we are doing.

Parallel with trends in science and technology is the recent boom on the 'expertise' of management. Long existing relations of 'domination and deference' have been reinforced in our democratic era by the growth of an elite specialised in human and financial organisation. We do not deny that there are skills in management and co-ordination, but rather more than in science these are skills which most people can acquire to some degree. Most employees are able to judge the skill of their managers in operation. Management of humans at work is by nature authoritarian. Indeed, even those recent trends in worker participation which are management inspired are intended to reinforce the existing power relationship by more subtle manipulation:

'...one of the most seductive levers of social control that the ingenuity of man has ever invented'. (Robert Young)

(from UNDERCURRENTS)

Undercurrents alternative technology mag., 34, Cholmley Gardens Aldred Rd, London NW6 1AG.



Find out

ASK

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K. Perlo,
3 Grange House
Highbury Grange,
London N5,

'Anarchism' --Nigel Harris
(International Socialism 54)

This review has all the trademarks of a simple 'hatchet job', rather than any kind of serious criticism. Those whom Harris would define as anarchists include the Macists, Che Guevara, the Committee of 100, Gandhi and 'urban and rural guerilla groups'. With this motley crew, it's hardly surprising that he considers, "the difficulty in discussing anarchism is its incoherence"

No anarchist later than Malatesta gets a mention, let alone any anarchist organisation at any period.

The tactic throughout is to set up caricatures which can then be knocked down, views which are then attributed to 'anarchists', but views which are in fact typical of the sects and individuals named--and these groups are used as illustrations.

A few examples. Anarchists supposedly believe in 'herces' like Guevara, and individual action--terrorist or pacifist--rather than the task of 'building class organisations'. Anarchists admire the Cuban revolution and the Chinese cultural revolution. Anarchists believe in "an absolute code of morality, in principles"

I suspect that all this is really a polemic against a tendency within IS; but the record must be corrected.

Revolutionary anarchism has little time for 'Guevarism' (he may be admired for his undoubted physical courage, but this does not imply POLITICAL admiration) and no time at all for the Chinese bureaucracy, unlike some members of IS.

As for 'heroism'; it took a libertarian tendency, Solidarity, to point out to the hero-worshippers of the Left that Angela Davis is still a Stalinist who would be quite prepared, like Ho Chi Minh in 1946, to authorise the liquidation of Trots and Anarchists alike.

Anarchists have it is true used 'propaganda of the deed'. So have many other groups including Trots. To say that this is usually a substitution for working-class organisation is to deny the history of the CNT-FAI, the IWW, and even our own group today, the ASA. The majority of bombing in recent years linked to the anarchist movement as such have been actions against Spanish, Italian and U.S. targets, have been actions in solidarity with working-class struggles overseas, and have differed only in practical details from the mass demonstrations for this or that good cause favoured by the Trot/CP left.

As to the pacifists; neither the 'Committee of 100' nor Gandhi were ever anarchists.

Most anarchists are committed to the same 'moral principles' as are most revolutionary socialists. Which involves a commitment firstly to the international working-class movement, and the cause of class struggle, the struggle to end all minority class rule and exploitation. If by 'moral principles' Harris refers to the hoary old question of 'violence v. non-violence', one can only assume he's been reading too much 'Peace News'.

The question poses a false choice, both 'pure violence' and 'non-violence' are characteristic of bourgeois intellectualism; the position of anarchist revolutionaries must be one of support for a conscious and armed proletariat.

But behind all the red(!) herrings there are vital questions to be answered.

Firstly, there is the question of the Party's role after the 'insurrectionary period'. IS claim that the centralised Party is not their idea of a post-revolutionary structure, and quote Engels' polemics against

Bakunin to prove it. But as for producing any way in which a powerful and authoritarian body--as it would have to be to defeat the State apparatus on its own terms--would disappear once state power had been seized, they are silent except to mutter litanies about 'the withering away of the state'

Harris, indeed, stressing that only the "tyrannical" division of labour, the "centralised economy" will be able to feed the world's population, seems to have discarded even that last vestige of libertarian ideas; the eventual Utopia of Marx in which communism and anarchism meet is postponed to the indefinite future, a new kind of 'religious' illusion of promise to come distracting attention from present reality. (IS could in any case hardly avoid becoming, given power, a bureaucratic ruling elite when even now it has reached an advanced state of bureaucratic degeneration, as its own members sometimes admit).

Harris would probably dismiss as utopian dreaming an anarchist's questions on the power-relations within post-insurrectionary society. But the Trotskyist vagueness on this point indicates at best confusion.

It is clear that the Councils of Workers, whether or not these are linked in industrial syndicates or on some other basis such as the 'Solidarity' or 'situationist' concepts, must have total power, or they will quickly cease to have any power



"Watch it, mate--remember, power corrupts!"

WHERE WE STAND



Our aim is to aid in the creation of a free society by any means consistent with this end.

By free society we mean that society in which there is no coercive authority; no civil service or bureaucratic machine, no political or other vested interest group, which by wealth or physical strength, can ever be in a position to tell anyone else what to do, and then by any kind of force make obedience mandatory. Therefore, each person will decide what course their life and activity takes in conjunction with others.

THE CLASSLESS SOCIETY

In order to achieve this free classless society we organise for social revolution in groups based on friendship and solidarity. These groups are free from any central control, and are built around a geographic location, organising both at the place of work and in the community.

We reject all parliamentary activity, as this perpetuates the repressive machinery of capitalism and the state, and advocate direct action of the people themselves as the only way to achieve lasting gains, leading ultimately to the society of free people capable of using their own initiative.

DIRECT ACTION

Since direct action on the part of the individual often produces only partial and inadequate results, it is necessary for us to act collectively. We advocate that the workers organise themselves into syndicalist unions, free from the craft divisions and bureaucracy of today's trade unions.

PROPERTY AND EXPLOITATION

The trade unions seek to be permanent wage bargaining institutions, nationally capable of little more than keeping decision making out of the hands of the rank and file, and their own pockets well lined at the same time.

Syndicalists see no value in the idea of 'A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK' but demand the abolition of the wage system, which widens rather than reduces the gaps between workers.

We demand the destruction of the property relations of existing society, property relations which lead individual workers to talk about 'my factory' when they don't even own the grime beneath the benches. Property relations which enable big corporations to throw thousands of workers out into the street at the whim of an economic system that promotes the existence of wealth and poverty side by side, dependent on a 'pool of unemployment'.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

With geographical groups confederated, and workshop committees growing from these, the committees will be confederated also, into industrial syndicates. Such syndicates will not be wasting time in lobbying M.P.s nor asking for affiliation to the Labour Party or the T.U.C. nor will they be agitating for national negotiating rights. Our aim is to destroy the crippling power structure of the present society, not to compromise with that which binds us in chains. The aim of the syndicates is to have the ability, through the knowledge and experience of the workers who form them, and through their own strength and solidarity, to lock out the bosses and administer production and distribution on behalf of the community which they are part of. All industrial syndicates will combine and co-operate as a confederation of labour.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

The reconstruction of industry begins and ends at the place of work. It begins with organisation and ends with workers' management via rank and file direction of working hours, conditions and what is produced, for the good of society as a whole. As seen from the present set-up, the job gets done in spite of the boss not because of him, despite what they would have us believe.

In view of the Industrial Relations Act, we urge all workers to build and strengthen their own autonomous shop floor organisations and to break away from the authoritarian parties who have blocked progress and freedom for decades.

As the geographical groups confederate to this

end, so will the industrial syndicates controlling and co-ordinating the whole economy of society. With production thus freed from the greed of those who now control our lives with their power and might, born of accumulated wealth, the energies of labour will be directed towards the satisfaction of human needs. With advances in technology providing the ability to control machinery better, and with no fear of economic privation, not only will the four-hour day be possible but we will be closer in time to the abolition of mundane and dull work itself. We don't want a world where the probability of dying from hunger has been exchanged for the certainty of dying of boredom. With no capitalism and no state, mankind will be freed from the necessity of authoritarian attitudes; fraternity and solidarity being the guidelines towards the free society.

Today we must combat the authoritarian encroachments of the state and capitalism. We must combat those who seek to mystify us, and fight those who would have us chained to the benches of their ideologies. Not with idle threats and empty minds,

but with the strength of a working-class united in full understanding of the aims of the free society, building now through our words and actions the new society in the shell of the old.

ANARCHIST BLACK FLAG

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