

Anarchist Worker

Formerly LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE

**'We're Here
to Stay'**
—Indian Workers

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Asians Organise Defence

THE ASIAN community has acted in an encouraging way to the attacks on its members, and is already setting up defence groups (see last month's *Anarchist Worker* about Bengalis in Stepney).

This follows West Indian reaction to National Front gains in Bradford, where defence groups are being formed after a series of meetings, and the decision of the West Indian Standing Conference to call for the setting up of vigilante groups to protect blacks and Asians, and to support and work with all sections of the community to stop these brutal assaults.

Following the massive Southall demonstrations against the murder of an Asian youth, Asians all over London are forming defence groups.

In East London, a secret meeting took place in the first week of June, when the "Anti-Racist Defence Committee for Asians in East London" was set up.

The committee consists of eleven, and three Asian communities are represented on it—Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi.

They intend to put on a series of public meetings and protest demonstrations, to coordinate the defence groups and to help set them up, where they don't exist.

Police

As a committee spokesman said, "We can no longer stand by and see Asians stabbed and beaten up in the streets. We have documentary evidence of almost 100 assaults that have taken place in the East End this year."

He went on to say that the majority of these attacks had been reported to the police, but many others were not reported because Asians realised that the police usually ignore such complaints.

Much more than this, they actually arrest Asians attempting to protect their community. Six Asian tailors from Spitalfields, Stepney, and Bethnal Green are on bail of £100 each, charged with possessing two milk bottles, an iron bar and a wooden stick.

This follows the arrest of a West Indian for carrying a knife to protect himself against racists.

Vigilante

And meanwhile, the attacks still go on. Four Asian youths were attacked by a gang of white youths on June 8th on the Isle of Dogs and received facial injuries. The day



Anti-racist demonstration in Southall

Photo Chris Davies (Report)

before, a young Asian boy was hit in the face with a broken bottle in Brick Lane. The weekend previously two Asians were beaten up in the Highway by white men, who leapt out of a car.

However, the patrols are already having success in stopping racist attacks. One vigilante group consisting of six Asians and one white, broke up an attack in

Spitalfields.

Fascists

The setting up of defence groups is a welcome response to the wave of racism stirred up by Mellish, Enoch Powell and fascist groups, like the National Front.

It's up to the Asian and West

Indian communities to decide how they defend themselves. At the same time, we see the setting up of multi-racial defence groups as being vital in building a strong movement against racism and fascism.

These groups should consist of people active in trade unions, tenants and squatters associations, left groups, and other organisations.

The antagonisms that do exist

between white and black, black and Asians have to be broken down in face of the common enemy, racism and fascism. Furthermore, these working class defence groups can act as embryos of a future militia under the control of the people in a revolutionary situation.

EAST LONDON AWA



Bewildered delegates at the Special TUC Congress

Photo Chris Davies (Report)

TUC SELL-OUT

IT'S BECOMING increasingly obvious that what anarchist revolutionaries have been saying about the trade union leaders and the Labour Party is being brutally proven by events.

The TUC Special Congress approved the 4½% pay deal on Wednesday June 16th and continued its commitment to a ban on free collective bargaining, and, in effect, the

propping up of the Labour government. The 4½% pay limit means massive wage cuts for working people. This coincides with widespread cuts in public spending.

What did the so-called 'lefts' in the Labour Party do about that one? Answer: ... Nothing!

They kicked up a fuss over the postponement of the child benefit scheme, only to finally acquiesce, as a

Continued on page 9

Dublin libertarians face execution

A FULL SCALE attack on anarchists by the Irish government has been followed by two people being sentenced to death. A third, who was due to be tried with them, was so badly beaten by police that his trial has had to be postponed.

And people—anarchists or not—who have attempted to defend the three on trial have been subject to serious and and persistent harassment by the police.

On the 11th of September last year, the Bank of Ireland at Killester (Dublin) was raided. Shortly afterwards a plainclothes policeman, Michael Reynolds, was shot dead.

A £20,000 reward was promised for information leading to those responsible. Irish police announced that they were looking for anarchists in connection with the offences.

Since the number of people in Dublin that identify themselves as anarchists is extremely small, and since three anarchists were in fact later arrested, it appears that the Irish police were anxious to implicate the three, even before

they had acquired sufficient 'evidence' to do so.

State Cause

The two so far sentenced to death are Marie Murray (27) and her husband Noel (25).

The Murrays were earlier associated with the New Earth group—a small organisation of situationists and traditional anarchists. In court both Marie and Noel have stated that they were anarchists.

They objected, unsuccessfully, to being tried by the Irish 'Special Criminal Court' without a jury and

pointed out that an organ of the state, sitting in judgement on people who claim to be enemies of the state, could hardly be impartial.

The attempts of the Murrays to conduct their own defence led to their spending much of the trial in cells on the orders of the presiding judge, listening through a loudspeaker system to proceedings which culminated in their being sentenced to hang.

Evidence which the defendants wished to produce was ruled inadmissible. They were refused permission to call witnesses and newspapers were forbidden. Newspapers were forbidden to publish part of the court proceedings. And the assistant of one of the Murrays' solicitors was arrested by the police.

Torture

The Irish state's principal

evidence against the Murrays of written statements by Marie and Noel, in which they admit having taken part in the Killester raid, and having been present at the death of Reynolds.

The Murrays say these statements were only extorted through the use of brutality towards Noel, and by threats of further such treatment to Noel and Marie unless confessions were forthcoming.

The severe beating-up of political prisoners is common in Ireland. The third defendant in the trial, Ronan Stenson (25), certainly received such treatment.

A senior Irish prison official, commandant Henry O'Shea, said in court that when Stenson was handed over to him by the police he had wounds 'consistent with having been punched on the muscle of the upper arm and with being punched or kicked in the right rib.'

Hangman

The Murrays have lodged an appeal, and because of this the date of their execution, which had been set for July 9th, has been set back.

There is also the chance of appealing to the European Court at Strasbourg—though it is estimated that such an appeal would cost about £30,000. Class justice!

Meanwhile the Irish government is making arrangements for the execution 'just in case the appeal is unsuccessful'. They are widely reported to be having difficulty in finding a hangman.

Irish authorities have traditionally found it hard to find an Irish person willing to act as executioner in political cases. It used to be common for the 'Free State' to use British facilities for hanging republican prisoners.

In the present case, the Irish government is said to have approached potential executioners in both Britain and Rhodesia (in Southern Africa hangings are still common).

The government in Eire is an uneasy coalition of the right wing

-ine Gael and the Irish Labour Party.

It is reported that the Prime Minister, Cosgrave, is strongly in favour of hanging in this case, as are two other senior ministers, Burke and Donegan.

Against hanging are said to be liberals Garrett Fitzgerald and Connor Cruise O'Brien.

The last execution in Eire was in 1954. Michael Mullen, general secretary of the Irish T&GWU has called for the death sentence on the Murrays to be commuted (as, significantly, has the Belfast Telegraph in the North).

However, right wing opinion in the South is anxious to demonstrate that it is not 'soft on terrorism'. Killing anarchist is thought to be a specially suitable way of proving this, yet would be unlikely to cause so violent a backlash as would the execution of Republicans.

There is no doubt, though, that the death sentence against the Murrays is meant as a warning to republicans as well as to anarchists.

The Irish state may well have some difficulty in doing what it may otherwise wish—to reprieve Marie and hang Noel—since according to the official version of events it was Marie who killed Reynolds.

Anyone who might feel confident that Cosgrave and his allies will not hang the Murrays should remember that at the time of General Franco's last set of political murders, the present government of Eire was the only one in the EEC not to withdraw its ambassador from Madrid.

Organisations for the defence of the Murrays and Ronan Stenson have been set up in Dublin and London, and, the AWA is informed, in Manchester and Birmingham.

AWA members in London are active in the defence organisation there. Readers wishing to take part in the defence movement can make contact:

c/o 84b, Whitechapel High St., London E1, or through AWA.

M.E.



Asian anti-racist march in Brick Lane, London

Photo John Sturrock (Report)

We're Here to Stay!

ON SUNDAY the 11th of July, the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain is holding a major demonstration in London against racism.

IWA members from all over Britain will be taking part and the Indian Workers Association has also asked for the support of other organisations, including ourselves in the AWA—support which we will be very glad to give.

We call upon all readers of Anarchist Worker to support this initiative by the IWA. Talk about it to your workmates. Tell them that you are going to support it, and why. Seek to win their support. Raise the matter in your union branch, women's group, tenants' association, and so on.

Make contact with local members of the Indian Workers Association and with Indian people who are not in the IWA.

Publicise the march amongst West Indian and other groups. This will both help to make the march itself an important blow to racism and help in building up local working class solidarity against racist threats in your area.

See if you can get together with others to organise coach or other transport to go to the demonstration.

Contact the IWA or your nearest AWA group for leaflets and posters about the demonstration—or produce your own.

Even if you are not able to attend the march for some very pressing reason (for instance if you're pregnant and due to give birth on that day) you could still help with preparations for it which will strengthen working class solidarity in your area.

A spokesman for the Indian Workers Association

told us, "the message to racials will be that we are here to stay. We will not be harassed and intimidated".

"We are part of the community of this country. We will defend ourselves. We will not be blamed for bad housing and unemployment."

"There has always been bad housing and unemployment. The blame for bad housing and unemployment lies with the ruling class."

"There is a demonstration on the 4th of July organised by the Southall Indian Workers Association."

"We think their approach is wrong. They are going cap in hand to the government asking for better protection against racist attacks."

"We say that we must organise our own defence against racist attacks, and that we must unite with other sections of the working class."

"The demonstration by the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain on the 11th of July will not be going cap in hand to the government."

When an AWA comrade pointed out that in fact the IWA-GB march would be taking the same route as the Southall IWA one, to Number 10 Downing Street, our IWA friend said "well, it has to go somewhere".

In any case whether this is a mistake or not it is important that all initiatives against racism (including the Southall one) be supported.

In particular we should put as much effort as possible into making the march called by the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain a major blow to racism. There will be planning meetings for it at which the AWA can put the case for reconsidering the march route.

ASSEMBLE 12.30pm on the 11th July at Hyde Park Corner.

STOP PRESS — On the 29th June, unannounced, and in a most vicious and brutal way, over 150 police together with bailiffs evicted 20 squatters and took possession of six of the ten squatted houses in Charteris Rd., N. London. See May issue of Anarchist Worker.

The police used maximum force, beating up squatters and demonstrators

alike. Fifteen people were arrested, including someone who had shot film of police violence.

Typifying Islington Council's housing record, the six Charteris Road houses will in all probability go the same way as 108 others in the area being gutted and then just left.

J.R.C.

SOWETO

SOWETO with over a million inhabitants is the second largest city in South Africa, but you will not find it on any official map or in an atlas, Why—?

Soweto is a dormitory town for the African proletariat who work in the factories of Johannesburg during the day, but who are forbidden to remain in the city, the city they built, after dark.

They spend up to 4 hours a day commuting between Soweto and Joburg on incredibly overcrowded trains and buses. In the recent uprising over one hundred of these buses were destroyed as symbols of the daily grind to and back from work.

Beer halls

There is only one cinema in Soweto so the main form of leisure is to pass away the time in government sponsored beer halls; yet these are so dreary that they also became prime targets and most of them were burnt down.

With the colossal British investment in South Africa it is not only the white minority but us here

in Britain who live off the backs of the African workers.

To maintain their privileged position the white minority government spend only £17 per pupil a year for Africans compared with £320 a year per white pupil.

The aim of the ruling minority is to protect its privileged standard of living—one of the highest in the world—while excluding the Africans who produced most of this wealth from sharing it.

However out of an active work force of about 8 million, Africans make up 7 million.

This gives them enormous potential strength as demonstrated in 1973 when over 67,000 African workers carried out wild-cat strikes in Durban, the main port city which rapidly spread to other parts of the country involving 80,000 African miners in coal, platinum and gold mines.

Since this upsurge in industrial action the workers have been organising themselves into clandestine commissions in preparation for the final confrontation with the Apartheid-Capitalist system.

R.M.

STUDENT TEACHERS FIGHT BACK

THE N.U.S. estimate about 60-70% of student teachers graduating this year have not found jobs. In Dundee, they were allocated to surnames A-E, then stop.

Official figures are lower because employment exchanges try to persuade teachers to register as clerks or unskilled "to have a better chance of a job".

But there are no other jobs either. These teachers were trained to fill places even the education authorities of a few years back saw necessary.

On June 16th, the lobby of the special TUC, protesting against the unemployment and what amounts to wage cuts for those in work, was supported by hundreds of students and student teachers.

This followed the wave of occupations and other protests against education cuts, which took not only the Government, but the NUS leadership, by surprise and alarm.

Picket

In the Oxford area, Culham teacher training college was occupied and Lady Spencer Churchill college

On 5th June an emergency NUS conference held in Manchester, attended by delegates from hundreds of colleges, urged the occupations to continue and went all out for action on June 16th. On June 12th the majority of the NUS executive - from the Broad Left rightwards - decided to call off the occupations and change the date of the demonstration to 15th June, in an attempt to separate student and worker mobilisations.

students organised a picket of the local Education Offices, and a petition.

Student teachers, other workers, and parents, have attended a series of meetings organised by NUS area, and the student teachers.

On June 9th, a meeting at Culham was addressed by five speakers from teaching unions, and Val Coultos of NUS.

The first stressed the importance of giving all trained teachers employment, and of sticking to no cover for more than 3 days absence, no classes over 30.

Fine—except that this was separated from questions of equipment and school meals, and from the cuts in other social services.

Some went so far as to say cuts should be made—somewhere else and "the teacher is the most important thing, employ all teachers even if it means children breathing on the windows and writing sums with their fingers".

They advised unemployed student teachers to insist on being registered for teaching jobs, and to take up their right to membership of teaching unions to force them to implement their sanctions against the imposition of extra duties and outside classes on teaching staff.

But the most other action recommended to unemployed teachers was to 'badger' their local councils and M.P.s.

Investigation

The NUT speaker did also call for a full investigation into staffing ratios and proposed re-organisations, etc. An area can appear to have an 'acceptable' average pupil:teacher ratio of 30, but this can conceal remedial and specialised classes,

which need to be much smaller, and others much larger.

But these are policies without teeth as long as 'action at the top' is relied on to get results. Negotiations between union leaders and employers lead to trading concessions and doing deals.

To put teachers in a strong enough to win even limited demands needs the involvement of other workers. This won't be by backroom chats and appointed committees of union officials, and passing paper motions.

Applause

The NUS speaker firmly rejected the idea that teachers' needs are a special case separate from other needs for welfare and useful jobs.

The audience reserved its applause for her speech and contributions from the floor, affirming opposition to all cuts, and calling for direct action by all affected.

The speaker from the National Association of Schoolmasters had said it was foolish to think of teaching unions bringing down the Government. A lot of the audience didn't seem to think it was such a bad idea, if all the unions were fighting together.

The speeches concluded with the

Edinburgh Picket

ON MAY 24th, around 50 students of Edinburgh University picketed the administrative buildings in protest at the possible introduction of higher fees for overseas students.



Haranguing passers by

Fees for these students are already higher than those for British students, and the increase in fees, which has now been approved by the University Court, will mean increased hardship for foreign students next year.

The picket in solidarity was called by the Overseas Student Action Group (OSAG), who point out that overseas students are the weakest and most easily exploitable group in the entire student body.

Made Aware

The campaign in Edinburgh has failed to stop the increase in fees for overseas students, but at least the student body has been made more aware of their plight

president of the Oxford NUS area, "There are two forces in society—the working class and business. The working class will only fight for education along with its other needs."

The meeting then got down to plan local activities, including mobilising for June 16th, and approaching other trade unions, P.T.A.s and so on for support, and generally publicising the extent of the education system's failings, and the possibilities for resisting them.

Fighting on

By the middle of June, a lot of students are taking exams, and everyone's thinking of holidays. So a lot of occupations were over, and the turnout at the latest meeting in Oxford, at Ruskin College, wasn't impressive—about 50.

However there were delegates present from several local unions, and a labour

ward, which had passed motions affirming opposition to education cuts, and in some cases to all cuts, calling for a sliding scale of public expenditure.

The need to link up with other campaigns against the cuts was discussed, and, in addition to these and trade unions approaches are to be made to the Union of the Unemployed and the NUSS.

Points of local information raised

The government says it will cost them £4,000 a year for every teacher they employ. However, subtracting the savings in unemployment benefit and the taxation they'll get, the true figure is around £4,000.

included a further £6m. off the local County Council budget. Oxford Poly., which is losing a lot of its art department



Picketing the administrative building

and the University authorities were made aware that their discrimination has not gone unchallenged.

If overseas students are to get anything like fair treatment, all students are going to have to fight for it. Does your college have an Overseas Students Action Group?

B.G.



Collecting signatures for petition

(including 200+ staff), is going to 'expand by taking over Cheyney school.

Many current expansions are such mergers, resulting in a net loss of places.

At present, parents and other volunteers, are being brought in to supervise younger children, school meals, etc. Their greater involvement in education is welcome, but not at the expense of the expert teaching it is replacing.

It was hoped to set up a workers' enquiry into the education cuts, get the real facts on how replacement of staff, class size, provision of materials, and so on, and the budget for the future.

Such information is a basis for mobilising teachers to strike, and thus draw other unions into action.

Industry

Then there is a real possibility of doing something positive, such as setting up elected, mandated, recallable rank and file committees, to decide what staffing ratios and equipment are needed.

Also, consultation with parents, teachers and pupils, and ultimately to control the purpose and methods of education.

At present education is treated as another industry, with a product to be put on the market. When, like now, there is more educated or uneducated labour than the employers want, they save money and invest somewhere more profitable.

The meeting ended by agreeing that the NUS area committee, the student/trade union committee, delegates to that meeting, and anyone interested, should continue to gather information and support. They should be ready to assist and to co-ordinate any actions in the immediate future. Also call future public meetings.

To bring all existing class sizes over 30 down to 30, 58,000 teachers are needed — more than are at present unemployed.

The effect of the cuts won't be cured by the mouthings of Labour leaders, while the businessmen control the shop.

The protests are already gathering momentum. The liaison body set up will try and ensure this isn't lost in the end of term lull.

Stronger action committees have been set up in some areas. We hope to see one soon in Oxford, arising out of, and able to initiate direct action on a growing scale.

JRC

A.R.

PORTUGAL— Revolution reverts to the ballot

AS WE go to press, presidential elections are imminent in Portugal.

They are likely to occur in a fog of apathy and confusion, and in a political climate which is as unresolved as it was immediately after the overthrow of the Caetano regime.

What is clear is that however close Portugal may have come to effecting a social revolution that really was potentially capable of moving in a libertarian communist direction, the initiative has now been most certainly temporarily quashed, not only by the Portuguese bourgeoisie — (who seem to have survived) — but, even more certainly by the Portuguese left.

The beginning of the end of the Revolution was heralded the moment the cry went up for a restoration of "democracy" and "free elections".

The complex chain of events that followed largely reflect an

unending power struggle between the multifarious political factions, in an effort to gain governmental representation. The real revolution — the self-activity of both the industrial and agricultural working class, the creation of workers' and soldiers' councils, and the formation of street and neighbourhood committees — became at once subordinated to the notion of "revolutionary government".

Collusion

The role of the Portuguese Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the one time darling of the International Socialists, shares a considerable burden of the responsibility for the embourgeoisement of the revolution.

Whilst they claimed to identify with working class self activity, they were in fact committed to building up a power base; they envisaged a socialist government which would nurture workers

councils until, eventually, they would be deemed capable of operating autonomously. (These workers' councils were not to be built upon the foundations of those already independently created by the workers, but were to be set up by the PRP).

From this standpoint followed their inevitable and necessary collusion with the bourgeoisie, and their eventual contribution to the sabotage of the revolution.

The PRP and the Movement of the Socialist Left (MES), are running the politically ineffectual Major Otelio de Carvalho as their election candidate.

Although both the PRP and the MES command a token support amongst sections of the working class, Carvalho is unlikely to make any significant impact at the polls, and will almost certainly lose to General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, a product of the bourgeoisie/democratic left amalgamation which so clearly characterizes the nature

of the tragic setback of the revolution.

Optimism

However, the setback may be only a temporary defeat.

The working class, although betrayed by all the left political parties, still retains a newly found strength of its own, and is unlikely to easily forget its foretaste of real workers' power.

The support which has fallen to the right is not a significant factor contributing to the failure of the revolution.

The defeat amply demonstrates the point that true social revolution can only be instigated via the self activity of the entire working class.

On no account must it be allowed to become manipulated by political parties who seek to direct and channel the energies of the revolutionary class into "democratic" dead ends.

ROBERT RELF was released from prison on June 7th, after being jailed for contempt of court for refusing to take down his 'For sale to an English family' sign.

While he was inside some Asians removed the sign, but the police made sure it was returned.

The ultra-right have made an enormous amount of propaganda out of British Movement member Relf's case, claiming that an Englishman should be free to sell his house to whoever he wants.

This is a real distortion of freedom — the freedom to buy and sell property and to 'enjoy' possessions, regardless of the needs of others. From this point of view people become a limitation of freedom instead of a potential realisation of it.

That's why anarchists say 'Property is theft', not just because it's the theft of the products of working peoples' labour, but because capitalist society, based as it is on possessions and property, steals the possibility for us to relate to each other as free human beings.

All our relationships are mediated through things; production is dehumanised, love is replaced by a contract, the long-term prostitution of marriage, and friendships are competitive and emotionless.



National Front counter demonstration in Hackney Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

the replacement of the Labour government by another Labour government pledged to socialist policies—as if the present government had not been pledged to socialist policies in its time.

Other left groups, while rejecting the Labour Party, cannot go beyond the reformist and defeatist slogans of 'The Right To Work' and the need to build the Party.

Labourites like Mellish whip up hatred against immigrants, further giving justification for attacks on Asians and West Indians.

Ulster

Powell seeks to build a strong right-wing base with his gospels of hatred for immigrants, and his entrenchment in Ulster, where he justifies the attacks on the Catholic minority.

In this atmosphere, it becomes increasingly important that a real revolutionary alternative is built.

What is needed is a movement that fights against the betrayals of the union leaders and the Labour Party, and organises realistically and meaningfully against unemployment /the cuts.

This movement must attack openly the root cause of all these evils—capitalism itself.

This movement can be built by joint action between white and black workers in setting up defence squads, and in linking racism to unemployment.

Anarchist and libertarian revolutionaries should set an example in these activities, and go all out for building a revolutionary alternative to the crisis.

N.M.

Empire

Some working people turn to the fascist and Nazi groups as an answer. This is not surprising, with the tradition of the British Empire not far in the past, where British far in the past, where British workers were stuffed full of ideas of how superior they were to other races, especially the Africans, Asians and Chinese.

They were kept quiet with the status of top underdog, while the plunder of half the world went under way.

It is not surprising, either, with the racist laws that both Tory and Labour governments have supported, the Immigration Act in particular.

Callaghan, Crossman and Castle all in their own ways seek to limit immigration and keep the immigrant population under their thumb.

Women who get together in self-health groups are able to take the lid off medical mystique and talk through our shame and fears together.

Women are by far and away the greater users of the NHS, and mostly this has nothing to do with ill-health—though we are made to feel as if we are sick just because we need help with childbirth, contraception, abortion and menopause.

Also we are the custodians of the family's health and have to service

husbands and children.

Through self examination, a lot of real and useful research has been done into women's habitual problems—period pains, menstrual cycles home cures for cystitis.

Myths

Many of the myths around child birth have been exploded, and a great deal of information has been compiled through networks of health groups in the British Isles and



Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital London; the only all women hospital in the country, now threatened with closure. Photo Angela Phillips (IFL)

Socio-economic foundations of Fascism

ANY MAJOR CHANGE in the economy is accompanied by a social crisis. During this crisis these political and ideological components of the superstructure that do not fit with the new economic structure are jettisoned and are replaced by new ones. But the ensuing social crisis loosens, for a while, the ideological hold of the ruling class over the masses.

It is at this point (at this 'weak link' in the development of the economy) that the class fundamentally antagonistic to the ruling class has a chance to seize power and cement the new social formation with its own world view. To do so it must win over the ideological organizers of the ruling class; the crisis will have left these organizers temporarily 'free floating'.

European Fascism was a response to the social crisis brought about by the passage from competitive to monopoly capitalism. A split in the bourgeoisie loosened their hold over the numerous (in Italy 53% of the population in 1921) middle and petty bourgeoisie.

The latter had been the hardest hit by the cost of World War I. Keynes calculated that the war had consumed 11/12 of their savings.

The split in the bourgeoisie was between the least solvent industrial/financial blocks (mainly armaments) who couldn't compete on an international scale and therefore sought the security of a market free from the law of supply and demand (i.e. a Welfarist and protectionist state that intervenes in the economy,) and the more established industry and finance whose operations required a liberal (non-interventionist) state with a free-trade policy.

The working class, made impotent by the incorrect strategies of its organisations (the social fascism thesis) made no attempt to win over the petty bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie reacted to all this by running into the arms of the myth of a neutral state that would restore law and order.

This wish fitted well with the type of state that the protectionist bourgeoisie needed. The result was the fascist state.

The fascist state is an exceptional form of interventionist state. The interventionist state is the political form proper to monopoly capitalism (as opposed to the liberal state proper to competitive capitalism).

Whereas, for example, the same political change towards interventionism was relatively peaceful in the US (the New Deal), the high degree of working class militancy in Germany and Italy required an exceptional form of state intervention.

The political lesson is as follows: the appearance of fascist or ultra-right groups or activities is a symptom of a social crisis which in turn is a sign of an attempt by capitalism to adjust itself to a new requirement.

This adjustment is a sign of a momentary weakness of the ruling class's hegemony over society. Since it finds itself unable to organise consensus for its rule it has to resort to strong arm measures. State violence and fascist terrorism are signs of weakness, of a weak link in the development of capitalism.

For the working class it is the time to act.

In May 1920, Gramsci observed that: "The present phase of class struggle in Italy is the phase which precedes: either the conquest of power by the revolutionary proletariat or a tremendous reaction by the propertied classes and the governing caste. No violence will be foregone to subjugate the industrial and agricultural proletariat to a servile labour."

"They will try relentlessly to smash the organisms of political struggle of the working class (Socialist party), and to incorporate the organisms of economic resistance (unions and cooperatives) into

the agencies of the bourgeois state".

Delay may mean defeat. Military preparation must be accompanied by patient political work not only amongst the working class but also amongst that class most likely to swallow fascist

propaganda: the petty bourgeoisie.

To refuse to attempt to "win them over" on the grounds of some moral principle is only a petty bourgeoisie principle.

Ellam

RACIALISM

RACISM—Why is it growing in Britain? Why are the fascist groups like the National Front and the National Party receiving support and votes?

The racism and fascism now on the upsurge are a result of the activities of the Labour government and the union leaders. Working-class people, traditional Labour voters, have always thought that somehow the Party stood up for their interests, actually fought for socialism.

Now it is obvious to many that the Labour Party and the TUC, cannot and will not protect living standards, will not fight against rising prices, cuts, and unemployment.

The crisis deepens and working people start to dread the return to poverty, and nightmares like the

means tests and the dole queue.

They start looking for an alternative. None of the so-called 'revolutionary' groups offers this alternative.

The Communist Party is pledged to Parliamentary action and keeping Labour in power. The far-left groups either send their 'troops' into the ranks of Labour, or call for

Womens Health

THE JUNE issue of *Anarchist Worker* had an article on drugs and especially its conclusion:

"The only way to overcome personal problems is through relating them to broader issues and working on collective solutions through an attack on the institution of the nuclear family, and society as a whole."

—made us think that it would be useful to write about one collective solution to the problem—namely women's Self-Health Groups.

It is important to remember that a very large part of women's conditioning is centred around their bodies.

From an early age, we are expected to conform to a norm of beauty and shapeliness, which bears very little relation to the reality of most people's Physique—and anyway has nothing to do with health or happiness.

We are taught to be ashamed about menstruation. It is called "the curse", and is the subject of school-

body and be ashamed of its function.

Is it any surprise that a combination of revulsion for one's body, one's sense of shame, isolation, impotence and ignorance, drive a great many women to drugs.

In fact ignorance and shame—deliberately drummed into us—are at the centre of women's problems. Doctors use the mystique of medical expertise to confuse and frighten the patients.

A huge industry has grown around the fears and neuroses of women about slimming and diet.

Pills

The more women can be kept in isolation, ignorance and competition the easier it is for doctors to pack them off home with pills and not waste time on them.

The more money can be made by the clothing, chemical products, magazine and slimming industries, by exploiting their fear and loneliness.

Knowing your own body is as basic as knowing how to read and write.

Self-help

There is a growing movement in this country of women's self-health groups.

Some have grown out of women's involvement in local NAC groups, some have been going for a long time within the women's movement, encouraged and helped by developments in America of self-help collectives and women's clinics.

You do not need to be a doctor or a nurse to be able to explore and take control of your own health.

Curse

girl whisperings and school-boy revulsion.

In short, we are taught to hate

Book list:

"Our Bodies our Selves" Boston women's health collective.
"Understanding Cystitis"
"The Well-Body Book"
and a number of others in Compendium/Rising Free bookshops.

Russian news

BECAUSE OF THE almost non-existent flow of news from the USSR, it is useful to publish the following article, gleaned from the British and American press, which is taken from the International Libertarian Communist Review, May 1976.

The resurgence of anarchist ideas in workers and students struggles in these last years has provoked a series of reactions on the part of Soviet officialdom.

Several works dealing with anarchism have appeared in the USSR.

After May '68, an article appeared in the most important Soviet history review—*Voprosy Istorii*—entitled 'The Ideological Bankruptcy of Contemporary neo-Proudhonism'.

Many of the recent Soviet works dealing with anarchism, however, are tending to deviate from the usual Stalinist caricature of the libertarian movement and some of them even contain rare snippets of information (despite themselves).

Among the themes dealt with, we find biographies of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

S.N. Kanev, who has had access to Soviet archives, has published a work which includes statistical tables on the anarchist groups, their publications, their implantation in the soviets, the trade unions and factory committees.

We learn there, for example, that in 1918 there were anarchist organisations and groups in 130 towns, and 55 newspapers and magazines.

Anarkhiia

The Moscow anarcho-communist paper, *Anarkhiia*, for example, had a 20,000 print run and the Moscow anarcho-syndicalist paper, *Vol'nii Golos Truda*—'The Free Voice of Labour', printed 15,000 copies.

In 1969, a 'little bit more objective' history of Russian anarchism was published by VV Komin, a member of the Kalinin teaching institute.

A book entitled *The Liquidation of the Anti-Soviet Mutiny of Kronstadt — 1921* by S. Semanov (Moscow, 231 pp) was published in 1973.

But we come back to a book by Kanev which appeared in 1974, entitled *The October Revolution and the decline of Anarchism: the Struggle of the Bolshevik Party against Anarchism 1917-22* (Moscow, 416pp).

It would be fruitless to expect Kanev to do other than trundle out the habitual epithets used in the USSR against libertarians—'counter-revolutionary opportunists', 'petit-bourgeois', 'reactionary bandits', etc.

What is new and significant is that Kanev has visibly had access to works published in the West.

Cheka

Amongst others, he cites the books of Guerin, James Joll, the reprints of Voline's *Unknown Revolution*, and so on—all these qualify as bourgeois falsifications.

Also, revealing a certain unease, is the fact that, for the first time, the Soviets are seeking to justify the accusation of having annihilated the libertarian movement with force.

Kanev claims the Bolshevik Government preferred to let the libertarian movement die away of its own accord, rather than repress it.

He writes that the Moscow newspaper, *Anarkhiia*, was authorised

to reappear after the Cheka raids of April 1918 (conveniently forgetting that it was finally banned).

He claims also that the 'anarchist clubs' remained active for several years after the revolution and continued to send delegates to the soviets.

He conveniently forgets this time that it was the minority of 'Soviet Anarchists' who chose to collaborate with the Bolsheviks, and were annihilated with the arrival of Stalin.

The last chapter of Kanev's book is entitled: *The end of Anarchism in the Soviet Union*: this statement seems to be contradicted by a number of facts.

In 1966, a biography of Kropotkin was reprinted in Moscow and, apparently, was a great success.

At the beginning of the sixties, the poet Joseph Brodsky — now in exile in the USA — was brought to trial and accused of belonging to an 'individualist anarchist group' in Leningrad.

Around the same time, the historian Peter Yakir was put on trial for having 'spread the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin amongst Soviet schoolchildren and tried to create an anarchist group of the Machnovist sort'. (!)

Radio Anarchy

Two pieces of news which must be treated with reserve given the impossibility of verifying them are:

- That there is a pirate radio station amongst the numerous ones that broadcast on Soviet territory that calls itself 'anarchist'; and
- finally, it was reported in October 1974 that a clandestine group existed in Leningrad which had republished and distributed *Pravda O Kronstadte* (the Truth about Kronstadt), as well as other insurgent texts.

subsequent trial, all the 'ringleaders' of the mutiny were executed.

On February 24th of this year, 3 young people threw 100 handwritten leaflets calling for a new revolution, from the top story of a department store on to the Nevsky Prospect, the main street in Leningrad.

This happened on the day of the 25th Communist Party Congress. As a result, several students were expelled, and 2 teachers sacked.

Eva Long

IN NOVEMBER '75 a mutiny broke out on a Russian missile ship in the Baltic, where the sailors protested against bad conditions. They were also concerned about the possibility of having to serve an extra period of time in the Navy, after already having done their 4 years compulsory service.

The officers were locked up, and the sailors steamed towards the Swedish island of Gotland. The ship was shelled and sunk by the Russian navy, over 50 mutineers losing their lives. In the

U.S.A.

It is now possible for many ordinary women to go to doctors and know more about the workings of their bodies than the doctors do.

One very modest and open-minded gynaecologist has actually said to my group that there is very little he can tell us about our health, as we probably know far more about it.

We are familiar with our bodies in a healthy state, and therefore can be far more aware of any slight changes.

We have tried many experiments in the treatment of common ailments—cystitis, etc.—in the form of diet and herbal/home remedies, which have proved to be very successful in many cases.

Misery

The treatment of Thrush, (yeast infection), with yoghurt and *Trichomonas* with Garlic, for instance while normally given a blanket dose of antibiotics, lowering resistance not necessarily doing the trick in recurring cases.

Not to speak of causing misery and depression.

The very act of taking off your clothes and looking at your cervix and vagina in a group of friends and fellow-sufferers is such an immense step in the fight against shame and isolation.

To discover that your own seemingly particular problems are common to the majority of other

women. That they are salvable is a terrific morale booster.

I am not uglier, no hairier, no fatter, no skinnier, no wierder than my sisters. My vagina is normal.

To discuss contraception with fellow-sufferers is so much more helpful than discovering with 'objective' medics.

Guinea Pigs

To discover the ills that have been done to us with the experimental pill in the name of research and liberation is a great relief if you felt, as I did, that you were going demented as a result of taking it.

However, there are collective solutions to personal problems. Though it is essential to take the care of our bodies and our health into our own hands, and fight for our individual rights, this is obviously not the whole story. Women (in health groups) as the principal users of the NHS are able to pressurise the service into meeting our needs. This is a very important function of self-health action.

On a local level, we must press for better abortion facilities—on our own terms—and out-patient services for early abortions.

We fight the myths about the child-birth and explore the issue of home births versus hospitalisation.

We fight the menopause and hysterectomy myths.

We must fight the wanton use of induction of births merely as a hospital convenience.

We learn about cystitis and vagino-urethral diseases in order not to be foisted off with inadequate treatment and moralising inferences.

Portugal

It is important to compile information about local doctors and hospital clinics, to know which are sympathetic to abortion, home births, etc.

They should be publicly blacked and reprimanded for their moralising literature to women in all walks of life and in all countries. The health collectives in Portugal have been immensely grateful for information and supplies from this country and America.

Women in Spain, Ireland, Italy and France have contacts here, and the exchange of information and practice is essential for the SELF-health and SELF-confidence and SELF-action of women everywhere. We must fight for the right to explore techniques such as menstrual extraction; maybe a simple answer to the misery of menstrual tension and cramps, and contraception.

There is a national conference of Women's Health Groups in October which will be advertised nearer the time in Anarchist Worker, Spare Rib and elsewhere. Encourage women to come.

P.W.

Iranians protest at state visit of Shah's sister

IRANIAN STUDENTS in London have held a number of pickets over the last month to protest against the official visit to this country of the Shah of Iran's twin sister Princess Ashraf Pahlavi.

Her complicity in the murderous Iranian dictatorship is beyond dispute.

She was involved with the CIA coup in 1953, is actively concerned with the political administration of the country, and has a taste for murder and torture in which she is known to play a participant role.

UNDIGNIFIED

The Princess visited Wadham College in Oxford on Saturday 12th. June in order to lay a foundation stone for a new library, (which is being constructed with the aid of money robbed and withheld from the Iranian people). Students from the college had made arrangements prior to her visit to picket the college, and on the day of her arrival she was confronted by some 300 students and militants (many of them Iranian), who successfully prevented her from getting the kind of dignified initial reception she anticipated — although she did finally get into the college.

Students at Wadham have also voted to completely boycott the library facilities.

The Iranian regime have been active in Britain, and hand in hand with the Home Office, have attempted to extradite activist Iranian students. Hundreds of students in Iran itself have been tortured and executed, simply for

expressing their discontent with the regime.

The action taken by the Wadham students is the only realistic way in which to fight against the oppression of the Iranian regime.

When Iranian agents are known to circulate in student quarters, and there is active collaboration between the British and Iranian authorities, action centered around paper condemnations issuing from the NUS bureaucracy is hopelessly ineffectual.

It also demonstrates the need for the student movement to extend and strengthen its corroboration not only with Iranian students, but with all overseas students.

The Campaign against Repression in Iran (CARI) estimate that there are as many as 45,000 political prisoners in Iran, and Amnesty International conclude that Iran has the highest rate of execution of political prisoners than anywhere else in the world.

REPRESSION

Over the past few months, the Iranian regime has intensified its campaign of repression.

In one week alone a total of 24 militants were murdered in police raids, including two children aged 11 and 13.

All independent Trade Unions are banned, and any form of protest or action is met with immediate suppression.

For further information contact CARI, c/o 155 Drummond Street, London, NW1.

JRC



Iranian students demonstrate at Downing St. Andrew Wiard [Report]



THE ORGANISATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISTS

an Anarchist Workers Association publication

The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists was written by a group of anarchists who had participated in the Russian Revolution and the ensuing civil war.

They attempted to communicate their experiences and what they had learnt to the international anarchist movement, stressing the need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class.

The Platform was severely attacked by the anarchist 'celebrities' almost without exception, who saw the formation of a structured anarchist organisation as a threat to the inalienable rights of the individual.

This historical document has been rediscovered, and has been instrumental in the development of organised class anarchism in the 1970's.

To obtain a copy, send a cheque/PO for 20p + 7p p&p made out to 'AWA General Fund' to: AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside.

French printworks occupied for 9 months

IMPRIMERIE ROUENNAISE, a printworks in Normandy, was closed down on the 29th September last year by the owners and 120 workers made redundant. The workers response was to occupy.

Since then they have used the presses to print material publicising not only their struggle, but the struggles of other workers in the region. They have established links with other occupied printworks in the country.

In the nine months that they have been in occupation

they have completely reorganised the day to day work of the factory, rejecting authoritarian and hierarchical methods and making a conscious attempt to break down the multiplicity of divisions of labour in a highly-skilled industry.

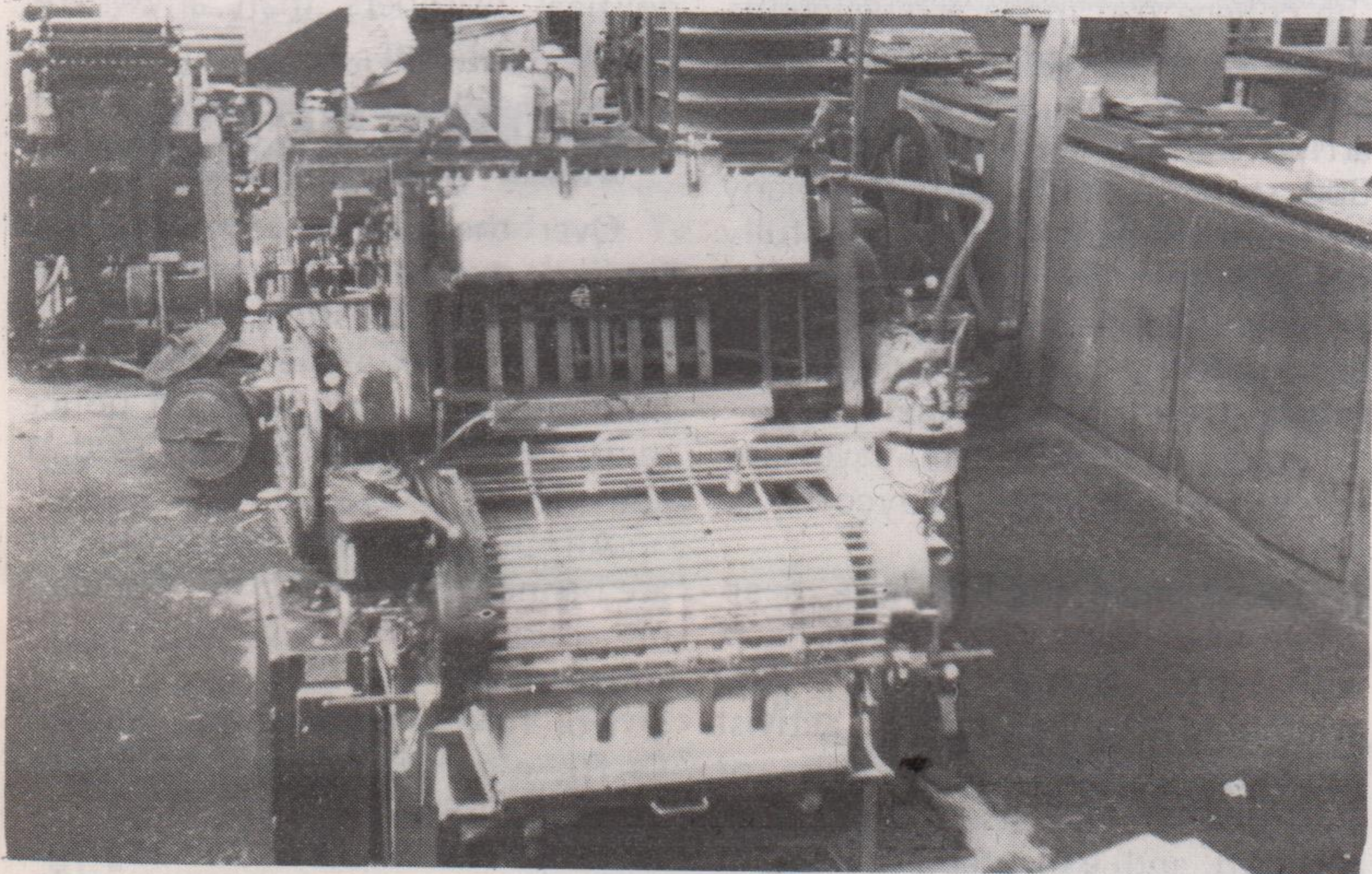
On the 12th-13th June they held a *Porte Ouverte* (Open Door) festival, inviting workers from all parts of France, as a means of publicising their struggle and of sharing their experiences, in order to gain an understanding among the working class of the tactics of their struggle and their methods of organisation.

An *Anarchist Worker* reporter went to the *Porte Ouverte* and interviewed IMRO worker Stephan Groepler.

We've been fighting against redundancies for more than two years. In December 1974, to take just one example (for in fact there are hundreds of examples) we were threatened with twenty-five redundancies. We occupied the

An interesting thing about this action was the fact that the owner of the other printers had wanted to buy IMRO, but due to our action he has never bought our factory.

For us the principal thing is solidarity among the working class.



factory and we carried on using the machines.

After four days on strike, through our unity, we won against the redundancies.

This was an exceptional thing, something not seen in the printing industry for years. Our union said that this was a leftist, adventurist struggle, in spite of the fact that we won.

In the print, when we're on strike we have a right to strike pay from the union. We never got this strike pay, so what we did was to pay our union dues to ourselves, instead of sending them to Paris.

Another example of the combativity of the IMRO workers was the case of the *Parisien Libre*. When they had a strike, it was printed on the 10th and 11th March 1975 in another printers in Rouen. IMRO workers, with the help of some comrades from the *Parisien* press, organised the pickets, which attacked the delivery lorries, in spite of the presence of the CRS [French riot police].

Why did you decide to occupy?

For some years the bosses of IMRO and the employers of the Rouen area had wanted to teach the workers of IMRO a lesson - because, due to our struggle we were an example for the whole region, and for printworkers throughout France.

We were all made redundant on September 29th 1975; for a long time before that each time a dispute had erupted in the factory, we had occupied. So when they announced the redundancies we never voted to occupy; for us it was something quite natural, like eating or sleeping.

What were your demands at this time?

Nine months ago our demands were the reopening of the factory and the maintenance of full employment. For us the only way to stay in work was to work at IMRO, since in the Rouen region one in four graphic workers is unemployed.

We're fighting against the policies of the government as well as the bosses of IMRO. It's a political

battle, not just a trade union battle.

How exactly did you carry out the occupation?

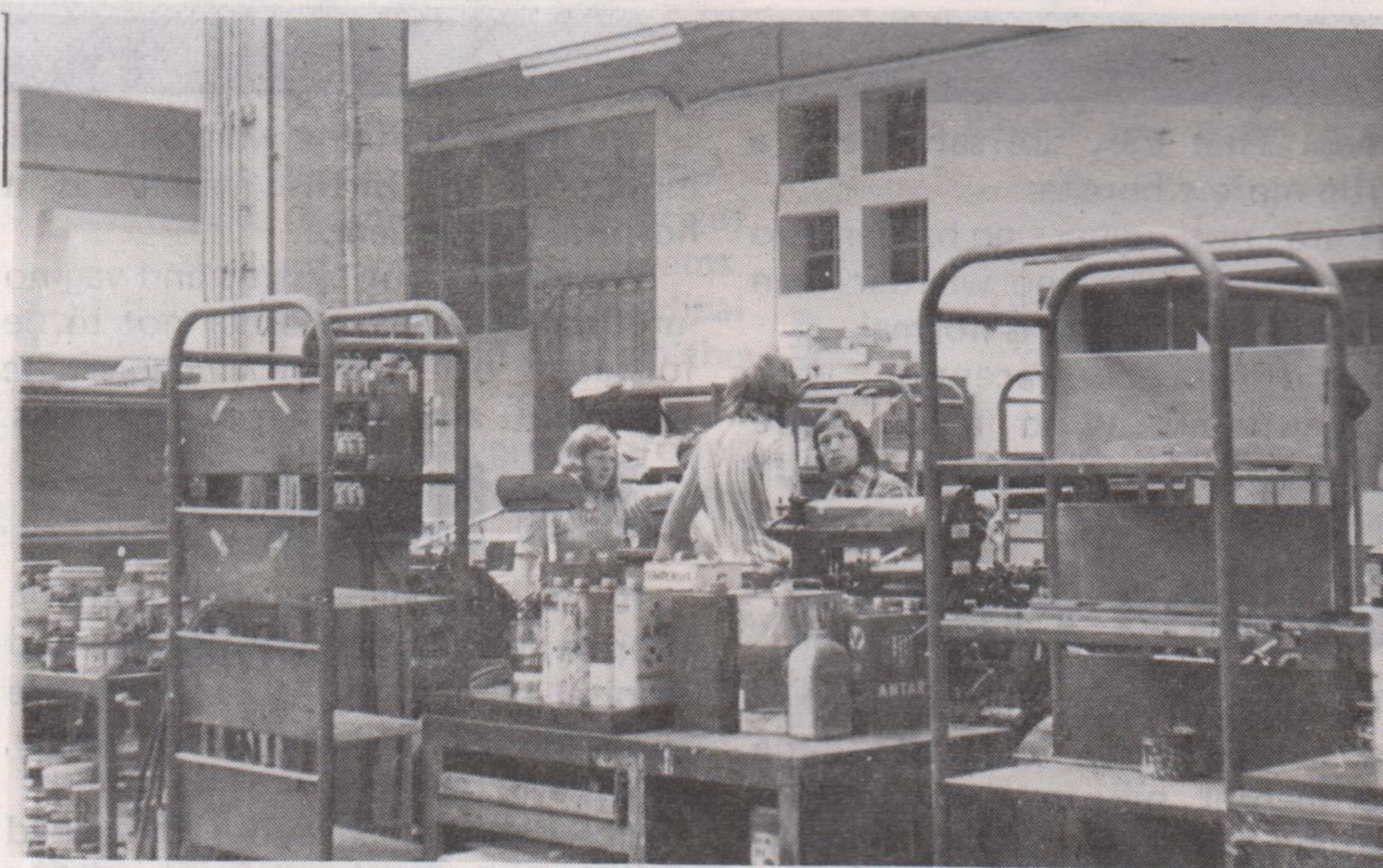
Our first task was to prevent the owner getting in, that is to say to have control of the factory for ourselves, the workers. The next thing we did was to organise ourselves in commissions.

We think that all workers can participate in conducting the struggle equally. For us the main thing is working class democracy, on the widest scale possible.

We don't think that the union officials are qualified to define the struggle, to say how it should be conducted.

At the level of the work of the commissions the comrades research initiatives, forms of struggle and contacts; and at the level of overall structure a general assembly of everyone reunites all the commissions where each commission makes its proposals, and each proposal is discussed and decided on by the assembly.

But in fact this meeting happens rarely, for comrades didn't like working in a single commission, preferring to join, to observe and



the assembly was superfluous.

From time to time, in dealing with major problems, the initiatives to take for the enterprise, we've had a big meeting of all the comrades to decide on orientation for the struggle, on a particular activity.

Have you had any problems with the owner or the police?

We've never had any difficulties with the owner, for well before the occupation the bosses never had anything to say to us. We did what we wanted in the place.

With the police, however, it has been a completely different question. To begin with, the occupation of the factory was illegal, and in January we were made to appear before the Tribunal of Rouen, Justice Courts, where we

were ordered to leave the factory by the 27th January.

In spite of all this, we are still here today, the 13th June.

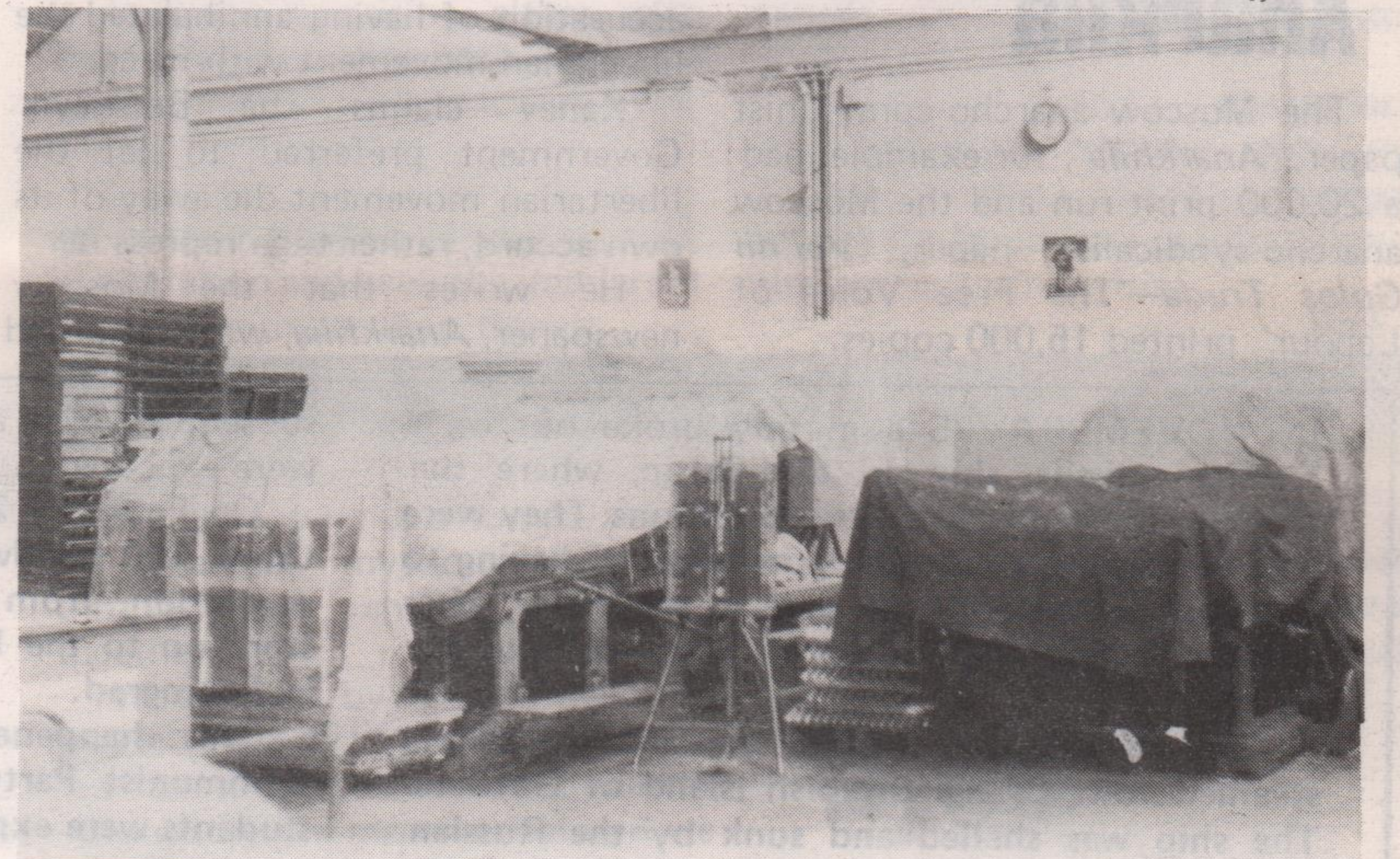
We think that the police will come in a few weeks, due to our actions, and due to our action, and due to the fact that we are very popular in the whole of the region and even known throughout France. The only solution for the government is to send the police. Up until now, they have never dared

Italy.

Briefly, the most important actions have been the occupation of the Cathedral of Rouen and scattering an enormous number of leaflets from the top.

We prevented the French Justice Minister, the Mayor of Rouen, from entering the street where the factory is.

We occupied the offices of the newspaper *'Journal de Rouen'* which had never written a single



word about us; due to this action they published several articles about us.

Since February we have been making our own film, which we want to be a film not just of IMRO but of all the workers in the region that are struggling for wage demands or for employment.

The film covers students on strike as much as workers, school-kids and so on. It's a means of coordinating, of linking up the struggle in the region.

Our national union is against this attempt to coordinate the struggles. This is a problem for us, and it's likely that we will be expelled from the union.

What was the exact role played by the union?

We are supported by a majority of the union in Rouen, and by the printing section in all Normandy.

For seven years we have been considered as a leftist section of the union - this is written in black and white in the official organ of our Federation Française du Travailleurs du Livre.

We have always believed that the battle to advance our ideas should be carried out in the union, so that the branches in other towns will link with our ideas.

We have sometimes succeeded in this, sometimes not, but through this IMRO is very well known, very popular in the whole of the printing industry in France and in all the unions in this region.

The only solution for the



Sleeping quarters in the Directors suite of offices.

bureaucracy of the union is to expel us from the CGT and the FFTL. For politically we are not at all in accord with them; and more and more workers are in agreement with us.

What about the women at IMRO?

Half the workers were women.

They've been getting 90% dole, and have preferred to stay at home looking after their kids rather than paying a child-minder.

But we are not defeatist. We have gone a long way towards solving these problems, and there are many women who occupy the place with us in spite of everything, who participate in all the actions, who in fact plan the actions; and there is a team of women that regularly stays the night in the factory.

Why do you think the women preferred to stay at home?

We think that this is a consequence

of bourgeois ideology, which prevents women from seeing themselves as workers.

husbands are working; they're badly paid because they're only working for pin-money.

The women that are occupying with us are women that, through the discussions that we have had, through the meetings we have had together, kids, women and men, have understood the significance of the occupation and the reasons for the struggle.

Also there's the problem that the husband usually wants to be active in the struggle and the woman has to stay at home to look after the kids and prepare the food.

We at IMRO believe that we must occupy ourselves with this question more and more, for we say that women are half the working class and it's impossible to win without them.

What is the goal of the struggle here at IMRO? Do you want the factory re-opened by a new employer or do you want to stay in occupation?

Of course, our preference is to continue the occupation.

Today we really live our lives. Before, when the bosses were here, they stole our lives from us; they made us print things that were against the interests of the working



class and thus against us.

We knew this; and were always conscious of it.

Our demands are the re-opening of the factory and the maintenance of the employment, since for us this is the only way of finding work in the region, of avoiding police repression and inflicting a defeat on the employing class.

This doesn't mean that we are begging from the bosses. We will continue our struggle, and we will continue it with vigour, with more vigour than before.

There have been two chances for the enterprise to re-open its doors its doors. The two owners said no at the last minute. They were too scared, too frightened of the IMRO workers.

It was a pity, since otherwise we would have been able to say, 'We have won again'. Today we are sure that there will be no printworks replacing IMRO.

Have you heard of Briant's Colour Printers in England, where a new owner reopened the factory after an occupation, only to close it down again a few months later.

It's important to realise that, having won once against redundancies doesn't mean that there won't be any more problems, for the employing class is the employing class, and they will always exploit the workers.

If this enterprise re-opens we will above all else continue our struggle, and there will necessarily be, one day or another, a new closure — we know what the bosses are like.

It's because of that we think that to obtain the final victory means no more or less than changing the whole structure of society. It means fighting capitalism.

That's why we reject the idea of workers' cooperatives under

capitalism, creating a cooperative in one factory, a little island of socialism.

We have always been very firm on this question — we're fundamentally against workers' cooperatives.

Right now, rather than self-management we prefer to go into different workplaces and to continue to explain our positions, so that there will be the maximum number of workers that join the struggle with the same ideas as us.

We think that we can't win our demands isolated, struggling in our own workplace. We need to coordinate with other places that have the same problem as us, right across France.

I mean for example with the printworks at Caen, with LIP watchmakers, with a whole pile of other places that have the same problems as us.

You mention the occupation at Caen, that has recently been broken up by riot police. Are you worried about the same thing happening here?

Well, we think the comrades at Caen didn't have enough popular support in the region. They were thrown out 10 days after their court hearing, whereas we're still here after five months.

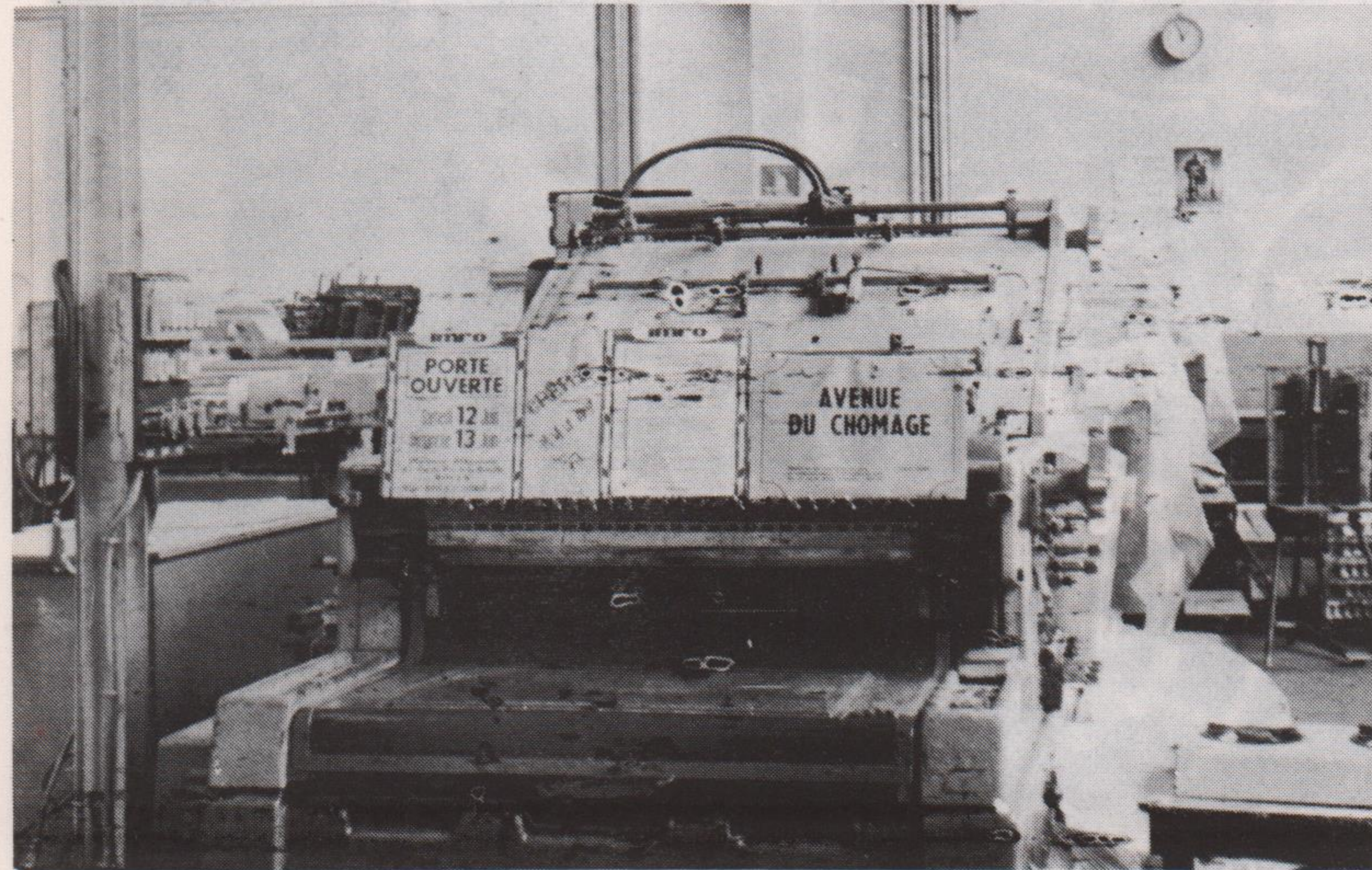
The police are frightened of us, and we think that they'll use the Gardes Mobiles, a part of the army, against us.

We live in the knowledge that they could just as well come in six minutes as in six months.

It's a problem that we're always aware of.

We had thought of replying to the police with force, but the layout of the buildings makes that impossible.

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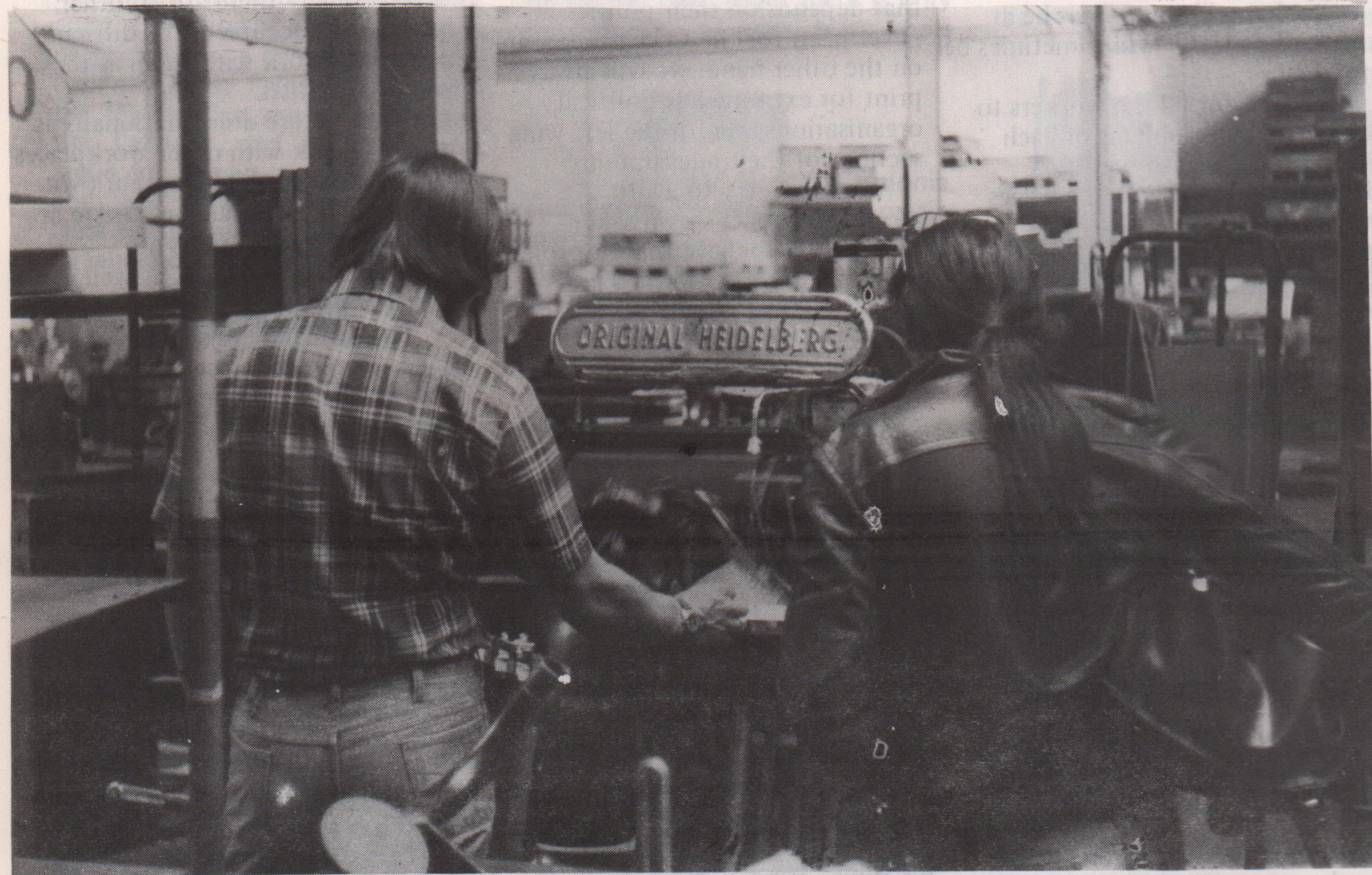


So there are few women in the occupation.

But we have made many mistakes in regard to them, that is to say the men didn't understand why it was necessary to bring the women into the struggle.

of bourgeois ideology, which prevents women from seeing themselves as workers.

This ideology tells them that they're not working for a wage of their own, but just for a bit more cash for the family, since their



Repression in the South of France

THE FRENCH Police are currently conducting a witch-hunt against the country's anarchists and libertarians as a result of an alleged "anarchist conspiracy".

Aided by a media propaganda campaign, the police have carried

out an extensive programme of political repression in which revolutionaries have been detained without charge, and a libertarian printing collective bombed.

The printing collective, Imprimerie 34, is a Toulouse co-operative which prints libertarian material.

Anxious to link a series of killings and bombings with anarchist activity, the police raided the collective and detained ten workers. In the total lack of evidence to connect them with any such activity no charges were preferred.

After an hysterical press and media campaign against these "dangerous" anarchists, (*France Soir* described the printing collective as the centre of the "world anarchist movement"), a bomb was planted which destroyed all the printing equipment and seriously damaged the building. This time however, the police were unable to "discover" the perpetrators; the only people interrogated were once again the Imprimerie 34 workers.

Despite this, Imprimerie 34 resolved to carry on working, and a solidarity campaign was mounted.

Confronted with this resistance, the authorities again struck and arrested (but did not charge) one of the Imprimerie 34 workers. The collective was subjected to continual harassment, and now moves are afoot to close down the collective under the auspices of some obscure and rarely used taxation laws.

Imprimerie 34 is not an isolated case. Progressive bookshops and printing collectives all over France are being hounded not only by the police and judicial authorities, but also by the bosses and the capitalist media. The Lyons based Imprimerie Presse Nouvelle, a leftist printing house, have had all their commercial agreements broken by the bank, leaving them liable to forcible liquidation.

Predictably, the police have not seriously investigated a series of crimes committed by fascist groups, which have included rape and assault.

The present campaign of repression is analogous to that which was effected in 1974, when French revolutionaries who took direct action in protest against the garrotting of the Spanish



ABOVE—Imprimerie 34 after the bomb attack.

RIGHT—Librairie Demain, a left bookshop in Toulouse, burnt down at the beginning of June.

PHOTOS and information—PNS



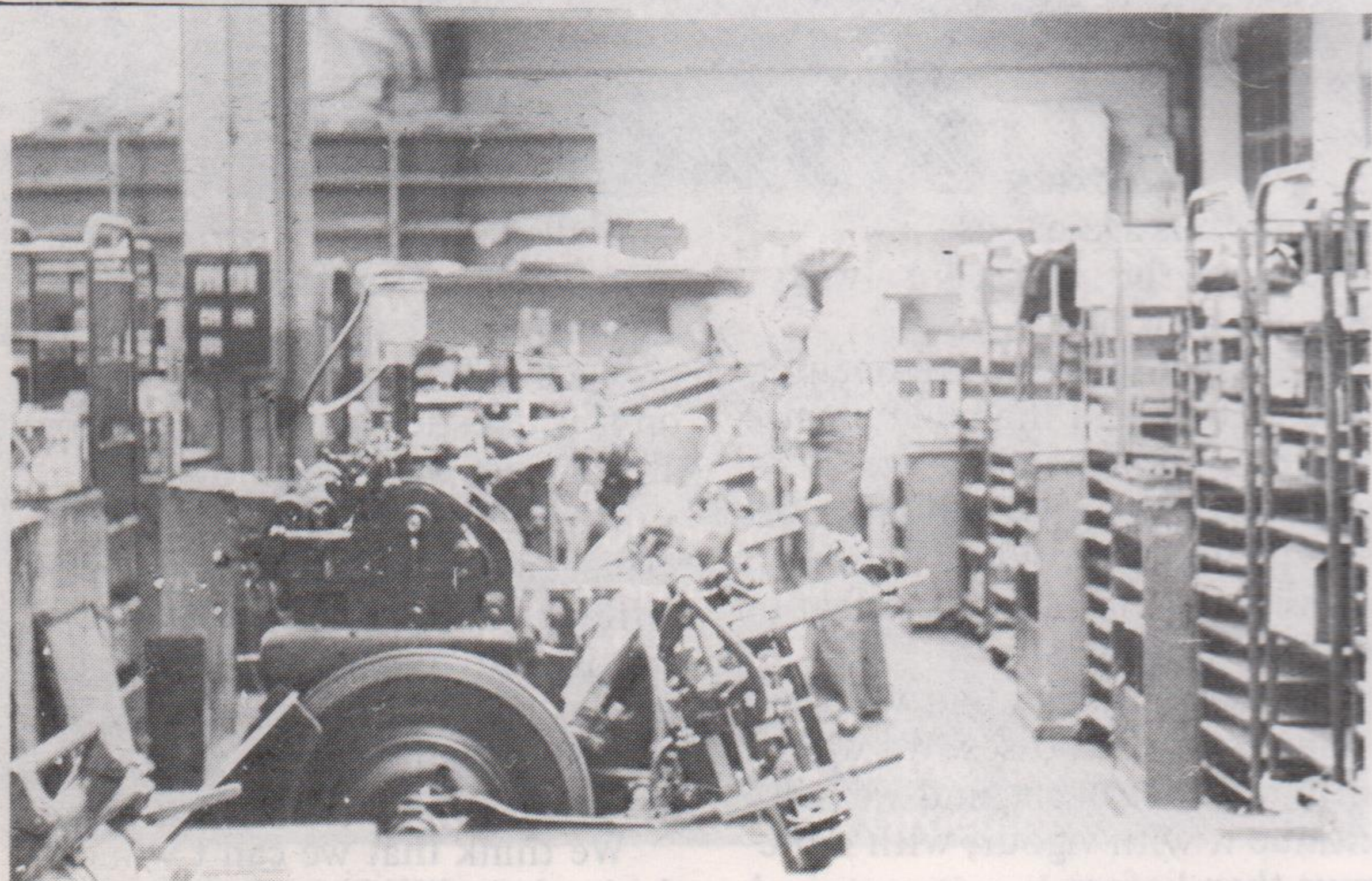
libertarian Puig Antich, were arrested *en masse*. Three of them have been in custody for 21 months, and their cases have now been passed to the *Assises*, (courts dealing with major non-political crimes), from the *Cour de Surete de L'Etat*, (which deal with political crimes). The current wave of repression, which in any event is totally misdirected, can only serve to further jeopardise their hopes for an "impartial" trial. (Imprimerie 34 needs £6,000; donations should be sent to BASTA, CCP 339434, S.Toulouse, France.)

IMRO CONTINUED

We have, though, decided what our response will be once the police arrive. We can't allow that to be published in a newspaper since then the police will know about it.

But we can nevertheless say to the police — and we are proud to say it — they will have a job to get us out.

How do you see IMRO in relation to the struggles of other workers?



The forms of struggle that we have known at IMRO have not existed at other workplaces. So we have not been able to link with them, for in France IMRO is much in advance in combativity.

It's very difficult to have contacts and liaisons, to link with other workplaces.

In the last few months there have been many struggles, which have all ended in defeat for the workers.

There are an enormous number of workers that have not yet understood their real interests, and the necessity of linking with others.

For example, we invited people from all the other workplaces in Rouen to the Porte Ouverte, but few have come.

For not all the workers have reached the same state of

consciousness, political and trade union, as us; but actually one can't talk of a trade union consciousness, it's in effect a political consciousness.

95% of the workers at IMRO are of the extreme left — yet no one is in a political organisation.

Every political organisation has been here to discuss with us, from the Communist Party to the

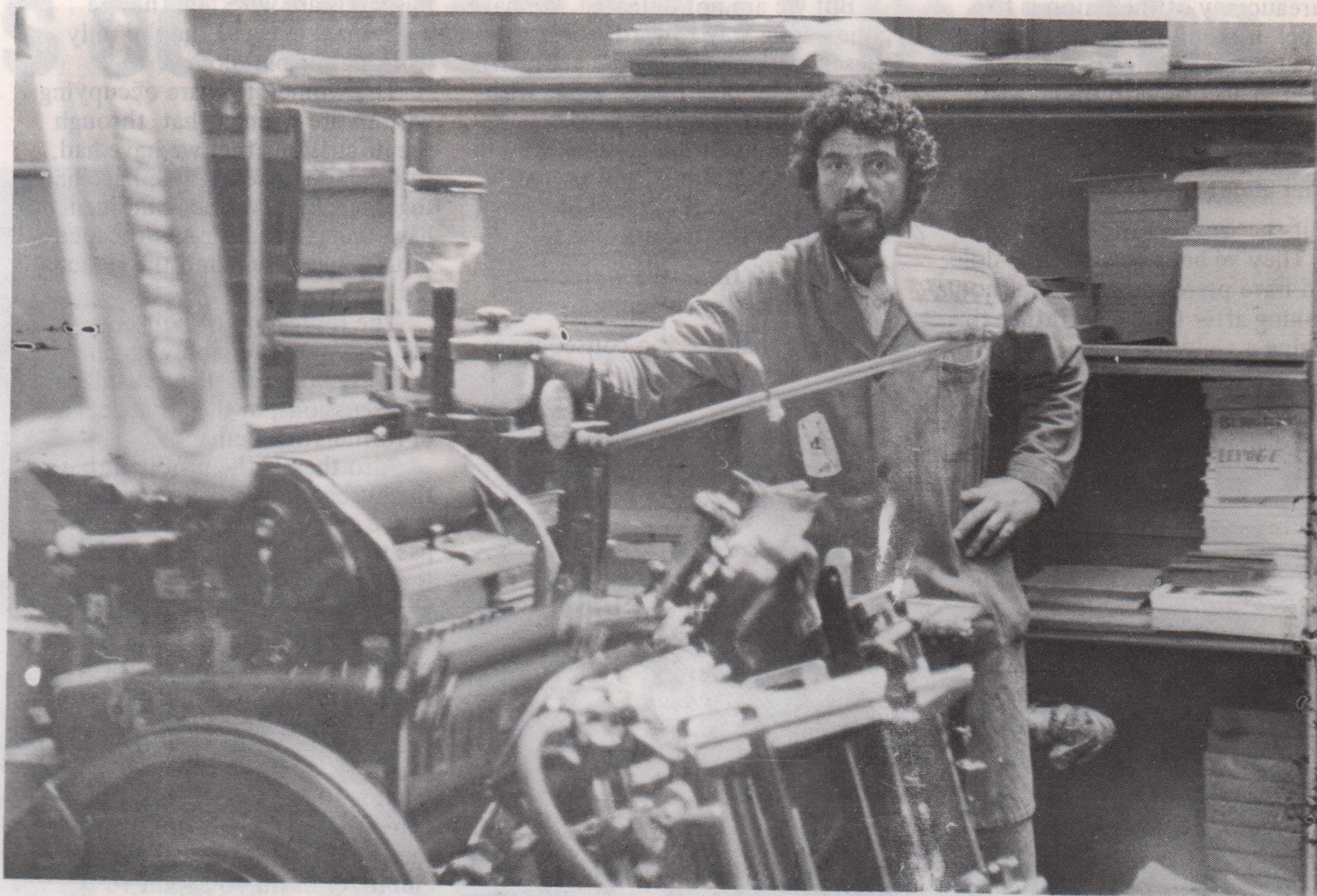
extreme left like Revolution, PSU and so on.

We have welcomed them all here, since we think that we have things for them to understand, things to share with them, so that they will better understand the working class.

But we feel that the political organisations have brought us their political points of view to have a confrontation of ideas.

Have you changed the day-to-day organisation of the work?

Necessarily, inevitably, in nine months of occupation we have brought into question the whole structure of capitalist society — bourgeois ideology, relations with women, with the reformist trade unions, and the capitalist structure of work, the divisions and the specialisations.



For example, all the work that we have created has been created by all the workers of IMRO. That's to say all the workers have produced their own posters.

With our journal, *Special Licenciements (Redundancy Special)* a linotypist will sometimes become editor, sometimes papermaker; the typographer will sometimes be a printer; the printer will sometimes be linotypist.

It's a way for all the workers to experience the problems of each category of work, to see the conditions of work and the wages received.

But it's not really possible to talk of the organisation of the work, since each comrade can take any initiative he believes appropriate.

For us the main thing is publicity, popularisation, and an initiative is useful in so far as it serves the popularisation of our struggle.

And finally the commissions don't exist any longer. Comrades prefer to occupy themselves, to intervene in meetings in the region as much as to edit articles, to print leaflets and papers.

Everything has been brought into question.

Everyone is able to do something. Before, people said, 'I can't write', 'I can't print', 'I don't speak well', 'I'm timid'.

But today — in fact for several months now — comrades have understood that once they control their lives — well, they can write, speak, do anything they want.

What sort of work have you done apart from material on your own struggle?

Well, we are printers, and the press is a means of informing, a means of communication.

We print for some political organisations and trade unions, but that depends on their politics. We never print for the CGT for example; on the other hand, we will always print for extreme left political organisations and for the left-wing sections of the trades union.

We always try to avoid production for its own sake, however. We believe that our role is that of militants in the class struggle and so popularisation comes before printing.

What sort of links have you made nationally?

In Normandy there were two other printworks occupied, one at Ivreux called Michelles Freres, and the other at Caen.

We had fixed a date for a collective action but they rejected it because they were not strong enough to demonstrate with us.

Nationally there are 10 other printworks occupied. It's difficult to do any work with them as they see us as leftists.

What we are doing nationally is to try to link with other workplaces with similar problems to our own, such as LIP at Besancon, Griffie at Marseilles, and workers at Chassures de Fougères, as well as many other places.

But to make links with workplace after workplace poses problems that are very difficult to resolve.



THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

THROUGHOUT the world, unrest spreads as working people respond to the attacks of capitalism, whether it be through military or economic aggression.

A crisis unfolds in a number of levels. On one level, there is the chronic economic sickness where the rate of inflation rises, fluctuations on the world market increase, the rate of profit falls. Bosses reply to this instability by creating unemployment on a higher level, closing down factories and instituting cuts in social services through government action.

On one level, there is a crisis of values. Many people begin to question and go against the whole spectrum of capitalist values — the family, work, prevailing sexual morality, religion.

Attendance in churches falls,

and the blind obedience to parent, teacher, foreman, policeman and boss is profoundly shaken. Forces like the women's and the gay movement set in motion a rapidly growing offensive against the institution of the nuclear family, sexual roles as defined by capitalism, and a host of other related issues.

Reaction

Reaction against the loneliness, helplessness and alienation of this society is expressed in calls for greater control at base level, whether it be in education, the factory, the media, or the estate.

The concept of leisure with a greater enjoyment of play and of educational facilities has been thrown open by the system in the advanced capitalist countries in the years since the last war.

This leisure time is 'colonised' by the bosses with their urges to buy a whole range of consumer items —

from package deal holidays to expensive stereos and colour TVs.

At the same time, many people begin to see that there is more to life than working most of the hours of the day, most of the days of the week, to enrich a small minority of rich and idle parasites.

THIRD WORLD

In the underdeveloped 'Third World' countries, the peasants and industrial workers are fighting back with arms against white domination in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and Azania (South Africa) and fascist dictatorships propped up by the CIA and American business interests (South and Central America).

These struggles threaten the world market, affecting the supply of cheap labour.

The struggles of black Africans have reached a great intensity. It is vital that the politics of the liberation force break with the

traditional concepts of nationalism and with the native bourgeoisie who attempt to use the struggles of peasants and workers to boot out foreign capital and create native capitalist and state capitalist regimes.

The white settlers in Zimbabwe and Azania will face increasing onslaughts from the liberation forces over the next year. It is important that any arms trade to these regimes is stopped or hindered by vigorous campaigns and blacking of trade by militant workers.

Repression

In Chile and Argentina the repression continues with the murder and imprisonment of revolutionaries and militant trade unionists. In Argentina, since the coup, over 200 have been killed by undercover "death squads". The USA has got what it wanted, military dictatorships throughout South America. However the fight is by no means over; guerrilla organisations and the underground work in the neighbourhoods, factories and universities goes on.

In the States itself, the bosses are wary about any rise of

militancy in response to the crisis. They are particularly worried that blacks, Puerto Ricans and American Indians resorting to arms to fight for their rights may ignite a revolutionary explosion throughout the country. They are attempting to destroy the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) by beating and murdering its members.

Strikes, sabotage and absenteeism reach higher levels among American workers and new attitudes appear among people not previously affected, about the nature of work, the family and capitalism itself. In several industries (e.g. lorry drivers, car workers) rank and file workers begin to organise action for themselves, placing no trust in the completely corrupt and gangster-run unions.

Lebanon

In the Middle East, Syria tries unsuccessfully to crush the force of the left and the Palestinian resistance.

The struggle in the Lebanon is between the majority of the population who happen to be Muslim, and the Christian minority who are the privileged section — bankers, the administration, land-

owners, and businessmen. They were installed during the days of French rule, to act as middlemen between the French and the Muslim peasants and workers. The arrival of the Palestinian liberation forces meant great agitation among the masses.

The States and Israel become worried that Lebanon might be turned into a revolutionary stronghold, so the forces of the Right were mobilised, resulting in the civil war. (It should be pointed out that many poor Christians — those living in the South and the Christian Armenians of Beirut are fighting alongside the Muslim workers.)

What Syria, and other Arab governments are afraid of, is that the situation will escalate, and socialism created by the masses may become a distinct possibility throughout the Muslim world.

At the same time, Syria negotiates with Israel to regain the Golan Heights, lost in the war of 67.

Sop

The Palestinian forces will resist and fight back determinedly. THEY HAVE NOWHERE TO GO, NOTHING TO LOSE. The sop of a Palestinian state based around Galilee, is no answer to their problems and antagonisms. Only the destruction of the Zionist state, by the joint action of Israeli and Palestinian workers and peasants, and the creation of a free federation of communes, a completely secular and non-racist Palestine can solve the Middle East crisis. Socialists in the Lebanon and in Israel must argue for this in a consistent way, and any moves towards working class unity among Palestinians and Israelis should be welcomed.

EUROPE

In Europe itself, the working class reaches levels of combativity. In Italy, this involves mass occupations of empty houses, the spectacular growth of women's struggles, and the development of unemployed committees (for example, 10,000 organised in Naples.) In the Armed Forces, many rank and file soldiers are involved in *Proletarians in Uniform (Proletari in Divisa)* and express their solidarity with the whole working class.

Self activity

Another facet of the struggle in Italy is the 'self-reduction' of price increases, with people refusing to pay the increases in transport, electricity, gas, and rents. They have organised self-defence groups against bailiffs and disconnection of services. Other tactics have been the setting up of 'red markets' where workers, peasants and farmers have worked together to supply the towns with food directly, cutting out the middlemen and the super-markets, and cutting prices drastically.

C.P.

Some sections of the ruling class welcomed the possible election of the Communist Party to the government, as a way of defusing working class action. The Communist Party has backing among some trade union leaders, and as with the Labour Party in the UK, some sort of wages policy could have been thrashed out.

As it is, whether the CP had got in or not, the Italian working class has high expectations, and there will almost certainly be another wave of strikes and occupations.

Direct action

The so-called 'far left' groups — *Lotta Continua*, *Avanguardia Operai* etc. have shown their bankruptcy by entering the elections with a common list. This can only mystify working people and obscure the real alternative to the bourgeois

elections, a mass rank and file movement using direct action and fighting at base level.

PORTUGAL

The opportunism and bankruptcy of the Leninist vanguards is echoed in the Portuguese presidential elections. Here the PRP-BR, an organisation with whom the International Socialists have fraternal links, backed the flamboyant personality Carvalho as candidate.

He moves where the prevailing political wind blows him, making 'left' noises similar to our own Wedgwood Benn. The working class has no control over him, and the idea that somehow he would be able to bring about socialism is a huge and dangerous illusion. Two Trotskyist groups supported Arlete da Silva in the elections, when it was discovered that her anti-fascist past was a tissue of lies. The contortions of the vanguard group in Italy and Portugal show how they are divorced from genuine revolutionary politics.

General Eanes, who crushed the November 25th revolt, and is purging the Army of radical elements, is now in the saddle. He will attempt to destroy any revolutionary gains, with the destruction of workplace and farm cooperatives, and driving down of living standards. Here again there is only one answer — mass grass roots struggle.

SPAIN

In Spain, and Madrid, Catalonia, and the Basque countries in particular, strikes, demonstrations, attacks on the State forces, increase in volume. There seems to be remarkable mobilisation, involving thousands of people. The bunker mentality of the diehard Francoists blocks any 'liberal' reforms, while the more 'progressive' members of the ruling class attempt to institute Western-style democracy to head off a revolutionary upheaval.

Losses

The Communist Party, one of the most right-wing in Europe, begins to lose some of its support, as rank and file members engage in direct action against the authorities and see the shortcomings and compromises of the leadership and of Stalinist politics.

The number of workplace occupations in France is truly inspiring with activity in other spheres, the organisation of soldiers committees (See previous issues), occupations of schools and universities, and the aggressive attitude of vine-growing peasants.

GERMANY

In Germany however, fascistisation is well under way. Over 200 people have been shot dead by police since 1967, and 4 revolutionaries, including Ulrike Meinhof, have been driven to suicide by the intolerable prison conditions.

RUSSIA & CHINA

In Russia, and other Iron Curtain countries, calls for democratisation and for the destruction of the bureaucracy grow. In China, another big attack by the people on the privileges of the ruling elite, has been cleverly manipulated by the Mao clique against his opponents in the power struggle between the bureaucrats. How many more times this trick can be pulled before a realisation dawns that the bureaucracy as a whole must be destroyed, and power placed firmly in the hands of the masses, remains to be seen.

In this quick glance at the international scene, it becomes apparent that immense changes are possible in not just a few countries,

but on a worldwide scale.

That sleeping giant, the working class, begins to wake from its slumber, while the ideas of self-management of all aspects of life, of a balanced view of the ecology,

of sexual liberation, become stronger and more widespread.

There remain two choices, two paths to take, either poverty, starvation, fascism and possible world war or the building of a

classless society where humanity attains to dignity and to a greater quality of life.

H.R.

TUC Sell-out

continued from page 1.

smokescreen for retreat on all the party conference policies and the new party programme.

The Labour Party National Executive have declared that they are against the cuts. Another token to save Labour's 'left' face and to keep its rank and file supporters happy.

What the Labour 'lefts' and the trade union leaders have done is to swallow hook, line and sinker, the argument that there must be cuts in wages and public expenditure in order to save the Labour Government.

This is hardly surprising. They are completely removed by their privileged positions from any real understanding of socialism. They are integrated into the system so much that we cannot expect anything other than betrayals from that quarter.

Trick

What is graphically illustrated, is the complete absence of control that the Labour Party membership has

over its 'representatives' in Parliament.

The Communist Party too, has accepted the pay deal. They were nowhere to be seen at the TUC lobby.

They seek to defuse working class militancy and keep the Labour government in power. As in every other country of Europe, they have capitulated to reformism and 'the parliamentary road to socialism'.

And more attacks on working class living standards are on the way. The Confederation of British Industries and the government are going to scrap control on most prices.

This will mean that real wages will be driven down still further as prices shoot up after the summer.

The trade union leaders have advised that working people should support the 'national interest', the Labour government and the cuts.

But there are a growing number of militants who will be rejecting these class-collaboration policies and organising against them.

They will be joined by many more as the effects of the cuts begin to hurt.

It cannot be stressed enough how essential is the building of a

revolutionary movement. Some of the Leninists talk about overthrowing the Labour government and replacing it with one pledged to socialist policies — thus inflicting yet another betrayal on us.

Others attempt to build front organisations to recruit people in a frenzied fit of party building.

There are many dangers ahead.

One of the most important of these is the chance that working people, sold out by the Labour Party and the union leaders, and having no credible alternatives, will turn to the fascist groups for an answer.

We have to build a strong rank and file that will organise to smash the 4½ per cent limit, and that will reject the sell-outs of the Labour Party and the TUC.

This movement should not stop at defensive action. It should ignore the demands to replace one government pledged to bludgeoning the working class with yet another doing the same thing.

It must organise to build a free socialist society run through a system of workplace and neighbourhood councils, that can plan an economy free from the profit motive.



Picket of the TUC Special Congress

Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

It's Your Paper — Use It

IN THIS ISSUE of *Anarchist Worker*, there are two articles by people who are not members of the AWA (Women's Health Groups, and Woman's Right to Work).

We welcome contributions from readers about their struggles, their criticisms.

Anarchist Worker is produced by the AWA and naturally it contains articles by members advocating self-activity, self-management and libertarian communism.

We want to get these ideas over to as many people as possible. At the same time, we feel that our paper should be used by people to share their experiences and information with others.

We want our paper to become a weapon that can be used by working people. We want our paper to be a mouthpiece for everyone struggling against the present set-up — on the shop-floor, in the offices, mines, hospitals; at home; in the neighbourhood; against fare and price increases; against sexism and racism; in the schools and universities.

Problems

The problems faced by people involved in these areas are problems

produced by capitalism. They are a direct result of the alienation and lack of control that hierarchical society fosters.

A society that puts profit before need, that constantly pollutes the atmosphere, that throws away millions of tons of food every year while 60% of the world's population are underfed, is a society that has condemned itself.

It is a society that represses sexuality, forces a normal sexual behaviour on people, turns sexuality into a commodity on the market, and

women into sexual objects, creating misery and anxiety for millions.

Any real obscenity lies with capitalism itself!

Any movement that challenges some facet of the status quo in a meaningful way must be supported, strengthened, and developed to a revolutionary standpoint.

The struggles outside the point of production are important and cannot be dismissed as 'secondary'. It is vital that all these struggles are linked up, that unity is fought for. So write to us.



This newsagent sells *ANARCHIST WORKER* — does yours?

controversy!

Scottish Nationalist Party: A KILT OF MANY COLOURS

IN THE June issue of our paper we printed a letter from Alan Ross of Glasgow, who, writing on behalf of a group of anarchists in that city, was critical of Ian Sutherland's 'SNP: The Tartan Tories', printed in the March issue.

Criticism of Ian's analysis of the SNP (Scottish National Party) also came from other sources, including the Edinburgh AWA.

So what does the Anarchist Workers Association have to say about this? As anarchists opposed to ALL governments, as revolutionaries who stand for working class unity, we are of course internationalists.

But there is healthy controversy amongst us about the best way to practice internationalism in particular situations.

As far as Anarchist Worker is concerned, unsigned pieces are written by the editorial collective and put forward AWA policy, while pieces which bear a signature do not necessarily represent the view of the AWA as a whole.

Ian Sutherland's article was signed. So, readers will note, is this one.

Over the years I have many times predicted that Scotland would, well within our lifetimes, become an "independent" state.

This prediction was not based on a message from on high, but on a realistic analysis of what I could see all around me; the resurgence of a sense of grievance against England, the re-assertion of identity, all this was growing long before the discovery of oil in the North Sea.

Prediction

In particular I based the prediction on my knowledge of the working class, including my friends, my relatives — and myself.

I understood the strength of the appeal which nationalism had for the workers for the simple reason that, had I believed there was any point in working within the system at all (which I didn't) I would have been voting for, might possibly have been a member of, the SNP.

It has been suggested that an independent Scotland would be something like the German Third Reich under Hitler. But would it?

There are a number of good reasons for saying "It couldn't happen here".

Fascist?

What is the SNP? Is it, as has been suggested, the Scottish equivalent of the National Front or National Party in England?

I say it isn't, and that any strategy for libertarian socialist action in Scotland based on the assumption that it *is* would be a disaster for the working class. It might well lead to precisely the thing it was supposed to prevent, a strengthening of fascism.

The SNP is, quite simply, the party which wants an "independent" Scottish state. It is a coalition of left, right and centre, and it has been so ever since it was founded, back in the twenties.

Internat

It undoubtedly includes considerable numbers of people who, if they were English, would be members of the National Front or National Party. But they are not

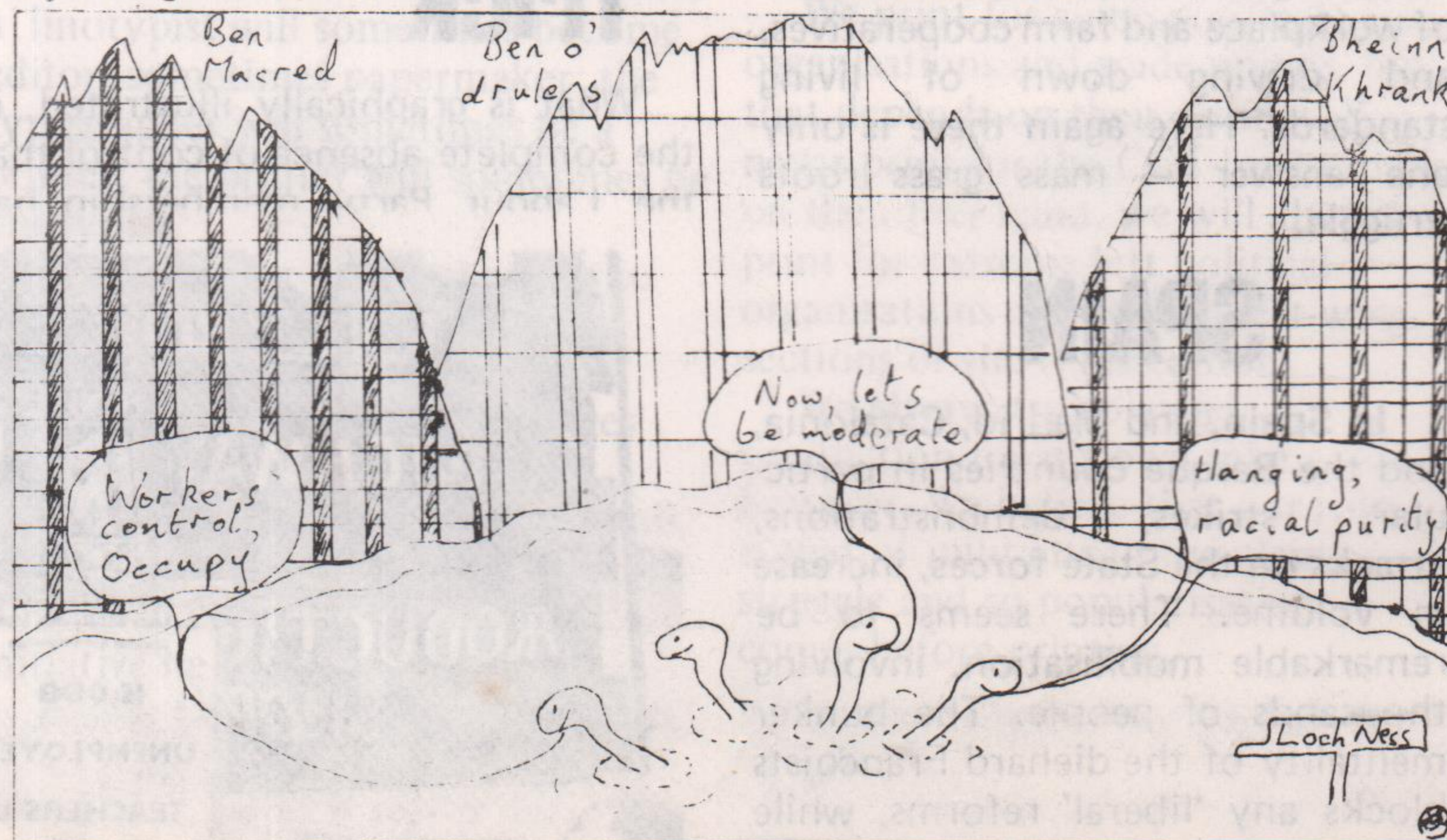
English, and the *British* (which means English dominated) nationalism of the NF and NP is precisely what they are against.

For fairly obvious reasons, a Nationalist International would be a difficult thing to get off the ground!

The SNP also includes much larger numbers of people who, if they were English, would *not* be in the NF or NP. Some would be in the Tory Party, a lot would be in the Labour or Liberal parties, a great many wouldn't be in any political party at all, some would be in parties to the "left" of Labour, and some would describe themselves as "libertarian socialists".

Class

Of course the party is dominated by the middle class. But that isn't a reason for equating them with the National



Front, the Labour and Liberal parties are dominated by the middle class.

Of course the recent advances of the SNP have led to many opportunists joining it, and of course big business is interested.

But there have been plenty of opportunists in the Labour Party,

and links between big business and the Labour and Liberal parties are well documented, yet the article doesn't say that this puts them in the same category as the NF.

Race

When English racists attempt to hold "anti-immigrant" marches through streets with a large "immigrant" population, of course it is right to physically prevent them from doing so.

Ian Sutherland says we can learn from the experience of the English anti-fascists, and apply it to Scotland.

But what would this mean in practice? The SNP don't go in for provocative demonstrations.

This may be partly due to the fact that Scotland has fewer immigrants, but that isn't the full story.

Glasgow has a well established Asian community.

come under severe strain.

Jim Sillars, MP, has realised this. He sees himself as a future prime minister of Scotland.

It seems to me he is acting in a very sane way.

When "independence" comes there will be a re-alignment of political forces.

In this situation Sillars will have the advantage of being a "socialist" widely respected amongst the working class, not identified with the corrupt and centralist "official" Labour Party, and looked upon favourably by many in the SNP.

Incidentally, it is worth noting that another "promising" politician, Jimmy Reid of Clydebank, recently established his "independent" credentials by leaving the Communist Party.

It is rumoured that a member of the breakaway Scottish Labour has links with the American CIA (Central Intelligence Agency).

I would certainly be very surprised if the CIA were *not* taking an interest in the way things are going in Scotland.

Come to that, the situation is probably being subjected to the lively interest of the agents of other countries as well (for example, Russia, South Africa).

And after

I think there will be an "independent" Scottish state in the not too distant future.

When it comes the SNP (whose only reason for existence is to *achieve* "independence") will rapidly get into deep trouble.

The tensions between different wings of the party, at present masked, will become evident.

In foreign policy, the number one question will be the attitude of the state towards the troubles in Ireland (I think it a safe bet that these will still be with us) and possibly towards the problems which a large influx of protestant immigrants might create.

There will be no border disputes with England, the border being the "tidiest" one in all Europe, with no minority enclaves on either side; the solidarity of the Scottish and English working classes will probably improve rather than otherwise, and neither government could call for military aid from the other for internal troubles without making their problems much worse.

I'm not going to predict the exact form which the post-independence re-alignment of political forces will take, but I've indicated a number of possibilities.

There will be a sense of let-down amongst the working class, a feeling of "okay, we're independent, so what?" and fascists of various kinds will no doubt try to take advantage of this.

So, to be quite honest about it, will anarchists; though not of course in the same way!

Dave Coull

Beecham's salve for scab unions

UNIONISATION IN the pharmaceutical industry has only been quite recent, and it's evident that Beecham's Pharmaceuticals haven't learnt what 'fair play' is all about.

The laboratory and technical grade at Beechams is well below other similar workers in the chemicals industry, and naturally, the Scientific Officers etc.

They don't get the national average wage in any but one scale level!

Claim

Last February, the union, ASTMS, put in a routine claim for £312 pa plus the automatic yearly increment.

But the firm said that they had to stay within the government guidelines (£6 pw or £312 pa), unless the workforce had decreased in the grade to produce more money to be distributed.

So they backed down on the 1975 agreement and the procedural agreement giving recruitment and representative rights to ASTMS.

So the union held meetings for tactics. 'In dispute' notices appeared to give notification of 'sanctions' to 'show' that the increases were within government policy.

Beechams repeated that the increments must be within the £6, but ASTMS rejected that claim.

The 7 sites of the firm, including

Irvine, in Ayrshire, were invited to send representatives to meet national organiser Roger Lyons.

He took legal advice on the situation, before approaching Kaharo at the Department of Employment.

The Department of Employment wanted to hear both sides speak, but the firm wouldn't be represented. So ASTMS took measures to pressurise the firm. There was protest action at Irvine, Harlow, Worthing and Brockham (near Dorking).

This last got local press coverage, because they thought the stoppage in 'core' time with 'Implement our Increments' placards was being visited by Clive Jenkins, who was actually there the previous week. Useful tip for publicity!

Scab union

By this time, the Director of Research was discomfited. He's anti ASTMS, and sees professional purity in the 'Association of Professional Scientists and Technologists' (APST).

This group isn't even TUC registered, and it's quite useless. A slogan might be 'representation without action'.

It's a child of the Royal Institute of Chemists, etc at the time of the Conservative Government's Industrial Relations Act (the IRA threat at home).

Its 8,000 members need respect no more than the boss wants to give.

There are 340,000 members in

ASTMS.

However, at the cost of one hour's lost pay (don't stand for that one in future!), the union was able to rub plenty of salt in the company's wound. 'Advisory and Conciliatory Services' were called in.

The Conciliation Officer advised acceptance of the £6 and arbitration on the increment. Both firm and union agreed to be bound by the verdict.

75%!

On May 12th, the result was that increments were allowable where they were self-financing.

The firm found only enough for 75% of the increment; ASTMS members began to ask for proper evidence of this.

Meanwhile, people began to realise this was getting dangerously close to the union being seen to be effective.

The firm thought: "Everyone is on an incremental scale. Why should only the unionised sector get it?"

So the final 'U' turn came when they found enough to pay the Scientific Officer and higher grades a 3½% increase. They had made a mistake on April 1st.

That should water down the union's success!

Notice-board contradictions of the company's position were directed to be removed, but the union is unconvinced, while there is insufficient evidence to show that only 75% is available.

The SNP's attitude towards them is "well, they're here, they've got votes, and they'll be loyal citizens of a Scottish state".

So for years the SNP has sought to win the immigrant vote, for instance by producing leaflets in Urdu, and to a considerable extent they have succeeded.

What relevance has the experience of the English anti-fascists to this situation?

I said the SNP didn't go in for provocative demonstrations, but there is an exception to this.

Once a year they hold a big rally at the village of Bannockburn near Stirling, to commemorate the wars of independence.

They make fiery anti-English speeches, play the bagpipes, and generally behave in an aggressive fashion.

However the local people in this nationalist stronghold do not feel threatened or provoked.

While I am certainly not pessimistic about the future of the working class movement in general and the anarchist tendency within it in particular, I think it probable that there will be an "independent" Scottish state before there is an international, libertarian, social revolution.

With the achievement of the aim which is the sole reason for its existence, the SNP coalition will

'Sources' indicate that Pearsons, the arbiter, also felt he had inadequate evidence.

Just to show how the unionised or joke-unionised have prospered on the union's back, 3½% of the upper grades means £100 to £200, 75% of the Laboratory and Technical grades increment is £60 — £140 (rarely that high).

One recent promotion to a higher grade meant that £45 of increase was roped in!

If you're interested in the job evaluated (menial) grades, they're getting just £312 pa.

Anarchist Worker reports this struggle, not just because ASTMS is about the only union to spurn the 4½% government con (for the wrong reasons in ASTMS' case), but because it illustrated the way workers can gain organised strength, show the unionised what membership really means, and show up the treacherous, tricky nature of the bosses.

We hope the growing Scientific and Technical workforce will get muscle and really make it hurt the grasping firms they work for.

letters

A Woman's Place is in the Home — Official!

Dear comrades,

I was getting more and more fed up of my job. Year after year of hard and dirty work with a foreman standing over me was getting me down.

Fortunately at the same time my "wife" was getting fed up of being stuck at home with the kids. After months of gradually taking over each other's roles we decided that she would go out to work full time and I would be the "housewife" of the family.

Strange how I have to describe myself as a 'housewife'. Houseperson? Househusband? Houseworker!

Of course she wouldn't be able to get a very well paid job. But hadn't the government in its wisdom and benevolence provided something called the Family Income Supplement for people living on low incomes?

The answer is no, it hadn't. It provides a supplement for poverty stricken families provided that the man is the breadwinner. To quote from the official leaflet we got about it, *in the case of a couple it is the man who must be in full time work*.

This is clearly discriminatory. It penalises me for wanting to be with my kids and look after our home. It penalises my "wife" for wanting to be the breadwinner. And it penalises our kids.

Houseworker

Iranian Students

Dear Comrades,

Last year, a member of the Iranian Students Society in Great Britain (Confederation), Mohamad Reza Poorian, was arrested in a

demonstration protesting against repression in Spain.

Later this year he was charged with "assaulting the police" and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

This student is now serving his sentence in Pentonville prison.

We are outraged with the severity of the sentence and object to victimisation of Iranian students in this country.

We ask all forces in the labour movement to demand his immediate release by writing to the Home Secretary.

Confederation of Iranian Students in Great Britain (NU)
101-3, Gower St., W.C.1.

A Woman's Right to Work

Dear Comrades,

As students at Garnett College studying for the one year Certificate Education for teaching in Further Education, we occupied our college over 3 weeks ago in protest at the massive cuts in education.

Many of us face unemployment this summer—our college survey shows that of 434 pre-service students, only 175 have jobs, and these are often not in further education.

A recent NUS survey predicted that up to 30,000 newly graduated teachers are likely to be on the dole come September.

Useful work has been done from the occupation base—we have visited and spoken to most NATFHE teacher branches at the London colleges, some of which have passed motions of support for us, bans on overtime *which means a few more jobs on the market*, recommendations that full trade union rights be available for unemployed FE trained teachers, and set up registers of unemployed teachers for part time work.

We have delegates to the London Action Co-ordinating Committee, which was set up to organise student action against the cuts.

Over two thirds of those involved in the current occupations against

cuts and unemployment are women. The same goes for most of the public sector workforce, who are being hardest hit at present.

Some students at Garnett and the local colleges feel that the right of women to work must be raised in a consistent way as a central part of the campaign. It is in no way a divisive or simply sectional demand.

On the contrary, it is an essential defensive demand in order to defend the right to work as a whole.

There are specific obstacles to the right to work for women as an oppressed section of the working class. Women need nursery facilities, contraception and abortion facilities, etc., for this right to be a reality.

Women are in general the most vulnerable section of the working class, being low-paid and badly organised, easily sacked and easy to exploit.

Above all, even the trade union movement has never accepted that women have a right to work. The present barrage of propaganda about "a woman's place is in the home" falls on fertile ground.

Hence the current arguments of Willie Hamilton and others that married women teachers should give up their jobs.

But if the trade union movement accepts unemployment for any section of the working class, the way is open for more divisions in the movement, more cuts.

Any cuts affect every worker. Once the principle that cuts are necessary (e.g. of women workers) is accepted, the movement has disarmed itself. **A woman's right to work must be defended.**

We are writing a pamphlet on *A Woman's Right to Work*. The first draft of this was discussed on Monday 21st June.

For details of further meetings, please contact:

Celia Shalom
c/o Garnett College S.U.
Roehampton Lane.

Editorial note:

THE AWA supports all initiatives to fight unemployment, particularly among women, who are especially affected by cut-backs in jobs, both in the public and private sectors.

Women are conditioned to think of themselves as housewives first and wage earners second. For this reason, many women don't register as unemployed, with the result that unemployment figures are deceptively low.

Trade unions are much less willing to fight redundancies among women, or even to support them in getting work in the first place. The NGA for example has taken a 'stand against the employment of females on keyboards' (National Council Report, 1976) and many industries have apprenticeships for boys only.

The trade union bureaucrats are only too ready to blame women, or immigrants or imports from abroad, for rising unemployment. It's a convenient way of side-stepping the necessity of tackling the real cause — the crisis of capitalism.

It is vital to fight sexism in the labour movement. We must work for class unity in dealing with attacks on workers from a ruling class desperate to survive.

However, we have major disagreements with the 'Right to Work' campaign. The idea of a 'right' is a bourgeois legalistic concept, and the slogan implies that it is a right to be a wage slave. There is the danger of it being accepted by the system and distorted to 'Work at any wage' and 'work in any conditions'.

It has serious limitations in its failure to bring out the nature of work, of the useless, boring and alienating nature of most of it within the capitalist system.

It puts forward no suggestions on how workers could plan production themselves, cutting out wasteful and useless industries, or how they could run industry themselves without the bosses.

We support the 'Fight to Live' campaign, on which there will be more in future issues of *Anarchist Worker*.

We work for the setting up of local committees of action unemployment and the cuts, involving trade unionists, Tenants Associations, Claimants Unions, and Womens Groups.

Editorial Collective.

FAIRER FARES

BUS AND TUBE fares in London have recently been racing up. This time last year, the minimum bus fare was 4p. Now it's 6p. The maximum off peak fare was 13p, now it's 22p.

You might think that these crippling thefts would reflect our wage increases of 50%. Not for a minute! Nor yet have the London Transport employees seen any greater changes than axes flying through services and onto one-man op's.

But for those of you outside London, don't kid yourselves that bus usage has dropped. The tubes, too, are packed to the eyeballs, and that's not limited to rush hours.

Wandsworth

We are all familiar with the statistics...Only 10% can use cars to get into London, etc. There is no other way to commute, and fortunately, people are beginning to show they won't take it.

For a start, bus workers at Wandsworth and Walthamstow garages have had protest stoppages against the rescheduled services.

They oppose the fare increases, cuts in service and the escalating shift towards one-man operated buses.

Another promising development is the start of the "Fair fares" campaign. To quote from their leaflet:

Starting on July 1st, thousands of Londoners are going to refuse to pay more than what is considered a reasonable flat fare:

6p on buses

10p on the Underground.

The AWA has already been leafletting bus travellers over the June 21st bus fare increases, and welcomes this new initiative, which has the support of many L.T. workers.

Of course there should be no fares, but this campaign presents an opportunity to fight back without any sroungers smear.

Support the London Transport Campaign. Box 20, 84b, Whitechapel High St., London E 1.

AIMS & PRINCIPLES

- 1 Capitalism is a class society
- 2 The basic irreconcilable contradiction within it is between the class which owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, the bourgeoisie, and the class who produce the agricultural and industrial wealth, the working class.
- 3 The social enslavement and exploitation of the working class forms the basis upon which modern capitalism stands, without which capitalism could not exist.
- 4 The state is the instrument of the ruling class. To destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, we must destroy the power of the state.
- 5 Russia and China are class societies in each of which a ruling class of administrators collectively owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, and in which a working class, the sole producer of all wealth, is exploited by that class. These states we define as corporate state capitalist in that the ruling class is totally integrated with the state, as is the trade union structure.
- 6 The class nature of society is reflected in all the dominant philosophies: class, race, sexual, social and personal relationships. The class relationships are expressed through all social relationships and generate attitudes such as sexism and racism.
- 7 The conflict of interests between the two classes generates the class struggle. In the history of society, the class struggle has been the primary factor in the determination of the form and structure of society.
- 8 The day to day struggles of the working class reflect the class struggle. The position of the working class as the collective producer of society's wealth

makes it the only force capable of replacing capitalism by a classless society. The existing defensive organisations thrown up by the working class, such as trade unions, whose bureaucracy is increasingly incorporated into capitalism, are not adequate for the smashing of the capitalist system, and the building of a free, classless society. However, the working class rank and file organisations such as democratically controlled shop steward committees, factory committees, strike committees, are developing through the place of work. These organisations are the forerunners of workers councils which are the expression of working class power. Outside of work, the working class has developed other forms of organisation that are potentially revolutionary, such as tenants action committees, rent strike committees, and tenant-worker joint action committees.

- 9 Dual power exists before the power of the bourgeoisie is smashed. If the working class are successful, then the organisation of the needs of society will be firmly based in working class hands. This is the collective working class in power, in which the working class destroys all remnants of bourgeois society, such as racial hatred, the family and hierarchies. This is the period of transition between capitalism and libertarian communism.
- 10 From our analysis we reach the inevitable conclusion that capitalism cannot be reformed in any fundamental way and that the only meaningful transformation of society is through the development of working class organisations and by means of a violent social revolution. Violence becomes inevitable for the

working class to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the dispossessed ruling class.

The role of the AWA

- 1 The task of the AWA is to aid the preparation of the working class for their seizure of power. The establishment of an anarchist society is something that has to be consciously fought for by the working class. The AWA is a conscious organised expression of libertarian communist ideas. Through the shared experience, information and knowledge of the class struggle, AWA must be able to analyse and disseminate the nature of the problems facing the working class, and apply these lessons in the class struggle.
- 2 The AWA aims to offer a lead within the working class movement by example and explanation; and to build into the movement a high level of political consciousness so that it is capable of defeating capitalism and fighting the creation of a new ruling class. Fundamental to this is the contradiction between the organisation as a tendency within the class and its being in ideological advance of it. This contradiction can only be resolved with the establishment of a libertarian communist society. During the period of transition, the potential basis for the emergence of a new ruling class is progressively removed so that the need for a separately organised libertarianism will decrease.
- 3 The AWA seeks to develop and support working class organisations which are the forerunners of workers councils and to develop in them revolutionary consciousness. The AWA does not seek independent power for itself but seeks to work through the working class

organisations.

- 4 The AWA seeks to establish international links with libertarian revolutionary organisations and groups with an aim of establishing an international libertarian communist movement.
- 5 The AWA seeks to combat attitudes of sexism, racism and national chauvinism as attitudes that help maintain class society.

The form our organisation takes is a realisation of libertarian perspectives in the current situation. We recognise that it is not a social model of a free society and must itself develop in interaction with the developing liberation of society.

[1] We are a membership organisation.

[2] Membership is open to those who agree with our analysis of society and its transformation, and who work towards this end.

[3] The main policy making body will be the National Conference. Between National Conferences there will be held bi-monthly Delegate

Conferences to co-ordinate and carry out National Conference decisions, to decide interim policy and to initiate activity. Delegates are mandatable and rotated. Delegate Conference decisions can be revoked by National Conference.

[4] We seek to establish AWA groups in all areas, not only geographical but also industrial, educational, etc. Groups interpret National and Delegate Conference decisions to relate tactics to their local experience.

As agreed at the National Conference in London 31 August - 1 September 1974.

Press Fund

IN PREVIOUS issues of *ANARCHIST WORKER* we have made appeals for donations towards a headliner which we reckoned would cost £250.

Well, now we've bought one for £160 — cheap at the price, and a considerable saving over our anticipated outlay.

To date we have received by way of your donations, £90 — and we now require a further £70 to clear the debt.

The headliner is a real investment saving us time and money. Whereas previously the Production Collective spent hours fiddling around with bits of Letraset, we can now afford to devote more attention to other aspects of production, as well as drawing one step closer to a more frequent paper with more pages.

BUT WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT. As our organisation goes from strength to strength, and sales of *ANARCHIST WORKER* increase, (circulation has doubled over the last six months), we are understandably optimistic — and enthusiastic about improving production.

We emphasise that your contribution determines to a large extent the success of our efforts. Sell the newspaper, send us any donations you can, and let's collectively agitate for libertarian communism.

After all YOU KNOW IT MAKES SENSE.

Please make cheques/PO's payable to "AWA General Fund" and send them to: AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull.

Anarchist Worker

Oxford Womens' Aid

THE EXTENT of violence inflicted on women by their husbands is at last being brought out into the open. Women are becoming able to stop feeling it's their fault, they must be inadequate, and to seek help from each other.

The situation is caused by the pressures in our society, in particular by the frustrations of men at work which they take out on their ('dependent and weak') wives at home.

The most urgent need is to give women somewhere to get out of the nightmare and the dozens of women's refuges now open use every means possible to do this and allow them to start living instead of fighting for survival.

Here are some quotations from women at the Oxford refuge, and an interview with one of the support group:

... "The neighbours know you're in trouble but they don't think of helping you. You can scream and scream on our estate and no-one comes near you."

... "One time mine was hitting me in the garden and people walked past and took no notice, really unfeeling, people are..."

... "My husband was a really heavy drinker. He used to go to the pub with his mate from next door and then the two of them'd come home drunk and beat up their wives. Horrible it was. Even when she was in hospital he came and broke her nose. Her doctor was hopeless. He'd just patch her up and send her home."

Sheila came in one night after she'd been thrown onto the streets with her two kids. Couldn't do a thing for herself at first because her old man did everything and made all the decisions. Very quiet and withdrawn she was at first."

When did the refuge open?

On Nov 1st, 1975, following a talk on refuges at Oxford Women's Liberation in spring, 1975. It's been packed ever since—over 40 women have lived there for anything from days to months, so far.

Has the local council been helpful?

Yes, they have leased us this house, and we obtained an SS grant towards decorating it. But although council workers try to be very helpful about nurseries, re-housing and so on they keep putting you off—you find all the places on their lists have been full for months; they haven't really got much to offer.

In other areas councils have tried to use refuges as dumping grounds for single homeless women.

What are the main running problems? Rehousing women in safety is very slow; there is a long wait for council housing and where the family home has been left with the husband it is very difficult to get the courts or the council to evict him.

In any case many women cannot go back to anywhere husbands know. Exchanges and transfers take a long time.

Women from tied houses or privately rented accommodation are in a very bad position but even owner-occupiers have problems.

Also the support group is too small to be able to back up women who decide to return home.

How is the refuge managed?

There is a very unstructured support group of volunteers, all women; no full-timers or paid staff.

Much of the support is provided

by the women themselves, for each other. The company of people who have been through the same experience is reassuring; women often somehow feel ashamed before they meet others in the same situation.

Some women require a lot of attention and come into the refuge unable to take any decisions for themselves. Others seem to put in more than they take out.

No men are involved actually in the refuge so the women can feel as secure as possible, but we have started an anti-sexist play group and men help with that.

Is there any conflict over policies?

The support group started off on the basis that the refuge was to be run by the women for the women. We would help them get over practical hurdles.

But at the same time as wanting the women to take over, we want to keep an 'open door' policy; sometimes women complain about the overcrowding and also want a full time warden.

Our support group has a

reputation for strength — its cohesiveness and radical feminism.

Decisions are usually reached by consensus, a vote is rarely needed. Other refuges have problems from the do-gooders, marriage menders and the 'working class women must learn to be clean' brigade. They sometimes dominate the feminists, who get alarmed.

What sort of background do the women come from?

They are mainly working-class, but this is because middle-class women are more likely to have their own money, experience in dealing with solicitors, etc.

Some have no children or a small baby and have only been married a short time; others have been married for years — one had a family of five teenagers.

What about their husbands?

Some men have been to prison for violence of one kind or another. Some are labelled 'sick' but the label needs examining — ie they have been to mental hospital but madness is another sign of what makes them also

beat their wives.

Similarly a lot of them drink heavily and get violent when they are drunk but this is another effect rather than a cause.

Other factors are unemployment, illness, bad housing and so on, and obviously male ego and male pride are relevant.

How far is women's aid solving the problem?

Police protection is very inefficient — they don't enforce injunctions, and legal measures are only a short term answer — they attack the symptoms but not the disease.

In a refuge women can get away and have a breathing space. They get support in making best use of what opportunities exist for protection and setting up home away from their husbands.

Then women can start working on the roots of the problem. You can say 'society is to blame'; we think it can be changed.

AR

Trico fight for equal pay

350 WOMEN on strike at Trico-Folberth have had to fight not only the management, but their union, the local Department of Health and Social Security and even their men fellow workers.

The women are on strike for equal pay. In spite of the fact that the government has dropped the Equal Pay Act, they are determined not to settle for less.

Men and women on the same production line at Trico, in Brentford, Middlesex, making windscreen wipers for Ford cars. The women work a 40-hour week for a basic of £40, while the men earn around £6.50 more for identical hours.

The local branch committee of the AEUW recognised the strike from its beginning at the end of May, but the executive didn't declare it official until the 15th June.

Until then the men, shop stewards included, had crossed the picket line and continued working. They had voted not to support the women on June 9th.

Trico women told our reporter that they didn't think much of the union. The strikers had not been informed at all about strike procedure, with the result that they

crossed the picket lines to collect their pay.

Later they decided that the union should have made the management bring the money out to the waiting strikers.

They had not been told about meetings, and the union gave them no information on how to claim

social security.

They had been completely in the dark about their right to social security payments until Brent Claimants Union leafleted the pickets, giving them a contact address and information about emergency needs payments.

PG

PLEASE REMEMBER THE MEETING TODAY AT 3.00 P.M. IN THE WORKS CANTEEN

There must be some things about the strike that you do not fully understand. Why are the Company taking such a firm line and resisting the pressures for so long? How long will it be before a Tribunal can rule on this dispute? Why did the men vote the way they did on Wednesday, 9 June? Why are there men on the pickets who have never been employed by the Company? Do you realise that less than 1/4 of the Company are on strike? What happens to me if I decide to return to work?

We have strong reason to believe that you are not fully informed on these and on other points. Why not show that you still have a free choice and attend this meeting? Why not fire your questions direct to Management?

You have crossed the picket line to come in and get the money due to you. Why not go out via the Works Restaurant and ask your questions, hear the Management case and then decide what to do? By doing this you can lose nothing, but you may benefit by knowing more facts.

11 June 1976

TRICO-FOLBERTH LIMITED

Management attempt to persuade the women to return to work.

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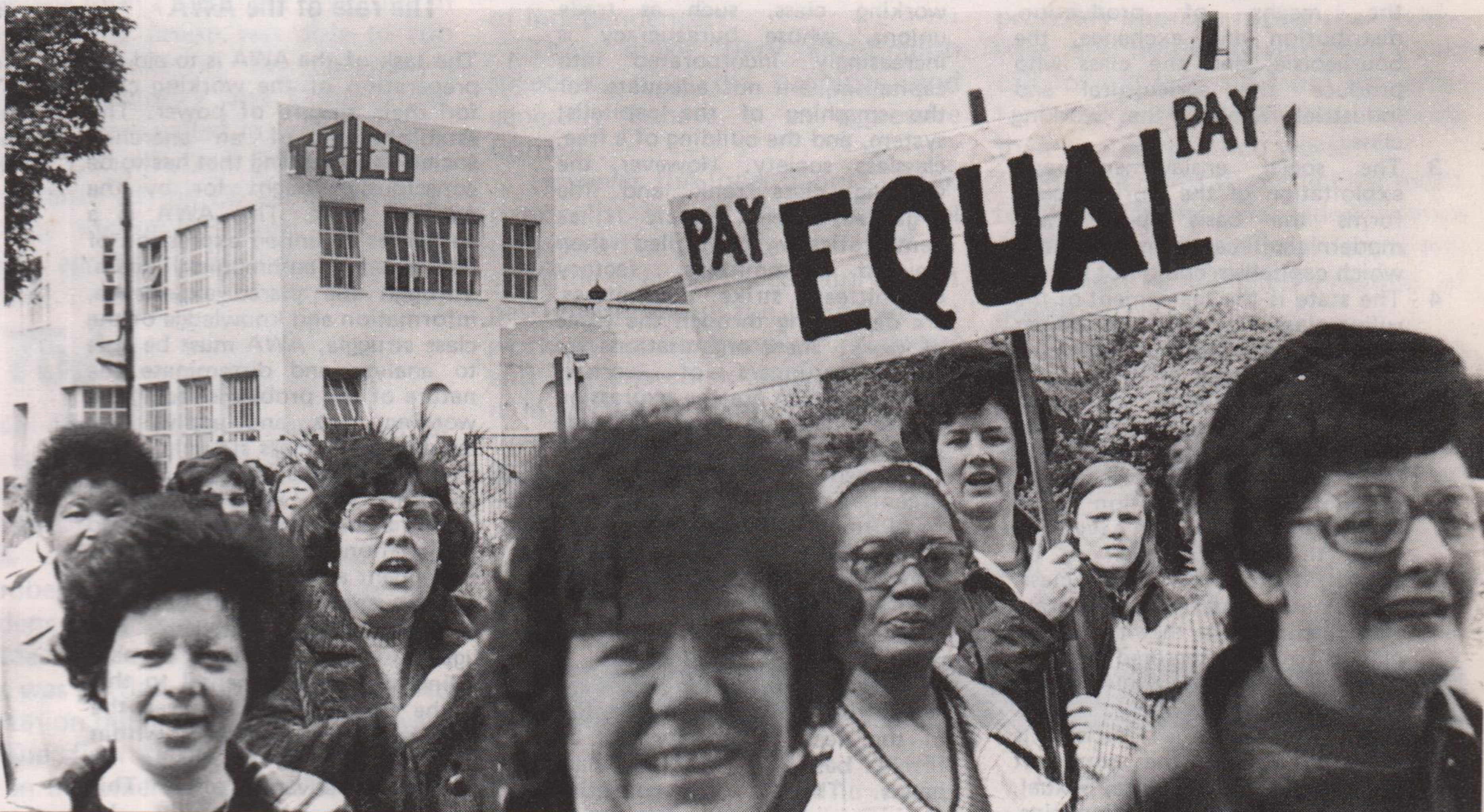
The tyranny of sTRuCTurEleSSneSS

by Jo Freeman

In this pamphlet Jo Freeman attempts to sketch out an approach to organisation that would prevent the growth of elitist leaderships—which both highly centralised and highly informal groupings tend to produce.

In revulsion from the tyrannical structures of governments, unions and other organisations, some anarchists have shied away from any meaningful consideration of self-organisation.

The Anarchist Workers' Association played no part in the writing of this pamphlet but has found it highly applicable to the ineffectuality of anarchism in Britain in recent decades.



Trico women demonstrate

Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

NATIONAL HEALTH

National Co-ordinating Committee against the cuts in the NHS brings out this bulletin.

Articles on the current state of the NHS and the cuts.

10p+8p p&p from the Committee at 55, Bridge Lane, London, NW11.

THE LEFT

At this public meeting, members of N. London AWA will analyse the successes and failures of major left wing organisations and ideological groups.

Tuesday, July 20th, 8p.m.
Centreprise, 136, Kingsland High St. London E8.

GROUP STAMP