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WITH the CBI calling for cuts in public expenditure of five billion pounds it becomes even more important that a stand is taken on a massive scale against the cuts.

Chancellor Healey tells us that WE - he means working people, not the rich - must take a cut in our living standards if we want to get out of the crisis.

The Tories, in particular Snatcher Thatcher and Keith Joseph, are in favour of public spending cuts and even higher levels of unemployment.

The US Treasury and the IMF have made further cuts in public spending a condition for the new loan to the Government.

### Day of Action

Some of the public sector unions are responding to the cuts by calling a day of action on November 17.

The CPSA are banning overtime throughout November and are among those calling for action on November 17.

The National Union of Public Employees is calling for a mass lobby of parliament on the 17th, as is NUT, NALGO, NATFHE, NUS.

The South East Region of the TUC is also calling for support on the

day of action.

Does this mean that the public sector union leaders are getting tough about the cuts?

No, far from it!

The day of action would never have taken place if it hadn't been for pressure from the rank and file.

Cuts mean massive redundancies for public service workers and, not unnaturally, they are getting angry.

People like Alan Fisher, General Secretary of NUPE, are pushing the day of action as a token sign of resistance for the benefit of their members.

Fisher doesn't want a genuine fight against the cuts. He was one of the many union leaders, remember, who OK'd the social contract, part of which requires that cuts should be made in public spending.

If the union leaders were serious about opposition to the cuts, they would be calling for at least a one day strike on November 17.

CPSA originally called for a one day strike on that day but have now backed down, giving support to the afternoon rally, doing very little to mobilise its members even for that.

It's important that the lobby be as large as possible. That's why Anarchist Worker urges its readers to do their utmost to attend the rally and tell as many of their workmates as possible about the day of action.



On a trade union anti-cuts demonstration in Newcastle on October 16. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

Officials of other unions have also been noticeably slack about informing their membership of the November 17 events.

One NUPE member I talked to was completely in the dark about the day of action.

The branch secretary hadn't bothered to let her or any of her fellow NUPE members know and, when contacted, seemed to frown

upon any idea that they should stop work for half a day.

This person now intends to go on the day of action and bring along as many of her workmates as she can.

What else can be done for the day of action?

Raise the matter at your union branch, and your trades council or shop stewards committee.

Pester your branch secretary,

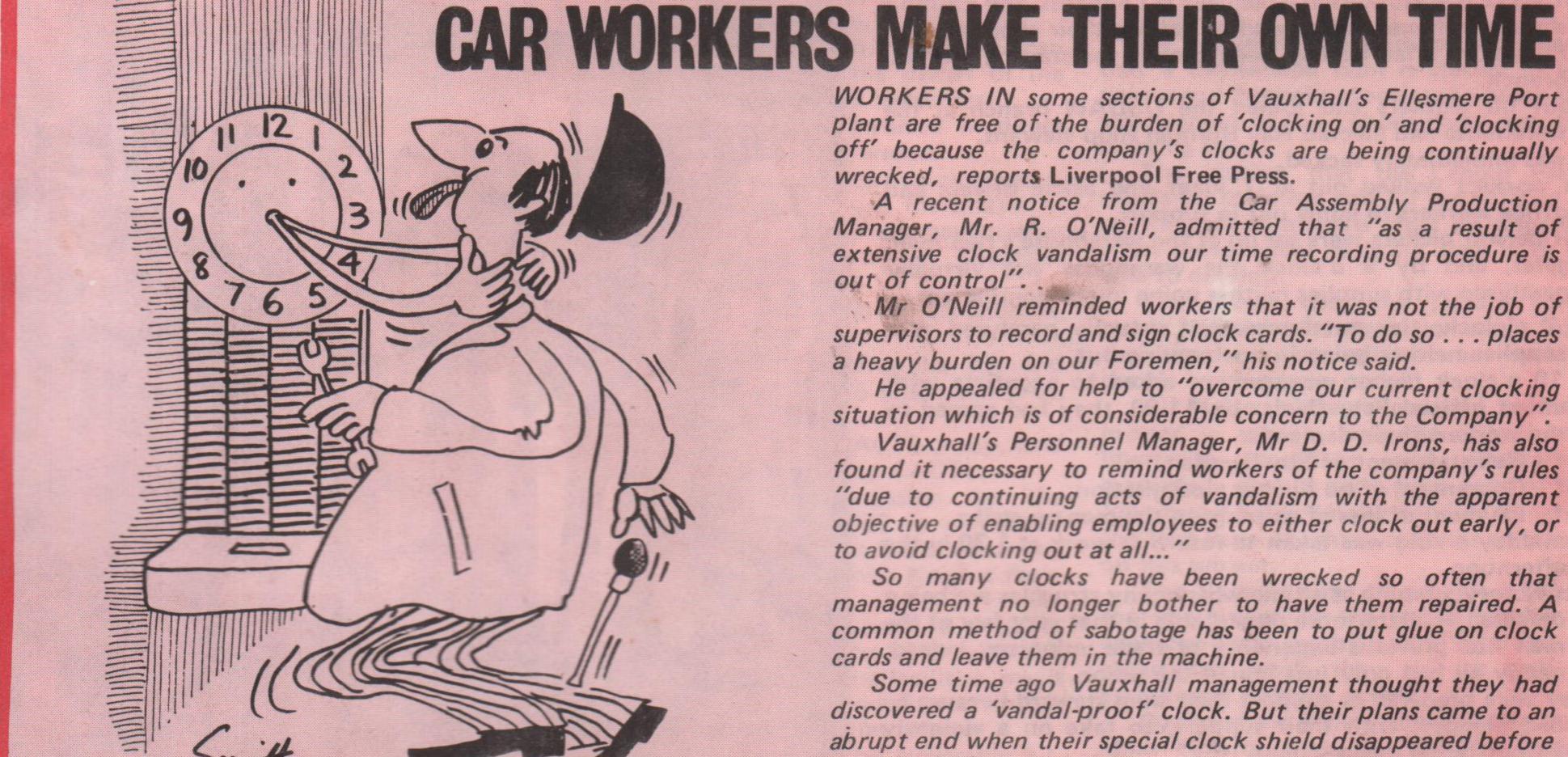
your area officer to do as much as possible to notify the membership of support for the 17th and to organise transport to it.

Make them squirm.

If we can turn November 17 into a real day of action we can start to build a serious opposition to the cuts, the social contract and the union leaders' sellouts.



Council meeting against the cuts on October 13. Shumock (Report)



WORKERS IN some sections of Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant are free of the burden of 'clocking on' and 'clocking off' because the company's clocks are being continually

wrecked, reports Liverpool Free Press. A recent notice from the Car Assembly Production Manager, Mr. R. O'Neill, admitted that "as a result of extensive clock vandalism our time recording procedure is

out of control". Mr O'Neill reminded workers that it was not the job of

supervisors to record and sign clock cards. "To do so . . . places a heavy burden on our Foremen," his notice said. He appealed for help to "overcome our current clocking

situation which is of considerable concern to the Company". Vauxhall's Personnel Manager, Mr D. D. Irons, has also found it necessary to remind workers of the company's rules "due to continuing acts of vandalism with the apparent objective of enabling employees to either clock out early, or to avoid clocking out at all..."

So many clocks have been wrecked so often that management no longer bother to have them repaired. A common method of sabotage has been to put glue on clock cards and leave them in the machine.

Some time ago Vauxhall management thought they had discovered a 'vandal-proof' clock. But their plans came to an abrupt end when their special clock shield disappeared before it could be fitted.

# SECURITY OPERATION COVERS UP TUBE CUTS

**DESPERATE** attempts by London Transport to cover up cuts in Tube services meant a massive police operation on October 18.

The FARE FIGHT campaign against the 25% fare increases imposed last July, had pointed out that fare rises must inevitably lead to fewer passengers and consequent reductions in the frequency of trains.

The first reduction took place on the Central Line on October 18, and was accompanied by deliberate misinformation by London Transport.

Reporters ringing the LT Press Office were told that no cuts were planned on the main stretch of the line, while the internal Traffic Circular, restricted to LT workers, revealed a 25% cut in afternoons on the busiest stretch from Marble Arch to Liverpool Street.

FARE FIGHT organised a day of action for October 18, putting up posters and leafletting passengers to point out the truth about the cuts.

LT responded with a hige clampdown. Many leafletters and flyposters were arrested, and LT officials rushed about grabbing leaflets off passengers.

One commuter rang FARE FIGHT

saying how officials boarded a train, demanding that passengers hand over leaflets they had been given.

At first the majority of passengers refused and the officials refused to allow the train to be started.

Most people, intimidated, gave up their leaflets, but three passengers refused; ultimately the LT officials were forced to let the train start.

The cuts in the services involved the loss of ten jobs: FARE FIGHT is concerned that LT's policies are leading to the rundown of the underground system in London.

Fare rises over the past two years have totalled 114%, and there are more to come in the new year.

Huge numbers of passengers have been driven to private transport, which has resulted in increased congestion on the raods.

This policy means that Underground workers' jobs are threatened as public transport in London becomes a skeleton service.

Transport workers' trades unions have taken virtually no action over the policies. It is clearly up to workers and passengers to defend public transport.

P.G.



LT officials and police at Epping station: on the left is a torn down FARE FIGHT poster.

# FRETHE IRRAYS

TWO DUBLIN anarchists, Noel and Marie Murray, are at this moment sitting in prison waiting to hear whether they are to be hung for allegedly murdering an off-duty policeman during a bank robbery.

After several days of beating and torture, the Murrays were tried by the 3-man 'Special Criminal Court', without even the benefit of a jury.

Ronan Stenson, the third person picked up with the Murrays, suffered so much from his beatings that he had a nervous breakdown and was unable to stand trial.

He is now reported to be in a 'vegetable' like condition, having gone from 9 to 14 stone, and is also being subjected to sensory deprivation.

All over the world, pressure is mounting for the death sentences to be commuted and for the Murrays to be freed.

Prisoners in Gartree - who earn 25p a week - had a collection, raising the phenomenal amount of £62, but the prison authorities refused to allow them to send it out.

Instead they bought individual postal orders and sent the money out that way: to date only £32 has turned up.

Members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party leafletted the Gaelic Games in London recently, informing spectators of the plight of the Murrays.

In Beltast, a newly-created Defence Committee occupied the offices of the Irish Independent for two hours to gain publicity for the case in the North and to protest at the almost complete press censorship of news in the South.

They also organised a public meeting on October 8, which drew in 500 people.

Murray Defence Committees now operate in London, Dublic, Belfast, Bolton, Manchester, Glasgow, Warwick, Birmingham.

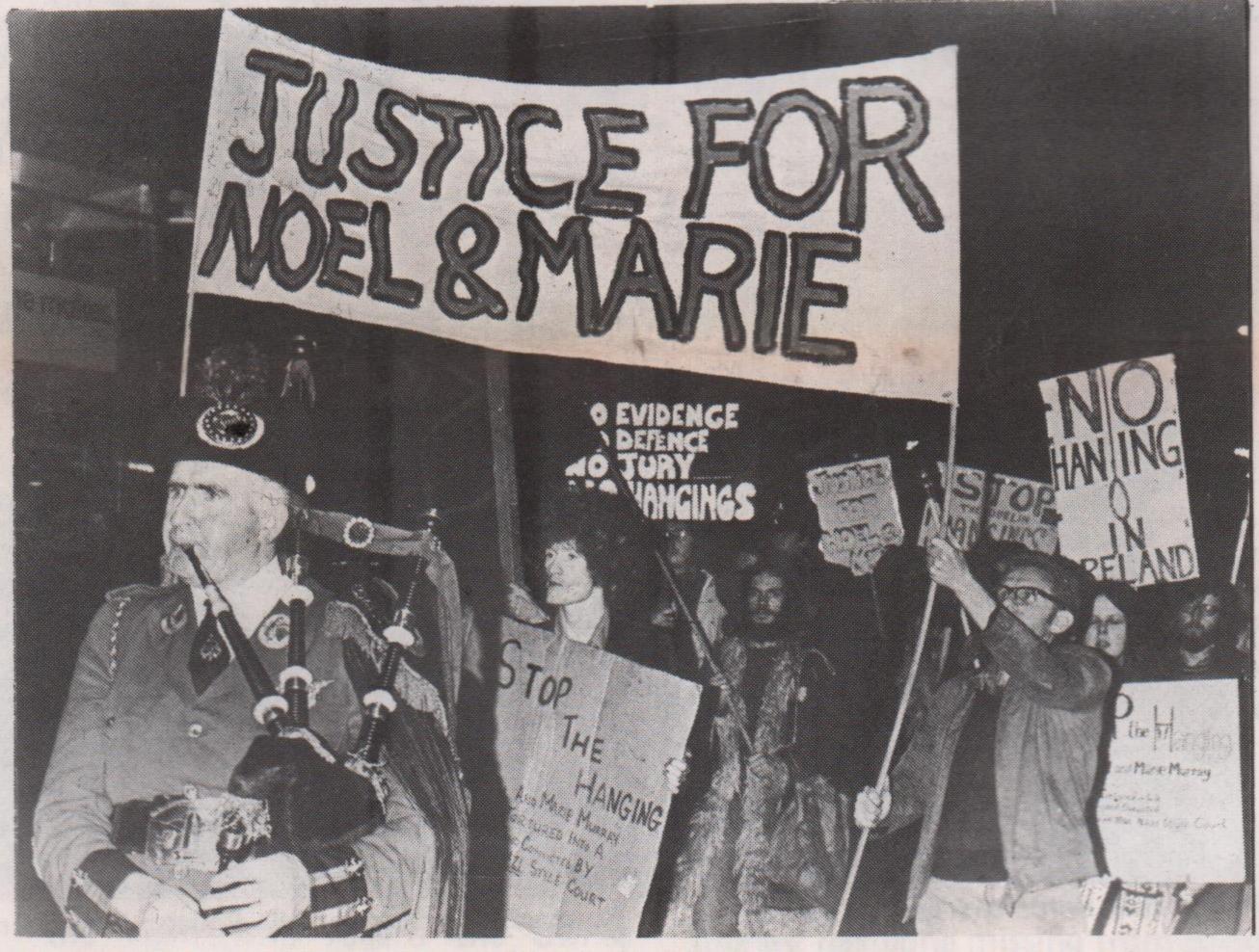
In other parts of the world, solidarity

activities have been going on in West Germany, France, Sweden, Japan, New Zealand, Holland, Australia, the USA and Canada.

London Bookshops branch of ASTMS passed a motion condemning the hangings and sent it to the Irish Embassy.

Newham NALGO sent £20 to the defence group and Warwick University Students Union donated £31.

STUDENTS YORK UNIVERSITY



Torchlight demonstration against the hangings on October 8. Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

UNION passed the following motion, proposed by York Libertarian Socialists:

This Union condemns the death sentences passed by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, on Noel and Marie Murray, two Dublin anarchists accused of the murder of a policeman in Dublin.

It recognises that evidence used to convict the Murrays was extracted under torture, and that their trial was of a political nature, designed to aid the suppression of dissidents both in the North and South of Ireland.

Accordingly this Union

Fully supports the activities of the Murray Defence Group and donates £20 to it.

2 Fully supports the activities of protest organised in Leeds by the George Cummings anarchist association.

3 Mandates the External Vice President to write to the Irish Embassy in protest against the sentences and demanding a retrial by jury as well as the abolition of hanging in Eire.

LIBERATION, the French left-wing daily reports:

Last Thursday (October 7), 40 militants of the Comite Irlande, Lutte Ouvriere and the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire took part in a picket in front of the Irish airline company, Aer Lingus, in Paris to protest against the death sentences on Noel and Marie Murray in Southern Ireland.

They denounced "the scandalous conditions in which the Murrays have been condemned to death . . . and the torture used in the south as in the north just as the state of siege is being decreed" in Southern Ireland, and called for the immediate abolition of the death penalty.

BOB PREW in Birmingham writes:

The picket of the Irish Tourist Board Office on Saturday October 9 was quite successful.

There were over 20 people on it and we got a mainly favourable reaction. Quite a few passers by said that they wanted to be kept in touch of events.

A reporter from the Evening Mail turned up but nothing appeared (surprise, surprise!).

We're planning to have a public meeting with Noel's uncle and sister speaking on October 28.

### LATE EXTRA

Dublin (Correspondent) - There was an international demonstration here on October 30.

Among the 3-400 people marching to Mountjoy Prison were members of Murray Defence Committees from Coventry, Glasgow, London and Paris.

### STERLING CRISIS

NO DOUBT we are going to be told that the recent sterling crisis and the sharp rise in interest rates have 'blown the country off course' (as Callaghan said the 1966 seamen's strike did) and that they were caused because 'we' haven't tightened 'our' belts enough.

However, while the state and capitalist interests lie to us as a matter of course they often tell the truth to each other.

Figures published by the Central Statistical Office show that the short-lived recovery in industrial production had stopped well before the recent well publicised events.

The fall was almost 1% in August and 11/2% in the period June-August, compared with the previous three months.

So much for the official myth of a 41/2% annual increase in gross domestic product! So much for the 'upturn'!

It must be pointed our that this is the case not just in Britain but is a trend throughout the world.

Those who look for a 'national' solution to the capitalist crisis by either wage control or import control are not just 'blown off course' they've missed the bloody boat entirely.

The crisis is capitalism which has reached the limits of its unplannable, accumulation driven development.

Now it has only one way to defend the making of profit.

It does this by destroying goods and means of production which it cannot gain from at the moment.

Capitalism has reached the stage where it is actually destroying production to maintain profit.

The answer lies not in trying to square the circle and make capitalist production profitable and expanding and able to give a decent standard of

No, the answer lies in imposing planned production for need under the control of the working people as the only way to provide the means of life for everyone.

K.N.

# Lightning strike wins reinstatement of sacked shop steward

LEICESTER - Workers at Greenlees & Lennards, the Easiphit shoe warehouse, succeeded in getting their shop steward reinstated after he had been sacked for starting a union branch.

About 60 workers had joined the USDAW branch at the warehouse and elected Ray Burman shop steward. He was immediately sacked.

The workers walked out at 7.30am, and asked drivers and offlice workers to come out in support. Four-person pickets were set up at the warehouse's two main

gattes, and by 9 o'clock the warehouse was virtually

parallysed with supplies neither going in nor coming out. By 9 o'clock, the warehouse was virtually paralysed with supplies meither going in mor coming out.

At 10 o'clock higher management asked to negotiate with umitom official Pete Davis: by 11.30, they had agreed to

the workers three demands: Reinstatiement of Ray Burman?

Guarantees of mo further victimisation;

Payrment of loss of earnings to the men on strike. At middlay a wote was teken to return to work at 1.30 in the

afftermoon. This wictory, coming at a time when many struggles are being defleated, is all the more remarkable in that very few of the mem had previous experience of trade unionism; indeed,

mearly all had only just joined the union. They were prepared to support their shop steward because he had pliedged, with their support, to take on a viciously awthoritarian management.

Now that the initial battle for union recognition has been won, the next stage in the struggle will include negotiations for better wages and conditions.





# Victory for women in equal pay dispute BRENTFORD (PNS) - The 350

women workers who produce car windscreen wipers at the Trico plant returned to work victorious on October 19 after a 21 week strike for equal pay.

The US-owned company caved in after its attempt to use the Industrial Tribunal against workers failed, and the threat of a ban from other trades unionists on substitute wipers loomed larger.

There was a unanimous vote to accept the agreement which provides for the introduction of a common operational payment-by-results rate, applied regardless

of sex. The women are continuing to produce a monthly bulletin and are writing a

a list of the 2000+ donations. They walked out on May 24 after the management had refused to eliminate the

history of their struggle, which will include

£6 gap between men and women's pay. There were frequent attempts to break picket lines, with midnight convoys

supervised by police. But the pickets stayed throughout the

21 weeks and the victory has justified their decision to boycott the Industrial Tribunal after the company took the case to it.

One of the women, Doll Wakefield said: "I've learnt a lot in these 21 weeks. We want to thank everyone who gave us lots of encouragement and great support to our hardship fund. People brought food to us on the picket line, as well as money, and there were lots of people doing little things to help us too."

LIBERTARIAN socialists in the National Association of Local Government Officers are fighting moves to affiliate the union to the Labour Party.

At the last conference of the rank

and file group inside Nalgo, the Nalgo Action Group, there were three resolutions calling for affiliation of the union to the Labout Party

Two of the resolutions were supported

by members of the International Marxist Group and by members of the Communist and Labour Parties.

These two resolutions wanted the demand for affiliation to the Labour Party to be put high on the list of group priorities.

November, as seems likely, a Criminal

Trespass Law will threaten all forms of

direct action. The government and behind them the boss class are very worried about the growth of direct action since 1972.

They are worried about workplace occupations in answer to redundancies they are worried about squatting on a mass

They are worried about student occupations in response to teacher unemployment and local issues.

The law, if passed, would sweep away the 600 year old principle that trespass is a matter for the civil courts.

### Arrest

priorities.

Any sort of occupation could mean that the police could intervene without a warrant - occupiers could face arrest and up to two years imprisonment.

When we go to work, to school, to college, and in many cases at home, we have a licence to be there.

During an occupation, this licence can be dispensed with by the owner of the property, and we become trespassers.

We urge everyone involved in direct action to attend the conference.

But not just attendance at a conference can defeat the Bill. Raise the matter in your union branch, your claimants union meeting, your tenants or squatters association meeting.

Discuss it with friends, neighbours, workmates.

Pass motions opposing the Bill and affiliating to CACTL (£5 union branches, £10 student unions).

Contact your local CACTL group, send donations made payable to CACTL.

The price of admission to the conference is £2.50 (£1.50 to claimants) and it will be held at the Students Union, New Union Building, White Knights Park, Reading (0734 86022).

Send money in advance to CACTL, 6 Bowden Street, London SE11, who will provide camp beds, creche facilities, meals on Saturday evening, and lists of hotels and cheap bed and breakfast places.

They need to know by November 17, about beds and meals.

**Nick Hillier** 

### NATIONALISATION OR SOCIALISATION?

"Aye, lads, we all want nationalisation, but not the kind they've got in the mines nor in the railway stations.

We want workers' control and not participation,

THAT'S the first step on the road to the socialist transformation".

That verse is lifted from a song-book published by Militant-a Trotskyist group in the Labour Party. It brings up the issue which is central to the revolution - how do you organise industry in a socialist society?

The demand for nationalisation under workers control is raised by most left-wing groups.

There are also various schemes for workers participation operating in many capitalist countries at the moment; indeed, similar schemes are planned for Britain, with the cautious approval of the TUC.

This is one of the areas in which the anarchist point of view differs from that of the 'orthodox' left (revolutionary or reformist).

Those differences are not only about how we would organise industry after the revolution, but what sort of political development we would like to see at the same time.

Putting it simply, the alternatives to the way in which industry is run at the moment, i.e. the forms of new industrial democracy, come in three varieties:

workers participation workers control

and workers self-management.

SO WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE? WORKERS' PARTICIPATION is where a number of workers are allowed to sit on

the board of directors or some sort of work's committee. They are outnumbered by the

management and bosses, but they can put workers' case more directly.

However, ultimately they have no power.

Workers participation quite often leads to workers participating in their own funeral: this is why Leyland carworkers rejected participation proposals this year.

In Sweden and West Germany, participation has provided benefits, but this depends completely on the state of the economy. When the axe falls, participation cannot stop it.

That is the idea behind the Militant song; that nationalisation of the sort you have in the coal industry or British Rail is hopeless from the workers' viewpoint.

If participation was any good, why do miners and railway workers keep striking?

control.

However, it was the third resolution,

This resolution supported the idea in

put forward by members of the

International Socialists, that was voted in.

principle, but put it low on the list of

Against that system, there is workers

WORKERS CONTROL is where the workers have a majority say in the day-today running of a workplace.

This is better than participation, but it still doesn't go far enough, because of the effect of nationalisation.

If every industry in this country was nationalised, what would this mean?

It would mean that everything belonged to the State: the State would not be

controlled by the bosses, as it is today. Theoretically, it would be a workers state, but there is very often a difference

between theory and practice.

A state is a machine for ruling: it has a bureaucracy, an army, a police force and judges.

This machine would in theory fall under the control of the workers. Therefore ... what the state owns, the workers own.

But this has never worked in any of the 'socialist' countries. In practice, state power has always remained in the hands of a party, or simply, the bureaucrats who ran it before.

Nationalisation under workers control means workers still battling against the faceless men from the central offices.

The economy is not planned by the workers; it is planned by officials of the government.

And as we can see from the USSR, that government is certainly not under workers control.

In the USSR industry is run by a management, with the workers supervising and criticising-but in the end obeying, because industry is owned by the State, not by the workers:

So what's the alternative?

The alternative is WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT, where the sole decisionmaking body in a workplace is the workers council.

This is because all industries are owned collectively by the entire working class.

There is no 'state' which has the ultimate power: decisions are no longer made by bosses or officials, but by workers

I.W.

IS members in Nalgo were instructed to vote in favour of this by their Central Committee - even though some of them were against the idea.

In our view, it is up to the group of militants active in a particular industry or union to formulate strategy, in consultation with the others in the political organisation of which they are members.

This doesn't mean a central committee telling them what to do, overriding the experience of militants in a particular struggle.

### Hierarchy

Apart from these developments, a Campaign for Nalgo Affiliation to the Labour Party is being pushed by members of the Labour Party, some of whom are also members of Trotskyist groups.

Some Nalgo officials would welcome affiliation to the Labour Party, as this would mean they could have access to the Labour Party hierarchy, and would help further their careers.

The majority of Nalgo members have, however, shown their opposition to such proposals on two occasions and are likely to do so again.

This is hardly surprising after Nalgo members have been involved in industrial action and demonstrations against cuts in public spending directed by a Labour government!

We consider it very important indeed that a determined fight is started in the unions and throughout society to break the stranglehold of the Labour Party over the working class. The illusion that the Labour Party

stands for socialism and for the defence of working class interests must be dispelled if an independent working class is to be able to develop.

The debate over the Labour Party inside Nalgo diverts discussion away from the attacks being inflicted on working people by that same party!

All Nalgo militants opposed to these moves - which includes anarchists, libertarian socialists and libertarian marxists - should write for a copy of the Libertarian Public Health Services Bulletin, the first issue of which contains an article on this subject.

The Bulletin aims to provide a forum for libertarians in the public service to exchange ideas, problems and information about the work they do, as well as co-ordinate militant activity.

Copies of the Bulletin are available from Mike Ballard, Flat 12, 152-154 Springe Hull; please enclose a donation.

Eva Long

# Direct Action Conference To Take Place

THE Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law are organising what promises to be a very interesting and important conference in Reading on Saturday and Sunday November 27 and 28.

conference is organised around the main topics of direct action and criminal trespass.

It aims to provide information on the Law Commission's Conspiracy and Criminal Law Reform Bill, and place it in the context of the state's response to direct action.

Also examined will be the strategy of

direct action and all the problems it

entails.

Practical ways to defeat the Bill will be discussed and it is aimed to provide a forum for activists in industry and the community to exchange ideas, experience and information.

exhibitions

Throughout the conference there will be exhibitions on the history of direct action on display.

There will also be a series of workshops, each run twice so that those attending other workshops have a chance to go to some outside their own areas of action.

Workshop topics will include:

Green bans direct action in Italy workplace occupations squatting rent strikes student occupations direct action and the cuts dossers, single homeless, gypsies mass trespass women and direct action

state response to direct action Three films will be shown: Coup pour Coup (about a workplace occupation by French women); a new film on the Fisher Bendix occupation; and Behind the Rent Strike.



Police at the February 28th CACTL demonstration: a criminal tresspass law would give them new powers.

# The Bureaucrats and the people

**ELABORATE** security plans intended to cover the eventuality of Mao Tse Tung's death were revealed in the Far Eastern Economic Review for December 1975.

Malcontents were to imprisoned, and steps taken to "suppress groups which will try to stir up trouble among the massive crowds which will undoubtable gather, particularly in the cities. . .'

That such preparations should be considered by the government is not surprising, given the unrest which has been manifest in Chinese society since the cultural revolution.

Proletarian dissatisfaction appears to be principally linked with the differentials which exist in social participation and benefit.

Even though the cultural revolution did away with some of the more blatant of these, top bureaucrats still receive nearly seven times the average industrial wage, as well as privileges - such as better housing and transport facilities - accruing from their position.

'Criticism' meetings and manual labour sessions for managers and intellectuals do not, moreover, disguise the existence of real divisions bureaucratic conception of social of social control.

### Mesh

At first sight, however, there is a lack of independent, broad-based, working class politics.

Mass struggles flow into, expand, and occasionally threaten a political

"For the working class to emancipate itself and the whole of humanity it is necessary to start from an objective understanding of its real position in society." Communist Manifesto

IN THE 1930's, middle class reformers such as the Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb - who were opposed to the fight of the working class in their own country - filled the literature of the period with adulation of the USSR and Stalin.

They believed every piece of propaganda, from the '1000% increases in production to the 1936 (Stalin) Constitution being 'the most democratic in the world' and the massacre of the old Bolsheviks as trotskyite and bukharinite hyenas, agents of fascism' in the purges.

Not only did they accept these crimes against the working class but they happily fell to spreading the lies that justified the crushing of all opposition by the bureaucracy.

It was not until 1956, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that Khruschev was forced to admit there were some 'infringements of socialist legality(!)'.

This was three years after Stalin's death.

Even today, most people think that socialism and the Soviet Union have something in common.

Stalinism as a political tendency still dominates the official Communist movement.

This means Popular Frontism, Peaceful Roads, Broad Lefts, identification off state capitalism as socialism, bureaucratic plaining as working class power, and apposition to the independent action of the working class.

Within the revolutionary movement, large numbers of militants are now aware of the state capitalist nature of the USSR, and the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

Among some radicals, however, the idol-building and uncritical

framework whose inspiration comes from the higher echelons of the bureaucracy.

This framework is a dense mesh where political principle and jockeying for position easily mingle.

It consequently embraces many shades of opinion and behaviour and contains many potential surprises.

Nevertheless, its main theme as far as outside observers have been concerned has been the conflict between the two major factions: the one 'ideological', 'radical', 'Maoist'; the other 'professionalist', 'managerialist' and 'revisionist'.

During and since the cultural revolution, it has been the former faction, grouped round Mao himself, that has been predominantly associated with the stimulation of more activity.

Its emphasis has been on the combatting of corruption, abuse of power and excessive differentials.

It has placed tremendous stress upon ideological purity, regarding the raising of the political consciousness of the masses as being the most important element in the building of socialism.

Yet at the same time, it retains a organisation.

Consequently it has repeatedly found itself trapped between mass movements it has taken a part in creating, and its unwillingness to contemplate the destruction of existing structures of social control which these have threatened.

Each time the 'Maoists' have found

themselves compromised in this way, the 'managerialists' have been able to regroup.

The most recently prominent repersentative of this latter faction, after Chou En Lai's death, has been Teng Hsaio Ping.

Teng's well-known quote, "Black cat, white cat, what's the difference so long as it can catch mice?" well sums up this side of the bureaucracy's presentation of itself as a group of competent, almost a-political administrators.

A good example of the relationship between mass activity and the bureaucratic factions is the course of events in 1975.

The keynote of the National People's Congress of that January was 'unity and stability'.

bodies set up by the congress was minimal, and Teng Hsiao Ping and his allies took most of the top posts.

A rapid counter-attack was, however, made through the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' campaign: the inspiration for this was Maoist.

Editorials argued the need to

restrict 'bourgeois' wage differentials, and a new Mao quote appeared to the effect that distribution and exchange systems were "scarcely different from those in the old society".

The question of working class representation in management was also explicitly raised.

In response to calls to the proletariat to "occupy the superstructures", workers direct action emerged which completely transcended the intended limits of the campaign.

Workers self-management groups appeared in Shanghai and there were huge strikes and demonstrations in Hangchow which appear to have been co-ordinated by mass workers' organisations.

These signs of potential workers power produced a bureaucratic retreat.

The Maoists sent Wang Hung Wen to negotiate settlements in the areas in question.

Ultimately it was Teng Hsiao Ping who returned to prominence at the head of the troops used to repress the workers' struggle.

### Modified

In recent months the pattern has been modified insofar as mass support has been manifested for the managerialists against the Maoists.

On April 5 of this year, Tien An Mei Square, slap bang in the middle of Peking, was the focus of a riot involving a reported 100 000 demonstrators who fought police and militia, wrecked official cars and stormed buildings.

The motive of this outburst was undoubtably general dissatisfaction with the bureaucracy.

Its incidence, however, was associated with government interference in commemorations to the memory of Chou, widely 'Radical' representation on the remembered as being on the side of political stability and as a critic of the turmoil created by Maoist political campaigns and economic adventures.

> The demonstrations were the climax of a sharp conflict in the bureaucracy following Chou's death - but despite the support they apparently gave the managerialists it was Teng himself who was

# HISTORY:2 UTOPIA

parrotting has now been transferred from Stalin to Mao Tse Tung.

From the schizophrenic libertarians/ Leninists of Big Flame to the Trotskyists and Marxist-Leninists a common assumption reigns.

That assumption is that a socialist revolution has been made in China.

It's true that feudalism and colonialism were defeated by a heroic struggle of great importance for the weakening of world imperialism.

However, that doesn't mean that we fall into the trap of ignoring the real role of the working class in the revolution and its position in China.

Only by looking at these can we decide whether what happened was a socialist revolution or produced a new form of class

Even Maoists admit that the peasantry led by petty bourgeois intellectuals (the core of the Chinese Communist Party) defeated the feudal landlords, native bourgeois agents of foreign capital and colonial invaders.

The working class was irrelevant to the way this struggle was fought, and in the struggle to develop China's national economy its interests have been ignored.

During the Hundred Flowers period in 1956 and in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution in 1967, the working class moved into action and began to evolve its own programme and organisation (see Libertarian Struggle, February 1976).

At that point the rival factions in the CCP leadership all united to ban, repress and destroy this trend - the only movement that could lead towards socialist revolution in China.

The popular unity between western radicals and Chinese bureaucrats is formed

by their common opposition to the independent movement of the working class and by their idealist view that wishes can replace analysis, that will can replace historical development.

This comes across clearly when the Chinese talk about 'Mao-Tse-Tung Thought' as a replacement for tool and labour to accomplish work.

We see this when the International Marxist Group tries to avoid the development of political consciousness in the working class by finding short cuts in 'new mass vanguards', 'student vanguards' and 'class struggle left wings' (in the Labour Party!).

Big Flame leaps in uncritical copying of Lotta Continua in Italy, from their spontaneism to softness on Stalinism.

Unfortunately for them they haven't even had three months before the pressure of the world crisis and movements in the working class internationally have broken the idol into dust.

The Chinese support for the Bhutto regime against Bangladesh; for the Bandaranaike massacre of the JVP uprising in Ceylon; for the US-created FNLA in Angola; for the butcher Pinochet in Chile was excused or 'criticised' but these 'marxists' were able to accept that a counter-revolutionary foreign policy could co-exist with a 'socialist' one at

Now the reality is evident - China's. 'socialism' centres on a fight among the top bureaucracy - and arrests, press censorship, army control of the streets are the means of deciding who will win.

The Trotskyists, at least, should be familiar with this scene. If the 'Russian' faction wins, the bureaucracy will develop heavier

exploitation of the peasantry for industrial development, 'socialist' incentives will increase wage differentials, greater piece rate working, and so on.

If the 'radicals' or populists win they will place emphasis on 'moral' incentives comparable with Stalin's 'Stakhanovite' model workers.

In reality, this latter will mean using ideological weapons as well as economic incentives to force the greater exploitation of the working class.

In neither of these cases will the working class by anything but the object of the bureaucracy's manipulation.

# Socialism or

Neither forced industrialisation and greater social stratification nor populist demagogy is socialism: socialism is the collective rule of the working class.

Socialism is achieved neither by peasant rebellions, 'youth revolts', 'left currents' Leninist putsches or 'libertarian' prayers for 'spontaneous' revolts out of the blue.

It is achieved by the development of an understanding by the bulk of the working class of its true position and following from this an understanding of the need to take power.

Revolutionary politics is creating this understanding and the ability to implement it through a day to day practice around issues and demands that clarify, unify and develop the movement.

It is attractive to have giant figures to lean on: it may boost morale to feel that there are short cuts - if only we can find

But these are escapes from reality and as such make the task of changing it more difficult.

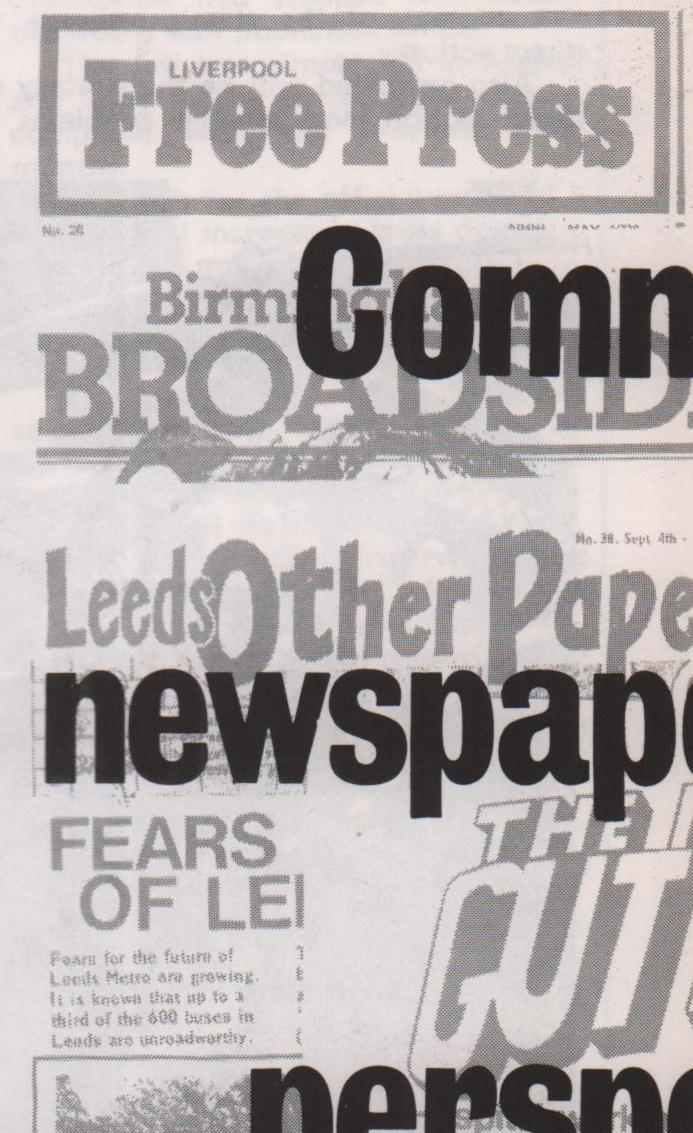
"The theories of the communists are not in any way based upon ideas or principles discovered or established by this or that universal reformer. They serve merely to express in

general terms the concrete circumstances of an actually existing class struggle, of an historical moment that is going on under our very eyes." from the Communist Manifesto, K. Marx.

LEEDS - A conference of alter Paper was held here during the we attended from all over England, wide range of publications and po

The first day was spent in poli role of the papers we produce, whi the more practical aspects, such a

A clear contrast was seen by those par like Manchester's Longsight News and I the paper as an organiser, like Bristol V a single 'community' was criticised as a



dismissed into obscurity as a result.

Cadres involved in relief work after the Tangchai earthquake this autumn were being urged to "deepen the criticism of Teng Hsaio Ping and strive for new successes in the anti-quake and relief work".

The fact that mass struggles in China have intimate connections with the bureaucratic faction fight does not indicate, in the final analysis, that they are not without autonomous subversive content.

In both Hengchow and the April 5 demonstrations, popular dissent rapidly escaped the control of the bureaucrats and culminated in clashes with the state apparatus as a whole.

On the other hand, a declining in confidence in the Maoists — whose campaigns regularly dashed more hopes than they fulfilled and who may suffer from the loss of Mao himself - would have important consequences for those sections of the proletariat which retain an anti-bureaucratic combativity.

The potential is there for a political consciousness to develop which more radically approaches the whole question of the bureaucracy and the factions within it.

Signs of this happening are naturally few and far between, but not totally non-existant.

### 70's Front

One window onto such developments is the socialist movement in Hong Kong.

There, former Red Guards of the cultural revolution and other libertarian communists have teamed up with local comrades to form the 70's Front.

A document of theirs has been published in the English language in called 'Our Position' in International, available in Britain from Social Revolution, Box 217, 144 Drummond Street, London NW1.

The Libertarian Communist Group, of which the 70's Front is the Hong Kong part, has members in several countries, including Britain.

Any revolutionaries of Chinese origin who wish to be put in touch in this country can write c/o of the AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull.

ive papers organised by Leeds Other

end of October 15-17. Over 100 people

les and Scotland, representing a very

al discussion, trying to understand the

on the second day we concentrated on

finance, distribution, presentation and

that felt they were mirroring the community,

on Keynes' City Limits, and those which see

e and Camden Tenant. The idea that there is

ngerous mistake; class divisions are something

AUEW: a Case for Workers' Control

THE AMALGAMATED union of engineering workers has a reputation as one of the more left-wing unions in this country. To some extent, this is true: the engineers came out in support of picketing miners, to close Saltley Coke Depot in 1972, and the AUEW waged the most bitter fight against the Industrial Relations Act-although they did it through the courts rather than through industrial action.

Again, AUEW conference decisions candidates at branch meetings. and public statements from their leadership-which includes Maoist leader, Reg Birch-tend to be rather more progressive than most unions.

But if you look at the rule-book, the moderates. you will find that much of this 'leftiness' disappears—especially when it comes to letting the rank-and-file election: "Here are the men the have a say.

The President is elected for a three year period, and then for a subsequent five year period, which is more democratic than many unions.

The salary for that job is £6,000 a year, and other officials get branches is severely hampered. £5,000: this, of course, is way beyond what any of the members get.

On top of the basic, there are the perks: the car, the posts on various governmental bodies.

Hugh Scanlon can collect £3,300 a year as chairman of the Engineering Industry Training Board, and more from other bodies.

There are also lesser pickings for lesser executive members. No ordinary engineer has these opportunities.

It's no wonder the executive supports the social contract; they don't know what it's like for the ordinary members, and they're well protected against inflation themselves.

### **Postal Votes**

posts is the postal ballot, recently labour, terms of overtime, piecework 1 The AUEW has to be brought more independant for their liking! introduced after a famous court-battle

The postal ballot means that union members have no opportunity to consider in any way the real worth of the candidates, through discussion even confrontation of the

And of course, the field is left wide open for the capitalist press to do some free publicity for their favourite candidates—usually called

Thus we have the Sunday Mirror of 129'76 saying about a recent AUEW bureaucracy, a'feared of losing all Communists and their extremist allies do not want to win", and then giving a list of right-wing flunkies.

The union is based on association of branches, but this is by no means a free association. The autonomy of

A minute proportion of branch subscriptions are returned to the branch to use in support of whatever they choose.

However, this money may not be used to affiliate to overtly political causes—except the Labour Party.

Thus, union members have no autonomous political power.

### Rule 13

is the role played by the District the most 'left-wing' unions can be Committee.

In particular, this bureaucratic body to it. has immense power over shop-floor activity.

The method of election for these and regulate rates of wages, hours of maintaining the bureaucrats' perks. and general conditions affecting the interests of the trades in their repective districts."

Whatever happened to the rights of the workers to do those things?

Another part of Rule 13 is even

worse: "In the case of a shop dispute the members shall not leave their employment without the approval of the District Committee."

Of course, all these above infringements of workers rights are frequently ignored, and the those lovely subscriptions, turns a blind eye.

But these rules can and have been used against left-wing activity; they would certainly be used against anyone who tried to break the social contract.

So just belt up and pay the subscriptions! . . and the shop branch level. steward has to be accredited by the District Committee, which also defines a shop steward's powers.

So the message to would-be rank and file militants is: Watch out! There's a District Committee about!

### Demands

Because Unions are only reformist bodies anyway, confined to narrow Perhaps more important however boundaries of economic struggle, even pretty right wing when it comes down

This gives the bureaucracy the libertarian socialists in the industry. powers it needs to hold back the rank Rule 13 states "District Committees and file in the interests of the ruling ... shall have power... to deal with class-also in the interests of

under the control of its membership.

Here are some possible demands which engineering militants could be raising to achieve that end:

industrial wage in their union; all perks

above the bureaucrats' 'overtime' involved to be shared amongst branches:

Postal ballots to be replaced by workplace ballots, after extensive election campaigning;

\* Full political autonomy for union branches, with funds made available on a larger scale;

Automatic union recognition of elected shop stewards: their powers to be defined by the people who elected them;

The right to strike and regulation of the conditions of labour to be in the hands of the workers in question.

The best way to achieve this is to form a rank and file group in your area, to jointly press these demands at

There are already two such bodies; the Broad Left, and the Engineers Charter.

The Broad Left is dominated by the Communist Party, and is under

its thumb. Engineers Charter is dominated and controlled by the International Socialists.

Neither is a rank and file group in any real sense—they are party machines.

One paper which may be useful however, is Engineering Voice, a left wing engineering paper produced by

Proof of how good it is can be seen from the fact that the Communist Party tried to smash its circulation a while back-it was a bit too

C.M.

\* Full-time officials to be paid the average IT'S YOUR UNION-GO OUT AND GET IT BACK

that cannot be overlooked.

Some papers, notably Islington Gutter Press, are extending beyond the parochialism implicit in the phrase

'community paper', carrying articles on subjects like the Angola mercenaries and Vietnam.

For me, the most practical workshop with the clearest proposals

was that on national co-ordination. It was agreed that the city-wide papers should exchange each issue,

for news and graphics, and that all papers should exchange every three months.

It was also agreed that every paper would send copies to Peoples News Service, a London-based fortnightly agency-type bulletin for alternative publications, and also support PNS by subscribing (PNS, 142 Drummond Street, London NW1. £1.75 for 10 issues).

The appearance of papers differed considerably. There was a division posed between papers which were determined to look amateurish, saying it was less alienating and more 'accessible', of which the fortnightly Leeds Other Paper is probably the

OPEN A CREDIT ACCOUNT WITH LONDON TRANSPORT Camden Tenant BESWICK TENANTS FORM UNION Manchester 11 WHY EQUAL PAY IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF Bristol Voice

CAN ARCHWAY MOTORWAY MADNESS BE STOPPED? Islington Gutter Press HOTEL WORKERS UNION OFFICIAL GETS HOOKED ON THE HIGH LIFE Liverpool Free Press

**DEFEND THE MURRAYS** York Free Press

A few of the headlines in the October issues of some of the alternative papers which came together at Paper Everywhere in Leeds on October 15-17.

most coherent example, and the more in that community. 'professional' papers.

Whilst agreeing that a readable layout is necessary, the Leeds Other Paper's designer said that it was no good having "the sensitivity of a Brick".

There was a lot of bad feeling towards the more journalistic professional looking papers, like Liverpool Free Press which, by the way, has the largest circulation of all Britain's local alternative press, though not the saturation of the weekly Rochdale Alternative Paper.

### Racism

Manchester 11 said that when they went round selling they were asked if they were the National Front, because the NF was the only political force doing any organising

"4 million people may read good articles on racism in the Daily Mirror, but nothing comes of it," one person said, "we can build the circulations of our papers but so what?"

There is no guarantee that local papers will be libertarian; some are downright reformist.

There must be a relationship between the newspaper and political change; we need to find organisational ways of implementing the politics we believe in.

The next conference is planned for Bristol in June 77, hosted by the Bristol Voice, but in the meantime it was suggested that papers with special interests, such as prisons, housing, and so on would organise special conferences.

Ramsey Margolis

### TONY, who works on the York Free Press, told Anarchist Worker what he thought of PAPER EVERYWHERE and the role of local papers: The information, comment and research

in local papers can be useful contribution in the struggle against capitalism, for socialism.

Community papers, by their very nature, should provide a better forum for raising and encouraging local activity. They can also raise issues which

receive little attention in other papers, and can be used by people who want to express their own feelings without a required liberal or reformist, or even revolutionary analysis.

Where else could one find:

DEAR PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL, My name is Mary. I know that soon, maybe tomorrow, next week, even next year if I can last that long, I shall be on my way down your long leafy drive with a suitcase and a small desparate hope that this time, maybe this time, you'll cure me and send me back whole. I also know I am wrong. The next time . . .

Local papers can provide a means by which both 'political' and social issues can be raised.

Libertarian socialists, who believe that 'politics' is not confined to the factory or the town hall, may find that local papers can be used to raise these issues and others, outside the media dominated

by ruling class ways of thinking.

The conference at Leeds revealed for me that the foundations for an ongoing revolutionary praxis for local papers was lacking.

There are few places in Britain where revolutionaries, of whatever tendency, have secured a significant base.

Without a movement which lives out the ideas raised, papers can be reduced to merely commenting on the unpleasant aspects of society - cuts, unemployment, bad housing, council corruption, food adulteration - or alternatively can become places where frustrated leftists argue against the compromise of such-and-such, or tolerate divergences of opinions so that they become just

platforms for every group. The production of papers is no substitute for working with and as tenants, workers, commuters, consumers and so on.

The campaigning experiences of most of the people involved in the Paper Everywhere conference was limited; so that there was no real basis for discussing the function of papers either towards unemployment, housing, transport, work or other aspects of everyday life.

In this situation, only the discussion of the general political positions of the papers made progress.

NOVEMBER sees the first issue of The Leveller, an independent investigative monthly magazine.

The amount of preparation that has gone into this magazine is phenomenal, and it shows: the Publications Distribution Co-operative, for instance, was set up mainly on the initiative of the Leveller collective

Amongst other things, the magazine kicks off with the Rise of the Ultra-Right as its lead article, has an interview with playwright Trevor Griffiths of Bill Brand fame, where mercenaries got

their money and a debate on the Wages

for Housework campaign. They aim to have a national what's on 'agitprop' page and to review each

month's new publications. Whether it succeeds or goes the way of predecessors like Inside Story, 7 Days, Street Research, Wildcat and Street

Life remains to be seen. The Leveller costs 35p and should be on sale in your nearest left or friendly bookshop. Subscriptions are £5 a year from The Leveller, 155a Drummond Street, London NW1.



# Womens' Health Conference how do we use M.E. to make the

MANCHESTER - The second national women's self-help conference was held here on the weekend of September 25/26.

200-300 women came from all over Britain, many bringing kids, who were looked after by Manchester Men's Group.

The list of workshops for the weekend promised a practical working conference. Topics included nutrition, menstrual extraction, sex education, massage, self-examination, midwifery and childbirth, and women workers in the National Health Service.

think the conference was the movement - with many practical introductory workshops - and to those within the movement who were ready to discuss political directions.

Certainly it was an exhausting and productive weekend.

Since there was a lot of feeling at the conference about how the accent should be on practical information exchange and skill-sharing or on discussion of political aims, I will describe in detail one practical and one general workshop.

On Saturday morning I went to a practical workshop on menstrual extraction, where there was a demonstration and discussion.

We were shown the simplicity of 'his experience'. the techniques and equipment: it seemed to be painless.

advantages of a sisterly group, It is politics of menstrual extraction and likely to be much safer than in a started a discussion. hospital because the woman is conscious and can guide the cannula in herself and tell you what she feels.

A menstrual extraction is performed with a simple device invented by a woman called a delum picture.

slowly into the uterus of the woman through her cervical canal and then connected to tubing.

The cannula is inserted gently and

A gentle vacuum is then created interesting, both for newcomers to and the womb will slowly be scraped and emptied of blood and lining.

Menstrual extraction can be used

- endometrial biopsy: scrape lining of womb to test for infertility or cancer;
- to get periods over quickly if you suffer from heavy painful clots;
- to learn about periods and uterus, amount of blood and tissue;
- early abortion.

If this is done in a group comprised of women, it can break down taboos about the body: in particular it can demystify the workings of the uterus. it to?

It breaks down the doctor/patient power relationship and demystifies

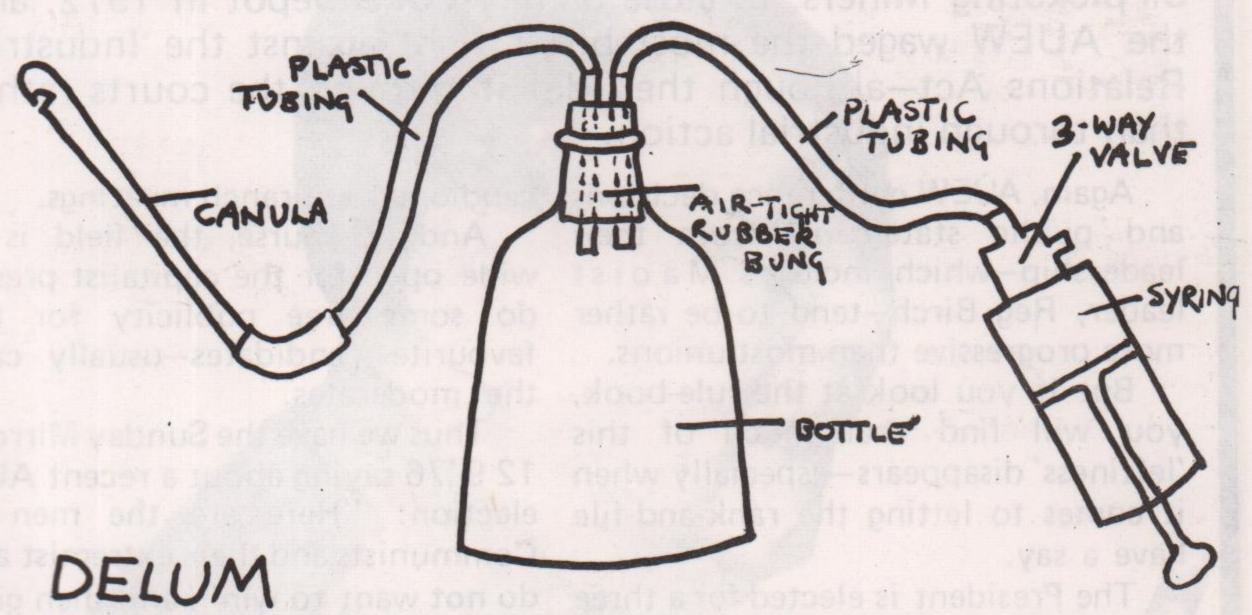
seen the When we had demonstration, one of the groups There was a lot of emphasis on the passed round a paper called the

easily acquired but does involve

skills of small groups meaningful to more women and avoid self-perpetuating elites.

It was felt that three options were open to us:

recognise that we are a tiny elite and stay so until things change;



They felt that there was a lot of confusion about why it was politically sound to do M.E. and how it should be done.

Is it enough for us to be taking this kind of control over our bodies when by its nature only very few of us can do it with very few women?

It is illegal under the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act. If groups learn to do it, who can they safely do

It also requires a certain amount of skill and confidence, which can be 2 press for changes in the law, declare ourselves openly, fight charges and take part in improving patient/women control in the NHS (NHS funded women-controlled clinics);

3 try to proliferate as a mass rather than a specialised movement,

sharing skills, and not as a service. It was generally felt that M.E. is in its infancy and many more people must learn to do it and acquire greater experience before any course of action is valid.

The Lucas demands are revolutionary

So when Lucas stewards put forward

since they encroach directly on financial,

military and commercial vested interests

and at the same time seriously challenge

their demands it is not surprising that

Group Personnel Director Whitney replied:

"We will not go into any negotiations with

the combine committee as we have already

established contact with the trade unions

the fence the trade union bureaucrats lie.

continued to press their demands and their

campaign has gained more and more

support, particularly after a huge Burnley

Aerospace will be both unwilling and

unable to avoid redundancies in the long

term and so see their demands as a basis

for further and perhaps mpre militant

The struggle is now spreading to other

industries where threats of redundancies

have led workers to make similar demands,

like Earnest Scragg in Lancashire and

Cheshire, which has recently been taken

in four plants and manufactures textile

processing machinery for continuous

close down the Scragg Altrinton plant and

has given the Oldham plant a two year

Earnest Scragg employs 1 500 workers

Platt have declared their intention to

The Earnest Scraggs shop stewards are

They have recently met the Lucas shop

Amongst these are more advanced

Similarly, workers at C&A Pearsons in

convinced that all four plants will now be

closed down and have organised a combine

stewards in London to discuss tactics and

have prepared a list of possible alternative

textile equipment, equipment to improve

health and safety in the textile industry

and desalination plants using solar energy.

northeast England who manufacture

turbines and generating equipment are

arranging a meeting with the Lucas shop

stewards in November via the local Tyne

rejection of traditional trade union

These represent a real and significant

and Wear shop stewards committee.

committee to prepare for action.

Spreading

over by Stone Platt Industries Ltd.

Of course, we all know which side of

Since then the Lucas workers have

The Lucas workers are aware that Lucas

the authority or management.

In the afternoon I attended a workshop on women workers in the

A discussion was led by an ancillary worker and a student nurse about women's positions as workers/consumers in the NHS.

We discussed problems of division and hierarchy, including: the lack of unionisation amongst nurses; the lack of communication between the unions; male-dominated union leadership - despite the fact that the majority of membership of the health service unions is female; and the way nurses and ancillary workers are played off against each other by management.

The health service is run to be efficient and economically viable, not to give satisfaction to the patient: induction of births in hospital is not to make births easier, but so that a timetable can be adhered to.

It was felt that possible areas of action for the self-help movement should be to help and support hospital workers by pressurising Community Health Councils, or getting places on them.

### Shoddy

Also discussed was working on cuts committees, forcing them to consider quality of service as well as the cuts themselves.

After all, what is the point of preserving a health service that is not only unpleasant to go through but dangerous as well.

We want to fight for a health service that we could have some say in what happens to us, not just to safeguard the shoddy and worsening service we already have.

We should be able to put forward new ideas for the organisation of various clinics.

For instance, since VD clinics have all the facilities for any investigation below the belt, they could be turned into general genito-urinary clinics.

The stigma of VD clinics would removed, requiring no extra expense.

It would be possible to run them as far more sympathetic, pleasant places for women to go with all the varieties of cystitis and other misery causing minor ailments.

In Westminster there is already a very successful 'housewives clinic' along these lines.

FPA clinics and antenatal clinics could well stand some reorganisation towards the needs of the patients.

This discussion was carried on in a general session on Sunday morning to decide on directions for the self-help movement as a whole.

It was decided that we should compile information about GPs, hospitals, consultants, clinics and so on, circulate blacklists and support reasonable clinics and doctors.

We would keep in contact through the health pages of Wires (womens movement info bulletin) and support campaigns against the cuts and for medical accountability.

We would try to go to medical conferences and make ourselves

heard. We would continue to go to doctors together.

Generally, the conference was productive - we all have more experience than at the last one.

We are now able to discuss the uses of this experience, rather than just struggling to obtain it.

We can continue to learn with and to teach as many women as possible our skills.

Hopefully, we are ready to come out of a purely 'alternative' phase and fight as health workers and health patients as well as carrying on inventing our own methods.

It has always been an integral part of the health movement to question and pressurise the NHS.

Now we know more, we can integrate practical skills with theoretical discussion and political activity to some effect, I hope.

Lucas and Chrysler workers demand problems.

involved".

public meeting in July.

action in the future.

synthetic yarns.

lease of life.

projects.

THE DEMAND for the right to work expressed by steward Mike Cooley: on socially useful projects initiated by the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee has developed into a real and challenging alternative to the right to work demand.

It provides a good example of how workers can organise themselves when threatened with redundancies.

Lucas Industries is an international organisation employing 80 000 workers with an annual turnover of £300 million.

Its aircraft equipment sections are known as Lucas Aerospace and have 13 000

'In the Willesden plant where I work, our shop stewards committee fought for three years to preserve the plant. It was a vicious and bitter battle. But we found ourselves demanding that there would be more Harrier aircraft, and that Concorde would continue."

So in the last year, with the threat of redundancies increasing, the Committee has gone on the attack.

In October 1975 they asserted:

"We have over the past two years been engaged in a number of bitter disputes to assert the right to work.



Lucas Aerospace Combine Committee press conference. Photo John Sturrock (Report)

workers on the books, making it Europe's largest manufacturer of aircraft systems and equipment.

In the last seven years the workforce at Lucas Aerospace has been reduced from 18 500 to 13 000 as a result of a rationalisation plan.

On the last occasion, in January 1974, the company attempted to sack a further 800 workers.

The Lucas workers were able to resist. that did mor succeed in preventing the company ultimately cetting its own wey through not replacing workers who retired ar left far after jabs.

The Combine Shoo Stewards Committee was set up about two years and in resource to the retionalisation been taken up in several other industries, Distance.

dealt with matters relating to the and environmental scale of the productive introduction of new production forces developed within the capitalist which could solve their problems. techniques, work hazards, work methods social and economic system. and also detended the right to work.

It is our intention to do so in the future. However, instead of campaigning for the continuation of socially undesirable product ranges we will campaign for the right to work on socially useful products.

Im addition . . . we also want to emsure that the work is carried out im a fashiom that the full skill and ability of our members is utilised amd that we depart from the fragmented forms of work which are now becoming common place even in a highly skilled industry such as aerospace."

Duarther with an increasing awareness of At first it was essentially determine in the Camazing consequences on a human

The Chrysler Joint Delegation of self-management, however, a totally Hipmener, for many the demand for the Shemands and Staff Representatives different type of technology could be might to work creates a dillemma, as recently issued a policy statement in developed and applied to solve real human

which they said:

"...the widespread ecological and environmental criticism of the private petrol car as a socially irresponsible form of transport suggests to us that we must explore the feasibility of new kinds of products of a socially useful kind to harmonise the skills of the existing plant and machinery and direct it away from a commodity whose profitability (sic) and usefulness is rapidly declining."

Perhaps the most important aspect of these developments is that through their own action workers have become equipped with an awareness of the insidious nature of modern industrial capitalism, at the same time developing a conception of a real alternative.

The workers at Lucas have become aware of real community needs and on the basis of their own skills and knowledge have prepared proposals for about 150 alternative products.

Examples are medical aids like haemodialysis units, artificial limbs and other aids for the disabled, solar collectors, heat pumps, fuel cells, electric vehicles, cheap small scale power units for third world farmers, marine agriculture and undersea farming equipment.

They are also pressing for radical changes in the nature of production technology itself, the organisation and control or work.

It might be argued that a company like Lucas could develop socially useful products under the influence of the market forces in a capitalist economy.

Such a view, however, ignores the fact that we are living in a class based society and that the technology developed by such a society plays a political role - a role intimately related to the distribution of power and exercise of social control.

The technology developed in capitalist society sustains and promotes the interests of the ruling classes and at the same time supports and propagates their legitimizing ideology.

In the late 1960s, for example, the US aerospace industry was hit by a 50% cutback in NASA projects.

The companies were forced to diversify into the commercial market and began to develop what they considered to be socially useful products.

In fact, they went in for computer data files and analysis techniques for criminal records and crime pattern analysis, rapid transit systems, electronic surveillance Im the last wear the Lucas imitiative has equipment to combat crime, and so on.

It should be clear that in this case the ruling classes had identified and isolated their 'social problem' and proceeded to support the development of a technology

In a society under workers

reformism and are symptomatic of the rise of rank and file militancy. The demand for the right to work on socially useful projects using non-polluting and work-enhancing production techniques is a revolutionary demand.

We urge workers in all industries to organise similar committees and to develop a line of attack which could lead to real alternatives to the dole queue or the alienating labour we are forced to perform today.

A.S.

P.W.

# NAC DAY SCHOOL

I ATTENDED the National Abortion Campaign day school in London on October 9.

It was not as well attended as had been expected, although the hall was full, and it was gratifying to find quite a few people present from outside London.

The main discussion of the day was devoted to the Abortion Law Reform Association's proposed new bill and the question of viability.

The foetus is considered to be viable when it can live independently of its mother.

ALRA is proposing to introduce the

bill into parliament sometime in 1977. The bill to be presented has not yet

been finalised and ALRA are still open to suggestions for changes.

Some NAC members feel that the proposed bill doesn't support the principle of 'Abortion - a woman's right to choose'.

The bill only asks for the women to have complete control of her abortion up to the 24th week, thus introducing the question of viability.

NAC has not yet decided what its attitude to the bill will be.

Within the framework of British law it is impossible to legislate for 'rights', and therefore a bill to legislate a woman's

### the early stages. Experiences

right to abortion on demand is impossible.

arise because some women will find

themselves seeking a late abortion.

come here, but not soon enough.

A viability question over the bill will

For example, the young girl who is

pregnant and to scared to tell anybody

way of getting an abortion has been to

until late, the foreign woman whose only

all women could have an abortion during

If less difficulties were put in our way

It was interesting to find women who had abortions and who were willing to share their experience.

Despite the '67 Act, women still do not find it particularly easy to obtain an abortion.

Contraception methods fail, some men and women are ill-informed about contraception methods, others simply cannot afford to have another child.

### State

NAC should be supported in the short term: the state cannot be allowed to restrict the availability of abortions, or ban abortions if it found it convenient.

Among all the legal, moral and semantic arguments which entangle the issue one thing is clear - law or no law, women will continue to have abortions.

We must refuse to accept any situation which forces women to have unsafe backstreet abortions, some of which may prove fatal.

There must be no return to the gin and knitting needle. Anne Reynolds

> ABORTION-WHERE WE STAND a pamphlet from NAC, 30 Camden Rd, NW1

Radical Statistics group. Radical Statistics is made up of

and misuse of their work. The booklet was brought out in document\* outlining its policies up to

the year 1980. of the information needed to assess the document is omitted by the DHSS; the

graphs. Though the authors sympathise with some of the areas of priority singled out in the document, they question the

In practice, the strategy will mean cuts in those areas. For example, the Health Centre building programme will be cut from £23m in 1975/6 to £17m in

The services which the document pays

reduced now as part of the cuts in local

Whose Priorities? draws on a wide range of data to question the assumptions

treatment is used to challenge the superiority of the medical profession. Indeed, this superiority has greatly

The booklet concludes that the

Not surprisingly, the booklet is very well researched and well written: there are enough figures and tables to back up the points but not too many to frighten the likes of me, and there are refreshing

Whose Priorities? is available from: c/o BSSRS

9 Poland Street, London W1 for 45p + 15p postage.

\*DHSS (1976) Priorities for Health and Personal Social Services in England

# SOCIALIST TEACHERS MOVE TOWARDS UNITED FRONT

IN THE last few months, the Rank & File group in the NUT has seen the last few groups who wholeheartedly supported it come over to the idea of an Open Conference and open organisation of the left in the NUT.

Many people who have been NUT. following the fortunes of Rank and File and the history of the left in the NUT over the past few years will have noticed that R&F has increasingly become bureaucratised and centralised.

Now it is viewed by its International Socialist mentors as interlinked with their Right to Work Campaign.

An equally strong tendency has grown over the last two years to build a genuine focus and forum for left and progressive teachers in the NUT.

The first initiative came from the teachers who formed themselves into the Socialist Teachers Group 11/2 years ago.

### Stimulus

Although the IMG gave the group its backing and played a large role in its formation, other ex-Rank & Filers including those from the Anarchist Workers Association also gave the Socialist Teachers Conference (STC) political stimulus and impetus.

During those 1½ years, I believe that the greatest achievement of the STC was to thrash out the concept of how an united front in the NUT

should operate.

The STC had a very strong political influence in certain areas of the NUT and its success probably peaked at the NUT conferences when R&F was in political tatters after internal differences

The STC strongly supported the Working Women's Charter and many of its political demands like the sliding scale have become common currency.

The AWA participated in the STC -at first with reservation- and remained critical of the IMG's positions on orientation to the Labour Party.

However the STC remained the only open forum for the left in the

### Alliance

The International Communist League, the Workers League and the Workers Power group among others are now sponsors of an Open Conference.

Comrades in the STC support the Open Conference and have played an active role in building for it.

The fact that the IMG played such a big role in the STC has prevented the other political groups and non-aligned teachers who have just left Rank & File from joining it.

Some in the STC have recognised that a new organisation had to be built to incorporate these forces.

The prospects for a new organisation on the left of the NUT look good.

All those participating realise the mistakes that Rank & File have made and the debate about how to structure the new organisation is lively and fraternal.

Many ex-Rank & File members apart from the political groups are supporting the conference and new local groups are already being formed to provide the basis for a new organisation.

Teachers in the AWA have obviously played a big role in these developments.

We hope that all comrades who are now participating in the new Open Conference have learned the lesson about the necessity for a democratically structured united front, which will incorporate and balance the political groups.

In fact that is our main concern. For if we cannot, at last, get open and democratic left co-ordination off the ground, with the Government and the Tory offensive so strong now the left will be disabled in the NUT for a long time to come.

JB (East London Teachers Association)

## WHOSE PRIORITIES IN HEALTH?

THIS booklet is the collective effort of the Health sub-group of the

statisticians and research workers concerned about the political implications

response to a DHSS consultative (!)

Whose Priorities? points out that much department even resorts to misusing

strategy proposed by the DHSS.

1979/80.

most lip service to are the ones whose targets cannot be achieved given the DHSS's policies.

Furthermore, some of them are being authority spending.

made about the Health Service.

The effectiveness of many forms of

determined the structure of the NHS and will be an obstacle to even the changes suggested by the document.

consultative document is no more than a smokescreen for more cuts.

cartoons throughout.

Radical Statistics Health Group

K.H.

### ABSTENTIONIST MAJORITY IN U.S. POLL faster rate than ever before recorded.

US Bureau of Census statistics released recently made clear a number of facts about life and understanding in the

world's richest country Firstly, they show 26 million people (one eighth of the population) were below the official poverty line - 11% more than last year - and this number was growing at a

Secondly, they show that a definite relation exists between income and the belief in the fraud of 'democracy', a higher percentage of people voting in the higher income groups.

1974 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS		
Income Group	Number voting (million)	Percentage of income group voting
Under \$5,000 \$5-10,000 \$10-15,000 \$15-20,000 \$20-25,000 \$25,000 and over	5 11.7 15.8 8.8 5.3 5.5	32.3 39.3 46.9 55.4 58.2 61.4

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 bourgesie, 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 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 committees, factory steward 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 joint action tenant-worker 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.

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

10 From our analysis we reach the

dispossessed ruling class.

### The role of the AWA

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 communist ideas. libertarian 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 working class the within example and movement by 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 between the contradiction 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 libertarianism organised decrease.

3 The AWA seeks to develop and working class support 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 decision 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.

### APPEAL FUND

ONCE AGAIN we'd like to thank those readers of ANARCHIST WORKER who have given generously to the Press Appeal Fund.

So far we have raised £148.37 as regular readers will remember the Headliner, for which we launched the Appeal, cost less than expected -£160.

However, we have had to spend £40 on chemicals and founts to make the Headliner fully operational so it is vital we reach the target of £200.

This month we have also spent a large amount of money on the supplement on the Hungarian workers' revolution, which has been designed so that it can be sold separately over a period of time.

ANARCHIST WORKER is improving in both content and presentation and gradually increasing the coverage of events,

We also ask readers to take bundles of papers to sell to friends, neighbours and workmates. It is vital that a libertarian communist newspaper continues to appear, increases its influence and circulation as the Labour Party and trade union leaders are showing so graphically whose side they're on.

Big battles are ahead as the working class, bit by bit, fights to protect its living standards. A regular — good — newspaper will be a vital tool in the building of libertarian communist consciousness.

Please send all donations etc., cheques payable to AWA General Fund, to: AWA, 13 Coltman Street, HULL.

ANARCHS No ember 1976

Building Societies or

THE LEFT—and anarchists are no better in this respect than the Trotskyists-always makes great play about rising rents, and rightly so. It's also very important for revolutionaries, however, to be abreast of social reality and of socio-economic change, in order that our propaganda and our activities are both realistic and found to be relevant by the majority of people in this country.

Therefore l consider it important to point out that a majority of the people of this country already own, rather than rent, their own homes.

Correction, they are, the most of them, buying their own homes.

Almost all of them will be doing so via building societies. Believe me, if revolutionaries fail to take account of this group in society, then the right certainly does regard them as important.

When attacking minorities, the right places great emphasis on the question of 'property values' and thus do the Thatcher Gang realise the political potency of aid for house purchase and the political appeal of promises to sell council houses.

### Propaganda

The Establishment are well aware of the division among workers that can be created by use of propaganda about housing.

The capitalist press typically set private owner against council tenant by claiming that the council tenant is subsidised by the owner-occupier.

Although this is completely untrue it's a very potent reason why areas of high owner-occupation are generally

political attitudes."

For the left, home ownership has traditionally been regarded as something applicable only to the rich In fact, it's a growing trend, and

likely to continue. The reasons for this are complex, but essentially it's one more proof of the fact that where public solutions are lousy, private solutions will be found.

Council housing is badly designed -after all, its designers rarely live in it—and restrictive.

There is the faint beginning of a resistance by council tenants to the more absurd examples of restrictive bureaucratic rules, but essentially it's a system which both injures dignity and, nationally, totally inhibits social and economic mobility.

Private housing is equally damnable in that it is socially divisive, capable of being massively exploited by economic parasites and conducive to reactionary political attitudes.

The implication is, of course, that revolutionaries will have to give greater prominence to housing in theory and practice.

What simply will not do, what

"THE POINT WHERE MANY MORE THAN HALF THE HOUSES IN THE COUNTRY HAVE BECOME OWNER-OCCUPIED IS A SIGNIFICANT MILESTONE, BECAUSE EVEN A SMALL STAKE IN THE COUNTRY DOES AFFECT POLITICAL ATTITUDES."

The Building Societies Association

Tory in local government elections. If the revolutionary left generally

ignores these realities, the right exploits them.

The Building Societies Association has stated, "The point where more than half the houses in the country have become owner-occupied is a significant milestone, because even a small stake in the country does affect

will simply play into the hands of the right-who regard the owneroccupier as 'theirs'-is either a dated analysis (that is, total emphasis on directing radical propaganda at tenants) or pseudo-radicalism (like the recent Labour Party Conference decision to include in their next manifesto a pledge to remove tax relief on mortgages).

# DUIDSCIIDE

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- If there is a tick in this box, your subscription runs out with this issue

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PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITALS

Please make all cheques/POs payable to 'AWA General Fund' (abroad IMOs only) and send them to AWA, 13, Coltman Street, Hull Humberside.

To remove this relief would merely penalise huge sections of the working

The neglected question of the owner-occupier-which is in fact only a part of the wider question of 'Socialism and the middle class'-is one area where by use of intelligence and that 'Objectivity' which the left (especially the Marxists) claims, we can ditch the right in society and bring nearer social change.

Consider the following figures:

- (a) 13.1% by value of all individuals' building society deposits are held by those whose total wealth is over £50 000.
- (b) 57.1% are held by those worth £10 000-£50 000.
- (c) 16.1% are held by those worth £5 000-£10 000.
- (d) 13.7% only are held by those worth less than £5 000 - the 'small savers'.

Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth, 1975.

What the above really means is that it's not the poor buggers paying

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

off their mortgages at 11% or 12%

investor is one of the creatures who

momentarily emerged from the

shadows during the revelations around

the Slater-Walker affair - the holders

No-one really knows how much

Biulding societies are a bit like the

They are no longer organs of a

June/July 1976 issue of

"In 1973, the societies began to

suffer from a drastic outflow of funds,

mortgage famine. This brought their

financial stability into serious doubt

Today, they are again enjoying a

This is partly to stop another house

boom in deposits, but they cautiously

price boom being caused by the release

But the main reason is to guard against

the effects of another sudden spate of

Why these wild fluctuations in

proportion of building society funds

are coming from large investors, lured

away from the capital market by the

tax advantages that the societies can

effectively a Government subsidy to

wealthy investors (at the expense of

the small savers who cannot reclaim

This money is invested either

£10 000 maximum, spread over a

through individual holdings up to the

offer, made possible by what is

tax paid on their interest).

Because a substantial and increasing

of vast amounts of mortgage money.

maintain their liquidity at over 20%

(the legal minimum is 121/2%).

and the government had to step in

leading in 1974 to the disastrous

money has gone missing from British

companies to buy mansions for the

executives - and no-one is going to

Co-op - they're Victorian working

kind of non-militant mutual aid, but

toys of the financial speculator. As

Community Action put it:

with an enormous loan.

withdrawals.

recent years?

class self help gone 'orribly wrong.

find out.

of cheap rate company mortgages.

More likely, the average big

who invest in the building societies.

number of societies, indirectly via insurance companies - in which case they can invest as much as they like.

It is known as 'hot money' because it gets shifted around at short notice, always seeking the most attractive

In 1973/4 it went into the banks because their interest rates were higher; more recently the societies have been favoured with hot money.'

These 'hot money' speculators are also the same people who gamble on local authority loans.

Thus council tenants with their ever increasing rents and owner occupiers (more accurately, surely, the 'buyer occupiers') with their rising mortgage payments - and both of them with increasing rates - are being exploited by the same gang.

### Peril

This is a potential political weapon the left will ignore at its peril.

It is, however, precisely the sort of situation open to 'populist' fascist or semi-fascist groups, such as the National Party.

This winter, the buyer-occupiers will possibly take the brunt of any increase in international interest rates designed to attract foreign investors back to speculating in Britain (investing = Healey doublespeak for speculation).

The enemies of social solidarity will try to exploit the anger that the

home buyer will feel - to further

split them from the council tenant

and, indirectly, to fuel the irrational

pressures for public service cuts and

intensify the pressure among these

deluded elements for a return of

The impact of a maddened,

It should be pointed out that

frightened, and suddenly militant

middle class has been seen before in

much of the information in this

article comes from the magazine

Community Action (£1.20 for six

issues from PO Box 665, London

This magazine manages to keep up

a revolutionary approach - very

much on the self help basis while

steering clear of the various left

churches: all such publications should

opening of a debate that hasn't seen

the light of day since the 1940's -

the question of socialism and the

have been moves since 1945 which

might be held to be of benefit to the

left - the growth of white collar

trade unions, or the tendency of

students to rebel against capitalist

by the right could destroy these

- and too rightly - accused by the

attitude on the housing question,

Leninist left of having no theory.

we'll confound that one at least.

Smart and unscrupulous operating

Anarchist militants are too often

If we can maintain a sensible

lan S. Sutherland

Among the middle class, there

Hopefully, this article can be the

be heartily supported.

'middle class'.

orthodoxy.

gains.

recent times. Ask Allende.

Thatcher at the next

WEST LONDON ACTION GROUP public meeting

> THE MURRAYS AND THE SITUATION IN EIRE - speaker from the Murray Defence Committee.

Wednesday November 10 8pm at THE POINT 92 Tavistock Road, W11

### LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST DISCUSSION MEETINGS - HULL

Wednesday November 10 7.45pm NON-VIOLENCE & REVOLUTION Diana Shelley

Wednesday November 17 7.45pm THE STATE AND WORKERS POWER Keith Nathan

Wednesday November 24 7,45pm BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN JAPAN John Carlton

All meetings are held at Socialist Books 238 Spring Bank, Hull (opp Polar Bear)

### LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST DISCUSSION MEETING - EAST LONDON

Thursday November 11 7.30pm THE WOMENS MOVEMENT AND SEXUAL POLITICS

at the Gay Centre, 19 Redmans Rd, E1.

### CAMPAIGN AGAINST A CRIMINAL TRESPASS LAW

conference on: DIRECT ACTION & CRIMINAL TRESPASS

to be held at Reading University on Saturday 27 and Sunday 28 November. See inside for more details.

### LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK CONFERENCE

November 12-14

**Bradford University** 

For more information and a copy of the pre-conference bulletin write to Neil Carmichael, c/o Science and Society, University of Bradford, W. Yorkshire.

### LIBERTARIAN CONFERENCE ON FASCISM, RACISM AND NATIONALISM

has been postponed till early Spring. More info from I. Gallagher, 38 Hurst Street, Oxford.

### 'INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL REVOLUTION'

available soon!

including sections on Workers Councils, Socialism, Sex Roles, Education, Trades Unions and more. 10p+post from:

Social Revolution, Box 217, 142 Drummond Street, London NW1

### ABORTION AND TRADES UNIONS

a one-day conference

for trade union delegates, at the City University, St John Street, London EC1. November 20.

For details and delegates credentials contact A Woman's Right To Choose Campaign, 88a Islington High Street, N1.

### SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION CONFERENCE

November 12-13, Glasgow

including public sessions on 'Fight to Live' and 'Sexual Politics' (speaker: Maurics Brinton, author of The Irrational in Politics)

For further details phone (041) 336 7895

### **DEMONSTRATE AGAINST** RACISM

November 21 10am

assemble at Speakers Corner

### CAMDEN TENANT BENEFIT ROCK 'N' ROLL DISCO BOP

Thursday November 18 8pm £1 Bar - Raffle - Food

IRISH CENTRE, Murray St, NW1 EAST LONDON CONFERENCE

### AGAINST RACISM Saturday November 20 9.45-5.30

GREAT HALL, QUEEN MARY COLLEGE, Mile End Road, E1

further details and credentials from: RT Adam & D Stratton, c/o QMC Students Union, Mile End Rd, E1.

### PALESTINE WEEK

November 22-26

Watch Time Out and college notice boards for times and places or phone MERAG on 278 9308 for details.

### OPEN CONFERENCE OF LEFT TEACHERS

Saturday November 20 11am-6pm Further information from Dave Picton, 221 Westcombe Hill, London SE3.

Printed by Blackrose Press (TU), 136 Burley Road, Leeds 4 tel. (0532) 446093

The demolition of Leicester to make way for enormous office/shopping complex.

Snatcher

SW1 8DZ).

election.