

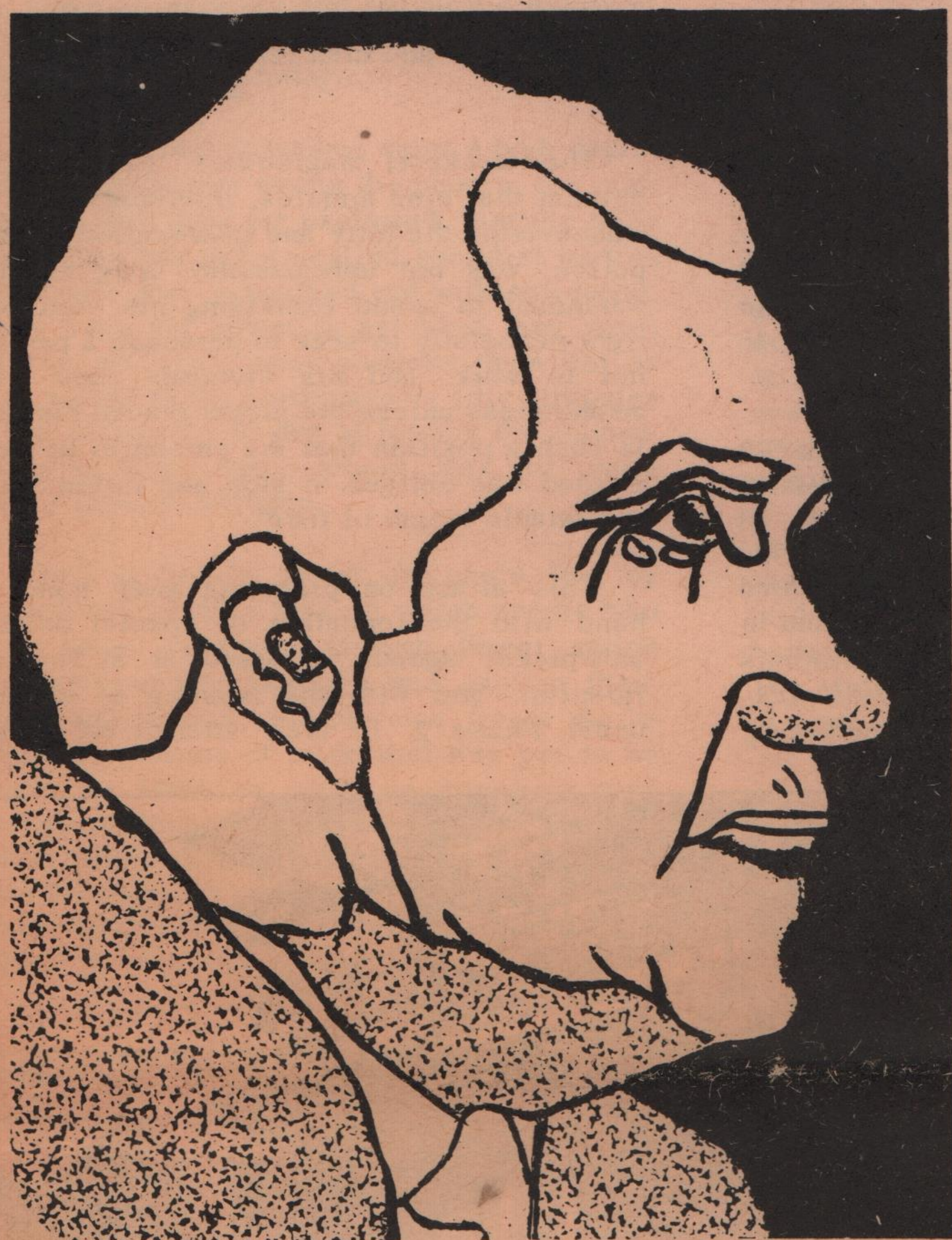
libertarian struggle



No.5

JUNE 1973

5p



- OIL-RUSH
- PICKETS
- MACKENZIES
- INDOCHINA

SEX EDUCATION • NOTTM STRIKE •
ATLANTIC CHARTER • FASCIST
MANOEUVRES • LETTERS



paper of the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists

UP AGAINST THE LAW :-

1. MACKENZIES

On January 20th nine people were arrested on an anti-fascist demonstration in Blackburn. Eight of these people fought their cases through the courts defending themselves using the tactics of the joint trial and the McKenzie assistants. Some success was achieved in the face of a judicial offensive which wished to clamp down on 'political hooliganism'.

Earlier in 1972, another anti-fascist demonstration had broken up a National Front march in Blackburn (a town where a chief constable and a local magistrate walked with right wing clergy, at the forefront of Festival of Light demonstrations). The preparations for the anti-fascist demonstrations in January was greeted by a loud campaign in the local press who did not want a repetition of the 1972 march. Phrases and headlines, such as 'Incidents of this nature must not be repeated in our city' and 'political hooliganism would not be tolerated', were part of a campaign to protect an NF march. The Front were given an insurance in the shape of 800 police who would make an example of anti-fascist groups attempting disruption.

As soon as the anti-fascist demonstration approached the NF demo it was dispersed by the police and was trapped in a side street between two cordons of police. Police were seen pointing to one group and shouting 'we'll have those'. The demonstration was broken up and isolated into sections. The

ABOUT 'LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE'

This paper is written and produced by people all over the country, who are active in their trade unions, tenants' associations, claimants' unions, women's liberation groups, schools and universities.

We are united by our membership of the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists - a democratically organised group which believes in a socialist revolution, but a revolution brought about, and firmly controlled, by the majority of the working people. We work to encourage contacts and understanding between the different aspects of working class struggle.

We oppose all groups and parties who take the initiative and control of their struggle from ordinary people. We think that the way forward to a better society is not through any kind of 'new' leadership, but through working people discovering their own history, their own ability to organise themselves, their confidence in themselves and their mates.

As part of our attempt to put this kind of politics into practice, we have rotating editorship of each issue.

We are producing this paper (none of us are professional journalists) to provide one means of spreading some hidden facts, of publicising what workers are thinking and doing, to workers in other industries and other parts of the country, to talk about what claimants, women, immigrants, pensioners and schoolkids are doing, and how these battles can't be separated.

We won't give you the familiar crap of 'this is your paper', 'without this paper the working class is leaderless' etc. What we do say is that if you want to USE this paper - to pass on things you've learnt, to ask for help from other people, or just to make contact with others in a similar situation, then please do so. We know that lots of people have no practice at writing articles - but who needs literary genius? We promise to improve its appearance as we get more practised. The contents are up to you so please write to us, whether its an article or a letter.

'fingered' grouping consisted of anarchists from Bradford and some IS members. They were rushed by police and eight people were arrested in violent scuffles during which they were kicked and beaten. All of those arrested were photographed on arrival at the police station.

One more militant was arrested. He was charged with obstruction when he arrived at the station to bail out those already nicked.

The nine were charged with a variety of offences, consisting of combinations of obstruction, threatening behaviour and abusive language. Eight of the defendants chose to defend themselves when their case came up for trial on February 14th. They chose to apply for a joint trial on this date and the case was adjourned to March 12th when their application was granted.

On March 12th, with all eight defendants in the dock together, they applied for the use of the McKenzie precedent. A much surprised magistrate was presented with the demand that each defendant be allowed an advisor in the dock. The defendants quoted the 1970 case of Mr and Mrs McKenzie in the Divorce courts on which the Appeal Court ruled that 'every party has the right to have present in court a friend beside him or her, to assist by prompting, taking notes or quietly giving advice'. These advising friends became in the trials of the Mangrove Nine and the Stoke Newington Eight as the 'McKenzies'. With these precedents, the magistrate was forced to accept the application and there were now sixteen people in the dock - eight defendants and eight McKenzies.

This tactic had given the defence a solid group which prevented isolation of individuals by the court and gave the defence the power to break the bias of the court. Each time a prosecution witness (a policeman) was called, the defence would cross-examine him eight times. Under this multiple cross examination the police evidence became confused and contradictory. Each policeman in the box suffered this interrogation as against only a few questions from the prosecution.

On March 26th, the defence put its case and again repeated the benefit of its tactics. Each defence witness would be questioned eight times by the defence team and only once by the prosecution, leaving a heavy bias in favour of the defence.

On April 4th, the defence and prosecution summed up and the magistrate came to a decision. Five of the defendants were found guilty of obstruction, and one of abusive language. Two were acquitted. The six who were found guilty were fined £15 and ordered to pay £10 costs each.

The defence had lost to the tune of £150 in spite of its well organized fight. But it had defeated the desire of the judiciary to achieve its automatic response to "political hooliganism" in making an example of those who demonstrated. The charges that faced the defendants were not of the degree where a case could be brought in front of a jury. The case in law only warranted a magistrate's court where the decision of conviction rested in the power of the defence to convince a local judge. If a jury had been present, the tactic of "joint trial and McKenzie" would have reaped full benefit. A 16 strong defence team could break informal control by the judge and control, to a large extent, by multiple cross examination and defence, a favourable bias of information.

The use of McKenzie gives any individual the power to defend himself much more effectively. It should be employed wherever possible, for it places the control of the defence firmly in the hands of the defendant and not in the hands of prevaricating experts such as barristers and solicitors.

All donations to assist in paying the fines please send to:

Garry MacLoughlin,
St Monica's,
Bellview,
Bradford 8.

2. PICKETING

Not content with the present spate of repressive legislation, the ruling class has introduced a new interpretation of the law on picketing. The High Court recently handed down a judgement that meant that the only picketing allowed would be limited to oral or visual methods of saying that a dispute was in progress.

The Court ruled that Stockport magistrates were wrong to dismiss charges of obstructing the highway brought against a trade union official, John Broome. He was arrested while picketing a building site in Stockport during the building workers strike last September. "Holding a placard, he stood in front of a lorry that was on its way to the site while he tried to persuade the driver not to deliver his load."

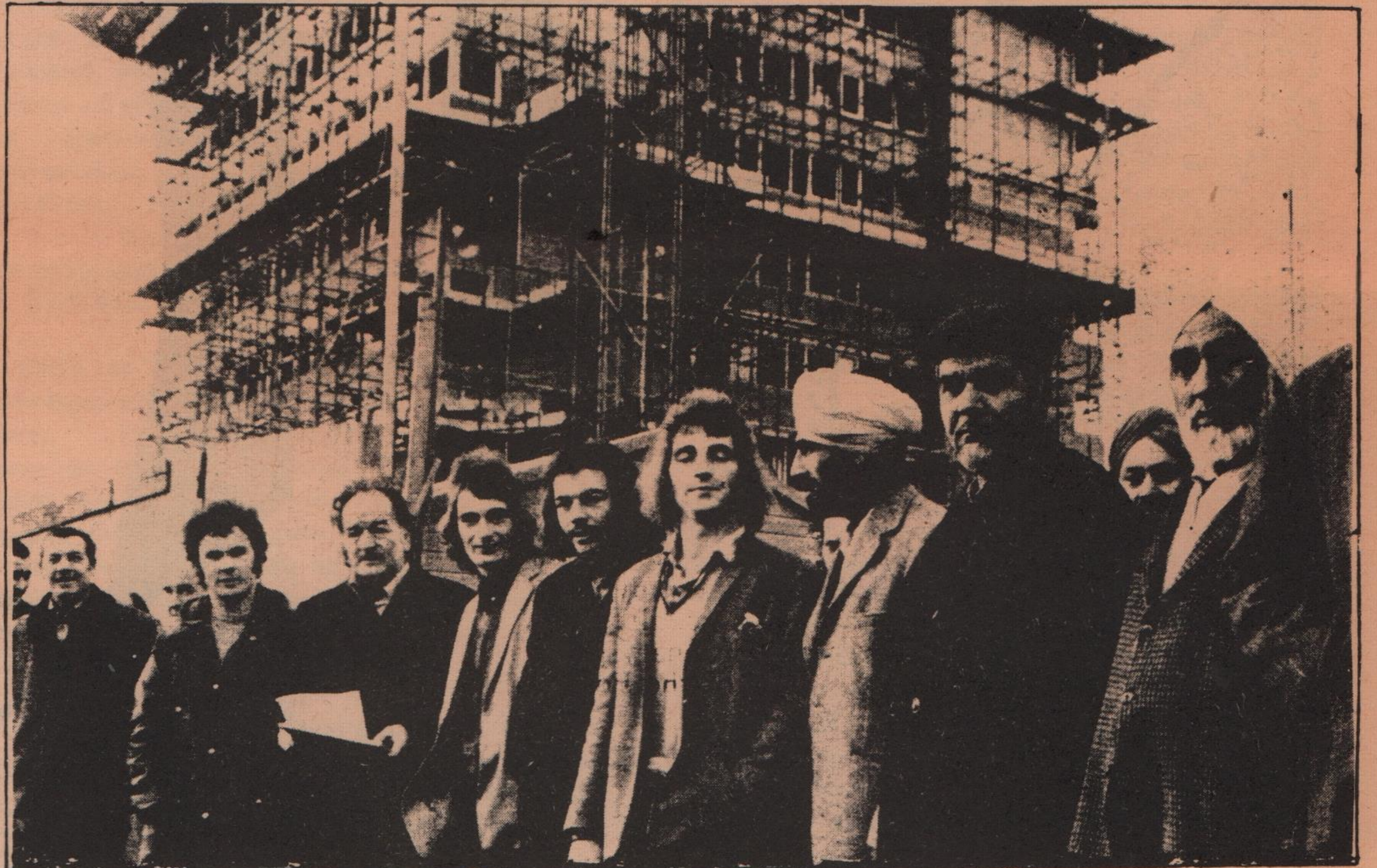
The law under which he was charged was Section 121 of the Highways Act, which in fact does not always make obstruction an offence. A previous case held that obstruction was only an offence when it was caused "without lawful authority or excuse". And in fact in the Tories own Industrial Relations Act, Section 134, the supposed law on picketing is laid down. This states that picketing

"In thus limiting the permissible operation of picketing to oral statements and placard waving, the court in effect put the clock back sixty years. For Section 2 of the Trade Disputes Act 1906 extended the definition of legal picketing to 'peacefully persuading' others not to work. How pickets can persuade lorry drivers if they are not allowed to stop vehicles briefly is a mystery the Divisional Court created and then left unsolved".

SUNDAY TIMES

The Stockport magistrates 'were of the opinion that nine minutes, interspersed with maneuvering the lorry and intervention by the police, was not unreasonably long for the defendant to spend exercising his statutory right peacefully to seek to persuade a person not to work, and his statutory right was meaningless unless the picket placed himself in such a position that the person to be persuaded was obliged to stop and listen for a reasonable length of time'.

This attack on picketing goes hand in hand with the formation of special police anti-picket squads as used at St. Thomas Hospital, and with the banning of strikes under Phase 2. In their attempt to smash



shall not be unlawful in specified circumstances even if it involves conduct which would otherwise be unlawful. At the time of the Act being passed this was taken to mean that so long as only peaceful persuasion was used, picketing was OK. It seems that this is now not so, despite the assertions of liberals that this was a part of the Act that would be of value to the Trade Union movement. Those who said at the time that the IR Act was a Scabs Charter have been proved entirely correct.

working class militancy the Tories are as always prepared to bend and stretch their own laws. While the Labour Party leaders and the trade union bureaucrats tell us they cannot break the law, the ruling class tightens up the screws. The working class movement achieved its strength not through obeying the bosses laws but through militant action that disregarded them. Unless we continue in this tradition we will be delivered bound hand and foot to the leaders of the new corporate state.

FASCISTS' FOOL

It seems that the fascists are having as much difficulty as the Labour Party in recruiting candidates for local elections. In fact the British Campaign to Stop Immigration has been attempting to recruit Labour Party members to put forward its policies of white elitism and blaming the economic crisis of British capitalism on immigrants.

In a recent case Mrs. Joan Cusack of Bradford was told she was signing nomination papers for a district council candidate for the British Campaign to Stop Immigration. Later Mrs. Cusack was in for a shock. She found out from her local paper that she was the candidate whose papers she had signed.

What's more, Mrs Cusack claims to be a

member of the Labour Party and said that she would continue to support it. She was introduced to the B.C.S.I. by "a friend", but Mrs. Cusack says, "I can't really say that I support their views because I don't know enough about them." So why did she agree to sign nomination papers for a B.C.S.I. candidate? Mrs. Cusack is now appealing to voters not to vote for her because - 'when my husband heard he was livid - he is a shop steward and if I stood as an anti-immigration candidate it would interfere with his union work'.

It will be interesting to see what the Bradford Labour Party does over this somewhat confused racist in its ranks. A party with even the slightest pretence to a socialist outlook cannot tolerate such individuals - even if they are short of active members.

NOTTINGHAM STRIKERS:- OUR DEMANDS

We reprint the leaflet below in solidarity with striking Asian workers at a Nottingham lace factory.

'The present strike at E.Jaffe and Son involving 35 Pakistan and Indian workers is a protest against sweatshop conditions they have to labour under. The Pakistanis work for between 46 - 72 hours a week for very low wages. They are not given any shift or night allowances. They are deprived of simple amenities like toilet and canteen facilities are are subjected to crude racialist abuse.

The Management also refuses to recognise their union which they joined ten months ago and which they see as the real solution to their problems. They also want Mohammed Sarwar, who was unfairly dismissed, reinstated.

The present strike of the Pakistanis follow those of Crepe Sizes, Jones Stroud etc where similar conditions existed.'

We, 35 Pakistani and Indian workers have been on strike now since Friday May 4th. The reason we came out on strike was the dismissal of our colleague, Mr Mohammed Sarwar. Mr Mohammed, the Management says, was dismissed for sleeping on duty. The real reason as far as we are concerned was that he observed the May Day strike. But behind this incident there lay a number of grievances which have rankled with us for many months. These are some of our major grievances.

1. We work anything between 48 and 72 hours a week, and for those hours worked above 40 we do not receive adequate overtime pay. Our rate of pay is low as it is - £17-60-0 for 40 hours - but the fact that we do not receive our due overtime pay means that our take home pay is ridiculously low. We wish now to be contracted for a 40 hour week, and anything worked above this to be considered as overtime. Due rates must also be paid to us for Saturday and Sunday work when we work on these days. This is normal and customary in this country.

2. Mr. Sarwar must be re-instated because he was unfairly dismissed. The question of unfair dismissal involves a very important trade union principle. If nothing is done about Mr. Sarwar's dismissal then this can happen to any one of us tomorrow and we would be helpless before the Management.

3. We want the recognition of our union, the T&G. This is most important for us for without Union strength we have no bargaining power. We have been Union members now for the last 10 months but the Management has consistently refused to recognise our union on the grounds that it is not registered with the Government. This is not true for there is no law which states that Union recognition is based on registration with the Govt. Belonging to a union is a democratic right in this country.

4. Apprentices and trainees should not be contracted well past their training periods. This is a shameful device to get them to do skilled work at apprentices' pay.

5. We want the machines to be stopped during our half hour lunch breaks. The fact that the machines are on whilst we are at work means more work for us, work for which we are not paid. Either the machine must be stopped or we get a full hour lunch break when all the machines are completely stopped

6. We want the number of hours worked and the rates of pay to be shown clearly on our wage slips, for very often we do not know how our wages are made up. At least all of us work a 12 hour day amounting to a work week of 48 hours.

7. The conduct of Mrs Bara, who abuses us racialistically, must be brought to a speedy end. Her behaviour is becoming too provocative.

8. We want proper canteen facilities. Right now we don't even have a decent place to have our lunch.

9. We want proper sanitary conditions. Toilet rolls should be provided and a clean towel made available every day, but not once a week or once a month.

10. Some sections of the factory do not have proper tea breaks and this must be remedied.

These are some of our leading demands at the moment, although the first three are the most important. These are just and humane demands that our civilized society must give to its citizens. Our demand is nothing more than what other workers have in this country.

Together, with the support of the Transport and General Workers Union we are determined to fight and win them. We realize that in this struggle we are not alone. We appeal to workers wherever they are to bring this matter up before their branches.

Mustaq Hussain,
15 Goldswong Terrace,
Nottingham.

The present strike follows those at Crepe Sizes, Joan Stroud and Mansfield Hosiery. (see Feb issue, Libertarian Struggle.)

GRASPING HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

Readers will remember that it was Henry Kissinger who announced that peace was at hand in Vietnam. His statement was quickly followed by a massive resumption of the bombing of the North. More recently, he is the fall guy who has made a speech on a 'New Atlantic Charter'.

With Nixon's credibility at an all-time low and his administration in disarray, it hardly seems the moment to launch into long, if vague, plans to build a new relationship between the US and the rest of the world. The reasons for this are two-fold. First: it is an old tactic to divert the people's attention abroad when your trouble is at home and second, the US is in the middle of yet another dollar crisis.

Not long ago, we were faced with the prospect of an all-out trade war, the UD against Europe and Japan. The US has evidently decided it isn't strong enough to succeed outright. It has therefore resorted to subtler tricks of diplomacy. There are two main aims of this policy. One is to secure political co-existence with the Communist bloc in order to open their markets to America's 'surplus production'. The other is to come to an economic agreement with Western Europe to counter the threat posed by the enlarged Common Market.

The first problem is the imminent East-West negotiations. Brezhnev has just crushed the last remnants of resistance to detente with the US in the Soviet hierarchy. The Russian grain crisis last winter both helped US trade by giving a market for their surplus

the Common Market governments at least claim to be more suspicious of Russian intentions. In fact they are afraid of the military effects of massive withdrawal of US troops from Europe, and with the effect the loss of dollar-spending troops would have on their economies. Troops withdrawals are being pushed for in Congress as part of their overall attack on overseas expenditure. Also the Eastern European nations are jealous of the inroads the US is making into the markets of the Communist Economic Community (Comecon).

To counter its economic uncertainty, the Nixon administration must secure a negotiated trade and defence settlement with Europe. But here they are faced with a contradiction. While negotiating an agreement with the Russians on the one hand, with the other they must revive the bogeyman of Communism in order to bring the European nations into line. Kissinger has emphasised that he expects economic concessions from Europe if US forces are to remain. This entails NATO members carrying a larger part of defence expenditure. Given the Tory government's drive to reduce overall expenditure, this will inevitably entail a further reduction of the slice of cake allocated to social policies. In all of this the US is thoroughly uncomfortable. Having pushed for the widening of the Common Market in order to obtain more concessions, it tied itself to paying lip service to the idea of European integration. The truth is that it would be much happier in the long run if Europe broke up. It wants an open world market for the same reason as Britain favoured free trade at the end of the last century. It knows that the US could dominate an economic structure in which multi-national corporations function best. It has to extract an agreement quickly. To do this, Kissinger has demanded one negotiating representative from the whole of the Common Market.

The basic problem is of course the end of the American pseudo-boom. It was precarious enough with the chronic weakness of the dollar. This is a result of the long-running balance of payments deficit (as in Britain in the sixties). Of course, this was in turn caused by the massive expenditure in S.E. Asia which financed the home boom at the expense of external trade. Because the trade deficit with Japan is an important factor in the slump, Kissinger insists on Japan's inclusion in the new Charter.

US capitalism, faced by the post-freeze industrial unrest at home, is desperate to unload some of its problems on to Europe. This will create more problems for capitalism. Class conflict will be sharpened, particularly in Britain with its special relationship with the US. In order to maintain its profits, capitalism must increase its attacks on the workers living standards. In Britain as elsewhere, only an insistence on workers power with revolutionary demands can begin to provide an answer.



HENRY KISSINGER - Nixon's special aide.

and strengthened the case of the detentists in the Soviet Union. The US is facing some opposition to this in Western Europe. Because they live closer to the Communist bloc,

ORA

groups & contact addresses

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists was formed in November 1971. It exists to coordinate work and develop coherent libertarian socialist policies based in day-to-day struggles.

In some areas, where there are enough people, members have formed ORA groups. Both within the groups and within ORA nationally, collective discussion helps people learn from each other's successes and failures. At the same time, more work can be carried on locally, as resources can be drawn from other groups. Functions of the national organisation, such as editing the paper, the treasurership etc. are rotated between groups, to prevent bureaucracy.

LOCAL GROUPS.

Glasgow: Gordon Sykes, 32 Queen Elisabeth Square, Glasgow C3.

Hull: Marion McCartney, 21d Pearson Ave., Hull.

Leeds: Trevor Bavage, flat 3, 35 Richmond Rd Leeds 6.

Manchester: Ramsey Margolis, 84 Briar Hill Court, Shopping Centre, Salford 6.

North London: Doug Durrant, 68a Chingford Rd, London E.17.

York: Neil Hunt, 24 Moss Street, York.

CONTACTS

Bristol: Mac, 10 Whalley Rd, Clifton, Bristol 8

Colchester: Peter Newell, 'Aegcan', Spring Lane, 8 Ash Green, Colchester.

Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place.

London: Joe Thornberry, 56 Norfolk St.

Sheffield: Ian Neary, c/o Students Union, Sheffield University

There are also contacts in Birmingham, Edinburgh, Harlech, Huddersfield, Leicester, Liverpool, West, East and South London, Manchester, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Plymouth, Poole, Reading, Rochdale, Salford, Southampton, Stirling, Swansea and Wellington. If you want to be put in touch, write to the North London group, who are currently handling contact work. All enquiries about the ORA should be sent to them.



LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE £1 for 12 issues.

I enclose a cheque/P.O. for £1 as a subscription to LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE, 29 Cardigan Road, Leeds 6.

make all cheques/P.O.s payable to ORA General Fund.

to those who say the working class isn't 'capable' of running society-LOOK AT THE VERMIN WHO RULE NOW

Tricky Dicky Nixon is embarrassed. His employees and 'most trusted aides' have been caught trying to eavesdrop on their political opponents. This titillating tale has been publicised in a smug and complacent way by the British media who have been pontificating about the corruption in American politics. The general impression they are trying to give is that it couldn't happen here, in this haven of democracy and fair play. They must be joking!

The country is riddled with police spies. Telephones are tapped. Mail is opened. All this is done in secret on the instructions of the Home Office. Not even the House of Commons, an irrelevant institution at the best of times, can discover the extent of this officially sponsored spying. Of course, the people who suffer most from the activities of Special Branch and the rest are left wingers, revolutionaries, people who wish to destroy our rotten and corrupt society and build a decent one. There is not a single muted protest from Fleet Street about that kind of spying.

Yet when one section of the American ruling class is caught spying on another, the British media is convulsed with pious horror. The hypocrisy is startling. Corrupt politics are the inevitable result of a corrupt social system and the Poulson bankruptcy hearings have given us a slight inkling of the depth of corruption in British society. But if more direct evidence of the murky nature of British ruling class politics is required, all the leader writers of the Daily Express and co. have to do is look at a book by Lord Davison 'Memoirs of a Conservative'. Here milord describes how the Tory Party employed Major Ball of MIS. His job? To be at the centre of a large espionage network - spying on the Labour Party. The Tories planted agents in the Labour Party H.Q. and in local offices. All Nixon has done is update a time honoured British method of conducting political life at the top.

An interesting example of a recent British 'cover up' job, in collusion with our 'free press', took place over coverage of our May Day demonstration against the Tories.

Heath's Press Secretary and a civil servant from the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications, employed especially for this type of job, called in the editors of the daily papers on April 25th, the week before the demonstration, to brief them on the line the govt. wanted in their coverage.

The press lords were informed that this issue was one of 'national importance' and it should be played down. When these two stalwarts of the British democratic system were asked for a clarification, the editors were told this meant playing up stories of 'noble' workers going to work - to play up dissent and cases where productivity was maintained despite staff absence, and to play down the numbers and organised strength of those on strike.

Apart from the Official Secrets Act and the simple fact that the press lords and the ruling class's interests are one and the same, other more subtle measures to ensure the right 'slant' are in use. For example journalists can lose access to the Parliamentary lobby or to ministers.

The success of this manoeuvre was plain for all to see, not one of the dailies had headlines on May Day and very few gave even the minimum of coverage of the 2 million workers who struck.

We can rest assured that the Watergate 'revelations' (did they really surprise anybody?) will be repeated. As will scandals like the Poulson affair in Britain. As long as we have a corrupt social system we will have corrupt politicians and phoney 'scandals' when the odd one is caught with his hand in the till or his ear pressed to his opponents' keyhole.

DIPLOMACY—

THE WAR

Watergate is not the only issue that continues to shake the rotting hulk of Nixon's administration. Despite the Vietnamese Peace Treaty and the ever broadening nature of the struggle in S.E. Asia, the interests of world capital and US imperialism remains the same, though the tactics of that interest have changed.

Because the struggle has shifted back to a stage similar to that of 1954, (though of course vastly changed by the 20 years of fighting) it is necessary to re-state the case and the recent developments.

There is a danger in the present situation that the underlying struggle between a third world area fighting for independence and world capitalist interests spearheaded by the US, may be lost in the details of 'treaty violations' pumped out by the western press.

THE CASE RESTATED

Quote: "The commercial supremacy of the Republic means that this nation is to be the sovereign factor in the peace of the world. For the struggles of the future are to be the conflicts of trade, struggles for markets - commercial wars for existence. And the golden rule of peace is impregnability of position and invincibility of preparedness." Senator A.J. Beveridge 1898.

The war that has been fought first in Vietnam and is gradually enveloping the other countries in the area, has nothing to do with any claim of the American government to be fighting for freedom on behalf of the helpless millions. As the above quote so aptly puts it, peace is possible when American capital's position to exploit is impregnable, this is no longer the case.

The US, after fighting the second world war supposedly for freedom and national sovereignty, immediately sought to aid the French recolonise a Vietnam liberated largely by its own efforts, from the Japanese. In this aim the wilder elements of the American establishment were demanding that the atom bomb be dropped on the Vietminh at Dien Bien Phu.

The case has been put that in order to see the reasons behind these actions - the Cold War, and America's defence of reactionary tyrannies all over the world against popular movements - that we must look at her economic interests and those of capitalist economies in general.

The US has become the world's dominant and most dynamic economy, and in order to retain this position, continual expansion into markets and raw materials sources is necessary. It needs, specifically third world countries to allow the penetration and economic control of the US multi-national corporations. (The budgets of these are frequently bigger than most of the third world countries). They need to be able to control the resources of these neo-colonies, (ie- legally independent, economically tied to western capital), to ensure a net outflow of capital. To this purpose the US sponsors parasitic elites entirely subservient to its interests. These regimes are dependent on the US for their livelihood via the graft from US 'aid' funds for their 'defence'.

When the ideologists of corporate capital speak of encroaching revolution in the third world they know exactly what they are talking about, South East Asia is crucial to the US policy of containment of popular movements. For this area to achieve independence would have drastic repercussions on the position in the rest of the world. Apart from the necessity of policing the world to ensure easy exploitation, the system has its own dynamics. The military system needed has its own momentum for generating investment and profit, and the cold war ideology has the advantage of soaking the labour force with a survivalist ideology.

As early as 1944 CE Wilson the Chairman of General Electric (now a big supplier for the war effort) was proposing a "permanent war economy" for these reasons, while the spokesman of another beneficiary of the military-industrial complex, Sam Downer of the Aero Space Corporation, explained "If you need a

control factor in the economy, and you need to sell this factor you can't sell Harlem or Watts but you can sell self-preservation."

This militaristic giant similarly generates its own needs and economic justifications. Three-quarters of the materials for the arms stockpile program comes from the third world, including raw materials for the production of jet engines. Vietnam itself is rich in antimony which recalls Eisenhower's statement that he wasn't leaving it for the 'commies'.

The destructive competition inherent in the capitalist system also necessitates the subversion of the third world. When Eisenhower enunciated the domino theory the ultimate was Japan. The closing of the South East Asian markets to Japanese penetration could force Japan into China's orbit and its eventual dominance by China. Japan could also be forced into stiffer competition with the US. Already American balance of payments crises have been generated in part by an excess of Japanese imports relative to US exports to Japan.

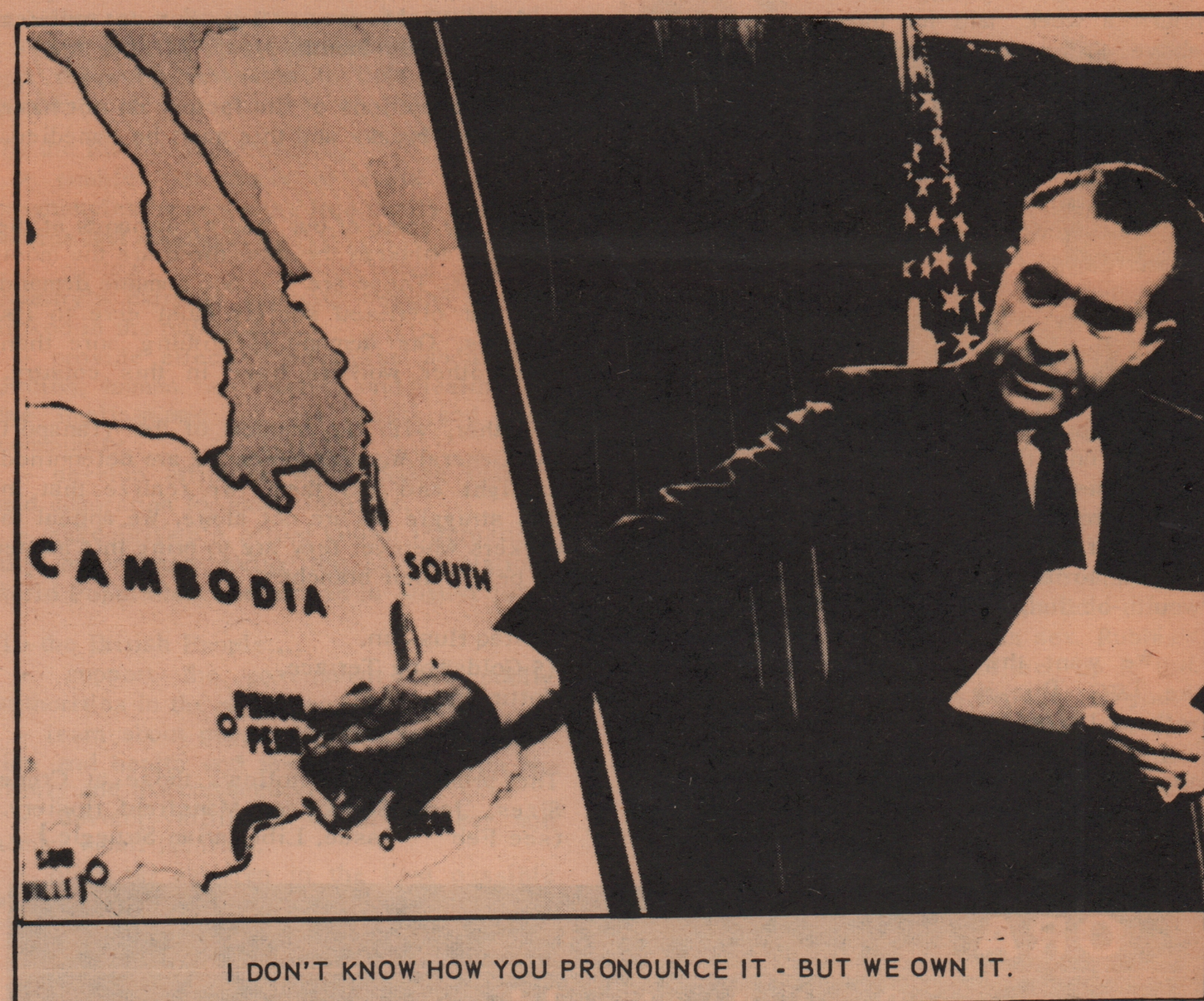
Japan has also recently been involved in deals in the US 'milking cow' South America. Any closing of markets is bound to have effects on the stability of the international capitalist system.

We need only witness America's reaction to the successful Cuban revolution - where the US govt. went from a policy of economic blockade to the abortive CIA-sponsored invasion in 1961. Since 1953 the US has intervened to depose popular governments or stem popular uprisings in Iran, Guatemala, Lebanon, Cuba and the Dominican Republic.

In South America alone the US controls 60% of its industrial plant and 70-90% of its raw materials, and in the best traditions of colonial exploitation, as Paul Sweezy found, in the period 1950-63, US investment in this area was returned plus a handsome 70% on top. That is the investments not only paid back the capital invested but paid back nearly double the amount in 13 years.

As South America gets poorer not richer, along with the rest of the third world, for the forces of social revolution to win in South East Asia, would deal a stunning blow to imperialism and leave an example it cannot afford to have.

For these briefly sketched reasons the US cannot tolerate any independent movement that challenges its 'open door' policy of economic penetration. In this scheme of things the experience of Cambodia is a test case.



CAMBODIA - A WOULD BE NEUTRALIST

Cambodia, like Vietnam, was a former French colony that the French sought to recolonise after the second world war, it was however able to exploit the French fear of a war on two fronts and to force a measure of independence and neutrality.

Cambodia was led by the opportunist Prince Sihanouk, who realised from the beginning that his power lay in gaining and maintaining independence from the imperialist forces, and thus prevent himself being outflanked by the revolutionaries who wanted a social revolution as well.



To this end he has played a continuous balancing role, alternating between joining

the left when their demands had mass backing and then, when secure, opting for a more gradualist position that accepted much of the status quo within Cambodia, and often seeking US aid for this position against the revolutionaries.

This happened when, after the 'Royal Crusade' for independence, in 1953, he sought US aid to combat the Vietminh once the French had granted independence. His nationalist stance was maintained by his opposition to the US sponsored South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), set up in 1954 to give, in the words of Foster Dulles, 'the President legal authority to intervene' in this area. It was essential for Sihanouk's power that he remained outside this alliance; while it was essential for the US that Cambodia should join. The history of Cambodia up to the present time has been one of this struggle, with the US constantly seeking to overthrow Sihanouk and suck Cambodia into its orbit.

As early as 1958 the South Vietnamese Army invaded Cambodia while the Khmer Serai (set up by the CIA) was organising invasion forces from Thailand. When for example Cambodia took Chinese aid, the US and South Vietnam imposed a blockade.

CONTINUATION BY OTHER MEANS

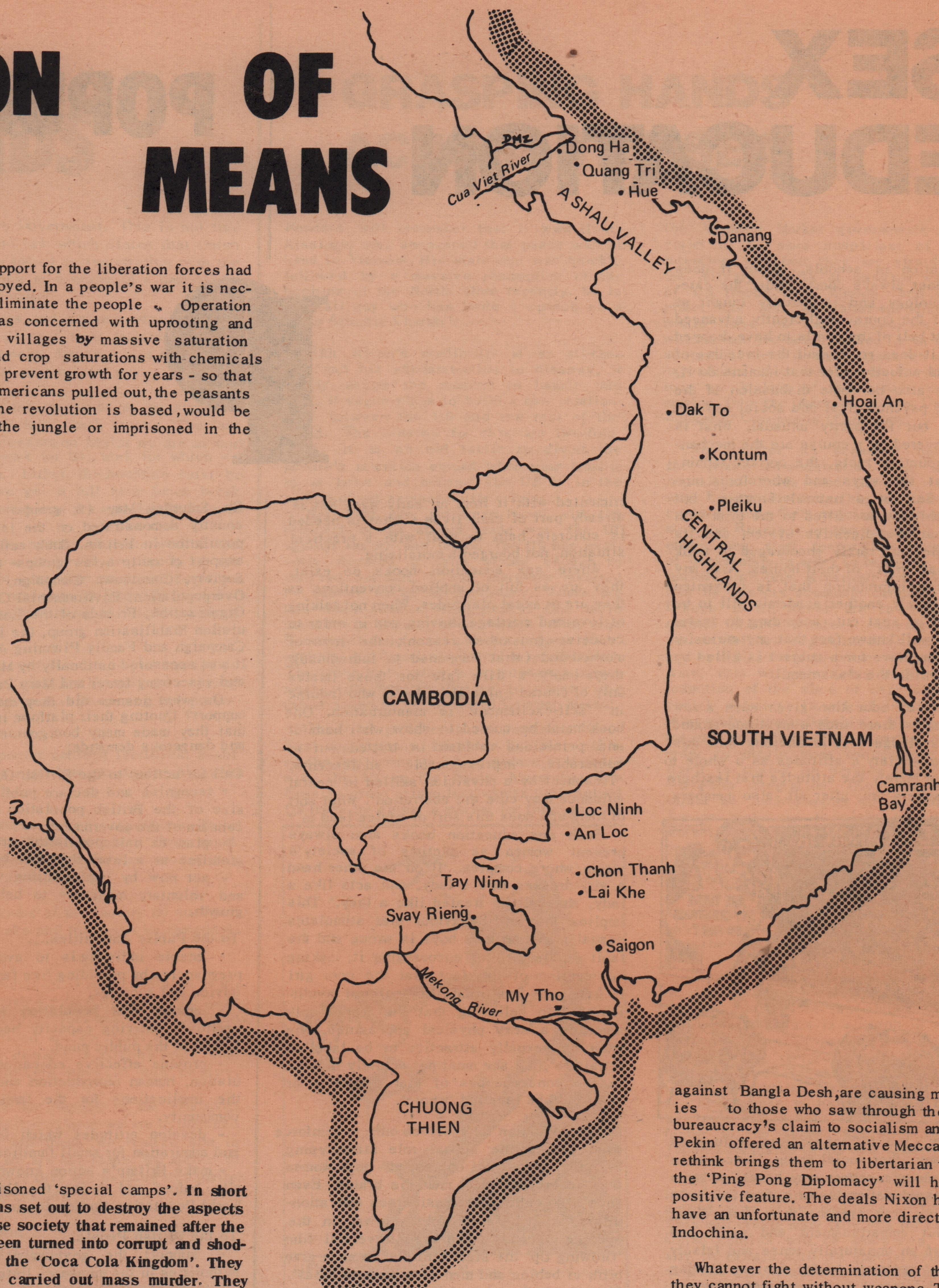
THE NEW TACTICS

The methods outlined above have now changed in many respects, the interests and forces at work remain the same but their direction has had to be altered. The Nixon now in power appears to bear small resemblance to the man who, when Vice President in 1955, said that in the event of a war in the Pacific, 'tactical nuclear weapons are now conventional and will be used against the military targets of any aggressive force.' We must remember that his interests remain the same - safeguarding US capital's 'right' to plunder where it wills.

In South East Asia we are once more entering a stage where diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means, and for the time being at least Nixon has opted for this tactic

The 1968 Tet offensive by North Vietnam proved to the more perceptive US military theorists that a military victory was impossible. The new strategy was formed from the notion that the victor will be the party that most successfully organises the peace. For the US this didn't mean that a democratic system would be created, but that the whole

basis of support for the liberation forces had to be destroyed. In a people's war it is necessary to eliminate the people. Operation Phoenix was concerned with uprooting and destroying villages by massive saturation bombing and crop saturations with chemicals designed to prevent growth for years - so that when the Americans pulled out, the peasants on whom the revolution is based, would be hiding in the jungle or imprisoned in the



heavily garrisoned 'special camps'. In short the Americans set out to destroy the aspects of Vietnamese society that remained after the cities had been turned into corrupt and shoddy copies of the 'Coca Cola Kingdom'. They planned and carried out mass murder. They held on for such a time and with such ferocity as to bleed Vietnam to a point of chronic anaemia and to leave the message of desolation clear for the rest of the third world to see.

On paper the situation is back to that of the 1954 agreement, when the French left, and when the Vietminh controlled 90% of the country. America could not accept that agreement because it knew the Vietminh would win any elections in the country. Today it thinks that its puppet, Thieu, has a chance of hanging on. This is both because of the massive propping up the US provides and because of changes in the international situation. In particular agreements with China and the USSR.

The war has been costly for the US, for despite the expansion it has given to US industry, the political results have been disastrous. Che Guevara expressed the feeling of western youth and whole nations of the third world when he said that we must follow the example of the Vietnamese and create 'Two, Three...Many Vietnams'.

The US war against Vietnam has proved an example to all the enemies of capitalism. An example of the heroism of people with the will to fight. An example of the brutality, callousness, and also the weakness of the capitalist system. Long before we in this country could find 'our' example in Ireland, in the growing preparations for repression in our 'democracy', the Vietnamese war was the cause of the involvement of a new generation in the revolutionary movement. In this larger view the war has already opened new fronts which will continue fighting whatever happens in Vietnam.

against Bangla Desh, are causing many worries to those who saw through the Moscow bureaucracy's claim to socialism and thought Pekin offered an alternative Mecca. If their rethink brings them to libertarian socialism the 'Ping Pong Diplomacy' will have some positive feature. The deals Nixon has made have an unfortunate and more direct effect in Indochina.

Whatever the determination of the people they cannot fight without weapons. The North has had its industrial centres bombed incessantly. Weapons for the struggle that is spread throughout Indochina must come from China or the USSR. The coming period will show whether the struggle of the Indochinese is valued as highly as US trade and peaceful coexistence. It will also show just how effective and enduring is the support of people throughout the world for the Indochinese liberation movements. As the Indochinese fight to bring down Thieu and Lon Nol the

In the US the development of the war industries was already causing imbalances in the economy, peace is causing a disruption of those sectors (heavy engineering, aircraft construction etc.) which had most benefited from the war. The spectacle of millions of Americans living on 'relief' and the state of most American cities, has brought large sections of the population firstly to criticise and oppose the anti-communist, 'free enterprise' myths that prop up US capitalism, and secondly to organise themselves to bring about a change.

The way out that seems to have opened for Nixon is enough to make even the most cynical weep. To get out of the cleft stick he needed to ensure new markets, to have stability in the third world, and regain some measure of popular confidence at home.

The twin fairies who provided this miracle were Mao-tse-tung and Leonid Brezhnev. The perennial failure of the soviet harvest (still very important to the soviet economy) provided the opening for negotiations about trade and credit the full details of which are not known. Some hints of the agreements are provided by the fact that the USSR has agreed to settle claims about losses by US capital due to the 1917 revolution. The UK businessman's journal ECONOMIST of the 11th May described the deals as putting the USSR in hock until well into the 1980's. The rapprochement with China also took a lot of pressure off Nixon at home and confused many socialists throughout the world. The reactionary stand that China took towards the JVP rebellion in Ceylon, and her support of the Pakistani military dictatorship

support revolutionary movements can give will be of crucial importance. This is not to pretend that even in victory the Indochinese could establish socialism - that will be impossible while the dominant powers are united in supporting each other, and while the elites which rule in Russia and China are regarded as socialist in some form by the majority of revolutionaries. What is important is that we should realise the crucial point that all the struggles are directly related to our own. That a defeat anywhere in the world has repercussions at home. That revolutionary victory in the industrialised countries - Europe, America, Russia - will be necessary for the third world to break out of the cycle of colony, military dictatorship or Stalinist bureaucracy.

The crunch came in 1963 when Sihanouk cut off US aid, which meant the traditional US policy of creating sympathetic elites that live of syphoning 'aid' into their own pockets, was curtailed. In 1966 the Khmer Serai declared war on Cambodia at a time when the right wing in Cambodia, led by Lon Nol, were feeling the economic strain and calling for more US aid. The situation was moving rapidly to a head, the US in seeking to ensure that all the bases of the revolutionary forces in the area were destroyed before the US was able to leave the area, had to deal with a situation in Cambodia wherein Sihanouk was under attack from the right, and, because of his unwillingness to alleviate the conditions of the peasantry, from the left.

Sihanouk was forced to accept Lon Nol as Prime Minister, de-nationalise the banks, join the World Bank as well as seek more US aid. Thus the feeble attempts at 'Khmer Socialism' by Sihanouk were wiped out and the situation continued to polarise.

Finally in 1970 when Sihanouk was in France the Lon Nol group, backed by the CIA, organised pogroms against the Vietnamese minority and engineered a coup. The resulting de-stabilisation of the situation and the

counter attack by the left ensured the intervention of first South Vietnamese and then US invasion forces.

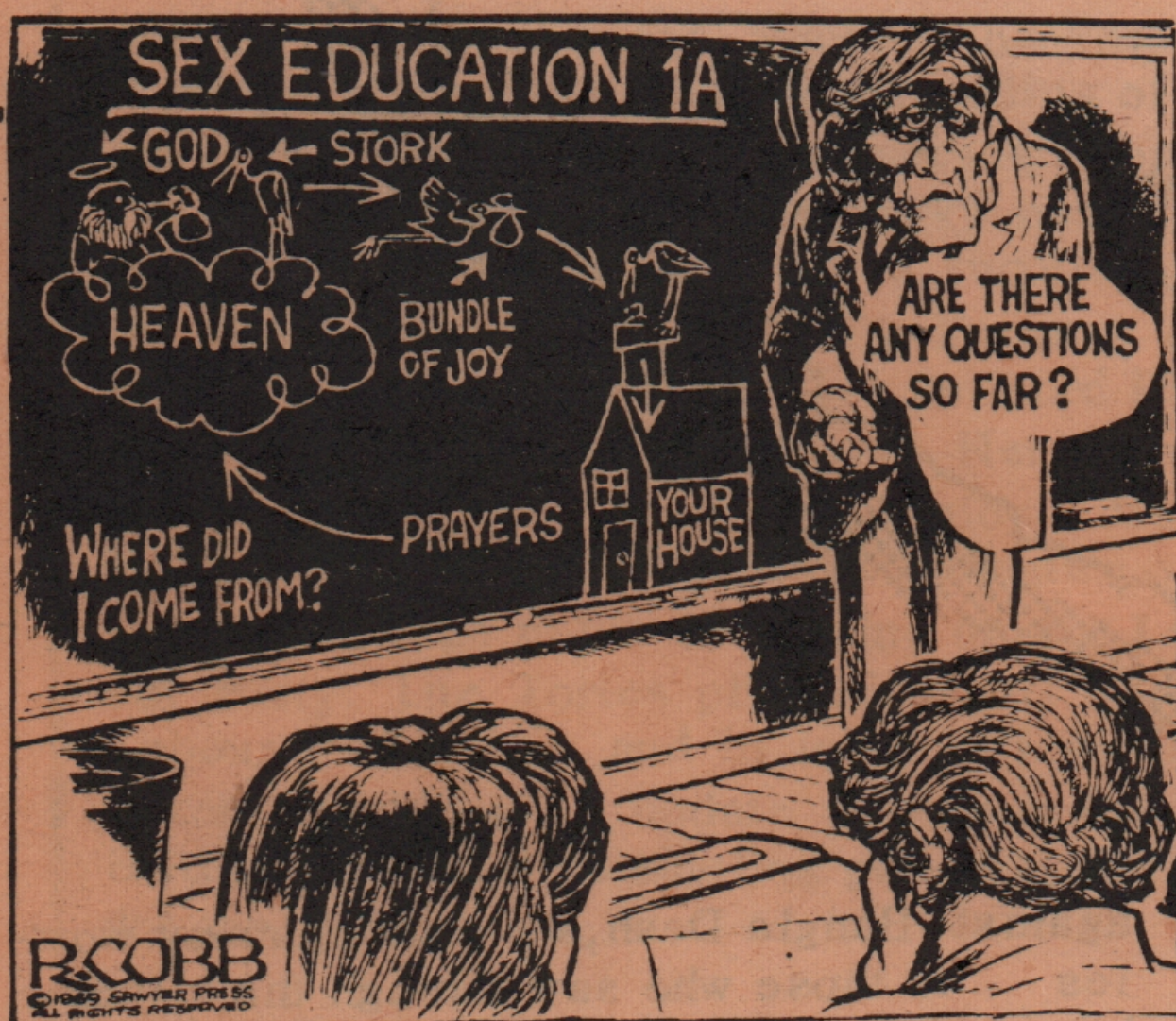
Proving the correctness of Sihanouk's statement that 'the Americans attract communism like sugar attracts ants', the Lon Nol forces were now branded as traitors who had encouraged an invasion which destroyed much of Cambodia's valuable rubber plantations, including the Chup processing plant, the most modern in the area; and led a rampage of looting South Vietnamese troops who were venting their frustrations on helpless peasants. The US had gained its objective, it had drawn in Cambodia, and destroyed its neutrality, but in the process it had loosed the force of social revolution among the peasants who were sick of being trampled and robbed. Now almost all of Cambodia, except for Phnom Penh and the other provincial capitals is controlled by the liberation forces.



SEX EDUCATION

Sex education in schools, where it does exist, almost always comes under the category of biology and is usually taught at a stage of the course sufficiently advanced for at least half of the pupils to have dropped it. Where it does go beyond the breeding of rabbits and actually infer that humans do it, there may also be some discussion of the emotional, psychological and social aspects of sex - but its pretty unusual. What is usually covered by a course are the mechanical reproductive facts, the correct terminology, but the whys and wherefores are ignored. Sex is a natural function, but whereas children are filled to the brim with facts about the digestive system and its effects, they are rarely encouraged to think about that part of their bodies. Also any reproductive information that is presented becomes merely another academic pill to be swallowed or spat out, according to taste, for it is a well known fact that any curiosity children may have for a subject is killed by its treatment in the classroom.

Why is sex education given such a raw deal? Why is there such a mystique around sexual knowledge? It is obvious that this stems from society's attitudes as a whole to sex and not merely the attitudes that teachers have. Teachers are, after all, also members



of society, and reflect societal values as much as any other social group. Hence, even though biology teachers may be called upon to give sex education lessons, that teacher's conditioning may prevent them from doing so without embarrassment and guilt, and thus cause an unnaturally tense and falsely 'scientific' approach to the subject. Having no special interest in the subject, teachers are no better equipped to give sex education than the rest of prejudiced society.

It is often claimed by anti-sex education-ists that sex education encourages experimentation and implants an 'unhealthy' curiosity that would not otherwise have been there. This view does not face up to the reality of the situation - the experimentation is there and perhaps the information on the whys and wherefores may prove of more value than moral platitudes to those concerned. People who oppose sex education, advice on contraception, abortion, etc. are working under the bigoted assumption that all children come from nice middle class backgrounds where sex is not mentioned, seen or heard. Unfortunately for the theorists, children living in poorer homes, perhaps with too few rooms, or perhaps with less petit bourgeois behavioural patterns forced upon them, have a much more basic idea of sex - they are aware of its existence and often have exp-

erimented with it from an early age. Sex is already part of their lives - what is needed is concrete help to deal with a practical situation, not bourgeois moralising.

Where sex education books do exist, they are as full of implied conventions as they are of moral platitudes. When not talking of love and marriage; having sex in order to conceive (no other reason); the joys of motherhood (what happened to fatherhood); they imply a dire fate for those (males only of course - nice girls don't) who indulge in 'self-excitement' ie masturbation. One book must be quoted to show what harmful and pernicious rubbish is trotted out to vulnerable, impressionable adolescents. 'Treatment by a physician skilled in mental guidance may cure the aberration'. What sort of hang-ups does this sort of advice lead to?

Such sex education books also always present women as victims of society's virgin/whore complex. 'If on the other hand a girl dresses like a lady, and acts like a lady, she will be treated like a lady.' This implies that all behaviour that stimulates sexual response from boys is wrong and the fault of the girl for encouraging it, making no mention of the fact that the poor girl is frequently brainwashed by cultural conditioning into believing that the female role demands a 'sexy' physical appearance. She must be sexually attractive or be labelled a 'failure', but she must not actually indulge in the consequences of that attraction or she would be labelled 'whore'.

Sex education thus serves only to reinforce even further the sexual role stereotyping by which we are all oppressed - that women are the breeders and men the brains. Even such a so-called progressive sex education-alist as Dr. Martin Cole allows, in the opening seconds of his controversial film 'Growing Up' the statement that 'women give birth to babies and men give birth to ideas'. What sex education fails to teach is that sexual roles are the result of social conditioning, and much of our behaviour, which is supposedly characteristic of our sex, is interchangeable when people are given the freedom to choose for themselves what they are.

It should also be pointed out that while we are all very clearly indoctrinated at school with what sex we are ('little boys don't cry, little girls don't fight' etc.) it is rare indeed that children receive an insight into their own sexuality. If by sex education we mean really knowing about sex, then I doubt if any school sex education course really covers that at all. And that has many implications in this repressed society full of sexual taboos that restrict our thoughts and feelings for each other - removing people's hang-ups about their sexuality would release them from a lot of repressions that make them unfree.

POPULATION DAY?



On Saturday May 12, groups all over the country demonstrated on the issue of overpopulation in Britain. Such activity had the support of quite a few groups- Conservation Society, Countdown Campaign, Doctors and Overpopulation, Environmental Communicators Organization, Friends of the Earth, the Population Stabilisation group, the Birth Control Campaign and Family Planning Association.. It was sponsored nationally by Michael (of TV and vasectomy fame) and Mary Parkinson.

On what issues did they mobilize their support? Quoting their platform in full shows that they made many bourgeoisie assumptions and dangerous demands:

Call for action: to the British Government....

- recognize and declare publicly that the size of the British population is a rightful concern of the government.
- plan to halt population growth and to stabilise at a level that can be sustained.
- act now by implementing well planned and voluntary measures to halt population growth.

To the Public Authorities....

- enable individuals to avoid unwanted pregnancies by providing free family planning advice and supplies.
- ensure that population size and the country's carrying capacity become closely linked in the public mind.
- provide effective education about population, human reproduction and health, and the implications for the family and the community.
- develop attitudes which foster respect and admiration for small families.

- make Britain's action known internationally before and during the United Nations World Population Conference in August 1974.

To the British People....

- support the government and public authorities in the measures listed above.
- learn about population, human reproduction and health and the implications for the family and the community.
- develop attitudes which respect and admire small families.
- bring up children in the best possible surroundings.
- avoid unwanted childbearing.

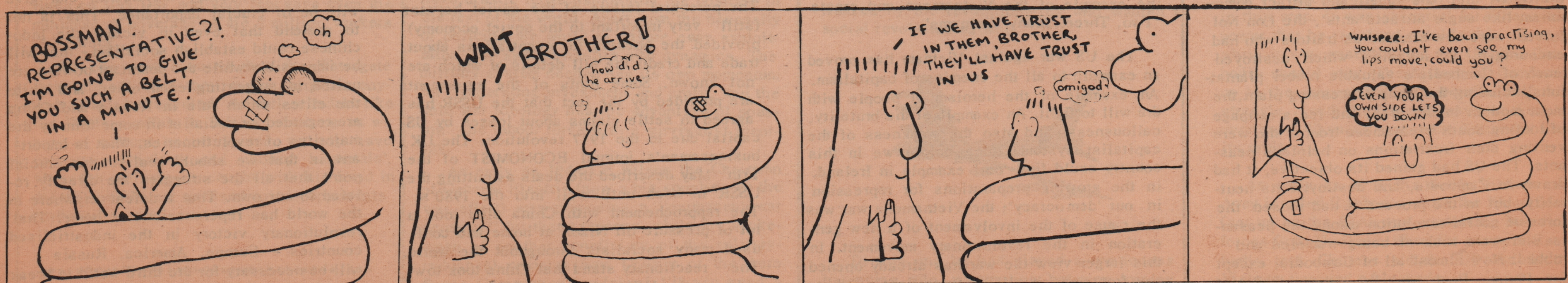
Why should we ask the British government to recognize that "the size of the British population is a rightful concern" of theirs? What right has any government to choose the size of the population- that is the choice of the people concerned. By asking the government to halt population growth and "stabilize it at a level that can be sustained" not only implies that our living standards may actually drop if we do not (whose living standards? Most people's cannot drop any lower) but also it is an open invitation to the government to interfere and control one of the most basic areas of our lives.

They also ask the public authorities to provide free family planning advice and supplies- no mention of abortion for those whose contraception failed or who have found no satisfactory method. Why not? Is it too radical a demand for middle-class liberals to put forward? They ask the authorities to "develop attitudes which foster respect and admiration for small families". How is this to be done? By telling women they have committed a crime by producing too many children, regardless of the reasons for producing those children (failure of contraception, lack of sex education, a couple's need to find fulfilment by proving man/womanhood? By imposing financial penalties on families not conforming to the bourgeois 'norm'. Having a small family means either not having sex very often or it means careful family planning which costs money may be unacceptable for personal reasons and which require a recognition that intercourse will occur (how many teenagers are really sure they are going to make it?).



Finally they ask the "British people" to support the government and authorities in such draconian measures, and to bring up children in the best possible surroundings! You too can have spoiled middle-class children, if you don't indulge in sex. Rubbish! Whether or not you bring children up in the best possible surroundings depends on your status- if you are middle-class then you can provide materially nice conditions for your children, regardless of number. If you are working class you cannot, whether you slog your guts out on overtime or not.

The list of supporters shows the bias of this group- middle class liberals supporting a better environment (people need housing need land) and a society of conformers. We do need to consider population size - but not from an economic or material viewpoint. People must have the choice to decide for themselves how many children they can bring into a society based on mutual help and not individual exploitation. Attitudes towards children, the family, the community etc., must be discussed and considered - how many people would choose to have none/ few children if they were allowed a personal choice and not one dictated by the advertisers needs and society's pressures? The question of population is not for government legislation - it is one for itself.



REVIEWS

'TAKE OVER THE CITY' *Lotta Continua* available from Rising Free, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1. Price 20p.

The material in this pamphlet has been taken from the newspaper of *Lotta Continua*, a revolutionary group which grew out of the worker/student alliance formed in Italy during the factory struggles of 1968/69. It consists mainly of the histories of various direct actions by Italian workers from 1969 to the present day, written by people involved. Descriptions of rent strikes, occupations, the taking over of transport, Universities, schools, the establishment of Peoples' surgeries, and other direct rank and file action, together with extracts from speeches made by the people taking the action, are combined to make an exciting and optimistic pamphlet that presents a good panorama of workers' struggles in Italy today.

The actions described show a high degree of consciousness among the people: the realisation that they are exploited, that the trade union leaders and so-called socialist parties are cons, that, organised and with solidarity, they have the power to get what they want. If the political consciousness does not as yet extend to the revolutionary (the struggles seem ultimately to aim at forcing the Authorities to make concessions), this will come about through struggle.

One is easily swept off one's feet by pamphlets such as this, in which people who have won victories through direct action enthusiastically describe and explain their aims and tactics, and one can forget the incredible amount of work that has yet to be done, in Italy as much as anywhere else before a revolution is possible. But, equally such publications remind us just how important involvement in community struggle is, and that 'professional' leadership is not only ideologically wrong, but totally unnecessary.

'THE LESSONS OF THE GENERAL STRIKE 1926' by Bob Dent. Millenium, 9 Sefton Drive, Liverpool 8. 10p.

The aim of this short pamphlet is to review the role and function of the three main elements in the 1926 general strike and raise points of the lessons to be learnt.

It succeeds fairly well in its task of reviewing the roles and functions of the State and the T.U.C. Unfortunately the pamphlet is lacking in the discussion on the role of the rank and file. It confines itself to a few examples of rank and file militancy and some vague general statements which lack sufficient justification.

Due to the size of the pamphlet, the history, problems and lessons of the general strike are necessarily only briefly outlined. The section concerning the lessons does little but express the hope that we can 'gain clues as to what constitutes a successful strategy' by studying the events of 1926. However some similarities between 1926 and now are revealed.

The actions and words of the TUC in 1926 are mirrored accurately today. It is wrong to talk in terms of the TUC backing down from confrontation with the government, when attacking the TU leadership over their policies on recent industrial action and in particular the demand for a May Day general strike. For, as the pamphlet shows, the TUC sellout in 1926 and their failure this year, marks no change in policy. They never did profess a policy of confrontation or any desire to be involved in revolutionary situations.

But it is the reader interested in the lessons promised in the title who will have to draw them for himself. Despite its faults, however, this is a worthwhile publication. The style is fast, and the facts are presented in such a way that the text is readable without becoming anecdotal. The pamphlet presents a concise and fairly clear general picture of the 1926 general strike. It also shows up, although not clearly enough, the bankruptcy of such organisations as the TUC, the Labour Party and other self-professed leaders of the working class, and the fundamental importance of rank and file organisation at all levels of struggle.

ALL CHIEFS AND NO INDIANS

We are still undergoing the interminable series of elections which have punctuated the spring like cracks on a record. We have had metropolitan, county, metropolitan district, and as a special treat we have got the county district elections to come (that is besides the special arrangements in Wales and Scotland). The one person in four who bothers to vote is getting crosses in front of his eyes. Then there are the different systems. Perm any three from nine...vote this one in for four years...this one for three years... But the one who comes bottom has to go through the whole rigmarole next year...and of course if you live in Northern Ireland you can list the candidates according to how much you like them. Wouldn't it be more accurate to list them according to how little you like them?

But is there any useful information we can get out of this farce? Of course it keeps the television pundits in a job ('Labour has won Hartlepool! If this result was reflected nationally Labour would have 630 seats and the Tories and Liberals would have 0 each.)

Besides that, it's interesting to note that we now have three different sets of rulers; District Council, County Council and National Government. (Of course that's besides your foreman, manager, director and so on at work). The fact is that as capitalism gets more and more complicated, we get community action

groups, tenants associations, and rank and file groups of all kinds, springing up in order to combat the increased power of the bureaucratic State. The State, faced by this, must find some way of circumventing it. No, they don't give these groups any real power to do anything. Instead they install another level of leaders under the guise of making the State more 'democratic'. In fact it is less so. Whereas before reorganization, some people may have lived in communities where they knew their local councillor personally, we now have the situation where you are one of ten thousand or so casting your little cross, and of course you'll find that even if you manage to see the councillor all he can say is that he'll have to 'refer your complaint to a higher authority'. The whole scheme is intended to reinforce State authority and to ensure that our complaints get lost in the maze of bureaucracy.

Perhaps the only nice thing about these elections are the odd cock up that occurs to blow the minds of the psephologists, like the Tory candidates in right wing Solihull who forgot to hand their nomination papers in, or the Get Stuffed Party in Hull, who got twice as many votes as the Communist Party candidate. But the message is clear. Elections like these, that take power from the people, are a sham.

It doesn't matter who you voted for, your enemies got elected.

DON'T VOTE - ORGANISE!



Dear Friends

In the May issue of *Libertarian Struggle* you have an article about National Front's Student Association, whose chairman is Denis Pirie. Unfortunately you fail to mention anything about Pirie's past. He was a Section Leader in Colin Jordan's National Socialist (Nazi) Movement in 1963. He was sent to prison for three months for organizing, training and equipping a military group called 'Spearhead' (Colin Jordan and John Tyndal also went to prison for this). They wore military uniforms and took part in mock army manoeuvres. In a raid on the NSM HQ, the police found uniforms, swastika arm bands, portraits of Hitler, jackboots, and a can of rat poison labelled 'Jew killer'. Now Pirie is to run National Front Student Association.

Best wishes,
MP.

Dear comrades,

I was very pleased to read your article on the NUT in the last issue of *Libertarian Struggle*. At last an open demand for the democratization of NUT Rank and File, which is getting to be as bureaucratic as the NUT itself. Its failure to be genuinely controlled by its members makes it much less able to resist the onslaught from the Union leadership. This makes the struggle for democracy urgent, which perhaps your article did not stress enough.

Contrast this with the stand of the IMG in *Red Weekly* of May 12th. Their solution to the blatantly undemocratic 'fixing' of the IS group? That the IS should take IMG onto the committee of Rank and File! Where is the principle of democracy? Of grassroots control?

In their scramble for power, the Trotskyists have forgotten it.

S

Lord Massarene and Ferrard, well known arch Tory and scourge of the lower orders...

"I was brought up in the country you see, and I think that is important because in that way you are able to observe your part in the order of nature. If I'd been brought up in a Liverpool slum it might have taken me a long to become a Conservative."

Dear *Libertarian Struggle*,

I was very interested and gratified to read your article, 'Lapdog Barks' in last month's issue. It is always pleasant to hear that one's newsheet has been discussed at the very top level (the NUS conference) - albeit only by swapping pieces of paper and even if the first that one hears of it is not from one's own Union but a monthly newspaper. Of course, the lapdog himself or any one of the Bradford NUS delegation could have told us,

but they chose otherwise. The usual paranoid wall of silence was flung up. Not that we aren't used to this in Bradford. Every morsel of information that Bradford Black receives has to be dug deep for and dragged from a Union hierarchy that believes that complete secrecy over what goes on is in the 'ordinary students' best interests. The only time that we freely get given information from members of the Union hierarchy is at election time when they're playing power games with their political rivals

Turning to the content of your article I would like to state that if your report on what the lapdog said/wrote at the conference is correct (i.e. that relations between Bradford Black and the University have now returned to normal), then the lapdog is a blatant liar. At no time has the University, retracted its statement banning us, and recently notices have appeared outside the libraries stating that no newsheet etc. may be distributed in a library without special permission - a direct reference to us as nothing else but official stuff is circulated in the libraries. The instruction to security officers to remove copies as they appear also still stands.

To be fair perhaps there is a small chance that the lapdog really does think that everything is now O.K. After all, Bradford Black does still come out every week (as if the University could stop it), with a larger circulation than ever (its now almost trendy to be seen with a copy) and some security officers quietly ignore the Bursar's instructions to them. He should go, however, to Wardley library (one of the two main libraries on campus) and watch one of the librarians and a security officer there falling over each other in their eagerness to snatch up copies from the poor, unprotected, unsuspecting students.

I would like, finally, to fill you in on how the issue has been developing generally. The fight against the University has now been waged sporadically for at least six months - a kind of 'phony war'. Due to publicising articles in the last three *Libertarian Struggles* we have had encouraging letters from Anarchists in Lancaster, the Reading Area Students' Association President (who raised the issue at the N.U.S. conference), and the Socialist Society magazine in Newcastle. The Black'n Red group at Leeds University knew of the issue from its onset and kept us supplied with paper while our funds were frozen and publicised events in their own newsheet. The students here at Bradford were right behind us too, verbally at least, at the beginning, but now after half a year they are beginning to tire of the issue. Also, this term, the University has the ultimate coercive at its disposal. The dull, mind-stifling thud of exams can be heard down every corridor. This is a shame because the Union hierarchy will never by itself actively condemn the University. More than at any other place, the Union in Bradford plays the capitalist game perfectly - it really is a well-oiled cog in the running of the Brain factory. It knows only too well that calling on the University to back down is asking for a collision course. The most that the Union hierarchy here will ever do is jump on a bandwagon to save being outflanked and thus 'legitimise' something that is already happening. But it realises that we are hardly likely at the moment to get the mass active support we need for a head-on clash. To understand Bradford University, and its students you have to understand Bradford. And to do that you need look no further than the beautifully produced brochure put out by the city's information centre. The relevant words run something like this: 'The greatest attraction that Bradford can offer to business is its workpeople. There has not been a major industrial dispute here this century.'

The situation is now likely to remain dominant until the University puts on its next clumsy act - such as bringing in the police to stop us distributing Bradford Black. This after its incredibly stupid antics of the last six months, it is quite capable of doing.

Fraternally,

G.W.

Anarchist Society
Univ. Bradford Union.

OIL 'BOOM' — WHO BENEFITS?

As both ecologists and economists never tire of telling us, we are in the middle of an 'energy crisis'. The energy needs of the US alone - the world's largest energy consumer - are likely to double between 1970 and 1985, with a similar increase in the UK. In this context the development of hydro-electric and nuclear power, as well as the revival of the coal industry, are insufficient. Continued capitalist expansion will depend on adequate supplies of natural gas, and to a far greater degree, of oil. But the imminent exhaustion of the US oil fields, and the political difficulties - and high royalties - involved in getting oil from the Middle East, mean that new sources of oil are continually being sought by the big oil companies.

After a long period of exploration it has now been realised that vast resources of oil and natural gas lie under the North Sea off Scotland, and the government has been leasing blocks of 100 sq. miles at £72 000 a year for 40 years. The royalties will be 12½% but all exploration costs will be credited as 'losses' - hence tax will be even less. The big oil companies like BP, Shell, Conoco, etc are jumping on this bonanza. Production is expected to begin in 1975 and by 1980 it is hoped that half of the oil required by British capitalism will be drawn from the North Sea: optimists are even predicting 10% of world production by 1985. Clearly this will go a long way to making British capital independent of the pressures of the oil-producing Middle East, and also make a massive contribution to solving the 'balance of payments' problem. With this in mind the government is sanctioning large outlays on road, rail and harbour developments in the area, and providing funds for Aberdeen and Heriot Watt universities for faculties in oil research

Everything is not easy for the oil companies. True, the UK government will demand a far lower revenue from their operations than do the sheikdoms - 12½% instead of 50% of profits - labour costs will be low but still greater than paid in the third world, and so will costs of oil exploration and the 'hardware' such as rigs, platforms etc. to withstand the fierce North Sea climate and operate in 400 feet of water 200 miles from land. Also the oil companies themselves are feeling the problems of profitability and competition common to the rest of British capitalism. This may sound very strange when BP announced a profit of over £700 million last year but:-

"A study by the Chase Manhattan Bank of 28 international oil companies showed a reduction in the return of capital employed from 11.7% in 1968 to 10.3% in 1970. In the case of US-based companies to generate sufficient cash internally to meet their demands also declined. In 1963 87% of requirements were funded internally: by 1970 the percentage had fallen to 72% indicating increased reliance on the capital market."

Petroleum Review, p 279, Sept. 72.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

The North Sea discoveries have made an impact on the Scottish economy, with around 5 000 jobs having been created in about a year in the oil and gas industries. The former UCS shipyard at Clydebank has been reopened as the US-owned Marathon Co., building oil-rigs (at a cost of about £15m. each), and new oil platform fabrication yards employing about 750 men have been opened



in Fife. And near Inverness the vast BP oil refinery at Grangemouth plans to double its output and new refineries are planned in Shetland and in Ayrshire - the latter with Italian capital and hoping to employ 1,500. An upswing has also been created in Scots engineering, in shipbuilding and repair facilities. But at the moment talk of a boom is purely the fantasy of the bourgeois press; unemployment in Scotland remains at 115,000 ie. 5½% and in Glasgow 10%.

Only in Aberdeen (pop. 200,000) where developments are centred can one talk of a boom. Unemployment is down to 2.5% and there is talk of a labour shortage. About 1,500 are now employed in the oil rigs, supply ships and offices. Industry generally in the town is booming as shipyards and engineering works try to cope with demand. Estimates as to the job prospects vary so widely as to be almost useless.

"Oil could bring 100,000 new jobs to Scotland within the next decade", according to a report by the London stockbrokers Coomb, Borland and Co. Official govt. estimates reckon that 7,500 new jobs will be created directly by the oil boom. A reasonable guess is 4 500 in secondary industry for the 7,500 in oil, making a total of 12,000."

Economist p.35-36 Jan 20th 1973..

SOCIAL EFFECTS

Not everyone is happy, and here we are not just speaking of the various parties - CP SNP, Labour Party - making an 'issue' out of the oil. In the Highlands (which has half the area of Scotland and 5% of her 5 million people) crofters have been active in trying to prevent the despoilation of their areas by the construction of platform fabrication yards at Lochcarron in the far west and at Dunnet Bay in the far north. They have been supported by local small capitalists who fear losing their own low-paid workers to the oil companies, and by outside conservationist lobbies. The latter have also been active further south. Proposals to build the largest gas-processing plant in Europe near Peterhead raised a storm when it was announced it would be built over a loch which is a bird sanctuary. It now appears that the plant will not be built - but not for environmental reasons, but because the Army wants the land.

In Aberdeen the Labour town council has shown its priorities: a local fishing village, intended to be renovated as a tourist attraction, has been cleared of its residents and will be flattened to provide storage space for Shell. Even local big capitalists are finding themselves neglected. The Harbour Board planned to spend £1½ million on a new fully automated fish market, but this has now been

switched to the creation of docks and berths for the oil companies: and fishing is the largest local employer of labour with 10,000 working on the trawlers, fish factories and fish market. There has been a building boom in the city and the companies' scramble for land for offices, storage tanks etc. has doubled land values in a year. Rents for two-roomed flats (without bath or toilets) have soared to £10-£15 a week and such property which sold at £750 3-4 years ago now fetches £3,000. The housing situation for working class families has deteriorated sharply.

More than conservationists and local capitalists are active, despite the barrage of public relations propaganda from the oil companies. Land recently sold speculatively by the owner of a caravan site in Aberdeen for building executive homes, was immobilised when several families refused to move until rehoused. They now face eviction after the owner applied for a court order for their removal. Recently 500 men at a platform fabrication yard near Inverness held a series of strikes which startled their bosses since none of these men have a tradition of industrial work. The companies have a high-handed labour policy, and efforts to recruit the workers on the oil rigs into unions have been successfully resisted (they earn £100 for a two week stretch on the rigs, working about 150 hours: the third week, allowed off, is not unpaid). Similarly in the dock strike last year summer, several oil companies threatened to move operations to Norway unless Aberdeen's dockers - who load the supply boats for the rigs - called off their strike.

CONCLUSION

Scottish industry has traditionally been the heavy industry of the Clydeside region, where a high level of working class militancy prevails. The long-term effect of the oil discoveries will probably shift some industry and population to the east coast (where light industry has largely prevailed until now) or even to the non-industrial Highlands. But glib talk in the press about a 'new industrial revolution' and "vast population movements" can probably be discarded. Most serious economists expect a population increase of about 50,000 around Inverness and a possible new town with a similar population in the North East near Aberdeen, ie. a total population shift of 2%.

Whatever the long term developments, the 'teething troubles' outlined above can only intensify as the exploitation of the riches under the sea bed develops.

Published by ORA, from 29, Cardigan Rd., Leeds 6. Printed by Anyway Litho, 252 Brixton Rd., London S.W.9. 6AQ Tel 01-274 2433.

FOR INFORMATION ON ORA
WRITE TO
**68, Chingford
Rd., London
E.17.**

ARTICLES, SUBS, ORDERS
FOR LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE
TO
**29, Cardigan
Rd., Leeds 6.**

ORA Publication

Tyranny of Structurelessness by Jo Freeman
Obtainable from Leeds Womens ORA, 29, Cardigan Road, Leeds 6. 5p. plus 3p. post.
'Libertarians in all movements should study this pamphlet because it contains the core of the argument that ORGANISED libertarians have stated' review in April L.S.

PUBLIC MEETINGS & EVENTS

MANCHESTER AREA REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS Fortnightly Public Meetings, Lass O'Gowrie, Charles Street. Thursdays at 8pm.

June 7th "The Russian Revolution and its Degeneration."

June 21st "Anarcho-syndicalism and Council Communism."

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST DISCUSSION meetings at Leeds Trades Hall, Upper Fountain Street, Leeds 1. alternate Wednesdays at 8pm. All welcome.
June 13th. "The Left in Japan". Topics for future meetings will be Racism, the Womens' movement,

Preservation of the Rights Of Prisoners PROP Demonstration Saturday June 9th. Strangeways. Details from N. Clinton, 11, Chataway Gr. Manchester 8.

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS' FEDERATION?

Anyone interested in "a Student Federation within ORA, mainly those involved in Union work"?

Write to Larry Law, Berks Coll. of Ed. Students' Union, Bulmershe Court, Woodlands Avenue, Earley, Reading. Berkshire. READING 666506.

