

Libertarian STRUGGLE

for Workers' Power

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A MAJORITY OF 3



So the Labour Party are back in power, with a majority of only three, and Harold Wilson could have the solution to his problem of being the reluctant leader of a party pledged to 'socialist' policies.

After an election campaign in which he played down nationalisation, hinted at increased profits and a policy of wage restraint with the social contract, the lack of a sizeable majority will no doubt be the excuse for backpedalling on the more progressive points in the Labour manifesto. It may be a small majority, but it is a workable one.

Even the so-called left wingers in Wilson's party are worried about future Cabinet decisions — if they are, then working people must be prepared for the worst. The present crisis can either be dealt with in the interests of big business at the expense of the working class or the other way round — there can be no middle way.

Too many people, including the TUC, sat back when 'their party', the Labour Party, got a sizeable majority in 1965. And what happened? The ruthless breaking of the seamen's strike, the introduction of health charges, a drop in the standard of living, higher profits for business, and Barbara Castle trying to introduce trade union legislation. Why should it be any different this time? The same right wingers control the Cabinet and the same monopolies and bankers have a hold over the economy with which they can put the squeeze on the government. Pilkingtons, the giant glass firm, have already threatened an investments 'strike'

unless certain government policies help them.

No party or government, however much it is pledged to policies in favour of the working class, can reach any lasting solution to the crisis through parliament — an institution used to weaken and check any moves against the interests of the ruling class.

THE ALTERNATIVE

In the next few months the struggle waged outside Parliament, in industry and the working class communities, where the REAL balance of power can be seen, will decide who is going to suffer from this crisis of capitalism, the majority of us who produce the goods or the few who live off the profits and sell us back our goods at a high price. Many

people, at the last election, voted Labour reluctantly, knowing its past betrayals but seeing no real alternative. The only hope of a successful alternative to the power of government and big business is in the building of truly democratic working class organisations at factories and in the community to fight for our interests on every issue and not put our hope and energies into 'the party' and Parliament.

SOCIAL CONTRACT

The social contract means wage restraint, and in this period of raging inflation it is irrational to accept wage restraint while prices and rents continue to rise. Wages do not cause inflation, capitalism and its system

of making a large profit at any cost do. The fight for a decent wage is part of the struggle to change this.

NATIONALISATION

In the present crisis nationalisation is an inevitable step as a partial answer to the situation. Social democrats have often used this as a way to head off working class militancy, guarantee jobs and keep down wages — the public services are always used as test cases with wage claims. But nationalisation will not destroy capitalism, it may isolate private enterprise, and in some cases raise the level of militancy, but with more and more

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AIMS & PRINCIPLES

- 1 Capitalism is a class society.
- 2 The basic irreconcilable contradiction within it is between the class which owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, the bourgeoisie, and the class who produce the agricultural and industrial wealth, the working class.
- 3 The social enslavement and exploitation of the working class forms the basis on which modern society stands, without which capitalism could not exist.
- 4 The state is the instrument of the ruling class. To destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, we must destroy the power of the state.
- 5 Russia and China are class societies in each of which a ruling class of administrators collectively owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange and in which a working class, the sole producer of all wealth, is exploited by that class. These states we would 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 interest 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 the trade unions, whose bureaucracy is increasingly incorporated into capitalism, are not adequate for the smashing of capitalism and the building of a free classless society. However, working class rank and file organisations such as democratically controlled shop steward committees, factory committees, strike committees are developing through the place of work. These organisations are the forerunners of workers' councils which are the expression of working class power. Outside of work, the working class has developed other forms of organisation that are potentially revolutionary, such as tenants' action committees, rent strike committees and tenant-worker joint action committees.
- 9 Dual power exists before the power of the bourgeoisie is smashed. If the working class are successful then the organisation of the needs of society will be firmly based in working class hands. This is the collective working class in power, in which the working class destroys all remnants of bourgeois society such as racialism, the family and hierarchies. This is the period of transition between capitalism and libertarian communism.
- 10 From our analysis of society we reach the inevitable conclusion that capitalism cannot be reformed in any fundamental way and that the only meaningful transformation of society is through the development of working class organisations and by means of a violent social revolution. Violence becomes inevitable for the working class to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the dispossessed ruling class.

THE ROLE OF THE ORA

- 1 The task of the ORA 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. ORA is a conscious, organised expression of libertarian communist ideas. Through the shared experience, information and knowledge of the class struggle, ORA 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 ORA aims to offer a lead within the working class movement by example and explanation: and to build into the movement a high level of political consciousness so that it is capable of defeating capitalism and fighting the creation of a new ruling class. Fundamental to this is the contradiction between the organisation as a tendency within the class and its being in ideological advance of it. This contradiction can only be resolved with the establishment of a libertarian communist society. During the period of transition the potential basis for the emergence of a new ruling class is progressively removed so that the need for a separately organised libertarianism will decrease.
- 3 ORA seeks to develop and support working class organisations which are the forerunners of workers' councils and to develop in them revolutionary consciousness. ORA does not seek independent power for itself but seeks to work through the working class organisations.
- 4 ORA seeks to establish international links with libertarian revolutionary organisations and groups with an aim at establishing an international libertarian communist movement.
- 5 ORA 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.

- (i) We are a membership organisation.
- (ii) Membership is open to those who agree with our analysis of society and its transformation and who work towards this end.
- (iii) The main policy-making body will be the National Conference. Between National Conferences there will be held bi-monthly Delegate Conferences to co-ordinate and carry out National Conference decisions, to decide interim policy and to initiate activity. Delegates are mandatable and rotated. Delegate Conference decisions can be revoked by National Conference.
- (iv) We seek to establish ORA groups in all areas, not only geographical but also industrial, education, etc. Groups interpret National Conference and Delegate Conference decisions to relate tactics to their local experience.

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

(EDITORIAL continued)

power being put in the hands of the state, the more likely outcome is state capitalism. What did nationalisation of the mines, the steel industry, the railways, and, of course, Rolls-Royce, have to do with socialism? All ailing industries that needed government money to survive, with the old shareholders still benefitting from the pay off. The present policy of nationalisation means that we subsidise private industry.

WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON?

We have the right to be highly suspicious of any government that says it will nationalise industry 'on behalf of the people' and who say we must practise wage restraint as we all face a crisis in Britain. There are two sides of Britain - the working class side and the ruling class side - and you can't work on behalf of them both.

THE GUILDFORD BOMBING

Whoever was responsible for planting the

two bombs in Guildford pubs not only committed a cold-blooded act of barbarism but has, once again, made it that much more difficult to raise the sympathy of English people to the cause of Irish freedom. As has always happened in the past, all acts of terrorism of this kind produce is to isolate themselves from the mass sympathy they so need and give the 'law and order squad' a field day using the excuse of the bombings to smash up any genuine working class organisation they think necessary.

The violence of internment, the Special Powers and the troops in Ireland can only be ended with the mass support of the British people. The situation in Ireland is directly linked with the situation here - the same government rules us all. Only by pressure groups and trade unionists campaigning with mass support can be hope to fight and win the right to determine our own future: not by isolated acts of terror which bring the whole state machinery down on us all before there is any hope of winning.

THE PRESS FUND.

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE needs a new composer, better quality newsprint to cope with a regular increase in the number of pages. Libertarian ideas have to become widespread in the class struggle which is reaching greater intensity. **LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE** must be able to increase its effectiveness in this fight.

Donations to: ORA, 13, Coltman St., Hull.

WHATS IN A NAME

For some time now a debate has been taking place within the ORA as to whether our developing class commitment, both on the theoretical and practical level, should be contained within the name of the organisation.

After considering the matter, a majority decision was taken at our last national conference to amend the name of the organisation.

The original name had been arrived at as a rejection of 'liberal' and reformist anarchism, and as a clear indication of our belief that the only way to defeat capitalism was a

clearly defined organisation on a national and international scale.

It is time to project in our name that we are anarchists; that we are committed to the working class in the war with capitalism.

We believe all anarchists who agree with our policies should join the association in a concerted effort to create a strong libertarian current within the working class. The new name will be **Anarchist Workers' Association**. It will become operative at the beginning of the new year.

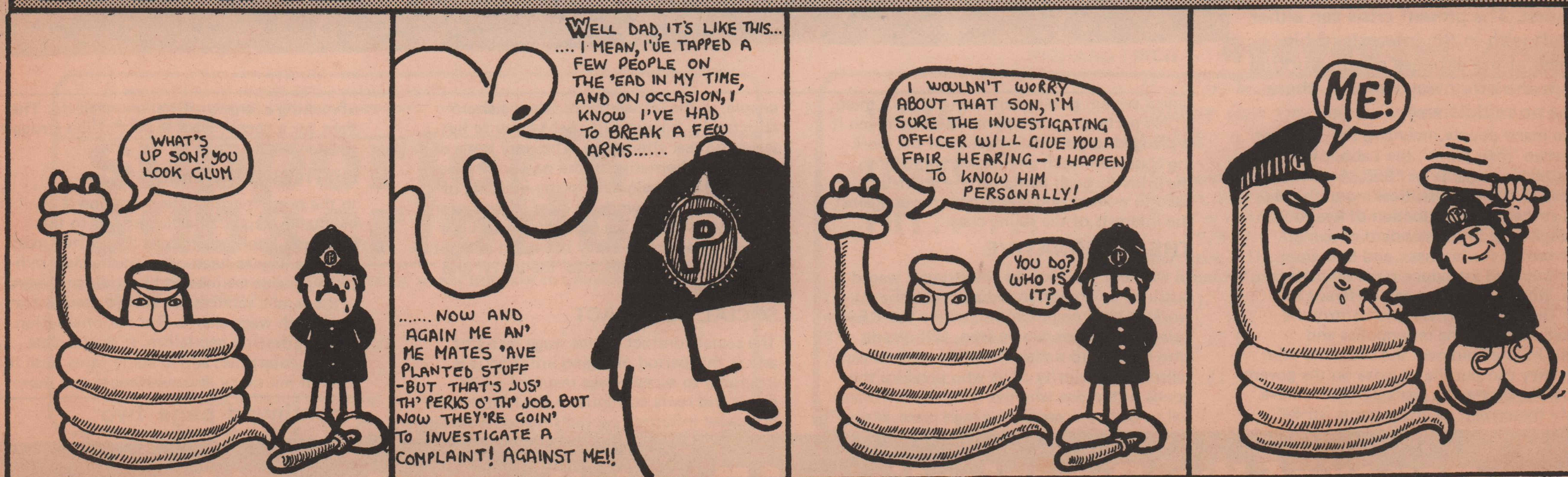
NORMAL SERVICE RESUMED

If you, like many thousands of others, have been wondering why you were not able to get your usual copy of *Libertarian Struggle* from your friendly-revolutionary anarchist, then read on.

For a number of months now the ORA has been experiencing the trials of an organisation which has influence and interests far in excess of its limited and modest income. The paper is financed by the membership and by donations from well wishers. Due to a plot of international capitalism called inflation, we have watched the gap between

income and expenditure gradually widen. A hard look at the paper revealed that we could, with an increase in price and help from our friends, carry on for the foreseeable future. We are not becoming a paper-selling organisation, that is definitely not what we are about, though we do feel it is essential there is an anarchist paper committed to the class struggle. Unfortunately capitalism and the state will not collapse just because we want them to, it will take hands, hearts, heads, and hard cash. If you agree, please contribute by supporting the Press Fund.

SNAKE



THE NATIONAL FRONT



John Tyndall in Fascist Uniform

'We are busy setting up a well oiled Nazi machine in this country' — Martin Webster, National Activities Organiser of the National Front.

In times of severe crisis for the present economic system, movements based on the platform of patriotism, racialism and the strong corporate state tend to emerge, as in the 30s with the fascists of Italy and Britain and the National Socialists of Germany.

These movements direct hatred against certain sections of society, for example the Jews, Communists, trade unionists, and are by their very nature anti-working class. They appeal to workers as offering a 'radical' solution to the crisis and to bad wages and conditions and rising prices, while at the same time try to gain the support, moral and financial, of big business and the middle classes. In the end, workers find they gain nothing as all their organisations are destroyed. A strong dictatorship forces them to accept the same old standards and, even worse, they are used as cannon fodder in maniacal wars of expansion.

Big business usually leaves these movements alone as long as the forces of the capitalist state, the army, the police, the judiciary, the mass media, can successfully control the working class.

Though when workers begin to organise in a determined turning to revolutionary ideas, the crisis overtakes the employers,

with bankruptcy and inflation. Then they must turn to the fascists as an auxiliary weapon.

They provide backing for the fascists in their newspapers (Lord Rothermere in the 30s) and financial subsidies (Lord Nuffield, Courtaulds, at the same time) because they want to see trade unions and left wing groups destroyed by these thugs. They call on them to act as scabs and blacklegs, to break up picket lines during major strikes.

In 1967 fascist and neo-nazi groups were formed in Germany, Italy, Austria and France. The National Front was formed at the same time and keeps in close contact with these groups. The magazine of the German neo-nazis hailed John Tyndall, Chairman of the NF, as its Fuhrer.

The National Front was formed from an amalgamation of extreme right wing elements, fascists, nazis and the 'patriots' of the League of Empire Loyalists. As such it contains a number of contradictions which still exist to this day.

While the hard core of the party and most of its leadership subscribe to Hitlerite views, anti-semitism, the nation state, outright dictatorship, some of its members are people who merely want to see Britain 'great' and prosperous again.

These people, who for the most part have racist ideas, come under the influence of the real fascists and are won over to their ideas.

The leadership of the NF has a long history of membership of nazi groups and a list of convictions just as long.

Both Martin Webster and Tyndall were members of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement whose slogan was 'Hitler was right'. They later formed the Greater Britain Movement, another blatantly nazi group.

Also amongst the leadership are Gordon Marshall and Peter Holland from the Greater Britain Movement, Peter Williams from the British Union of Fascists, and Andrew Brons, another ex-NSM man.

A previous Chairman of the Front, who resigned when he realised the nature of the leadership, said: *There is a small caucus working within the National Front attracted by the trappings and ideologies of foreign nationalism from the past. These people see Britain's future best served by her becoming a rigidly administered police state.*

To show the nazi origins of the leadership and the various nazi quotes in their paper *Spearhead* is not enough. The important thing is that they have a number of ideas which could appeal to working class prejudices and fears.

They talk about the immigrant population taking all of the houses. Though the state of housing in Glasgow is deplorable, there are few immigrants there to blame it on.

It is important that the National Front

are not allowed to have a platform. We believe in free speech within the working class. We do not support the idea of free speech for those who would pulverise the working class. They must be denied the freedom to spread their vile and obscene ideas.

ORA fully realises the importance of stopping the Front, and we are actively supporting the anti-fascist committees. We feel the political emphasis must be on mobilising working class action against the NF, not to engage in 'Smash the Front' circuses in the style of certain left 'vanguards'.



Martin Webster

An active part must be taken against racism in the unions and every other area of working class life.

The demand for women's rights must be supported, against the NF's typical fascist attitude of seeing women as breeding machines.

The Front benefits from the general discontent in the worsening economic situation.

The answer is not with the fascist National Front and its crude and muddled policies.

Rather it is to fight against any attempt to reduce living standards by using the combined might of organised labour to crush moves to alleviate capitalism's plight.

DAVE HIGGINS

EAST LONDON

In the East End an anti-fascist committee has got off the ground. A racist pub has been picketed by local teachers; an NF election meeting in a local Hackney school (Haggerston) was disrupted by 300 people and the NF had to meet in the school corridor. However, local militants are beginning to be aware of a lot of ambiguity in the feeling of many local people.

They swallow a lot of the NF line

ANTIFASCIST NEWS

LEICESTER

Leicester has always been regarded by the NF as one of their strong cities. Their vote in recent elections has been disturbingly high in a city which has never been noted for racial harmony.

In such a situation therefore the need for an effective anti-fascist force is more crucial than ever. The present committee is composed largely of the IMG, ORA and other libertarians and independents.

The various other left sects in town are either more preoccupied, it seems, with preserving their own members and contacts from the taints of ultra-leftism, while the Communist Party prefer to tackle the whole problem as merely a question of racial hatred — 'one race, the human race'.

Work so far has been largely centred around the election. Leaflets have been produced and distributed calling for no free speech for fascists and attempting to put across to people the fascist reality behind the respectable 'populist' facade of the National Front.

LEICESTER ORA



NORTH LONDON

North London ORA are participating in an ad hoc anti-fascist committee set up in Camden Town. This committee was set up as a result of increased NF activity in Camden, and the firing of a shotgun at the shop window of 220 Camden High Street, a local socialist and tenants/squatters' information centre. This happened a number of times. Similar incidents occurred at a socialist building in Brent. The National Front branch in Brent takes in Camden Town as well.

A leaflet and picket was planned for outside Conway Hall on 7 October where the Front were holding a public meeting, but they found out a mobilisation was planned and cancelled the meeting. So some inconvenience was caused them when they got the wind up.

NORTH LONDON ORA



about law and order and corporal and capital punishment as a remedy for bad conditions and they blame the blacks for long housing lists. Yet they count many coloured people as their personal friends.

Anti-fascist meetings must be on how to involve local people and how to fight local grievances — not a middle class campaign pointing out how wrong racism is.

SO WHAT WAS THE ELECTION ABOUT?

In this election campaign the Labour Party, the Tories and the Liberals are all agreed on one thing — that Britain is facing a deep economic crisis.

But have they come up with any convincing answers since the last election in February? NO, because they refuse to face the real causes. They blame the unions, the Arabs, rising world commodity prices, the weather, the Reds . . . anything but the capitalist system.

In their desperation they are calling for 'national unity' — which is just an excuse to hold down living standards, whether by law or by the social contract.

THE REAL ISSUE

There can be no national unity in Britain while there exists the vast difference of interests between those who own and control the means of production and those of us who have only our labour to sell. These different interests lead to a continuing class conflict. Working people fight to win the 'fairest' possible wages, whilst employers try to hold down wages and push up prices so as to increase their profits.

This class war has spread and intensified now as there is less money to go round. There is an international monetary crisis and a world energy crisis. Someone is bound to

suffer in this situation; the employers, backed by the last Tory Government and not stopped by the Labour minority government, decided that they must attack the living standards of the working class if they are to preserve and increase their own wealth and profits.

The next government, whether Labour or Tory, will be forced to continue this attack on the working class because the economic situation in the West will be the same.

No government or party can solve this situation through parliament.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IS A SHAM!

Once a party wins an election the voters have no control over it or its election promises. Who voted Labour in 1964 for more unemployment, wage freezes, higher prescription charges and attacks on trade unions? Likewise, who voted Tory in 1970 for the fastest rising prices ever?

A voter of average life expectancy will vote *ten times* in general elections. Ten minutes out of seventy years spent marking little crosses is our democratic right to control our own lives. No wonder so much effort goes into convincing us that it is worthwhile.

Ten minutes of democracy does not make

London ORA group distributed the following leaflet before the General Election:

up for years of being pushed around by big companies like Chrysler and Fords, who are responsible to no government.

Ten minutes of democracy does not help us when our factory is being closed down or our wages are being frozen.

THERE IS NO CHOICE ANYWAY

If you were against the Common Market in the 1970 general election you would find that all the major parties were in favour of entry, and we were going in anyway.

Voting cannot represent the real strength of the working class because it is based on geographical constituencies, whereas real power lies in industry. A member of parliament who represents both the labourers and the landlords and employers of his area ends up representing nobody but himself.

We may all be equal at the ballot box, but we are not all equal in society. The president of Chrysler doesn't even vote as he is an American, nevertheless he has more power than the combined votes of the 28,000 workers he employs in Britain.

If the 7% who own 84% of the wealth of this country are outvoted they simply hire newspapers, get pickets prosecuted, insist that anti-trade union laws are passed and that a freeze on wages is necessary. If all that fails, eventually the real might of the state is used,

to preserve 'law and order', of course, the Army and armed police appear on the streets.

Because, until the last year, elections are held every five years, because we vote as individuals in the isolation of the ballot box, because we vote on policies they have presented to us, because we are voting for 'the lesser evil', the way we vote is not necessarily any guide to how we feel at all.

Had there been a general election in France in April 1968 there would probably have been few signs of the upheavals to take place. For, in May, without any warning, the biggest general strike in history broke out; spreading to even football players and can-can dancers.

The general election is a charade. It only serves to obscure the class war which goes on and escalates. Working people will gain nothing from this election except false hopes and broken promises.

WHOEVER YOU VOTE FOR, THE GOVERNMENT GETS IN

The only worthwhile course of action open to those who produce all that is worth having — the working class — is to take power in their own hands: through seizing the factories and organising to govern themselves. Building workers' councils to run industry and community councils to maintain social needs.

MORE TROT

The second National Conference of Rank and File Papers is being organised and is taking place in the near future (30 November). Readers of *Libertarian Struggle* will remember an article in a previous issue covering the first Conference, which was held in Birmingham and which also included the text of ORA's leaflet condemning the International Socialists' attitude towards rank and file organisation and explaining briefly the ORA's attitude.

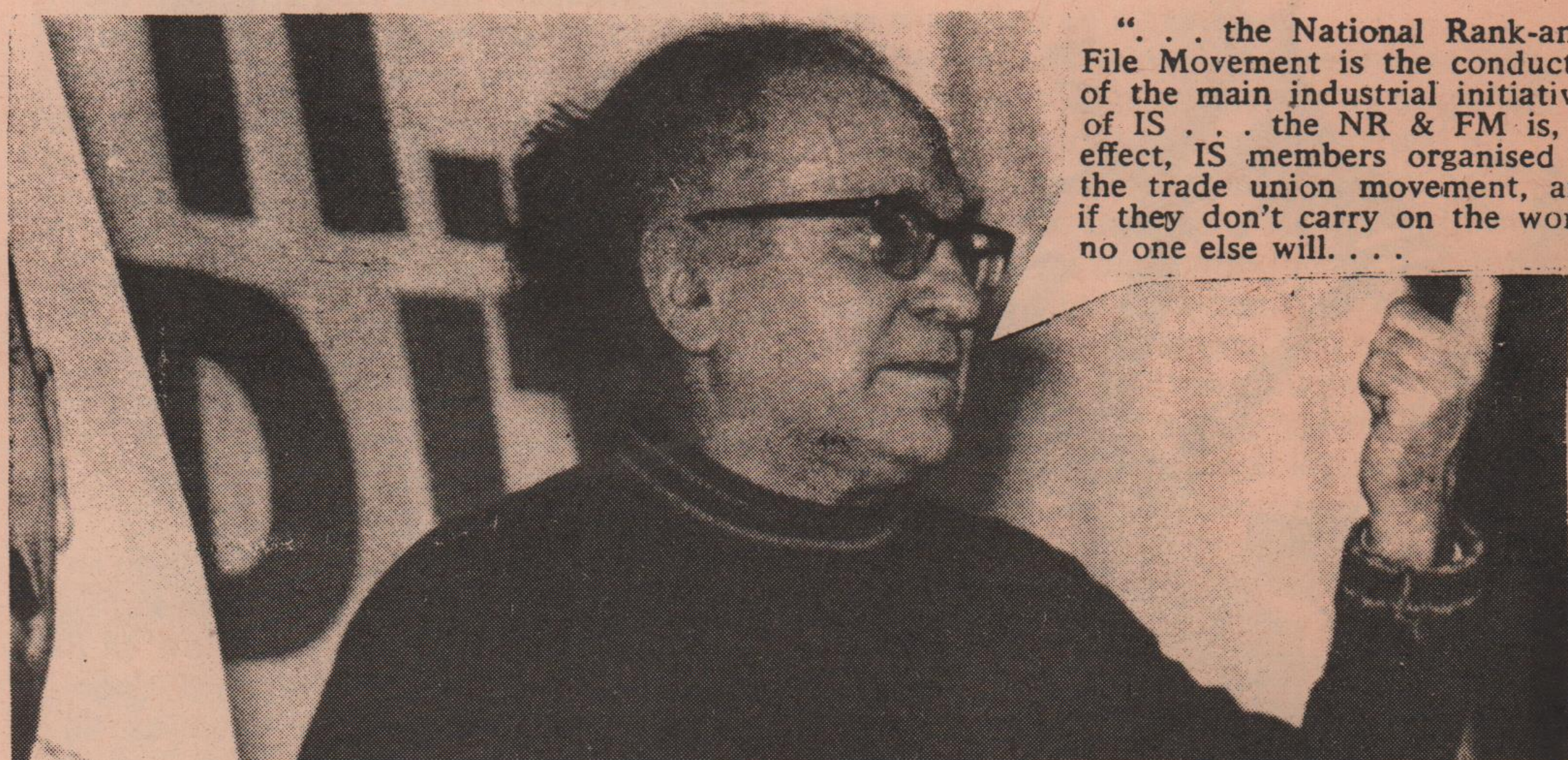
One thing must be clear to large numbers of trade unionists: all three major political parties want to cut living standards by freezing wages.

The Labour Party believe that they can do this by cossetting and bribing the trade union leaders with illusions of political power. It is very clear, however, to even the

stupidest union bureaucrat that a Labour Government with a clear majority will not be able to control a strong force from the rank and file of the labour movement to smash the social contract. They will succeed and the Labour Government will then have to resort to the same statutory measures as the Tories and Liberals to keep wages down.

Even if a Labour Government is returned with a minority, the social contract will not last very long. The social contract is a strictly short term tactic by the Labour Party, who will sooner or later try to impose wage controls.

So the real question is — given that sooner or later any government that is formed is going to have to have a go at using more physical methods of imposing wage controls



"... the National Rank-and-File Movement is the conduct. of the main industrial initiatives of IS ... the NR & FM is, in effect, IS members organised in the trade union movement, and if they don't carry on the work, no one else will. ..."

2nd NATIONAL RANK & FILE CONFERENCE

UNOFFICIAL ACTION

Last term my school took unofficial strike action along with several other schools as both a protest at what we considered to be the misguided action of the NUT Executive over the London allowance and also as an attempt to persuade the NUT Executive to change its policy by internal pressure from a majority of London teachers. As a result, we were accused of either ignoring or deliberately trying to wreck the union. This article is an attempt to justify the need for unofficial action at certain times.

When I joined the NUT it was not on the basis that the union hierarchy is a 'god' and every whim should be instantly obeyed. As well as being a member of a union, I am also an individual possessing a conscience I alone am answerable to. If ever the two come into direct conflict then I have two choices — either to leave the union or attempt to convince people both within my branch and the union generally that my conscience is right.

There are times when the collective conscience of a school branch may disagree with the policy of the Executive. If this happens then perhaps a number of alternatives lay open to the branch: Letters, motions put forward to the appropriate bodies (LA's, ILTA, etc.) may persuade the officials of the union to change their policy. When we came on strike we had no time for any of this. We believed that the time was the correct time to strike and so we did, attempting to win support for our ideas by our ideas, by our very action. Now we believe that we were instrumental in the Executive taking a somewhat more militant line over the allowance for they realised that many London members were a good deal more militant than they had thought.

Why not leave the union instead of taking this action? Frankly, none of the alternatives to the NUT look particularly attractive specimens. The NAS, UWT, etc., have little concrete policy on pay claims, working conditions, etc. But there is a more important reason. As soon as I join a union I become, in essence, the union. I am the union just as much as you are. The union isn't Hamilton House or the latest NUT diary but every individual member that constitutes the whole and signed the blue, green, yellow, etc. forms. I have a right to my opinion in my union and only a repressive power could stop me voicing it.

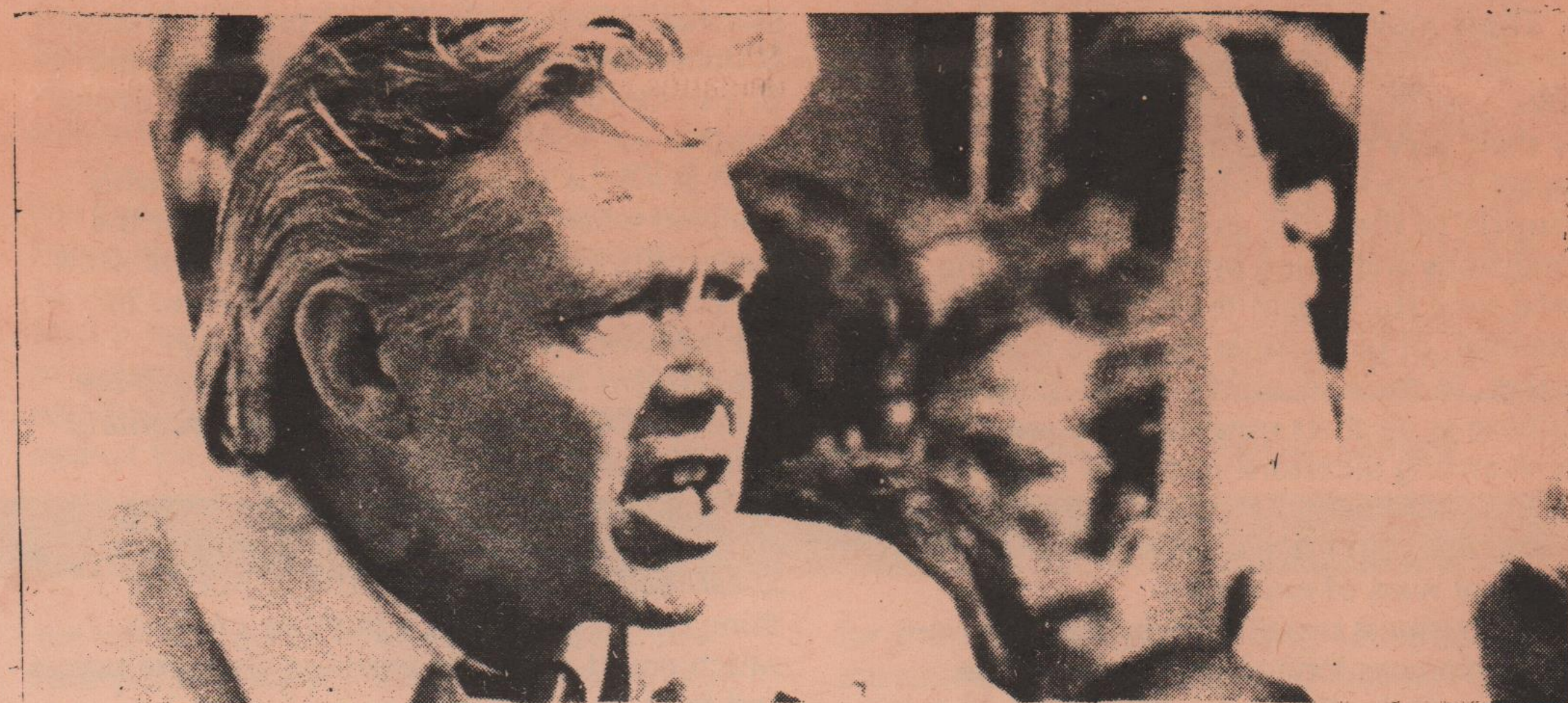
So, when perhaps you are considering unofficial action, it may help to realise that you have a right to your say in your union; and if your officials seem deaf to your proposals in any form, then perhaps you might not be attacking them but just reminding them. You never know, you might find people who agree with you; or at least your officials might take a closer look at what they've been doing.

BAS PATEMAN, NUT REP., DANEFORD

EDITORIAL COMMENT:

We welcome contributions from militants involved in struggle giving details of experience and struggle, as only from a free and wide exchange of ideas from one section of the working class to another can the working class as a whole move on to political and organisational unity and its taking of power and the establishment of libertarian socialism.

HOSPITAL WORKERS PREPARE



Alan Fisher NUPE General Secretary

The nurses have been given some of the substantial increases they demanded, with an average rise of 30 per cent. It is unlikely that there would have been a settlement, or at least a 'fair' one, unless the nurses all over the country had not burst into militant activity in the summer months of this year. During these actions, nurses learnt many lessons — that industrial action pays off, that solidarity from other sections of workers is necessary.

Yet at the same time the pay settlement can be seen as an attempt to weaken the increased unity between nurses and other workers in the health service, particularly the ancillary workers.

The ancillary workers were the first group of workers to go in for militant action in the hospitals and the first group to take on the Conservative Government's pay policy. They were defeated when the union leadership backed down, because they were inexperienced in strike activity and because they did not get the support of other workers, including the nurses.

The pay-off to the nurses must not be allowed to break the solidarity achieved with the ancillary workers, particularly as the latter are preparing for a pay claim.

On Friday, September 30th, at a meeting of the unions involved in the National Health Service, an eleven-point plan was drawn up.

This included a £30 minimum basic rate with a threshold stipulation; the consolidation of the present threshold payment, a 35-hour week, four weeks holiday a year, and equal pay to be established as soon as possible.

The only fly in the ointment was the demand for a penalty payment to staff not receiving money from a bonus scheme paying more than ten per cent. Yet at the last National Union of Public Employees' conference, productivity deals were rejected and bonus schemes actually turned down in some areas.

Now, because of this demand, management can restart campaigns for bonus schemes, which means increased production for a small bonus instead of a higher basic wage. Productivity deals turn worker against worker in a frenzied effort to keep up the production level, as they are worked out on a departmental basis rather than individual basis.

The claim will be negotiated very soon with the management side of the health service. If the claim is rejected, then hospital workers must be prepared to go into action in a similar way to the nurses.

Rank and file pressure and support must be built up to push for militant action in the eventuality of a rejection and to stop the union leadership backing down like they did over the last strike and over the productivity deal.

Solidarity must be gained from other sections of workers in key industries — miners, car workers, etc., if ancillary workers are to win a future strike.

Hospital workers have high hopes for a substantial pay increase after the recent nurses' settlement. These hopes must not be shattered, and the working class as a whole must be prepared to give support.

ORA HOSPITAL WORKER

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NONSENSE

— how best is the working class going to oppose this?

The International Socialists believe that they can do this by organising a series of National Rank and File Conferences — this next one is on the social contract — stipulating that delegates who attend be delegates from bona fide union branches (correct as regards the nature of the delegates, but what for?)

They believe that a Rank and File Coordinating Committee is necessary to keep delegates in touch between Conferences. Primarily they believe that membership of rank and file organisations relevant to each union is enough to harness and organise militancy against the approaching governmental offensive. *It is not enough.* It is a

fallacy to believe that you can organise and generate mass rank and file feeling anywhere else but at the base level, amongst the membership.

More important than a national organisation of rank and file papers is the development of councils of action in local areas. Revolutionaries must seek to expand the role, relevance and democratic nature of their local trades councils. Local alliances of trade union branches will be invaluable in making individual strikes a success. Only a mass rank and file which is strong at base and whose local officials are entirely at the service of their demands (not the other way round) will break the bureaucracy of the unions.

Almost every IS dominated rank and file

paper sees as its first priority the capture of local union branch officer positions by rank and file members and then on to the capturing of national executive positions.

That way they think they have a militant union. Who has the official positions in a union should be irrelevant if the mass of the membership is active.

Revolutionaries should fight for the real democratisation of their particular union by removing the executive and unmandated power of their officials and not by trying to replace them by themselves. No rank and file organisation parodying its parent union in all but policy, and no national rank and file conference parodying the TUC, is going to inspire the mass of the working class to get up and combat the governmental attacks on

it.

The Community Party tried forming an alternative TUC with the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. The Workers' Revolutionary Party tried it with the All Trades Union Alliance, and now the International Socialists are trying it with the National Rank and File Papers Conference.

They will all fail the working class just as the Labour Party dominated TUC has because they have tried to see the reformist structure of the trade unions as the ideal expression of the membership. As I have said, the full expression of the membership will only come when they are all active in their own workplaces and areas and have nothing to fear from the officials — or the parties. J.B.

All quotes from I.S.
internal bulletin

"The rank-and-file conference held in Birmingham on March 30 was quite clearly the most important venture we have ever undertaken.
"Sponsored by several of the rank-and-file papers in which IS

members have complete or over-all control it was an important test of our penetration in the working-class movement.
"Currently the members of the organising committee are all IS members. . . .

"The formal independence of the organising committee has to be defended and maintained at all times. This is because we want the NR & FM to attract non-IS supporters, and we want it to breathe in the labour movement.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT IS A SOCIAL CONTRICK



Please God, make the
workers go away!

The social contract, whereby trade union demands are subordinated to the national economy, was one of the platforms on which the Labour Party fought the last two elections.

The Labour Party sought to win votes and support for itself from the employers and from sections of the middle class by appearing as the only political party that could win industrial peace, while at the same time showing a different face to the working class with the idea that working class organisation and demands would be protected and would prosper under a Labour regime (repeal of the Industrial Relations Act). They hoped to frighten working people into accepting the idea that to fight for better pay and conditions would jeopardise Labour's chances at the election by losing votes for them through militancy.

The Labour Party uses its 'socialist' facade and the myth that substantial gains can be won for the workers by supporting their programme in order to control working class militancy. At the same time it desperately tries to show itself to the employers as a stick to beat militants with.

The social contract is nothing less than a plan to make workers accept present standards of living and to be satisfied with them. It has nothing to do with government-labour co-operation but plenty to do with wage cuts and cuts in living standards. As the crisis of capitalism increases so then must the employers seek to smash working class organisation and create higher levels of unemployment in order to prop up their crumbling system.



Ask him again Harold!

So it was that the TUC leadership, with Len Murray at its head, put pressure on the building workers union, UCATT, to drop their 1974 pay claim and why the National Union of Miners' leadership have urged that their membership accept the pit productivity deal which would force miners to work flat out to achieve high production targets.

The interests of the Labour Party and trade union leaderships are opposed to the working class interests because they are integrated into the framework of the present system and depend on it for their existence. But already workers are seeing through the big confidence trick of the social contract (as at Fords) and are showing that they will not accept wage cuts at any price.

The Labour Party seeks collaboration between the employers and the workers as a solution to inflation and rising prices. But as long as a society exists where different classes are struggling against each other, there can be no long term solution.

What the Labour Party is proposing is class collaboration and a 'voluntary' acceptance of wage freezes worked out with help from their friends in the union leaderships. What that means for workers is allowing their living standards and any gains they have made under capitalism to be eroded; in other words, meekly putting their heads on the chopping block without a fight.

Working people can only solve these problems not by accepting the social contract but by struggling to organise at grass roots rank and file level with the aim of taking over the means of production and distribution and abolishing the class society we have at the moment.

The call must be to say 'no' to the social contract and to the Labour Party—trade union bureaucracy confidence trick; to say 'no' to employers' attacks on workers' living standards by building a rank and file movement in the factory and neighbourhood to resist and to organise to destroy capitalism.

NICK HILLIER

viva la
democraCIA



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FRANCE. THE PARIS ELEVEN



Octavio Alberola

Opposition to the Franco regime both inside and outside Spain has increased over the last year. Franco is on his last legs and his successors, alarmed by the situation in Portugal and by the resistance workers and students are putting up, are frantically attempting to destroy the anti-Franco groups. In Spain itself, this has resulted in mass arrests of militants and the execution of the anarchist Salvador Puig Antich. For their efforts to smash the resistance outside Spain they have enlisted the support of the French judicial authorities, and numbers of anti-Francoists have been put into jail.

Shortly after the execution of Puig Antich on 3 May, a Spanish banker, of the Bank of Bilbao, was kidnapped from his home in Paris by members of an international anti-fascist grouping, G.A.R.I. (*International Revolutionary Action Groups*). In a communique they issued immediately after the kidnapping, the group demanded that the Spanish government's own law of conditional liberty (a form of remission) be applied. This would mean the immediate release of over 100 political prisoners from whom it is unlawfully being held. They also asked for the provisional release of one of those lying gravely ill after being arrested on a May 1 demo in Madrid. Finally, the refund of at least part of the funds seized by Franco

and his followers from the *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo* (*National Confederation of Labour*) the anarcho-syndicalist union which had led the fight against the generals during the Spanish Civil War.

Immediately after the release of Suarez in Paris on 22 May, eleven people were arrested in different parts of France. These arrests were carried out by the 'democratic' French police in collaboration with the Spanish secret police operating in Paris. They also came to London and in conjunction with the British police visited the homes of British and Spanish anti-fascists.

Those arrested included Octavio Alberola Surinach, an anarchist militant, who, because of his untiring stand against Franco, has been declared the regime's Public Enemy Number One. The Spanish security services have made numerous attempts against his life over the last thirteen years and now believe they have succeeded in getting him. Others arrested include Jean Weir, a Scots woman who merely happened to be passing through Paris at the time of the arrests.

All the evidence against the eleven is very flimsy indeed and the French authorities have dropped charges against two of them already, and all the others, except Alberola, Jean Wier and Ariane Grandore, have been released on bail.

International solidarity must be mobilised to help the nine people. Letters of support should be sent to:

Octavio Alberola Surinach, Prison des Hommes, 1 Avenue de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, France, and to Jean Helen Weir and Ariane Gransac-Sadori, Prison des Femmes, Fleury Merogis, 2 Avenue des Peupliers, 91700 St. Genevieve des Bois, France.

Also letters of protest to the French ambassador against increased collaboration with the Spanish fascists.

Motions should also be moved by trade unionists in their branches condemning the French-Spanish collusion and supporting the imprisoned anti-Francoists.

Most important, money is needed for the legal defence. Those who want to contribute

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ITALY. THE MARINI CASE & FASCISM



Giovanni Marini

Giovanni Marini, a militant anarchist-communist, has been sentenced to twelve years imprisonment for defending a comrade and himself against a fascist attack in Italy. His comrade, Mastrogiovanni, had been attacked on the street by fascists and Marini had gone to his aid.

During the ensuing fight, a prominent fascist, Falvella, was injured and later died by his own knife, which had dropped to the ground. The trial of Marini and Mastrogiovanni was moved from its original venue to Vallo della Lucania in the Province of Salerno. The moving of it to this remote village was meant to isolate Marini from solidarity.

The Marini trial shows that the fight is not confined to this country against the National Front but is an international one against fascism. The virtual judicial murder of Marini (he has been continuously beaten and mistreated), is not just an attack on anarchist revolutionaries but part of a wider offensive against the working class. Marini was a very

active working class anarchist militant and agitator and had been unearthing evidence which implicated fascists in the murder of five anarchists on a highway.

The trial of Marini illustrates the manner in which the Italian state is willing to protect fascists. Yet fascist cannot be regarded as necessarily imminent in Italy. Increasingly since 1969, the 'backward' section of Italian capitalism — the parts with links with US capital — have used the fascist party (the MSI) to pursue its interests. It is not for nothing that the MSI have links with the CIA — whose role in aiding fascists in Chile, Greece and elsewhere is well known.

The international monopoly firms, however, have increasingly become attracted to the idea of using the non-revolutionary Italian Community Party. The CP, under the guise of a distorted anti-US nationalism, have aligned themselves with such international firms as Fiat and Pirelli.

But the situation could well arise in the future where the militancy of the Italian working class is at such a level that the CP cannot control and channel it into political impotency. Then a much wider section of the Italian employers may embrace the MSI.

The reaction of the workers to the bombing of an anti-fascist rally by fascists at Brescia earlier this year (when several persons were killed and many more badly injured) was such that the TU leaders were forced to call a temporary general strike. As well as showing the Italian working class's resistance to fascism, this episode also revealed their reaction to any offensive directed against them. The 'Red Week' in Rome (April 1971) is also one of many examples of the Italian workers' attitude.

With the deepening world-wide crisis of capitalism, the firms such as Fiat and ENI are likely to support any force which appears capable of destroying the working class's strength. With the possible failure of the Italian CP, the MSI could appear attractive to the 'advanced monopoly' firms as well as the backward. The contradictions within the different sections of the employers are not enough to take precedence over the main

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CHILE. ONE YEAR AFTER

It is now over a year since the Popular Unity government of Allende fell before the vicious onslaught of the Chilean armed forces. The ferocity of the repression which followed the establishment of Pinochet's military government stirred even the liberal consciences of the British press, though that particular issue has long since left the headlines. However, before the coup passes finally into history, obscured by a flood of crocodile tears over the cause of democracy and social justice, let us take a cold clear look at the real issues — and draw our own lessons.

The government of Sr. Allende, however sincere it might have been in its intentions, was doomed to failure. Rather than being a brave experiment, it was simply the latest in a depressing series of vain attempts to find a peaceful road to the abolition of poverty and inequality. Problems such as these could not be eradicated slowly, step by step, by dictates from above. The Unidad Popular government failed to realise this and, equally

important, failed to foresee the effects that any genuine attempt would have both on the Chilean ruling class and the impoverished mass of workers and peasants.

It was hardly likely that imperialism could have been abolished by edict, especially when one realises that the Chilean employers and landowners that Allende was all the time attempting to placate were dependent for their wealth and power on just such foreign links. On the other hand, the peasants and working people, who had been showing signs of increasing militancy ever since the late sixties, when stimulated by the cautious promises and actions of the UP government, seemed to be going far beyond any point which the ruling class could have tolerated. Workers occupied their factories and peasants took over the vast estates of the rural landowners.

In short, the Chilean people were set on a path that, if followed to its logical end, could well have resulted in the dismemberment of

the whole state structure and toppled the ruling class. Already they had begun to arm to defend themselves and to organise in such a way that the shape of a future classless society could clearly be seen.

No-one, of course, saw this more clearly than their employers and landlords — the group whose privileged existence was directly threatened — and the financiers and businessmen of the more 'advanced' countries. Not only was a lucrative source of their profit threatened, the dangerous cancer of social revolution in Chile might well spread to other countries in Latin America (never a particularly safe area for investment in that respect), to end . . . who knows where? This process could obviously no longer be stopped through 'democratic' procedures, so there remained one solution — which was carried out amidst a welter of blood by the Chilean army in September 1973.

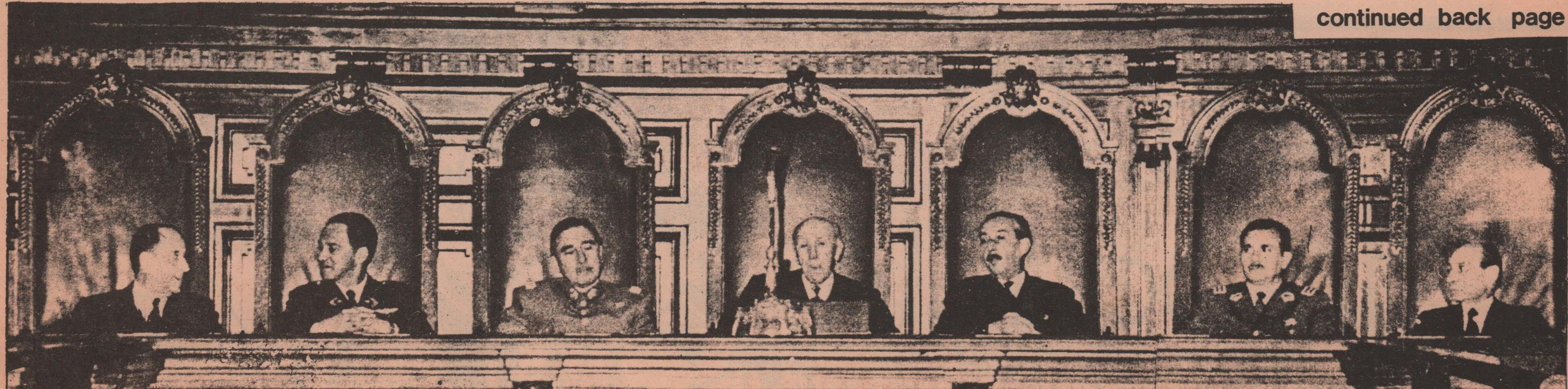
The mistakes of the popular-front approach have once again been made all too apparent

for those willing to see them. No section of the ruling class will consent to having its privilege eroded and see its power slip away without putting up a fight. Their own means of maintaining that power, such as parliaments or the sham of democracy, cannot be turned against them. The people must organise themselves in their factories, on the farms and within their own neighbourhoods. Socialism will never be handed down to us on a plate. However committed the men who make such promises might be, they are quite simply unable to carry them out, as was Allende and his followers.

Equally important is the fact that anyone who begins to follow the same road that the Chilean workers took cannot expect to do so without a struggle. Above all, however, such a situation as Chile shows the need for the conscious organisation of the working class on their own behalf, not placing their trust in leaders, whether revolutionary or reformist.

The role played by foreign interests

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RIOT CONTROL

The New Technology of Repression. Produced by the *British Society for Social Responsibility in Science*.

August 1969 saw the introduction of the British Army to the streets of Northern Ireland, supposedly to protect the Catholic populations of Belfast and Derry from B-Special led pogroms. This is what the ruling class term peace-keeping activity. It is the general euphemism for repression (Cyprus, Aden, Kenya).

At the time very few people realised the logical consequences of this action — indeed, most of the anti-unionist population welcomed the British Tommy and his sense of fair play. Cups of tea were handed out, literally.

The introduction of troops came after prolonged rioting and battles with the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the B-Specials. During these battles — which were given intensive media coverage — the British public saw, first baton charges then water cannon and CS gas employed, and finally the Army. Since then, the techniques of riot control have become more sophisticated as the fighting escalated.

CS gas is not properly a gas but a greyish powder which is dispersed by means of a cartridge fired from an ordinary signal pistol. It can also come in a grenade form which can be fired from a SLR rifle to give it increased range, or simply thrown. CS causes pain in the eyes, profuse tear gland activity; it causes breathing to become extremely painful, stinging in certain of the more sensitive skin areas, and a large quantity causes vomiting.

It is particularly dangerous to the very old and the very young and those who suffer from asthmatic and bronchial disorders. It can be countered by smearing the face with a mixture of egg white and baking soda or by using a scarf soaked in vinegar. It can cause serious, even permanent damage to an individual if overexposed.

CS gas remained the main weapon in the Army's population control arsenal until June 1970 when the newly elected Tory Government authorised the use of the rubber bullet or 'baton round'. A rubber bullet is a blunt cylinder about 5 inches long and 1½ inches wide and weighs just over 5 ounces. It can be fired from the same gun as the CS cannister. Officially rubber bullets are supposed to be used at ranges over 35 yards and are supposed to be fired at the ground so they ricochet. However this instruction is rarely used, and indeed there are many instances where the bullet has been stiffened by the insertion of a torch battery.

The record of injuries caused by rubber bullets is extensive. Three deaths have been attributed to injuries inflicted by them and quite a few cases of partial and total eye damage.

The next stage in the escalation spiral came officially on 9 August 1971 with the introduction of internment and new interrogation techniques. It is the latter which are the greater source of alarm.

These techniques are known as *perceptual deprivation*. They involved the prisoners being stood with their hands spread-eagled on a wall and their legs apart while their heads were hooded and they were subjected to white noise at 85-87 decibels for up to 16 hours.

Together with inadequate food or sleep and constant interrogation, it was easy to break down the strongest prisoner. It has been established that this technique can cause severe trauma similar to shell shock.

What has been listed above are some of the physical aspects of repression which can be applied by the ruling class to an insurgent population through the agency of the Army. However there are more subtle ways the Government can repress the working class or a section of it. *This is by means of the welfare state.*

The government can increase control through curtailment of cash benefits, dole, social security benefits, pensions, etc., through housing, and, perhaps the most sinister of all, through the collection of information supplies to the branches of the welfare state.

This last method has been outlined by Brigadier Kitchen. The Army will have, in counter-insurgency operations, to rely more on large quantities of low grade information

The naval base of Kronstadt, near Leningrad, was one of the 'crucibles of the Russian Revolution'. The sailors and soldiers with their high political consciousness were in the forefront of the struggle, and from Kronstadt many went out to the towns and villages of Russia to spread revolutionary ideas. When the sailors saw the consolidation of the Bolshevik dictatorship and the increase in bureaucracy with the persecution of the non-Bolshevik revolutionary groups, they rose up and demanded immediate release of political prisoners, freedom of speech and press within the workers' movements, and soviets free from the authority of Lenin and his party. They were viciously put down by Trotsky and the cadres of the Bolshevik party and thousands were shot (March 1921).

This is the most complete work on Kronstadt to appear to date. Where Paul Avrich's book on the same subject discusses the course of the insurrection and its national and international ramifications in more detail, Alexandre Skirda gives valuable and rare source texts, translated by himself and brought together for the first time. This alone makes the book worth buying and reading, even if the reader's knowledge of French is not very good.

The subtitle of the book gives an indication of the author's political commitment. After a brief survey of events in Kronstadt between 1917 and 1921, he exposes the Bolsheviks for their crushing of the revolution and their subsequent attempts to provide theoretical justification for the military suppression of the insurrection. He concen-



OR POPULATION CONTROL



than on small quantities of high grade information. Computers will play their part here.

It is not hard to see that what the Army are doing in the Six Counties is gaining them valuable experience in operating in an advanced capitalist country.

The increasing activity of the police and Army at Heathrow, the Army on the streets of Hull and the Police repression of militants makes it plain that all the techniques perfected in Ireland can be brought into play over here. The introduction of this technology does not pre-necessitate a right-wing

KRONSTADT

ALEXANDRE SKIRDA: *Kronstadt 1921. Proletariat contre Bolchevisme.* Paris 1972 (publisher: Editions de la Tete de Fenilles, 3 rue Crebillon, Paris VIe).



Trotsky speaking to the Red Army.

trates particularly on the positions of Lenin, Trotsky and the 'Workers' Opposition', using a wealth of quotations to back up his arguments.

It is vital that all anarchists and libertarians know the truth about Kronstadt and be prepared for Leninist and Trotskyist arguments against the insurgent revolutionaries, who included soldiers and many civilians as well as the sailors. To refute Bolshevik arguments about Kronstadt is to refute the central, authoritarian, communist thesis that leadership from above is an indispensable necessity before, during and after the revolution. It is also to discount the theory that the good deeds were done by Lenin, after whom came the evil deeds of the wicked Stalin: and if Lenin is tarnished, then so is Trotsky.

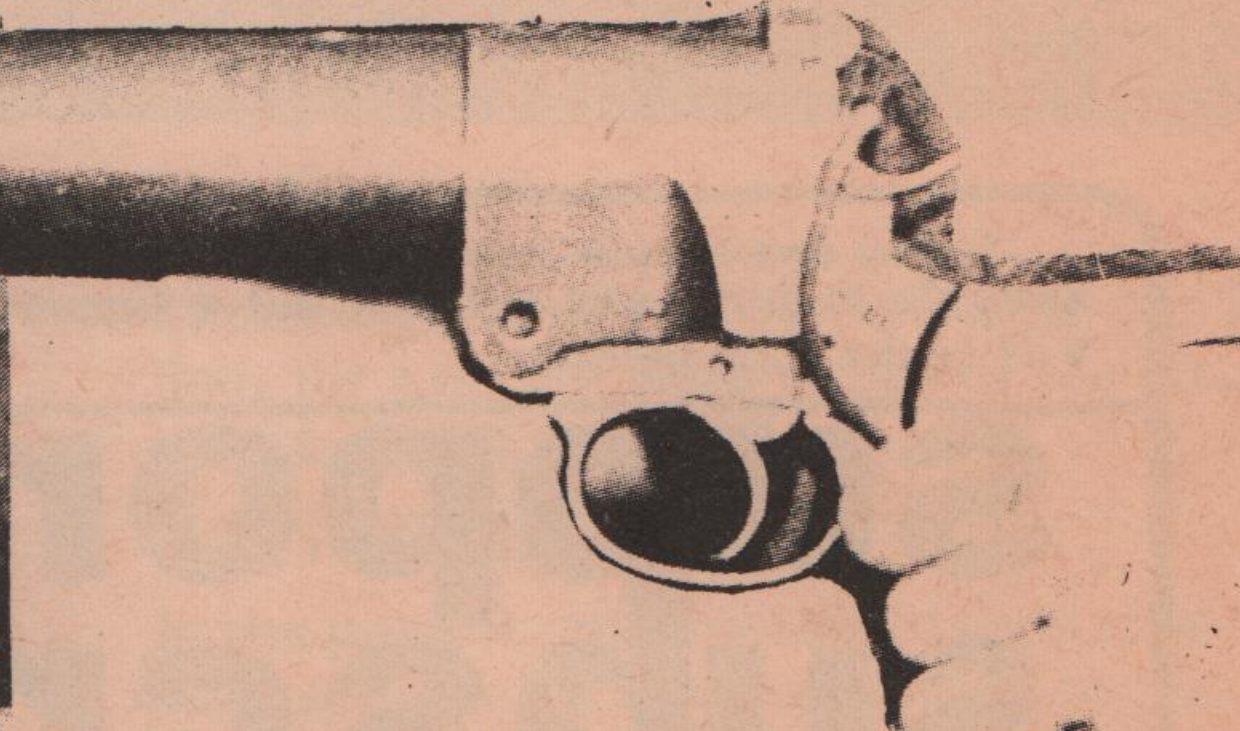
The attitude of the 'Workers. Opposition' inside the Communist Party was also very revealing. Up to the time of the Tenth Party Congress, which also took place in March 1921, they had been complaining about the lack of democracy inside the party, the emasculation of the power of the trade unions, and the militarisation of labour. Yet they were among the first to volunteer for front-line duty against Kronstadt. Why? Because their quarrel concerned the internal workings of the vanguard party, not whether another party should be tried, or — to them an inconceivable idea — whether the party was necessary at all. The Kronstadt revolutionaries threatened the comfortable existence of Shlyapnikov and Kollontai just as it more obviously threatened those of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev.

Kronstadt both coincided with and gave express to this crisis of confidence within

the party, which in turn reflected the grave economic and political crisis of the Soviet Union after nearly seven years of continuous fighting. The blind alley of the Communist Party, which can be traced back to Lenin's opportunism in 1917, resulted in an economic dislocation, originating in the war and the civil war, but compounded by Communist administrative bungling. It also led to the widespread erosion of support for the party of October even among the strongest supporters of the Bolsheviks, such as the workers of Petrograd and Moscow or the armed forces, including the Kronstadt sailors.

The Kronstadt revolt therefore posed the central economic and political question: state power. The Communist Party had taken the wrong road, it must make way for the third, final, libertarian stage of the revolution: this was the message of the famous resolution of the battleship 'Petropavlovsk' on 1 March. The Communist Party is the vanguard of the revolution and will remain so whatever anyone else says, and all opposition will be crushed by force — such was the unanimous answer of the Bolsheviks.

The lesson for libertarians is clear and has been reinforced by similar Soviet government action in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968: no state, whether styled capitalist or socialist, however unpopular it may be, will surrender its power as long as it has the force to maintain that power. In learning the facts and opinions of and about Kronstadt from this book, and in saluting these libertarian revolutionaries of the working class, we can best remember them by organising for their struggle, which has still to be won.



Counties would be employed, with certain modifications, against the working class in this country.

It is therefore increasingly more important for a thorough understanding of the technology employed by the ruling class and the political implications of its use. What is needed is a serious effort at developing a comprehensive counter-technology if the working class of this country is not to go the same way as their Chilean counterpart.

The warning bells are sounding, now they must be heard.

MARTIN OWEN

TERRORISM.

the politics of despair.

The recent incident at Guilford, where bombs were indiscriminately let off in crowded pubs is reflected internationally in the bomb incident in Madrid where a bomb ripped apart a busy cafe district, which happened to be frequented by members of the Spanish police.

These forms of terrorist activity can in no way benefit the working class. Not only do they allow the forces of law and order an excuse to use more repressive measures against the revolutionary movement and the working class in general, but they alienate sections of the working class, who confuse radical activity with terrorism.

The attitude reflected in such acts is completely elitist. It reveals utter contempt for working people, for their opinions and their lives. It reveals people who subscribe to vanguardist ideas, who hope by the action of a small minority to bring about change, or else it reflects the attitude of those completely desperate, who have no faith in the viability of mass working class action.

Of course, acts of armed action in fascist countries like Chile and Spain are necessary, as one of the only ways militants can fight the police state. But in no way can terrorist acts like the Madrid bomb be defended, and it must be wondered whether in fact it was committed by a Francoist agent provocateur.

At the same time, the anarchist guerrillas operating in Spain since the Civil War, have fully realised the need to organise among their fellow workers, and whenever possible have done so.

As for the Guilford bomb, this was the policy of those who do not wish to achieve solidarity between British workers and Catholic workers in Ulster; but who want to bomb Britain into a state of shock and fatigue where the government is forced to withdraw the troops through ineffectuality in handling the terrorists and through revulsed popular opinion.



Provos wasting gelignite again

INTERNATIONAL NEWS. continued

France

or who want to help in the activities of the Defence Group should write to the Paris Eleven Defence Group, c/o 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (copies of a general leaflet and a leaflet to trade unionists are available).

Franco will be dead soon, and the way may be open for a more 'liberal' regime. The anti-Franco resistance must not be allowed to be destroyed, and furthermore French collaboration with Spain must be exposed and halted so that the resistance has room to manoeuvre outside Spain.

Italy

class struggle.

But the danger does not just lie in the threat of the MSI achieving a governmental position: already they are being used to try to smash workers' organisations. This Italian lesson must be learnt here in Britain.

Several years ago the MSI was considered as insignificant by some as the National are considered by some quarters of the left

here. Now, however, the MSI carry out open attacks against labour organisations, demonstrations and individual worker militants like our comrade Giovanni Marini; and they receive millions of votes. The National Front must be nipped in the bud in this country before it can reach such a stage.

Anarchists such as Pinelli, Marini and Valpreda and many Italian workers have fallen victim to the fascist menace. We must show solidarity with these comrades, carrying on the fight against fascism on an international level. Letters and cards of solidarity to:

G. Marini, c/o G. Marini Defence Committee, Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

Letters of protest demanding release of Marini to Italian Embassy, London.

Chile

throughout the whole affair, and especially that American capitalism, also points to

important conclusions in that the working class of one country can never settle accounts with its own rulers in isolation. In any similar future situation the greatest potential ally of an insurgent working class movement will be the workers of other countries, especially of the 'developed' countries, whose influence and interests can be all-important, as was the American involvement in Chile.

The British dockers, by the blacking of the 'Jolly George', prevented British arms being sent to Russia for use against their fellow-workers. Similar pressures could have prevented British frigates being sent to Chile.

Finally, let us make no mistake about the relevance of Chile, even now, to our own situation. Ultimately there's not all that much to choose between the stadium in Santiago and the interrogation rooms at Long Kesh, and we've already had the experience of troops at Heathrow on exercise (for what, one wonders). Whether it's Chile or Britain, the men who now rule us and live off our labour will never step down gracefully.

RICHARD FINCH

It goes completely against the work put down by leftists and libertarian socialists over the last few years—the setting up of the Anti-Internment League and the groups that followed it, the demonstrations, the agitation.

The troops will only be withdrawn when working class opinion is won over through activity in union branches, in the neighbourhood, and through the distribution of propaganda.

And when this opinion is mobilised against the government, and demands are made to withdraw the troops from Ireland and to end internment.

Of course, while attacking terrorism we should remember the conditions that created it, the conditions that thrive under capitalism.

And who really are the terrorists? None of these actions can match the organised State terror of the Nazi concentration camps, the bombing of Dresden, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki, the Vietnam war, the last two World Wars, and any other war.

And aren't we being more subtly terrorised when we have to put up with the general evils of the present system, the boredom and drugery at work, the bad housing conditions, the low standards of living, the mental hospitals, the prisons?

EVA LONG

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