

Libertarian STRUGGLE

for Workers' Power



FLUSH THEM OUT!

WORKERS WILL take great reassurance from the dynamic events of the recent TUC Congress in Blackpool. It's nice to know that the trade union leaders still have our welfare at heart, insisting that we get increases of a whole £6 a week next year — if we're lucky. As Len Murray said: *'The purpose of this conference is to affirm General Council policy'*. In other words follow us lads, but don't kick up a fuss.

The TUC may not have done much to get Des Warren out of prison, but they certainly lost no time getting him out of the conference hall.

Meanwhile, away from the pleasant holiday atmosphere of Blackpool, the outside world, unfortunately Len, continues as real as ever.

To the working class this means an escalating spiral of unemployment, inflation still at around 30%, cuts in public spending, social welfare and so on, with more on the way.

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

Tens of thousands of school leavers face the prospect of not finding a job, while highly skilled workers in the car, steel and a mass of other industries are thrown out of

work as the bosses cut down on production.

Extended periods of mass unemployment are the inevitable result of living under a capitalist economy.

Following the 2nd World War, capitalist economy went into a boom period. Throughout the 50's and early 60's production increased to meet the demands of ever expanding markets, as the rising living standards of the workers provided new outlets for the car and washing machine manufactures.

Towards the end of the 60's the market reached the point where it could no longer expand in tune with the rising levels of production.

This led to overproduction, causing stagnation, stock-piles of unsold products and consequently output cutbacks, layoffs and unemployment.

Now, in the mid 70's, following abortive attempts by advanced capitalist countries to reflate their economies, the world recession is here with vengeance.

LABOUR SELL-OUTS

Back with our very own Labour Government, having now denuded themselves of even the reformist policies they were elected on, they stand naked to the world as supporters of the ruling class.

While the Labour left, now pushed to the sidelines of government, adheres to its vision of state capitalism, the possibilities of a split in the Labour Party, clearing the ground for a right Labour/Liberal/centre Tory coalition (see inside), grow with the deepening crisis.

In the final analysis, however, the ruling class sees the solution to the economic recession in a right-wing repressive government committed to monetarist policies and

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Police v.
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Tories

FASCISM

Women's
mags

paper of the Anarchist Workers Association

POLICE ATTACK PICKETS

SINCE last month's close look at the workers in the front line of the class war, there has been a dramatic change by the state as regards the use of violence.

Over the last month, instead of saving their legal GBH and imprisonment as a last resort, they have brought it right onto the picket line with vengeance.

Literally dozens of workers have been assaulted, or put on charges such as happened to 70 workers in Glasgow alone, and 11 workers at Cammell Lairds.

These men had been sacked at half an hour's notice, and were picketing for their jobs back when they suffered a vicious attack by a large number of police in which one man suffered a broken rib.

JAIL

According to Des Warren, the freed Shrewsbury picket, when he confronted George Smith (UCATT leader) at the TUC conference at Blackpool, there must be over 100 workers in jail, or threatened with jail or fines.

So, even faced with increased state violence by the reactionary Labour Government, the working class are still taking up the gauntlet against capitalism:-

August 27th - Merseyside. At Cammell Laird, 700 workers formed a mass picket in support of the previously mentioned men who were assaulted and arrested by the police. The mass picket was successful in stopping all scab worker buses from entering on this day, and the police campaign was also temporarily halted.

August 27th - Leicester. 450 strikers at the engineering firm of Wildt, Mellor and Bromley were maintaining unofficial action against an attempt at wage cutting by the management.

August 30th - Merseyside. Also at Cammell Lairds, a dispute was in process involving the boilermakers. The men started a sit-in and occupied Birkenhead shipyards after the management tried to lay off 100 men for an indefinite period.

August 30th - London. Social Service workers at Southwark, South London, were on strike in protest at the cut-backs of staff and services in the Borough. Pickets were out early, before going to a demo at the Department of Health and Social Security. There, they handed in a petition calling on Mrs B. Castle to ensure that no future deterioration of services takes place.

September 2nd - London. More than 300 building workers on the McAlpines site at King Street, Hammersmith, came out on strike for the reinstatement of a shop steward, John Torni, deputy steward for the carpenters, was sacked while away on holiday. The men said he had been victimised because of his union activity. Success came on September 4th, after a two-day strike, when Torni was reinstated.

It should be noted, to dispel the myth of the capitalist press that strikes are caused by the greed of the working class (which also causes inflation), that of all the strikes mentioned here, not one is for a wage rise, but all are strikes of solidarity, or to defend present working conditions, or, as in the case of the social workers, services to the people.

Lyn Hurst



flush them out!

continued from page 1

smashing the organisations of the working class.

Already the ruling class is beginning to intensify its attacks on the working class.

The laws of conspiracy, dug up from the distant past and never even approved by parliament, are now in common use against workers and political activists.

Picketing is rapidly becoming a 'criminal' offence. Recent strikes such as Cammell Lairds in Birkenhead, and the trial of the pacifists in the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign clearly demonstrate this trend.

FASCIST THREAT

Sections of the petty bourgeoisie (small time capitalists), driven into a corner by the pressures of monopoly capitalism, are increasingly turning towards fascism.

The National Front has launched another offensive, on the pretext of punishing muggers.

They have, of course, themselves indulged in brutal acts of violence, including petrol bomb attacks on Asian shops and community centres.

Many of their leaders, Tyndale and Webster among them, have served sentences for racist and fascist offences.

These fascists must not be allowed to spread their poisonous filth, and must be opposed in every possible way by the working class.

*Break the Labour Party's hold over the working class.

*The union leaders' sell-outs must be fought by a strong rank and file.

*Redundancies must be faced by mass occupations of work places.

*Demand full pay, work or no work.

*Build local delegate rank and file committees.

*Forge links with workers in other countries.

*Organise to defeat the National Front fascists.

Editorial Collective

The Student Struggle Continues

FOR STUDENTS, the coming year will mean higher rents, increased food prices, course cutbacks and in some cases college closures.

For campus workers and academic staff it will mean less money, harder work and possible redundancies. In other words, the state's policy of cutbacks in educational expenditure will hit everyone.

THE CRISIS

Both political parties are responsible for implementing this policy. When the Tories were in office they raised the charges for school dinners, abolished free school milk, administered savage cutbacks, and attempted to smash student unions.

Their White Paper, published in 1973, set down guidelines for the finance and structure of British education. It promised limited expansion - but on the cheap, ie at reduced unit costs, at the expense of students, parents and college workers.

Since taking office, the Labour Party has continued with this policy. (In 1967 they were responsible for the introduction of loan-financed accommodation - that is, where students are forced to pay massive interest charges to banks and building societies. Almost 50% of rents goes on such loan charges in many cases.)

It is increasingly difficult for students without wealthy parents to carry on in higher education.

WHY?

These attacks on our living standards are an attempt to make us help bail out the handful of millionaires and speculators who control the economy. In other words we are being forced to pay for their crisis.

The political parties are not inherently 'nasty' - the survival of capitalism depends on students, trade unionists, housewives accepting massive attacks on their living standards and organisation.

THE UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES

Many students are reluctant to take direct action. They argue that the university administrations are not responsible for the cutbacks and therefore they should not be treated as enemies. The Communist Party even sees them as potential allies.

BUT - the university authorities have happily administered every single attack against us. The Vice-Chancellors are a small privileged elite and, in imposing government policies have tried to smash student unions around the country - notably at Kent, Lancaster and Warwick.

N.U.S.

The National Union of Students cannot be compared with a trade union. It has no comparable local, regional or national structure. It is a federal body, and in theory is governed by the twice-yearly conference.

This produces two problems. Firstly, difficulties arise in mandating delegates, given the lack of involvement which characterises most student unions. Secondly, the NUS executive and decision administrative machinery is, once constituted, virtually impossible to control by rank and file students.

The domination of the NUS executive by the Broad Left (Communist Party controlled) has intensified the problems generated by the NUS structure.

Their policies of token action, such as petitions, 'cross binary eat-ins' and partial rent strikes have demoralised the mass of students.

Involvement in NUS is at an all-time low,

This apathy is the breeding ground for right-wing politics - the recent revival of the Liberals and Tories in the student movement is a sign of this.

A fragmentation of NUS over the next year is, then, a very real possibility.

STUDENT 'LEFT'

What alternative do the other groups in NUS offer? The International Socialists and International Marxist Group do relatively well at NUS conferences - BUT the basis of their student work is to put demands on the NUS executive for greater militancy.

In other words, they reinforce its authority and students' dependence on NUS for 'leadership'.

Revolutionary anarchists argue that the key problem is to break down this dependence on established leaderships, be they Labour Party or Trotskyist, and to encourage self-activity and self-confidence.

This can only be done by developing the strength of the union meeting, phasing out sabbatical officers, building rank and file links between students in different colleges - NOT by reinforcing and strengthening the NUS Bureaucracy.

EDUCATION FOR WHAT

Few groups in the student movement discuss the role and purpose of education in capitalist society, that of reinforcing the dominant ideology.

It is essential that demands for a decent living standard be linked with an effective challenge to this - by organising alternative seminars, and where the strength exists, organising lecture boycotts and disruption.

EDUCATION FOR WHO

If you're female, black or working class (or any combination of these) you stand much less chance of getting into further education.

Many universities are, and are seen as, ivory towers. Links with local trade unionists and communities have got to be built - make sure, for example that if your union takes direct action, local housing estates are leafleted and canvassed for support.

These links must be used as a basis for a campaign directed towards winning education as a right, not a privilege.

ACTION

Unlike the rest of the left, we are not going to demand that the NUS executive organises action for us. It is however important that militants put forward concrete proposals for rank and file activity for the coming year.

The following steps could usefully be taken:-

*Build Grants and Cuts Action committees, elected by and responsible to union meetings. Make sure they are responsible for implementing union policy - not the union bureaucrats. Elect adhoc committees on as many issues and aspects of union policy as possible - it will encourage mass involvement, and be a useful starting point in a campaign to abolish sabbatical officers.

*Push for local conferences of ALL the students in the area - to discuss the cutbacks. Try and broaden them out to discuss the role of education under capitalism.

*Occupations are the only really effective form of direct action - they not only paralyse the university, but generate the self-confidence and solidarity necessary to win student demands. They raise the question of power in the university.

*Fight for support groups to be set up in the event of a local strike or occupation. Students have both time and access to facilities - both need to be used.

J.G.Fichte

CONSUMERISM

& womens magazines

EACH MONTH millions of women buy the special womens magazines that are produced for them on the market.

On buses and trains, in doctors' surgeries, and at the hairdressers, you see women studying the articles and advertisements with intense concentration. Magazines like this are to be found lying round most working class homes.

Why do these magazines sell in such massive quantities? Are they really just a form of harmless entertainment?

No, it's more complicated than that. Magazines have a specific function in an exploitative consumer society such as ours.

ADVERTISING

The link between the magazines and the advertising industries is of paramount importance. All the magazines play an important role in promoting the fashion and cosmetic industries.

The more old fashioned 'homely' magazines such as *Woman* and *Womans Own* also help to push a large variety of household goods.

The smart glossies such as *Vogue* and *Cosmopolitan* have close connections with the furniture and travel businesses, while the adolescent girls papers like *Jackie* help to promote the pop music industry.

CLEVER JOURNALISM

The journalism found in these magazines is clever and unscrupulous. While appearing to give helpful and friendly advice to the readership it actually plays on the fears and anxieties of the reader.

Each magazine seeks to promote a stereotype of the 'ideal woman'. This stereotype differs depending on whom the magazine is aimed at.

In *Womans Own*, the 'ideal woman' is the one with the well-organised, hygienic, box-like home, and the 'nice', well-behaved children.

The *Cosmopolitan* ideal is the sexy 'woman of the world' who has every rising young executive at her feet, while the *Jackie* ideal is the pretty teenager with a flock of boyfriends in tow.

The impression is given that if you don't fit neatly into one of these categories, then you are inadequate and no-one will want to know you.

The way in which you become successful of course, is by spending your cash on expensive clothes, cosmetics etc..

All very convenient and profitable for the industries supplying these goods, particularly when you consider that what you buy one month will be out of fashion the next.

Of course, no 'successful' woman could possibly be unfashionable, so in order to live up to the ideal a woman must all but commit herself to a permanent shopping spree.

'HUMAN INTEREST'

The basic money making function of these magazines is camouflaged by the inclusion of features providing what is known as 'human interest'.

Articles appear in magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* with titles such as 'The Sexually Aggressive Woman', and 'Promiscuity'.

Petticoat and *Honey* carry articles on such supposedly soul-searching subjects as 'Are you cheating your boss?' whereas *Jackie* will carry articles telling you how to sparkle and be witty at parties and the local youth club.

Then, of course, there are the Problem Pages which are to be found on the pages of most magazines.

Are the editors of these periodicals really so sympathetic and compassionate? Are they genuinely trying to find an answer to the personal problems of their readers?

Of course they're not. The magazine is there to sell commodities, and the so-called 'human interest' features assist in this.

The lifestyle recommended in these articles is always a rehash of platitudes and conventional bourgeois morality.

Advice given in magazines such as *Woman* and *Womans Own* is respectable and reactionary, extolling the virtues of love and marriage above everything else, while the magazines for adolescents would never question the principle of parental authority or general respect for law and order.

The trendier magazines, such as *19* and particularly *Cosmopolitan*, having latched onto the idea of 'The Permissive Society' encourage greater sexual freedom.

However, the role of women in society is never seriously questioned. The message is put over that 'It's sexy to be liberated', thus the idea of women's liberation is perverted into meaning: women must be liberated because it makes them more interesting and attractive to men.

The question of women's sexual liberation must extend beyond the capitalist vision of woman as an attractive object for the satisfaction of men.

Women should develop a consciousness of their own sexual needs and how these are affected by sexism and sex repression.

Civil Service Rank & File Group

Conference - September 1975

THE extent of the involvement of *Redder Tape* varies among the Civil Service unions and this was reflected by the delegates who attended the conference. One major union was not represented and three unions had about 7 out of 50 delegates.

The influence of *Redder Tape* policies is greatest within the Civil & Public Services Association (CPSA) and, judging by the conference, far outweighs its present organisation. Hopefully this indicates that rank and file aspirations are automatically filtering through.

The CPSA bureaucracy have already shown that they are treating *Redder Tape* seriously and have dangled the carrot of a full-time post in front of one RT editorial board member. This shows how readily union officials will use bosses' tactics.

At the CPSA conference in May there was close co-operation among RT supporters indicating that factional splits need not occur, however, these splits were in evidence at the RT conference.

Whether or not unity prevails can only be seen during the coming year. The great danger facing *Redder Tape* is the continuing dominance by the vanguard leadership as stated by the International Socialists.

AWA continues to support *Redder Tape* and its fight for socialist policies while calling for a strong, local and autonomous rank and file movement.

CPSA member



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EXPLOITATION

'Human interest' articles, together with magazine fiction, which encourages the same attitudes and standards of behaviour, play an important part in gaining the trust of the reader so she is susceptible to the advertising content of the magazine.

Their purpose is to reassure the reader with regard to the false values of capitalist society, so that she doesn't ask too many awkward questions such as: 'why do I have to conform to a stereotype? What right has big business to exploit me and encourage me to spend my money by means of its advertising?'

She might, in other words, just see the magazine for what it really is.

*Because exploitation is what women's magazines is all about.

*They reassure women that the secondary role ascribed to them by capitalist society is right and natural, and at the same time seek to make as much money out of their victim readers as possible.

*It's a profitable business.

Siobhan Begley

aussie action against squatters

SQUATTERS IN Sydney's Victoria Street were driven out in July by 100 police and 'controllers' of property 'developer' Frank Theeman.

The thug 'controllers' also harassed other tenants. To make the eviction easier, a sympathetic journalist and an organiser of resident patrols to resist the thugs, Arthur King, were kidnapped.

Developer Theeman then had few obstacles, the squatters were out and the green bans were broken.

GREEN BANS

Green bans were a product of the Australian Builders Labourers Federation. By comparison with British collaborationist unions, this union is outstandingly socially aware.

In New South Wales, BLF has four organisers and they receive the same wage as their average member. Thus they have the highest possible incentive to really fight for increases. After a maximum of three years, they must spend at least one year on a site.

Between 1970 and 1973 there were actually forty temporary organisers, one a woman. You can dream for yourself about George Smith, UCATT boss, pushing a shovel.

BLF has tried to boost the interests of women building workers, and has called a strike over employers' refusal to take on women. Further, BLF fights racialism, and has come out in solidarity with a victimised 'gay' student.

That's just a little of this extraordinary union. The green ban itself is a boycott of work - demolition or construction - that is considered to degrade peoples lives. The first stage is an approach by a residents group, which automatically gets the ban imposed, while discussions can take place with the developers. If the residents remain opposed, the green ban is made permanent.

Green bans have halted an estimated 3,000 million Australian dollars-worth of development. The bans are backed by other workers, who follow the BLF lead.

MAOIST SELL-OUT

The Maoist federal branch boss, Galagher, has crushed the NSW branch and its green bans. But the residents and the Building Trades Group of unions have continued the bans.

As the Victoria Street Residents Action Group have stated:-

'We are not going to be intimidated by violence. The situation remains that governments and developers will continue to try and beat us out of our houses and destroy our environment with empty high-rise office blocks, clogged and stinking motorways for luxury flats for rich people. We live here in the inner city and we like it and we're not going to be thrown out.'

'Developer Frank Theeman wants to get fat by booting us out, and building luxury flats for rich people. We want low rents and no evictions in the inner city. Theeman has beaten out tenants and squatters from his houses in Victoria Street that until now the green bans of the BLF have stopped him demolishing.'

J.T.

GEN FROM GERMANY

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE has received the following letter explaining the strange circumstances surrounding the arrest in Germany of Ralf Stein, an alleged 'sympathiser of terrorists'.

On the 13th June Ralf Stein underwent further interrogation. His lawyer has complained to the court about his continued imprisonment. All efforts of the defence committee to break the silence of the daily press on Ralf's arrest, and the background, have failed.

The prosecution is making use of the ill-reputed paragraph 129 and alleging Ralf supported a 'criminal organisation'. This paragraph, introduced in 1969, has become a weapon by means of which anyone resisting injustice can be criminalised and outlawed.

This emergency law constitutes a flagrant breach of constitutional rights (Grundrechte) and was rushed legislation with the support of Social Democrats, Liberals and reactionary parties.

ACCUSATIONS

The prosecution bases its accusations on statements made to the police by Katja May and Norbert Hofmann from Cologne, who were propagating 'armed insurrection' (in a very amateur fashion at that).

They had no direct contact with comrades of the *Befreiung* group, who were predominantly engaged in legalised industrial struggle. *Befreiung* has in the past, repeatedly and openly, condemned the methods of the RAF and 2nd June movement.

The fact that Schwarzkrenz (Black Cross) was supported by the *Befreiung* group has given the law the excuse to declare Ralf Stein, and anybody supporting aid organisations, 'sympathisers of terrorists'.

INFILTRATION

Jurgen Bodeaux, whose questionable part in the Red Ise plots has been exposed in a newsletter issued by the IAT, has also tried to infiltrate the *Befreiung* collective but was rejected by the comrades, since he showed no inclination to take a responsible part in the constructive work.

He then, revengefully and maliciously, has told the police that Ralf acted as a quartermaster for the *Red-Ruhr-Army*!! All evidence points to the fact that Bodeaux has become a protege of the *Verfassungschutz*.

The IAT published, in *Mit-Teilung* No 7, an account of the methods employed by the sinister *Verfassungschutz* security organisation.

RAIDS

After Ralf's arrest, his private bank account was taken possession of by the police, believing it to be a Red-Aid account. His home was raided, and at the same time searches and short arrests took place in Essen and elsewhere.

Surprisingly, there were no other raids and arrests involving *Befreiung* comrades in Cologne, which can only mean that the comrades are under close observation.

SOLITARY

Ralf is still in Ossendorf prison. During the Stockholm siege, he was kept for two days in strict isolation. But the police and security organisations soon established that secret Baader-Meinhof communications were not passed on to him, and that his name was not included on the list of prisoners to be liberated. This fact alone calls for his release.

Letters of solidarity, newspapers and books, may still be mailed to:-

Defence Committee for Ralf Stein,
c/o Ralph Aurand, 5 Kohn 30, Tiechstr. 49,
West Germany.

or

Black Cross British Liaison Committee,
c/o 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

STOP PRESS !

The following is the latest that has been received from Cologne:-

Two more comrades in Cologne have been arrested and put on the same charges as Ralf Stein.

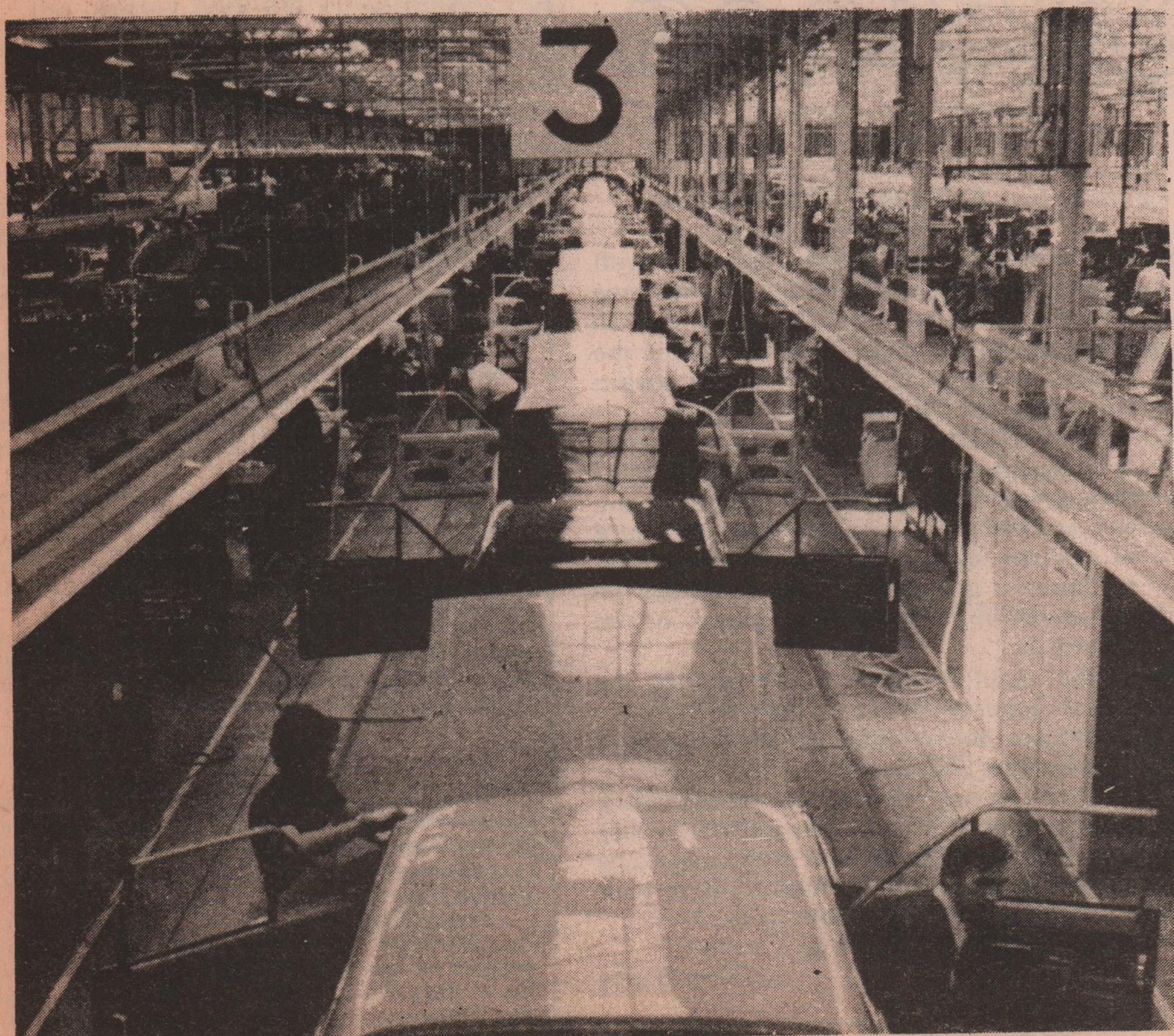
At the moment, the Cologne comrades are involved in a struggle against increases in bus and tram fares.

Demonstrations have been brutally attacked by the police and demonstrators have been clubbed with batons.

Even the MEK (Karate-trained anti-terrorist units) were used to attack the demonstrators who were discussing the issue with the people in the street.

The people are now overwhelmingly against the police and we have a solid popular backing for our actions: we collectively refuse to pay fares, sabotage control machines and hand out leaflets on the buses and trams and in the street.

WORKER 'PARTICIPATION' AT



CHRYSLER

FULL MARKS to the Chrysler workers, who saw through the sugar coating of the 'worker participation' pill. They recognised that participation is just a trap; the trap being to get workers onto the board as worker directors, leading them into the position of upholding the ideals of the firm at the expense of the workforce.

Chrysler envisaged participation as a gradual process and the scheme was very well presented to the workers so as to hide the trap involved.

So well in fact, that parts of the offer found favour with some senior shop stewards. This is not surprising when it is understood that capitalism has had plenty of practice at conning the workers and selling such packages as voluntary redundancies.

After all, if they can get people to accept voluntary redundancies at a time when unemployment is breaking all records, 'worker participation' should be easy to sell.

Chrysler men are finding out, there was no real choice about the offer Chrysler made.

SHORT-TIME WORKING

They are now finding themselves under attack for turning down the package offer. 17,000 men have been put on short-time working, only a week after giving the thumbs down to the 'worker participation' deal.

The workers must prepare now to protect themselves from this attack on their living standards.

Short-time working is only the beginning and soon they will be faced with mass redundancy.

Occupation will be the only answer to this, but it should be linked with other workers so that the solidarity of the working class can be mobilised to help the Chrysler men.

They must not become isolated as the men at Norton-Villiers-Triumph have become, and the Leyland men are becoming.

TUC COLLABORATION

The TUC must be told by the working class, to stop collaborating with the Labour Government in their wage-cutting and unemployment policy. They should start organising for mass occupations of the main industries now.

This means establishing a link-up between the Chrysler, NVT and Leyland workers, so that the working class can operate en-masse, instead of in easily put down, isolated pockets.

Lyn Hurst

MIDDLE EAST

RECENT months have seen President Sadat of Egypt trying to sell out the Arab working class in the struggle against Zionism.

This resulted in the agreement at the beginning of September with representatives of the Israeli ruling class — engineered by US imperialist superstar, Henry Kissinger.

But much vaunted signed pieces of paper are just one aspect of Sadat's policy of a 'peaceful settlement'.

Another side of it is the 'Egyptian opening' — by which is meant the opening of the floodgates to imperialist capital to exploit cheap Egyptian labour.

More immediately bloody is the repression of Arab revolutionaries.

ARRESTS

August saw the arrest in Egypt of 20 revolutionary workers, students and lecturers on the charges of belonging to a revolutionary communist organisation.

This news follows hard on the heels of that of the hanging of five militants in Syria.

The Arab rulers, far from being 'courageous leaders' of the workers' fight against Zionism, are their irreconcilable class enemies.

The Egyptian arrests were made after

large working class mobilisations in the industrial district of *Mahala al Kubra* outside Cairo, and are part of the general class repression in the country.

Several hundred militants were also arrested after demonstrations in January 1975.

CONNECTIONS

The twenty recently arrested were accused of having international connections with revolutionaries in France and Lebanon. Their politics are *apparently* of a Trotskyist nature.

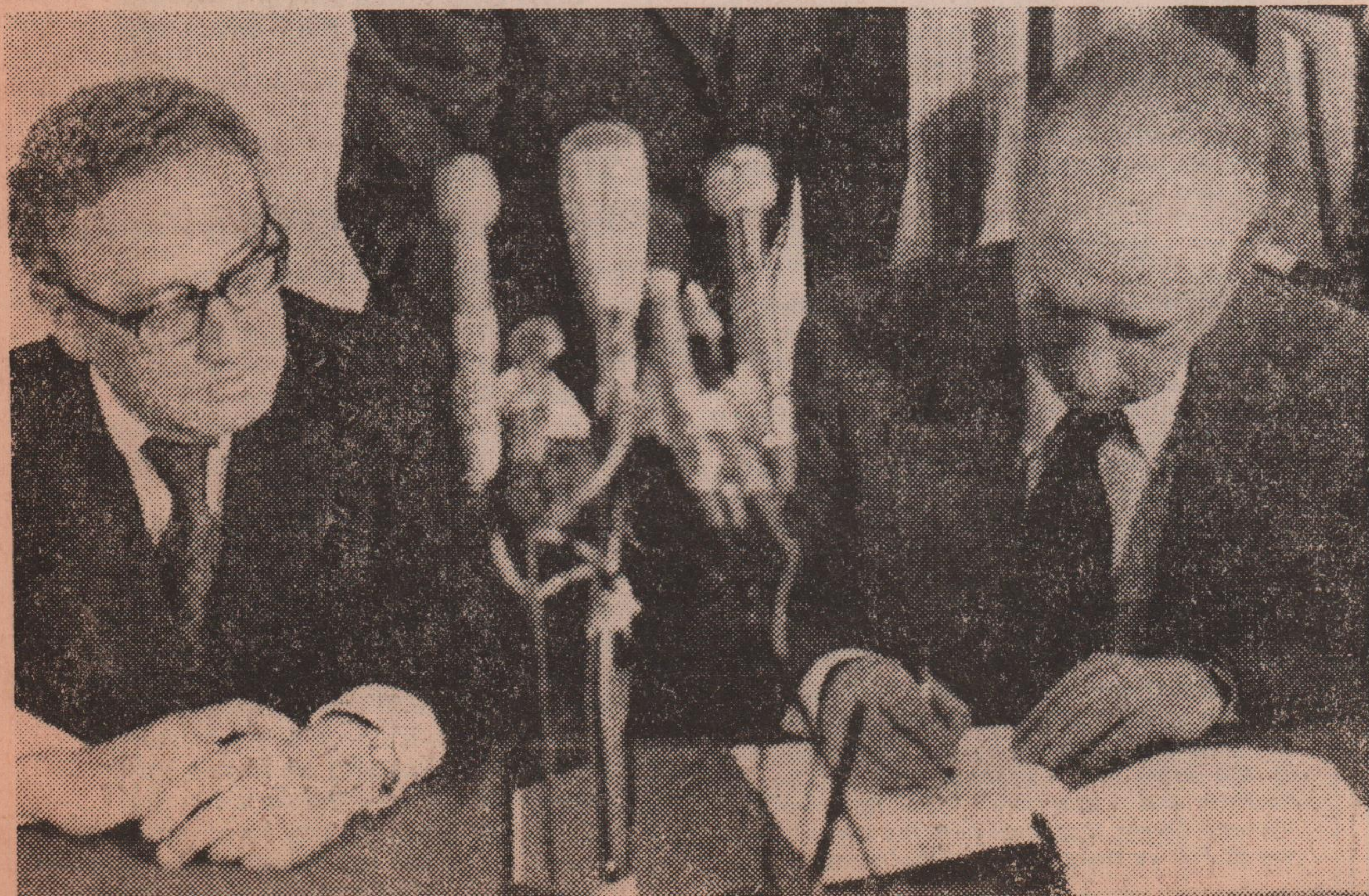
If so, as libertarian communists, we have obviously large political differences with them. *But*, as a revolutionary internationalist paper, *Libertarian Struggle* fully supports the fight for the release of these 20, and all other political prisoners.

Any success for Sadat in suppressing revolutionaries can only help his capitalist domestic and external capitalist policies, and thus aid international imperialism.

Further information can be obtained from:-

*The Committee for the defence of Arab Political Prisoners,
18, Finsbury Park Road,
London, N. 16.*

R. Williams



THE PRESS FUND.

Even at 10 pence a copy *Libertarian Struggle* cannot be self-supporting. Without the active support of AWA members and groups, and from the well-wishers who each month donate sums of money to the Press Fund, it would go the way of other libertarian papers in the past — the dusty shelves of libraries.

September saw the demise of another libertarian paper — *Wildcat*. With over £200 owing and people dropping out of the *Wildcat* group faster than new ones came along, they decided to call it a day. It wasn't just the money though; there are political questions involved.

Wildcat was an adventurous exercise in self-expression initiated by a group of professional journalists. It attracted, as one of the *Wildcat* group put it: '...libertarians, anarchists and those so non-specific that they repudiated even these loose labels...Perhaps all we had in common was the fact that none of us fitted anywhere else'.

After a few months of putting the paper out, they tried to create an organisation around it — the *Wildcat* Association — but were faced with massive apathy. But this was foreseeable. As the Platform of the Libertarian Communists so aptly puts it: 'Such an organisation having incorporated heterogeneous theoretical and practical elements would only be a mechanical assembly of individuals each having a different conception of all the questions of the anarchist movement, an assembly which would inevitably disintegrate on encountering reality'.

What lessons can be learnt from the passing of *Wildcat*? That the only way anarchism is to become a viable and relevant force within the working class movement is through the creation of a strong organisation which is held together through constant discussion and political agreement, not the vague notion that 'we are all libertarians together'. Only an organisation such as this, which is democratically controlled by the whole of its membership and which rejects the politics of individual 'stars' can be strong enough to put out and support a good, regular and relevant newspaper.

If you share these ideas and believe, as we do, that it is vitally necessary for *Libertarian Struggle* to continue, helping to build a conscious libertarian communist current, please help us by sending what you can afford to:

Libertarian Struggle, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside.



FASCISM

by Dave Higgins

AS unemployment continues to rise, and as the Labour Government continues to cut back on social services, education and public transport, the working class begins to turn to movements that can offer 'solutions'. While many workers are beginning to see that the only answer to the rapidly worsening situation is the overthrow of the bosses and their replacement by a society managed by working people, other workers turn to groups like the fascist National Front.

The National Front has no real answer to the crisis. It can only talk about the deportation of immigrants, and aim for the dismantling of the workers movement.

It uses the vilest and most irrational ideas of racism to increase and spread divisions in the working class.

Life under National Front rule would be a nightmare for working people. All working class organisations would be taken apart, militants would be imprisoned or executed, and living standards would fall rapidly.

The National Front will offer a solution, but it will be a solution where the authoritarian state institutes a new era of barbarism and industrial feudalism.

NEW SHACKLES FOR OLD

The *only* answer to the threat of the Front, and any other fascist group, is the building of a consciously revolutionary movement in the workplace and in the district.

This has been hindered by the various Leninist groups who attempt to shackle militants to reformist ideas.

It's no use campaigning for the 'right to work' or demanding that an emergency Labour Party conference be held.

What has to be called for is revolution — social revolution, where the mass of people take over and run society in their interests.

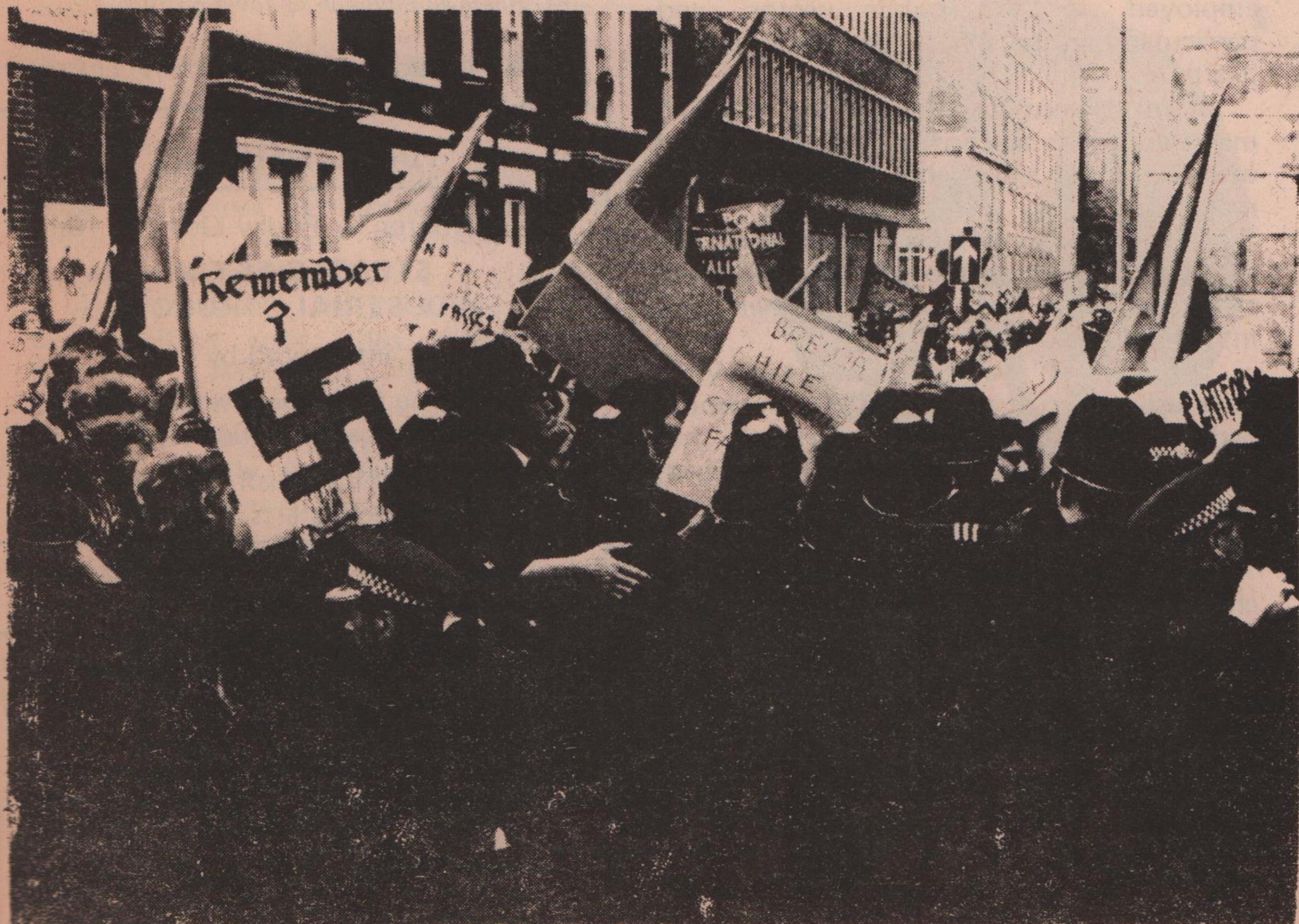
We have to call for a strong rank and file, for the self-management of all struggles and of society.

To waffle on about reformist issues dressed up as revolutionary ones, when the threat of fascism begins to grow and there is only one way out is shortsighted indeed.

FIGHTING THE FRONT

The National Front see that they may be able to recruit in areas run down by unemployment, lack of development, bad housing, inadequate education facilities, and lousy public transport.

They attempt to build up their movement in places like East London. Recently, they announced that they were planning to increase their activity in North West England where conditions are going from bad to worse.



Red Lion Square



The Front thrives in situations like this, and in areas where workers have no organised or militant tradition.

It is important that revolutionary ideas can be spread in these areas and that socialism is shown as the only answer to the rotting slum, the badly lit streets, the dole queues.

The Front has to be fought against on the street, on the housing estate, in the union branch.

When a strong revolutionary movement is built, then it will be possible to sweep them physically off the streets.

ADVENTURES

However, it is dangerous to engage in 'adventures' like those of the International Socialists, who, at the recent anti-NF march organised by Hackney Trades Council, broke away to 'confront' the NF.

This showed a lack of understanding of the need to work in the trades councils, union branches and tenants associations to get more militant attitudes to the Front and to build up enough support in working class areas so that in future the NF fascists would be unable to march through the streets.

Fascism is only able to exist because of capitalism itself and the conditions and attitudes it creates.

Ultimately, fascism can only be eradicated for once and all with the downfall of capitalism itself.

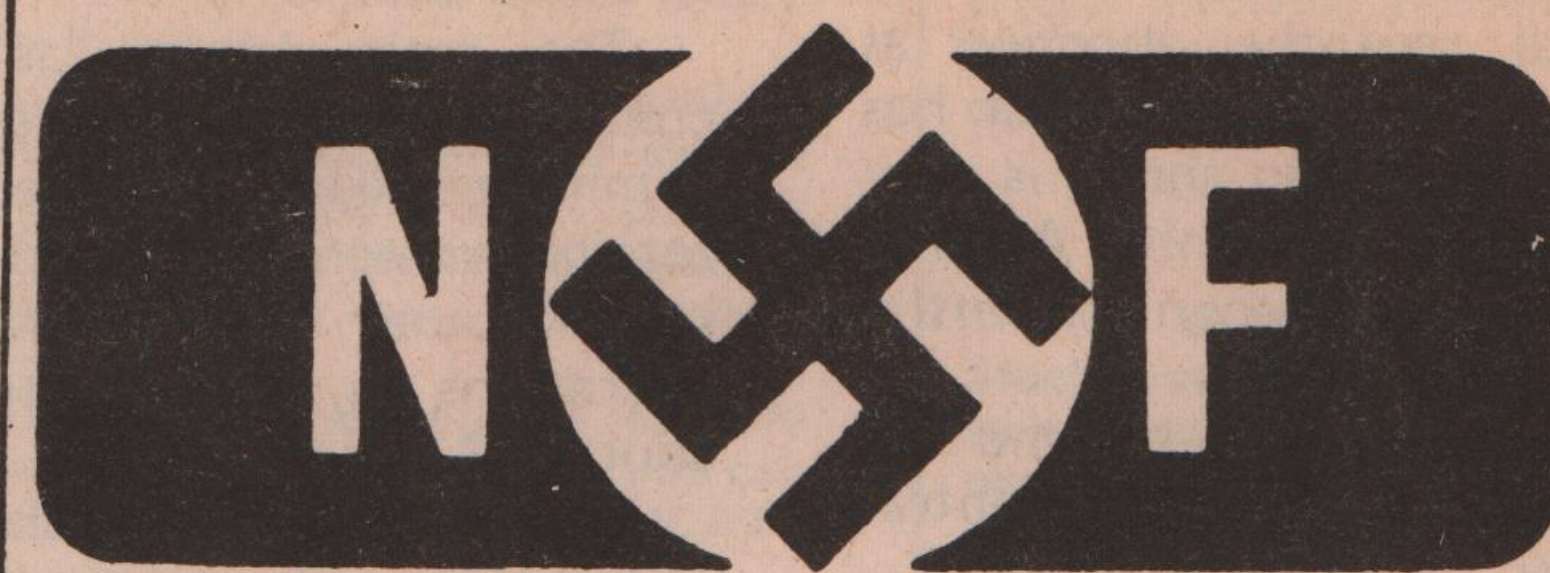
The sooner and the faster the working class is able to organise for revolution and the building of a libertarian communist society, the sooner will the threat of Webster, Tyndall and Reid be minimised.

'Only one thing could have stopped our movement—if our adversaries had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed with the utmost brutality the nucleus of our movement.' *Hitler 1933*

'An organisation like the National Front is nothing if it doesn't control the streets. Mussolini did, Hitler did but Moseley didn't.'

Working class organisations know this — we stopped Moseley in the '30's and we'll smash the NF in the '70's but tactics have to be constantly reassessed.'

A worker at the Hackney anti-fascist march.



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DIVIDE THE
WORKING CLASS**

T.U.C. rejects £6 fight. Where to now?

THE TUC's retreat from a fight with the bosses and the Government over the £6 pay limit, must be seen as one of the most serious developments for the working class in living memory.

Many militants have waged a vigilant campaign to reject the Labour Government's attempts to solve the crisis through cut-backs in production, redundancies and attacks on workers' living standards.

With inflation at now around the 30% mark, £6 after tax represents no more than 12% to the average worker.

This disparity between wages and prices is showing every sign of widening in the near future, unless organised workers reject all the moves of trade union bureaucrats to sell them out.

'SOCIAL CONTRACT'

It is becoming very clear that the trade union bosses have no intention of organising to protect wages and jobs.

The union leaders and the TUC wish only to protect their own skins, and certainly don't intend to tread on the toes of either Harold Wilson and his merry band, or Campbell Adamson and his rich layabouts.

By insisting that the 'social contract' is still workable, the TUC have shown their

real face to the rank and file. Len Murray wants to:

'Maintain and develop the social contract as the fundamental basis of continuing unity between the trade union movement and the Labour Government.'

The trade union and the Wilson leadership are now locked together as thinly veiled servants of the ruling class, in mortal combat with the upsurging working class.

No amount of talking and compromise can save our jobs and maintain real wages any longer.

No policy of letting the union leaders get on with it will gain us anything.

Neither Wilson nor Murray can be allowed to hoodwink us any longer into believing that they have our interests at heart.

Instead, on an ever increasing scale, they are acting more and more blatantly in the interests of the major employers.

THE MINERS

Even the most militant section of the working class, the miners, are very confused by the attitudes of the trade union leaders, and have half-heartedly accepted the Government's policies.

Contrary to the reports in the capitalist daily papers however, the miners were never asked to approve the £6 pay limit; there can be no doubt what their reaction would have been, had they been asked directly.

They were only asked to sanction Labour's attempts to solve the economic crisis.

The miners' response reflects a more general confusion in the actions and thoughts of many workers, who are becoming cynical and frustrated with the continued sell-outs of full-time paid officials.

The leadership's hold over the working class must be broken now, before the unions become totally corporate with the state, and impotent in the face of the rapidly escalating economic crisis.

POLICE ATTACKS

All workers must now break with trade union and Government policies which are against our interests, and develop local rank and file delegate committees, to meet the pressing demands of wide sections of workers.

Redundancies must be fought with immediate occupation of the workplace, and the management must be locked out.

Recent police attacks on picket lines must be countered by mass flying pickets and sympathetic action by other sections of workers.

From these defensive actions, the stage will soon be set for a real offensive toward workers control.

Ray Burman

ABORTION WHITE'S BILL & BEYOND

IN MOST European countries there are ongoing campaigns for easier abortion. These campaigns have met with some success, particularly in France (abortion on demand up to 10 weeks) and Austria (abortion on demand up to 12 weeks), although inevitably availability varies from area to area.

At the anti-abortion amendment demonstration in London last June, telegrams were sent from various womens' movements in Europe promising us their support and establishing pickets at various British Embassies abroad. It is important that we retain and strengthen these international links.

In Britain, until recently, abortion as established in the 1967 Abortion Act has been relatively easy to obtain and it is only with the emergence of the White Amendment Bill that abortion has become a central issue to the womens' movement.

The fight must now develop beyond the retention of the 1967 Act to free contraception and abortion on demand.

To fight the abortion amendment bill the National Abortion Campaign was set up. The campaign has been supported by womens' groups, including the Working Womens Charter and the Womens Abortion and Contraception Campaign, and thousands of women and men including health workers, doctors, nurses, teachers and social workers.

Even such bodies as the British Medical Association (BMA), not often noted for progressive decisions, came out against the amendment bill, while such events as the occupation of the BMA headquarters by young doctors occurred.

'ABUSES'

The select committee seems to have dropped the White Bill as such and so far has merely made recommendations to curtail the so called abuses:

The main 'abuse', as they see it, is concerned with foreign women. The committee seem to ignore the fact that most foreign women are treated within the private sector: other foreign patients have private operations in this country — so why not abortion?

However, it is probable that the select committee will meet again in the late

Autumn to discuss the 'principle' of the amendment.

It is important that the womens' movement is alert to counter further threats of this nature, but given that White has unwittingly given form and coherence to a hitherto rather disorganised movement, it is vital that a unified womens' movement should move forward and fight for other equally important issues.

The abortion question, although vitally important, must be seen as only a small part in the struggle for womens' liberation.

Demands for free contraception and correct information, sex - affirmative education, equal opportunities in education, adequate nursery facilities and simplification of divorce, must not be seen as separate demands but demands which immediately affect each other.

Therefore it is important for our future that we broaden our demands to cover all aspects of sexual repression and sexism.

It is also important that we should strengthen our links with our gay sisters and brothers, as their struggle is our struggle too, and press for self-defined sexuality.

CUTS

The real danger for the womens' movement at the moment is the cuts in public expenditure.

In contrast to other areas of employment, it is predominantly women who are employed in the public sector, and particularly in the spheres of education and health.

In an attempt to reduce public spending many contracts are not being renewed and when people leave they are not being replaced.

This obviously affects employment but the cuts are double edged because their effects will also drive working women back into the home.

The easiest way to save money is obviously to cut the number of hospital beds, curtail the nursery programme and reduce the number of people in institutions, and who is going to suffer from this most? — women!

Not only will women be housekeepers, child minders and cooks but unofficial nurses as well.

Cuts throughout the public sector must be seen as a massive threat to women as well as the working class as a whole, and must be fought.

J.B. & J.H.

BOOK REVIEW

THE GENERAL STRIKE

by Patrick Renshaw (*Eyre Methuen*) 1975

THE 1926 General Strike was called off after nine days. During that time workers' organisation, solidarity and self-confidence developed and grew, expressed in mass pickets and Councils of Action. The trade union leadership took fright, and, acting on a flimsy pretext, ignominiously called off the strike. For a few days there was resistance, but slowly, the workers drifted back to the factories. Attempts to break this form of dependence on 'leadership' failed.

Patrick Renshaw, however, taking advantage of recently released government papers, asks the question: what would have happened had the strike continued?

The Government had one object in mind — to smash the workers' movement. The immediate issue, that of miners' wages was essentially irrelevant. A Cabinet Minister, Lord Birkenhead, in fact regarded the mineowners as 'the stupidest men in England'.

The 1920 Emergency Powers Act (still in force) gave the Government full authority to deal with any activity 'calculated to deprive any substantial proportion of the population of the country of the essentials of life'.

Initially, the most apparent form of state intervention was the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies, although it was nominally a voluntary body. Mass picketing limited its effectiveness as a blackleg force.

After a week, the state began to make more aggressive noises. The Liberal MP, Sir John Simon, and a High Court judge, Mr Justice Astbury proclaimed the strike illegal. Legally this was questionable, but, as Renshaw reveals, the Government was taking no chances. The Cabinet had, in fact, drawn up a 'most secret' draft Illegal Strikes Bill 1926. While this was being rushed through Parliament, the Government planned to introduce an Order-in-Council forbidding banks from paying out strike pay.

Winston Churchill, as Home Secretary, announced that any action against the strikers considered necessary by the armed forces would receive full Government backing.

Much of Renshaw's book goes over familiar ground, and is covered, equally adequately in, for example, Christopher Farman's *The General Strike (Panther)*. He does however put it over in a very readable form. It is, though, prohibitively expensive. Don't bother to buy the book — but it's worth getting from the library.

E.A.

JUST OUT!

NOTE: *Lawrence & Wishart* have just reprinted Emile Burns' *General Strike: Trades Councils in Action*. It was first published immediately after the 1926 strike, and was the product of a questionnaire sent out by the Labour Research Department to Trades Councils around the country. It should go a long way towards destroying many of the myths which have grown up around Councils of Action, and it shows both their advantages and disadvantages as forms of working class organisation. (price £1.25)

We stock a wide range of books, pamphlets and magazines from the anarchist and libertarian movement.

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ABC of Anarchism, A. Berkman (*Freedom Press*) 25p
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Sexual Politics

Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality, W. Reich (*Penguin*) 60p
Wedlocked Women, L. Comer (*Feminist Books*) £1
Conditions of Illusion — Papers from the Women's Movement (*Feminist Books*) £1.85

Historical

Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, G. Leval (*Freedom Press*) £2
Homage to Catalonia, G. Orwell (*Penguin*) 45p
Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists (*AWA Publication*) 20p

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PUBLIC MEETINGS

Southampton — Friday October 10th

STRATEGIES FOR INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

introduced by

Dave Young (sheetmetalworker, AWA)
Dave Lamb (Solidarity)

St Matthews Church Hall, St Marys Road
meetings starts 7.30pm

LEICESTER ANARCHIST GROUP

are holding a series of free discussions in October, every Thursday at 8pm at the *Black Flag Bookshop*, 1 Wilne Street (off St Peters Rd). The subjects will be:-

9th Oct: WHAT IS ANARCHISM?
16th Oct: ANARCHISM, CLASS STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTION
23rd Oct: ANARCHISM AND EDUCATION
30th Oct: ANARCHISM AND THE ANARCHIST WORKERS ASSOCIATION

'Anarchism is generally humanitarian only in the sense that the ideas of the masses tend to improve the lives of all men, and that the fate of today's or tomorrow's humanity is inseparable from that of exploited labour. If the working masses are victorious, all humanity will be reborn; if they are not, violence, exploitation, slavery and oppression will reign as before in the world.'

— The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists

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

They attempted to communicate their experiences and what they had learnt to the international anarchist movement.

They stressed the essential need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class.

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

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

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Anarchist Workers Association, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside

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 capitalism stands, without which capitalism could not exist.
- 4 The state is the instrument of the ruling class. To destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, we must destroy the power of the state.
- 5 Russia and China are class societies in each of which a ruling class of administrators collectively owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, and in which a working class, the sole producer of all wealth, is exploited by that class. These states we define as corporate state capitalist in that the ruling class is totally integrated with the state, as is the trade union structure.
- 6 The class nature of society is reflected in all the dominant philosophies: class, race, sexual, social and personal relationships. The class relationships are expressed through all social relationships and generate attitudes such as sexism and racism.
- 7 The conflict of 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 trade unions, whose bureaucracy is increasingly incorporated into capitalism, are not adequate for the smashing of the capitalist system, and the building of a free, classless society. However, the working class rank and file organisations such as democratically controlled shop steward committees, factory committees, strike committees, are developing through the place of work. These organisations are the forerunners of workers councils which are the expression of working class power. Outside of work, the working class has developed other forms of organisation that are potentially revolutionary, such as tenants action committees, rent strike committees, and tenant-worker joint action committees.
- 9 Dual power exists before the power of the bourgeoisie is smashed. If the working class are successful, then the organisation of the needs of society will be firmly based in working class hands. This is the collective working class in power, in which the working class destroys all remnants of bourgeois society, such as racial hatred, the family and hierarchies. This is the period of transition between capitalism and libertarian communism.
- 10 From our analysis we reach the inevitable conclusion that capitalism cannot be reformed in any fundamental way and that the only meaningful transformation of society is through the development of working class organisations and by means of a violent social revolution. Violence becomes inevitable for the working class to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the dispossessed ruling class.

The role of the AWA

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

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

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

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

Civil Service Unions : an introduction.

THE variety and differences of the various Civil Service unions may seem ridiculous to the outside observer, but in fact they exist as they do for very definite reasons.

To understand the fragmentation of civil service unions it must be remembered that the service is itself divided into a multiplicity of departments, and within these departments into a complicated grading system designed to provide for an extremely hierarchical management system and to divide worker against worker.

Many of the early attempts at organisation, particularly in the middle grades, took the form of 'staff associations'. In general these have a history of collaboration, ineffectiveness, and the reactionary ideas of their members, who identified themselves with the 'middle classes'.

Since the Second World War, as the need for more militant action on a broader basis became more and more obvious with the eroding of wage differentials with industrial workers, the small staff associations died out or merged with the large service wide unions. The only important one which remains is the *Inland Revenue Staff Federation*.

THE MAIN GROUPINGS

The 50's and 60's were a period of consolidation, leading to the establishment of the four main civil service unions as they are today. In order of size these are:-

- 1 *The Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA)*.

The largest and most vocal of all the service unions, the CPSA represents the clerical grades in the service and the post office. It was the first union to adopt a militant pay policy and to bring its members out on strike action. *Redder Tape* rank and file group was first started in the CPSA and it remains the only union where it has any strength.

- 2 *The Institute of Professional Civil Servants (IPCS)*.

This represents the 'professional trades' within the service. Its main purpose is to protect the interests of qualified accountants, lawyers, engineers, and so on. Not surprisingly perhaps, IPCS is the most reactionary, both in terms of leaders and membership, of all the unions. At its last national conference it voted to continue to be the only civil service union not affiliated to the TUC.

- 3 *The Society of Civil Servants (SCS)*

The SCS represents 'executive and directing grades'. What it does is cover the 'multitude of sins' above the grades represented by the CPSA. Its lowest paid members may be earning £2,000 a year, whereas at the top of the scale within SCS over £10,000. In recent years the SCS has been dominated by its lower paid members who have pushed into following the CPSA's lead and striking for more pay.

- 4 *The Civil Service Union (CSU)*.

Membership of the CSU is drawn from non-clerical workers (messengers, paper-keepers) together with unskilled manual labour and service workers like cleaners. The CSU is one of the least militant TUC affiliated unions in the country. It has a reputation for being the most undemocratic and stagnant of all the service unions.

PAY STRUGGLES

For a long time now, the basis for deciding civil service pay has been the *Pay Research Unit*. PRU is a special government body which researches the pay and benefits outside the service and compares them to similar jobs inside.

This method of fixing wages is, of course, essentially a catching-up process, wage levels always lagging behind those outside the service.

Pay is made dependent on the progress of less well organised workers in the private sector, reducing the unions' role to one of arguing over details.

The problem of delayed PRU reports have been exasperated by timely (for the Government) impositions of wage freezes. It was the last Tory Government's stage one and two freeze that led to the upsurge of civil service militancy, culminating in a wave of anti-Government action from the CPSA and SCS.

Since then militancy amongst the rank

and file has continued to grow. Last year we were treated to the spectacle of the CPSA and SCS leaders trying to be more militant than the other.

The CPSA has stepped up its campaign for a closed shop; the SCS has its own watered down version called 'benefits for members only'. In December 1974 it put forward an interim pay claim, with the PRU report due in April 1975.

Gerry Gillman (National Secretary) and the rest of the SCS bosses found themselves in a nasty situation. They failed to persuade the other service unions to back them. Regional meetings of SCS members called for strike. Meanwhile the Civil Service Department, which deals with service workers, threw out the claim, and the SCS leaders quickly backed down.

GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

With the advent of the £6 limit, bitterly opposed by the service unions, the Government has now dispensed with PRU. This has provided the civil service workers with a golden opportunity.

There must be no return to the iniquitous system of PRU. The rank and file must press their representative unions to fight wage claims in the normal manner.

Alongside this must be a new campaign against the Whitley councils. These are joint committees of staff from the various unions and the bosses from the administrative sections. 'Whitleyism' is essentially collaborationist, holding back the consciousness of the workers and stultifying the power of the unions.

ONE BIG UNION??

In recent years the concept of one union for the whole service has been growing. The SCS and the CPSA are clearly moving closer together. The artificial divisions of workers into manual and clerical grades would be dealt a severe blow is the CPSA and the CSU were to merge.

The problem of any merger between the CPSA and SCS would be that executive officers in the SCS are the immediate bosses of the CPSA members. However the hierarchical 'executive' structure of the civil service has very little to do with who are its real bosses.

The people who wield the power are those in the higher sections of the 'administrative grades'. This totally separate section is recruited from young Eton and Oxford shits who come from ruling and upper middle class home county families.

REDDER TAPE

Perhaps the most important recent development, along with the growing union consciousness, has been the establishment of the *Redder Tape* rank and file group.

Started in the CPSA around the paper *Redder Tape* (the official CPSA journal is called *Red Tape*) it developed into a strong pressure group within the CPSA. Last year, *Redder Tape* began to appeal for members in other service unions, and although now represented in all the major ones, its main strength remains in its parent union. If *Redder Tape* is to become a strong rank and file movement it is important that it expands over the whole of the service.

One of the group's most important roles must be to counter the dividing effect of the civil service hierarchy and the unions. It must continue to press for socialist policies within the unions, whilst at the same time putting forward the possibilities of more libertarian forms of worker organisation.

John Morgan (SCS)



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THE TORIES — are they asleep?

'WE HAVE a two-fold purpose today. First to say 'stop' to the extensions of state control and secondly to start the extension of freedom'.

The words of Margaret Thatcher, the Tory leader, at the Free Enterprise Day ceremony in London, where she presented the first Free Enterprise Award to Sir Keith Joseph, Tory policy maker in chief.

They are words of militant Toryism, representing a capitalism threatened by economic crisis and working class strength. For several years now, since Enoch Powell's dismissal from the shadow cabinet in 1968 the Tories have been drifting into the arms of a renewed and strengthened right wing, culminating in Thatcher's election as leader last February.

The Tories are now marked by tremendous differences, and at times a split in the Tory ranks looks more likely than in Labour's. Just how important are these differences, and what do they mean for the working class?

GOOD OLD DAYS

For a long time, the Tories have been seen as the 'party of the nation' — the party of Churchill, safety, prosperity — not too keen on change, but willing to adapt if necessary.

Such a tradition actually stretched right back to the 1920's, when Baldwin wanted the party to become a force 'capable of saving people the need to think', as he put it in 1924, when he successfully created a coalition of all forces — from die-hard reactionaries to moderate liberals — which could resist the advance of Labour.

But the Tory party has not always been marked by the solid rural figures of Baldwin or Macmillan.

In fact, the time when the Tory party was most similar to the present time was just before the First World War.

It was a time similar to 1975 in many ways, with the ruling class split between Tories and Liberals, a massive wave of strikes against inflation, conflict in Ulster, and an upsurge of womens' liberation (channelled as it was into a militant call for the vote).

The Tories, frustrated in opposition, had finally stopped being a party of the land-owners and became the representatives of big capital and imperialism.

Under Bonar Law, it became the party of resistance — resistance to Liberal reforms, resistance to socialism, resistance to all the changes frightening the ruling class in those stormy days.

Bonar Law even went so far as to call for illegal resistance to the Government over Ulster: 'There are no lengths to which the people of Ulster can go in which I would not be prepared to support them'.

CIVIL WAR

We are entering a period when we can expect such words from a Tory leader again — especially with the growth of private armies to combat workers in their struggles.

The Tories are becoming the party of deepening reaction, at a time of working class strikes, with the prospect of civil war in Ulster spreading to Britain.

The savings of its middle class electoral base is being eroded by inflation, and their values threatened by the 'moral pollution' of womens' liberation, the question of abortion, gay liberation, and general 'permissiveness'.

BREAKING STRIKES

The Tories can no longer afford to be a coalition of all generally-anti-labour forces. They are too much in danger of losing their middle class electoral base.

Believe it or not, Heath is seen as a virtual socialist in many Tory eyes. His policy of using the State to prevent mass unemployment, at the expense of the taxpayer, his refusal to use troops to break the miners strikes, and his leading role in support of the Common Market during the 1970-74 Government has incensed the traditional Tory supporters, with their views on the benefits of thrift, low taxes, and patriotism.

The elections last year saw a massive Liberal vote. The mainly lower middle class Liberal vote wasn't exactly liberal — they were just protesting against a Tory party they no longer felt protected their interests.

In constituencies where a Liberal didn't stand against a Tory, the fascist National Front did quite well.

The present time has seen a real rise in middle class resentment, with the CBI (the



Thatcher & Joseph

bosses' union) talking of a bosses strike, with the petty bourgeois union of self employed and unions of ratepayers getting ready for resistance to the law, and with para-military private armies being formed — all this had an impact on the Tories.

FREE ENTERPRISE

Thatcher's victory last February was the victory of the petty bourgeoisie in the party. It is a rallying call for the disillusioned who were beginning to look elsewhere.

We can expect the Liberal vote to fall by quite a lot — in the only by-election since Thatcher's victory, the Liberals collapsed like a popped balloon. The Tories now stand as a powerful party of militant resistance.

It is a party to the resistance of state capitalism. This lies behind their call for more free enterprise, for the growing economic power of the state is a real threat to private capitalism.

State spending has reached its limits in a largely private capitalist mixed economy, and is to a certain extent responsible for high taxes and inflation.

This is why Joseph and Thatcher are leading advocates of controlling the money supply and making savage cuts in state spending, at whatever cost to the workers' living standards in education, health and housing.

Such vicious attacks would give private capitalism a short lease of life by cutting inflation at the expense of heavier unemployment than we've seen for a long time, and by lowering the taxes of the petty bourgeoisie at the cost of a huge increase in poverty among the working class.

'EXTREMISTS'

They are the party of resistance to the working class. They don't intend to give in to the miners or any other section of the working class again.

They are prepared to pit the whole political might of the state, including the use of troops, to split and to demoralise the working class and the threat it presents to the capitalism of the state and so called free enterprise.

Recently, at a speech at Northumberland, Thatcher carefully avoided the fact that unemployment was caused by capitalist crisis, and that her policies would cause more unemployment, by blaming it on higher wages.

'There is 6% unemployment on Teeside, nearly 7% on Tyneside. We want to know the truth about wages. Is the Government really going to stand firm against the extremists?'

Such tactics carefully hide the fact that workers call for higher wages to keep their standard of living the same in this rotten society which Thatcher supports.

JOSEPH

The Tories are most of all the party of resistance to any change in the present class privileges. Joseph shows a total contempt for working class people when he talks of the lower classes producing more children than the Tories feel desirable.

He doesn't lose any sleep about rickets beginning to reappear in some working class areas, as started happening when he was Minister of Social Security.

His calls for greater social discipline, his support for Mary Whitehouse's censorship campaigns, and his belief in the holy sanctity of the family leaves no doubt as to where the Tories stand in regard to the general movement for sexual freedom and womens' rights.

KEYNSIAN ECONOMICS

Not that the Tories are united in their call for militant resistance. Heath is still smouldering over his defeat as Tory leader, and with Peter Walker he calls for more moderate policies than Joseph and Thatcher.

He is a solid Keynesian, believer in using the state to keep capitalism out of the social crisis that would occur in any massive confrontation with the working class, and is still seen by many as a leading figure in any coalition with the Labour left wing, along with Willie Whitelaw, who is Heath's main ally in Thatcher's shadow cabinet.

Heath doesn't seem to realise that Keynesianism doesn't really apply any more, and that state capitalism must withdraw in favour of private capital, which is what Joseph and Thatcher call for, or that it must go on to destroy the private market, as Benn and the Labour left demand.

COALITION PROSPECTS

A coalition may or may not be on the cards, but it is highly unlikely that this Government can continue for very much longer, and we are likely to see a new government within a year or so.

If it isn't a Heath/Jenkins coalition, then it is highly likely to be a militantly right wing Tory government under Thatcher and Joseph.

If that happens, a major confrontation between the state and the working class on a scale not seen since the General Strike could very rapidly develop.

It may not be a decisive clash, but it must be a confrontation for which the working class, and the left generally, should prepare itself well.

T.Y.

SUBVERSITY. The paper of students in the Anarchist Workers Association. Send a stamped addressed envelope for a sample copy. Details of bundles on request from Subversity, 13 Coltman St, Hull, Humber-side.

Real ale people! Some members of the Anarchist Workers Association and Social Revolution in South London got together and produced a leaflet which was handed out at the four day CAMRA beer festival held in Covent Garden from September 9th to 13th. Copies of this leaflet can be had from Kingston AWA, c/o 16 St Leonards Road, Surbiton, Surrey. Enclose a sae.

FRONT LIBERTAIRE. Paper of the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste. Send £3.50 for 12 copies to:- Front Libertaire 33 rue de Vignoles, Paris 75020, France.

MUSICS is a magazine produced by musicians and artists involved in improvised music, experimental music and performance art. It aims to provide an outlet for (and outlook on) new work which is related to these areas and has hitherto been neglected by the music press, art publications and the media. Send articles, graphics, subscriptions, news of improvisation workshops and other events to:

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Ireland. Libertarian communists in Ireland contact Alan MacSimoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland with a view to forming an organisation.

SEARCHLIGHT is a well-researched and put together anti - racist and anti - fascist monthly magazine. It costs 25p from select bookshops, and subscriptions are £2 for individuals or £5 for organisations for 12 issues from A. F. & R. Publications Ltd., 21 Great Western Buildings, 6 Liberty Street, Birmingham 3.

UP AGAINST THE LAW is a magazine about the twisters who administer the great British legal system, and highlights the cases of working class people who find themselves 'up against the law'. The latest issue has all the facts on the fitting up of George Davis. Copies are 30p + post from UPAL, 66 York Way, London N1.

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