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Inside: Ireland, Workers' Power & Drugs

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National Interest or Workers Unity

HOW DO the present leaders of the most powerful 'workers organisations' in Britain — the Labour Party and the Trade unions explain their attitude to the crisis?

WHAT — apart from their fat incomes and the numerous benefits of power — encourages them to sturdily set their features in those grim battle poses, whilst the rest of us actually pay the price demanded by the system they so resolutely defend — declining real wages, unemployment and cuts in the social and welfare services?

Preservative

Occasionally they present us with something approaching an open political objective: we are to 'preserve our threatened way of life' or 'keep a Labour government in power'. The most common reason given for why we should accept declining living standards is, however, much vaguer in content. It is that old and well-used lie — the 'national interest'.

It is evident that in advanced capitalist states like Britain, appeals based upon this 'national interest' are of service only to those in power. They film over the irreconcilable antagonisms of class society consolidating rather than challenging them.

You might call Britain 'your' country, but how much of it do you really own? What say have you got over present economic policy, compared with those who actually control the means of production and distribution (that small but complex mish-mash of international monopolies, 'home' bosses and, of course, governments)? Why should the profits of this

Minority

minority, rather than the needs of the majority, determine the conditions of our lives — from whether or not we're on the dole to what we make if we do find work?

So all right, that's putting the point a little crudely. Neither nationalism nor the 'British' bosses would be so secure if they didn't appear to pay the goods. The present crisis in 'British' capital is but one aspect of capitalism as an international system — an international system from which the workers under advanced industrial states have won concessions when the going has been good for the exploitation of less well organised working folk in the 'underdeveloped' areas of the world.

Naturally, the bosses show scant

regard for these concessions when the system gives declining profits, but their existence even when they are under attack can be pointed to as an example of how good life in a top nation can be.

Nationalism, in other words, doesn't just attempt to dupe us into thinking that we, under the British state, are all in the same boat.

It gives the idea a slight tint of reality insofar as it positively encourages us to collaborate with our bosses in the hope that we will benefit from the exploitation of other workers, (after we've tightened our belts enough for them to become 'competitive' in the world market again).

The present situation is something like an economic equivalent to the First World War, when millions of workers under the advanced states found themselves in the position of slaughtering each other to settle which state would be best placed to plunder workers in the rest of the world.

So far we're only being asked to 'sacrifice', rather than to kill, better!

Circus

Where do our real interests lie? In joining this senseless, vicious and divisive circus of misery and expropriation with the expectation of becoming top underdogs for so long as it can survive its growing internal contradictions?

Or in resisting it now, in every quarter, alongside all the oppressed of the world?

We all know which choice the ruling class wants us to make.

The AWA's response is also explicit — we reject any attempt from any direction to make any section of labour in any part of the world pay for the crisis of the present system.

We regard this, moreover, as being only the first step towards its total annihilation.

Fascism

It would be wrong to conclude even a short attack on nationalism without pointing to one of its most repulsive consequences, which is gaining increasing prominence in contemporary political life.

The widespread presentation of nationalist arguments to the working class by these labour leaders who have influence and respect is reaping a sinister harvest in the growth of fascism.

This is something which goes deeper than the actual manifestations of racism in the Labour Party and the TUC.

Import Controls?

The Labour Party and Trades Union 'lefts' are quite clear where they stand.

Their talk of import controls is an explicit call for us to put the 'health of the national economy' before the international conflict between capital and labour, besides being probably up the creek even according to its own terms of reference (eg import controls invite little more than a tariff war).

Needs not Profits

The very refusal of substantial, influential sections of the Labour Movement to openly challenge nationalistic (and capitalistic) solutions to the crisis, coupled with the immediate effects of this on housing, jobs, wages, health services and education, leaves the door wide open to those who thrive by peddling scapegoats from platforms bedecked with the 'respectable' Union Jack.

The fascists of the National Party and the National Front batten upon real grievances and a real sense of impotence among working people before which the nationalist 'socialism' of the Labour Party finds itself helpless and compromised.

It is all the more important under such circumstances that class based



On an anti-National Front demonstration in Blackburn. photo John Sturrock (Report)

politics and actions should be clearly opposed to any species of 'national interest' compromise.

Determination to resist the attacks of capitalism in crisis, despite all nationalist appeals to sacrifice,

aggression, or race hatred, begins the development in struggle of global workers unity.

Put class before nation, needs before profits!

I.G.

SQUATTERS ATTACKED

ON SATURDAY May 15, and again on the evening of May 17, London's East End bore witness to vicious attacks by gangs of youths upon four Bengalis, all squatters in the vicinity of Stepney Green.

On May 18, between 30-40 people many squatting in the area, turned out to patrol the streets and to prevent these attacks.

A gang of youths who were suspected of being involved in the beatings were confronted, and warned to lay off.

The streets were patrolled for the next following few evenings, and since then, there has been no re-occurrence of the violence.

On the night of the second attack, three of four minicabs from a local firm owned by a member of the National Front were seen cruising in the area.

It appeared that they were using their car radios in order to co-ordinate the actions of the gangs responsible for the attacks.

This seems to lend evidence to the fact that the National Front have been stirring up racial hatred in the area in the aftermath of press campaigns against 'immigrant' Asians.

A further, alarming, feature of the attacks was that, apparently, other black and half-caste youths were involved in the beatings.

The Bengalis in the area are awake to the threat of racist violence, and are organising to protect themselves — this within a few days of the incidents.

At a first meeting for many months of the Tower Hamlets Squatters' Union, the problem was discussed. It was realised by many that greater contact had to be made between squatters and council and private tenants.

Otherwise, radicals involved in squatting would remain as 'outsiders' and there would be a greater chance of fascists whipping up hatred against squatters and racial minorities.

As one person at the meeting said, it was a pity that only now, after this racist threat, was any attempt being made to break down these divisions.

Mellish (ex-Labour whip), Enoch Powell, the media and the fascists spew out their hatred and try to divide the working class by playing the race card.

It becomes increasingly obvious that this propaganda will lead to attacks on racial minorities like:

the firebombing of an Asian home in Stratford, East London.

the murder of two Asian students in South Woodford and several other incidents.

We give full support to West Indians and Asians organising to defend themselves against racist and fascist attacks, while seeing the urgent need to counter the NF and the other racists, on as many levels as possible.

EAST LONDON AWA

Fighting Fascism

THE National Front get 43,700 votes in Leicester — that's a lot of people prepared to back the NF in its policy of 'if it's black send it back, if it's red shoot it dead.'

The hatred shown by their supporters is frightening and very open.

Of course, their appeal is crude and very basic, as was the Nazi's in Germany, but it is very real and we must recognise it.

As the NF's policy and arguments are all irrational, and laced with undiluted race hatred, and ask no more from people than patriotic obedience to pre-serve 'our' heritage, it's not surprising that our reasoned and rational answers to NF policy falls on the deaf ears of the apparently non thinking growing number of NF supporters.

What makes it such a growing problem if the financial crisis of the country that make their oversimplifications so appealing.

Compromise

The dilemma for anarchists is fighting the NF along with other people without compromising our ideals.

This is very difficult because the NF must be fought on all fronts, and while this is going on we may find ourselves restraining some of our demands, in favour of the popular front against fascism.

A lot of people will say we will only join a popular front on our own terms, but this is easier said than done.

Compromises will have to be made, and because they are very gradual they are not always noticed until it is too late, and we

find we have helped to build another organisation too large to dismantle or control, whose only link with anarchism is a dislike of fascism.

This is of course where the real dangers to anarchists lie, because this is the same position that the Makhnovists in the Ukraine in 1918-20, and the Spanish anarchists in 1936 found themselves in.

That is, postponing the social revolution to help the communists and socialists in a popular front against fascism, where instead of going forwards we find ourselves defending 'democracy' and the system we wish to abolish, sooner than risk the even worse threat of fascism.

Problem

Although we can read about Makhno and the FAI, the problem is not made any easier, because we are still faced with the difficult decision that faced these anarchists before us.

The problem is whether or not to throw our lot in with a popular front, and risk it turning against us, as it did to Makhno and the Spanish comrades even after they joined on the cautious and critical position that we would insist on for ourselves — and leading to our extermination by the communists, as it did for our comrades before us.

The alternative being to fight on confidently, totally committed to purely anarchist principles, believing that the ideals of a free libertarian society will win the support and acceptance of the people when faced with either fascism or authoritarian socialism.

Lyn Hurst

Who shut up the Voice?

LAST MONTH saw the closing down of the "Voice" group of newspapers, which included *Voice of the Unions*, *Labour's Voice*, *London Voice*, *Labour's Northern Voice* and *Engineering Voice*.

This group of papers, the first of which was established in 1925, has fought for libertarian socialist ideas for the last half a century.

We might have disagreements with them on many issues, but they did stand firmly for workers self-management. To quote from the final edition:

"Our 'VOICE' speaks for workers' control, for libertarian socialism, for the dignity of the working man, for his right to control his own destiny, in every part of our globe, without any exception whatsoever."

For some time, the group had been losing £150 per month, and their debts now run into four figures: the only source of funds was contributions.

It is sad to see a workers' paper of this quality disappear; it is

still sadder to discover that it was knifed in the back by the Communist Party. Here is another quote from the last issue:

"The Communists have deliberately sought to destroy our *Engineering Voice* circulation. The intent has been to set up a tightly party-controlled organ in its place."

It was this 'planned attack on *Engineering Voice* circulation conducted under Communist Party direction' which finally helped to bring about the collapse of Voice Newspapers.

To many people who get involved in political action for the first time, the Communist Party seems to be the logical place to go, because of its traditional place in the labour movement.

As anarchists, we have always mistrusted the plans of Communist Parties, and their behaviour in the countries they now rule has justified that mistrust.

These Leninist parties always substitute Party-power for workers power; it comes as no surprise to see the British CP helping to destroy another socialist group, especially one that stands for libertarian socialism rather than Party dictatorship.

M.S.

SLF activity

THE Scottish Libertarian Federation Conference held in Edinburgh on May 8 and 9 was judged by those participating to be a real success.

Activity by groups is steadily increasing and the Federation structure has been overhauled to facilitate the co-ordination and interaction of group activities.

A remarkably high level of agreement between the various political strands active in the Federation was a notable feature, and members are confident that libertarian socialists will make themselves even more of a force to be reckoned with in Scotland in the coming months.

Anyone wishing to receive a copy of the *SLF Bulletin* should contact H. Daly, 171 Milpark Street, Kinning Park, Glasgow.

R.G.

BASQUE activity

NEWS has reached us that anarchists in the Basque country are organising in a practical way to increase their effectiveness in the struggle raging in Spain.

The comrades around the journal *Askatasuna* have called for the "unification of all libertarian communists or sympathisers and those who have an affinity with Euskadi (the Basque lands) around a libertarian platform to be discussed and acceptable to all".

They see direct action and self management as a method of practical work and call for, in the short term, the setting up of "study and action groups, from which, through a process of maturation, the foundation of a libertarian communist organisation can arise which can offer to public opinion, and to the workers in

particular, adequate political options".

They defend "independence to fight the state and its repressive apparatus" and "community in what corresponds to the cultural, linguistic and specific problems of the Basque country".

Askatasuna want "a Basque confederation of free communes that would englobe territories occupied today by the French and Spanish states".

They fight for the setting up of workers councils and councils at a regional, county or communal level.

They welcome contact with other libertarian groups and have asked for translators from English, French or Italian to Spanish.

They welcome exchange at a theoretical level, and have asked for money to bring out a paper and "intervene in the history of the next few months and years".

Write to *Askatasuna* Solidarity Fund, c/o A & V McGowan, 83 Langside Terrace, Port Glasgow, Scotland.

E.L.

ULRIKE MEINHOF PICKET



Ulrike Meinhof picket at Lufthansa Airlines on May 22.

Photo Mike Shary (IFL)

The London offices of Lufthansa Airlines were picketed on Saturday 22nd May as a means by which to protest the recent death of Ulrike Meinhof, who was found hanged in her Stuttgart maximum security cell.

Her death — whether by her own hand or by another, came after four years of imprisonment without trial.

Since her arrest in 1972 when she was accused of bomb incidents, the West German state has cultivated a siege atmosphere.

This offensive, led mainly by the capitalist newspapers, has been directed against workers and left wingers.

The West German Social Democrat Government passed a law in 1972 which permits a worker to be dismissed from a

civil service or teaching post if they are considered to be a political threat to the state.

So far 250 workers have been victimised for their political beliefs, either by being refused jobs or by getting the sack.

Candidates for civil service and teaching posts are asked searching questions about their political sympathies and rigorous investigations are carried out against suspected anarchists and communists.

Private industry has also jumped on the bandwagon by joining the state sponsored witch hunt.

One estate agent company in Darmstadt includes a clause in its leased property which allows them to terminate a lease on a political pretext.

Ulrike Meinhof's death should be seen in the context of increasing barbarism from the state on a widespread scale and not just as an isolated incident.

Ulrike Meinhof has been widely represented by the capitalist and Trotskyist press as an anarchist: it should be pointed out that she was associated with the Red Army Faction which identified with Marxism-Leninism.

R.B.

The Campaign Against Repression in West Germany, which organised the picket is setting up an information bank to collate and disseminate information about legal repression in West Germany, and can be contacted at: 32, Wellington St., London, WC2E 7BN.

Students Occupy

FOLLOWING the example set by students of Moray House College of Education, student teachers at all of Scotland's ten training colleges occupied in protest at the continued cutbacks in public spending.

The cuts are hitting education particularly hard, and the inevitable consequence is that the number of jobs

available for newly-qualified teachers has fallen drastically.

So drastically in fact that only six jobs were offered to the 400 graduates at Moray House this year!

Students seeking jobs were told not to bother queuing — there were no jobs going.

Faced for the first time with the grim reality of large-scale unemployment, trainee teachers in Scotland are 100% behind the occupations.

Militancy

Colleges with no record of militancy of any sort are now in the front line of protest at the Government's cutbacks.

One point must be emphasised: the

student teachers are determined that any improvement in their situation must not come at the expense of others.

They have made clear time and time again their total opposition to all cuts — not just those affecting teachers and education.

The Scottish TUC's Education Committee passed a motion of total support for the students — stressing that they had taken the only course open to them.

Student teachers in Scotland are not prepared to take the cutbacks lying down.

By their total support for the college occupations they have shown their determination to fight back — and fight back hard.

J.B.

NAC Open Meeting

THE West London Group of the National Abortion Campaign is alive and well, and meeting every Monday evening at 8.00pm, at 80 Tavistock Road, W11.

We see the campaign focusing on all sorts of issues that affect women, from the threatened closure of Acton Hospital due to National Health Service cuts, to fighting for nursery and crèche facilities in the area.

There is a new building at the Charing Cross Hospital built over a year ago as an outpatient clinic which should be doing abortions.

This is still not open. The management say they cannot afford an anaesthetist which they wouldn't need if the clinic was geared to provide safe early abortion by the 'suction' method.

NAC, with other local groups and interested individuals, are organising an OPEN MEETING to be held at Hammersmith Small Town Hall on June 12 at 1.30pm.

We will be talking about women and health, and there will be a crèche provided.

There will be a film, exhibition and workshops throughout the afternoon, and there is a lot to do beforehand.

Come along on the day, send representatives to our Monday meetings and street meetings.

You can find out more about West London NAC from:

11 Acklam Road, W10. Tel. 969 9105 6

This article was contributed by a woman in West London NAC.

RANK XEROX

MOSCOW — Rank Xerox have opened an office here, writes our correspondent, in the Hotel Ukraine at 77 showing the 'Xerox 4500' photocopying machine at an exhibition.

It seems that a growing number of western capitalists are overcoming their fear of our bureaucracy expropriating them, and are seeing that business can be good here too.

For Rank Xerox to come here, however is good news for the growing number of dissident workers and intellectuals.

Printing machines are kept under very close scrutiny and the 'duplicator' as you know it is not allowed.

Any 'samizdat' publications have had to be typed out each copy at a time — have good business Rank Xerox!

Новая Копировальная Система
фирмы "Рэнк Ксерокс"



Аппарат "Ксерокс 4500" обеспечивает автоматическую сортировку двухсторонних копий

Аппарат "Ксерокс 4500" обеспечивает автоматическую сортировку двухсторонних копий. Это устройство позволяет автоматически сортировать копии, что значительно упрощает работу с документами. В отличие от обычных копировальных аппаратов, "Ксерокс 4500" способен обрабатывать документы с обеих сторон, что экономит время и ресурсы. Данное устройство идеально подходит для офисов, где требуется высокая производительность и точность копирования. Его использование позволяет избежать ошибок, связанных с ручной сортировкой копий. Кроме того, аппарат "Ксерокс 4500" обладает высокой надежностью и долговечностью, что делает его отличным выбором для профессионального использования. В настоящее время этот аппарат широко применяется в различных сферах деятельности, включая образование, науку и бизнес. Его наличие в офисе является гарантией быстрого и качественного выполнения любых задач, связанных с копированием документов.

Vallium—The Opium of the People

BY 1971 prescriptions for barbiturates in Britain reached twenty million per year, for phenylthiozine tranquillisers, six million; for amphetamines, five million; for non-barbiturate hypnotics, five million.

Since 1971 these figures have increased considerably, together with a vast increase in drug dependency, in adverse side effects, in hospitalisation for overdosage and in accidental and suicidal deaths.

The pharmaceutical industry is one of the fastest growing industries today.

The profits of the drug companies are enormous: the total turnover of drug sales in 1971 has been estimated conservatively at sixteen billion dollars, with the leader of the pack being a Swiss firm, Hoffman la Roche, doing a turnover in 1971 of one thousand two hundred and fifty million dollars.

The cost of producing drugs is minimal but the main areas of expenditure lie in research and marketing.

It is estimated that drug companies spend about 15% of the total amount received by sales on research.

However, much of the 'research' is the low risk type, since it is directed at producing new patents out of combinations of old drugs which are then marketed with the help of aggressive advertising techniques.

The profits therefore cannot be anything but enormous.

Third World

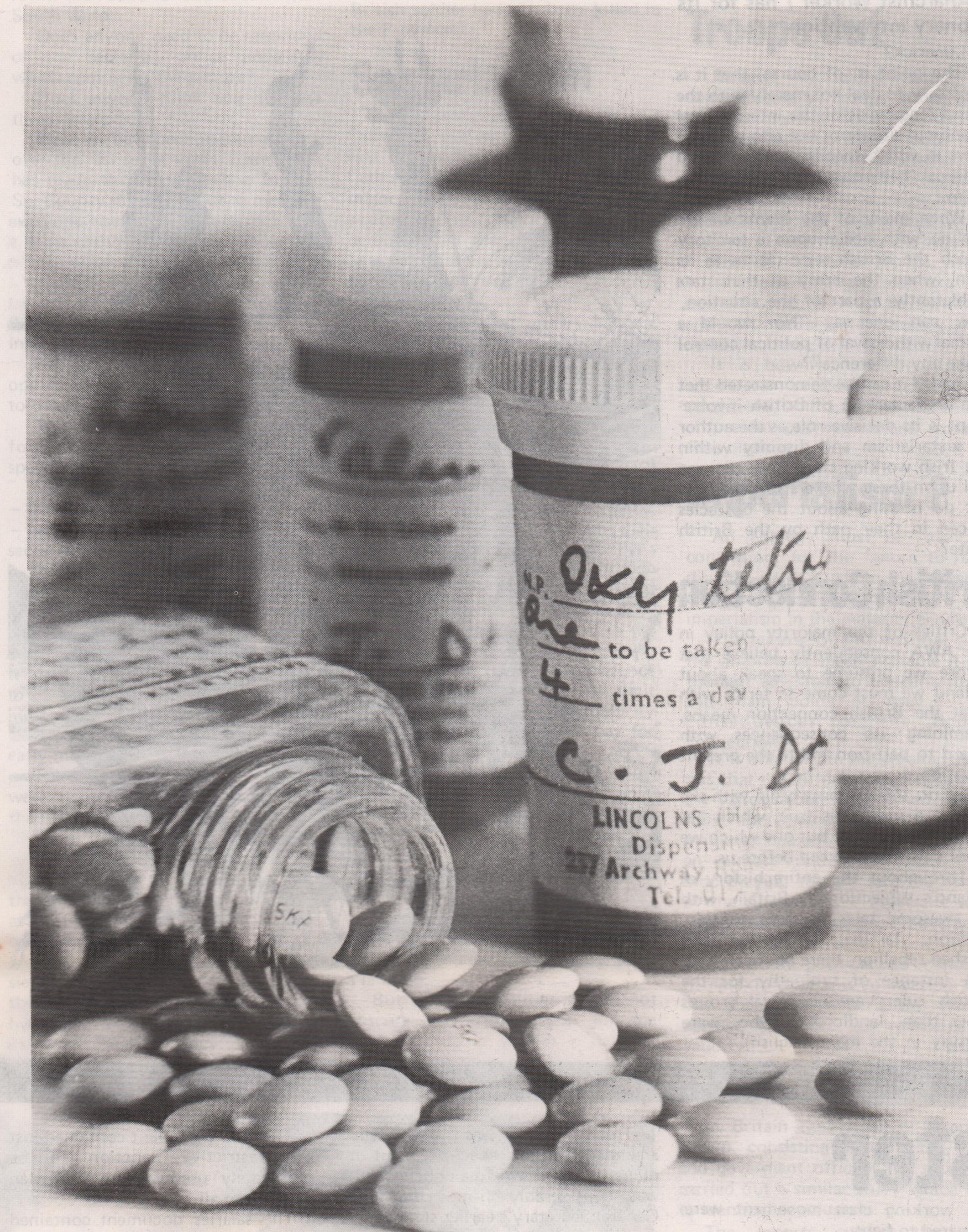
Perhaps the most horrific manifestations of monopoly capitalism are reflected in the activities of the drug companies in the Third World since they not only direct attention away from real health problems but actually create more problems, as was the case in Europe with thalidomide.

Drugs are not the answer to malnutrition and diseases resulting from inadequate diet and poor sanitation, yet they are prescribed widely at enormous cost and under no controls.

In general, prices for drugs in India, for example, are 350% higher than the average European price.

Women

The number of women on



Do you feel tired, depressed and generally run down? Do you ever feel that you can't go on any more? Well, if you do, don't worry because capitalism has the answer — Pills!

prescribed mood-affecting drugs far exceeds that of men.

Women, particularly unmarried

women, comprise the largest group of psychiatrically hospitalised and 'treated' Britons today.

Modern society isolates women in the home and defines the reality of her oppression as a disease or neurosis

to be treated or cured by drugs alone.

The feminist psychologist Mary Mannes has defined destructive anxieties as a result of "the pressures of society and mass media to make women conform to the classic and traditional image in men's eyes.

They must not only be the perfect wife, mother and home maker, but the ever young, ever slim, ever alluring object of man's desires.

Deluge

Every woman is deluged daily with urges to obtain this impossible state.

The real danger is success — the anxieties engendered by this quest are relentless, degrading and corroding, while legitimate anxiety — am I being true to myself as a human being? — is submerged in trivia and self deception."

Once the destructive anxieties are created, women naturally tend to turn to experts for help and are then confronted with the male-dominated chauvinistic medical profession.

Women are usually introduced to drugs by their own physicians who often recklessly prescribe diet pills, tranquillisers, anti-depressants and sedatives.

This is for two reasons. The first is the tendency for busy doctors to write out a quick drug prescription rather than spend time finding out what's wrong with a patient.

The second is the success of the drug companies in persuading the medical profession to accept chemical solutions to health problems, even emotional ones.

The biggest abuse is in mental hospitals where patients are perpetually drugged into complete apathy, often with permanent after effects.

Physicians usually see themselves as healers to poor, helpless women, but are in fact the middle men in the highly exploitative and aggressive drug industry.

Attack

Individual problems cannot be solved by drugs alone and medicine is not the answer to alienation.

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

J.V.

photo: Chris Davies (Report)

NF in Bradford

BRADFORD — The National Front held a demonstration here on April 24 to celebrate St Georges Day and in support of candidates standing in the local elections.

It was typically provocative: a march through the Manningham area of the city to a school which normally houses kids 85% of whom are non-white.

Bradford's Trades Council/Ad Hoc Committee against Fascism organised a counter demonstration supported by various West Yorkshire Trades Councils, Bradford area students, gays, the Manningham Defence Committee, anarchists from Bradford, Leeds and Warwick.

It is important to stress that about half the five thousand anti-fascists were from the local community, marching under the banners of the Asian Workers Association, Pakistani Workers Association and the Caribbean Workers Association, as well as an Irish contingent.

Prevention

The Manningham Defence

Committee handed out leaflets calling on the march to block Manningham Lane and thus prevent the Fascists from meeting at Manningham Middle School.

But the Trades Council had other things in store for us: they wanted a token gesture, a peaceful march round town and a rally (to be held in front of the Police Station and Law Courts!).

Facile

From the start, there was bad feeling towards the organisers: one particular steward annoyed marchers with facile sexist comment through his all powerful megaphone.

When we reached our rallying point, a sizeable proportion of the march moved off back to Manningham Lane to block the Fascist route.

Stomp

Several hundred demonstrators managed to regroup in front of the National Front, but on trying to sit

down in the road pacifist-style were simply stomped on by police horses.

So the crowd retreated some distance and began stoning the police, whilst the Fascists had reached the school a police car and van got overturned.

For the NF, it was a successful day — despite 5 arrests — because marchers followed Trades Council orders the Fascists held their meeting successfully.

The Trades Council withheld information on the NF march route and meeting place.

Contrary to others, this counter demonstration was well organised to ensure a fiasco.

Collaboration

With our numbers exceeding those of the NF by about 5-1 (5,000-1,000 or 3,000-600 depending on news reports) we stood a pretty good chance of blocking the Fascist demo.

But collaboration between Trades Council and Police, Police and NF, destroyed this chance.

The march, once moving, proved impossible to stop, despite anarchist/gay initiatives in this direction.

An interesting feature of the march was how quickly and easily



photo: Dave Evans (IFL)

local non-whites reacted to the police presence compared with the professed 'revolutionaries' surrounding them.

This however is perhaps unsurprising since the Bradford and Leeds Police are well known for their continual harassment of racial minorities in the area. [See Leeds Other Paper and Chapeltown News for details.]

'Niggers'

A police comment to an arrested

anarchist comrade: "Niggers and busmen deserve to be beaten up" — he fits into the latter category.

Had the marchers themselves organised the activities of the counter demonstration, and had they acted on the suggestions of the Manningham Defence Committee rather than the Trades Council's, the Bradford march would have proved more effective in silencing this Fascist attempt at violent intimidation of a local community.

S.B./P.B.

IRELAND: Abstention is no

OPPOSITION WITHIN AWA to the majority position on Ireland (which was presented in the May 'Anarchist Worker') has for its foundation two principles of revolutionary intervention.

The first of these is the realisation that substantial commitment to social revolution within the working class will not emerge in a blinding flash of mass enlightenment, or as the result simply of explanation and exhortation, but rather as part of an uneven and often painfully slow total social development.

The second is that our participation within this development should not be one of abstaining upon immediate suffering and oppression, by doing little else but comment about the need for international anarchist revolution, but that it should, on the contrary, begin from attempting to understand all the present contingencies, in order to contribute to the growth of anti-capitalist feelings through forwarding realistic solutions to contemporary injustice, and courses of action for relevant sections of the working class.

Within these guidelines, elements of the Irish situation which the majority approach appears to dismiss begin to occupy more significant positions.

This approach suggests that there is no direct way that workers in Britain can act in order to assist the growth of freedom in Ireland.

This shows a lack of clarity about just what the specifically British connection involves.

Thus at one point, the majority article stated: "Britain has never pulled out of Southern Ireland: it will never pull out of Northern Ireland either because the links of international capitalism are too strong."

But is the British army to be seen on the streets of Dublin? Within the last few years has there been internment in Cork, military house searches

in Limerick?

The point is, of course, that it is necessary to deal not merely with the grand tendencies of the international economic situation, but also with the ways in which specific economic and political components behave within them.

When many of the events we are dealing with occur upon a territory which the British state claims as its own, when the army of that state is blatantly a part of the situation, how can one say "Nor would a formal withdrawal of political control make any difference"?

And if it can be demonstrated that one characteristic of British involvement is its decisive role as the author of sectarianism and disunity within the Irish working class, how can one call upon these workers to unite and yet do nothing about the obstacles placed in their path by the British State?

British Connection

Critics of the majority policy in the AWA consequently believe that before we presume to speak about Ireland we must come to terms with what the British connection means, examining its consequences with regard to partition and to the present situation.

To do this we must begin with the past — a past, it is true, which has often been recalled, but one which we should nevertheless keep before us.

Throughout the entire history of Ireland's subjection by Britain, with its awesome tales of expropriation, eviction, famine, emigration and crushed rebellion, there has been only one instance of sympathy for the British rulers among social groups other than landlords (who were anyway in the main English).



This was the result of the 17th century 'plantation' of English and Lowland Scots in Ulster.

These Protestant colonists did not easily merge with the native population.

In fact, they could generally be relied upon to support London regimes against the latter because their religious and cultural differences were reinforced by distinct economic and social privileges, initially expressed in terms of different land and tax rights, and later through a unique industrial development geared to British Imperial trade.

At all points of their development, the privileged Protestant communities enjoyed a special relationship with Britain.

Within them, the policy of giving Protestants a better economic and social deal was enforced at every level of society.

Thus, when the movement for Irish independence climaxed at the beginning of the century it was not merely the bourgeoisie, but all sections of the Protestant communities which felt threatened by the break with Britain, since an all-Irish government could have had no interest in sustaining and tolerating their privileges in the same way that Britain did.

So they stuck out for union for themselves and for the land and people surrounding them.

Such a compromise was moreover not unattractive to Britain — it meant that the plums of Irish industry remained in London's dominion and also that from a military point of view then still credible, the Western flank of England was not totally exposed should a free Ireland ally with hostile forces.

The British connection thus found continued political as well as economic expression through partition.

The 'Northern Ireland' created by this was little more than a blatant

NUTs Cluster

THIS YEAR'S Conference of the National Union of Teachers was a confused and politically contradictory one.

However, several obvious facts show up.

Mainly, how isolationist the NUT was when it came to fighting the social services cuts, and how increasingly ruffled the right wing executive was becoming in casting around for credible sounding manoeuvres with which to con the membership for another year.

One of the main dilemmas that faced the executive was the problem of continuing support for the social contract when social service spending — including education — was being slashed.

In his annual report to the Conference, General Secretary Jarvis alluded to this "problem".

There were those, he said, who wanted unity with other unions, but did they know there were many unions in the industrial sector who weren't opposed to the Social Services cuts?

In one way he was right.

Practically all the trade union leaders on the TUC General Council blame the working class for inflation and believe that so-called 'profligate' spending in the public sector could be diverted to the bosses to boost employment.

There was clearly an opportunity for the left at the Conference to say that the trade union leadership had sold out the labour movement by agreeing to the social contract, but that large and significant sections of

the working class movement were prepared to fight.

Very few intelligible right wing speeches were made from the floor, and a startling feature of the conference was that the political debate was between the executive and the revolutionary left.

The Communist Party wavered between 'tactical' support for the executive on the most right wing issues and curious left cover tactics, like trying to get an emergency motion put to conference calling for all newly qualified teachers to be employed by special government aid.

Needless to say, their opportunism got them nowhere.

Impact

The left made some impact: there were three very clear examples.

The Southwark delegation, on the behalf of a group of left and Rank & File delegates, tried to move a suspension of standing orders to take a motion to throw out the proposals for pay restraint in Healey's budget.

Normally, such proposals are met with jeers egged on by the executive.

This time, although the move was lost, over a third of the conference voted to hear the debate.

The executive failed in an attempt to push through, on the nod, a scheme which would have included a tacit acceptance of compulsory redundancies at 50.

The Lambeth delegation managed to get the necessary two thirds majority of conference to take a motion which affirmed opposition to all redundancies.

This motion was successfully amended by the executive, but it pinned them down to a policy which was considerably firmer than the General Secretary's earlier statement.

Women

The final example is that conference gave the Equal Opportunities document almost unanimous support, a document which contained many far-reaching proposals for fighting sexism in the classroom.

It did not, however, contain the demands found in the Working Women's Charter.

A motion which included the Charter was later dropped, but support for it was up by a third on last year.

The issue of women's oppression is something that the executive didn't know how to handle.

Even though the executive were cornered on some issues, however, they managed to retain their political hold over delegates to whom the history of militant trade unionism is an anathema, and to whom the alternative to the class collaborationist policies of the TUC requires a massive shift in consciousness.

For instance, a draconian motion was passed on union discipline which gives the executive powers to discipline members who take unofficial industrial action, and which includes suspension from the union BEFORE the hearing.

Pathetic and contradictory executive proposals on how to fight the cuts and on salaries for the coming year were carried with the only opposition coming from the militant left.

The cuts document contained just one restrictive sanction to be 'moderately' used with no other plan of action at all.

The salaries document contained the startling contradiction of a pledge to maintain members' living standards — but when "circumstances permitted".

Looking Ahead

To summarise — the coming year presents great dangers and great opportunities for the revolutionary left in the union.

Any unofficial industrial action over the cuts must be co-ordinated

and have the backing of other sections of the working class movement.

It is clear that the right wing in the union and the executive will try to victimise members arbitrarily.

The job of opposing the cuts and the Social Contract cannot be left to just Rank & File.

A united front of the revolutionary left and other progressive sections of the NUT must be formed.

AWA teachers in the NUT hope the newly revitalised Socialist Teachers Conference will be instrumental in building unity.

J.B.

(East London Teachers Association)

Workers' Control

THE DEVELOPMENT of capital intensive and technologically advanced machinery in the last few decades has led to the introduction of sophisticated production and management techniques into factories throughout the world.

Modern production techniques not only dehumanise the work process, break up skilled jobs into boring tasks and increase industrial hazards but also allow bosses to exercise more control over the workers.

It is often assumed that industrial production requires specialisation and separation of tasks and that authoritarian and hierarchical management techniques are necessary for the co-ordination and

running of the overall process.

In this way, hierarchical regimentation appears to be a necessity flowing from the very nature of industrial production.

Control

However, it is clear that modern management techniques simply reflect the desire of the bosses to maintain their control over the workers, and therefore these techniques are specifically a product of capitalism.

In practice, they are applied in such a way that the work quota is no longer laid down, or negotiated and imposed by direct human authority, which remains open to argument, but ordered by a machine and imposed by the advance of the production line.

At the Austin works at Longbridge

alternative

institutionalisation of the 'Protestant Ascendancy' — sectarianism was built into it, as an integral part of its structure.

Its very territorial rationale was the largest geographical area within which Protestant Unionism could secure some degree of economic security, coupled with a permanent 'democratic' mandate.

This 'democracy' was further assisted by gerrymandering and by the stacking of local government franchise in the Unionists' favour.

Furthermore, Unionist political and economic hegemony entailed control over jobs and housing.

In Derry, for instance, where Catholics have a numerical majority in everything except seats on the Council, the heads of all the City Council departments in 1966 were Protestant: of 177 salaried employees 145 were Protestant and 32 Catholic.

Perhaps the most notorious example is Harland & Wolff's shipyard in Belfast, the city's biggest employer, retaining a workforce of over 10,000 — only 3-4,000 of them Catholic.

Discrimination

Meanwhile, in 1971, male unemployment in the Catholic Falls Road area was 33.8%, as opposed to 7.8% in the Protestant Shankhill Road area.

Housing discrimination operated in three main ways. The first was to put Protestants into better homes.

The second was to re-house Protestants rather than Catholics (eg of 1,589 houses built by Fermanagh County Council between the end of the Second World War and 1969, 1,021 went to Protestant families: according to the 1961 Census, 53.2% of Fermanagh's population was Catholic).

The third was to refuse to re-house Catholics except in already overcrowded areas: Derry Council,

eg, reduced housing commitments rather than build for Catholics outside South Ward.

Does anyone need to be reminded of the sectarian police apparatus which completes the picture?

Does anyone think any of these things irrelevant?

What we have been presented with over the last seven years — and what has made things even worse for the Six County minority (not to mention everyone else who has suffered) — is a crisis within this divisive apparatus of repression and discrimination.

It had become unstable partly because of the *changing patterns* of British and international capitalist interests in the island as a whole.

But ultimately it proved to be the oppressed minority itself which rose to threaten the system of repression.

This crisis has brought into sharper focus the crucial nature of specifically British involvement.

Most noticeably the British Army — introduced to stabilise the situation — became itself patently enmeshed in sectarianism.

Because the only 'peace' it could produce was a *military* one, and because the Protestant Ascendancy could not be attacked except by the dismantling of the Six County state, a tendency developed for the troops to be used almost wholly against the minority population.

A telling example comes from the early months of 1970.

The army knew by then that there were unregistered arms in some of the Catholic enclaves.

They knew that these were insignificant besides the vast *registered* Protestant armoury, and that they were seen by the inhabitants as a last defence against the real threat of armed attack.

They also knew that to attempt to seize these arms was to throw themselves behind the whole rotten hypocrisy of biased 'legality' which expressed the ascendancy.

Yet their primary activity in this period became the search for them.

This not only appeared in itself as unwarranted aggression to the minority populations — it also provided the basis for the intimidation of entire communities through mass house searches.

(At the time, incidentally, no British soldier had yet been killed in the Province.)

Sectarianism

Subsequent events, through the Falls Rd curfew, internment (the first internees were all Catholic; later Catholics merely formed the vast majority) and 'Bloody Sunday' to the present day, have repeatedly demonstrated that the Army's only answer to 'sectarianism' has been to bear down on the minority population!

And is this not understandable, insofar as it is operating *within* and to *preserve* an essentially sectarian structure?

The depressing counterpoint to the role of the troops has been the growth of those currents in Unionism itself (eg Paisley and the UUUC) which aggressively reject 'political solutions' harmful to the ascendancy.

Reaching maturity through their opposition to Faulkner's 'power-sharing' executive and through the Ulster Workers' Council strike of May 1974, which gave the final blow to this latter, their hegemony in the Unionist camp and their willingness to strain their own independence from British governments to the limit is a frustrating price for the majority of the British ruling class to pay for its own policies.

Nevertheless, the reality which remains at the heart of this Unionist intransigence is the realisation that only one thing can destroy the Protestant Ascendancy — the withdrawal of the British connection which sustains it.

Fear of this may induce a degree of compromise — continued direct rule or ultimately even power-sharing a la Craig.

But such possibilities should not obscure the prime lesson for the working class in Britain — namely,

that it is not until the Six Counties are severed from the British state that sectarian rule can be fully broken.

The demand 'self-determination for the Irish People as a whole' is intended to focus upon the crucial position of the British state in its relation to Partition and to sectarianism in Ireland.

Troops Out

Raising it, along with the complementary 'Troops Out Now', is the way in which British workers can most effectively contribute not merely towards a resolution of the present troubles but also towards a situation where the working class in Ireland will see more clearly the outlines of their mutual class interests.

The withdrawal of troops, within a 'self-determination' context will probably not, it must be admitted, end all immediate prospects of violence.

It is however, the only policy which can produce the long-term conditions for this, and for the ending of present oppressions and working class disunity.

Imperialism ?

An apology must be made, in conclusion, for the failure to reply directly in this article to the extensive comments on para-militarism and imperialism in the majority article.

The reason for this was that given the amount of space available it was thought advisable to concentrate on the main point at issue — the consequences of the British connection.

It is only within the parameters of this that the different implications of the various forces concerned can be fully appreciated, any attempt to merge all 'para-military' groups into an almost undivided 'reactionary bloc playing straight into the hands of the ruling class — especially with regards to the Republican movement.

It is only, moreover, in coming to terms with the political and economic complexities of this connection that any theory of imperialism, for or against, can have any relevance or validity. I.G.

Sexual Politics

ON Saturday May 22, there was a seminar on 'Sexual Politics' held in London which was organised jointly by the London groups of the AWA, Social Revolution and Solidarity.

75 people came, despite there being only a small amount of publicity, in the main word of mouth and groups mailing contacts.

Four speakers opened the meeting with 15 minute speeches on the changing family as a function of changing class society, sexuality and the traditional left, family and conditioning, and socialising patterns.

After lunch, we formed small groups where people discussed the family in class society, the role of morals in a future society, womens groups, mens groups and political groups; socialising patterns and several general discussions.

Being the first seminar in what is hoped to be a series organised by the three groups as a means of working towards libertarian unity, it was poorly organised, speakers not knowing beforehand how long to speak for, loss of time through late comers objecting to the way the meeting was structured, and so on.

Among the things made clear by the course of discussion, is that there are many women around who, having become disillusioned with the womens movement and who are dissatisfied with the sexist politics and male-orientated organisations of the left are floating around in no group.

There is likely to be an initiative in the near future to bring together some women like this.

As a contribution towards the discussion, some members of North and East London groups of the AWA translated two articles from *Front Libertaire* which were handed out as a leaflet, copies of which are left.

If you want a copy of the leaflet, or want to be informed of any future seminars, write to:

AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS.

R.M.



the Alternative to Cuts

in December 1973, for instance, the production manager asserted "These are the schedules and you will work to them. The days of discussion are over."

It is not surprising that libertarian communism has not emerged in Russia or China where such capitalist production and management techniques have been applied as a standard method.

Industrial unrest

In the last few years, however, many workers have begun to realise that modern production and management techniques are *not* a necessity which arises from the very nature of industrial production but are specifically designed to maintain authoritarian and hierarchical relationships in industry.

Recently many rank and file workers have started to rebel against production line speeds, the meagreness of rest periods, the tyranny of the supervisors and the nervous exhaustion which results from performing monotonous tasks all day long.

For instance, back in 1963, tens of thousands of Detroit car workers stayed out in defiance of their union which had just signed a package agreement making no provisions for rest periods or for reduction, and control of line speeds.

Since then this sort of industrial unrest has spread to Britain and the rest of Europe.

The Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee, for example, has put a lot of pressure on management in relation to general hazards, noise levels, etc.

More important, the work of the committee has generated enormous interest in working conditions in general and now rank and file workers are viewing in an entirely new light

Worried Bosses

The general industrial unrest that is in part a product of these appalling working conditions and inhumane management techniques is now beginning to get the bosses worried.

The five week strike of the Renault workers at Le Mans in May 1971 led the CNDF (the French Employers' Federation) to finance a study called 'The Problem of the Assembly Line Worker'.

The study concluded that modern practice and management techniques lead to poor motivation, poor quality of work, high turnover, sabotage and above all industrial unrest.

In Britain the Tripartite Steering Group, consisting of the TUC, CBI and government officials has recently carried out a similar study which led to identical conclusions.

The reports suggest that the introduction of more 'humane' management techniques could still allow a high degree of managerial control, but increase job satisfaction while reducing industrial unrest.

This means that the bosses are really getting worried. In fact the Tories have just published a pamphlet called 'Our Nation At Work' (!) urging the adoption of measures to increase workers' job satisfaction in industry.

Capitalist Control

Generally speaking industrialists have been reluctant to adopt any form of workers' control because they feel that job enrichment might spell the end of their authority and despotic power.

Some of the more 'progressive' companies, however, have been quick to adopt such measures. For instance, the ICI synthetics factory at Gloucester attempted to reduce general unrest by introducing a job enrichment scheme whereby the workers repaired complex machinery which was originally maintained by qualified engineers.

The main purpose of these measures is to decrease industrial unrest.

These 'progressive' companies realise that autonomous work groups often lead to workers supervising themselves by maintaining an internal hierarchy and group discipline, thereby achieving the bosses' ends.

In fact such things as job rotation can increase managerial control over

the deployment of labour and can often lead to cuts in the workforce.

By these means the boss regains control while delegating responsibility to the workforce.

In 1975, Chrysler workers were offered places on the Board as worker directors, but they soon realised that this tactic was just a con to keep down industrial action and the offer was rejected.

While it is necessary to be fully aware of the consequences of such ploys it is also necessary to fight against inhuman production and management techniques since positive gains in general working conditions have been made.

As we fight against despotic management methods it is necessary to remember that workers' control can only have any real meaning in a libertarian communist society.

As long as production is subject to the dictates of the capitalist market and international finance, true job satisfaction will be impossible.

No-one can be content while manufacturing coca-cola to sell to starving Africans, or making washing machines that are designed to fall to pieces so as to maintain the market, or helping corrupt dictatorships stay afloat with warships.

Workers' control, and with it real satisfaction at work, can only occur when we can all decide communally and democratically through factory and street councils what products are to be manufactured and how they are to be produced.

This can only happen if, as a first step, rank and file workers reject the wage-cutting and unemployment policies expounded by the TUC leaders and Labour Government, and start organising for mass occupations of the factories now.

C.N.

Aberdeen—Trouble in oil waters

ABERDEEN... IS A CLASS-BASED CITY, RULED BY A CONSENSUS OF THE ELITE, AND THAT ELITE DOES NOT IDENTIFY THE WORKING CLASS AS, IN ANY REAL SENSE PART OF THE SAME 'COMMUNITY' AS THEM."

THE Scottish city of Aberdeen has long had a tradition of left wing activity — despite the overwhelmingly rightist atmosphere of the town.

Precisely because the North-East of Scotland has historically been under the economic and political grip of an integrated ruling class of landowners and businessmen — to say nothing of the role of such buttresses of the Establishment as the Church of Scotland — dissidence, when it has appeared, has been frequently of a revolutionary aspect.

Thus, until recent years, libertarian socialism and anarchism flourished in the city of Aberdeen and one feature of this activity was a vibrant libertarian and revolutionary publishing scene.

Recently, however, this has given way to a well funded paper called *Aberdeen Peoples' Press*, which has eschewed open revolutionary politics, preferring to adopt a 'liberal' approach on a 'community' basis and avoiding open reference to socialism.

This milk and water approach to an inheritance carefully built up by generations of Aberdeen radicals, this total and conscious failure to build on the political work and investment of such successful left papers as the anarchist *Fighting Mouse* (a free factory broadsheet, often acting as a local *Private Eye*, while pushing shop stewards' committees and the like) and *Aberdeen Solidarity* (a several paged duplicated magazine, often reaching a considerable level of theory and selling especially well in the city's large paper making industry), caused some local militants to be hostile to the *Peoples' Press*.

Change

It's a refreshing experience, therefore, to be able to write that there appears to be some sign of change, in that the *APP* has produced a pamphlet on North Sea Oil with particular respect to its impact on Aberdeen, which makes fundamental and radical critiques of this particular aspect of the capitalist system — a critique they have not only failed to make in the past, but have refused to countenance.

OIL OVER TROUBLED WATERS — "a report and critique of oil developments in North East Scotland" is produced by the Aberdeen Peoples Press Ltd., 167 King Street, Aberdeen, price 75p (15p postage).

Chapter 1 places the local situation in the context of international oil capital and the activities of the oil producing states and the oil companies.

The links between the oil companies and the OPEC cartel are well documented — it is a little sad, however, that having ventured into the decision to make some radical criticisms of the oil industry, they can go no further than to call for what amounts to the labourite panacea of nationalisation (if even that) — a bit pathetic since BP, for example, is already state-owned.

Looted

This section is, for all that, a thorough piece of detailed research, showing how the oil firms virtually defrauded an insecure and unconfident Labour government into parting with the North Sea at knock down prices, and how even into the future the oil companies, having wrung concessions out of compliant Tory governments, and principle-less Labour ones, will avoid taxation on the public resource they have so cleverly looted.

Chapter 2 looks at the impact of oil on the city of Aberdeen. "The area's ruling class has always consisted of a small cohesive elite of landowners businessmen, moral guardians and

bureaucrats. You cannot begin to understand the area until you understand the power of this elite and its firm grip on the moral tone and basic assumptions of the place".

It may well be that Aberdeen is "culturally unique", having a "unique history", but that "small cohesive elite" of landowners and bureaucrats and businessmen also run the rest of Britain.

This is the underlying weakness of the *APP* approach. All would be well if only Aberdeen Town Council were more socialist, if there had been more planning, more advance warning, and so on.

I can never understand people who emerge as radicals, having apparently undergone some kind of Damascus Road conversion, and then return to their holes almost at the moment of consolidation.

One certainly hopes that the *APP* will develop and not retreat.

Telling

The pamphlet tellingly quotes the playwright John McGrath, author of a number of plays about Scotland, most notably *The Cheviot, The Stag, and the Black, Black Oil*.

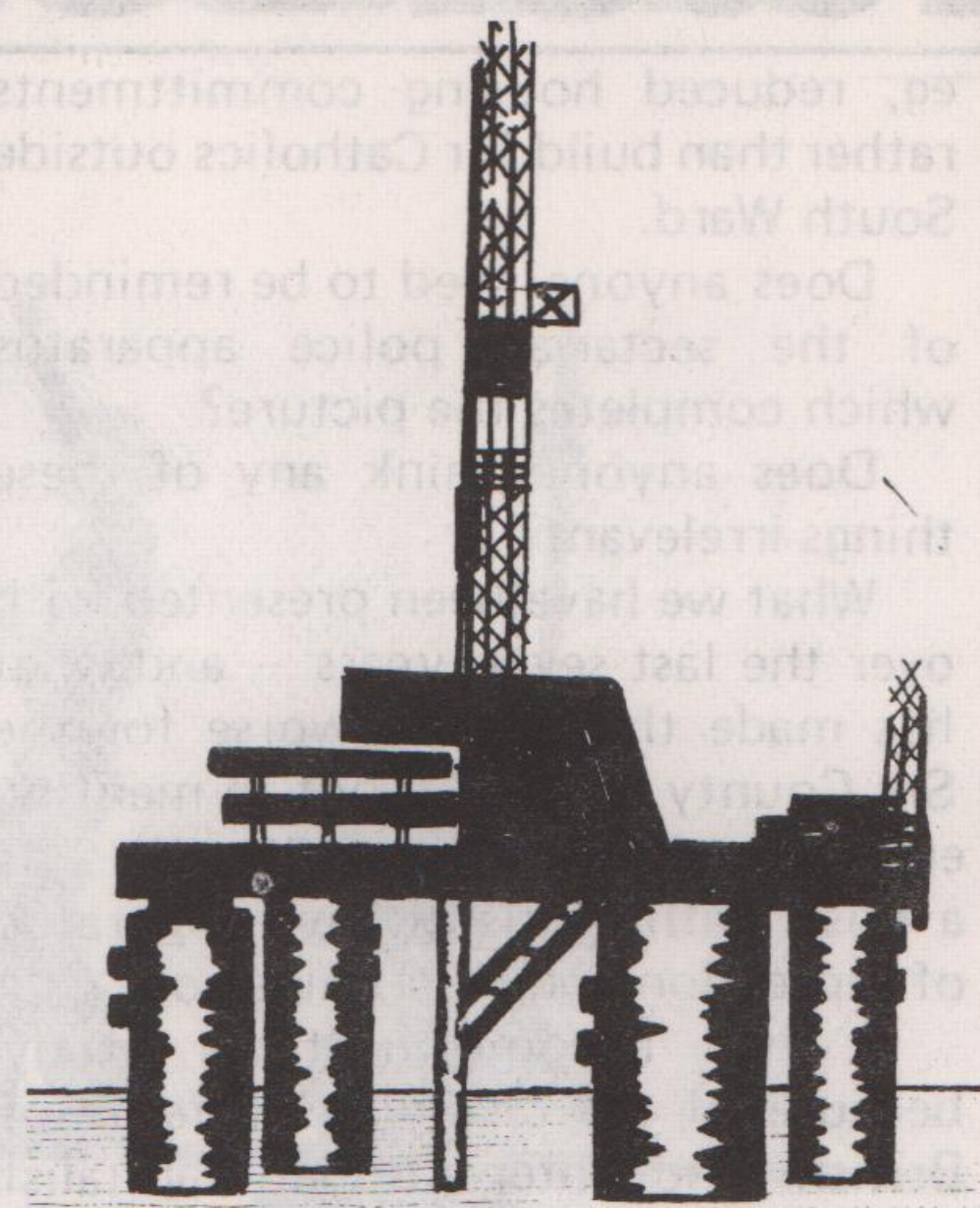
"Scotland has radical elements and a dominant bourgeoisie. It has a working class capable of great solidarity, but also capable of compromise.

Sections of that working class are highly politicised, articulate, and have a breadth of vision beyond their immediate demands.

Other sections are subject to antiquated religious sectarianism, or 'estate worker' mentality, or social climbing ambitions, or militaristic ambitions, or misplaced dutiful gratitude to their exploiters.

Almost all are subject to sexual chauvinism and intra-family oppressions."

Perhaps the most interesting part of 'Troubled Waters' is the section on local capital involvement in the oil boom. If nothing else, this part is an exemplary lesson in research for radicals.



Every provincial town in Britain, especially where there are a few dominant local industries, might well display a similar interlocking economic and political pattern, and *APP* are to be congratulated in giving us an idea of how to go about it.

As the pamphlet states, "Names of firms and individuals constantly reappear when you start asking 'Who owns Aberdeen?'... It's no surprise to find a solicitor in the boardroom. In fact Aberdeen businesses are chock-a-block with solicitors, some specialising in finance, some in fish, some in property and some just can't keep their noses out of anything.

"James Cruickshank, for example, likes finance and is on the board of the Clydesdale Bank, the Rothesay Trust and the Aberdeen and London Trust Ltd.

Chamber

"The partners of Paull and Williamsons on the other hand have interests in shipping (Lyle Offshore), hire purchase furniture (Talbots Ltd), television (Grampian), the motor trade (Roy Thomson), money (Bank of Scotland) and coal and oil....

"The Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, the Freemasons, the Society of Advocates and the rich

inhabitants of the town's West End all play their part."

A fascinating insight into how the machinery of state is used to further the aims of the capitalist is illustrated in microcosm through the activities of the Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire local councils.

"Aberdeen... is a class-based city ruled by a consensus of the elite, and that elite does not identify the working class as, in any real sense, part of the same 'community' as them.

If it was the poorer sections of the working class who suffered most from the accelerated pace of development, that was 'unfortunate', but something that couldn't be helped, because the council were there not to control developments, but to prevent their worst excesses.

In other words, the interests of the elite were identical with those of the developers: make what you can while you can, let the workers pick up what they can, and the devil take the hindmost.

APP manage only to draw this lesson at a local level. The revolutionary case is that this role of authority is the typical system under capitalism.

Efficient management of the capitalist system, a system which would collapse under its inherent contradictions if left to its own ideology of free enterprise, is the historical task of social democracy.

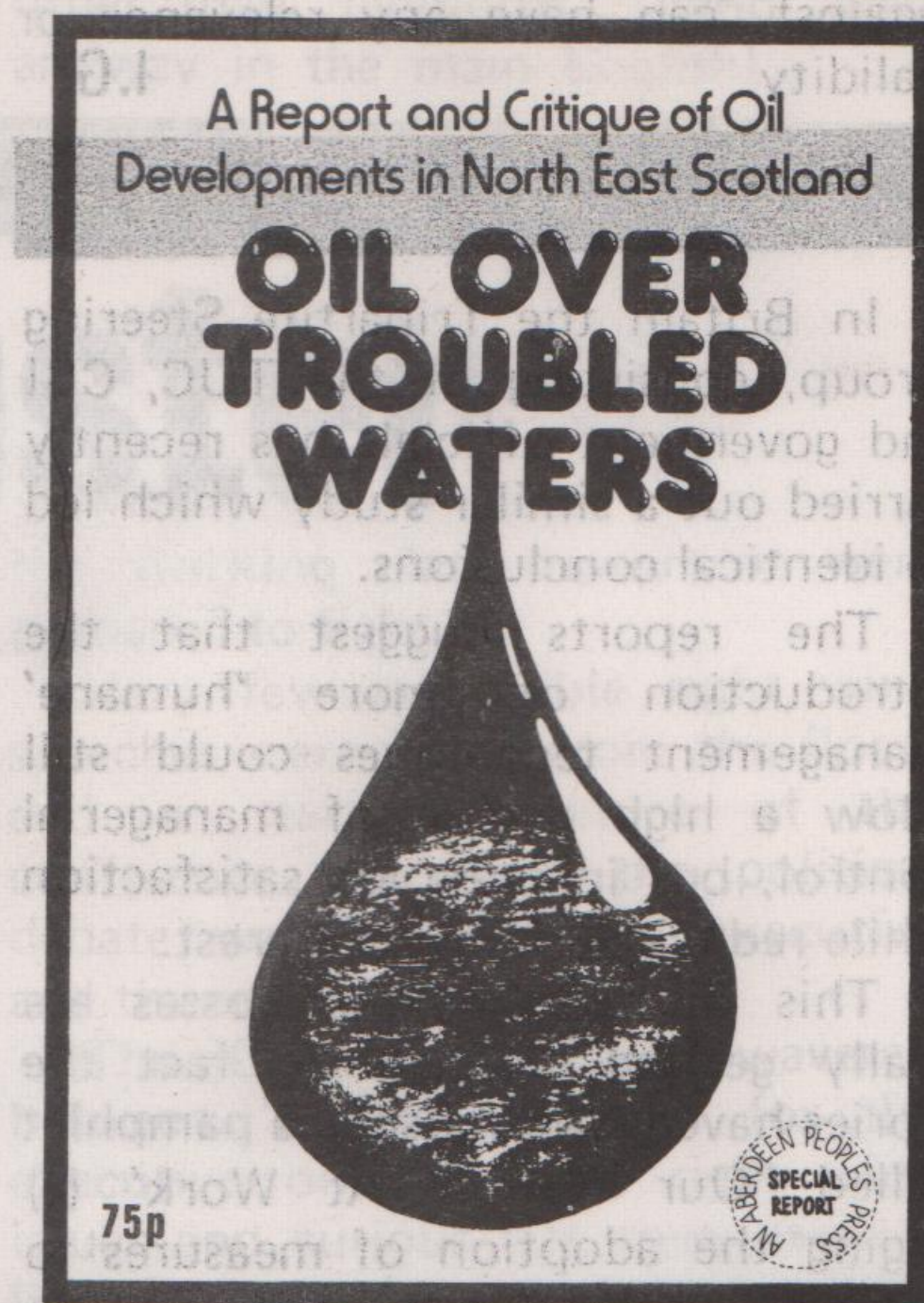
APP have failed to draw these political lessons.

Their move away from a situation in which they concentrated solely on 'community' issues, and from a political ambivalence in which they printed articles by Liberals and SNP supporters, is to be welcomed by Scottish militants.

However, the combination of lyrical mysticism and left social democracy which constitutes their movement away is simply not enough.

The oil pamphlet itself is a research masterpiece which should be on every revolutionary bookshelf.

Ian S. Sutherland



Get off the fence

OUR paper and organisation exists to help and support the working class.

We hope to spread the ideas of libertarian communism and the need for people to run their own lives, to fight capitalism, racism and sexism.

All our activities and our propaganda are aimed at helping to build a movement for self-management, a movement that organises in the home, in the neighbourhood, in the workplace and on the dole queue.

Mandated

We want a movement that is as democratic as it can be, that decides policy and action through mass meetings and elects mandated delegates subject to instant recall by the general assembly.

These delegates should carry out

tasks decided by the rank and file, and co-ordinate with other delegates and general assemblies on a local, regional and national level.

We seek to unite all struggles taking place in a town, an area, or countrywide.

That's why we see the need for the greatest solidarity possible between industrial groups, tenants associations, squatters groups, the unemployed, and womens and gay groups.

We have to break down the false divisions set up by capitalism that split us up and stop effective unity.

All struggles that question the system of command and obey, of roles imposed on us by bourgeois morality, the family, education and the media, that question capitalism itself, are equally important.

These struggles must be united.

We want our militants and sympathisers to be active in every arena; in industry, education, gay,

womens and sexual politics groups, environmental action groups, tenants, squatters and unemployed organisations.

We seek this involvement because we want increased activity against capitalism; because we want to promote libertarian communist ideas as widespread as possible; because we fight for unity and self-management of grass roots struggles.

In this fight to make these ideas relevant, we feel our paper can play an active role.

It can spread libertarian ideas: it can be used as a forum where people active in struggle can share their experiences.

But we need to spread our ideas further, increase the sales of *Anarchist Worker*, at a time when capitalism is raising unemployment figures and cutting living standards, when fascism is again raising its loathsome head.

It will soon be a time to stand up and be counted.

Our organisation works towards a social revolution, not to seize power for itself, but, participating in the revolutionary process as working class people, assist the class as a whole to take power and build a free society run through workplace and neighbourhood councils.

We urge all who agree with our aims and principles to join our organisation, the better to take part in this coming about.

Struggle

While the Labour Party and the Communist Party show their total bankruptcy and attachment to social democracy and a 'peaceful' road to socialism — in reality state capitalism — and while the Leninist groups hover between Labour Party fellow

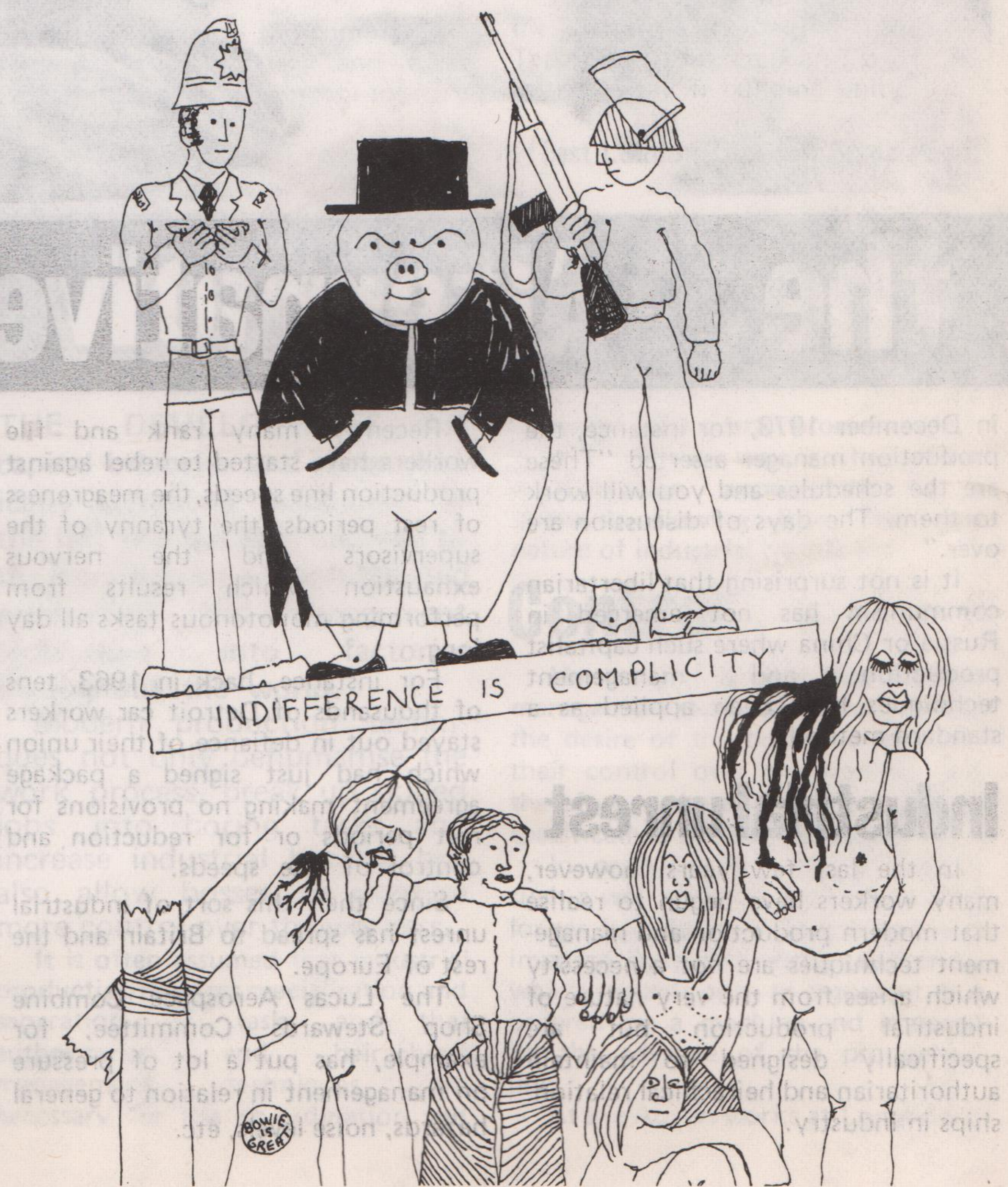
travelling and outright vanguardism, now it is increasingly important to build in struggle a strong revolutionary anarchist organisation.

There are groups and contacts of the Anarchist Workers Association in Birmingham, Bradford, Brighton, Colchester, Derby, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Kings

Lynn, Leeds, Leicester, East, North, South & West London, Nottingham, Oxford and Southampton.

Write to our national address for details. Apply for membership now! We've been on the defensive for too long — let's build a mass movement that goes on the attack!

Nick Heath



letters

Anti Fascist Defence Fund

Dear Comrades,

As you probably know, on Saturday 24th April the National Front staged a march and meeting in Manningham, a major immigrant area of Bradford.

Despite protests by local trade union bodies and immigrants' organisations the police and council allowed this attempt at intimidation of a significant proportion of Bradford's population to go ahead.

Twenty-one people were arrested protesting against this blatantly provocative demonstration and a fund has been set up to help cover defendants legal costs etc.

As well as widespread support from individuals both in Bradford and elsewhere, this fund is sponsored by Bradford Trades Council, the Indian Workers' Assoc, and the Pakistani Workers Association and other local bodies.

We would like to take this opportunity to appeal to your readers to support the fund and show solidarity with the comrades arrested in any or all of the following ways:

to contribute to the fund and take contributions amongst friends & workmates;

to pass resolutions of support through trade union bodies, associations, etc., calling for donations;

anyone who witnessed an arrest to contact us at the address given.

Please send all donations, notification of resolutions passed, requests for official collection sheets to this address. (Make cheques, PO's payable to 'Manningham Defendants' Fund' — all donations acknowledged).

Fraternally,
Terry Farrer (AUEW Convenor)
Brian Rhodes (Bfd. Labour Councillor)
(Hon. Treasurers, Manningham Defendants Fund, c/o 41 Athol Road, Bradford 9)

Ireland

Dear Comrades,

Comments were invited on the article on Ireland (May *Anarchist Worker*). Since my initial comments aren't too printable and the article with the conference resolution are so confused and self-contradictory that it's difficult to know where to start, I'll stick to one main point.

Over 50 years ago "renegade" Kautsky — the extremely clever intellectual leader of German Labourism managed to develop

a theory just like the article's.

By taking the long term *trends* towards a single, corporatist, monopolistic imperialism — which he called 'ultra-imperialism' — he managed to ignore the key importance of the 'passing' conflicts between national imperialisms and within them (in his case World War One).

His very learned approach was sterile for the following reasons, which derive from points that are basic to revolutionary politics.

Firstly, that there is no peaceful development of capitalism — each new stage solves some old problems and creates bigger new ones.

Second, that *real* politics is based on the way the *real* expression of these conflicts in the system affect *real* people.

The general influence of capital in any part of the world is not a guide to anything, just as knowledge of the average annual rainfall doesn't tell you whether you'll need an umbrella or a bottle of suntan lotion.

Only by studying the unique features of the particular situation and *then* relating them to general trends can you arrive at any developing analysis.

The real things in the six counties that we must take into account are the following:

1—The protestant ascendancy is based upon the subjugation of the catholic population by the armed forces of Stormont and of the British State.

2—Whilst this real division (actual preferential treatment in housing, jobs etc.) divides protestant from catholic, class based politics is crippled.

3—Therefore class politics can only develop if the ascendancy is ended. The troops must be brought out before class politics can start — NOT the other way round.

I'm sure other people will pick up other factual and methodological errors. Ultra Leftism is an infantile disease you know.

Fraternally,
Keith Nathan, Leeds

SNP

Dear comrades,

Ian Sutherland's article on 'The Tartan Tories' is what we might have expected from someone who has never lived in Scotland but having lived in Aberdeen the Derby comrade should have a more coherent analysis.

Much of his article is a valid libertarian statement on the 'basic concept' of Nation-alism (just like Nation-alisation!) but there are a number of basic misconceptions.

The most obvious mistake is the equation SNP = 'Tartan Fascism'.

The SNP is a political hybrid: true there are the Hugh Frasers and other representatives of Scottish capitalism.

However, most of its large grassroots membership, in Clydeside at least, are disillusioned Labour Party people — 'socialists' as well as social democrats.

The SNP has also attracted industrial activists who, critical of centralisation, have grasped at the wrong solution — Nation-alism.

It is by no means certain that the SNP would be much worse than Labour in attacking working class living standards.

As for "the semi-underground" fate of 'the Left' when the SNP win power, quite frankly we doubt if our position will differ much from the present (presuming the UDA aren't running amok!).

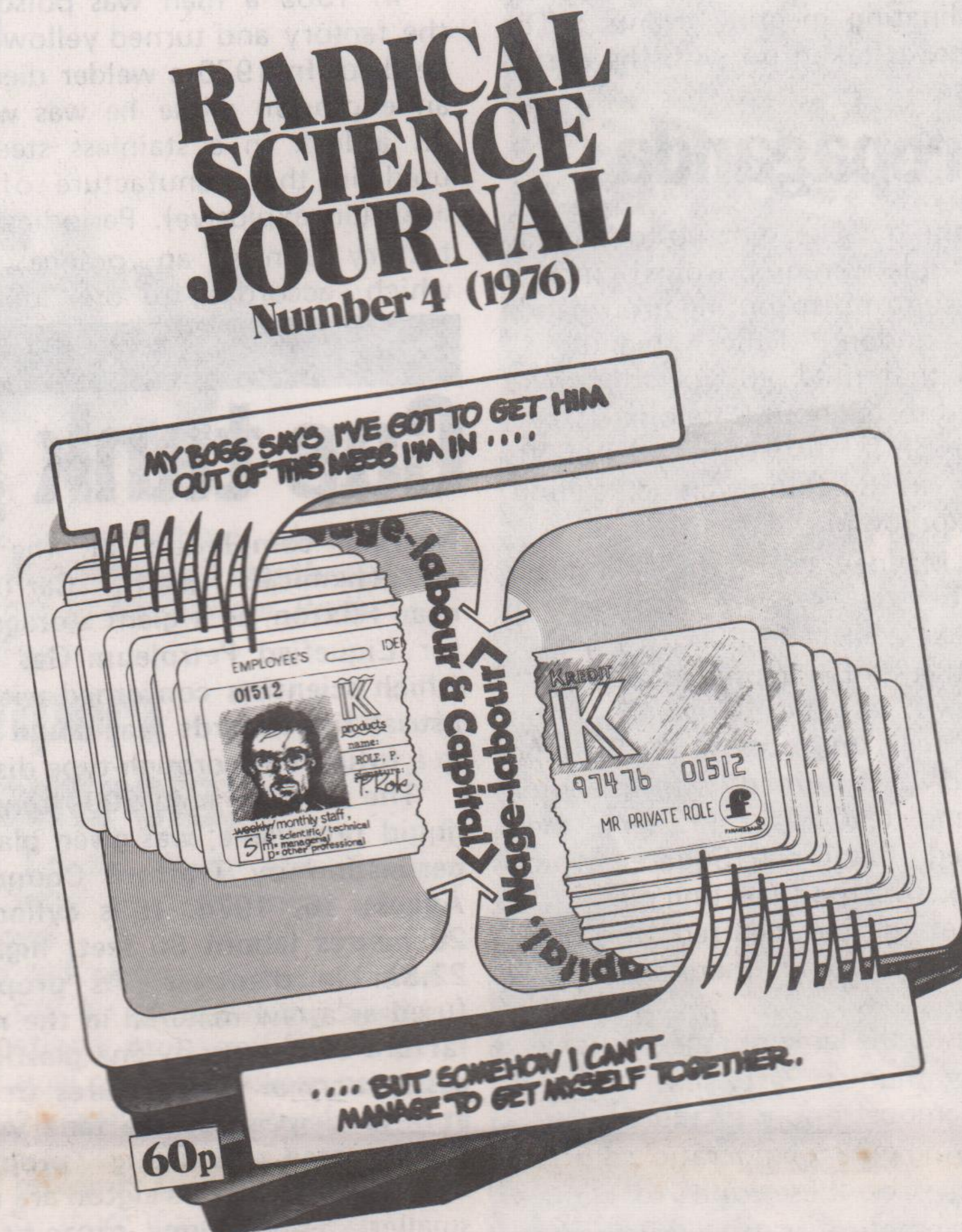
As for importing "a refreshing degree of common sense and unity on the part of the Left" gained through combating English Fascists, we are not so naive as to swallow that!

There is no automatic connection between electoral social base and social composition of membership, and a fascist solution (are leninists less petit-bourgeois?).

Reality isn't as simple. The SNP is a negative answer for working people. Without sounding vanguardist, the positive side to 'Self-government' can only be anarchy.

fraternally,
Alan Ross, Glasgow Anarchist Group

ps working people in Scotland live in 'schemes' and tenements — not crofts!



Review

RADICAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

ISSUE 4 of the *Radical Science Journal* has recently appeared, with articles by Simon Pickvance on "Life" in a biology lab, Luke Hodgkin on politics and physical sciences and Charlie Clutterbuck on death in the plastics factory, as well as reviews and an editorial.

As someone who lost interest in science in the third year of secondary school I found this magazine to be a useful contribution towards understanding what science is *really* about.

Most important is what the *RSJ* Collective state in their editorial to be the aim of their journal. And I think it's worth a long quote:

"...We feel that discussion of the role of science and scientists in capitalist society, whether within particular sciences or by comparison with other belief systems, is a part of a critique of capitalist society that can contribute to the struggle for socialism.

In an economic crisis that struggle becomes more immediate, affecting the working lives of scientists and technicians.

A journal such as *RSJ* should support and reflect the intensification of that struggle — for example by helping scientists to share their experience and providing analyses and tactics for action — in labs, offices and workshops.

The types of article we are interested in publishing more of, are those which tackle the problem of scientific activity within capitalism, its effect both on the scientific worker and the rest of the working class, and the logic which determines its development.

In particular it is time to emphasise the links between the practice of science and the lived experience and struggles of the working class.

What the veil of 'neutrality' makes it difficult for scientists to understand is often seen clearly by workers: production workers know that time and motion men are 'the greasers'.

To develop the relationship between scientists and workers, it is necessary to understand the new developments in production techniques which are forcing the working class into new areas of defence.

If scientific and other workers are to develop together and unite, it is up to both sides to establish the trust which has so successfully been eroded.

For scientists that means getting out and making their skills available to the working class, and re-opening the debate of the so-called 'popularisation of science' — demystifying science so that it can reach a mass audience, with its political implications clearly stated.

"Knowledge, like energy, is only power when it is put to work to get results. Science is knowledge organised. All together, the working class knows how to make everything, and how to create the necessary conditions of happiness for all; the working class with everybody from the coal miner to the chemist who figures out how to make a new flavouring from coal, organised to use our brains for ourselves." (Industrial Workers of the World poster, World War One)

Radical Science Journal costs £1.75 for three issues post paid, or 60p each in the shops, and is available from the *Radical Science Journal Collective*, 9 Poland Street, London W1.

R.M.

Aims and Principles

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

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

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

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

The role of the AWA

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

organisations.

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

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

[1] We are a membership organisation.

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

[3] The main policy making body will be the National Conference. Between National Conferences there will be held bi-monthly Delegate Conferences to co-ordinate and carry out National Conference decisions, to decide interim policy and to initiate activity. Delegates are mandatable and rotated. Delegate Conference decisions can be revoked by National Conference.

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

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

Press Fund

WE HAVE now amassed the sum of £81.82 towards the £250 required for a headliner.

'Letraset' — who have, doubtless, made their fortune — is all very well but it's both time-consuming and expensive.

In order to save as much as possible, we are currently re-using letraset from previous artwork; a headliner would save both time and money.

The entire production of ANARCHIST WORKER is done on a shoestring budget.

The labour is, of course, voluntary, but the materials required for production — from pencils up to printing — are not free!

Judging from the wide response we have had both to the AWA and the paper, we are convinced that there is an ever increasing receptiveness to libertarian communist politics.

As such, we are concerned that ANARCHIST WORKER should not only continue to appear regularly, but that it should also evolve into a larger newspaper than it is at present, appearing more often than just once a month.

One thing is certain — in order to facilitate production, we need money. We recoil at the thought of it as much as you — but until the means of production fall squarely into the hands of the entire working class...

By taking bundles of ANARCHIST WORKER and selling it, you are making a very useful contribution. Any donations (read cash) are also welcome.

We are optimistic about the future of ANARCHIST WORKER. It is your contribution which, in the final analysis, will determine its success.

Please make any cheques/PO's payable to 'AWA General Fund' and send them to:

AWA, 13 Coltman Street, HULL.

Anarchist Worker

CNT Reconstructs

ON APRIL 23 in Barcelona, over 800 people attended a conference aimed at a reconstruction of the CNT.

A provisional structural framework has been drawn up, largely at the instigation of veterans of the 1930s CNT.

Younger militants, however, are dissatisfied with the provisional framework, (which repeats its vertical organisational shape), finding it too bureaucratic, and 'out of touch' with the current political situation.

Autonomy

They aim to increase branch autonomy to a far greater level than is currently proposed. This is to be discussed at the next confederate assembly.

On May 1st, something like 50,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Barcelona.

During the week beforehand, a number of partial strikes, factory pickets, and confrontations occurred. In one working class district, strikers were showered with food and 100 peseta notes. In another district, the local people stoned police, who attempted to assist a blackleg refuse collector during a dustbinmen's strike.

The CNT was invited to a meeting with other unions in order to co-ordinate the May 1st activities. Insofar as the mass demonstration was concerned, the CNT, whilst defending working class unity, opposed the Communist Party stewardship.

The nature of this disagreement

was distorted by the 'democratic' press in an attempt to discredit the CNT.

As a result the CNT Printworkers section held a meeting in which it was decided that the CNT should not provide internal information to the bourgeois press, as a precaution against any repetition of the Co-ordinating meeting events. The matter was taken up with the perpetrators.

Propaganda

In the days heading up to Mayday 300 people were imprisoned - mostly as a result of distributing propaganda (The London "Times" blandly asserts that only 200 persons were arrested throughout Catalonia!)

The CNT distributed 150,000 leaflets in Barcelona alone, calling for action on May 1st.

On Mayday itself, the civil guard and the police were confined to barracks whilst 12,000 riot police roamed the Barcelona streets.

Known as the 'Gristapo' (after their grey uniforms and Gestapo manner) and armed with machine guns and tear gas canisters, they occupied Catalonia Square, which was the advertised meeting place.

Street fighting occurred throughout the day and there were 200 arrests.

Despite the large numbers involved the Communist Party has declared these demonstrations a failure.

Relying on a 'democratic' solution they envisage these kinds of clashes with the police as prejudicing the ruling class against 'democracy'.

Bradford blast

AT MIDNIGHT on April 27 there was an explosion at A.H. Marks & Co., a chemical factory in Wyke, Bradford. During the ensuing blaze, which wrecked part of the factory, three firemen were hurt. Two had been sprayed with acid.

Since the explosion, local Councillor Barry Seale has called for an investigation into the factory. He wants the Environmental Health Panel to inspect the factory with himself going along as an independent observer.

DEATHS

In 1969 a man was poisoned at the factory and turned yellow before he died. In 1970 a welder died from an explosion while he was working on a leak in a stainless steel tube used in the manufacture of pitric acid (an explosive). Periodically the factory emits an orange smoke which, according to one local resi-

dent "causes the eyes to water, the skin to smart, the throat and breathing to be unpleasant". In July 1972 the Bradford Telegraph and Argus had an article on A.H. Marks, which stated that all residents interviewed complained of a variety of trees and shrubs dying and leaves looking burnt. In 1970 the then Spenborough District Public Health Inspector investigated and gave a public assurance that further leaks from the factory were unlikely if not impossible.

DEFOLIANTS

A.H. Marks claim to make a relatively harmless type of weedkiller for cereal crops. How the production of the explosive, pitric acid, fits into this is not known. Some years ago there were unsubstantiated claims that the defoliants used by the United States Armed Forces in Vietnam were manufactured at the factory.

Gas tank goes up

Nearing completion at the Shell petrochemicals plant, Carrington, near Flixton, is a giant storage tank for Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) which scientists concerned with industrial fire hazards fear could figure in a future Flixborough-type disaster.

The tank, to hold 5000 tonnes of liquid propylene, was given planning permission by Trafford Council on August 16, 1974. It is cylindrical, 26 metres (about 80 feet) high and 22.3m in diameter. As propylene (used as a raw material in the manufacture of polypropylene plastic) is a gas at normal temperatures (it boils at -48 degrees C) the tank will be refrigerated. Existing propylene storage tanks at Carrington are much smaller, 3-400 tonne capacity, and spherical, using both pressure and

temperature to keep the propylene liquid.

The propylene will be manufactured in Germany, and delivered to the site by rail, presumably in refrigerated tankers. Cross-Pennine routes for this potentially dangerous cargo are limited, and it is likely that trains carrying it will cross Manchester's southern suburbs of Cheadle and Altrincham.

Blast

Shell workers stated that the danger they saw was not a breakdown of the refrigeration - the gas which boiled off would be burned away harmlessly in a flare - but a rupture in the tank wall, or a leakage from some other source. A vapour cloud of propylene would be immediately visible, but would look at first like a steam cloud (because it is so cold it condenses water vapour from the air). Steam clouds are common at Carrington, and the storage area is in addition less frequently patrolled than the process areas. A serious explosion in the existing plant "could take a chunk out of Manchester", reporters were told. A blast in the Ethylene section some years ago, in a much smaller unit than those in use now, rocked Carrington village, which is practically at the works gates. Today the Carrington site has over 20 million gallons of inflammable liquids in store (Shell were recently granted permission to increase this storage on site to 25 million gallons not inclusive of the propylene which comes under a different classification). The pressures, temperatures and amounts of material used in the processes are in many cases higher than at Flixborough.



This Ulrike Meinhof poster is available price 20p (plus 7p p&p) from Lezzo Studios, c/o Rough Trade, 202 Kensington Park Road, Notting Hill Gate, London W11

Announcements Meetings & Publications

HULL

Libertarian Socialist Group

Problems of the Libertarian Left
Opening Speaker: Keith Nathan

Wednesday June 2, 7.45pm at the New White Hart, Alfred Gelder Street, Hull.

Colchester

Any anarchists / libertarians in Colchester area interested in local group, contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Road, Colchester, Essex, for details of regular meetings, etc.

George Cummings Anarchist Association

First of a series of meetings on libertarian ideas and groups.

WHAT IS THE AWA?

speaker: Keith Nathan

Tuesday June 22 8pm

Leeds Trades Council Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7.

YORKSHIRE

People interested in a Yorkshire Anarchist Federation please contact Cahal McLoughlin, 12 Back Winston Gardens, off Ash Road, Leeds 6.

North London AWA discussion meeting

HOUSING

Tuesday June 8, 8pm at Centerprise, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

ANARCHY 19

Which Way Anarchism?

Fascism in Britain Today Part 1
Childminding
Charlotte's Last Word on Class
Anarchy Collective Statement
Letters

10p + post from Anarchy Magazine, 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London N5

Social Revolution

Paper of the Social Revolution group. No 4 out now, 8p + post from Social Revolution, c/o 83a Gregory Crescent, London SE9.

Hackney Peoples Press

First one for a long time just out now! articles include:

Hackney Nurseries Campaign
Homerton Project - New life for an old library
The fight for free abortion
Centerprise anniversary

Available for 5p + post from Hackney Peoples Press, c/o Centerprise 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM

Issue 10 out soon - articles on Ireland, Portugal, General Strike 1926, State Capitalism, Statistics and Planning. 10p + post from Social Revolution, c/o 83a Gregory Crescent, London SE9.

RISE FREE

have moved to 155 Drummond Street, London NW1, tel: 01-388 0848.

GROUP STAMP

front libertaire

des luttes de classes

IS THE monthly paper of the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste of France, now available from the East London group of the AWA.

No. 52, for May 1976, includes articles on strikes at Ussel and L'Argus, union elections at the Peugeot car factory, sexism, French bank strikes, school students' struggles - 'educastation', reports from Mexico, Iceland and Spain and a utopian piece called 'Gratuitville'.

Issues 51 and 52 contain the beginning of what could be one of the most important debates in the anarchist movement for many years.

Started in the April issue by two conflicting documents presented to the Congress of the ORA, entitled 'The Organisation of Libertarian Communists Today' and 'For a Revolutionary Programme', the debate continues with replies in this latest issue.

Even if you only have a basic knowledge of French it really is worth the effort to try and read 'Front Libertaire' - 20p each plus 7p post, from AWA c/o: 136, Kingsland High St., London E8 2NS.

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

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

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



The
tyranny
of
sTRUCtUReSSneSS

by
Jo Freeman

5p

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