

# Anarchist Worker

**SELF-MANAGEMENT  
IN STRUGGLE**  
-SPECIAL FEATURE

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# SOCIAL CONTRACT MUST GO UNDER

**RECENT EVENTS at Leyland show the extent to which the bureaucracy of the unions, ever loyal to a Labour government dominated by the right, show their collaboration with the industrialists.**

'Back to work or else!', threatens Scanlon.

'Back to work or else!', threatens the government.

'Back to work or else!', threatens the National Enterprise Board.

Yet isn't this the 'left' Scanlon that the Communist Party gave its backing to not so long ago? Just as it gave its backing to Beaver Jack Jones and those other 'lefts', Wilson and Foot, in the past.

Further examples of class collaboration from union leaders can be seen in the threats to striking workers at the *Times* from the NATSOPA leadership; and the backdown of Geoffrey Drain (see inside) over the Scottish public service strike.

## Determination

Yet in spite of all this, workers are beginning to show a determination to fight back.

The Social Contract is seriously threatened by a rising tide of anger and against redundancies workers have occupied three Plessey factories throughout the country.

A previous occupation of the Wildt Mellor Bromley factory in Leicester was called off after a threatened court injunction. This pattern is repeated in the smashing of the occupation on the Globtik Venus.

The rash of occupations throughout colleges and universities against cuts face similar threats, with an injunction and the smashing of the occupation at the London School of Economics.

## Threats

The bosses are beginning to bare their fangs, with the increasing use of injunctions called for by either the right-wingers in NALGO, 'liberals' like LSE principal Dahrendorff, or strike-breaking organisations like the NAFF.

Physical dispersal of occupations are now to be seen, whether it be

hired thugs as on the Globtik Venus or police as at the LSE.

Faced with increasing militancy from workers, students and the homeless, the bosses resort to their faithful servant, the law, with the Criminal Trespass Bill being put through parliament.

This law will not only affect occupations of workplace and college, but also the thousands of people squatting throughout Britain because they cannot obtain other accommodation.

## Defence

Occupations, wherever they take place, must be defended and the maximum mobilisation possible in the area must be countered against such threat, through workers, students and squatters united organisations.

Merlyn Rees has already obtained the planned deportation of Agee and Hosenball, in compliance with the CIA and the US treasury.

He is already preparing laws to further limit immigration and harass immigrants already here, in the same way as he has used the Prevention of Terrorism Act to harass the Irish working class community, with arbitrary arrests and deportations. Many of these people had nothing to do with the IRA but happened to be militant at their place of work.

## All out!

In the face of all these attacks on the meagre liberties obtained by the working class (and only then through years of struggle), it becomes more and more important to fight against low wages and for equal pay; against unemployment and the cuts; against the Criminal Trespass Law, the Immigration Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

One way in which rank and file organisations can be built up is by building for the national day of strike action called by the Liaison Committee in Defence of Trade Unions this April 19th, to fight against the Social Contract for free collective bargaining.



Workers occupy at Massey Ferguson. The Labour government is trying to outlaw actions like these with the Criminal Trespass Law now going through Parliament.

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

# Drain pulls the plug on strike action

ONCE AGAIN, as recently seen with the Grunwicks' dispute, where the courts were used by Right Wing activists to defeat workers in struggle, the law is being used to prevent workers from carrying out the most basic democratic right — the right to strike.

This time, Scottish Court of Session Judge — and admitted Tory sympathiser — Lord Cameron, granted an "interim interdict" to 7 members of Nalگو in Scotland ordering the union to desist from strike action — action called by a democratic majority in the union's sovereign body, a national conference — on Wednesday March 9th. The strike was called with the support of the STUC and in co-operation with NUPE.

The 7 Nalگو members who sought the interdict claimed that the strike was 'political'. Cameron only too willingly agreed with them.

This was a joke indeed, coming from 7 committed Right Wingers (4 from the Tory Party, 3 from the fast moving to the right Scottish National Party). In fact, Nalگو's constitution *does* allow for political action to be taken, and this has been done — though in Nalگو's usual quietist fashion — for 50 years.

The harsh facts of life are that, of course, these scabs and their bewigged protectors and encouragers don't give a damn for 'constitutionalism' — except when it suits *their* political purposes.

The ruse adopted by the Scots 7 was to wait until the afternoon before the strike to seek their injunction — thus causing total chaos and thereby hoping to deter Nalگو members (for most of whom this was their first ever taste of industrial action on any serious scale) from supporting the 'Stop the Cuts' strike in the tens of thousands that union activists were confidently predicting.

This crude attempt at causing fear and panic was tragically aided and abetted by the miserable performance of Nalگو's 'leftwing' General

Secretary Geoffrey Drain. Within an hour of the Court ordering the strike to stop, Drain shot off telegrams to all Scottish branches stating that members could only support the March 9th demo if they used some of their annual leave.

The official leadership had done bugger all to build enthusiasm for the strike (and their incompetence and apathy extended right down to branch level) and, in similar vein, they were only too keen to bow the knee to Lord Thatcher, sorry Cameron, and stop their own strike.

Drain had a magnificent chance to defy this government, the Tories, the press, the legal establishment, and the stock exchange.

By simply telling Cameron what basic human function he could perform with his wigs and robes, and being prepared to face prison — with the certainty that a REAL fight against the cuts, a massive wave of workers' fury, would have begun there and then — Drain and his National Executive could have shown that Nalگو was prepared to fight every inch of the way.

Now the government has its green light and Callaghan and Healey know that Drain couldn't fight his way out of a paper bag.

Until this miserable climbdown, there were signs that the government was desperately trying to buy off increasing militancy by public service workers in Scotland.

As threats of strikes and demos got closer, the Scottish Office — surprise, surprise — found that they had very considerably underpaid Scottish local authorities on the Rate Support Grants.

The result was that rate rises were kept down and the threat of redundancies receded a little. It doesn't seem to have dawned on our Geoffrey that militancy pays.

Drain and his dismal gang will doubtless seek to rely on the traditional get out clause of the Nalگو bureaucrats — that Nalگو members are so apathetic that they, the

officials, can't take any initiatives (much as they'd love to of course old boy) because the members won't support them.

Drain got his answers in Glasgow on March 9th. Hundreds of Nalگو members — totally ignoring the ravings of the press and TV (ie, banner headlines like 'It's All Off' etc) — joined in the Cuts demo, proudly bearing Nalگو badges and banners and distributing Nalگو literature. So militant were the marchers that the Nalگو Action Group almost totally sold out of supplies of their paper *Nalگو Action News*.

Nalگو members risked arrest as the Glasgow police tried their new 'break up the demo' tactics which involve halting marches at street corners, only allowing say 100 to cross at a time, letting the traffic get between each segment and so on.

The message was really rubbed in on Drain when rose — and at 17 stone he rises — to speak at the rally at the end of the March 9th demo.

The biggest cinema in Glasgow exploded with rank and file fury. Drain was booed and catcalled for 5 solid minutes. "Go home", "Resign", "Arse-licker", "Scab". His speech was a shaky, confused set of platitudes. He was plainly shaken to the soles of his expensive shoes.

The union leadership made a balls-up of the whole thing right from the start. Their actions have been a confusing mish-mash of extreme timidity suddenly swinging to wild ventures that laid the union open to malicious prosecution from the Right.

For a start, being totally unwilling to have to get out there and actually win over a relatively undeveloped membership for the strike, they passed a resolution *instructing* instead of *authorising* a strike.

The Right was able to make great play thereafter from the bureaucrats' failure to call a subsequent ballot. The bureaucrats didn't call a ballot because they feared they would lose

it and because they weren't prepared to get down to the grass roots and work for victory.

Emperor Drain now stands



GLASGOW — Nalگو members march in the rain on March 9th, despite right-wing attempts to drain off protests against the cuts. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

## SOCIALIST TEACHERS

THE SECOND Socialist Teachers Alliance national conference was held on March 5-6. In retrospect it represented a watershed in the growth of the STA, which readers of *Anarchist Worker* may remember, is a united front of socialist militants in the National Union of Teachers.

The conference's agenda was an ambitious one and covered the need for a programme for socialist militants to unite around in the NUT and for the need to fight the right-wing ideological backlash. The question of defending what remains of the democratic structures in the NUT was also raised.

Before constructively analysing the more negative aspects of the conference it is worthwhile looking at the positive gains made.

The first is that the STA provided a forum for collating information about all the different and devious ways in which the cuts were being implemented across the country.

There was a wide representation of people from the big cities and rural areas and the STA reportbacks from groups and individuals were most fruitful.

The second positive thing to say about the conference is that the workshops which were on all aspects of the government's and the NUT Executive's offensive against teachers and the working class, provided an exceptionally valuable forum for a fluid exchange of ideas.

In fact the workshops highlighted the STA's main achievement so far and that is to be the only forum on the left where people from different political currents and organisations can debate tactics and policy with open minds.

Paradoxically, it was on this precise point of freedom of debate that the conference on Saturday afternoon came unstuck.

The agenda for this session centred on the need for a political programme and what should be in it.

The conference was constituted as a plenary session and after cursory reportbacks from the morning's workshops, was faced with 4-5 programmatic resolutions from

A STRIKE for union recognition at the Night Out, a Trust Houses Forte club in Birmingham, has been in progress since the end of February.

Although the strike has received official support on the picket line, the officials have been opposed to allowing supplies and customers to be prevented from entering by anything stronger than the simple sight of the pickets.

At a mass picket supported by, among others, the Oxford hotel strikers, it was established that more direct action could and should be used to make the strike effective.

revealed — at least north of the Border — without his clothes.

Our English comrades should be warned from our depressing experience. With Geoffrey Drain's support, sisters and brothers, you don't need the employers!

Ian S. Sutherland  
(NALGO ACTION GROUP)

### THE BATTLE for union recognition in Oxford continues.

At one of the two hotels where workers were sacked for joining the T&GWU, the Linton Lodge, the management is reported to have lost £35,000 so far.

Their reaction to the strike has varied between applying for planning permission to change the hotel into an old people's home (which was refused) to offering reinstatement to all but one of the strikers, some compensation, talks about union recognition and the reemployment of the strikers shop steward.

When the strikers demanded full reinstatement for all and immediate recognition of the union, the manager of the Linton Lodge changed his mind and withdrew his offer.

After eviction from their tied accommodation, the strikers were given a house by Oxford Short Life Housing. This was only temporary and when they had to move again Short Life Housing said they could only help if the T&GWU gave money towards the cost of providing a house. This the District Officials refused to do.

The Randolph Hotel workers, also on strike since November, and also part of the Trust Houses Forte chain, are calling for national blacking of the whole chain, as are the union branches of strikers in similar situations in Birmingham and Sheffield.

This demand has been supported by the workers trade section of the T & GWU, the Food, Drink and Tobacco Section, but the National Executive voted unanimously against this, with Moss Evans saying he thought it might be illegal!

However, blacking can still be implemented on a regional basis. Action in the region covering Oxford and Birmingham has already succeeded in affecting some motorway services, to the extent that the AA has been issuing special instructions to motorists to avoid being left without services.

The blacking must be extended. Pressure must be put on T&GWU officials to do this. Militants should raise the Trust Houses Forte issue in their organisations and union branches.

SUPPORT THE HOTEL STRIKERS!  
NATIONAL BLACKING NOW!  
Donations to T&GWU 5/670 Strike Fund c/o J Tosti, 127 Botley Road, Oxford Oxfordshire.

## Black this Hotel!



# Fight Sexism & Racism

"At this stage the formation of autonomous black networks is not 'black racism' but a recognition of current necessity. Pretending white racism within the working class doesn't exist by ignoring it, is simple insanity. Unity on the picket line is of course vital. . . but on its own it can't smash racism. Autonomous black workers' power is a vital factor in doing so. The more coherent it is, the more effective it is going to be." (*Libertarian Struggle*, May 1973)

"Confronting racism and sexism within the working class is vital if we are to prevent the bosses using these divisions to split us and rule. Black and women's autonomous organisations and caucuses in the trade unions, are essential for this." (*Libertarian Struggle*, July/August 1973)

**WE SAID THIS back in 1973, and it is as true today as it was then — if not more so.**

The National Front and other racists have become more active over the last couple of years. Physical attacks on black and Asian communities led to the creation of many defence organisations around the country, and many large demonstrations where black and Asian workers, especially the youth, came into action against racism for the first time.

Not only this, but blacks and Asians were involved in many strikes from the late 60s onwards.

The most important of these were the Mansfield hosiery strike, the building strike and the ancillary hospital workers strike, where blacks and whites of both sexes fought together (all in 1973).

There were also major strikes as Courtaulds, Standard Telephones and Cables, ICI, and the disastrous strike at Imperial Typewriters, which was broken by racist divisions.

Black youth turned out in large numbers to stop the National Front marching through Bradford, and reacted violently against the police attack on the Notting Hill Peoples Carnival in 1976.

Many Asian workers were involved on September 28/29 in the riot of nightshift workers at Fords, Dagenham, ignited by work hazards and speed-ups.

The increasing involvement of blacks and Asians in struggle should be assisted by revolutionary organisations.

Many left groups have distributed large amounts of anti-racist leaflets, posters and stickers, and this is useful and necessary work.

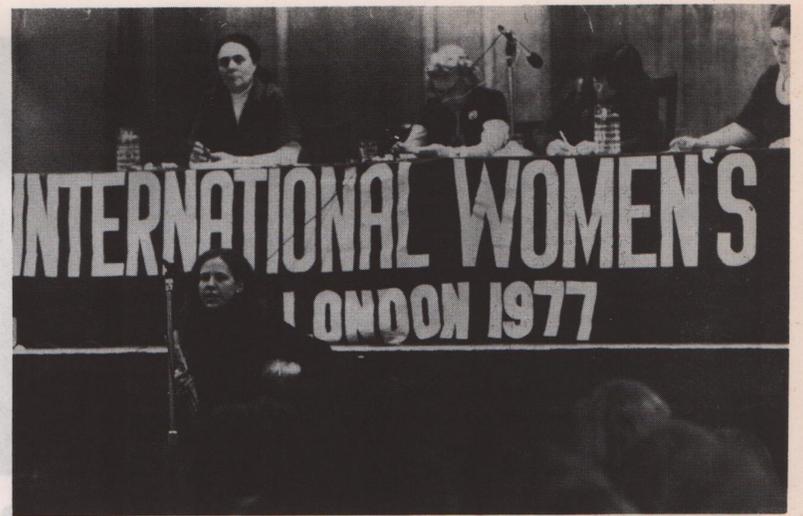
But blacks and Asian workers should not be seen as just another hunting ground to recruit to predominantly white male organisations.

Autonomous black organisations, as long as they don't become separatist groups, and as long as they reject the leadership of the black capitalists and establishment, should be supported by all revolutionaries.

The problem of racism in Great Britain, is a deep and serious one. It is likely that it will be used more and more by the bosses to divide and rule.

An intensive struggle against racism has already started, but must be widened and strengthened over the next few years.

Women workers too have been



International Women's Day Meeting at Conway Hall. Photo: Laurence Sparham (IFL)

taking an increasingly active part over the last few years. Much activity has centred around the National Abortion Campaign, the Working Women's Charter, local nursery campaigns, the creation of centres for battered wives, as well as the spread of women's self-health groups.

In industry too, women have played an increasingly active role.

The Leeds women's sweat shop strike, the Fakenham occupation, the strikes at Trico and Coventry Bingo were all examples of this.

Only recently (January 21) 550 workers, mainly women, at Magnavox in Barking, Essex, won a job evaluation strike, while the Grunwick strike for union recognition, involving women workers, many of them Asian, still continues.

Of course the fight for equal pay, for adequate abortion facilities, for the provision of creches and nurseries are important struggles, but they often risk being destroyed by sexist divisions in the working class.

That's why it's essential that

women's caucuses are created in the trade unions. Not only there, but in revolutionary organisations as well, forcing male militants to confront their own sexism, forcing the organisations to make actions against sexism a priority.

A united working class will not be achieved by us ignoring the contradictions inside it. The woman or black who sacrifices his/her own interests for the sake of the revolution does not only hurt him/herself.

**It damages the revolution.** male  
Eva Long

## UNEMPLOYMENT

OFFICIALLY, unemployment is around 1,500,000 though it is most certainly higher than that.

At the beginning of the year the government announced in its White Paper that there will be public spending cuts of £2,000,000 in the financial year, 1977-78. The 'squeeze' will particularly affect local government housing hospitals and education.

Such cuts will effect the level of employment in the public sector.

This has already been spelled out in greater detail by a number of county councils. Essex is a case in point.

*Anarchist Worker* has a copy of a confidential document — a summary table showing estimates of the 1977/78 Revenue Budget — placed before representatives of Nalگو, NUPE and other trade unions at a meeting in Chelmsford on the 17th January. The document was proposed by the County Personnel Officer on 11th January.

In it, the County envisage cuts of at least £8,500,000 and a cut back in staff through 'natural wastage' not filling vacancies and 'voluntary/compulsory redundancies' or 2,180.

Particularly hard hit will be education.

Part-time clerical staff in primary schools will be reduced by 100 by not filling vacancies, and large numbers will be cut in colleges of further education by the same methods.

By voluntary/compulsory redundancies 445 jobs will be lost by cleaning staff, as will 150 school meal assistants. There will also be savage cuts in swimming pools staff. And much more . . .

Nevertheless workers in Essex are beginning to fight back.

Nalگو has already instructed its members not to undertake work hitherto done by people who have left (through retirement etc) but who have not been replaced.

On February 1st, members of the Fire Brigades Union, Nalگو, NUPE, and bus workers marched through Chelmsford to picket County Hall.

The Socialist Workers Party (formerly IS) are supporting such action as part of their 'Right to Work' campaigns.

Libertarians see it as part of a larger, grass roots struggle not only against the effects of a crisis-ridden capitalist system, not as a 'right to be exploited' campaign but for the eventual destruction of private property society.

P.E.N. (Nalگو, Colchester)



Meeting to defend Islington 18, black youths arrested in the months after Notting Hill Carnival on charges that don't specify any crime. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

# Threat to Workers Democracy

TRUEMID was launched on July 30 last year: its full name is The Movement For True Industrial Democracy.

From the expensive quality of the glossy material it produces, it is clear that it is already well supported financially.

In fact, its estimated costs for August 1976 to August 1977 are £133,000!

Since it has had little chance to build up much in the way of members' subscriptions the logical conclusion is that it is the employers who are providing the cash.

## Aims

Indeed, this is clearly stated in its aims: Truemid aims to set up eight regional offices, each with a convenor and secretary who will administer a number of districts. It says:

"The districts will eventually become financially self-supporting through membership subscriptions and donations from employers." (our emphasis)

It already has full time organisers in London and Birmingham. It declares its overriding strategy to be:

"The preparing and documenting of a new comprehensive coding of trade

union rules and regulations and of trade union negotiation procedure and relations within industry."

Campaigning to secure:

1. The support of the majority of trade union members and thereby the adoption of the new code by the TUC, and
  2. The support of the CBI for the industrial relations aspect of the new code.
- The Preparation of a Trade Union Committee Working With the CBI of a Draft Parliamentary Bill to provide the code with full legal status".!

In other words Truemid is campaigning for the return of the Tory Industrial Relations Act and is already interfering in trade union elections in support of those candidates who its backers, the employers, consider will help them to do so.

Truemid believes that:

"Employers should . . . accept their responsibilities . . . identify and encourage employees . . . they must constantly seek to be fully informed of union developments . . . they must allow the moderate activist time off with pay . . . use of telephone and typing . . . they should encourage and arrange inter-factory visits for moderate activists."

Some employers have already acted on this advice.

## TRUEMID's Council

Chairman: Syd Davies, AUEW.

Secretary: Ron McLaughlin, AUEW (former assistant to John Boyd)

Treasurer: Heather Williams, APEX

Members: Malcolm Henderson, APEX  
Arthur Hull, SOCS  
Brian Key, NALGO  
Tom Adam, (non-unionist)  
John Ogier, (non-unionist)

The present chairman, Syd Davies, is a former AUEW Convenor from a small factory in Birmingham, Aero Coldform, and has admitted that in order to carry out the work of building a Truemid network, he has been given one year's leave of absence by his employer.

During the last AUEW elections he spent his time touring the country enlisting support for those 'moderate' candidates who were backed throughout the campaign by the press and television.

In Manchester and elsewhere, Davies visited factories where he asked employers for permission to distribute leaflets to workers, asking them to vote for these candidates.

At some factories in Manchester he asked to see convenors and shop stewards to say he had been sent by the Manchester District Secretary of the Union.

The 'moderates' won the election.

will be posted the original leaflet with a covering letter", then "a visit to their homes".

All this in order to assess: "1) the political leaning of the member; 2) the interest we have provoked; 3) the extent and willingness of the member to be involved in Branch proceedings; 4) the attributes and services each member may have to offer; 5) members further contacts within this or with other unions. From the 100 plus people we will visit, we shall find the seven or so required to stand for the election to Branch Officers."

The members, however, still have to be encouraged to vote for the "seven or so". Truemid has the answer to that. The "seven or so" by attending every Branch meeting "will thus be alerted to any pending election". This will give "ample time to write and visit members".

Next "the group will hire a coach" which "will collect members and take them to the Branch to cast their vote (sympathetic members only).

After they have "cast their vote" the members will be treated to "a social drink" before being "returned home". Perhaps Truemid will campaign for this to be shown in election expenses?

IF YOU have seen any Truemid literature you will have noticed the 'moderate' language and descriptions that Truemid use to describe their enemies. Their internal documents, however, are much less restrained than their documents for open discussion, such as Trueline.

In one such document they describe how to win "control of the Branches". Under the heading "TAKING OVER A BRANCH" they describe step by step their methods, as used for one (unnamed) white collar union.

Firstly they "researched" the AGM report, found "that one important branch was moving . . . extremist resolutions". Second they "researched" the "positions and political affiliations of the Branch Officers". Third they "distributed leaflets".

As a result of all this they "made contact with two branch members". Having contacted their members they then "encouraged" these two, plus two others "to form a nucleus of a group oriented towards taking over this branch".

Truemid continually preaches "morality" yet the next steps in their plan were to obtain "the names and addresses of all the Branch". This was done and the names "card indexed".

From here they intended that "all [Branch members]

National Front members are also active in Truemid.

## Opposition

Truemid must be taken very seriously and opposed at every opportunity.

Over the last few months we have seen a massive propaganda campaign against 'Left Wing Extremists' in the unions.

What has really been happening is that with a chronic economic crisis and increasing unemployment, more and more people are beginning to demand new policies of social change as opposed to the discredited remedies of pay restraint and cuts in public spending, rationalisation, sackings.

Lacking confidence in the ability of the 'moderates' to hold back the movement for radical change and real answers to the economic problems, the bosses have embarked on a policy of taking over the trade union movement at branch and district level.

Truemid is a threat to every worker: trade unionists have the right to express their point of view without the interference of such employer-financed groups.

**Don't let them get a foothold in your branch.**

BP

Information from *Trades Unions and Democracy*, an East Birmingham Trade Union Research Unit Fact Sheet, and *Truemid — The Threat To Union Democracy*, put out by the Manchester Co-ordinating Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

WE HOPE that the articles in this issue will encourage workers to draw important lessons about how to organise in their workplace and also about what demands it is most effective to organise around.

At both La Roca and Massey Ferguson the workers have seen that they must all be involved in their campaigns and that they must have control over any delegates they may elect.

At the Vickers and Parsons factories the workers have begun to question the nature of their work, following the lead of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee.

At La Roca the workers have moved beyond simple wage demands to wider ones, in particular for a full amnesty for all political prisoners.

These workers are keeping control over their struggles by electing and mandating their delegates, by choosing their own methods of struggle or choosing demands relevant to their own situations. If we follow their example the fight for such ideas, then libertarian communism begins to take form and substance.

## Massey Ferguson Occupied

**COVENTRY**—The dispute at Massey Ferguson's tractor plant in Banner Lane began on December 22, when the firm decided that 136 assemblers on the cab assembly lines would not be paid because of 'inadequate effort'.

The men were, according to management, working too slowly whilst a time and motion study was carried out to determine piece work rates for the new 500 series tractor assembly lines.

The firm said that if they accepted the 'low output', the assemblers would benefit from higher piecework earnings. Throughout November and December, small groups of workers had been taken off the clock for 'inadequate' work rates.

This time, the whole assembly shop workforce of 930 men walked out. The assembly lines were producing 38 tractors a day, the management wanted 48/day, rising to 60 when piece work rates were agreed.

The men said that the assembly lines were undermanned and that such production targets were impossible.

In essence however, the dispute does not concern productivity rates, but the fact that the company refused to negotiate or to accept intervention by the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service, and were in effect operating a lock out.

The men had a 24 hour picket going and barricaded themselves in, thus preventing access to the tower block administration building.

On January 7, there were reports (in the management loaded *Coventry Evening Telegraph*) of 'about 40



Workers at Massey Ferguson, Coventry, barricaded themselves into the plant against a management lock-out. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

## Vickers, Parsons and Lucas workers meet to discuss useful work



WE COULD DO BETTER THAN THIS say Vickers workers, who want to switch from armaments production to socially useful products such as prefabricated housing. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

# SELF-MANAGEMENT

## 5000 STRIKE IN CATALONIA

**ROCA WORKERS** decided to come out on all-out strike against low wages, work conditions, and repression. This strike involving 5,000 workers and starting on 8 October was the second one in 1976 and showed by its radical character and its form of organisation the growing consciousness of the Spanish working class.

ROCA is the second largest factory in Catalonia. It produces radiators and sanitary material.

It was set up in the 30's at Gava, near Barcelona. From a family

enterprise it developed into a formidable business which monopolises the Spanish market of sanitary material.

It employs nearly 6,000 workers in its factories at Gava, Sabadell,

Alcala de Henares, Alcala de Guadaira, and Viladeaans.

Parallel with its development, ROCA, has substituted its paternalism (housing its workers in "La ROCA cities") with a faceless intransigence towards several movements of its workers against speed-ups and work conditions.

The workers of ROCA for three generations have been formed by immigrants and up till recently were

militants' in the factory who were turning off safety switches in the prime paint dip plant and the shot blast plant, preventing operators from resetting them and (horror of horrors) putting matchsticks into door and tool kit locks, in addition to stopping the charging of fork-lift truck batteries!

The management complained particularly bitterly about the shut-

down of the prime paint dip plant. This was an effective way of sabotaging production since the plant takes a week to reach normal running temperatures after being closed down.

Perhaps the most curious incident in this dispute is that on Jan. 14 'in a move apparently designed to prevent another occupation those workers still at work were issued

We didn't want to come out on strike and we lost up to £50 Xmas pay — which the workers would have got if they worked the day before and the day after the Christmas holiday — because of the strike.

The men were willing to pay the cab men wages out of their own pockets so they could carry on working whilst we negotiated.

But we think the management got to hear about the plan because the next thing we heard from them was that they were laying off 105 men.

The company had said previously that all other tracks not requiring cab assembly lines would be able to work. Then when we said they would work they laid the men off

### How were the decisions taken?

There were three meetings really, not a mass meeting. (one here at Banner Lane, one at Bagington, and a night shift meeting.) The joint shop stewards committee recommended to the factory that we didn't tolerate the employers putting men off the clock. The factory as a whole didn't support the shop stewards recommendation.

### What about the situation at other plants?

All the other Massey-Ferguson plants have a policy of one off — all off. This is the only one that doesn't

At two similar disputes at other plants, the management have backed down.

### What about the Union situation at the plant?

There are three unions in the plant — AUEW, TGWU and NSMM. It's a funny union situation really. We have three full time convenors, but they're paid by the company, so they're hardly likely to come and stand on the picket lines.

### What about the attitude of the office staff?

There's no real liaison between office staff and factory workers. But TASS have donated £50 to the strike fund so at least they're sympathetic.

### What about the media?

Associated Newspapers have a monopoly in this area — *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, *Birmingham News* — The *Coventry Evening Telegraph's* reports have been management loaded, but the BBC and ITV have been relatively impartial.

**P.S. February 7** — At the time of writing the AUEW (representing the assemblers) has made the strike official and members of other unions are not crossing the picket lines as a gesture of solidarity.

Money and messages of support to: Massey Ferguson Assembly Shop Strike Committee, c/o AUEW Halls, Corporation Street, Coventry.

Peter Baker

**TURBO GENERATOR** workers are considering 'socially useful products' as an alternative to redundancies in the electricity supply industry.

C.A. Parsons Ltd, the firm set up by the nineteenth-century engineer who designed the first steam turbine, face large lay-offs as the Electricity Generating Board cut down on the power output.

Vickers National Shop Stewards Combined Committee organised a meeting in Newcastle:

Mike Cooley of the Lucas Aerospace Combine Shop Stewards Committee set out the ideas Lucas workers were pushing — waste recycling hardware, desalination systems, fuel cells and small-scale generators for local heating systems.

Dave Elliot from the Open University also spoke on the scale of productions and mentioned — for the capitalist minded — how small units could be exported to the third world.

He further suggested that small generating plant should be considered a temporary measure until 'renewable resources' such as solar energy, waves, wind, etc., were properly exploited.

The meeting discussed the way in which the economic climate was not developing greater equality or saner use of energy, but that energy-use cutbacks were hitting only the working class.

with identity cards including photographs!

On January 20, 379 writs were issued against workers in a management attempt to gain access to the tower block. On January 21, nobody crossed the picket lines and the writs were burned.

Four days later the management won an order for possession and those occupying were evicted at 3pm that day, in the presence of *Coventry Evening Telegraph* reporters who were hanging round like vultures hoping for trouble to sensationalise.

On January 26, the M-F assemblers voted to continue the strike. *Anarchist Worker* interviewed these workers to hear their version of events.

## Work loads

As you see it, what is the dispute about?

The dispute is about whether the company has the right to determine work loads when we're not on piece work. The real issue is also whether the company can take us off the clock whenever it feels like it — which is tantamount to a lock-out.

We feel that there's a North American lock out situation developing here, and that the management is waiting to see who breaks first.

There's an adequate negotiating procedure but the company has intimated that it's for the employees side and not for them.

# T IN STRUGGLE

model of discipline and of good work for the local bosses.

They had never been very militant despite disastrous work conditions, which led to up to 100 workers at different times demanding their cards, and even one year when 400 deserted ROCA.

Despite all this, ROCA remained an island of 'calm', of social peace.

## Franco

But with rising prices, the death of Franco and what followed, the development of workers' struggles affected ROCA and from March 1976 the workers came out on strike for 41 days without much success.

break out the workers.

This started with a 7 day suspension of one worker, then the dismissal of a delegate of the group of 15 for having 'incited the strikes of 27 and 28 October.

The reply was immediate and the same day the workers of ROCA decided for an all-out strike in solidarity with their delegate. The management responded with another sacking.

The ROCA workers saw that this would lead to the dismissal of 50, 100 or 500 of their most advanced and militant comrades.

On 9 October, after having expelled them violently from the factory, the Guardia Civil charged the

benefit gala with the Alliance Syndicaliste (revolutionary syndicalists and anarcho-syndicalists) on the 14 January, where delegates from ROCA spoke.

They were accompanied by a comrade from the Regional Committee of Catalonia of the Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo (CNT), the libertarian trade union federation that once had massive support in Spain and is now on the upsurge again.

The CNT had given total support to the Roca strike, seeing it as a shining example of direct democracy, self organisation and class autonomy.

Details of support to ROCA, write to *Anarchist Worker*.

**5,000 workers in the street against sacking of 46 comrades and for the liberation of eight imprisoned. They want to judge these last eight (plus four on provisional liberty) in front of military tribunals.**

*We, workers of ROCA, are showing that the effort of self-organisation that we have put in practice— assemblies of information, of debates, and of decisions, where we all participate; delegates elected democratically, revocable at any moment—are the arms to defend our class interests.*

*These forms of struggle and organisation permit us to continue and to maintain unity, and to show the way to real liberation of the labouring class.*

*Comrades, let's construct our unity on the base of workers' democracy and struggle —*

*\* for the liberation of all detainees*

*\* for the return to work of all those sacked and the lifting of all sanctions*

*\* against wage freezes and redundancies*

*\* for our self-organisation by assemblies and the election of revocable delegates*

*\* for proper paytalks for all metal workers*

*\* solidarity with all those detained, sacked and sanctioned in the province*

*\* PREPARE THE GENERAL STRIKE*

*— Strike Committee elected by the assembly of ROCA workers.*

workers several times in the streets.

Barricades were thrown up, and a barrage of stones answered the tear gas attacks. The police were forced to retreat.

That evening they machine-gunned several workers' houses in "la ROCA city". One occupant was wounded.

During the first days of the strike the police conducted a campaign of terror in Gava. Beating unarmed workers, machine-gunning houses, throwing tear gas into an infants school, cordoning the town off from the outside world.

In addition, fascist groups attacked the houses of delegates with molotov cocktails.

The objective of this terror was to destroy the assemblies; but the assembly continued to meet and is still meeting at the time this article is being written.

Instead of meeting in the town, they meet in the hills, protected by barricades and by defence pickets.

The number of dismissals ordered by the management rose to 41. On 11 January the police arrested 10 workers on guard outside delegates homes. 500 workers gathered outside the police station to demand their release.

A mass meeting decided to march to the town hall that afternoon.

2,000 turned out, and despite attacks by the police who used rubber bullets, wounding 30 people, one seriously, the release of the ten workers was forced by this display of strength.

The Communist Party and the union organisations, including the Workers' Commissions, have refused to back the strike because of its revolutionary organisation and tactics.

The CP in its attempts to shack up with the government, will attempt to derail any revolutionary initiative. Only the Workers' Commission of Barcelona bank workers gave support to ROCA.

The ROCA workers are demanding an amnesty for all political prisoners, full employment, and a national general strike to enforce these demands.

The ROCA struggle marks an important moment in the class struggle in Spain. Its success depends on its an expansion of such struggles throughout Spain, as well as active solidarity outside Spain.

In France, our sister organisation, the Organisation Communiste Libertaire, arranged a joint meeting and

Taken from *Roca en Lucha*

No. 1 Bulletin of the ROCA Strike Committee, Gava, 23 11 '76.

The process of self-organisation developed has put in peril all that which is most sacred to property and capitalist exploitation: authority and the bosses' arbitrariness, the despotic orders or the foremen and an inept management, incapable of saying anything other than what the director, Garcia Bou, has said to the Commission of Delegates, "discipline, discipline, discipline, production, production, production" to which we the workers replied "and more and more wages" or what the bosses' representative, Purroy, said at the negotiations "If the workers are unhappy, they should work somewhere else". And the workers? And our needs, our security, our 'silicosis', our accidents, our families?

That counts for nothing with these messieurs of capital.

But the delegates, the Committee of 15, the process of self-organisation in a project of united union structure, with freedom for all tendencies, that's what must be liquidated at any price, because we, the workers when we organise ourselves to struggle for our own class interests, we don't accept debates or pacts with the bosses.

To maintain this position means for one thing to break with all the government plans (economic measures) which make us take the weight of the crisis, and which for another thing, demonstrates what form of struggle and organisation we, the working class, must take.



## Spanish workers show growing combativity

ROCA is a very advanced show of working class struggle in Spain. But throughout the country there is a growing combativity. This can be seen in the recent wave of strikes after the killing of several leftwingers.

Earlier from the first to 20 Dec., the 1,858 port workers of Barcelona struck in solidarity with 7 workmates suspended by management, who were attempting to break resistance to overtime at night and during weekends and holidays.

During the 20 days of strike, the port was completely blocked and 130 boats were diverted to Tarragona. Thanks to the solidarity of these other Catalan dockers they were not unloaded.

Management was forced to reinstate the workers. The strike committee kept in constant touch with the ROCA workers.

And at Girling Espanas SA a motor components plant in Pamplona, workers won a 30% wage rise after a strike supported in this

country by the Lucas Combine shop stewards committee, who blocked all parts for Lucas and Girling factories in Spain (Girling is part of a multinational owned by Lucas).

In late January came the machine gunning of five left wing lawyers and the shooting of an amnesty demonstrator by right wing terrorists, as well as the death of a woman student hit at point blank range by a tear gas canister.

This was followed rather suspiciously by the murder of three policemen shot with the same guns that had been used on the lawyers.

These actions were claimed by a group calling itself GRAPO, which had kidnapped Antonio Oriol, President of the Council of State, two months previously.

And who kidnapped General Emilio Villaecusa, President of the Supreme Military Court, the same day as the deaths of the policemen.

Both these gentlemen are now

free again under mysterious circumstances.

It is highly likely that the Government is using provocations to attack revolutionaries.

Already hundreds of leftwingers have been rounded up by the police in late January.

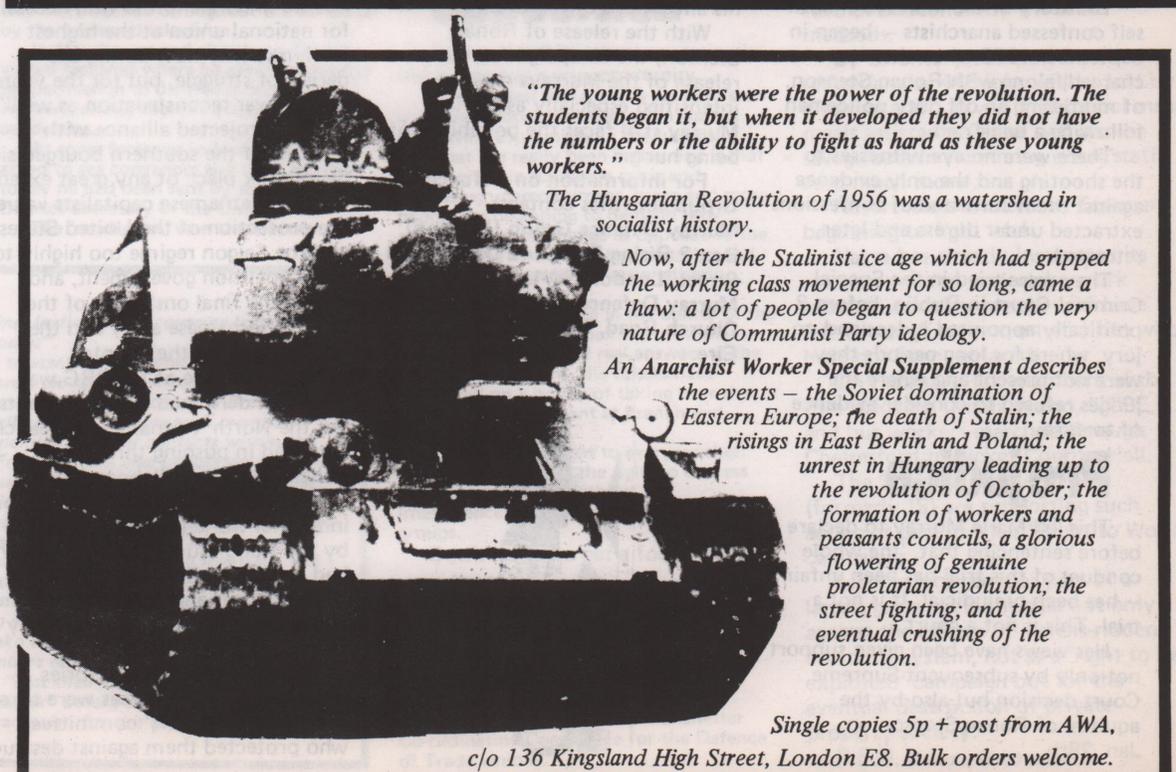
200,000 people attended the funeral of the lawyers in Madrid and a strike of 300,000 workers in Catalonia took place on the same day followed by a huge demonstration. There were also large scale strikes in Galicia.

In the Basque country, in the cities of Bilbao, San Sebastian and Pamplona, thousands of workers downed tools in solidarity with the dead lawyers.

All this in spite of the failure of the 'democratic opposition' and the Communist Party to organise any real opposition to the killings.

In fact the trade union co-ordination group of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party told workers to stay off the streets!

*Genuine working class action is likely to leave these so-called workers' parties, and the other left 'vanguards' far behind over the next few years in Spain.*



*"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the numbers or the ability to fight as hard as these young workers."*

*The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in socialist history.*

*Now, after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw: a lot of people began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology.*

*An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events — the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe; the death of Stalin; the risings in East Berlin and Poland; the unrest in Hungary leading up to the revolution of October; the formation of workers and peasants councils, a glorious flowering of genuine proletarian revolution; the street fighting; and the eventual crushing of the revolution.*

Single copies 5p + post from AWA,

c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8. Bulk orders welcome.



Three things were clear as a result of this:

1 Links with other factories could have been counted on the fingers of one hand.

2 Total uselessness of the legal recourse through the union bureaucracy of CNS, which had been substituted by the fascists at the end of the Civil War for the genuine trade unions of the working class.

3 The emergence of active and militant workers.

The ROCA workers elected 43 delegates and these, meeting in assembly, elected a group of 15 in charge of drawing up a list of demands for the factory based on discussion in every workshop.

All these plans were debated and approved at many large assemblies — the assemblies demanded the dismissal of all union delegates in the factory; those who refused the first time were dismissed by September.

This started a chain of events leading to a break with the CNS.

During a 24-hour strike, the workers of ROCA established a system of delegates mandated and revocable at all times by the mass assembly.

From this victory, self-organisation was developed. The group of 15 became the co-ordinating committee of the delegates, and the number of these were raised to 60 by October, covering the whole factory.

## Break

From the 4 October, negotiations were started. Despite concessions by the workers (dropping 9 of its 33 demands) the management refused to continue the negotiations.

During this time, a 24 hour strike took place to back up the ROCA workers' demands.

Following the latest measures of the Suarez government (wage freeze etc) the management attempted to

IN THE EARLY 1970s the newly developed black industrial working class in South Africa started to test out its strengths in a chain of strikes, many of which broke out at a moment's notice.

So that in 1973 there were 511 strikes recorded; in 1974 and 1975 317 illegal strikes took place involving 51,412 workers.

This is a sign of the times. With the new militancy of the industrial workers comes a development of 'black power' and 'black consciousness' seen in the school students (SASM), college students (SASO) and the group coordinating activity on a wider level, the Black People's Convention.

This was due in many ways to a new section of the black population developing in the towns, which was thoroughly urbanised and which has discarded the rivalries and differences between the tribes that kept the blacks divided and powerless.

This movement received great encouragement by the victories of FRELIMO and the MPLA in Mozambique and Angola respectively. Mass rallies took place in South Africa in support of these struggles.

Many militants in the black organisations began to move towards socialist ideas. As one said in an interview in the *New Internationalist* 'The prime task is to overthrow the oppressor's State machinery. We all accept that a violent confrontation is inevitable, and we all maintain broadly socialist ideals'.

## Apartheid

In Afrikaans (the language of most whites) apartheid means 'separate development'. This racial separation between whites and non-whites (blacks, Asians, coloureds) is a monstrous monument to exploitation..

In 1936 a law gave 87% of land to the whites (18% of the population) and 13% to the blacks.

# SOUTH AFRICA ABLAZE!

giant jigsaw puzzle. The black zones are made up of bantustans without geographic, political or economic coherence. For example, Kwazulu (Zululand) is composed of 29 parts — every black is given the nationality of a bantustan, even if he/she doesn't live there!

A law on the 'reservation of jobs' codes jobs that a black can have and forbids access to others; union and political rights don't exist for the black.

The South African laws put every person in a strictly defined race — that is to say:

- sexual relations and marriages between races are forbidden.
- no-one can live outside the zone reserved to each race (the pass laws).
- work, teaching, medical services are totally separated according to colour of skin.

To maintain its domination the white minority tortures, arrests arbitrarily, censors, whips, hangs and imprisons in unlimited detention. Half the number of executions in the world take place in South Africa.

The Republic of South Africa possesses a great military importance for US imperialism.

It is on the petrol route, with a strategically important siting on the Indian Ocean.

South Africa can inform the navies of the 'free world' of the position and speed of any fleet within a radius of 5,000 miles.

## Industrial

South Africa is the most industrially developed country on the continent and produces more than 40% of total output for the whole of Africa.

It is rich in diamonds, uranium, copper and magnesium.

1960 — Sharpeville massacre, followed by decisions of some blacks to turn to guerilla warfare; this was totally crushed by 1964.

1965 — unilateral declaration of independence by white minority in

The racist government attempted to impose the language of Afrikaans on black college youth. Riots started at Soweto (second largest town of South Africa) and spread through most of the bantustans and



Street Theatre at the Anti Apartheid march. Photo: Mike Sheridan (IFL)

Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

1973 — rebirth of mass movement — strikes, demonstrations.

1975 — independence of Mozambique and Angola after long guerilla wars. 'Black Africa is at our doors', says Vorster.

June—August 1976 — bloody massacres of black youth — more than 300 dead.

townships.

It was the first time that struggle had taken place throughout the country simultaneously.

The school youth attempted to paralyse Johannesburg and the big white towns, with sabotage of the railways and blockages of trains and buses.

The black working class has a

determining place in the South African economy. (There is a small white working class which is organised in racist unions with wages far higher than blacks for the same work).

With the defeat of the white minority, two ways are open for the workers:

— a multiracial government, aligned with the African National Congress and constituting a 'capitalism with a human face'

— the appearance of a radical workers movement creating its own organs in factories and neighbourhoods and able to impose its own power.

The appearance of such a radical workers movement would open the way for social change throughout the continent, deepening and strengthening revolutionary possibilities in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania.

The game of the superpowers (USA, USSR, China) would be countered with an offensive that could exclusively benefit all the exploited black Africans.

The working class of the only industrialised country of Southern Africa is the key to revolution throughout the region.

The solidarity of the working class throughout Europe must be gained if this struggle is to prove successful.

This means blacking and boycott of goods, especially arms to South Africa; demonstrations and solidarity campaigns throughout the Western world; sympathy actions by Western workers in enterprises which have interests in South Africa.

J.N.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

# VIETNAM: New puppeteers

STRUGGLE WAS NOT over for the labouring masses of Vietnam after April 30, 1975, when the political and military power fell into the hands of the North Vietnam Lao Dong Party.

The country was geographically united again, the borders between North and South Vietnam disappearing. The government in the North did not attempt to take over all the capitalist interests in the south — on the contrary, they decided to carry out the programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The PRG had been created by the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of the South with the express purpose of forming an alliance between peasants, workers and the 'patriotic bourgeoisie'.

A member of the Peoples' Revolutionary Party admitted this in an interview with Wilfred Burchett of the radical New York weekly, *The Guardian* (June 11, 1975).

"It may seem strange for outsiders to find communists fighting for the interests of the upper class, but we understand the vital necessity for national union at the highest level, not only now during the period of struggle, but for the years of post war reconstruction as well".

This projected alliance with sections of the southern bourgeoisie never took place at any great extent.

The Vietnamese capitalists valued the protection of the United States and the Saigon regime too highly to risk a coalition government, and during the final onslaught of the North Vietnamese army and the NLF many fled the country.

The existence of the PRG was totally undermined by these events, yet the North Vietnamese bureaucrat persisted in pushing through its policies of class collaboration.

The Southern peasants and industrial workers were distrusted by the Hanoi bureaucrats; yet they had welcomed liberation from the United States and the Saigon military regime, and were strongly in favour of reunification.

In many instances, factories abandoned by the bosses were taken over by the workers' committees, who protected them against destruct-

ion and in some cases, started production again.

## Take-over

Tiziano Terzani, an Italian journalist, in his book, *Giai Phong! The Fall and Liberation of Saigon*, states: "In the first days the situation in the factories of Saigon was still confused.

A declaration by the new authorities had assured owners that 'manufacturers and dealers will have their goods safeguarded and will be able to continue activities profitable to the national economy and to the life of the population'.

But in some establishments the workers had announced a takeover, and in some cases had even held the first peoples trials against the bosses.

Other factories, like the one that produced 'eagle' batteries and in which Thieu's wife had been a shareholder, had been seized by revolutionary management committees of workers and employees, after the owners had fled with the 'Americans'.

The NLF advised the resumption of production rather than the seizure of the bosses property.

Terzani quotes Nguyen Nam Loc, a member of the Executive Committee of the official trade union:

"When a worker in the course of a discussion asked why the bosses shouldn't be expropriated immediately, Loc replied,

'Now's not the moment. Just now it's a question of re-educating the owners. We must make them understand that their profits come from the workers and should be distributed more fairly.

We want to encourage enterprise, not discourage it. That's important' at this moment so as to consolidate the people's power' "

The government was frightened that the workers would go too far and did all they could to suppress any independent initiative.

When the government was forced to take action against sections of the capitalists who had given much support to the Americans, and who were now disrupting the markets and creating artificial shortages, the peasants and workers greeted this with great enthusiasm.

Many demonstrations took place, made up of workers and housewives, demanding 'punishment for hoarders and profiteers, a cleaning of the marketing system and price controls'. This took place during September 1975.

The bureaucrats are proceeding slowly, very slowly indeed, in disinherit the capitalist 'private sector'. But the working class will not be placed in control of production. Instead the bureaucrats will substitute themselves for the bosses in creating a state capitalist system.

However, in order to carry this out, they sometimes need mobilisations of the masses.

They are worried that these mobilisations may go too far and disinherit them too.

In the June 1975 issue of *Libertarian Struggle* (now *Anarchist Worker*) we pointed out the need for collectivisation of the land by the people, and the creation of militias under the control of the workers and peasants.

The Vietnamese masses are capable of carrying this out — the fight against the bureaucracy is likely to intensify in the coming years, until, like everywhere else in the world, a self-managed socialist society is established.

N.H.

## FREE THE MURRAYS!

'THANK GOD the shadow of the gallows is gone.' is how Noel Murray's mother, Bridget, reacted the news last December that the Irish Supreme Court had quashed the convictions of capital murder imposed on Noel and his wife Marie earlier in the year.

'I could not get out of my mind the picture of Noel walking to the scaffold. I am still worried about Marie because she has to go through it all again. They are both innocent'.

Her feelings, especially about Marie have been echoed by all those campaigning to save the lives of the Murrays.

For instead of ordering a retrial by jury for both the Murrays as the campaign demanded, the supreme court sentenced Noel to life imprisonment and ordered a retrial for Marie in the same 'court' as had earlier sentenced her to death.

The story of the Murrays — both self confessed anarchists — began in September 1975 when they were charged, along with Ronan Stenson, of murdering an off duty policeman following a bank raid.

There were no eye witnesses to the shooting and the only evidence against them consisted of confessions extracted under duress and later retracted.

They were tried in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin, before 3 politically appointed judges and no jury, where for long periods they were not present and where the judges refused to consider evidence of torture.

## Prejudice

This led Marie Murray to declare before sentencing that, 'the whole conduct of this trial has been unfair — has been prejudicial. It is not a trial. This is not a court'.

Her views have been given support not only by subsequent Supreme Court decision but also by the acquittal of Ronan Stenson on Jan. 28th.



**Nationalism or Socialism — The SNP and SLP exposed.** By Alan Armstrong. A Socialist Worker Pamphlet obtainable from IS Books, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow or 9 High Street, Edinburgh. 10p + postage.

ARMSTRONG'S well argued and logical pamphlet traces the development from the SNP being a vehicle for the whisky-fuelled dreams of intellectuals and a protest mechanism for a petit-bourgeoisie and for a section of the working class (farm labourers, for example) denied access to the more regular channels of working class expression via the trade unions, into its emergence as a well heeled tool of major national and international capitalist interests.

Armstrong writes: "It [the SNP] now has significant class backing, mainly from Scottish financiers and industrialists . . . It was not until the end of the 1950's and early '60s that the SNP began to pick up once more.

Changed economic and social circumstances brought new elements into the party. Many small business people had seen their industries collapse. They were not happy as they saw the booming south-east and Midlands of England

Some businessmen felt their status might be better enhanced with a Scottish administration . . . However, a sniff of oil worked wonders for these people. Oil was a 'magic' commodity.

It had lifted run down sheikdoms from nomadic poverty into Cadillac driving opulence. What might it be able to do for the gnomes of Charlotte Square, the hard pressed businessmen and the status conscious professionals?

The gnomes moved first. Quickly on the scene appeared new merchant banks: Noble Grossart and Dalscot; new investment companies including North Sea Assets, Scottish Offshore and Pict Petroleum and the investment trusts; Viking Resources and East of Scotland.

It was at this point that the SNP began to put on its new coat, 'Oil Nationalism.'

Armstrong comments that this transformation was presided over by the party chairman, the anti-union businessman William Wolfe.

The sheer opportunism of this character can be judged by the fact that, a decade earlier, in his endless campaign to win West Lothian from Tam Dalyell, Wolfe had made great play over the rundown first in shale mining (sacrificed to the pressures of the oil giants!) and then coal mining (also thrown to the same wolves).

Now the miners of Lothian were forgotten as Tartan Willie jetted across the Atlantic to assure US businessmen that the SNP were as business orientated as the British Labour Party.

Also, within the Scottish dimensions, the Nationalists would ensure a better return on US investment.

Suddenly Willie and Winnie and

all the rest of the clan began to look remarkably like Caledonian versions of Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore.

The SNP itself was effectively deodorised of the small number of 'lefts' inherited from the days of wilder, headier movements such as the anti-Polaris and deeply republican 'Scottish Secretariat' and the intake of opportunists from various socialist groupings.

The rump of the Scottish Committee of 100, personified by

## Review

Isobel Lindsay and Tom McAlpine, for example.

These two had been prominent in the mid-'60s setting up Rowen Enterprises, the infamous **Factory for Peace**, which to the utter disgust of peace movement activists had begun making equipment for the Ministry of Defence in its first year of operation and which could have taught General Motors a thing or two in how to weed out left wing workers.

Today, the traditional Scottish employers — i.e. the shipbuilding barons who, on the lower Clyde, still back the Liberals and on the upper Clyde before nationalisation backed the Tories, like our friend the arch anti-devolutionist Teddy Taylor — have lost out completely to the new nationalist forces.

Every former prop of traditional Scottish Toryism, from the Kirk to the Press, has lined up with the Nats.

The well known gambling addict Hugh Fraser (whose ultra right wing father used to supply the Scottish police, gratis, with furniture vans to cart away anti-Polaris demonstrators — what a display of public spiritedness!) owns the viciously anti-

working class *Glasgow Herald* which now bills itself as 'Scotland's Newspaper.'

It isn't Scotland's newspaper, it's Fraser's, and Fraser is one of the worst exploiters in the retail business

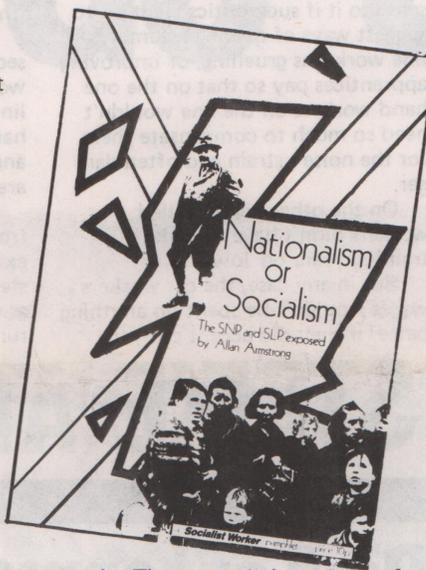
Ask the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers: ask the workers of Harrods who were defeated a few years back in the elementary struggle to be members of a union.

## Ghosts

Incidentally, in the cupboards of the charming Fraser clan lurk the ugly ghosts of Poulson and his Scottish Office chum, George Pott-inger.

Pottinger, like the Fraser family and Poulson, a leading Freeman, even wrote the biography of Daddy Fraser.

And still the chancers, the gomme-men and the rank opportunists



pour in. Those people in and out of the Labour Party who clearly saw what the Nats were and said so, were taken aback when Jim Sillars upped and formed the Scottish Labour Party.

Sillars became the hammer of the Nats and then as the tide began to

turn for Labour emerged at the head of the SLP, the leadership of which is a motley selection of those elements in Scotland who represent what Armstrong calls the 'middle class elements without the right connections', for whom the Labour Party has historically offered 'a complete alternative to the old school tie of the Tories'.

The Scottish working class is sick of the Labour gang, and yet, as Armstrong shrewdly comments, "There has not yet been a political demonstration in support of independence

The right in Scotland has not yet won — what is happening is that a corrupt Labour Party is losing.

The belief held by some Scottish revolutionaries that the SNP is essentially supported by sections of the Scottish working class as a credible alternative to the failed social democracy, and that once in power the SNP — viewed by them as a coalition — will split.

And thus allow for a socialist revolution, ignores the political realities of the development of the SNP.

The party that creates the state can all too easily become the state — it can purge as well as split.

## Disband

Back in the early 60's, the Nationalists proudly proclaimed that they existed for no other purpose than the achievement of independence, then they would disband.

What exists today, is clearly a party of the far right. In local government — apart from being universally regarded as dismal apolitical failures — the Nationalists quickly emerged as voices of the 'ratepayer'.

In Strathclyde, Scotland's biggest Region and one of the most deprived areas of Europe, SNP councillors have far outdone the Tories in their calls for sackings and public expenditure cutbacks.

As they have quickly dropped the mysticism, and the romanticism — moving from Bonnie Prince Charlie to the Black, Black Oil — the essen-

tial nature of the SNP has emerged.

## Arms

Committed to private education, private medicine, reduced public expenditure, indulgent state aid for local and foreign capitalists and a massive arms expenditure (and just who will the Scottish Army be fighting?) — the SNP is seen clearly as a threat to the dream of socialism.

**Ironically, the real interests of Scottish Independence — that is respect for the rights and the ways of the Scottish people within an international socialist order — have always been safeguarded by men and women of the left.**

The Nationalists have tried to 'capture the memory' of heroes such as James Maxton and John MacLean — but even a casual knowledge of their life and work shows their utter contempt for political nationalism as represented by the bourgeois Nation State.

Armstrong and the Scottish IS are to be heartily congratulated on a superb pamphlet.

One doubts however that the author is overconvinced by his own — presumably obligatory — closing paragraphs calling on the Scottish working class to follow the new leadership of 'Son of Cliff', the Socialist Worker Party.

Armstrong himself writes: "The Scottish Assembly . . . merely represents a change between the capitalists, above the heads of workers. A new group of Scottish bosses, politicians and officials will not change this".

Nor will new vanguard leaderships doomed from their elitism and their distance from those they ostensibly serve, turning in the end into reformist collaborators or entrenched totalitarian bureaucrats, represent any real change in human society.

Its about time the real Marxist in IS looked at the real Marx and made a marxist analysis of Leninism.

It was, after all, Marx himself who commented that the liberation of the working class was a task for the working class itself.

That is what the libertarian socialists of AWA believe.

Ian S. Sutherland.

# AIMS & PRINCIPLES

- 1 Capitalism is a class society.
- 2 The basic irreconcilable contradiction within it is between the class which owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, the bourgeoisie, and the class who produce the agricultural and industrial wealth, the working class.
- 3 The social enslavement and exploitation of the working class forms the basis 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 decision can be revoked by National Conference.
- [4] We seek to establish AWA groups in all areas, not only geographical but also industrial, educational, etc. Groups interpret National and Delegate Conference decisions to relate tactics to their local experience.

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

## Anarchist Worker needs cash support

ANARCHIST WORKER doesn't carry pages of advertisements, so revenue doesn't automatically come in. It survives on sales and the goodwill of its readers and supporters. That goodwill is probably more important now than it ever has been;

As the fightback against the cuts and the social contract grows, it becomes vital that the ideas of libertarian communism become widespread within every section of the working class — the ideas of running society in a free and self-managed way where there are no longer classes, where money has been abolished and where work has been transformed into something pleasurable and useful.

If you support our ideas, then help us to spread them. Not only by sending us as much money as you can afford but also by taking a bundle of papers to sell at your workplace, dole queues, women's group, tenants association, wherever you can.

As well as stimulating activity, we also want to unite activity, so write in and let everyone else know what you are doing, what you think. Send us articles, letters, cartoons etc..

ALL DONATIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE SENT TO: AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside.

# Anarchist Worker

56 BRITISH LEYLAND workers in Horsepath, Oxford, have been out for several weeks – not the most spectacular of the recent stoppages but showing just how much rules and laws are bent to suit the bosses convenience unless they are forced to see the workers side.

It was customary for the parts selectors and other workers involved to be given a certain number of hours overtime in the shape of specific jobs.

If these jobs took less time than expected, the men could leave when they were completed without clocking off – after all a job is worth as much if it takes a little longer or shorter to do.

But in December the management started asking men to start other jobs if they finished those allocated before the time allowed was up.

Apart from anything else, this would have been depriving other workers from their chances of overtime.

When they refused, they lost the pay for that afternoon – pay for work they had already done.

After two weeks strike the management admitted that they had been wrong over the one afternoon.

be twice the amount but they would get no more pay.

So the workers are still out, and other sections laid off as a result. And here's the other sting:

Men laid off were asked to do the work of the strikers which of course they refused to do.

They were then told that meant they had refused jobs offered and so were not entitled to supplementary benefit.

Others not excluded by this means have been deprived by the Social Security, after phoning the British Leyland management, telling them men that they could not claim because they were in the same trade group as the strikers.

Another of the problems of this dispute and many of the others in Leyland is its isolation.

The workforce are split up into many bargaining units, jealous of differentials, not always in the know and not always sympathetic there-



BIRMINGHAM – British Leyland Longbridge workers demonstrate against the social contract. Photo: Dave Evans (IFL)

They refused to pay the men for the time they were out at the usual 80% rate for stoppages where the men involved are not 'in the wrong'.

By agreeing to pay for the afternoon's work the company had tacitly admitted their responsibility for the stoppage.

## Sting

The management is also expecting the backlog of orders to be cleared in normal work time – each job will

fore when they lose time because of a dispute in another section.

The management makes best use of the situation playing one section off against another – until it suits them to lump workers in one trade group to do them out of SS.

It seems obvious to suggest trying to lessen the number of unions and sections involved – until you realise management are also calling for this.

It would make control by the union bureaucracy over the shop stewards and rank and file much



Longbridge toolmakers shop stewards leaving the meeting that decided to return to work. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

simpler and enable protests to be more readily suppressed.

## Gruelling

Some readers, and certainly other members of the public, may say that car workers are overpaid already

This argument would have some sense to it if such critics went on to suggest ways of making assembly line work less gruelling, or improving apprentices pay so that on the one hand workers on the line wouldn't need so much to compensate them for the noise, strain and often danger.

On the other hand, skilled workers didn't have to make up training years on low pay.

But in any case, the car workers wages wouldn't be spent on anything better if they did accept cuts; the

money would be spent on repaying IMF loans for installing more machinery in British Leyland so that more men could be made redundant.

Or on a payment to shareholders. They must be the ones getting the money from the sale of Rover 3,000 cars, they couldn't afford them otherwise.

Better communications between sections, and a realisation that all the workers interests are closely inter-linked, that a wage de,amd does not have to be excused by pointing to another and screaming 'differential' are needed.

But the links must be built up from rank and file level – for example the revival of the joint shop stewards at Cowley – not imposed as part of increasing the smooth running and efficiency, ie exploit-

ation by management.

After a comparatively quiet time, recent events – most notably the Longbridge protest against the social contract – indicate that car workers may be beginning to see through the promises of prosperity resulting from greater productivity.

Most readers of *Anarchist Worker* probably realise that already and that increasing the number of motor cars doesn't do us much good.

It is a hopeful sign if car workers don't preface wage or other claims by saying that their conditions should be improved to make the production of cars go better, but instead imply that there is no point at all in making cars if they have to make sacrifices and suffer worse pay and work conditions.

A.R.

# STRIKE AT LEYLAND

## Riot aftermath

PRISONERS have been harassed and beaten up by screws and solitary confinement has been widespread, following the riot at Hull gaol last September (see eye witness account *Anarchist Worker* October '76).

As early as November 1975, organisations outside – PROP (prisoners rights movement) RAP (radical alternatives to prison) and UPAL (up against the Law) – knew that conditions in Hull were acute, and were leading to confrontation.

When a prisoner was beaten up in the segregation unit, about 100 prisoners went there and demanded to see him, the Governor refused. The prisoners rioted.

They came across files on each of them which showed that all they had been told about the authorities 'working for your good' was false. To make their protest public they took to the roof and stayed there as long as they could.

When they came down they were beaten up and then dispersed to other prisons to prevent the true story leaking out.

In 1969, the Home Office appointed an inquiry into the protests at Parkhurst Prison. The findings of the inquiry were never published.

On September 16, 1976, the Home Office announced an inquiry into the Hull protest. It's likely to go the same way as the Parkhurst inquiry.

Already at least 180 prisoners have lost many days loss of remission and privileges.

Jake Prescott, who was sentenced for alleged involvement with the

Angry Brigade in 1973 received 700 days loss of remission and 8 months loss of privileges, while Blackie Saxton got 720 days loss of remission and 252 days of lost privileges. These are just some of the more severe sentences handed out.

PROP has demanded a public inquiry into the Hull prison conditions.

It has just begun producing a bi-monthly newspaper called PROP!! It contains 7 prisoners accounts of the riots, as well as an obituary of the Irish Republican and socialist Noel Jenkinson, who died last year in prison, articles on George Jackson and how class society makes all prisoners political prisoners.

Well worth a read – 10p + postage or £1 p.a. post free from: 10 Montrose St., Hull or 32A Park Road, London SW19 2HT.

## "GOD SAVES THE QUEEN! –but he doesn't pay the bill"

is one of several stickers available from M A ' A M Movement Against A Monarchy c/o 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1 Send a sae for details.

## DEFEAT THE BENYON BILL

On February 25th the bill sponsored by Tory MP Benyon was passed at its second reading. This Bill, severely restricting legal abortion, must be stopped. The National Abortion Campaign are organising a national demonstration on May 14.

Contact: NAC, 30 Camden Road, London NW1 01-485 4303

## Conference

A LONDON Squatters Conference is to be held at the weekend of April 16/17. It is being organised in the face of the repressive criminal trespass proposals which are currently in Parliament as part 2 of the Criminal Law Bill.

The conference is being organised by a group of squatters including members of the Advisory Service for Squatters and the Squatters Action Council.

The conference has two main functions: to focus attention on the criminal trespass proposals and the fight against them, and to improve the organisation of squatters in London. Although primarily a London 'event', other squatters will be welcome.

It is intended that the conference should be a forum for discussion of squatting issues by squatters and not an open public discussion like the squatters convention in May 1975 which ended in total confusion.

Nor is it intended to be an academic seminar on squatting. The discussions will be practical and, hopefully, constructive.

The agenda has not been finalised but there will definitely be plenary sessions on 'Squatters and the Law', 'Criminal Trespass', and the 'Housing Crisis'. Workshops that will definitely be arranged include 'Mass Squats', 'Squatters and the Law', 'Licences and Housing Cooperatives', 'Squatting and the media', 'Women and Squatting', and 'Squatting in other countries'.

Other suggestions are still being examined. The second day of the conference will be devoted to discussing how squatters should organise both internally and to fight the criminal trespass proposals.

People with ideas on this are invited to submit papers to the conference organisers (c/o 2 St Pauls Road, London N1) so that they can be circulated before the conference. (Deadline April 5)

The conference venue is the Jackson Lane Community Centre, Archway Road, London N6. The Centre is right opposite Highgate tube station.

The conference is planned to run from 10-6 each day with a benefit dance on Saturday night.

Entrance to the conference will be 50p. There will be food and a creche.

For further information, ring 289 3878, 359 5185 or 286 4462, or write to Squatters Conference, c/o 2 St Pauls Rd., London N1.

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