

For a workers' solution to the crisis!

BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

CUTS MUST BE FOUGHT

IN MAY the AWA National Conference took place. One of the most important debates was around our experience of the last six months in the fight against the redundancies and cuts in public spending that the Social Contract has brought.

Time and again it was pointed out that once working people accepted any blame for the present crisis of the private profit system then their fight against any particular cut in jobs, housing, schools, hospitals was hamstrung because they were led into an argument about *what* to cut. The experience of AWA members reaffirmed that it was right to take the clear stand that working people are not responsible for the crisis and that we are not going to pay for it.

One of the key areas that we felt it important to put a lot of work into is the question of the 'social wage'. That is all the benefits paid for by our taxes - from housing, to schools, to hospitals etc. etc. In this area the cuts are much more difficult to fight - than when they show as redundancies and smaller wage packets.

We think they are important because they are about the whole quality of life in a way that goes beyond the necessary fight for a decent wage. They are about the rights that working people have fought for *together* - decent housing, education, health. It's more difficult to get a fight going against these social wage cuts but it poses directly the question of the sort of society we want, who makes the decisions about it, and how do we get it? A start has already been made in some areas, we'll report progress.

The AWA passed the following motion as the basis for organising to oppose the cuts, to reverse them, and to lead a fight to *improve* the quality of life for working people, by the action of working people themselves.

PUBLIC SERVICES in this country—health, education, social security—have been secured by working people through many hard years of struggle.

Now these services have come under vicious and widespread attack from the employing class. The slump forces them to exert pressure to axe expenditure in the public services.

What has to be realised, and realised by the majority of working people in this country, is that any attack on these services—the reduction of personnel levels and closures of schools, hospitals, out-patient clinics etc.—is an attack on our pockets. Working-class access to health, education and to financial assistance in times of unemployment and hardship are part of a 'social wage'.

This 'social wage' is being taken away at the same time as the ordinary wage is being reduced through price rises.

A realisation of the 'social wage' must lead to increased opposition to the cuts. This fight back involves the creation of cuts committees and the unity of public service workers and all those who use these services.

In the public sector itself, the unity of those who work it must be hammered out.

This involves a hard struggle against sectional interests and divisions in the workforce—between junior doctors, nurses and hospital ancillary workers, between teachers and school ancillary staff, between librarians and civil servants—in the various government departments, between members of NUPE, NALGO, CPSA, COHSE and other unions which have members among public service workers.

Such a public sector alliance is necessary to destroy these sectional divisions and because by themselves each group of public sector workers has little industrial muscle and even less militant experience (dustmen being an obvious exception).

Unity of public sector workers can present one face to the social contract, to redundancies and closures, and to outside contracts on



80,000 people demonstrated against the cuts in public services in May. Now an alliance must be built between public sector workers. Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

such things as cleaning and wage delivery.

A study of militancy in the National Union of Teachers, for example, reveals that every successfully fought wage struggle took place in the shadow of strikes of other workers in the public sector and other industries. Teachers were able to win a wage increase when other sections of workers were in the field.

The battle to protect the social wage and to fight cuts best can be fought through a public sector alliance, and this battle itself can create a public sector alliance.

It's up to revolutionaries in the public sector to begin the work of building just such a public sector, by raising the subject in their workplace and union branch, and

inside leftwing organisations and through the pages of the left press (*Socialist Challenge, Socialist Worker, Big Flame* etc.).

The demand for a public sector alliance can be an area where revolutionaries and trade union militants, all those in the public sector willing to fight the cuts and the social contract, can get together.

When strike action comes for better wages and conditions, and against the destruction of the public sector, it should be if possible a united action of different sections.

Overtime bans, a sliding scale of wages, a sliding scale of public expenditure (to maintain wages and services at their real money value) are all demands that can build and strengthen a public sector alliance and begin a process of increasing

control over the public sector by workers.

Opening the books of Area Health Authorities, Local Education Authorities to the inspection of trade unionists, parent teacher associations, cuts committees and so forth is something the public sector alliance can fight for, to determine allocation of funds and to increase the say and control of workers and users of the public sector.

The building of the public sector alliance will be a long and difficult task, yet it will be a major weapon of working people in saving services. At the same time it can create a movement towards a public service under the control of the broad mass of the people—a workers' health service, a workers' education system. EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

MOTION AT AWA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The AWA commits itself to working for a Public Sector Alliance. The elements of the programme we will fight for in establishing such an alliance will include:—
REVERSE THE CUTS — we will fight for the groups set up to oppose cuts to pose the question of the necessary levels of services

NO REDUNDANCIES, WORKSHARING ON FULL PAY (A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS)

TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT — A BAN ON OVERTIME, WITH THE NECESSARY INCREASED MANNING WITH NO LOSS OF OVERTIME.

A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE. TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES.

OPEN THE BOOKS OF ILEAs AND AHAs TO THE INSPECTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS, PTAs, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS etc.

A SLIDING SCALE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE — to maintain the level of services at their real money value.

A TOTAL BAN ON OUTSIDE CONTRACTS.

FOR PERMANENT, DELEGATE, LIAISON BODIES TO COORDINATE

ALL PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS — we will fight to make these democratic and to link them to community organisations. FOR UNITED STRIKE ACTION, AND ALL OTHER APPROPRIATE METHODS AGAINST THE CUTS — we will expose the token nature of the 'opposition' from the TU leaderships. To this end we will support any work in this direction by Nalگو Action and other democratic rank and file bodies.

SMASH THE SOCIAL CONTRACT- BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

Trade union bureaucrats to the rescue!

THERE IS probably only one thing that can now save the Government and ensure the acceptance of a third phase of wage restraint — the Trade Union Bureaucracy. By this I don't just mean the full time officials but also the many elected officials at local, regional and national level.

In most unions constitutional machinery exists to consult the membership but this may be easily ignored by unwilling officials. Only those unions with a clear rule or policy on consultation are guaranteed a say although the full-timers can still hamper fair consultation by allowing insufficient time or deliberately choosing a badly worded proposal.

Other unions will have to rely on the integrity of Branch officials. Many of these, particularly in my own union, are right-wing Labour, or worse, and think that the members are of the same persuasion ("After all, they elected me to represent them.") and that there is no need to consult them.

On the other hand are the "left-wing officials, often in the Communist Party or the 'Militant' or 'Tribune' factions of the Labour Party. These people tend to have the view, developed through years of paranoia, that the members are reactionary and it is safest not to ask them in the first place ("After all, they elected me to represent them").

Vociferous

The only advice that I can offer these beings is either to listen to what their members are saying or to block their ears to all sound, depending on whether or not they want to suffer a massive shock to their particular view of the world.

From my personal experience I can say that members in previously non-militant and even conservative areas are being most vociferous about the damage done by the social contract, which in their minds means wage restraint. Indeed it means this to all of us because we've only ever seen one side of the contract in operation.

Whatever happened to the houses,

At the first 1977 AWA National Conference, two opposed groups continued to pursue their different roads, two roads that did not, unfortunately, run parallel but in totally opposite directions.

Readers of Anarchist Worker may not have detected this internal struggle, or, even if they have done so, will not have been aware of the damage that was being done to all comrades in the organisation.

One group conceded prior to the Conference that, should their proposals and policies be in the minority, they would leave the AWA.

In the event they were the majority group and therefore felt that it was a point of principle for the other group to withdraw. This was declined.

Because of the strife that existed within the organisation and because the organisation could not proceed with agreed policies while there was a group committed to preventing this, a motion was passed expelling this group.

The decision was not taken lightly and many comrades felt reluctant to take a decision that went against their long-held libertarian beliefs. Nevertheless, such action was necessary to ensure the continuation of a viable libertarian communist presence within the labour movement.

We extend our best wishes to our former comrades and wish them success in such constructive work as they may be undertaking.

The above was written by Arthur Adams who took an independent position at Conference in relation to the two groupings but who felt, as a committed trade union activist that the organisational policies advanced at Conference were correct at this time of attack on the labour movement and the working class by the international capitalist conspiracy, bureaucratic trade union leadership and careerist Labour politicians.

schools and hospitals that were going to be built?

Whatever happened to the jobs that would be created to reduce the number of unemployed?

Whatever happened to the regeneration of British industry? These could have been the sop that would have maintained people's belief in the existing order of things. A sop, of course, that neither social democracy nor capitalism could provide.

Cherished

At present people are looking at things from a personal, almost selfish point of view. They want more money and are therefore bound to oppose any more wage restraint. But they find themselves in opposition to the cherished existing order and are not sure which way to turn.

As an electorate people tend to turn to "the other lot" but, on this occasion, too many remember the wage freeze of the Tories.

As class-conscious militants we must argue the necessity for the working class, for ourselves, to organize. We must strive for a united attack against wage restraint and an end to all "social contracts". Only by demonstrating rank and file solidarity in action can we hope to build an opposition to both private and state capitalism. Nothing else is acceptable

Jimmy Beaumont.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM has not, as yet, become a major influence inside the working class and revolutionary movements. Yet at the same time, the Anarchist Workers Association remains one of the few organisations that is attempting a radical reappraisal of Anarchism and Marxism combined with distinctive attitudes towards revolutionary organisation, and applying these politics to day-to-day struggle.

In our development over the last few years, we have moved away from 'traditional' anarchist concepts. We realised that the result of some of these ideas in the past has been abstention from the class struggle.

We have overcome our fear of other left groups and realised that it is possible to work with them in campaigns, provided there is a clear minimum agreement among those participating.

Indeed, we have argued within the organisation that such united front work is vital given the smallness of the revolutionary left, and the need to fight the attacks on the living standards of the working class.

It is not surprising that the progressive development of these attitudes should result in a reaction from some members of the organisation. They said that they had become embarrassed selling *Anarchist Worker* because "it contradicts Anarchist principles with its Marxist fellow-traveller content".

By May 1977, the situation had become impossible, with no real meeting ground for the views of the two sides. As a result of the expulsions decided on at that Conference, we think that both sides will be freer to develop.

The above was written by two members of the editorial board of *Anarchist Worker* who supported the politics of the majority within the organisation.

THE VIRTUALLY unanimous rejection of any continued wage controls at the Brighton conference of the 650,000 strong National Union of Public Employees is a clear pointer to public sector workers' feelings on the Social Contract.

They voted in a motion that condemned pay restraint, demanded a basic minimum of £50, a 35-hour week, and a return to index-linked threshold payments.

Anger was expressed by many delegates over the dramatic fall in the buying power of their wages since the Social Contract came into force.

Denounce

Many sections of workers are firmly opposing any extension of the contract, denouncing it as a massive fraud.

Wage rises have been halted while prices, supposed to have been restrained, have leapt ahead and expenditure on public services such as education and health has been slashed.

It is now staring working people in the face that the Social Contract is a big lie. Instead of spreading the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of both bosses and workers, as it was claimed it would do by holding back prices as well as wages, and maintaining the levels of public services, the working class has been forced to bear the full brunt of the results of the crisis.

Declare

It is clear that by the time negotiations are under way to replace Phase 2, due to end in August, many major groups of workers including the miners and engineers as well as NUPE, will have declared their opposition to it.

Whether the union leaders will oppose it or not is another matter, as Alan Fisher, NUPE General Secretary, made clear at Brighton.

He said after the conference that despite the clear vote against wage controls he would continue to negotiate with the government over the terms of Phase 3.

Pitfalls

There are many pitfalls ahead for the working class on the wages front, even if the Social Contract is decisively rejected.

The major of these is the issue of differentials. Some unions representing relatively better paid sections of workers are opposing the Social Contract on the grounds that it closes the gap between them and the lower paid.

These divisive ideas can only weaken the workers movement in its fight for better wages. It is vital for militants to fight for demands that don't aim to improve the lot of one worker at the expense of others, but for those that can unite all sections around demands that take the whole movement forward.

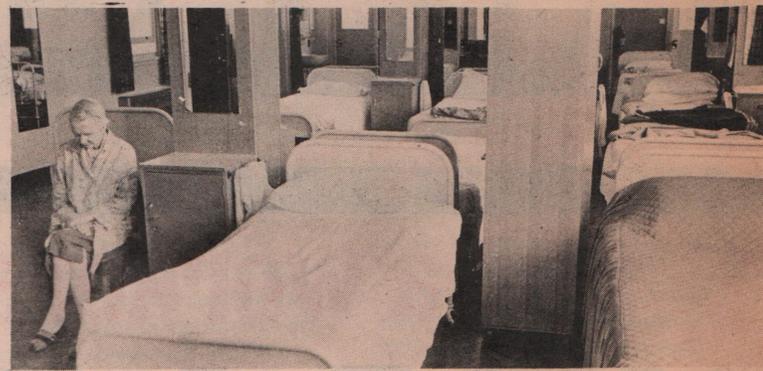
All sections of workers need to fight for wage rises, but not as 'special cases' or to 'maintain their positions in the wages league'.

KITTY

A slightly smaller pitfall is that of 'kitty bargaining'.

The idea is that a fixed amount is allotted to individual firms for wage increases, and negotiations take place over the proportion that goes to different groups of workers within the firm.

This would clearly suit the bosses down to the ground, since it leaves workers fighting among themselves over how to divide the increase, rather



Cuts mean that this newly-completed extension to St James Hospital, Portsmouth, will never be used. Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

CPSA to take action?

One basic fact has made itself obvious to the leadership of the Civil & Public Services Association (CPSA) — that opposition to public expenditure cuts can only be successful if the rank and file themselves take disciplined, co-ordinated action. A complete lack of information, a series of disastrous regional meetings and finally the withdrawal of industrial action in the face of management threats left even the committed feeling dejected.

Pressure

Because of pressure from Branches the union has, however, been moving towards joint action with other unions and tentative steps are being made towards forming a Public Sector Alliance. But the members of all public sector unions, including industrial unions with members in the public services, must ensure that such an Alliance does not become a bureaucratic appendage of the union hierarchy or the TUC.

We have too often experienced directives contrary to the interests of the membership being accepted because they are "official". We must dedicate ourselves to building a genuinely democratic Alliance which will have the trust and respect of the members because they have set it up and elected delegates over whom they have control.

At CPSA Annual Conference 1977 the following motion from the South West London Branch of DHSS was overwhelmingly carried: "Conference agrees that the only method of successfully opposing the Public Expenditure Cuts is by employing wide-scale industrial action in the Public Sector. Conference therefore agrees to the following industrial action campaign:

- i) A complete ban on all overtime that masks staffing deficiencies.
- ii) A complete ban on any work-sharing that causes present job vacancies not to be filled.
- iii) A series of selective and National days of action in conjunction with

other Public Sector trade unions."

This motion was composed with fifteen other motions from nine different government departments including one, from the Department of Employment — Manchester, which called for "an alliance with Committees of local public sector union branches under the control of elected 'Grass roots' members". This attitude must be extended throughout the labour movement for the presence of rank and file democrats means that there is now a genuine opportunity for the working class to begin to control their own lives.

Arthur Adams.

than fighting the boss over the size of the increase itself.

If they succeeded in introducing this system it would clearly damage unity between different groups of workers and generate intense sectional

sectional struggle.

Disinterred

The idea of kitty-bargaining is really the disinterment of an argument used by the ruling class a hundred years ago when trying to resist the demands of a newly-formed proletariat.

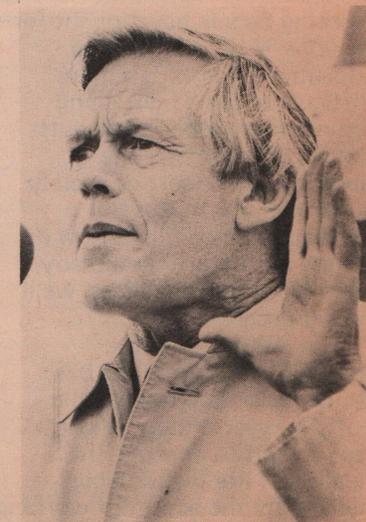
It was claimed that the economic system contained a fixed component for wages, a 'pool' that could not be made larger or smaller. Hence granting a wage demand from one section of the class automatically meant cutting the wages of another section.

In reality of course it is the balance of class forces, and the level of struggle waged by the working class as a whole, that determines the overall amount of wages paid to the working class.

The 19th century version of the kitty bargaining argument, together with the last hour theory (used against demands for reducing the

hours of the working day, this theory said that profit was only made in the last hour of the day, the previous 11 hours being spent covering capital costs, wages, etc.) was exploded by the actions of the working class.

SO CAN THE EXHUMED 1977 VERSION.



Alan Fisher speaking at the May demonstration against the cuts organised by NUPE. Is he trying to stop the cuts or halt the fight-back? Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)



Birmingham conference of the Socialist Students Alliance
Photo Stuart Paul (Socialist Student)

Students forge alliance

APPROXIMATELY 130 student militants from all over the country gathered in Birmingham Polytechnic on the weekend of April 30th for the first national and founding conference of the Socialist Students Alliance. This alliance is based round the following objectives:

1. To fight for unity in the NUS of those forces on the left who want to win the mass of students to an alternative socialist perspective to that of the present Broad Left leaders and combat the growth of right-wing influences amongst students.
2. To build a mass united NUS linked in action to the mass organisations of the working class and other oppressed people in society.
3. To base left unity on joint initiatives, in the campaigns around the key issues facing students, in the union's national structures and conferences and in the electoral field at all levels.

After a delay due to late arrival of participants the conference commenced on the Saturday at 2.00pm with an opening speech from Tariq Ali on racism and fascism. He pointed to the threat from fascist parties such as the National Front and the National Party — a threat which will continue to grow as the capitalists' economic crisis worsens.

The way forward in this crucial fight was through a united front of all forces on the left involved in anti-fascist work and not by sectarian attitudes and initiatives.

On the following day this feeling was formulated in a successful motion to conference (by comrades in the libertarian current) which urged all SSA students to work within united front anti-fascist committees and to take an initiative in their formation where no such body exists.

Broad Left

Later on Saturday afternoon Charles Clarke, this year's outgoing National Union of Students President gave a short speech on the Broad Left's perspective and suggested that the SSA should cooperate with this grouping of which Clarke is a member. For eight years now the Broad Left (an alliance between the Labourites and Communists in the student movement) have dominated NUS and the mass of individual student unions.

Because of their reformist policies they have totally failed to mount effective defensive campaigns against the government's vicious attacks on the living standards of students and the working class as a whole.

Indeed they have often acted in a counter-productive fashion in order to keep a face of 'respectability'. For example in last summer's enthusiastic upsurge of occupations against teacher unemployment they failed in their function of coordination by not building links with militant teachers to demand that the NUT implement its own policy of limiting class sizes to 30.

This measure would have created thousands of jobs for unemployed teachers. But the Broad Left are incapable of taking any action that will alienate it from the trade union bureaucracy.

Again this term the NUS Broad Left executive refused to mount national action against the proposed fee increases opting instead for a 'progressive alliance' with the college authorities to pressurise the government.

Failure

These failures have disillusioned and isolated thousands of student activists who have been working within their own student unions for more militant forms of protest. The wider lessons to be learned here are that the perspectives of the Labour and Communist Parties offer no prospect of advance for students or the whole working class.

Clarke's speech to conference was cynically received because of its revolutionary decorations which do not match up with the reformist politics the Broad Left have in practice.

In the Saturday evening session interesting discussions arose from contributions on the subject of working class strategy by shopfloor stewards. Again the theme was the necessity for unity among the revolutionary left.

Awakening

All the speakers noted that movements were at last taking place within the body of the working class after years of apathetic slumber caused by the drug of social democracy.

Capitalism is failing to deliver the goods either in providing a sufficient and secure material standard of life or in creating the conditions necessary to allow the emotional fulfillment and happiness of the mass of people. The break with social democracy, the Labour Party and indeed the trade union bureaucracy is developing.

For example thousands of workers recently shouted down Jack Jones with chants of 'Jack the Rat' and 'go home you bum!' for his involvement in the Social Concrick.

It is at this critical point that revolutionary left organisations must urge their militants to redouble their efforts in carrying revolutionary perspectives into the class. But the revolutionary left is weak and it is in such circumstances that there is a compelling necessity to combine

sweat and resources into united fronts for increased efficiency.

As well as discussions on women and Ireland and various resolutions presented to the conference the following day was designed to allow discussion on the SSA programme and internal structure.

Crippling

Perhaps this was the weakest part of the whole conference since the discussion on both these vital issues was totally inadequate because of the crippling lack of time. It was rather hurriedly agreed that the national conference should elect annually a steering committee of six plus the SSA members of NUS executive (of which there are at present two — Lewis Davis and Colin Talbot). In addition, a further ten people should be elected who, together with the Steering Committee should form a National Committee. The emphasis of the Steering Committee should form a National Committee. The emphasis of the Steering Committee will be more practical, dealing with the day to day working of the SSA and the production of the paper 'Socialist Student'.

The National Conference will meet between conferences to oversee the work of the Steering Committee and when necessary take interim measures on behalf of the SSA (e.g. campaigns) although of course such measures would have to be ratified at the next national conference.

Elections then took place in which two members of the libertarian current were placed on the National Committee. One of them saw their major tasks as "ensuring that power and right of initiative remained firmly in the base of the SSA and did not drift into the National Committee and then the Steering Committee".

Forward

Discussion on the SSA programme did not take place at all due to lack of time. Many comrades expressed dissatisfaction over this and most others agreed that this had been the major flaw in the conference which would have to be rectified in the next national conference in October. In accordance with this priority was given to a thorough discussion of internal structure and the SSA programme at this next conference.

Despite its shortcomings, this conference represented a step in the right direction — towards united front work in the revolutionary left.

However it is not at conferences that the SSA will prove itself capable of fighting capitalist attacks and bringing the student body to a revolutionary perspective, but through the work of its active militants in the months and years ahead.

N.K.C.

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK

THE FOURTH conference of the Libertarian Students Network took place on the weekend of March 18/19 at the North East London Polytechnic, at that time in occupation against the Labour government's cuts in education and the social services.

Scheduling the conference for this weekend created a disruptive clash with the Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law demonstration on the Saturday. Most people went on this, and the conference finally got under way, with about forty people present, on Sunday 19.

Conference commenced with a stormy discussion on what structure and aims and principles the L.S.N. should adopt — an important question which had remained unresolved despite the attempts of the three prior conferences to come to some agreement.

A set of proposals written from a firmly libertarian communist viewpoint was advanced in relation to this issue. The proposals described the libertarian movement in this country as existing in "a state of chronic stagnation" largely due to "a lack of self-discipline and organisation." Emphasised was the need to build an organised libertarian communist current within the student movement and the class as a whole.

To achieve this, discussion would need to take place among militant libertarians with the view of working towards a common theoretical base, and the forging of a common tactical line which would give the movement a strong and unified direction. Practical measures designed to achieve these objectives were outlined in the proposals.

Decay

Traditional anarchists attacked these proposals as a betrayal of anarchist principles and claimed that small, local, autonomous groups should be doing what they felt to be important in their own areas, and only use the L.S.N. to exchange ideas and information, and where possible co-operate with each other.

Neil Carmichael, author of the proposals, and an active member of the A.W.A. student commission, had this to say: "If the views of the traditional anarchists prevail then the L.S.N. will be doomed to follow other anarchist 'organisations' such as the Anarchist Federation of Britain and the Confederation of British Anarchists into the cul-de-sac of political impotence, decay and extinction. As libertarians we must learn from the errors of our movement in the past, which are responsible for our present state of disorientation and confusion."

A consensus of opinion was taken on the proposals, and although many seemed undecided it was deemed that the proposals should be scrapped. The L.S.N. found itself back at square one.

Weakness

Later in the conference an interesting paper was given by a member of North East London Polytechnic Libertarians, who advanced a new concept of "anarcho-feminism".

The paper noted the striking resemb-

lances in the concepts and forms of organisation of the feminists and the traditional anarchist movement. Both believe in small, informal, completely autonomous groupings, involving themselves only in local issues.

With respect, we believe that the similarities the feminist movement has with traditional anarchism represent a weakness and not a strength. Why try to justify this low stage of organisational development by decking it out in ideological clothing? We hope that such a stage is only a transitory one as the class, at present divided and confused, comes to recognise the need for organisation and unity.

We hope that this unity will develop around a common programme which will aim at confrontation with capitalism, and its revolutionary overthrow, and the establishment of a libertarian communist society.

United Front

Perhaps the most optimistic and promising development from the conference was the formation of a group of militant libertarians who are in favour of organising and working as a libertarian current within the newly formed Socialist Students Alliance (S.S.A.).

Although an I.M.G. initiative, this alliance offers all revolutionaries a chance to form a united front. A united front against the Broad Left (an alliance of Labourites and Communists) which has dominated the N.U.S. for the last eight years, and so often betrayed student militancy.

A united front against the bourgeois educational system with its inherent class bias, sexism and racism, and when linked with other militant sections of the class, a united front against the whole capitalist horror show.

Future

It was agreed that this move to work within the S.S.A. would bring libertarianism out of the "twilight zone" and into the real world of political struggle.

It offers a chance to create a sound libertarian communist current within the student movement by example and discussion, while fighting alongside other revolutionary comrades for common objectives.

This libertarian current is now working at creating a "platform" to use as a developing theoretical base and as a source of correct practice.

The A.W.A. urges all its student members, contacts and sympathisers to work within the S.S.A. for a united revolutionary front and the creation of a libertarian communist current.

Dave Higgins

For information on the S.S.A. contact:

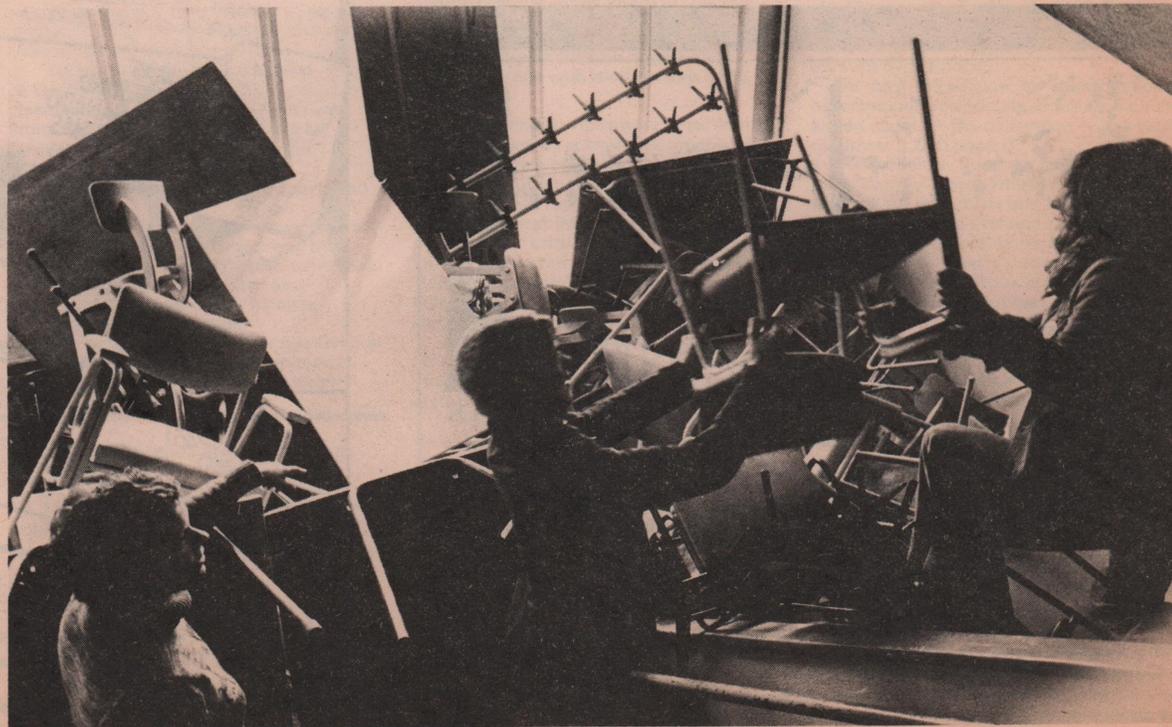
Andy Housley
9 Westbourne Rd.
Edgbaston
Birmingham 15

Tel.: 021 454 2000.

For information on the libertarian current contact the secretary:

Al Mickelthwaite
21 Holmfirth
Manchester 13

Tel.: 061 224 3028.



Students occupy Middlesex Polytechnic in April. Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

The world anarchist press and some of the 'classy' bosses papers have been heralding the news that in Spain, after 40 years of fascism, the anarchist trade union the National Labour Confederation (CNT) is rising like a meteor.

On Sunday March 27 there were two rallies in Madrid. One was the legal meeting of the Socialist Party (Labourites that is). This meeting was supported by all the Parties of the left—maoists, trotskysts, communists etc. The other was organised by the CNT and was illegal. According to reports they both attracted something like numbers, 25-30,000 people.

This is significant because Madrid itself was never a very strong area for the CNT. Accompanying this news are all sorts of uncritical comments—as if the rise of the CNT excuses the irrelevance of most of the rest of the world anarchist movement. Because the CNT is used as a mystical justification for their own existence anarchists are usually careful not to criticise the CNT (see reports in *Freedom*).

The worst response is a deliberate distortion of history to make the CNT look even better—the most recent *Black Flag* has an article which asks 'how few know that the Francoists were initially beaten in Spain by the workers of the CNT union, who went on to put a workers militia on the front while collectivising into anarcho-syndicalist locals the industry and agriculture of Catalonia and Aragon, only to be stabbed in the back by Liberal-Communist republican regime in Madrid?'

The answer to this long rhetorical question is that damned few know this because it's only half true. The failure of the Spanish Revolution in 1936-7 is due as much to the weaknesses of the CNT as

The Spanish CNT is an illegal organisation, banned since General Franco seized power. Even so, it has 20,000 paid up members, according to sources inside Spain, and figures published in *Front Libertaire*.

Having successfully participated in strikes at Roca (see last *AW*), Fords, in the construction industry and having made limited progress in organising probationary teachers in their probationary years, it has now decided to become more public. This is in the face of likely arrests and violence from the far Right.

Their paper is now printed in Spain — it used to be printed in France and taken across the border back into Spain — and sells 40,000 copies per month. A publishing house has been started called 'Campo Abiento' or 'Open Pastures'. It is bringing out a series of pamphlets and books.

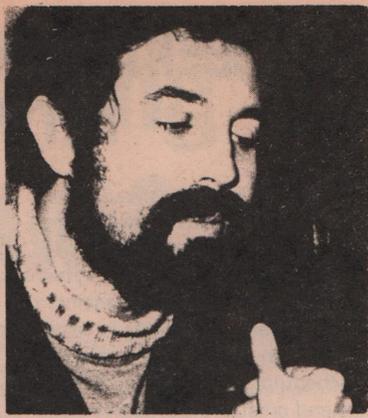
to the machinations of the liberals and stalinists. If a boxer said taht he'd lost because the man that he knew was his opponent and hit him this wouldn't tell us much about the fight, and it wouldn't be much guidance to those of us having to fight the same enemy.

Weak link

The history of Spain's working class isn't of interest only to anarchists and the libertarian communist currents leaving the anarchist movement behind.

Spain is today the weak link in European capitalism. The fight for workers power in Spain opens up the prospect of a resurgence in Portugal, enormous stresses in Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia and France.

A genuine workers power would strip



CNT international relations worker Jose E.



Student militant and CNT member Angeles R.



Steel Union National Committee member —CNT militant since 1934—Pedro B.

THE FIGHT FOR WORKERS POWER IN SPAIN

the last disguise from the state capitalist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe. It would leave the western CPs, who at the moment oscillate between being the Leagues of Russian Empire Loyalists and giving their services to their native rulers, high and dry.

Spain is once again the key as it was forty years ago. The problems in Spain—how to make the revolution, how to safeguard it, the dangers of the state capitalist parties destroying the revolution from within—are all the same. This has been proved by the events of the last two years in Portugal. The collapse of fascism unleashed a tide of working-class initiative, factories, farms, housing, transport—in every field the working class began to create a society of producers, of equals. Around all this the various forces of 'order' strove to reestablish the power of Capital.

The socialists under Soares with the

aid of European Labour Parties and CIA money fought to rebuild liberal democratic capitalism.

The Communist Party under Cunhal fought to build a state capitalist regime.

Both attacked workers initiatives when they felt strong enough, infiltrated and confused it at other points. In Portugal today the situation is still undecided. Despite the fact that most of the 'revolutionary' groups spent more time backing the Socialist Party or the Communist Party manoeuvres, the working class itself made giant steps towards a self-managed socialist society and is still fighting a tenacious rearguard action to hold onto the collectivised lands, the empty properties seized for slum families

and the factories seized and reorganised by the workers. (See the new book *Portugal: The Impossible Revolution* by Phil Mailer, £2.25 from Solidarity, 123 Latham Road, London E6.)

For this reason we look at this history of previous fights to judge the problems of coming battles. Our criticisms of the CNT of forty years ago are made to strengthen the CNT of today, to educate the international libertarian communist movement for its future victories.

Revolution

1. The military rising of July 1936 against the left-liberal Spanish Republic was defeated by the action of the working class in large areas of Spain. Unarmed or poorly armed the workers of the CNT and

Q. Isn't it possible that the anarchist movement may be reborn?

A. No, it is finished, as is the case everywhere; that is an irreversible fact. Small groups may continue to exist, like those in Barcelona...

From 'Dialogue on Spain', interviews with Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Spanish Communist Party. Published by Lawrence and Wishart: paperback £2.

Carrillo deliberately distorts history and present events in this book. Unfortunately for this unscrupulous hack, who is now snuggling up to the government, and whose party contributed greatly towards the defeat and massacre of the working class in the Civil War, events have proved him wrong. Events too, it is hoped, will sweep the Spanish Communist Party off the field of struggle between the bosses and the working people.

the UGT (socialist trade union) stormed barracks, police stations, and other centres of the conspiracy whilst the government attempted to negotiate an 'honourable settlement' with the rebel generals.

This left the working class itself as the main force in the North and East of Spain. Prepared by the years of struggle, argument and discussion, the working class created a self-managed socialist society in vast country areas and large modern cities. The CNT leadership played no direct role in this—it all came from the base.

2. The CNT itself played a key role in institutionalising and derailing this

Nestor Makhno
Piotr Arshinov
Ida Mett
Valevsky
Linsky

THE ORGANISATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISTS
an Anarchist Workers Association publication

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

They attempted to communicate their experiences and what they had learnt to the international anarchist movement, stressing the need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class.

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

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

To obtain a copy, sent a cheque/PO for 20p + 7p p&p made out to 'AWA General Fund' to: AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside.

UNA PAJARITA
NOSOTROS LOS MILITANTES DE CNT HAREMOS DE CADA PAPELETA DE VOTO UNA PAJARITA.

JAMÁS LA LIBERTAD SE HA GANADO EN LAS URNAS

CNT AIT

Boicot al referéndum fascista

ROCA en LUCHA

Segundo Ciclo de Conferencias de la Revista SOLC. MIERCOLES 17 NOVIEMBRE 1974. A LAS 8.30

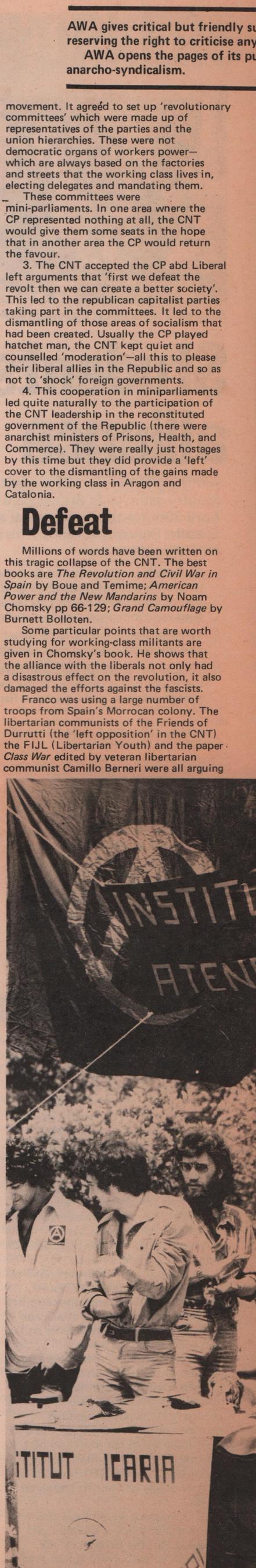
Las Colectivizaciones y la C.N.T. Autogestión

EN LUCHA DE ROCA

CNT

MITIN

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AWA gives critical but friendly su
reserving the right to criticise any
AWA opens the pages of its pu
anarcho-syndicalism.

movement. It agreed to set up 'revolutionary committees' which were made up of representatives of the parties and the union hierarchies. These were not democratic organs of workers power—which are always based on the factories and streets that the working class lives in, electing delegates and mandating them.

These committees were mini-parliaments. In one area where the CP represented nothing at all, the CNT would give them some seats in the hope that in another area the CP would return the favour.

3. The CNT accepted the CP and Liberal left arguments that 'first we defeat the revolt then we can create a better society'. This led to the republican capitalist parties taking part in the committees. It led to the dismantling of those areas of socialism that had been created. Usually the CP played hatchet man, the CNT kept quiet and counselled 'moderation'—all this to please their liberal allies in the Republic and so as not to 'shock' foreign governments.

4. This cooperation in miniparlaments led quite naturally to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (there were anarchist ministers of Prisons, Health, and Commerce). They were really just hostages by this time but they did provide a 'left' cover to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

Defeat

Millions of words have been written on this tragic collapse of the CNT. The best books are *The Revolution and Civil War in Spain* by Boue and Temime; *American Power and the New Mandarins* by Noam Chomsky pp 66-129; *Grand Camouflage* by Burnett Bolloten.

Some particular points that are worth studying for working-class militants are given in Chomsky's book. He shows that the alliance with the liberals not only had a disastrous effect on the revolution, it also damaged the efforts against the fascists.

Franco was using a large number of troops from Spain's Moroccan colony. The libertarian communists of the Friends of Durrutti (the 'left opposition' in the CNT) the FIJL (Libertarian Youth) and the paper *Class War* edited by veteran libertarian communist Camillo Berneri were all arguing

port to the CNT in its publications, aspect of its politics or structure. Publications to a critical debate on

that a revolutionary policy of immediately granting freedom to these colonies would damage the fascist forces and create the conditions for a war in their rear. This was seen as another thing that 'liberal' opinion in Spain and the western 'democratic' governments would not tolerate and so it couldn't be done!

Next, the CNT went along with the creation of a 'traditional' army. Officers, saluting etc were all reestablished in the interests of 'discipline'! Small wonder, then, that with its gains taken away, its militants murdered by the Communist Secret Police, its front line units disbanded or refused arms and supplies, the revolutionary working class movement was defeated and the struggle against fascism irreparable weakened.

Broue and Temime and Bolloten are quite clear on the way that the CNT ministers and the other leaders dealt with the libertarian communist opposition to their treachery. The libertarian communist opposition to the counter-revolution was making headway in breaking the CP and SP youth and sections of the UGT from their Stalinist and reformist leaders. In the spring of 1937, pacts on revolutionary unity around a programme for workers power were agreed in Catalonia, the Asturias and Levante. The revolutionary politics of the libertarian communists were making inroads in key areas.

The CNT itself began the counter offensive. Those papers and journals which supported the libertarian communists were sabotaged by withdrawal of subsidies, production of 'loyal' alternatives, statements from the CNT leaders attacking them and so on. In early summer 1937, the Spanish Revolution was delayed for 40 years. In May the CP brought in its elite units (naturally they were better armed and equipped than the revolutionaries who fought at the front against the fascists) to seize the key points of Spain's second city—Barcelona. The city was the centre of the CNT and because of this history was the bastion of the revolutionary libertarian communists.

The CNT workers rallied to the call to the streets. Barricades were set up. Communist and bourgeois parties declared dissolved. The fighting was bitter but once again the CNT played a key role. It told the workers to go home. To avoid 'provocations'. Whilst the CNT leaders strove to disarm the workers, the CP

murder gangs killed Berneri and the other editors of *Class War*, half the FIJL regional committee and many other libertarian communist militants from the Friends of Durrutti.

The 'mopping up' that followed in the next few months destroyed the last collectives, broke up the last centres of the libertarian communists and then the various trotskyist groups who had oscillated between 'influencing the CNT' by 'critical support for its leadership' and supporting the libertarian communists.

It took two years for Franco to occupy the whole of Spain but his victory was not over the Spanish working class—that had already been defeated.

Today

And today? The CP announces that it's totally in favour of 'democracy'; that it will serve Franco's hier—Juan Carlos; that it's not for class war but for 'normalisation'; that it will, very reasonably, give up the clenched fist salute—symbol of working class power and the final gesture of many a militant before a fascist (or stalinist) firing squad—and perhaps the fascists will reciprocate by giving up their raised arm. All these problems can be worked out by reasonable men. And as long as they can exclude the working class then they can come to mutually acceptable solutions.

The CNT rally a few months ago shows that their wishes are already doomed. The Spanish working class is coming back onto the scene. If it is to win out over so many enemies and false friends then the lessons of Spain 36/7 and Portugal 74/5 have to be learned well. The working class must manage its own struggles, democracy in the class is the key to organising to win and to hold onto gains. No pacts with 'progressive capitalists', 'democratic monarchs' and liberal priests.

The role of revolutionaries is to prepare the class to take power, not in any way to substitute itself for the initiative and democratic self-management of the working people—either in the disguise of a 'workers government' or in a so-called revolutionary trade union.

The revolutionary organisation is a separate body of militants active in all the struggles of the working class, bringing together this experience within the organisation and taking the lessons out again to every separate factory and district. It is a highly organised, highly trained and self-disciplined body, but it is not the 'general staff' to the workers' 'army' ready to become the new government at the right time.

It is both general staff and shock troops and its task is to fight for the creation of genuine democratic working-class bodies based on work and home areas. Within these it fights for the most advanced



RIVISTA ANARCHICA

programme and demands, for the lessons of history and experience to be properly learned, against the machinations of self-appointed leaders and for the maximum unity around revolutionary positions.

The basic tenet of libertarian communism is the saying of Marx 'the

emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself'. We sum this up in a briefer slogan taken up from the comrades who fell in Barcelona forty years ago. We offer this slogan to the comrades of the CNT today: **WORKERS POWER—NO SUBSTITUTE.** KN

BERUFSVERBOT!

Berufsverbot is the name given in Germany to the series of administrative measures designed to keep people out of jobs — chiefly in the public service — because of their political views.

Originally it applied only to the public service, which in Germany includes not only civil service-type administrators, but also social workers, teachers and manual and non-manual jobs in the nationalised industries.

Since then *berufsverbot* — literally 'job ban' has been widened to cover the quite transparently politically motivated sackings in private industry and exclusions from the trade unions.

Most countries operate such a policy in one form or another: most left-wingers or militants in Britain will have heard of or directly experienced the activities of the Special Branch or employers' black lists.

But a ban on employment for political views only usually applies in the topmost grades of the Civil Service.

In Germany the whole affair is more systematic and is being used more actively as a weapon to economically ruin and isolate left-wingers.

The organisation employed to superintend the policy in the public service is the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* — the Federal Constitutional Protection Agency.

Its duties are a combination of those of the Special Branch and MI5: its task is to investigate and anticipate subversion against the West German State, and its activities are directed mainly against the left, from the peaceful, parliamentary DKP (German Communist Party, founded 1968) leftwards.

Effectively anyone who wants a job in the state's employ has to choose between socialist politics and earning a living.

Decree

The Federal Parliament has never passed an Act on this subject: the present ban on jobs was initiated by a 'decree on radicals' issued by a meeting of various state ministers in January 1972.

Estimates of the number of people ranged from 500,000 to 1 million: cases have been brought against 3,000 and about 500 have actually been refused jobs on political grounds.

This figure does not include individuals whose applications are not even considered because of their political background.

The procedures are, of course, secret. The applicant has no idea of what kind of evidence is being assembled against them.

THIS IS a slightly shortened version of an article that appears in the first issue of *Verboten*, a bulletin produced by the Campaign Against Repression in West Germany.

The Campaign has three main objectives:

- 1) To produce *Verboten* three times a year with news, information and background articles on the situation in Germany.
- 2) To respond quickly to the needs of campaigns etc. in Germany by writing letters, sending out STOP

PRESS newsheets and organising support.

3) To support and initiate actions — such as pickets, leafletting etc., which are related to the struggle in Germany, or Germany's role.

If you wish to help in any of these areas write to the Campaign Against Repression in West Germany, 35 Wellington Street, London WC2.

Copies of the first issue of *Verboten* can be obtained from the same address, price 10p + postage.

Until last June they were not even told of the specific accusations against them when they faced a formal hearing.

As a result of international pressure those threatened by the *berufsverbot* will now get the grounds in writing and be entitled to a lawyer's help.

Last year the Federal Constitutional Court declared that although a statement of loyalty, and a requirement of loyalty was permissible for those seeking a position within the civil service, it was impermissible to systematically collect and store information of a political nature on employees.

Since then, however, a number of cases have arisen which prove that the *Verfassungsschutz* has continued to spy on individuals.

Wolfgang Repp, a postman, was told to look for another job when his period of job probation ends next April because of his contacts with the DKP.

The actual implementation of the policy is still very much in the hands of the individual state governments: the SPD states tend to draw the line further 'left' than the CDU (Conservative) states.

At a national level, and despite SPD protestations to the contrary, both the main parties intend to keep the *Berufsverbot* in existence.

Nazi law

The reasons for justifying exclusion, despite different emphases, remain the same — opposition to the Constitution.

Peter and Etty Gingold, communists and Jews, fled from the Nazis in 1933, and fought in the Underground in France.

After the war they had to struggle to regain German citizenship because they had voluntarily left the country.

Earlier this year their daughter, Silvia, a teacher of four years' standing and a member of the Communist Party, was told that her contract would not be renewed by the Social Democratic State Government of Hesse.

She fought the case in the courts and won.

However, this was no great victory for right and justice. The verdict was that membership of an organisation which the *Verfassungsschutz* considered anti-constitutional was not, on its own, sufficient to ban someone.

The court decided that each individual case had to be taken on its own merits: if other circumstances were favourable

the person could retain their job.

This makes matters a little easier for less-active members of the DKP, in Social Democratic States.

But activists, or supporters of other groups, anyone who has the misfortune to be arrested on a demonstration, or even left wing Social Democrats in CDU run states, stands as little chance as ever.

Victims

Where they are in government the SPD are confirmed operators of the policy. Where they are in opposition they often become its victims.

Two years ago Rudiger Offergeld, a member of the National Executive of the Teachers Union, was sacked by the notoriously right-wing Bavarian State Government.

There were protests, but to no avail. Because they accept the principle, the Social Democrats have problems opposing the practice.

Education is not the only sector in which the policy is applied. Rudi Roeder, and engine driver on the Federal Railways, lost his job earlier this year because of his Communist Party membership.

As his colleagues pointed out, he would have had great difficulty corrupting his fellow workers. Like most engine drivers in Germany, except those on crack expresses, he was alone on the footplate for his entire working day!

Anyone sacked in this way for such nakedly political motives in this country would have a good chance of gaining support from their union or work-mates.

In Germany fear of also being given the sack inhibits unofficial support, and the unions will not give official support.

Last year a Dr Henninger, assistant doctor at a hospital near Mannheim, was thrown out of the civil service union, and then out of his job because of his membership of a small Maoist organisation. He had dared to exercise his democratic right to stand on his group's ticket in local elections.

The German TUC's position on this question was stated explicitly in 1973 in the following terms. "Activity for, or support of, left extremist organisations, groups or parties is incompatible with membership of an affiliated trade union."

The engineering union, IG Metall, resolved at the same time that such left groups, and the 'trade union opposition' which they support were not in the interests of the union, and added that "membership of such an organisation is incompatible with membership of IG Metall."

The German unions were never intended to function as autonomous organisations for the defence of the working class, and centres of militancy.

Communist, syndicalist and even left social democrat influence was suppressed after the war until, with the aid of the CIA in the person of Irving Brown, a coalition of 'moderate' trade unionists was able to create the movement which has since served its paymasters so well.

More than 1,000 members of IG Metall have been thrown out in recent years for "anti-union" activities. These are not just tiny minority groups.

'Oppositional' slates often obtain quite high percentages of the vote in the secret ballots for works councils elections — 36% in the Opel factory at Bochum, for example.

In the wave of discontent with the union apparatus following the wildcat strikes of 1969 hundreds of militants were expelled for criticising union policy.

Unlike the anti-communist pronouncements of equally right-wing British trade union leaders, the exclusions from German unions can be enforced.

What are the reasons behind the *Berufsverbot*? One answer which has been suggested is that the political vetting of employees is a response to the student mass movement of the late 1960s.

Many people who became radicalised at that time have tried to get jobs as social workers, teachers etc.

The ban is seen as an attempt by the state to 'clean out' schools etc. and head off this movement by excluding radical ideas from being presented in schools.

And its clearly having this effect. The content and style of education is moving to the right.

"You become more careful about material from your own sources which you bring into lessons", said one teacher. "You take care about newspaper cuttings, particularly about strikes or protest movements".

"In the end", wrote a group of Hamburg teachers, "you start saying things in the classroom which you do not believe in yourself".

But the strategy of which the ban is a part has wider implications.

It connects up with censorship, with changes in trials procedures and increased security to create 'social peace' inside Germany — and lay the basis for Germany's increasing dominance in Europe and the Third World.

In Germany now the constitution is becoming less of a means of guaranteeing rights to individuals — a liberal constitution — and more of a kind of tribal symbol which demands loyalty on pain of economic ruin and criminalisation.

Review

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR by Hugh Thomas (£12.50, hardback, Hamish Hamilton; £3.50 Pelican) was first published in 1961. Now a new, revised and enlarged edition has been published.

I have never felt that I could recommend this book, except as a source of information. As with Thomas' magnum opus on Cuba, the kindest thing one could say was that it was by far the largest work on the subject.

Vernon Richards in ANARCHY (Vol. 1, No. 5, 1961) argues that it was the most cynical book on the Spanish Civil War. He also chides Thomas in his "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" for largely overlooking "the collectivisation of the land and the factories."

In the latest edition, Thomas partly redeems himself; and in a recent interview with Richard Gott in *The Guardian* (9.2.77) Mr. Thomas admits that the anarchist movement in Spain was more important than he had previously suggested in the earlier editions of the book.

In the 1965 edition, he 'slightly expands' his economic and social section to include eleven pages on the collectives — in a work of almost 1,000 pages!

Nevertheless, there are improvements, and a slightly more sympathetic approach towards the anarchists and the left socialist POUM in the latest version.

Vernon Richards' book is quoted and Hugh Thomas appears to have discovered Burnett Bolloten, Broue and Temime, Sam Dolgoff (on the collectives), Jason Gurney, Daniel Guerin, Frank Mintz, Abel Paz (on the anarchist militant Durrutti) and a number of other authors.

We can now, I think, give the new, "updated" Spanish Civil War by Hugh Thomas a very cautious recommendation; but for those with the time and inclination to study the Spanish Revolution and Civil War in depth, I recommend particularly "The Revolution and Civil War in Spain" by Pierre Broue and Emile Temime, "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" by Vernon Richards, "Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain" by Felix Morrow, "Collectives in the Spanish Revolution" by Gaston Laval and "The Grand Camouflage", by Burnett Bolloten.

Forty years — this May — after the counter-revolution in Barcelona is a good time to study the 'lessons' of the Civil War. Hugh Thomas at least provides a wealth of information, if not much else. He is also slightly less cynical than he was.

Peter E. Newell



Photo Pietro Gigli (IFL)

What's wrong with NALGO?

NALGO (The National and Local Government Officers Association) now has over 600,000 members and is Britain's 4th largest union. Despite this huge membership, little is known about Nalگو by many other trade unionists and precious little is known about Nalگو's often arcane structures and policies by its own rank and file members.

Indeed, it is only in very recent years that the "rank and file" have meant anything in Nalگو at all — for the union was certainly not founded by (or for) the average worker in local government. Nalگو is the creation of the senior or chief officers in local government. The history of the organisation is a history of transition — accelerated in the present epoch — from professional association to trade union.

To any Nalگو member of even a few year's standing the changes have been scarcely staggering. It took Nalگو nearly 50 years before it felt able, after much gibbering about "professionalism" and "getting involved with politics", to join the TUC. Since then, to the accompaniment of constant attacks from the well organised and vocal Nalگو Right Wingers, the union has developed organisational forms that begin to look like a "real" trade union.

I recall writing an article in Tribune in 1972, in which I used these words — "a real trade union" — under the headline "The Nalگو Revolution". That hope that Nalگو was changing fast was premature and optimistic as events have shown.

Nonetheless, Nalگو has groped and staggered its way towards becoming a major industrial force (if, as yet, more in the promise than the fact) and it could yet develop as a major political force.

Nalگو is not unique among public service and white collar unions in that it organises both bosses and workers (ie., a majority of British headmasters are in the NUT) but it probably displays a greater reflection of this organisational tendency than other unions.

I can recall being a member of a Nalگو branch where, by tradition, the incumbent Town Clerk had been elected — unopposed — as branch chairman every year of the branch's existence. The only position that the venerable gents annually assembled were prepared to concede to a radical candidate was branch representative on the Youth Hostels Association.

Masonic

It is still the case that, formally at any rate, the non-office holding ordinary dues paying Joe and Jenny Soaps of Nalگو are allowed to attend only one general meeting a year — the branch AGM. It is here that officials are elected and the whole affair is conducted with great pomp and ceremony. It is hardly surprising that on these reverential occasions, with their Masonic atmosphere of regalia and procedure (the more inane branches still insist on the chairman wearing ribbons and medals around his neck), resolutions on such mundane matters as wages and conditions are regarded as akin to farting in church.

Radicals in Nalگو have attempted to extend the avenues of expression open to the ordinary member by using Nalگو's rule book which clearly allows for "special" general meetings to be called — usually by a stated number of signatures by members on a requisition. This, however, can be a very dangerous procedure.

Although repeated Nalگو conferences have condemned the practice, the local bureaucrats insist on those calling a general meeting putting

down a cash deposit before the meeting, which can be forfeited as the meeting decides. This has been used to deter militants.

In the Derbyshire local government branch, after members of the rank and file Nalگو Action Group had called a special general meeting in an attempt to stop the branch secretary using the union's communication system to circulate literature on behalf of an out and out Right Winger in the NEC elections, the meeting voted to forfeit the £5 deposit after the branch deadwood had been wheeled out to defeat the radicals.

At the succeeding AGM, packed to the roof with departmental directors and their toadies, the deposit was increased to £100. There are said to be branches where you'd have to take out a second mortgage to hold a general meeting!

Nonetheless, the habit of holding general meetings is spreading. Along with this, has gone the growth of a shop steward system. Again, this is coming into being in a very patchy and often badly organised way — but it's there. As with every advance in Nalگو's history, the development of shop stewards has been fought by the union's vociferous and numerous Right Wingers.

One of the reactionaries who had grabbed the most national publicity — courtesy of the Daily Mail — has been former NEC member John Fraser who along with other elements of the Nalگو old guard, has become involved in Colonel "Round up a few pickets" Stirling's paramilitary GB75 and its trade union offshoot Truemid (see April AW).

Nagging

Every month the union newspaper carries letters from members of the Fraser Klan. "Why don't we stop arguing about strikes, Chile, South Africa, abortion, etc", write these reactionaries, "and stick to what Nalگو is supposed to be about — wages and conditions". The answer to this insidious doctrine is that the Nalگو Right has never been terribly worried about wages and conditions. However, this nagging is having a certain effect among the less politically developed Nalگو members.

In Nalگو, growth towards that "real trade union" is very much a question of two steps forward, one step back. The union has always allowed "politics", in the sense of corporate observations on public issues of the day and discreet parliamentary lobbying. Which brings us to the question of Labour Party affiliation.

Officially, the main rank and file radical group in Nalگو — the Nalگو Action Group — is committed to Labour Party affiliation for the union. There is a separate campaign for Nalگو affiliation to the Labour Party, which is run by lay branch activists in membership of the Labour Party and which is encouraged by the new breed of young Nalگو fulltimers who see the lack of a political dimension — such as might be available to the young thrusters of ASTMS for example — as a hindrance to their blatant careerism.

The issue of LP affiliation raises massive problems of theory and practice for the militants in the union. The prime movers of this policy in NAG were the International Marxist Group. In fairness to the many fine militants of the IS/SWP in NAG, it has to be said that they and other militants were compelled to either vote for affiliation or to abstain because (a) they were, as in the case of SWP, under orders from their

THE CONFERENCE was attended by over 200 delegates from health service trade unions, from everywhere from Glasgow to Portsmouth.

In the first session Penny Simons from Manchester said we all know about 'the cuts' and the big one day events; what we must find out about are the little things people fight on.

Big token demos are a start but they don't have any results; things are achieved by putting on constant pressure.

Other speakers described the threats to even the most complacent hospitals, and what is being done about it.

At present, any worker leaving the NHS after more than two years is entitled to repayment of superannuation money they have paid.

After 1978 this will be abolished if under retirement age. The way things are going at present, this will be just in time for the NHS to collapse without costing too much in redundancy payments.

In the new giant Charing Cross Hospital, workers found that vacancies were deliberately being left unfilled so that when a nearby small hospital closed, the staff could be transferred.

In this sort of case, less jobs, higher workload and loss of facilities to the community is accomplished without any formal redundancies — unless resisted by refusing to cover for vacancies or to accept unwanted transfers.

The cuts affect the whole community, and so all need to fight for the NHS, including industrial workers.

Support

To save Acton Hospital from closure, the NHS joint shop stewards' committee took bulletins and collection sheets into the factories and addressed meetings, winning the support of many local industrial trade unions for lobbying the NHS area management team, petitioning, and promising help in any other action by the hospital workers.

The Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, kept open under occupation since November 15, has been supported on the picket line by local trades councils and AUEW, T&GWU and other local union branches as well as by the NHS unions and women's groups.

A message that came across clearly from all these accounts and more of working to rule, one day strikes, or even just asserting the presence of an

central committee and (b) they were morally blackmailed by supporters of the policy, who accused them of lining up with the Right to support Nalگو's "non-political" trade unionism.

For the militants of NAG, LP affiliation is presently a back number. However, within the branches, especially the big urban ones, it will increasingly become an issue. It is not something that can easily be resolved by resort to ultra-leftist slogans.

To a large extent, all that the militants of the revolutionary left can do, as the Nalگو "centre" and Trotskyists such as the Militant group and the IMG push LP adherence, is to point out that at best only marginal improvements in the position of local government workers can be expected from the move and warn the membership as best we can not to expect the wondrous results that the Labourites will promise (after all, TUC membership has brought, of itself, little benefit) and continue to focus on our longer term goal of building the self confidence and the self organised activity of the rank and file.

It is especially important that we do not fall back on ultra left or traditional anarchist slogans in this situation (thereby leaving ourselves open to the old Stalinist jibe that the ultra left is usually to be found "objectively" lined up with the ultra right).

HEALTH WORKERS

active union, was that when workers discover a threat to their jobs in time, they want to fight.

If they fight themselves, go and seek union official support and outside support, but rely on their own efforts, then the chances are they'll win.

But often they don't find out till it's too late, or believe management's assurances that 'it's only an idea' or leave it up to union officials until it's too late.

In the last three years over 100 hospitals have been threatened with closure, and only four or so kept open — by the mass action of their workers.

In West Yorkshire many members only heard of an officially organised demo the night before, but over 6000 still came out.

The NALGO executive gave in to a court injunction obtained by right-wingers not to call its members out on the March 9th Clydeside demonstration — despite this several local branches took unofficial action but the bulk of the 10,000 strong demo was mobilised by NUPE and other unions.

Mobilised, that is by the efforts of rank and file militants in the unions. The officials can permit actions but it's up to us to look for the small immediate problems, like rising milk prices in the canteen, auxiliaries being asked to carry out trained nurses work, and to show how union organisation can solve them — and how the major long term problems are connected and can be solved in a similar approach.

One function of the conference was to exchange information on the little things that get peoples' temper up and replace their confidence in labour leaders with confidence in their own efforts in their unions.

Women

HOLDING MEETINGS IN WORK TIME was described as the single most important right.

This is essential for shift workers and for women with family responsibilities.

Women are also particularly hit when the ½ million waiting for operations, the chronically sick and the old and incontinent have to be cared for at home.

Despite the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts women are still on the lowest grades, and have less job security. Recently a way to make it still more difficult has been thought up by Herts hospital authorities.

Women applying for jobs are given a pregnancy test — THIS CAN BE DONE WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE as part of the normal medical examination. If positive she won't get the job — the normal answers to questions in interviews like 'how long do you expect to work for' obviously aren't good enough if it's a woman speaking!

Immigrants are also being used as scapegoats in the government's attempts to disguise the real causes of unemployment.

Up to the last couple of years the NHS was still advertising abroad for foreign workers.

But now applications for the renewal of work permits are being refused — workers are threatened with the sack for no other reason than the colour of their skin or country of birth.

Student nurses work on low pay to get qualifications only recognised in this country — and are then told they can't work here, despite a 'shortage of nurses' which is blamed for empty wards.

In Brent this policy was successfully challenged and a promise of a job and a permit for all who pass their exams this year obtained.

Unity

A strong rank and file movement is needed to spread the work and win on issues that Drain, Fisher, Jenkins and the other TU leaders only talk about.

National activity is also essential because it is the government which is orchestrating the cuts demanded by big business and the IMF; individual Area Health Authorities can only be pushed so far.

In the long run, there is a more fundamental issue — we must go beyond the defensive, and realise that even if every cut was restored there would still be not enough health facilities, not in the right places, in a top-heavy organisation.

The fight against the cuts and for better working conditions is also the fight against the social contract, the

full cry. The bureaucracy on these occasions indecently exposes itself. To concentrate exclusively on "unofficial" activities is to leave this structure ignored and unchanged. Sometimes the programmes and emphases of these "Marxists" begin to look like old fashioned syndicalism with Trotsky's spectacles on.

Long term change in Nalگو — in the direction of a more "open" union, the growth of shop stewards as an effective part of branch structure, of development of a politically aware membership that can be won for revolutionary socialism, of an extension on every possible occasion of a true democratic administration for the union, etc., — will not be won by reliance on the worn out Dad's Army who seek affiliation to the Labour Party and a place in the parliamentary sun for Nalگو's smoothies.

Revolutionary goals will equally not be won by a senseless and adventurist lust after ephemeral unofficial actions and organisation.

They will be won by planning, and by thinking, and by building rank and file groups which, while politics will always be integral to their work and very much on the agenda, will develop in complex and organic relationship to the local government workforce and will not be Tom Tiddler's ground for the hacks of the traditional left.

lan S. Sutherland

On this issue, it would well befit groups like SWP and AWA to adopt positions of "hostile neutrality".

The Nalگو Action Group is not doing particularly well at the moment. *Nalگو Action News* begins increasingly to look like a reprint of *Socialist Worker* and SWP dominated organisations or fronts such as the Right to Work Campaign are uncritically supported in its pages.

It nonetheless remains the only organised group of leftists in the union — at a local level people work well without sectarian strife. The building of a libertarian presence, with a clear programme of action backed with sound research and theory, rather than a traditional and negative "anarchist" grouping, is necessary.

Zest

SWP tends to seize on words, concepts and phrases and emblazon these with all the zest of uncritical undergraduate revolution. Thus, at the moment, shop stewards and office meetings are the thing.

Disciplined and long term work — such as the extension of general meetings (which unlike office meetings have constitutional power in the union) — is not readily considered by these militants. It is vital to learn to work on both fronts.

At general meetings, the rank and file membership can see the local bureaucrats and Nalگو's fulltimers in

ORGANISE

subject of the second session.

In introducing it Jimmy McCallum said that pressure was building up as workers realised how little the allowed rises give them in comparison with inflation.

At present workers think they can only fight for a better deal by claiming they are a special case. We should support every special case — WE ARE ALL SPECIAL CASES.

All delegates were opposed to wage control and productivity deals, but some felt that to fight for simply a return to free collective bargaining was not enough; only the strongest sections would immediately gain.

The idea that one worker's gain is another's loss must be shown up; refraining from wage claims just leaves money in the bosses' hands. But the lowest paid still need to be convinced that an improved pay deal such as the £6 limit which was the largest single rise ever for many workers is not the most they can hope for.

An amendment to the declaration reading:

'We must not commit ourselves to wage control when we can't control prices, rents and so on. We should get a minimum wage (e.g. £50) and

have fully compensating increases when the cost of living goes up for us' received support from some delegates, who made the point that it was a minimum, not a restrictive demand; flat rate increases are also needed.

It could unite industrial and public service workers and discussion on it involves considering why the government and businessmen behind them are unwilling to even give workers a steady real wage — why capitalism is unreformable.

But it would be possible not only to win the most in the immediate situation but to obtain commitment to refusing to allow erosion of gains by inflation if the policy of fighting to establish automatic cost of living increases was adopted.

Already some branches and regions of unions from NUR to NUPE have such a policy — one argument against it, that it is too complicated for workers to be enthusiastic about, doesn't hold water.

More major criticisms included a fear that it could be taken over by the Trade Union bureaucrats. They, and Government departments, not ordinary workers and the community, would assume responsibility for working out what the cost of living was, and the frequency of wage rises needed to keep up.

They might even be able to impose it as a maximum, thus achieving what

one speaker called 'the unity of the graveyard'.

Without additional claims differentials would remain to divide workers and penalise those on the bottom end.

The supporters of the demand felt that it is effective in making workers vigilant enough over pay to be best on guard against such sellouts, to push additional claims when needed.

But fighting for one-stage flat rate increases is the policy of the SWP, who are the main driving force in the *Hospital Worker*, and provided a majority of delegates; thus the amendment was defeated.

The rest of the declaration with other amendments was accepted and the conference went on to discuss how the information and policies presented to it could best be used.

A speaker from Hackney, where *Hospital Worker* first started as a local bulletin in the 1973 ancillary workers' strike to overcome the problems of a branch that never met, said there were two thrusts to the campaign: DEMOCRACY in the unions — the accountability of delegates and officials, making them subject to election and recall, bringing policy making back to rank and file level.

PAY AND CONDITIONS — a programme for a militant campaign for improving these in the public services.

Hospital Worker is a major weapon, the scaffolding to build such a campaign around.

The existing London-based editorial board was ratified — (hardly surprising, since no prior warning was given so that alternative nominations could be sought — and an additional body (which should help to overcome any problems caused) made up of delegates from the regions is to be established.

The circulation, and range of contributions needs to be increased — the address to send orders or articles to is at the end of this article. Places already taking action can link up with others. In the many areas where there is no overt rank and file militancy at present, publicising actions in other places and the many local causes for concern through HW, leaflets, and speakers can bring to the surface and unite the many workers already worried so that they can begin to plan action.

More than just a paper is needed to tackle the built-in inadequacies of the health service, important though it is in unifying and strengthening struggles to defend what we have already got.

WE MUST BEGIN TO OPENLY DISCUSS WHY PRESENT SOCIETY IS CONTROLLED BY PEOPLE WHO DON'T THINK FREE HEALTH CARE IS A PRIORITY.

A delegate from West London hospitals and supporter of the National Co-ordinating Committee against the cuts in the NHS put it in a nutshell saying that hospital workers are by and large grouped around the TU movement and shop-stewards committees, not around this particular form of demand rather than that, this or that political group, but in general opposition to the cuts, for better living standards and working conditions.

We were at the conference, sent by our branches, to build a rank and file socialist opposition within the trade union movement which would be capable of facing up to the bureaucrats.

He called for local and regional shop stewards and other committees under rank and file control to organise conferences to work out demands to meet the health needs of the community and the needs of health service workers, which could be co-ordinated by a national conference in the autumn.

Locked

The idea of a Workers Enquiry into the health service was mentioned

earlier, as was the importance of finding out the plans of the health authorities.

Breaking through the locked doors and closed files which contain hospital managements plans and accounts is needed to have warning of attacks, and evidence of the inadequacy of their budgeting.

We must however guard against despair if we find that an individual area hasn't enough money despite any fiddles which can be eliminated; this simply strengthens the case for demanding more resources from the state.

Another use of such information is to show workers what the potential forms of provision are, compare these with community needs and work out new ways of meeting them if necessary, and then draw up a WORKERS budget to provide for them.

Not only inflation-proof public spending, but a massive initial outlay, fought for and controlled by workers and the community, is the goal.

This won't happen overnight. The NCC-NHS have suggested a conference on November 12th; anyone interested in helping to organise this should contact the NCC-NHS.

The address of the NCC-NHS is 8 Somali Road, London NW2 3RL.

Letters and articles for *Hospital Worker* should be sent to Mel Bartley, 18 Fife Terrace, London N1 and money and orders to *Hospital Worker*, 78 Edith Grove, London SW10, phone 01-351 1540.

Action

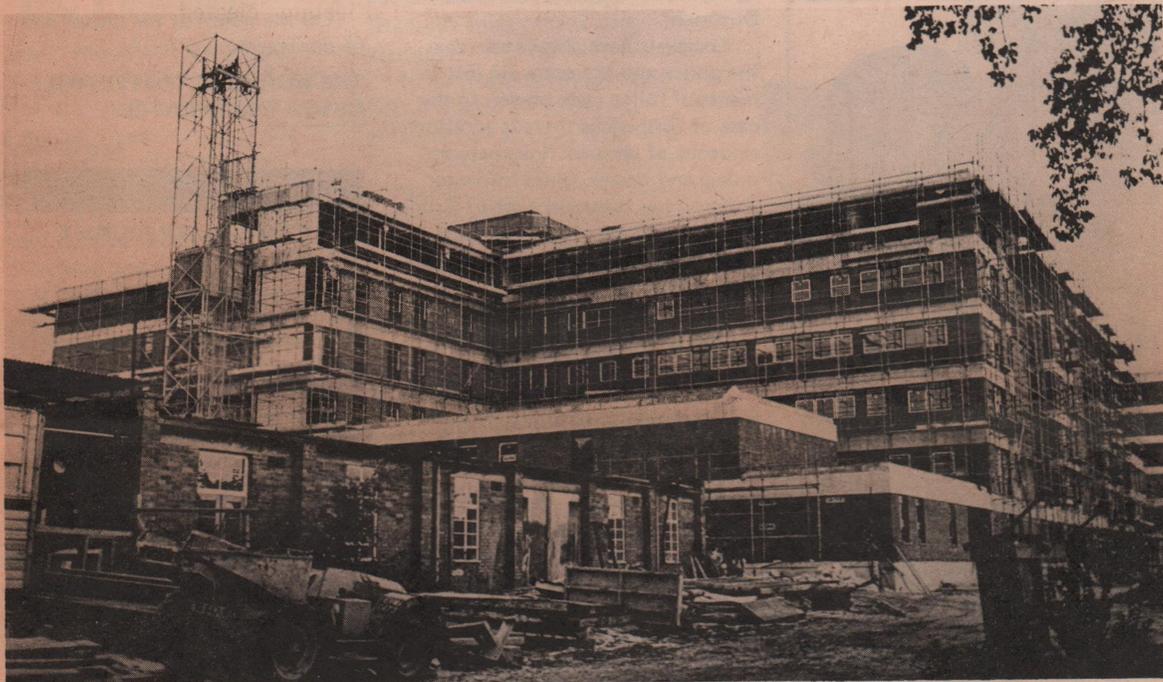
Up and down the country, NUPE are organising successive weeks of action and one day strikes.

These will draw in more support, and allow meetings where discussion will be more possible than at one big jamboree in London. They provide a focus for uniting all public sector workers and drawing in industrial workers.

But, if we leave it at the proposed activities, we won't see many results; the confidence and knowledge built up must be used to put on continuous pressure.

There is also a danger that local activities will become isolated, co-ordinated only through the NUPE bureaucrats and so incapable of mounting a real challenge to wage control or the basic inadequacies of the NHS both in the service it provides and the lack of democracy in its organisation.

A.R.



ST JAMES HOSPITAL, PORTSMOUTH. Extension under construction in 1975. Due to cuts this will not now be used.
Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

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 has role to play

Once again, ANARCHIST WORKER has made its appearance and once again we're asking our readers to support us by taking bundles of papers, by giving us donations and, above all, by writing for the paper.

We feel that ANARCHIST WORKER has an important role to play in discussing a public sector alliance, in pushing the ideas of self-management in struggle and throughout society, and in advocating the self-organisation of women and black people.

We're also attempting a reappraisal of socialist thought in the pages of the paper.

If you feel like supporting, then send us your money, requests for papers to AWA, 13 Coltman Street, HULL.

At our last National Conference, in line with our development away from traditional anarchism, it was decided to change the name of the organisation to Libertarian Communist Group later in the year.

This name would be reflected in the paper, which would be called LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST starting with the issue after next.

In the next paper we will explain the name change in detail.

Anarchist Worker

THIS BATTLE MUST BE WON!

Each day that passes intensifies the need for the working class to win the battle at Grunwicks film processing factory. As we go to press, the strike is entering its 47th week. The Grunwick management, which has a long anti-trade union tradition, sacked over a 100 striking workers after they joined the union APEX.

Just as at British Home Stores, Trust House Forte and Office Cleaning Services, workers have seen how they must forever fight anew for rights that had been won over centuries of struggle.

But unlike these other disputes this year, Grunwicks has shocked the entire trade union movement through the involvement of the ultra-right and the brutality of the police.

Neglect

The upper layers of the trade union bureaucracy moved into the issue from the start, an unusual event. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, rank and file outrage at the sweatshop conditions and a determination to reverse the neglect by the TU movement of the plight of women and black workers. Secondly, trade union leaders see this as a test of the Labour government. The Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service (ACAS) set up by Labour has been flagrantly rejected by Grunwick boss George Ward. So seriously did

they take this that Len Murray made available TUC funds for APEX to carry on with this very expensive dispute. Compare that with the total inaction of the TUC at Trust House Forte and elsewhere. UPW leader Tom Jackson took the unprecedented step of selective postal boycott.

Ward has gone beyond refusing to cooperate with ACAS. He is taking ACAS to court for upholding the justice of the workers case! Since the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs, trade unions have always been victimised by the courts. Murray, Grantham and other TU leaders know what this means for them—there has not been so serious a threat to their positions since the Industrial Relations Act.

'Soft'

The ultra-right has chosen Grunwicks as the battle ground to strike a major blow against the TU movement. The National Association For Freedom (so called) stepped in early on giving "advice at a price" in the words of John Gouriet. NAFF has

been the main force behind the Grunwick management. Whereas the government has forced the burden of the crisis on the working class by "soft" methods (the Social Contract), the ultra-right want to even "harder" measures against the class. To this end they are out to smash the unions.

NAFF has shown its sincerity for freedom when it took out a court injunction against our UPW comrades exercising their right to support the strike, when they stopped the boycott of mail to that glorious land of freedom South Africa and through other countless court cases against trade unionists. Supported by freedom fighters like reactionary MPs Rhodes Boyson and Winston Churchill, Brian Crozier, one-time manager of a CIA front organisation, and Viscount de L'Isle, who daily exercises his freedom to exploit workers, NAFF is determined to defeat even a "moderate" T. Unionist like Grantham.

Vicious

If the vicious attacks upon the Right To Work marchers and the frame up of the Lewisham 24 had not proven the reactionary role of the police force, then the behaviour of the police and the notorious Special Patrol Group at Grunwicks can leave



'PICKETS ON RAMPAGE HORROR'

(AN EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT BY OUR CORRESPONDENT JIM PARTIAL)

I watched the dispute at Grunwicks from my seat in Finch's Wine Bar. I was a witness to unprecedented scenes of violence caused by a small, tightly-knit conspiracy of several thousand Trade Unionists.

I saw a group of thugs deliberately provoke our wonderful forces of law and order. One man started hitting his head against a policeman's truncheon, inciting others to join in. When our marvellous bobbies stood up to this, several pickets went for the policemen's boots with their groins.

The women were particularly vicious. Several of them threw their hair into policemen's hands, and when the police tried to walk away, the women lay on the ground and dragged themselves behind the police.

Other pickets pulled police onto their stomachs and wouldn't let go until they got a free ride in a black Maria.



Police force back pickets to allow the scabs' bus to enter the factory. In the background are Special Patrol Group Transits. Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

no shred of doubt. The 200 arrests, including a passerby and a TV cameraman, and the injuries dealt show how the determined police chiefs are to make the force an efficient strike breaking unit.

It is clear from the enthusiasm of most of the cops that they have turned their backs on their own class.

Merlyn Ree's predictable support for the police methods is an indication to trade unionists that this Labour government is more concerned with keeping the police image respectable than supporting the most basic right of workers. After all, who knows when the Labour government will need a strike breaking force again, as it did against the Glasgow Dustmen?

Socialists have always said that the police and the army are instruments of ruling class power. In the case of Grunwicks there is additional evidence of physical links between police and bosses. Chief Inspector Johnson has taken up a job at Grunwicks and Robert Mark has been recently employed by Viscount de L'Isle.

Struggle

Whereas the union bureaucrats have backed down in face of the opposition, rank and file workers are rallying round the strikers.

When Grantham, scared by the power of workers on the street and wary to maintain his respectable face with the bosses and government, called for the picket to be limited to 500, the strikers' committee replied by demanding that the picket be stepped up.

After Jackson backed down from the postal boycott, the London District Council of the UPW voted for the boycott to be restarted. Despite threats from the Post Office and Jackson, that boycott continues.

The picket has been swelled by delegations from wide sections of the working class wishing to show their solidarity—miners, engineers, dockers, squatters and women's groups.

The strikers must be supported more strongly than ever before. Get your union branch to donate to the



strikers fund. Better still, get a delegation to the picket. Boycott all goods to and from the factory.

The history of workers' struggles show, as at Saltley coke depot in 1972, that peaceful and successful pickets are only possible when the workers show their real strength.

With united forces the working class can bring Ward and his "hard" anti-working class supporters to their knees.

And with this experience of struggle and the confidence of victory that the class has lacked since it brought the Tory government down, we may turn on the "soft" anti-working class forces in the government.

Let the slogan at the picket line be our watchword:

THE WORKERS, UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!

Ken Hartwell

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST REVIEW

Libertarian Communist Review is the theoretical journal of the AWA. The second issue, out now, contains articles on — the role of the revolutionary organisation. — tracing the development of communist thought from primitive times. — a translation from the French on Bakunin, one of the founders of the anarchist movement, which attempts to dispel many misconceptions created by both his enemies and those who claimed to be his followers. — and reviews.

We regard the appearance of the Review as important for the development of libertarian communism.

The LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST REVIEW is not intended to be a magazine for mass-produced dogma. We intend to look at the history and theory of the anarchist and libertarian communist movement in a critical way. We hope to examine the flaws and inadequacies in the writings of the most noted libertarian socialist thinkers, and we intend to conduct a critical reappraisal of Marx and Marxist thinkers, and of the theory and praxis of left communist and movements that run parallel with the anarchist movement.

Copies of the LCR are available 20p + 7p from AWA, 13 Coltman St., Hull. Bulk orders welcome.

Movement Against A Monarchy announces the first three of a series of stickers to celebrate Jubilee year. Tastefully designed (in red, white and blue in some cases), they are available for 1p a sticker including postage — minimum order 25p. The stickers — a convenient tongue-width size — are produced on high-quality impregnated gum paper. Once up they're extremely difficult to remove, rather like some of the fascist stickers.

MA'AM hopes to encourage and catalyse anti-Jubilee activities by groups around the country — but we are not ourselves a national organising group. Apart from supplying materials, our own activities will be initially confined to the London area. However, we hope that similar groups elsewhere will get in touch and exchange ideas.

Contact: MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY, Box "M", c/o 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1. We say — Yes MAAM, No Ma'am!



Police arrest Vic Heath, UCATT convenor of Camden's Direct Labour department, on the first day of the mass picket. 200 of Camden's builders, enraged at his arrest, joined him on the picket line later in the week. Photo Andrew Wiard (Report)

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