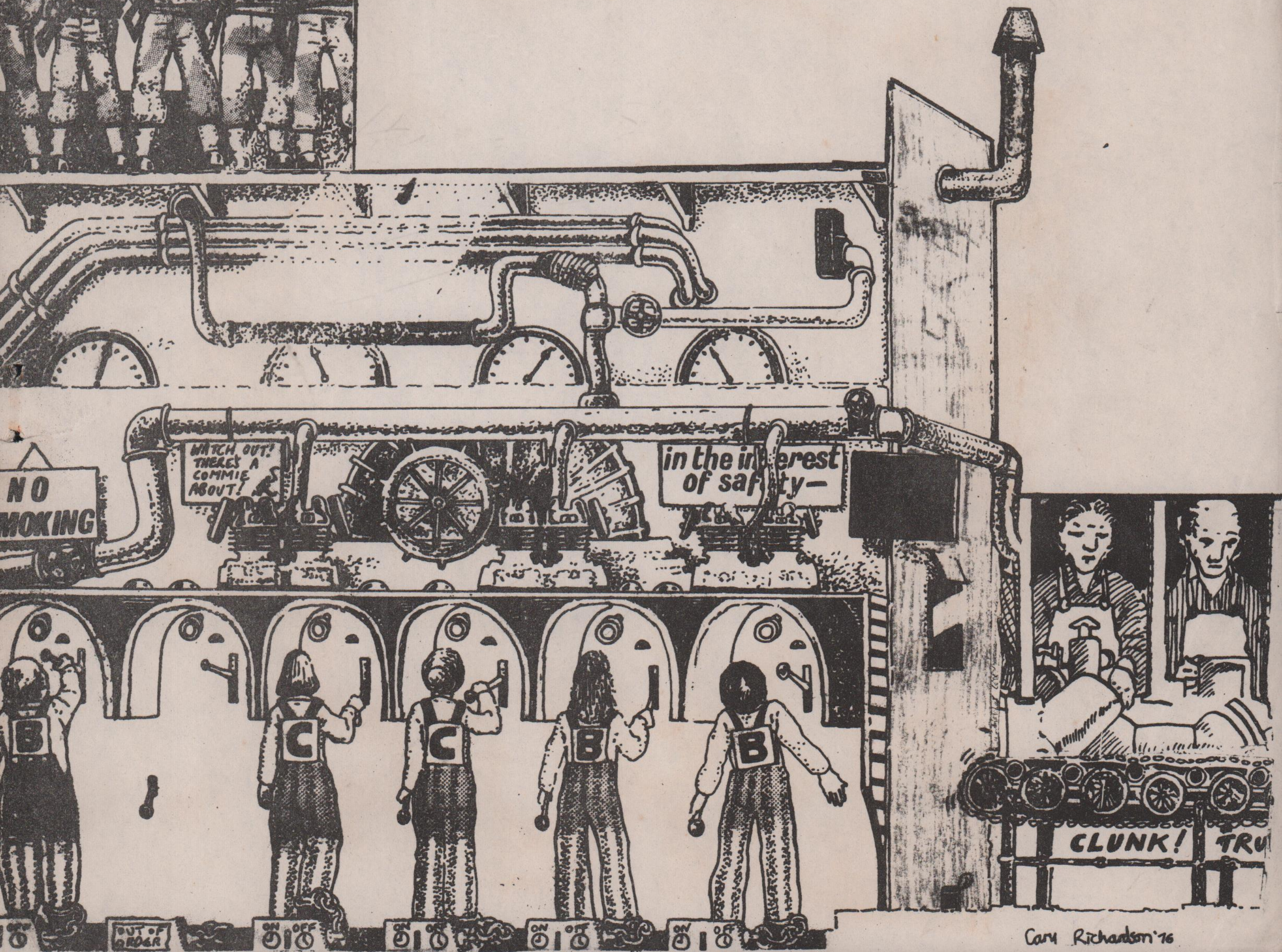
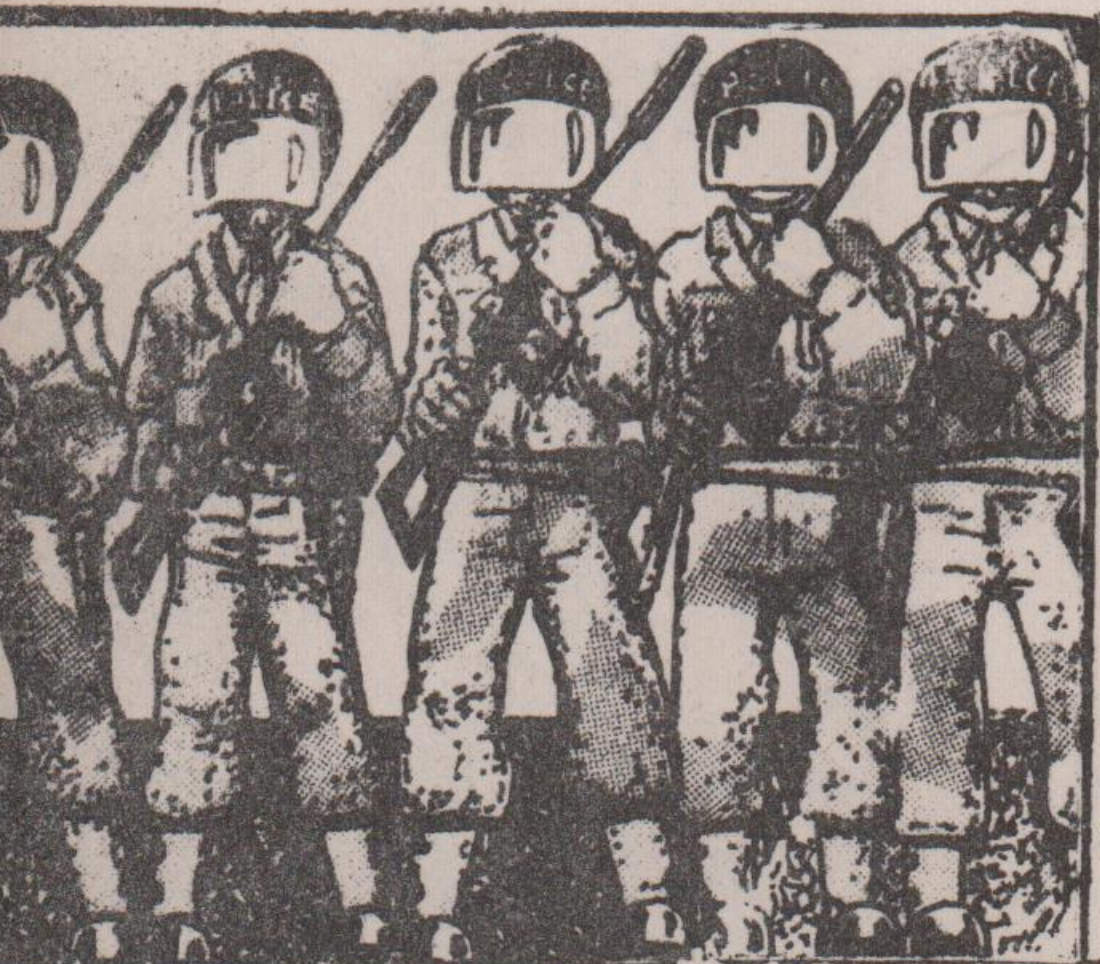
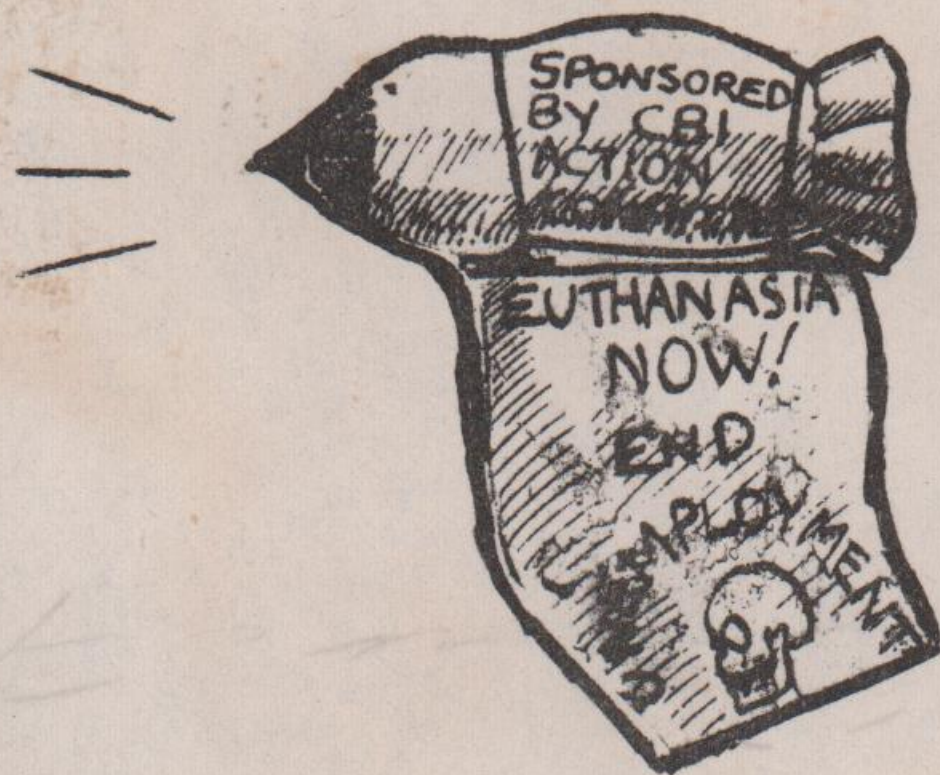


LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM

- Statistics
- Ireland
- Portugal

No 10 15p
Final Issue



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INTRODUCTION

This is the final edition of LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM. For some time now we've been aware of the difficulties involved in producing two journals, SOCIAL REVOLUTION and LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM. By trying to produce them both we've ended up with very irregular editions, and largely duplicating effort anyway. So we were forced to rethink the whole policy behind our publications. We spent a long time discussing this at our last conference, and in the end decided on a new approach. In the past we've tried to produce a theoretical/discussion journal, IC, and a propaganda/agitational paper, SR. Both have been infrequent, due to this infrequency we believe SR has failed in its objective. We also considered the point as to whether we should separate theory and practice - whether or not this was an elitist approach to our politics. We decided to go ahead with producing IC10 and SR4 on the old basis, but in future we will be producing only one regular paper, SOCIAL REVOLUTION, which will have a new format.

In future, SR will be more regular, we hope bi-monthly, starting in August, will contain more detailed arguments and reportage, though still written in as near a jargon-free manner as we can manage. It will also be a more substantial journal. We aim to use the new SR to provide a regular contribution to the dissemination of communist views and ideas, as well as provoking an on-going discussion on the development of communist theory and practice.

We aim to produce more pamphlets to cover in depth those issues we consider important. A number are at present under consideration. We will also be producing a bulletin on the international libertarian scene during the summer months, we hope to produce this as a joint venture with the AWA and Solidarity. We are also investigating the possibility of producing a discussion journal in collaboration with other libertarian groups.

Meanwhile we are becoming more established as a group with our own perspectives. The new SR will involve a lot more work, although we are confident of our ability to sell whatever we produce (unlike many groups

continued page

STATISTICS

The following leaflet - "Statistics and the Functioning of a Libertarian Socialist society" - was distributed to the conference on the "economics and ecology of an anarchist society", 13 - 14 March 1976, organised by the Keele University Anarchist Group. It was discussed at the Workshop on Communications, and some of the criticisms made of it are accepted by the author, a member of Social Revolution (London). The Keele anarchists are planning a pamphlet based on the conference.

A programme for a new society needs to include three elements:

1. An idea of how such a society might function in practice. This cannot be a plan or blueprint, but tentative speculations based on our present deficient knowledge and insight are important. They provide a sense of direction, a vision of an alternative, a yardstick by which to assess our activities, a contrast to highlight present miseries. The more we focus on practical problems, and the less on nineteenth century controversies and historical nostalgia, the more relevant we shall be and seem to be.
2. An assessment of how a social revolution would set up the new society. We need to know, for example, how the resources available, now squandered by capitalism, would match up with the vast problems of deprivation, pollution etc.
3. An understanding of how the movement for a new society can develop out of our present needs and struggles.

An enormous amount of research is necessary in all three areas. The first two especially have been neglected - the question of future society is either brushed aside as irrelevant to the present struggle, or treated unrealistically, as if the new society will be an automatic solution to all difficulties. I hope that all those with something to contribute in knowledge or ideas will contact me (care of Social Revolution) with a view to working together on these areas - aiming perhaps at a pamphlet.

In capitalist society (private and State) goods and services are produced for sale at a profit on the market. The aim is the expansion of industrial units - firms and nation-States - in competition with one another (capital accumulation). Human activity becomes a Frankenstein monster, confronting us as an uncontrolled and unpredictable power - "the economy".

Socialism (or Communism or Anarchism) aims at bringing people's productive activity under their own control - at the democratic cooperation of freely associated producers. The sole aim is the satisfaction of human needs for a secure and creative life.

Now how is the vast complex system of production and distribution to be planned and organised in socialist society? Is track somehow to be kept of each individual item through the whole process of planning decision, design, production and distribution?

Such nineteenth century writers as Marx and Hilferding did seem to envisage the coordination of socialist production in something like this way. It was seen as a "book-keeping" operation. Opponents could reasonably argue that this could not be organised democratically, that it necessitated a giant centralised bureaucracy.

This argument was and is used both by conservatives - who see the market as the only effective method of allocating resources and making decisions; and also by anarchists - who have often advocated total (or almost total) decentralisation to self-sufficient local communes as the way out. They are prepared (or even eager) to accept the consequence of a less comfortable, more isolated and less technically advanced way of life.

I think that this dilemma has been superseded by scientific and technological development. It is no longer necessary to control productive activity in detail from a single point to gear it to human needs. By means of modern communications and computer facilities, which can be made available to everyone, information can be continuously collected, assessed, communicated throughout the community. Existing satellites have enormous unused capacity for radio and telephone connections which can link many places (people, groups, councils etc) at once, as in teleconferencing. Psychological research has shown, incidentally, that the participation of different people in telephone conferences is more equal than in ordinary meetings.

Computing facilities could also be made available to the whole population (educated in their use). We can envisage computer terminals in every block of flats, street, hamlet, productive unit - especially if it proves possible to convert existing television sets into terminals.

Through such means of communication and information processing, communes, councils and so on can monitor their own activity and that of the other groups on whom they depend and who depend on them. They can adjust their work to the needs of the community revealed to them in this way, and receive constant feedback.

Here, "the community" means nothing more than all the other people who are communicating their needs and views through the system, plus the needs and views of the unit concerned.

This is technically possible because of the flexibility and data storage, retrieval and processing capacities of computers, and because statistical methods enable people to draw sufficiently reliable conclusions from relatively quite small samples of data selected so as to be representative of the complete data. For example, a tractor factory might monitor the views and needs of a sample of, say, 50 representative farming communes and villages in its region, out of a total of 2000. Statistics makes book-keeping obsolete.

It would be wise to construct computer systems in as modular a fashion as possible - that is, in such a way that the removal of one section disrupts other sections and the system as a whole as little as possible. This makes for flexibility, and keeps to a minimum the difficulty likely to be caused by breakdowns. Substitute non-computer procedures would be prepared to fall back on in case of breakdown, and for emergencies caused by natural catastrophes etc.

This organic network would probably need to be supplemented by more formal methods of decision making, such as congresses of people's councils at regional, continental, industrial and world levels. Crucial policy decisions for society as a whole - on such issues as use of atomic (fission or fusion) energy, space programme, natural resources, decentralisation, large-scale recovery of the environment, use of a world language - would have to be made on a world level. Less crucial decisions from the point of view of the planetary community as a whole - whether on priorities, transport, health and education methods, or the development of computer systems - would be made at more local levels.

The democratic processes used in decision making would include community-wide research and discussion (with special organisational arrangements in favour of minority views), delegation (delegates could be chosen not only by election, but also in pre-determined rotation, or by lot), surveys of views after discussion (whether sample surveys or referenda - complete surveys). No doubt other processes would develop which cannot be imagined today. (What about telepathy?)

In the early period of the new society, before specialisation has been overcome, specialist bureaux may well be necessary. Although they would, of course, be formally under the control of and responsible to the community, acting through its councils etc, the danger of effective control by specialists would exist and have to be guarded consciously against. The elaboration of alternative strategies for the use of natural resources, for example, might be delegated to such a bureau - and yet the presentation of alternatives has potential for manipulation by those responsible. Deciding which alternatives are worth investigation is by no means a neutral technical matter, yet only technical specialists may be aware of all possibilities. The attack on specialisation, on the division between manual, domestic and intellectual work, and on the mystified state of science and technology may only gradually ease such problems.

We may imagine that a regional congress of councils has attached to it an agricultural bureau, staffed by representatives from communes and production organisations, agronomists, statisticians etc. The functions of the bureau may include -

- 1) Statistical monitoring of the food preferences and tastes of people in the region, desires of producers (who enjoy growing vegetables rather than rice, say), resources available and required;

- 2) Communicating the needs of producers and consumers (of course, everyone will be both), proposing plans and methods taking both into account, as well as wider social and ecological considerations.

In doing this, the bureau is expected by people to operate within the limits of the views expressed by the people through the councils, surveys etc, though the views of the bureau (and of bureau members,

who may well differ with one another) will play an important role in democratic discussion.

There is no guarantee that proposals made by the bureaux will be accepted or implemented, and this is an encouragement to the bureaux to operate in a democratic manner. The more they do so, the more likely that notice is taken of their views. Major difficulties of the bureaux are referred back to the bodies to which they report?

3) Encouraging and coordinating research into ecology, new techniques etc; educating the community in the area of agriculture, with the aim of making the bureau redunant;

4) Cooperating with the agricultural bureaux of other regions on common agricultural problems, interchange of products, research etc;

5) Assessing the need for equipment, seeds, fertiliser, machinery etc, and communicating these needs to the regional industrial council and its bureau(x). This function probably is carried out within limits on the use of metals agreed on a world level for the purpose of conservation. Requests for certain equipment by communes may be refused, or a rationing or waiting list system used.

Article continued next page. While typing out the leaflet, it has grown considerably!

OIL OVER TROUBLED WATERS

a report and critique of
oil development in
N.E.Scotland.



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OUT NOW!

From Aberdeen Peoples Press, 167 King St., Aberdeen, Scotland.

Some of these ideas come from papers which I borrowed from a friend in "Solidarity" last weekend, but haven't studied properly yet - "Revolutionary Engineering: Towards a Counter-Technology", by Aquarius Project, P.O.Box 4013, Berkeley, California 94704, USA. They are moving to form "an automated urban-rural commune", and will publish (have published?) a pamphlet on "Post-Scarcity Communes".

The other writing that has influenced me is Ursula LeGuin's novel "The Dispossessed", published hardback by Gollancz and soon to appear in paperback. She writes of two planets - the capitalist world of profit-States, Urras, and the anarchist/communist world of Anarres, established by refugees from Urras. I am going to finish by quoting some extracts on the functioning of Annaresti society :-

"The network of administration and management is called PDC, Production and Distribution Coordination. They are a coordinating system for all syndicates, ~~deferat~~ federatives and individuals who do productive work. They do not govern persons; they administer production." (pp 65-66)

"Decentralisation had been an essential element in Odo's plans for the society she did not live to see founded. She had no intention of trying to de-urbanise civilisation. Though she suggested that the natural limit to the size of a community lay in its dependence on its own immediate region for essential food and power, she intended that all communities be connected by communication and transport networks, so that goods and ideas could get where they were wanted, and the administration of things might work with speed and ease, and no community should be cut off from change and interchange. But the network was not to be run from the top down. There was to be no controlling centre, no capital, no establishment for the self-perpetuating machinery of bureaucracy and the dominance-drive of individuals seeking to become captains, bosses, Chiefs of State.

... They knew that their anarchism was the product of a very high civilisation, of a complex diversified culture, of a stable economy and a highly industrialised technology that could maintain high production and rapid transport of goods. ... The special resources and products of each region were interchanged continually with those of others, in an intricate process of balance: that balance of diversity which is the characteristic of life, of natural and social ecology.

But ... you can't have a nervous system without at least a ganglion, and preferably a brain. There had to be a centre. The computers that coordinated the administration of things, the division of labour, and the distribution of goods, and the central federatives of most of the work-syndicates, were in Abbenay ("Mind"). ... Unavoidable centralisation was a lasting threat, to be countered by lasting vigilance." (pp 81-82)

PDC Personnel (pp 140-1): "Volunteers, selected by lot; a year of training; then 4 years as a Listing; then out. Nobody could gain power in a system like that." "Some stay on longer than 4 years." "Advisers? They don't keep the vote." "Votes aren't important. ..."

Division of labour (pp 124-5):

"Dirty work - garbage collecting, grave digging, mercury mining, shit processing - well, we all do it. But nobody has to do it for very long, unless he likes the work. One day in each decad the

community management committee or the block committee or whoever needs him can ask him to join in such work; they make rotating lists. Then the disagreeable work postings, or dangerous ones like the mercury mines and mills, normally they're for one half year only.

- But then the whole personnel must consist of people just learning the job.

- Yes, it's not efficient; but what else is to be done? You can't tell a man to work on a job that will cripple him or kill him in a few years. ... He goes to Divlab - the Division of Labour Office - and says, I want to do such and such, what have you got? And they tell him where there are jobs."

Towns (p 83): "The elements that made up Abbenay were the same as in any other Odonian city, repeated many times: workshops, factories, domiciles, dormitories, learning centres, meeting-halls, distributaries, depots, refectories. The bigger buildings were most often grouped around open squares, giving the city a basic cellular texture: it was one subcity or neighbourhood after another."

Transport (p 201): "The transport workers were the largest federative in the Odonian society: self-organised, of course, in regional syndicates which were coordinated by representatives who met and worked with the local and central PDC. The network maintained by the transport federative was effective in normal times and in limited emergencies; it was flexible, adaptable to circumstance, and the Syndics of Transport had great team and professional pride."

Communication (p 208-9): "PDC, the principle users of radio, telephones and mails, coordinated the means of long-distance communication, just as they did the means of long-distance travel and shipping. There being no "business" on Anarres, in the sense of promoting, advertising, investing, speculating etc, the mail consisted mostly of correspondence among industrial and professional syndicates, their directives and newsletters plus those of the PDC, and a small volume of personal letters. ... Eventually a letter got to the mail depot in the town addressed, and there it lay, there being no postmen, until somebody told the addressee that he had a letter, and he came to get it."

Accommodation (p 152): "When Shevek and Takver came down from the mountains, they moved into a double room. None was free in the blocks near the Institute, but Takver knew of one not far away in an old domicile in the north end of town. In order to get the room, they went to the block housing manager - Abbenay was divided into about 200 local administrative regions, called blocks - who turned out to be a lens-grinder who worked at home, and kept her 3 young children at home with her. She therefore kept the housing files in a shelf on top of a closet so the children wouldn't get at them. She checked that the room was registered as vacant; Shevek and Takver registered it as occupied by signing their names."

STEPHEN STEFAN, 23 Solar Ct., Etchingam Park Road, London N3 2DZ.

(I am a member of the Radical Statistics Group and of the new libertarian socialist group "Social Revolution".)

MANIFESTO

At the conference of SOCIAL REVOLUTION held in London on 28 - 29 February 1976, it was decided to include the following text on State Capitalism in the general statement of views of the Group.

Capitalism is a social system in which productive enterprises employ wage and salary workers in order to realise a profit by selling goods and services on the market. The basic relationship between the enterprise and its workers (exploitation), and the basic relationship among different enterprises, or capitals (ruthless competition to expand) remain the same, no matter who owns or controls the enterprise. In different situations, private entrepreneurs, shareholders, managers, State or "Communist" Party bureaucrats, or even the workers of an enterprise (acting collectively as their own boss in "workers' cooperatives") have directed the process of capital accumulation - that is, have represented the dominant social relationship of capital.

In the nineteenth century capital took the form of small units, directly controlled by the factory owner, which competed in local, regional or at most national markets, for the main part. Thus social revolution seemed to theorists such as Marx mainly a task to be carried out within each country separately, the international aspect being important but secondary. The national State seemed the most convenient instrument for this purpose.

In the last part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century, capital became more and more concentrated in the hands of gigantic industrial empires - corporations, trusts and cartels - controlled by industrial and banking interests remote from the workforce and connected to it through vast hierarchies of managers and supervisors. These international concerns competed (and still compete) on world markets, as capitalism developed into a single interconnected system dominating the whole world.

The other unit, in the capitalist competition on the world market, which came into at least as great a prominence as the multinational corporation, was the nation-State. The nation can be viewed as the alliance of the capitals based in one geographical area, which is defined in the course of continual conflict between its ruling groups and the ruling groups of other nations. The national State developed essentially as the central organisation promoting the interests of this alliance - against other national units, against the working class, and against "unpatriotic" sections of the capitalist class - that is, those whose interests were asserted in opposition to the perceived interests of the national capital as a whole. Thus Marx called the State "the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole".

To the extent that the national State takes upon itself some of the tasks involved in directing capital, we can speak of "State capitalism". However, while private capital still dominates its partnership with the State, this is a weak form of State capitalism.

The capitalist functions taken on by the State in this weak form may include -

- regulation of international trade, control of the currency;
- provision of health, welfare, insurance and education services for the upkeep of the workforce;
- collection of statistics;
- control of essential services, such as post, rail and coal, to provide private capital with cheap reliable support;
- centralised police, security forces;
- increasing military backup to national commerce.

These functions became substantial in the industrially developed countries for the first time in the decades leading up to the First World Imperialist War.

When this weak form of State capitalism comes to include the nationalisation of large areas of industry - that is, their control through State bureaucracies - we have the "mixed economy". The next logical step in the development of State capitalism is for the State to take direct control of the major part of the national capital - what we can call the strong form of State capitalism.

The advantage of strong State capitalism to the national unit is that it can help make the nation more competitive on the world market and in the fight for expansion by -

- enormously reducing the resources and energies spent on competition within the nation;
- eliminating "unpatriotic" and unproductive capitalist interests;
- possibly reducing the private consumption of the capitalist class in the interest of accumulation;
- strengthening the centralised control of the State over the working class and reinforcing nationalist ideology.

However, the replacement of weak by strong State capitalism is a difficult task, requiring radical reorganisation of the national life, and in particular the replacement of "private" capitalists as the ruling group personifying capital by State and Party bureaucracies. The social system and the position of the working class in it remain basically the same as before, but the change concerns the life and death (even literally) interests of the existing and the aspiring ruling groups.

We have historical experience of this false "revolution" occurring in three different ways -

- 1) As the end result of an unsuccessful attempt at socialist revolution which remains hopelessly isolated in one country. The only example of this type of attempt which was not brutally suppressed by reaction is the Russian revolution of 1917. Here material, social and cultural backwardness combined with isolation and the elitist bureaucratic methods of the Bolsheviks to crush the working class element in the upheaval, and eventually install the totalitarian Stalin regime. Within this regime a privileged bureaucratic class directed the modernisation and industrialisation of the country in often insane haste and brutality.

2) As the consequence of military conquest of a nation by the armed forces of an existing State capitalist power - East Europe, South Vietnam etc.

3) In underdeveloped areas where private capitalism never became strong enough to overcome imperialist domination by the great powers, and native feudalism, despotism or tribalism. Here national capital is represented by nationalist intellectuals using the State machine (China, Third World countries).

Two powerful factors which work in favour of a nation becoming State capitalist are -

1) War. When the rivalry among nation-States takes on its most ruthless and all-out form, the forces representing State capitalism become stronger and the need for Statist rationalisation of the national economy is felt most clearly. For example - the Bolshevik economy of Russia was based on that of World War I Germany; the Welfare State and mixed economy in Britain grew out of the Second World War.

2) The weakness of a national economy relative to others also makes the advantages of State capitalism more compelling. The US, for example, at most times a very strong power, is one of the least Statified.

The important differences between private and State capitalism - in social structure, in internal economy, in ideology etc - should not be ignored or minimised. At the same time, the State capitalist regimes are an integral part of the world capitalist system, based on capital accumulation by competing enterprises and wage labour. A State capitalist country, like a multinational giant corporation, can be regarded as a single vast firm. Thus we cannot accept the theories that Russia, China and so on are socialist, communist, or "Workers' States", or that they are based on a new non-capitalist mode of exploitation called (say) State-bureaucratic.

Bitter experience shows that State capitalism in the twentieth century is not a step on the road to socialism. This is the most fundamental point at dispute between genuine socialists and the left wing (of capitalism). Unfortunately many workers in private capitalist countries who are critical of their conditions of life see the leftist programme of State capitalism as a way out. Similarly, working class discontent in State capitalist countries often takes the form of admiration for private enterprise and the West. In this confusion about the nature of possible alternatives to the existing way of life, it is up to socialists to make the real choices clear.

@/@/@/@/@/@/@/@

The following text, THE PARLIAMENTARY ROAD TO SOCIALISM?, was also agreed upon to be included in our general statement. We also agreed to consider a draft on reforms at our next conference, to be held at the end of June. The other sections can be found in LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM 9, copies of which are still available.

Many well meaning people who advocate the abolition of the capitalist system and its replacement by a free socialist society maintain that a successful social revolution can be fought by capturing seats in the various parliamentary bodies of the world.

Others, less naive, but also having no clear conception of what socialism means, maintain that by gaining seats in Parliament the working class can materially improve its position, indeed through a process of reforms can make capitalist society "just" and "fair" to all. Leninist groups either advocate supporting the Labour Party in elections, or putting up "working class" candidates from their own sects. Indeed they often follow the apparently contradictory of doing both at the same time. These groups either follow such a policy from naivety, or by following the outmoded concepts of Lenin, in assuming such action will allow them to use elections and parliaments as "revolutionary tribunals", or for blatantly manipulative purposes.

The result of all these policies is to aid reaction and counter-revolution, to put back the day of socialism. SOCIAL REVOLUTION categorically rejects such a basis for activity. We do so because:-

@Parliament can never serve as an organ for socialist revolution. Based on a nebulous "representative" democracy, calling on people to hand over their power to others once every few years, it has nothing whatsoever to do with the revolutionary democracy of the working class during social revolution. Socialist revolutionary democracy will be based on the direct power of the working class. It will function through democratically elected, mandated and revocable delegates, based on workplaces and communities.

@Success in revolution will require majority communist consciousness and preventing the expropriated ruling class from crushing it. Such work requires the conscious subversion of the armed forces, and the willingness where necessary to counter force by force, whether by sabotage, disruption or in the last resort armed resistance. Nominal control of Parliament and other elected bodies is no substitute for such action, indeed to advocate such control serves to weaken the workers by spreading confusion about the nature of the state. Today the state consists of the monarchy, both Houses of Parliament, the local authorities, the Church, the State mental hospitals, the media, the education system and the political organisations of the bourgeoisie - from the fascists through the Labour Party to the factions of leftist State capitalism (CPGB, Trotskyists, Maoists, etc) - in short, all those institutions which make us conform to the norms imposed by the ruling classes.

@Parliamentary activity hinders the development of majority communist consciousness. Such consciousness requires self-activity and confidence in our own ability to change society. By handing over power to others these important requirements are not achieved, rather it leads to docility, inactivity and cynicism.

IRELAND

INTRODUCTION.

This article originally appeared in the fifth newsletter of the SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION. The SLF comprises groups in Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow and St. Andrews, plus several individuals scattered around Scotland. The groups are autonomous, but co-operate to produce the newsletter and hold a twice-yearly conference and to undertake co-ordinated activities on certain issues. For copies of the newsletter, or information about the SLF, write to SR(Aberdeen), Box 23, APP, 167 King St., Aberdeen.

We reprint this article as it broadly reflects our views on the situation in Ireland, as well as our perspectives for libertarian socialist activity.

B.W.N.I.C. T.O.M. & Northern Ireland.

The participation of some of our members in the BWNIC 14 Defence Campaign makes it necessary for us to clarify our position towards the aims of the BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTHERN IRELAND CAMPAIGN (different from BWNIC Defence) and the situation in Ireland.

The first thing to establish about N. Ireland is that today's troubles are only the political backlash of the past economic development in Ireland. Partition in Ireland (1922) divided the country into two parts, with a catholic minority (40%) in the North. This arrangement was worked out to satisfy the demands of the opposed interests of the two sections of the capitalist class in Ireland. The up-and-coming bourgeoisie in the South wanted Home Rule and protective tariffs, whereas the bigger Belfast capitalists, who were more advanced, wanted to continue their connexions with the markets of the British Empire. Irish nationalism and catholic ideology naturally suited the petty-bourgeois capitalists whilst Unionism and protestantism became the ideology of the Northern capitalists. However as the industry in the south developed and became more efficient the Border no longer made economic sense. This attitude was reflected in the gradual 'liberalisation' of Unionist ideology towards the early sixties. The 1965 Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement and the Common Market (1971) brought the two states into the EEC power block.

The reason why "protestant" and "catholic" workers fight each other today can be explained as a result of yesterdays divisions in the ruling class. It was necessary for each of the ruling classes to make "their" workers identify with the respective national interests instead of ~~against~~ their common class interest. We must therefore consider the various "solutions" against this historical background.

Unfortunately, thanks partly to the activities of certain left wing groups, Republicanism has been interpreted as having some sort of connexion with socialism.

First of all we completely reject the nationalist "solution" of the Republicans and the IRA. Indeed we affirm that there are no nationalist solutions to the workers' problems. We therefore have no sympathy with the IRA (and their camp-followers) who aim at deceiving the workers that national sovereignty and the struggle for a "United Ireland" and the "right of self-determination" has something to do with the struggle for a socialist society.

This idea essentially has its root in the Leninist theory of imperialism which tries to provide some connecting link between nationalism and "socialism". It holds that independence for colonies (against British imperialism) will help to precipitate a socialist revolution in the imperialist countries. The best that can be said for the Leninists is that they live a hundred years behind the times. Since capitalism has become the world dominant economic system there is no such thing as real national independence for small nations. Any such support for "national liberation" would simply consist of being the agents of one or another power bloc which wants to gain influence.

In economic terms a "United Ireland" would make no fundamental difference anyway since much of Irish industry and agriculture is dominated by British, European, Japanese and American firms.

In political terms for the working class it means only a change of boss which obviously isn't worth fighting for. Even the argument that it might ease the violence is demonstrably false since most of the "Loyalists" in the North are in favour of Union.

I

If the best that could be said for Official IRA is that they are "mistaken" in their beliefs, the Provisionals can only be condemned as anti-working class in their activities. They encourage the hatred between "catholic" and "protestant" workers.

The other main "solution" is that of maintaining the Loyalist supremacy in the North, which means that the Orange oligarchy can continue to kid the protestant workers that their misery and slum conditions is in fact a privileged one above that of the catholics.

Unfortunately it seems that the protestant workers, isolated both socially and morally, have clung to this belief as was shown in the May '74 Ulster Workers Council strike. Meanwhile the UVF (protestant equivalent of the Provisionals) continue their sectarian killings and attacks on catholic communities.

What must be made absolutely clear is the role of the army in all this, which sometimes tends to be overshadowed. The British Army's only function is to protect the British state and employers against any section of the working class. The fact that at times they have appeared to ~~may~~ be a kind of "peace-keeping" force is incidental. In the usual cause of maintaining capitalist "law and order" the Army have carried out raids on the mainly catholic working class slums, which obviously aggravates the situation.

Remembering that essentially the British government wants to establish some regime or political system which facilitates

foreign investment and Northern Ireland's development in the EEC, the Army is being used to carve the "easiest" way out; their "solution" is of course to smash the IRA and repress both catholics and protestants alike, if they should become too militant. As the economic crisis deepens the Army will be used to deal with "law and order" in Britain; Ireland has provided a good training ground.

The TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT wants a complete withdrawal of troops immediately, with seemingly no conception of the links which must be built between "catholic" and "protestant" workers as well. They also give support to the idea of a "United Ireland" and the Republican cause.

BWNIC correctly state that there can be no military solution to the problems of Northern Ireland. We would agree and there is no doubt that until British troops are withdrawn there can be no hope of solution. Nevertheless we don't agree that "a date should be fixed immediately" for withdrawal, as BWNIC advocate. This itself would be imposing a solution on Ireland over the heads of the ordinary workers who live in Ireland. This is unfortunately as far as our support for BWNIC can go, because although they have tried to find a solution which is neither loyalist or republican, inpractical terms to say that the "Union between Britain and Northern Ireland must be ended" can only serve the Republican cause.

As Libertarian Socialists we feel that we must therefore adopt the following general policy towards Ireland:-

i) oppose both Republican and Unionist political and paramilitary groups alike, but support ordinary Irish workers in their defence against sectarian attacks and army violence.

ii) Encourage catholic and protestant workers to realise that their interests are basically the same, and to cooperate in a practical way around issues that affect them as a class. This will help to isolate the catholic and protestant paramilitary groups.

iii) work towards the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland on the above basis. Their continued presence would obviously make it harder for catholics and protestants to join together.

iv) abolition of the legislation which gives the State the power to arrest and detain people for indefinite periods without trial.

v) oppose the ideological repression of the catholic and protestant religions but discourage discrimination on grounds of religious belief.

vi) encourage a wider understanding, on the part of British workers, of Northern and Southern Irish cultures and politics so as to undermine discrimination.

ABERDEEN GROUP SOCIAL REVOLUTION

NOTE: for further analysis of this question see LC7, WORKERS POWER 2, and SOCIAL REVOLUTION 3.

COMBATE

The paper COMBATE is produced by a group of comrades in Lisbon and Porto. Most of them underwent their political apprenticeship in various Maoist or Mao-oid organisations, but left (or were expelled) as a result of their emphasis on genuinely autonomous working class struggles. As a result of this experience they have been thoroughly vaccinated against Leninist, vanguard-Party type politics.

36 issues of their paper (which is printed) have been produced so far. The Editorials have been printed in book form ("Capitalismo Privado ou Capitalismo de Estado" - Private Capitalism or State Capitalism, Edições Afrontamento, Rua Costa Cabral 859 - Porto, Portugal). The articles describe the struggles of industrial and agricultural workers (and also of tenants and the unemployed) in a scrupulously honest and non-sectarian way. The accounts moreover are free of the triumphalist overtones that mar so much reportage from Portugal.

The group has been active in organising round table conferences in which rank and file workers have made contact with one another. It has also published several interesting longer texts, attempting to break with certain aspects of traditional revolutionary theory.

M.B.

comments on Ireland by P. McShane.

Whilst I agree with the general line of the article on Ireland by the Aberdeen comrades (SLF 5 and this issue) I would like to suggest certain elaborations of the policy which I will deal with point by point.

i) unfortunately many workers will feel that only the paramilitary groups can in practice protect them. Is this true, and either way what can we do about it?

ii) and (iii) ^We must show how the various military groups are parasitic on each other. For example the introduction of repressive measures in the late 60's (troops, internment etc) encouraged the growth of the provos and such-like, which in turn provided an excuse for increased repression.

iv) we must attack sectarian education and sexual repression and demand abortion and contraception.

EDITORIAL FROM 'COMBATE' 16th JAN 1976

This is a translation by Social Revolution of a French translation of an editorial statement by the Portuguese revolutionary group 'Combate'.

Several comrades and revolutionary groups abroad, not knowing Portuguese, often ask us for analyses of the social struggles in Portugal. As we are a small group, it is not possible for us to reply to everyone. We believe that by translating the editorial of 'Combate' No. 34 we can reply to some of the questions most often raised outside Portugal-

EVERY DAY STATE) CAPITALISM ADVANCES A LITTLE FURTHER. IS THERE A SOLUTION?

When social changes take place in a gradual way, it is possible for them to escape our notice. For this reason we think it essential to recall here in broad lines the recent evolution of the class struggle in Portugal.

PHASE 1: STRUGGLES FOR WORKER'S RIGHTS

On the 25th of April, the upheaval in the institutions of the capitalist state made it easier for the worker's struggles to expand, and particularly increased the rate of development of the egalitarian forms of organisation of the struggling proletariat. The previous regime had no mass institutions which would survive its destruction. The unions and parties which sprang up or developed after 25th April, not having any tradition as mass parties, were quickly and easily outpaced by the workers. On the other hand the army, traditionally a mainstay of capitalist institutions was divided by virtue of the fact that only a part had played an active role in the coup of April 25th, and the consequences of that division remain to this day. The administrative machinery was put in jeopardy and by-passed at many levels. Only the ideological prestige which the AFM enjoyed because it had overthrown a detested regime enabled it to play a co-ordinating and a vanguard role in relation to the masses. In the breach opened in the state institutions by this crisis the anti-state and egalitarian institutions of the struggling proletariat-workers' commissions- developed at a giddy speed.

During this period-25th April to Aug/September 1974)-the main aim of the struggle was to raise wages, as this was obviously the most urgent problem.

These wage struggles, with this limited objective in view, take place within the capitalist regime, and do nothing to challenge the basic feature of capitalist exploitation-the wage system. But because these struggles took place outside capitalist institutions, and led to the development of egalitarian and anti-repressive social structures, this meant that beyond their limited objectives, the demands for workers' rights had profound anti-capitalist repercussions. Out of this, social structures have arisen which are the seeds of communist society.

PHASE 2: STRUGGLE FOR THE RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

The wage increases obtained postponed for a while the more urgent problems of the cost of living, and then struggles began to focus on questions relating to the organisation of work and to relations of production. It is a fact that as the

proletariat in the course of its struggle moves towards a questioning of the aspect of capitalism which appears as fundamental to workers: the organisation of work. But the extent of this questioning and the speed of its development is partly due to the fact that the proletariat-organised as it was in democratic commissions controlled by the masses-gained all the more rapidly an awareness of the complete antagonism existing between these egalitarian organisational structures and the oppressive structures of capitalism.

From September 1974 to March 75 this democratic and egalitarian reorganisation of social relations took place inside each company, and it might have seemed that the growth of workers' demands would ~~have~~ rapidly lead to a unification of the separate struggles and to a federation of commissions, which would permit a frontal attack on the centralised capitalist state apparatus. But this growth was interrupted by the effects of the reorganisation of state apparatus carried out by the ruling class.

PHASE 3: STATE CONTROL

On the 11th March 1975 state control (nationalisation) spread as a response to various needs of the dominant class, which we tried to analyse in editorials at the time and which we will not repeat here. But this spreading of state control was also used to meet problems created by the workers' struggles. The wage demands initially, and then the partial reorganisation of work brought about by the workers, led many bosses of private companies to quit, which created urgent wage problems. Workers' control was only possible in firms producing consumer goods and working particularly for the national market, and even in these cases there was no lasting solution to the problem of a living wage. Nationalisation, guaranteeing wages, was a solution to these immediate problems.

So in many situations the distinction grew more profound between on the one hand workers at a limited level of consciousness, who saw the aim of the struggle as a guaranteed salary, and on the other hand those whose ~~own~~ experience led them to see further and who wanted to fight for the abolition of the wage system.

If this led nationalisation to be generally accepted, this does not mean that this acceptance was always with illusions. In some sectors nationalisation was bureaucratically organised, by the administration, and frequently in opposition to the workers, resulting in their having imposed on them new bosses in the form of State technocrats converted into State capitalists (see note at end).

In other sectors nationalisation was more subtle, not so much for tactical reasons as because of circumstances. Although the technocracy in Portugal is really vast and although there is no lack of cadres for state capitalism, the lack of preparation and the extraordinary incompetence of practically all these technocrats prevented them from directly controlling all production units. Consequently a mixed situation has developed in which some production units are controlled directly by state capitalists-that is those immediately dependent on the world market and in which therefore

practical opposition to capitalist relations was more difficult to develop. In other sectors the workers' commissions are in direct control of the production of each unit, and in which the state capitalists are in only indirect control, through capital loans and the market (this is expressed in the control they have over the federations of co-operatives etc.).

How did it come about that these workers' commissions could change from egalitarian organs of the struggling proletariat to instruments of the bureaucratic control of the state capitalists?

In a society dominated by capitalism the proletariat only develops egalitarian and anti-capitalist social formations in practical struggle against capitalism. It is only in this struggle that egalitarian institutions—the seeds of communist society—develop. The nationalisations brought about a regression of the class struggle in the sense that, as we have said, they came as an answer to certain immediate demands related to survival. They therefore produced a degree of demoralisation of the masses, which resulted in a diminution in the control of the workers over the commissions. The passivity, even temporary, of the masses is the main factor in bureaucratisation. This explains how the commissions, which a few weeks before had been a form of egalitarian, anti-capitalist organisation, became converted into instruments of bureaucratic control for the new state capitalists.

On the other hand, the direct or indirect integration of the commissions in the state planning apparatus drew them into a typical capitalist form of management which is based on elitism and specialisation. Control by the working masses has therefore become impossible as the commissions have lost their purely executive functions and taken on functions which are beyond comprehension, and even beyond the present comprehension of workers generally.

In this situation the workers have not developed active and profound ways of criticising bureaucratisation, by destroying these workers' commissions to create new ones which could be unified, thus attacking head on the centralised state apparatus of capitalism. Rather, the only ways in which criticism has manifested itself have been as disinterest and passivity in the face of initiatives by the bureaucratised workers' commissions. These bureaucratised commissions haven't succeeded in drawing in the proletarian masses, and this is very important, in that it shows the objectively advanced state of the contemporary proletariat. But the Portuguese proletariat, during this period has not succeeded in destroying the bureaucratised commissions, nor in actively working against them;

So we have lived through a period, the last demonstration of which was the 25th November, when a triple social struggle was taking place. On one side, the new bureaucracy which arose as state-capitalism assimilated the workers' commissions, struggled against the traditional bureaucracy, finding logistical and social support in factions within the army. Recently promoted officers in general demonstrated their support for the bureaucratised commissions, at the same time as a numerous bureaucracy which already existed under Salazar and Caetano received support from higher ranking officers and generals in the period before 25th April. But although their immediate interests are opposed, state capitalism needed them to come together. The political defence of this unification

is the historic role of Melo Antunes military bureaucratic group, which proposes the combining of part of the existing state apparatus with the bureaucratised commissions developed particularly since 11th March. But, beyond this struggle between the bureaucracies, the proletariat during this period has not stopped pursuing a practical struggle in which egalitarian forms of organisation have developed. The continuing bureaucratisation of the workers' commissions and the control of enterprises by state capitalism has made it more difficult to develop autonomous forms of organisation in the production units. At the same time, the housing crisis in general, the shortage of houses and the blatant inequalities in this sector, have meant that a large part of the immediate struggle has centred more on housing units (neighbourhoods) than on production units (factories). Thus democratic forms of organisation have developed in neighbourhood -neighbourhood commissions.

As factories are the base of the proletariat, the bureaucratisation of enterprises has played a fundamental role in the general bureaucratisation of society and has limited the possibility of extending the struggle in the neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the crisis in the administrative apparatus, reflecting the general changes in the state apparatus, has provided a very good opportunity for giving the neighbourhood commissions an administrative role inserted in the state apparatus. In short, in the area of neighbourhood commissions and the struggle in the neighbourhoods, we have seen develop, although somewhat belatedly, a bureaucratisation similar to that developed earlier in the workers' commissions.

Today the phenomenon of bureaucratisation of neighbourhood commissions has taken on such proportions that many have been formed, not by the degeneration of institutions of struggle, but by a group of people nominating themselves, without any struggle taking place, previously or at the time. Only general indifference can allow isolated individuals to present themselves as a 'neighbourhood commission' or a 'dynamising group'.

The 25th November showed, as we said in an editorial at the time, that none of the bureaucratised areas of struggle was supported by the proletarian masses. The indifference workers showed to the disputes within the ruling class was a form of criticism. But this criticism can only be converted into active construction of the communist society if it ceases to be a passive lack of support for any of the capitalist groups, and becomes an active attack on them all.

As a final point in this brief historical account, we can say that the main limitation of the autonomous proletarian movement lies in the fact that struggles, conducted autonomously at the level of each enterprise, did not link up with one another. The state is a centralised apparatus. The proletariat cannot destroy it through organisations which reproduce this bureaucratic and repressive centralisation, as do all the bureaucratised and militarised parties. These parties will only destroy one state apparatus to replace it with another. But the destruction of the state and of capitalism cannot be carried out in a piecemeal and isolated fashion either. It can only result from the unification of the workers' commissions, the neighbourhood commissions, and all the forms of organisation integral to the autonomous workers' struggle. Not a repressive centralisation, but egalitarian unity. And not bureaucratised commissions, but commissions

entirely in the control of an actively struggling proletariat.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

One of the grave shortcomings of this journal is the lack of articles on the struggles of the agricultural proletariat. But even without a deep knowledge of the situation, it is obvious that the state capitalist institutions, in particular the Institute for Agrarian Reform, were largely overtaken in the regions of the latifundia, and that the agricultural proletariat retains today a high degree of mobilisation and of autonomous initiative in these regions. Even more important are the various instances of partial unification of struggles and of autonomous organisations.

In modern capitalism, the countryside depends entirely on industry, as much for fertilisers and production machinery, as because of industry's control of the market. Because of this, state capitalism cannot be effectively attacked from the countryside alone.

It is however possible that the dynamic qualities of the rural struggles will slow down and impede the state's process of consolidation, in such a way as to favour the eventual re-emergence at a later date of struggles of the industrial proletariat.

TWO CURRENT EXAMPLES OF BUREAUCRATISATION

Two current examples can be used to show the importance of bureaucratisation and the role played in it by the parties of 'the left' (in reality the builders of state capitalism). The first concerns the paper 'Republica'. The second concerns a number of neighbourhood commissions.

The struggle of the printers and some of the other workers of 'Republica' against the majority of the journalists had a deeply revolutionary importance. It was a question of attacking the monopoly of information and culture which the intellectual strata held exclusively until this moment. But this revolutionary aspect of the struggle could only continue if 'Republica' had been opened not only to its own particular group of workers but to all workers. This is not what happened, and the paper's bureaucratisation was increased, and it served once again as a platform for particular political parties, esp. the U.D.P. and the P.R.P. This led to its being increasingly isolated from the proletariat and to the passive attitude the latter adopted to the paper. From the 25th November this situation could have changed if 'Republica' had been opened to the majority of the working class, destroying the designs of traditional journalism which reflect the cultural monopoly of the ruling class. This approach was proposed at the meeting of workers' and neighbourhood councils held at Baixa de Banheira (industrial suburb in the south of Lisbon) on 30th November during the occupation. But this meeting did not succeed in growing to an autonomous movement, as the 'provisional secretariat' it set up turned out to be an attachment of the U.D.P. and the proletarian masses showed their lack of interest by voting it into oblivion. The U.D.P. ~~and the~~ underlined the failure by converting the 'provisional secretariat' into a 'dynamisation group' so that it disappeared noiselessly in the corridors of its political tactics. And, no longer able to control the masses—which every party dreams of doing—the U.D.P. and the P.R.P. preferred to be finished with 'Republica' in silence rather than open it up to the mass of workers. They demagogically offered themselves for negotiations with the former editorial staff of 'Republica', who

have no more need of it, now that they have 'Alute'. The fact that 'republica' could not survive economically for long is not relevant here. What is basic is that for a few days or a few weeks a paper could have appeared which would have been an incalculably important revolutionary instrument. Open to the workers' struggles, directly involving workers' collaboration, turning the factories into its organs of editing and distribution, the paper could have been a very important element in the autonomous unification of the struggles. But the proletariat did not manage to achieve this, and the parties showed their true character by preferring the destruction of the paper to letting it contribute to the development of the autonomous movement, which like a tidal wave would have swept away the state, the parties and all the appendages of capitalism.

Another flagrant example of bureaucratisation is the system for determining rents set up by the neighbourhood commissions of Setubal (an important industrial town) and Cedros (Linda a Valla, near Lisbon) to name no others. These systems are very complex, involving equations considering a multitude of factors, such that they could not be the result of workers' initiatives. Moreover, in the case of Setubal, it is obvious that there has been interference by the experts of the Planning Office of the Town Hall and the housing development Foundation. In this way the neighbourhood commissions work like new "Juntas de Fregusia" (the lowest rank of the administration in the legal system), new local organs of the state apparatus. Thus the mass of workers is kept out of the drawing up of these systems of payment, their application in particular instances is not understood by the workers, who remain dependant on new specialists just as till now they had been kept in submission to the previous specialists. Complicated legal procedures whose comprehension and execution is beyond the proletariat serve the interests of the exploiters. Proletarian justice is simple and straightforward, the result of mutual comprehension, and is anti-formalistic. By establishing ultra-complicated criteria the bureaucracy is already creating the conditions for its own perpetuation.

AND NOW?

The 25th November constituted an important step in the unification of the ruling class, in giving prevalence to one of many repressive projects proposed, and creating the conditions for the unification of the military apparatus.

Although the repressive governmental apparatus is not yet sufficiently structured to be able to resist a powerful wave of revolt, the parties and the unions continue without any mass base, and the former are even more ideologically isolated than they were a while ago, and the prestige the A.F.M. enjoyed after 21st April has faded away in anti-working class politics and the permanent washing in public of dirty linen.

From this view point, the bureaucratised workers' and neighbourhood commissions constitute the main vehicle for containing the proletariat and for economic planning of the system of production and the labour force. The alternatives are relatively clear; either a group which is politically dominant at the moment (that of Melo Antunes) will succeed in its pursuit of the reorganisation of the state apparatus by integrating the traditional organs and the new bureaucratised commissions; or the wave of revolt, generalising the practical struggle of the proletariat, will destroy the bureaucratised commissions and pursue autonomous unification by attacking head-on the state apparatus.

In the latter case, the comparative disorganisation of the ruling class will make generalised repression difficult, and a proletarian victory, developing an egalitarian and communal social organisation would be possible—for how long? From here on the pace of the Portuguese revolution would depend on the pace of the world revolution. Capitalism is a highly integrated system, the world market is dominant, and it is impossible to overthrow it within the limits of national frontiers.

In this situation, the ruling class will avoid general and massive repression, which would probably provoke a general revolt of the whole proletariat, and it will be necessary to have recourse to strong but localised ~~pressure~~ repressions. This is the basis of the present alliance between Melo Antunes' group and the conservative military cliques of Jaime Neves, Pires Veloso and others. It is also on the basis of this objective that the army is being reorganised as a professional and highly hierarchical body.

Which of these alternatives will prevail? The coming weeks are decisive. The cost of living is rising, bureaucratisation is speeding up, state capitalism is appearing everywhere without witchery or demagoguery, in its true face, mean repressive, militarised. It does not have the workers' support, but will the present passivity of the proletariat change into a wave of revolt? If in the face of the present worsening of living standards, this wave of revolt does not appear, it will mean that retreat and passivity are deeper and more lasting.

In these circumstances all activists and revolutionary workers will have to rethink their methods of intervention. Then we will have to prepare ourselves, to the fullest extent, to fight against the tide.

NOTE: The most varied political sectors speak today—mostly with shameless demagoguery—of state capitalism. For us, state capitalism combines three principal factors: capitalist ownership of the means of production is effected through the ~~state~~ intermediary of the state; the state controls the economy; the state controls and plans the movement of the labour force. In this way, society is rigidly hierarchical and the attempt is made to plan the totality of its activities. It is difficult to define the present economic-social situation in Portugal. The first of these factors has existed generally since 11th March; as for the second, once again the state technocrats are succeeding in carrying out planning; the third factor cannot be considered to exist, and this editorial is concerned with this aspect. Thus we have a situation in which state capitalism is the dream of the new ruling class, which has already succeeded in bringing it about in some of its main features.

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INTRODUCTION - cont'd from Page 1.

we seldom have large stocks of unsold literature). Still we want to expand SR's influence, so if you sympathize with our views why not take a few extra copies to sell in your area or at your workplace. We also welcome letters and articles for publication, ideally articles should be between 1-2000 words and contain a critical analysis or discussion of struggles or events, (we'd also consider shorter pieces ... they don't have to be literary marvels, it's a paper written by working people for working people - not by professional journalists). More general articles on aspects of the libertarian communist viewpoint are also welcome. SR should develop into a living expression of the struggle for a libertarian communist society.

A general exposition of our politics can be found in LC9 and in this issue, if you're on the same wavelength and want to work for the achievement of socialism then join SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

Producing a revolutionary paper is an expensive business, we seldom break even with production costs, postage etc. We positively solicit donations, no matter how small. Make all cheques, P.O.'s, etc., payable to SOCIAL REVOLUTION and send them to Aberdeen group.

This issue has been produced by London Group, during April 1976. Unless otherwise stated the articles are for discussion purposes and do not necessarily represent our collective views. Special thanks to Paul, who proved that even a six year-old can work a duplicator, in fact better than the rest of us

SORRY FOLKS: due to circumstances beyond our control we've had to leave out the article on the General Strike we lost the stencils???!!!

We finally managed to complete the duplicating in mid-July 1976.

NOW AVAILABLE FROM SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

WORKERS COUNCILS by ANTON PANNEKOEK. We are distributing this classic work of the council communist movement. Published by ROOT & BRANCH, we are selling it for 60p plus 15p p&p. We only have a limited stock at the moment, about 100, so to avoid disappointment order your copy immediately.

RISING FREE have moved, their new address is 142, Drummond St., London NW1. Tel: 388-0848

CORRECTION: London SR has changed its address yet again - we can now be contacted at Box 217, 142, Drummond St., London NW1. Please address all correspondence to SOCIAL REVOLUTION at the above address.

LIBERTARIAN INDUSTRIAL NETWORK

The Libertarian Industrial Network exists to co-ordinate libertarian militancy within industry. Already there are contacts in a number of different industries, some are listed below:-

COMMUNICATIONS/POSTAL WORKERS

Phil Ruff, c/o 123 upper Tollinton Park, London N4

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Ian S. Sutherland, 13 Deincourt Close, Spondon Derby

REFUSE

David Barnsdale, 16 St. Leonards Rd., Surbiton Surrey

PRINTING

Albert Meltzer, 26a Eastbourne Rd., London N5.....

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS

Ron Marsden, c/o 109 Oxford Rd., Manchester.

HEALTH

Phil McShane, ** St. Margarets Rd., Oxford.

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK CO-ORDINATOR

Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gdns., Saffron Walden, Essex.

The Network is not the "property" of any particular group. At present it is aimed at the whole libertarian left: Anarchists, Syndicalists, Revolutionary socialists, solidarity, libertarian communists (including marxists).

WORTH READING:

SOLIDARITY paper and pamphlets, send £2 to Solidarity, c/o 123 Lathom Rd., to receive forthcoming issues of the paper and pamphlets to that value.

ANARCHIST WORKER, monthly paper of the Anarchist Workers Association. 10p plus postage from AWA, 13 Coltman St., Hull

MEETINGS: SR holds open meetings in London, Hull and Aberdeen - for details write to the local address.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

groups

- ABERDEEN - Box 23, c/o APP, 167 King St.
HULL - M.R.K. Turner, 56 Nicholson St.
LONDON - 83 Gregory Cresc., S.E.9 5RZ

contacts

- EDINBURGH - Thru Aberdeen Group
MANFIELD - Thru Hull Group
OXFORD - P. McShane, 11 St. Margaret's Rd.
SAFFRON WALDEN - M. Everett, 11 Gibson Gdns.,
Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW

SR publications

PAMPHLETS

- A Contribution to the Critique of Marx -
by John Crump. Produced jointly by SR (London)
and Solidarity (London) - 16½p (including p & p)
Marx's Early Writings. An introduction.
Produced by SR (Aberdeen) - 10p (including p & p)

JOURNALS

- Still available - a few copies of LC 8 and LC 9
which contains our "Draft Manifesto."
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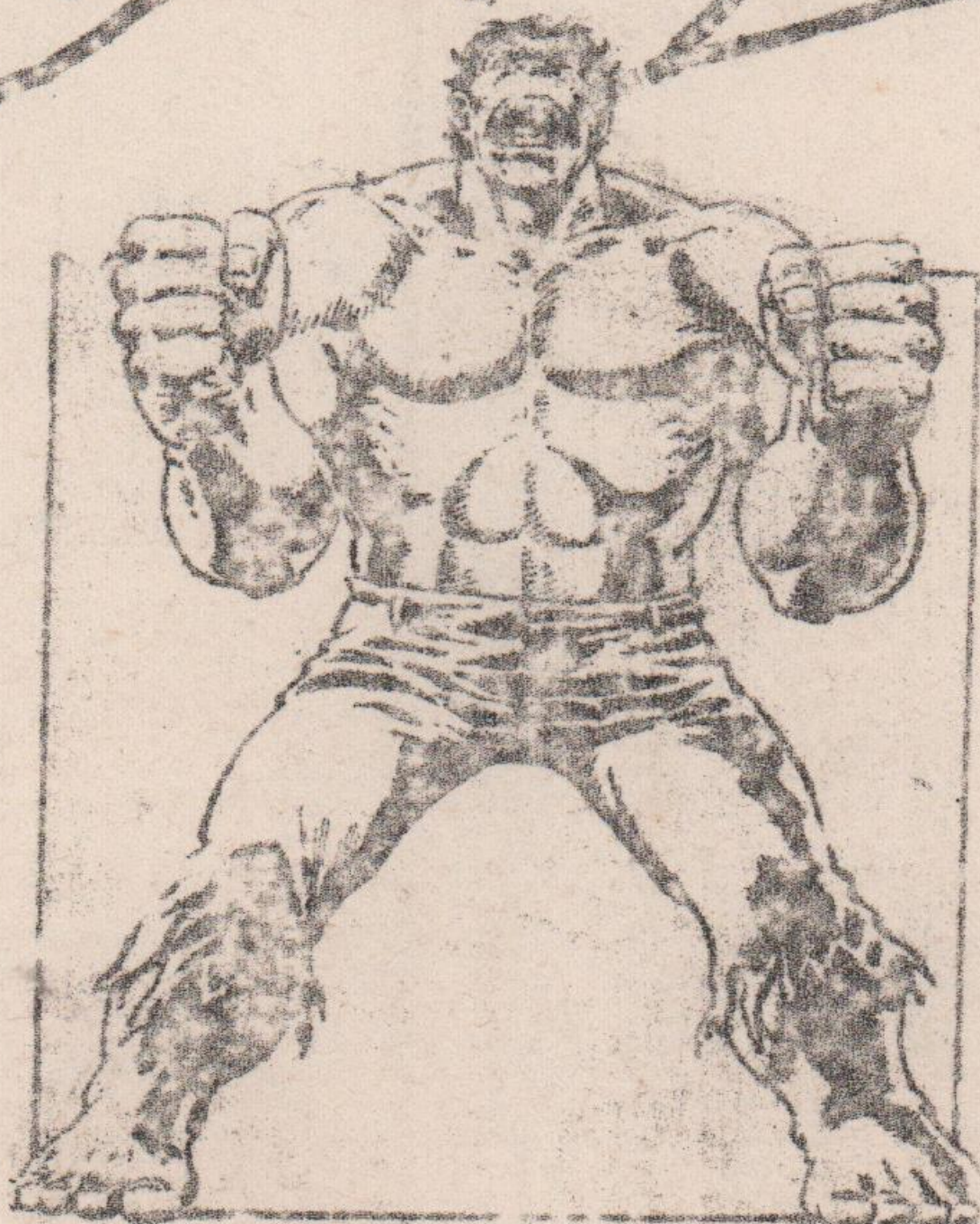
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