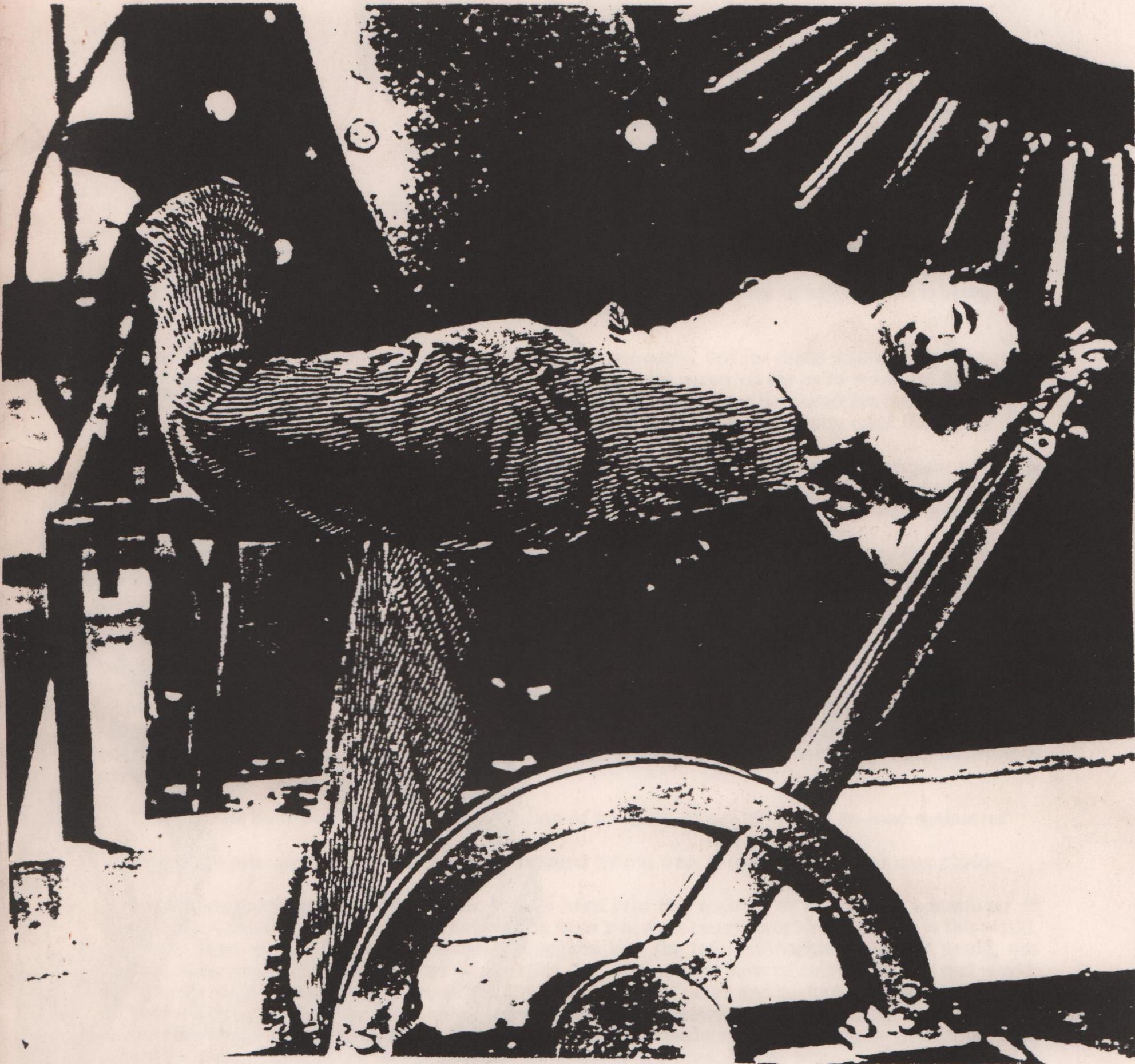


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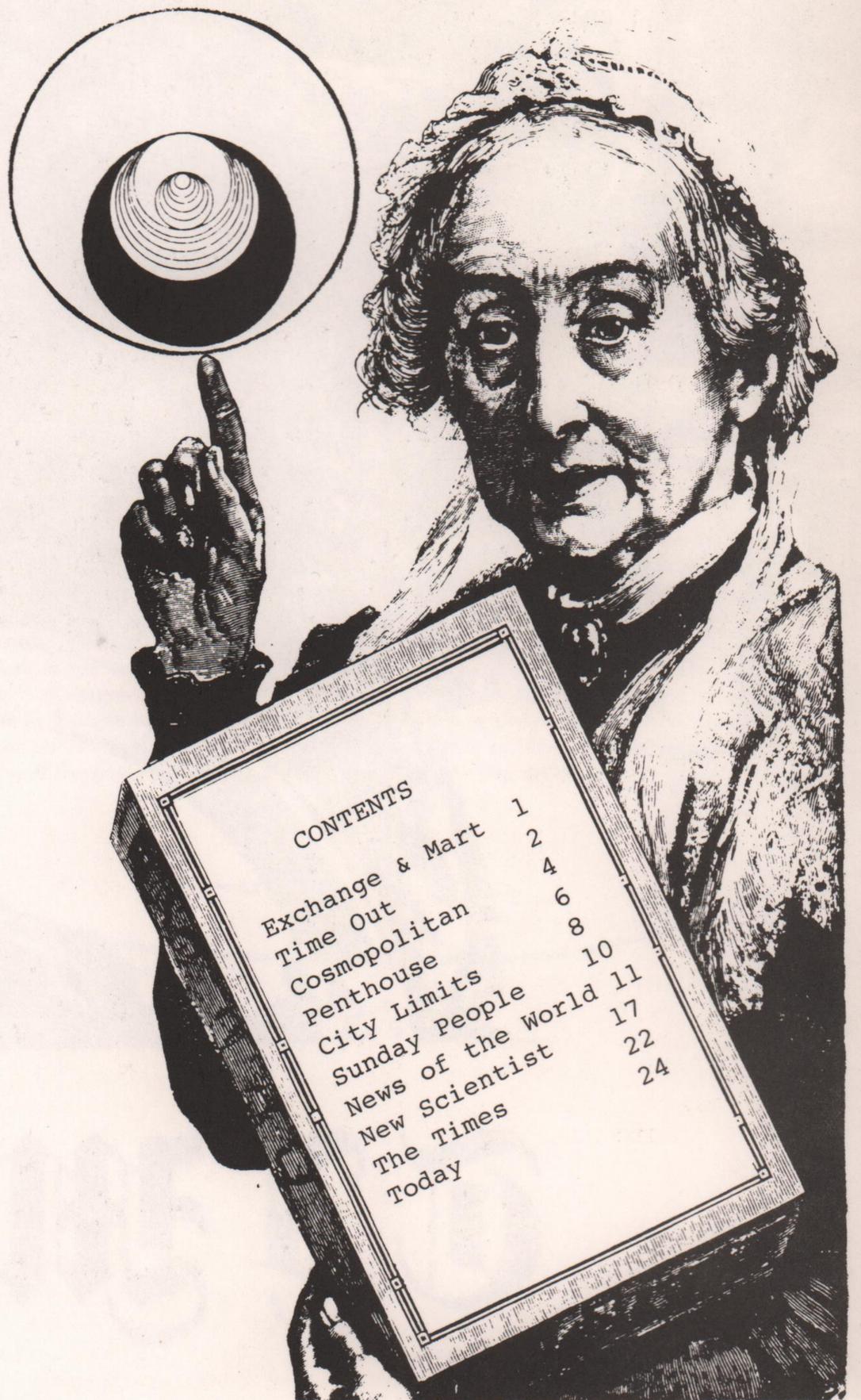
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EXCHANGE



& MART

Humanity is the only species that consciously creates its own environment, and so transforms itself.

Yet the more instruments we create to control the world, the less control we have over our lives; the more wealth we produce the more poverty and misery we suffer. Workers are laid off and factories lie idle due to 'lack of demand' while for many, basic needs are not being satisfied - food is being piled up in mountains and destroyed while people starve.

What we create we do not create for ourselves, for our needs, but for those who already have, who have the money to buy our labour, and the machinery and raw materials for us to work on. And where did they get the money to buy these things? -from selling what we have produced for them before, at a profit. And how do they make a profit? - by making us produce goods to a greater value than what they pay us.

Value is determined by the amount of labour necessary to produce something, because labour is the only common factor in all commodities, so the only possible basis for comparison, and exchange.

The pay we get is equivalent to the value of our labour power (our ability to produce) ie the labour necessary to produce what we need to be able to work - food, clothes etc.

For a profit to be made, the labour necessary to produce our basic needs must be less than the labour we perform. So for part of the working day we reproduce the value represented by our wages, and the rest of the day is a surplus for the boss, is unpaid labour.

But to turn this surplus into profit, the boss has to sell it - to find someone who wants it and is willing and able to pay for it. We have only got our wages, so we can only afford that part of our production that is not surplus, but is for the reproduction of our labour power. So although a particular company can make its profits by selling to us (food companies for example), for the system as a whole, for the bosses as a class, profit comes from that part of production that is not for our consumption, that is not for us. So their interest is in making us produce things that are not of use to us (or if they are we have no access to them) but instead are accumulated as means to make us produce even more.

This world is built on the massive accumulation of products of our labour, to be used against us.

We are the prisoners of our own shadows, haunted by our own ghosts, we build our own chains.

So, without any choice in the matter, we are born into this society, or rather into a fragment of this society, a family, which, with the help of the state when necessary, prepares us for life in this world. From the start we are isolated, moulded and sucked into the infernal machinery of this world, not because some sadist decides it should be like this, but because we have to survive, in this real world. Individually we depend for survival on the system that depends on us and sucks our blood dry.

This society is portrayed as something permanent, as something independent of and above us. At best history is portrayed as normally the actions of a few leaders, and occasionally of a group, who then fade away again, but history is what we all make, all the time. It is us who continually create not only the wealth of the world, but society itself, through our actions. We reproduce ourselves as wage labourers (or as wageless reproducers) and we recreate the conditions that force wage labour on us. Collectively we recreate the world we do not control, and our isolation within it that stops us controlling it.

Through our isolation, through the domination of people by our own products, what we produce seems to be the creation of something else, something above us, our struggles appear as the struggles of our leaders, even god is making a comeback. This does not mean that our task is simply to demystify the incorrect ideas that people hold about themselves. It is the material conditions that necessitate particular behaviour and create our ideas of the world, and these material conditions contain contradictions that can lead to their overthrow. Consciousness is one tool in the transformation of our world, and we become conscious through transforming.....

TIME OUT

FREEDOM'S JUST ANOTHER WORD FOR
"BE GOOD OR WE'LL LOCK YOU UP"

TRIAL BY JOURNAL

To know what's going on in the world, outside our immediate experience and that of those we come in contact with, we rely on the media. Most people are cynical about what they hear and read, as when they report matters we do have experience of, the difference is blatant, but the media portrays a world view as against our 'mere' personal view, so that sometimes we start to doubt our own understanding.

And when they talk of things we don't have experience of, we can only understand them either in terms of the world view portrayed by the media itself (which means accepting their analysis) or in terms of what we do have experience of, which means recognising behind the stories, the real, human actors, who are ourselves.

For the media there are those who act 'rationally', that is, who fit in with their world view (which is essentially capital's view of its interests) and those who, for some strange reason act against this world view, against the interests of capital. To show how 'irrational' these acts are, they are portrayed outside of any real context (the 'quality' media give a certain amount of background to explain the 'deviance' and so find ways to deal with it), so that we can never recognise them as human reactions to inhuman conditions, that we, to some extent, share.

DOWN ON THE FARM

The uprising at Broadwater Farm was an obvious case of 'deviance'. Black experience is itself a mystery to the media and the establishment, and so obviously 'deviant'. For them, slavery is forgotten and Africa is far away, but the conditions of black people are obviously determined by their history (and the continued existence of those structures that brutally imposed white history on them) and the relations between white and black nations, as most black people are well aware.



The killing of Cynthia Jarret was merely an 'unfortunate deviation' which should be dealt with through the 'correct channels'. But for black people, and many others, not only had the 'correct channels' been shown to be useless (they certainly couldn't bring Mrs Jarret back to life - and experience showed that the establishment would do nothing to stop such attacks unless they backfired, unless it brought them under attack) but the killing was no 'deviation', rather it was a continuation of a process of oppression that lead also to their abandonment on the dole (or in dead-end jobs) and on a run-down ghetto, cynically misnamed Broadwater Farm. It was the last straw. In this particular case, the Farm's youth had already met the chief cop, who would give no reasonable answers to their demands, and were returning to demonstrate outside the police station again, when riot cops stopped them leaving the estate, and the battle began.

But the world of the media is not a world of cause and effect or of human activity, but a mythical world of good and evil. Like Jesus, Blakelock on his death shed his human form and became the embodiment of good, so the 'sin' of the rebellion had to be cast on one man, one representative of 'evil'. The man chosen was Winston Silcott. Silcott lived on the 'Farm' and had a criminal record. That was enough. He was probably chosen because of his other murder charge, to portray the act of resistance as just another common murder. Even without any evidence, Silcott became a 'monster', which meant that his actions, his reasons, his existence, needed no explanation, for he was no longer human.

CROWN COURT

Meanwhile, at court, Silcott was forced into the role of 'defendant', the 'accused'. The claim of 'innocent until proved guilty' means little when somebody stands accused - the accusation, the fact that the prosecution has gone to the effort of going to court casts the accused in a suspicious light. Answering too quickly, or too slowly, not having an explanation, or having an explanation..... everything is portrayed by the prosecution as suspicious. The 'evidence' against Silcott was that he had said to the cops that nobody would give evidence against him. Nobody did, and nor was he identified in any photos, or by fingerprints. His statement could only be considered as evidence if it could be shown that there was evidence which for some reason nobody would come out with. This was not done - instead the media and the state created an impression of guilt. The statement of one 'witness' implicating Silcott was thrown out by the judge for being totally contradictory - under such conditions of forced statements (illegal holding of juveniles etc.) putting in subtle contradictions, or things you know can be disproved, can get you out of their clutches without doing too much damage, but obviously it is best to avoid making any statement.



A jury is told not to convict if they find reasonable doubt of guilt, but there can always be doubt, all evidence is essentially circumstantial. What actually happens is that the prosecution puts its case - it puts its evidence in a sequence where each piece seems to support the others, but more importantly it re-enacts, in edited form, its own process of arriving at the accusation. The jury then effectively decides, on the basis of its knowledge, accumulated from the media, Sherlock Holmes and Agatha Christie, whether it considers this process reasonable. The defence then has the task of taking this process apart, of disproving the picture the prosecution has built up, but once the idea of guilt has set in, it's hard to get rid of it.

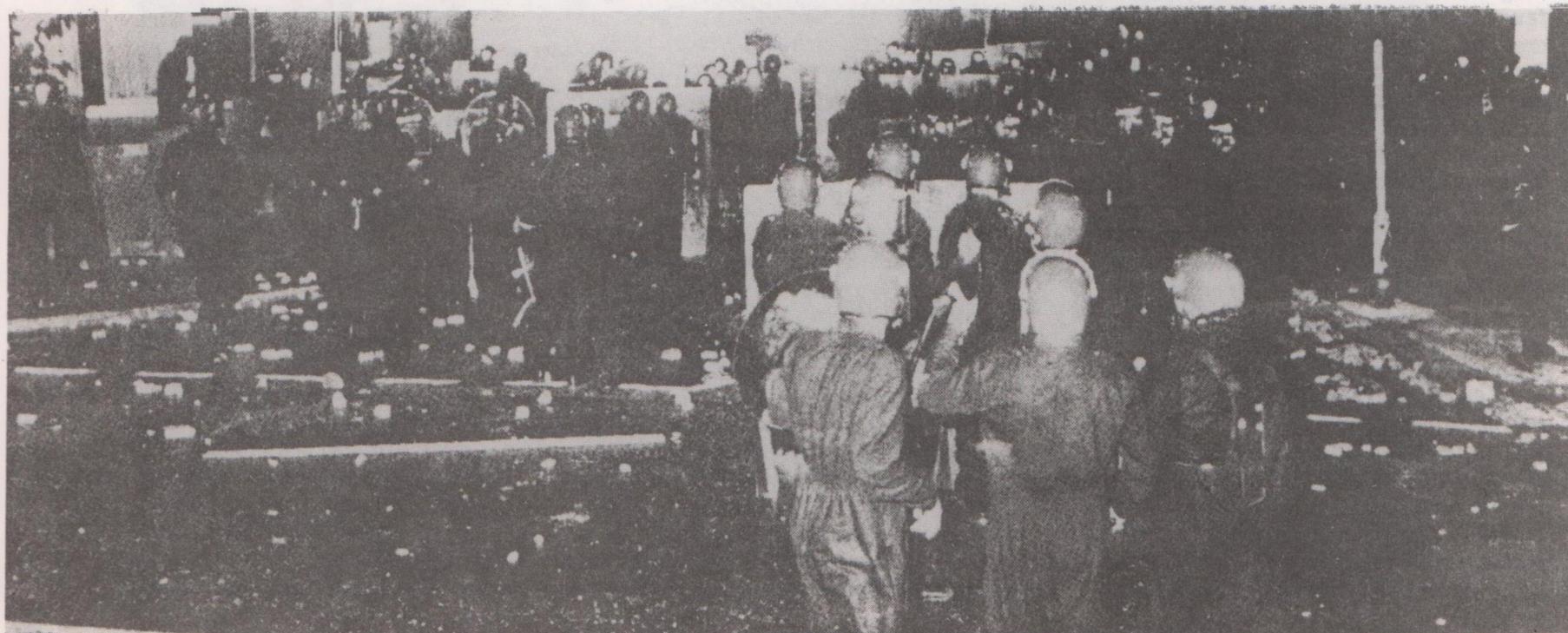
The jury's role is clearly defined, as one separate function on the assembly line of 'justice'. The jury can not ask why something happened, consider whether a particular act was reasonable under the conditions, or how conditions can be transformed so that anti-social activity is no longer necessary, is no longer a logical result of conditions. That is for the 'experts'. We are like quality controllers in a nuclear missile factory.

MANDATE - MY ARSE !

This society, and the system of production it's based on, constantly shatters the community into isolated individuals, and through the artificial re-

creation of scarcity sets us in competition with each other. Our relationships are dominated by property, by our access to, through possession of, the means of life. The state, which enforces this fragmentation, sets itself up as something above it, as representing the 'general interest' against our conflicting private interests. But the general interest it represents can only be an abstract mirror of the relations it enforces - property relations. It represents our interests only as far as they can be reduced to the accumulation of private property, within given relations. And private property only exists through its opposite - through the exclusion of others, so the state and the general interest exist to enforce this exclusion, to uphold the status quo. The state can not be transformed to represent us, because its existence is dependent on the conflicting interests imposed by private property, which it will defend to the death.

Under democracy, private interests which become generalised (such as workers' interests in improving their conditions as wage-labourers) can be integrated into the state form, into the 'general interest' where it can battle constantly with the other interests that effectively cancel it out, while at the same time, state power becomes more and more diffused - more and more people are delegated state power to be used on behalf of the 'general interest'. This not only strengthens the state form through its branches extending throughout society, but also enforces the division of private and general interests -



someone who has risen to power through representing a generalised private interest is forced now to represent it within the general interest, ie to represent the general interest and enforce it through the organisation s/he represents, in order to retain power.

70% SAY OPINION POLLS ARE A CON

But as private interests become generalised, through people coming together to defend or fight for themselves, they always find their previous organisations lacking because they have become integrated, become means for the 'general interest' to be passed down, rather than for our interests to be raised up. And as the state pulls harder on the strings of power to ensure the carrying out of its interests, its role becomes clearer. Local councils, which because of their comparative closeness to the community, serve best to integrate sections of the community into the state form, find the middle-ground they stand on pulled apart - on the one hand the central state has to impose more and more restrictions to enforce its will, and on the other the community demands more and more representation and defence from this imposition.

GETTING OUR OWN BACK

The more we discover, and act on our interests, and recognise them as common to the vast majority of humanity, the more we come into conflict with the state and its monopoly of violence. It will use its courts, its media and its ideology to justify its violence and to isolate us. They say that your freedom to satisfy your needs and desires infringes on my freedom, so they can set themselves up to stop us all satisfying our needs. They call us criminals, insane, irresponsible, for struggling for what everyone wants. They say we want a bigger slice of the cake at others' expense, when we really want the bakery so we can bake for all.

But we can't play their game by trying to set up a new 'general interest' that remains above the real lives of people, because to continue this separation means the 'new order' will be a mirror of the old - real transformation of this world can only come from the direct appropriation of the means to satisfy our needs, from creating space for ourselves and others to develop understanding of our particular and common needs. Nobody can rule 'in the interests of the proletariat' when the proletariat rules the material world. Nobody can tell the homeless to wait 'in the general interest' when the means of housing have been seized from private property. Nobody can set themselves up to mediate and judge between those who they have divided, when black and white, women and men, gay and straight, all are organised to take and produce for our own particular and common needs, which will mean the abolition of these political categories, as such.

In the late 60s/early 70s in the States, the rise of black militancy, and the forcing of the militants into the midst of the growing prison struggles, revealed clearly the political role of prisons as places for isolating and dehumanising those with enough spirit to resist, and as dustbins for those fucked up by the open -prison outside. Young blacks were picked up on sus or for minor offences that others would have been let off for, advised by state lawyers to plead guilty, and then kept inside until it was decided they were fit for the outside world - ie that they had accepted their role in it. Meanwhile they could be used for cheap labour. The struggle, which covered all aspects of this system, from the streets to the police station, to the court, to the prison, to the parole board, was met with the full brutality of the state, murdering many who became too dangerous. - When prison fails the guns come out.

COSMOPOLITAN

ALL THE WORLD'S A MARKET

The British Empire is dead. It was a long bloody struggle, but now only a few colonies, where Britain artificially created a settler majority (Northern Ireland, Malvinas) or comparative economic benefits (Gibraltar, Hong Kong) remain. But so do the power structures, the states, and the international division of labour.

By 1885, Britain and the other European powers had carved up Africa. What had been a continent filled with tribes, nomads and some large states, was turned into a patchwork of different imperialist interests, with secure defined borders. Britain's use of a system of concentration camps in the Boer War and later in Kenya, was a continuation, on a smaller, more intense scale of this process.

The imperialist powers used (and created) tribal rivalries to impose and maintain their rule, and to create

puppets when they were forced out. As the power structures were created to enforce the rule of one (European) tribe over the other (African) tribes, it is hardly surprising that in many cases they were taken over by one tribe. The imposition of law, order and poverty needs the support of some section of the country, and where foreign domination had not allowed the development of an indigenous ruling class and bureaucracy, the role had to be filled through family and tribal ties.

The European states were eventually willing to grant independence to its colonies when they became too expensive due to mass resistance, and when the policies of the more economically advanced U.S. showed that direct rule was unnecessary. What's the point of spending millions on an armed occupation when money can

often run things on its own, while the imperialist states can deny all responsibility.

ONE RACE - THE RAT RACE

Individual or nation, if you need something you have to pay for it (unless you can steal it, and only the rich and powerful get away with much - the biggest robbers are the self-proclaimed international cops) and to pay for it you need something to sell, something there's a market for. You have to fit in with the market, produce what someone else is willing to buy, at a price they'll pay. For an underdeveloped nation (and their underdevelopment is no accident) this means competing with developed nations, but without their resources (so they can't produce as cheap without super-exploitation of the workers), just

producing what the developed nations will accept (cash crops with low returns) or allowing developed nations to take over (politically and/or economically) part or all of the country (like El Salvador or like large parts of Mozambique handed over to

Trying to opt out of the market means the state must ensure that its subjects (and any private businesses) never develop a demand for any foreign goods, which takes a totally oppressive state. Meanwhile the imperialist states arm its neighbours and terrorists with advanced weapons that

one country or whatever. It is only the initiated in the party who know that the supposed solidarity is really just a way of attracting the unsuspecting into the fold, where they too can become initiated. Solidarity comes from our recognition of our common conditions and struggles - the rest is reformist guilt tripping that will fade away as soon as the issue is out of the news or a few reforms made. And solidarity does not mean sitting on the side-lines applauding. The left make out there's something arrogant about criticising aspects of struggles

participants and the proletariat as a whole, against the mediation of alien power and the manipulators who want to reimpose it. As long as this struggle is isolated by the stranglehold of international capitalist relations, the bureaucrats will be able to step in, surround and crush it, in the name of the national interest and defence against imperialist aggression. But the international development of capital has made its crisis, and the proletariat, truly global. Resistance is everywhere, against military occupation, the dumping of dangerous chemical factories, the production of cash crops for foreign markets while people starve, the burden of foreign debt imposed on the workers against the poverty and misery that is the product of capitalism. And the crisis has come home - the cracks in the system are spreading, and we can work in them and enlarge them.



MARKET FORCES

can only be fought with other weapons only available (surprise, surprise !) from developed nations. As all debts have to be payed off in the currencies of developed nations, the debtors have to sell to the developed nations to get the right currency, and so must accept their terms. As interest rates rise and prices fall, the poorer nations need new loans to pay off the interest, and the loan sharks (like the International Monetary Fund) demand more control over the national economy in return. Even in Britain, the Labour government imposed monetarist policies on the orders of the IMF a couple of years before Thatcher took over.

This does not mean that resistance and struggle are futile, but that greater struggle is needed. Wherever 'national liberation' has been 'achieved', the class struggle continues, and will continue until all national boundaries, all concentration camps, all 'homelands' have been demolished, through the destruction of international capitalism. And the struggle begins here!

WE HAVE OUR OWN SCORES TO SETTLE

When the left set up their solidarity campaigns with anti-imperialist struggles, they pretend that these struggles can win on their own, that they can achieve independence, socialism in

in other countries, but criticism is vital if we are to learn from each others' struggles (and we have a lot to learn) and learn who our real allies are.

While the South African working class risk their lives for their freedom, for revolution, the ANC leaders are making deals with Western political and business leaders, to find themselves a place in the international carve-up on the backs of the working class. Any deals with our rulers make them stronger against us, as well as against the working class in South Africa and everywhere else. If we deny ourselves the use of criticism, we leave ourselves easy prey to those who use the language of liberation to put themselves in our oppressors' shoes. But maybe that's what the left want.

ONE NATION - ALIENATION

The future rulers, the bureaucrats and rising national bourgeoisies, are organised, with the means for self-publicity, and they are totally clear what they want - power. For us the task is more complex because we have no model - we also want power, but our own power that is daily stolen from us and turned against us in the form of the power of money and the state. Revolutionary struggle can be recognised by its attempt and ability to enforce the direct power of the

Business International Conference

SOUTH AFRICA

A STRATEGIC OPTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES

with OLIVER TAMBO
President of the ANC
and other guest panelists

Mayfair Inter-Continental
London
Wednesday, May 27, 1987

African National Congress (ANC) goals and tactics are directly and indirectly helping to shape the future of South Africa and its relations with international companies.

Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, has agreed to participate personally in this conference, so that international executives with responsibilities for South Africa can directly hear and assess what the ANC aims to achieve, and how.

The role of the ANC—along with political reforms, future sanctions, corporate critics, and South Africa's economic outlook—will be the focus for reassessing the choices for companies:

- To disinvest, now that over 100 companies have quit;
- To stay, as many others have carefully decided to do.

The conference is closed to the press and all proceedings are off-the-record.

Fee: \$600 per executive. For further details and a registration form, phone or telex:

New York: Carol Kirschenbaum, (212) 750 6300, tlx: 234 767
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"We want Johannesburg to remain the beautiful and thriving city it is now. Therefore, we are willing to maintain separate living until there are enough new employment opportunities and new homes to allow blacks to move into Johannesburg with dignity"

NELSON MANDELA

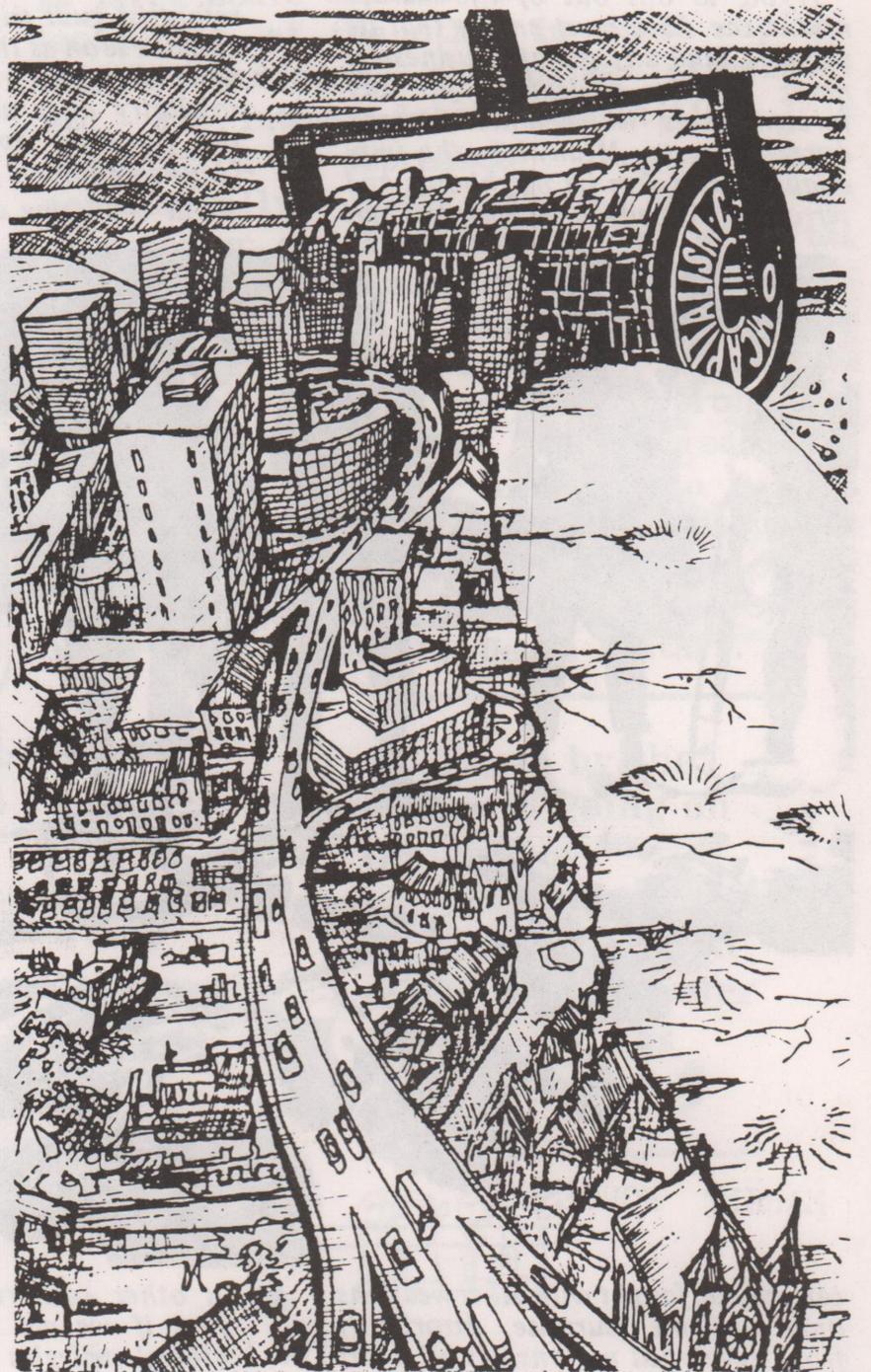
EVERYONE WILL LIVE IN THEIR OWN

PENTHOUSE

Changes in the structure of the economy determine the nature and location of different types of housing. This is well illustrated by the gentrification of inner-city London. The present boom in financé capital and decline in industrial capital in London has created a need for a professional sector close to the new technological centres. Other members of this new influx include local state bureaucrats, petit-bourgeois shop keepers and restaurateurs, estate agents, media functionaries etc., and those who satisfy the cultural and aesthetic needs of their class (antique dealers, art dealers, wine bar owners etc.). Ever since State deregulation of rent controls in the early 1970s landlords have used the law and sometimes their own means of intimidation to rid themselves of tenants from their often run-down properties in order to renovate and sell them off to the expanding market of the new gentry. When councils want to empty an estate of tenants in order to sell it off to private speculators, they create, through neglect, the conditions that will encourage tenants to want to leave. They fall behind with structural repairs, stop filling empty units and gradually move the remaining tenants out. The motive for this policy is to realise profits not only in the short term from sale of land but also in the long-term from increased rate revenues. Where councils try to avoid this policy, government spending restrictions enforce it. The effect of this displacement of the working-class from certain areas of inner London is illustrated by higher levels of squatting, overcrowding and an increased burden on emergency housing (e.g. B&Bs).

The private rented sector (largely composed of hostels, B&B hotels and bedsits) which is larger in London than anywhere else in the country, caters inadequately, and is the only available accommodation for those who come to London looking for work and by definition a place to live. Members of the managerial class working either in the private or public sector are promised generous mortgage facilities when offered jobs in the South - as an inducement to work where they are needed (this fact reflects the increasing centralisation of the 'new-look' economy in the South-East). In contrast to the increasingly obsolete manual worker who has the non-choice of unemployment in his home town or the possibility of work in the South, someone in the managerial sector is generally in a better bargaining position.

Traditionally the main housing provision for the working-class has been council housing. Now however, in line with the austerity measures forced upon and imposed by the state as a result of their inability to cope with the increased burden of public spending, they have promoted house buying as a more viable, and in some cases the only feasible proposition. This change in policy releases the State from its obligation to maintain houses and at the same time generates quick capital. This move serves an ideological as well as a profit-making function: 'A capitalist system is dependant for its functioning and stability on certain forms of proper-

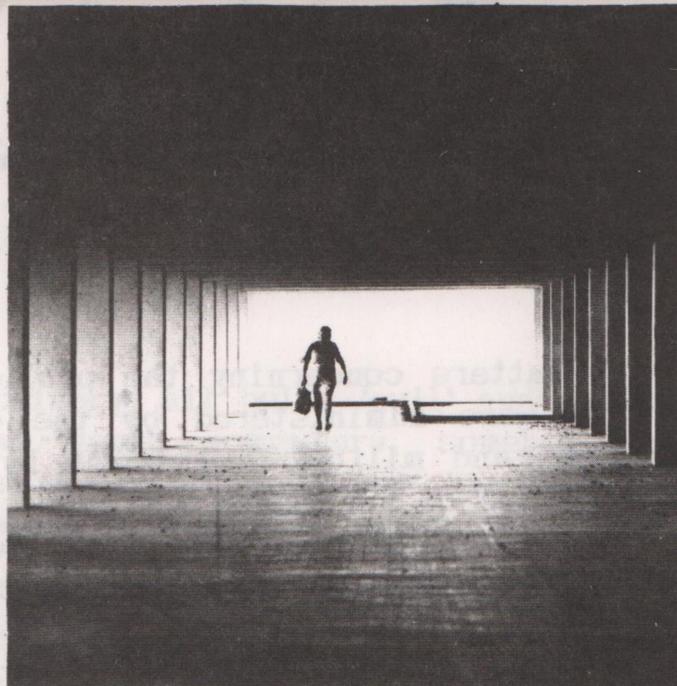


ty relations, authority relations and attitudes towards consumption. These relations are increasingly maintained by ideological effects. Owner occupation for example, tends to reinforce certain attitudes towards private property and private ownership, and an extended period of debt repayment may encourage certain attitudes in the work-force with respect to job stability, career advancement and deference to authority'.

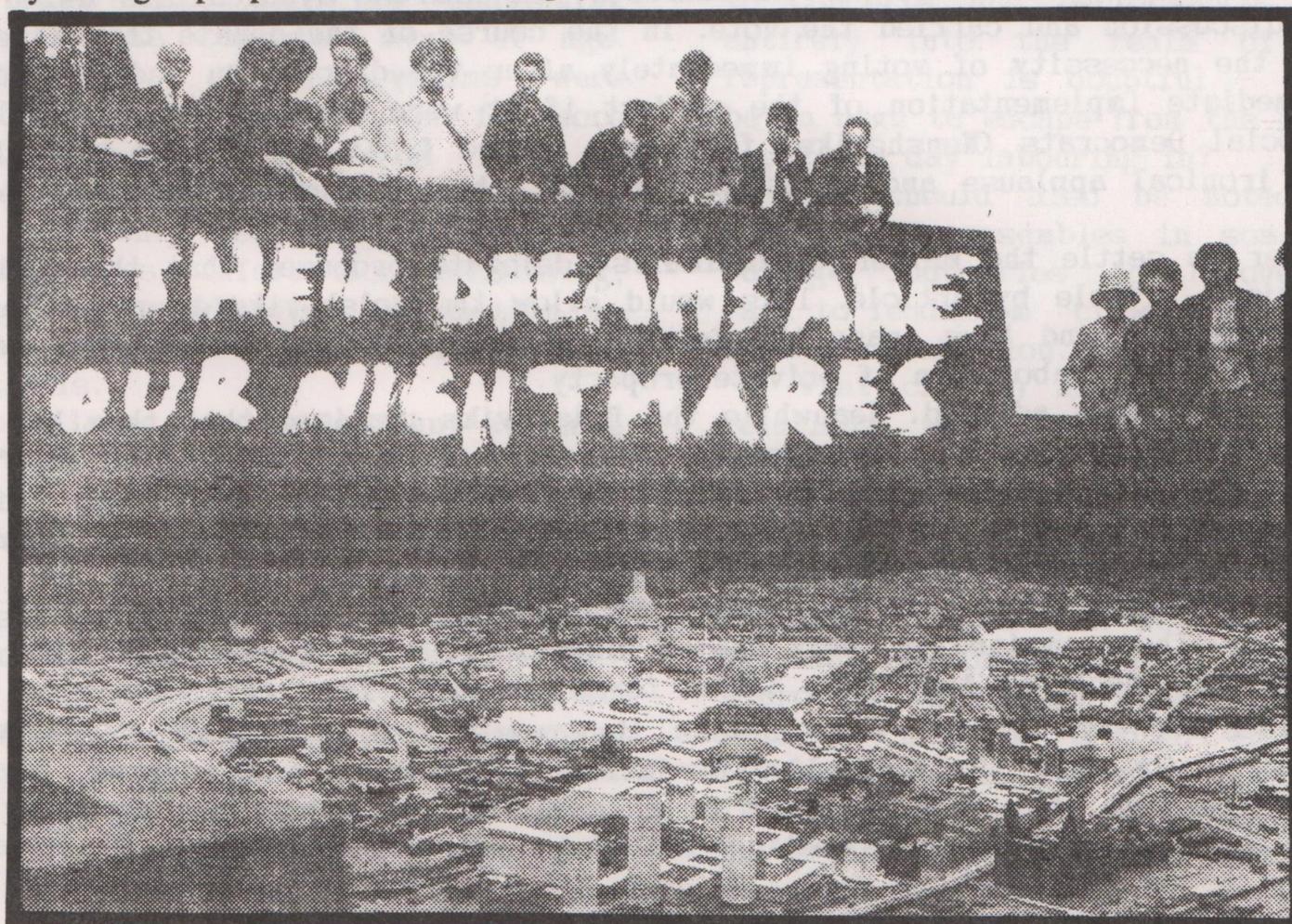
The production of housing reveals a contradiction between the interests of the property and building sectors and the smooth functioning of the social production process as a whole. While it is in the interests of property and construction to maximise the profits of their enterprise, this conflicts with the interests of capital as a whole to keep the cost of housing down. Housing represents one of the major elements in the reproduction of labour-power. 'It is estimated that on average one-tenth of household expenditure is on rent or mortgage repayments alone, and for the lower-paid roughly one-fifth'. It is worth noting that the less-skilled building workers - those most vulnerable to dangerous and insecure working conditions - are often living in some of the worst housing whilst employed building palatial residences for the rich. On average a building worker dies every other day on site.

Ever since the Industrial Revolution there has been a history of resistance to the worst excesses of working-class housing. Some of the most notable struggles include the Somers Town residents' fight against the proposed demolition of their homes, the widespread Clydeside rent strikes of 1915, the Stepney rent strikes of 1938, the St. Pancras tenants' struggle of 1961, the GLC tenants' fight of 1968 and the nationwide tenants' resistance to the implementation of the Housing Finance Act from 1972-4. One of the most important mass struggles of the homeless was the squatting movement at the end of both World Wars; thousands of returning servicemen and their families occupied military, commercial and private property.

A recent example of a struggle where tenants and squatters fought together is that of the Pullens Estate in Southwark, South London. Tenants in a run-down estate, many of them ex-squatters themselves, asked squatters to move into the numerous empty flats. In May/June 1986 a mass eviction took place which was resisted by tenants, squatters and their supporters. Police and bailiffs came under fire from water, flour and paint-bombs (one flat was so well protected they failed to evict it - it took over six hours to empty the other twenty or so flats). A previous attempt to evict had been abandoned when someone claiming to represent the council told the police they weren't needed and the bailiffs refused to go in without protection. Tenants chosen to move into the empty flats (some of whom had only been on the waiting list for four days) were met by the previous occupants who managed to persuade most of them not to move in. Almost all of the flats were immediately resquatted by their former occupants, with the help of door-repairers and furniture replacing organised by the community. This example shows how the deepening housing crisis has served to erode the divisions and illusions of separate interests between tenants and squatters, as even those officially eligible for council housing turn to squatting. This is also illustrated in cases where tenants have moved their sons and daughters, as squatters, into empty flats on their estates, or where they've met squatting groups to try and get people moved into empty units.



It can be seen that the present housing crisis is not the result of the policies of any particular governing party, but is inherent in the present conditions of a worldwide economic crisis. The response of capital to this economic crisis (mass unemployment, public spending cuts etc.) creates the conditions of greater want, instability and potential social unrest. Under capitalism, housing, like any other commodity, has its primary value in exchange for the realisation of profit, and not in its value for use. This is the essence of 'the housing problem'. The only solution to our daily misery and unfulfilled needs is the demolition of property relations and the construction of a transformed social space. As Durruti put it once: 'We have always lived in slums and holes in the wall. We will know how to accommodate ourselves for a time. For you must not forget we can also build. It is we who built those palaces here in Spain and America and everywhere. We, the workers can build others to take their place. And better ones. We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt. The bourgeoisie might blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here in our hearts.. That world is growing here this minute'.



CITY

LIMITS

All matters concerning the public services in Kronstadt and the internal life of the city were administered by the citizens themselves, through the medium of house committees and militia, and little by little they advanced towards the socialisation of dwellings and of all urban services.

Thus the workers of Kronstadt achieved at the same time a complex of peaceful and creative measures, which pointed towards a transformation of the very basis of social life.

In the beginning of 1918, the working population of Kronstadt, after debating the subject in many meetings, decided to proceed to socialise dwelling places. It was a question of obtaining the agreement of the local Soviet, then of creating a competent organization to carry out a census and examination of buildings and carry out an equitable redistribution of dwellings, together with their rehabilitation and maintenance and the initiation of repair services and new construction.

A final monster meeting definitely instructed several members of the soviet-Left Social-Revolutionaries and Anarcho-Syndicalists to raise the question at the next plenary session. In consequence, a detailed project drawn up by these delegates, was deposited at the office of the Soviet.

The first article of the project declared: "From henceforward private property in land and buildings is abolished." Other articles specified: "The management of each building will henceforward be the duty of a House Committee elected by all its tenants... Important matters concerning a building will be discussed and settled by a general meeting of tenants... Matters concerning a whole district will be examined by general assemblies of its inhabitants; District Committees shall be appointed by them... The Borough Committee will be in charge of matters concerning the whole city."

The Bolshevik members of the Soviet asked that discussion be delayed for a week, on the pretext that the problem was very important and required a thorough examination. When the Soviet agreed to this postponement, they went to Petrograd to get instructions from the 'centre'.

At the next session the Bolsheviks asked for the adjournment of the project under consideration. They declared, in particular, that such an important problem could only be resolved for the whole country, that Lenin was already in the process of preparing a decree on this subject, and that, for the sake of the project itself, the Kronstadt Soviet should wait for instructions from the 'centre'.

The Left Social-Revolutionaries, Maximalists and Anarcho-Syndicalists asked for an immediate discussion and carried the vote. In the course of the debate the extreme Left underlined the necessity of voting immediately after the discussion and of proceeding to the immediate implementation of the project if it were adopted. But the Bolsheviks and the Social Democrats (Mensheviks) forming a united front got up and left the hall. Sustained, ironical applause and cries of "At last they are united" accompanied their action.

In order to settle the matter, a Maximalist delegate proposed that the Soviet vote on the project, article by article. This would allow the Bolsheviks to return and take part in the voting, and thus erase the false impression left by their withdrawal that they were against the abolition of private property.

This proposal was adopted. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks realised that they had made a tactical error. They resumed their seats and voted for the first article; "Private property in land and buildings is abolished." This was a vote of 'principle' for them. But when the articles dealing with the means of immediately realising this principle came up for discussion, they again left the hall.

Several Bolsheviks, however, considered it impossible to submit to party discipline in this affair. They remained in their places, took part in the discussion, and voted for the project. They declared that they had a formal mandate from their electors to vote for its immediate realisation. Nevertheless they were severely censured and expelled from the party for Anarcho-Syndicalist deviation. The project was adopted. But for a long time afterwards it was the subject of a continued and passionate struggle in the workshops, battalions and ships. Meeting followed meeting. The members of the soviet

were invited to give reports on the details of the discussion and on their position. Certain Bolsheviks opposed to the project were recalled from the soviet by their electors.

After these occurrences, the Bolsheviks opened a violent campaign against the Anarcho-Syndicalists, and they also tried to sabotage the realisation of the adopted project. Nothing came of their efforts. Soon the committees (house, district, etc.) were appointed and began to function. The project became alive. The principle of "each inhabitant has the right to a decent dwelling" became a reality.

All dwellings were methodically visited, examined and entered in the census by the committee, for the purpose of establishing a more equitable distribution. On the one hand, horrible hovels were discovered in which the unfortunate lived, sometimes several families together. On the other hand, there were comfortable apartments of ten or fifteen rooms which were occupied by only a few persons. For example, the Director of the Engineering School, a bachelor, occupied by himself a luxurious apartment of twenty rooms, and when the commission came to take the census and reduce his "living space" for the benefit of several unfortunate families removed from stinking hovels, he protested hotly and called this act a "downright robbery."

Soon all those who had filled the unhealthy shacks and garretts and the filthy cellars were lodged in somewhat cleaner and more comfortable places. Several hotels for travellers were also established. And each Borough Committee organised a workshop for the repair and improvement of buildings; these shops functioned efficiently.

Later on, the Bolshevik government destroyed this organisation and wiped out its constructive beginnings. The management of buildings passed to a purely bureaucratic institution, the Real Estate and Buildings Centre, which was organised from above and attached to the National Economic Council. This centre installed in every building, district and borough an official, or, to be more accurate, a *policeman*, whose main function was to supervise activities in the houses, to keep track of the movements of the inhabitants in each district, to report infractions of lodging and visa regulations, to denounce "suspects", etc.

Several sterile bureaucratic decrees were promulgated, but all the work, all the positive concrete tasks, were abandoned. The population concerned was eliminated from participation in control of the undertaking (as in other fields), and everything fell back into a state of inertia and stagnation. The better buildings were requisitioned for the bureaucratic service of the state, for officials' apartments etc., and the rest, more or less abandoned to their fate, soon began to deteriorate.

As a result of proceedings of this kind *in every field of life*, the sailors of Kronstadt were not slow to realise that they had been deceived and deluded by the false slogans of the "Proletarian State", the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", etc. They realised that, under a pretence of friendliness, new enemies of the working class had installed themselves in power.

From Voline, "The Unknown Revolution".



"Hey Jerk! You Work?
This boy's got better things to do"
Wham Rap '82

Wham and the rest of the fun young things of the pop/fashion world want us to forget that their songs are their work, that records (cassettes, CDs, videos) are products of labour - they want us to forget work, for a couple of minutes. They want us to forget work so that we'll do it - and we work so we can afford to forget it. They're not against work, just 'above' it, and we can aspire to be like them, at least in our spare time.

TIME OFF FOR BAD BEHAVIOUR

There have been times and places where a concentration on the world outside work, on free time, has been a threat to the world of work, through attempts to experiment with free time, with collective living, and so with breaking the separation of production and consumption, work and leisure, and the domination of exchange.

Punk, to the extent that it was not merely the cynical manipulation of rebellion by MacLaren & Co, contained the seeds of this struggle. Music was produced and consumed by the same people, as a form of communication, and the struggle for survival was politicised and collectivised in squats. It was part of the wider movement that included the '81 riots, an upsurge in the women's, black, gay and unwaged movements, which expressed a total dissatisfaction with this society. In the rest of Europe, especially Zurich, this movement existed at the same time but without punk style.

Punk destroyed itself, partly, by remaining in the sphere of music and style, developing its own inverted snobbery. This new communication already had its experts, like the Pistols and Crass, and the amateur bands dreamed of realisation as bands, of success. Those that sang of shaking up the world succeeded only in shaking up the music industry for a while. Anarchy in the UK, the '81 riots and the revolt against work were soon on the market.

BUY GUCCI, EAT SHIT

Capital recognises that for most people job satisfaction just doesn't exist, so it tries to promote consumer satisfaction, or rather a constant struggle to achieve it. If you're not happy its because you don't buy the right soap powder, or haven't saved



The Red Star as produced by Proletcult in 1920

up enough for the latest car, which by the time you get it, is last year's model. In music and fashion the right style changes so quickly that many are so paranoid that they're wearing the wrong clothes or going to the wrong club, they don't notice they're going backwards.

While we're chasing this mirage of consumer satisfaction, we continue working to finance our search. But this process hides the real process behind it - that we are employed to produce these commodities which have to be sold so the bosses can continue to exploit us, that we can only afford a fraction of what we produce, that the resources we produce which would make free time productive for us, are not in our hands.

GAMES WITHOUT FRONTIERS

Our 'free time' as well as our sold time must be reappropriated, through experiments in the development and satisfaction of our desires. This requires the reappropriation of a certain amount of our products as means of satisfaction and production, and so, the development of methods for this reappropriation - ultimately only the total seizure of the means of production by the international proletariat can create the conditions for the free development of each individual, but there are places to start;

- All modern contestational movements have experimented with the the production and distribution of ideas and information/disinformation, wall posters, graffiti, pirate radio, mass assemblies to organise struggle, centres for discussion and action, new languages, the use of parody ..most of which need few or easily accessible resources.

The growing dissemination of home computers makes possible new games. The toys we are allowed are pathetic compared to the real things owned by business and the State, but they can be joined up to take information and money from those who monopolise them.

- The streets, tubes etc are the grounds for real games of Space Invaders. The rules recently changed a bit with the new Public Order Act, but events like 'Stop the City', Wapping and the numerous attacks on scab carriers around the country, showed how points can be scored, or the enemy stopped from scoring by occupying the pitch.

"The holidays are part and parcel of the gross fraud, wrong and inhumanity of slavery..... Their object seems to be, to disgust their slaves with freedom, by plunging them into the lowest depths of dissipation. For instance, the slaveholders not only like to see the slave drink of his own accord, but will adopt various plans to make him drunk..... a slave loves molasses; he steals some. His master, in many cases goes off to town and buys a large quantity; he returns, takes his whip, and commands the slave to eat the molasses, until the poor fellow is made sick at the very mention of it"- Frederick Douglass,

American slave/rebel

NEWS of the WORLD

BRITAIN.

1/1: In London Trevor Monerville is arrested, beaten and left with brain damage in Stoke Newington police station.

50 cops clash with 300 youths in Lincoln on New Year's Eve. 23 cops injured, windows smashed, some looting, 27 arrests. Also clashes in Newport Pagnell and Gloucester.

5/1: 600 BBC electricians go on strike for 20% pay rise to restore pay differentials.

SCOTLAND: Prisoners take over top floor of B hall of Barlinnie Prison. 34 screws injured, 3 seriously. Three screws are taken hostage - one of them is displayed on the roof to reporters. Prisoners demand that a Scottish Daily Record reporter goes into the prison to hear prisoners' complaints. 200 prisoners are released from their cells by their comrades. Prisoners are protesting at the beating of prisoner Sammy Ralston and at the general brutality of Governor Gallagher's regime. Seige eventually ends with hostages being released. Prisoners demand a public enquiry into prison conditions. During the seige, prisoners were shouting "We want you to know that we are part of the human race even though we are prisoners."

14/1: 850 Austin and Pickersgill shipyard workers return after a 6 week strike without any firm guarantees of withdrawal of redundancy notices or withdrawal of the contract labour system.

SCOTLAND: Workers at Caterpillar factory in Strthclyde occupy their workplace when closure is announced by its US owners. Occupation ends on 27/4 with issues unresolved.

19/1, SCOTLAND: Prisoners at Perth Jail smash up furniture and set fire to bedding in a protest against the quality of prison food after recent outbreaks of food poisoning and diarrhoea.

20/1, SCOTLAND: Trouble in Saughton Prison in Edinburgh again when two prisoners escape into the roof space and barricade themselves in. Saughton was the scene of a 6 day seige last September.

24/1: Riot on the Wapping picket line - 162 cops are injured, 66 arrests in 4 hours of rioting.

26/1: British Telecom workers go on strike over suspension of workers who refused to work compulsory overtime. Strike ends 11/2.

5/2: Sogat '82 formally end their involvement in the dispute with News International.

9/2: Final demonstration at Wapping despite cancellation orders from the unions.

Mid February: *The Silentnight strike ends, with much bitterness felt by the strikers towards 'their union' FTAT.*

20/2: Clinton McCurbin strangled by cops in Wolverhampton shopping centre after using an allegedly dodgy credit card. 100 youths attack the cops and smash shop windows. More violence the next day.

19/3: Winston Silcott, Engin Raghup and Mark Braithwaite are sentenced to life imprisonment for the killing of PC Blakelock in the Tottenham riot.

11/4: Clashes with the cops in Oxford: 4 cops injured, 8 arrests.

14/4, SCOTLAND: 3 prisoners take to the roof at Perth Jail. On 16/4 they are rushed by the screws and the seige ends.

22/4: Production of Vauxhall cars at Luton halted as company lays off 2,500 workers after strike by welding and maintenance workers.

29/4, SCOTLAND: 900 workers at Babcock power engineering plant at Renfrew, nr. Glasgow, go on strike in protest at recruitment of outside workers after 12 people had been sacked from the plant.

30/4: Brixton postal workers in wildcat strike over labour redeployment, cutting off post to 100,000 homes in S.W. London for 2 days.

7/5: Beginning of 3 days of clashes with cops in St Pauls, Bristol.

10/5: 24 hour bus strike in London by almost 20,000 bus workers. Double decker bus destroyed by a petrol bomb.

25/5, SCOTLAND: 130 men stop work at Ravenscraig Steelworks in Motherwell in protest at sacking of 2 workers for leaving the plant without permission.

26/5: 3 shops are looted after open air concert in Harlesden.

27/5, SCOTLAND: Strike at Ravenscraig escalates when 300 men walk out.

3/6: *Conservative party headquarters in Stamford Hill, N. London is gutted in an arson attack one week before the General Election.*

21/6: Rioting in the Chapeltown area of Leeds. About 70 youths smash shop windows, loot and attack the cops after they arrest a young man and beat him.

22/6: Rioting in Chapeltown continues until 4 A.M.

23/6: Rioting in Chapeltown continues. Shops, cars and police vehicles are petrol bombed and stoned. A sex shop, believed to have been used for police surveillance, is burnt out.

5 cops are injured in 2 outbreaks of street fighting involving gangs of youths on the Sparrowhall estate at Fazakerley in Liverpool. In the first incident the cars occupants escape after touring the estate apparently inviting a chase, according to the cops. Pursuing officers are then stoned by youths waiting at street corners. 2 youths are arrested and charged with assaulting the police. After the second incident, 2 other youths are charged with theft and another 2 with threatening behaviour.

24/6: A 2 day strike by civil servants in London and the South begins. Unemployment, social security and jobcentres are affected.

26/6: Post boxes in the WC1 and WC2 postal districts of London are sealed and collections to and from 20,000 addresses halted because of a strike by postmen. Over 900 staff at the New Oxford St sorting office walk out in a dispute over the employment of casual staff to handle a record increase in mail.

6 youths appear in Leeds court in connection with the Chapeltown riots. They face various charges, including robbery, burglary and arson, and are remanded either in custody or into the care of the local authority.

29/6: A mass meeting of workers employed at General Motors' van plant in Luton reject a company ultimatum to accept Japanese-style industrial relations. The company, which is insisting on a strike-free agreement and acceptance of 500 redundancies out of a workforce of 1700, has said that it would shut the plant and call off its joint venture with the Japanese motor manufacturers Isuzu unless the new working practices were agreed in outline form by the local workforce by tonight. The proposed practices include changes in arbitration and collective bargaining procedures, and changes in pay grades, job specifications and pay structures.

1/7: High Wycombe - 4 cops injured, 1 badly after chasing suspected car thief into a festival.

FRANCE.

Beginning in early December, students protest at the introduction of the Devaquet law which seeks to introduce selective entrance into University. Protests escalate after the killing of an Arab student by cops. Young proletarians use the opportunity provided by student demos to physically attack the cops, despite calls for peace from many students. From 18/12 country-wide rail strikes begin, with railworkers organising strike committees independantly of the unions. Strikes in other sectors follow: Metro, docks, gas and electricity, miners and merchant seamen. (For more information see "France Goes Off The Rails" - available from BM Blob, London WC1N 3XX or BM Combustion, London WC1N 3XX or from lefty bookshops, price 75p.

SPAIN.

Dockerworkers and students strikes in January. High school students in almost daily clashes with the cops in Madrid. Students in Mallorca block railway lines after 4-day boycott of classes in demand for free access to university. As in France, conflicts sometimes involve clashes between moderate students and combative youths. In March railway and construction workers begin stoppages.

11/3: Steelworkers in Reinosa, N.Spain, faced with widespread redundancies kidnap the outgoing chairman of the plant and hold him hostage. On the following day during fights with the cops involving most of the town, the Civil Guard are surrounded, stripped naked, beaten up and marched out of the town.

27/3: 370,000 transport and health workers join the students on strike.

1/4: Hotel, airline and shipworkers go on strike followed the next day by Madrid Metro workers.

8/4: Medical students, council workers and teachers block traffic during demonstrations in Madrid. In Leon 6,000 miners go on strike.

15/4: 24 hour strike by air, sea and rail workers over a pay claim.

A mass demonstration in Seville organised by the workers of the Sevilla, Puerta Real and Huelva shipyards protesting against the introduction of new technology is brutally put down by the cops.

20/4: Rioting in Guernica.

During April and May there are a series of clashes between dockworkers and cops in the Cadiz region- dockworkers there are facing big redundancies. Also there's more rioting in Reinosa in May when a steelworker dies of injuries inflicted by the cops in April.

3/7: About 120 prisoners mutiny and seize 16 prison workers as hostages. The mutiny starts in Badajoz jail after 2 prisoners armed with pistols demand an escape van.



Spanish workers (Groucho-Marxist) reply to the police, saying "You've got to be optimistic".

EUROPE.

15/1, GREECE: 24 hour general strike by 2 million workers against a government austerity programme.

12/2, GREECE: 1 million workers across the country on strike over a government imposed wage freeze.

16/2, GREECE: Tens of thousands demonstrate in the third major strike wave. Workers and students demonstrate against government austerity programme.

15/4, TURKEY: Students clash with cops in several cities. 300,000 workers coming out on strike on issues of collective bargaining and labour rights.

1/5, WEST BERLIN: Riots in the Kreuzberg area. Barricades are set up, shops are looted and burned. 50-60 people arrested.

DENMARK: Squatters clash with cops in Copenhagen on a demonstration. 19 arrested.

5/5, REPUBLIC OF IRELAND: 3 day strike by 12,000 electricity workers over pay claim in anticipation of an open-ended stoppage the next week.

28/5, WEST BERLIN: Department store burnt out after the suicide of a person arrested and jailed during the May Day riots.

8/6, SWEDEN: Clashes between cops and stone-throwing demonstrators in Stockholm outside the hotel where Nancy Reagan is staying. 90 people arrested.

11/6, WEST BERLIN: Anarchists and other protestors smash bank windows and fight cops in an anti American demo on the eve of a visit by President Reagan.

19/6, BELGIUM: A 24 hour strike by public sector workers. The stoppage virtually paralyses Brussels airport and disrupts rail, postal and other services.

21/6, MALTA: Rioting outside the law courts by Labour opposition supporters. The crowd enter and damage the buildings, scatter documents and loot nearby shops.

U.S.A.

14/1: Nearly 2,000 workers attend a rally in Austin, Minnesota to "turn up the heat on Hormel." The rally, preceded by a march through downtown Austin, was organised to boost the international boycott of Hormel products and those of its subsidiaries, Jenny-O and Dubuque to back up demands that the 1400 workers in the meat-packing industry - left out in the cold when Hormel and the United Food and Commercial workers Union signed a concessions deal last September - be returned under conditions they could accept. Among the 1400 disciplined workers are 850 members of a Union branch Local P-9 who have refused to give up the struggle against concessions (ie, wage cuts, worse injury levels) that they began in August '85, and the 550 meatpackers from Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Nebraska Hormel who were fired for honoring P-9's roving pickets. Some strikers have now organised the North American Meatpackers Union, stating that "turning the union back to the rank and file is what we're all about."

18/1: The Long Island line in New York, the busiest commuter railroad in the U.S., is shut down by a strike over wage increases. Strike ends in the first week of February.

19/1: About 2,800 non-teaching employees at three university campuses in New Jersey go on strike over planned changes in payment of annual increments for longevity.

Late January: The 168 stoppage at 14 Deere plants in Illinois and Iowa ends. Over 13,000 auto workers went out on strike on 24/8/86 in a wage dispute.

End of January: The longest ever stoppage in the U.S. steel industry over management demands for wage cuts comes to a close.

23/1, *ECUADOR*: In the capital, Quito, hundreds of high school and university students take part in a riot, demand the resignation of the president.

9/2, *HAITI*: Armoured cars patrol Port-au-Prince ready to crush demonstrations calling for radical reform on the first anniversary of the fall of the Duvalier regime.

12/3, *BRAZIL*: Over 1,000 miners resign rather than a 13 day strike and go back to work. Marines are used to break the strike after it was declared illegal.

25/3, *ECUADOR*: 24 hour strike against austerity measures. In Quito there are clashes between strikers and cops.

1/5, *BRAZIL*: 300 homeless families occupy an abandoned housing project in Itaipava, Rio de Janeiro.

6/5, *COLUMBIA*: 2 day strike begins protesting at the death of a 14 year old girl who had been a witness to an attack on pro-Communist Union Patriotica party leaders by a death squad.

20/5, *HONDURAS*: Peasants seize land in protest at the failure of the government to implement land reforms. The 7 peasant organisations involved claim to have mobilised 20,000 members to demand more than 400,000 acres of land, of which they demand that 60,000 be distributed immediately. Heavily armed security police eventually dislodge the protesters.

28/5, *ECUADOR*: The government order troops to occupy all installations in the port of Esmeraldas after municipal authorities announce an indefinite strike for better amenities in the city.

11/6, *PANAMA*: The government proclaims a national state of emergency after 2 days of demonstrations.

21/6, *PANAMA*: The government orders an indefinite extension of the 10 day old state of emergency.

29/6, *HAITI*: Haiti is paralysed by the second general strike in week. Shops and businesses close, all public transport is halted, and demonstrators in provincial towns build barricades in protest against the government's dissolution of the main trade union federation and its refusal to accept the authority of the independent council set up to supervise the elections culminating in a presidential poll next November. Troops fire on stone-throwing demonstrators in the capital Port-au-Prince.

30/6, *HAITI*: Demonstrators seal off all roads into Port-au-Prince with burning barricades on the second day of the general strike. Troops in newly-supplied US riot gear fire on protestors who block streets with telegraph poles, parts of vehicles and burning tyres. Occasional shoots ring out around the city as soldiers fire warning rounds into the air to disperse protestors. Groups of protestors in the slum area of Martissant tell reporters that if the Ruling Council of National Government did not resign within 60 hours "then we'll burn, burn, burn."

BRAZIL: Rioters set fire to buses and attack police vehicles in the centre of Rio de Janeiro to protest against a 50% rise in bus fares. The rise was authorised by a judge and the damage at the end of 7 hours of rioting included 200 wrecked buses, 20 burnt out, 40 people injured, including several cops, and 70 people, including children, detained. But the rioters get their way - the fare increases are withdrawn. The entire centre of Rio de Janeiro is transformed into a battlefield with huge clouds of teargas, burning buses and running battles between cops and rioters. The bus passengers hurl stones, shouting "Sarney (the president) out" and "Death to Sarney." A few days earlier, also in Rio, hostile crowds surrounded a bus in which President Jose Sarney and a committee were carrying out a program of cultural visits and stoned it.

PANAMA: Thousands take to the capital's streets just hours after the government lifts a 20-day state-of-emergency. The demonstrators, protesting against US intervention in Panama's affairs, stone the American embassy building.

1/7, *HAITI*: Organisers of the general strike aimed at forcing Haiti's military government to resign say they will continue the stoppage after troops and cops shot dead 10 people in the worst violence since the 24-year Duvalier family dictatorship collapsed last year. The strike is partly suspended for 24 hours to allow people to recoup their forces to prepare for today's resumption, according to strike leaders. Earlier, trees and burning tyres block all of the country's main roads and scores of blazing barricades halt all activity in the capital. Lorries carrying helmeted cops and troops chase demonstrators back into the city's slums with rifle fire and teargas. Anti-government protests erupt in most provincial towns.



French railworkers strike

SOUTH AFRICA.

25/2: A 10-week strike by a predominantly black union against one of South Africa's largest supermarket chains comes to an end. Over 7,000 workers, most of them black, went out on strike on December 18th against the OK bazaars chain. During the strike the company dismissed over 500 workers who were reported to have vandalised property of intimidated customers. Over 1000 workers were arrested or detained. Police repeatedly raided union offices and attacked picket lines in an effort to break the strike, and the union was forced to spend thousands of dollars to bail out jailed pickets. The strike, covering 137 stores, was in response to a wave of layoffs and to the company's low wages.

12/3: Thousands involved in protests against detentions and the state of emergency.

24/3: 450 people march on Soweto council chambers protesting against the eviction of rent defaulters; evictions are being resisted - the rent boycott has been in force for over a year.

March: 16,000 railworkers go on strike in support of a sacked fellow worker. In April the bosses sack them when they don't obey a deadline to go back to work. After 2 bitter months (6 strikers were shot dead by the cops) all sacked workers were reinstated. Strikers caused £8 million damage in arson attacks on trains in the course of the strike.

28/4: 300+ youths clash with the cops while protesting against the shooting of 6 striking railworkers; 21 arrests. Slogans include: "Botha's necklace is ready", "Death to the South African police", "Long live the spirit of no surrender."

Running battles with the cops at the University of Capetown campus: barricades were erected and set on fire at the entrances.

13/6: 6 people and 2 cops injured in riots on the first anniversary of the state of emergency; cars and buses stoned and schools set on fire in Kwandebele homeland.

16/6: 1 million people stay away from work on the 11th anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

25/6: 800 troops and cops raid a densely populated squatter camp outside Capetown, arresting 110 blacks.

REST OF AFRICA.

27/1, **SIERRA LEONE:** Cops use teargas to disperse 3,000 schoolchildren who were demonstrating in sympathy with university students demanding higher food allowances. The student unrest is regarded as a potentially serious threat to the government.

8/5, **NIGERIA:** 16 inmates are killed and 17 injured when 70 condemned prisoners riot in Bendel State Prison in Lagos. Another protest was crushed the day before at Benin Prison in south-west Nigeria.

13/5, **ZAMBIA:** Rioting youths in Kitwe wreck shops and assault a cop in actions against traders refusing to lower their prices in line with the new economic policy.

EASTERN EUROPE.

YUGOSLAVIA: More than 70 strikes against government wage freeze by miners, textile, port, construction and sewage workers. Troops occupy the mines, miners respond by mixing the coal with up to 20% rocks.

21/3, **YUGOSLAVIA:** Prices of basic items cut- they had risen 20% between January and March. 28,000 workers are said to be on strike. President says he is willing to use troops to defend the state.

11/5, **YUGOSLAVIA:** Miners end 33-day old strike after scoring several demands, including the resignation of several managers and up to 46% pay rises.

26/5, **POLAND:** Prison riot in Bydgoszcz- hunger strike starts the following day.

2/6, *RUSSIA*: Youths riot outside police station in Soviet Far East.

8/6, *EAST BERLIN*: Youths who assemble to listen to the sounds of a rock concert drifting over the Berlin Wall from West Berlin are involved in clashes with the cops. Scuffles break out when police push forward and charge the crowd of 3,000. Motorcyclists with their lights on full beam drive up from behind the crowd, dazzling police and breaking through their lines before being caught. Slogans shouted included "Down with the pigs", "The wall must go" and "Rosa Luxemburg." 20+ arrested.

SOUTH KOREA.

Students and some workers demanding a democratic constitution and an end to dictatorship are in almost continual clashes with the cops since the beginning of the year. As with all media reports, facts are selected to obscure the existence of more radical demands. Although there are 17 million workers in South Korea, we have seen no reports of unrest in workplaces.

29/6: The head of South Korea's ruling party, Roh Tae Woo, capitulates to weeks of popular protest and urges President Chun Doo Hwan to accept direct presidential elections.

1/7: President Chun endorses the plan for political reform put forward by Roh Tae Woo.



Backs to the wall...angry mobs corner riot police

ASIA.

6/1, *BANGLADESH*: 5,000 involved in student demos in Dhaka to protest at government plans to ban political activity in educational establishments.

25/3, *BANGLADESH*: Arrest of 3 students for non-payment of fares sparks off a riot in which one student is killed and 75 injured. Students protesting at the police murder of the student rampage through Gaffargaon, trashing the cop station, railway office, court telephone exchange and government offices.

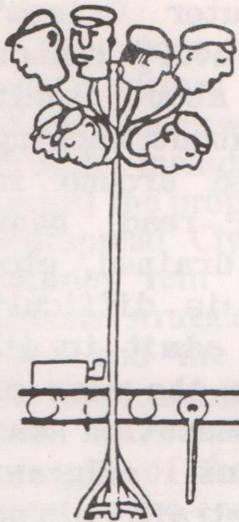
2/4, *BANGLADESH*: Hundreds of secondary school students attack teachers and set fire to school buildings demanding the right to cheat during exams.

10/5, *SRI LANKA*: University of Colombo brought to a virtual standstill by militant students. On 5/5 students held staff hostage for over 5 hours. An action Committee links students on all 9 campuses and has clashed with cops and a moderate student organisation, the Independent Students' Union. The staff kidnapping was a protest at the police murder of a student and another youth on May 1st during a banned demo. On 3/5 9 people are arrested for anti-government graffiti and poster sticking and in response 5 law faculty and another staff member are held. After an initial refusal the university authorities granted the students' demands. Disturbances followed at 3 campuses in the next 24 hours. A total of 35 lecturers were seized and 28 students released from custody. Colombo University has been surrounded by cops for 6 months.

30-31/5, *INDIA*: Peasant uprising in Bihar, India.

17/6, *BANGLADESH*: 100 students arrested outside Dhaka college examination centres while holding protests demanding the right to cheat.

21/6, *BANGLADESH*: A general strike called by the opposition in protest against proposed new taxes brings the country to a standstill.



NEW SCIENTIST

The ideology of the computer is a mass of contradictions. Everywhere, imbeciles shout as loud as they can, to add their tuppence worth. Scientists lay claim to being 'informed', knowing only the technical side and nothing of the social impact. And every fool who has read Huxley's "Brave New World" feels obliged to preach constantly about the menace of the machine.

Someone here says that the dawn of a new era of leisure is here, over there someone says that our brains will be fried and language will be replaced by logical commands, yet another says that computers will control us in microscopic detail. These pages are a start on debunking this mythology, and attempt to place it in its true light. And it is only a start; New Technology will still be new for a long time to come.

First some definitions. The 'New Technology' is basically 'Computer Technology.' The latter has evolved over the decades, the principle component now being the microscopic integrated circuit - the fabled microchip. With the invention of the microchip, and its continuing improvement, the computer came of age. Unwieldy, slow, clumsy systems were replaced by smaller, quicker and far more powerful computers, and from here on human capabilities couldn't keep up. New Tech is microchip technology applied, to production lines, information processing, arcade games, or whatever. Automation is New technology that replaces human labour and/or skills.

By and large, the predominant attitude is luddite. Machines are 'evil' (verging on devilry!), crippling, alienation issues forth from a mystical source within, ushering in the home office and home shopping thus obliterating human contact and becoming the universal mediation.

The new technology is better suited for information retrieval than powering a locomotive, but it is nonetheless machinery. If you're going to be a luddite, you can't get out of smashing all

machinery, all being 'evil' and all causing some death somewhere, somehow. Perhaps the needle of the loom has put them to sleep a la sleeping beauty.

There is undoubtedly reason to be worried about the effect of a VDU upon health, but whether this justifies never using one is very doubtful. Limits must be put on uninterrupted use, and this will become a focal point of office-workers struggles. But to use this argument for the wholesale elimination of technology, placing it in taboo, uses fear to perpetuate ignorance.

The worries about the end of direct human contact can be taken slightly more seriously. The boom in the home computer market of a few years back put units into an astonishing number of homes, sometimes providing each member of the family with their own console (sic). Even though the main use for these machines was game-playing, the potential for home-shopping and home-working was obvious and tentatively realized.

The end of human contact is not in sight, however; or rather, human contact will be conducted along the same dismal lines as now. With home working and home shopping, the family unit will be kept intact, probably reinforced due to a proportional increase in time spent with family compared with time spent with friends. And whether holidays and trips to concerts and performances will move entirely into the realm of televisual representation is doubtful - won't there be an urge to escape from the house you've spent the day labouring in?

(It should also be noted that the home office resembles in some ways the cottage industries so beloved by the back-to-feudalism crowd, but with far more communication.)

What can be assured, is that human relations won't improve of their own accord. The new technology offers opportunities to increase the fragmentation so blatantly evident in, for example, traffic jams, every motorist in their own little box. Now, with the boom in the telecommunications market, which microchip technology made possible, every motorist can be trapped in their own little office, a printer on the back seat. This colonisation of time has been gathering momentum for a long time, and

although these latest developments may nauseate us, it won't stop here.

What the luddites virtually refuse to comprehend, is that it isn't machines any more than it is the moon that is to blame for our present conditions. Alienation is the result of capitalist relations, not a mysterious side-product of inhuman cogs and circuits. The machines are alienating *in the context of capitalism*, neither inherently bad nor passively neutral. Although the application of new tech may oppress us, this is not a fault of the component micro-chips, but of the use made of them, a use decided upon by those in power. And so, simple rejection is not the answer - luddites need a sense of the social, and then the sabotage begins in earnest.

The next most vociferous ideologues are the paranoiacs. These see a totalitarian state watching us constantly, 24 hour surveillance, control on a scale never even imagined before. A camera in every room, plastic ID cards needed for every act, privacy an impossibility. Every financial deal is monitored, every drop of information stored and filed, even seemingly innocuous details are kept and computerised. Nothing is possible outside of circuits, everything is mediated through one centralised state computer.

Information retrieval having been revolutionised by computer technology, this is not quite as neurotic a proposition as might first be thought. Computer technology is especially applicable for this area, able as it is to hold vast quantities of information and sort and access it with great speed.

However, the paranoiacs, justly worried by these developments, see only state 'responsibility' as a possible response. They want laws passed to safeguard 'freedoms.' They don't understand two things: one, that computers aren't invulnerable, that they can be used for subverting and can be subverted, and absolutely watertight programs are an impossibility, and two, that we are made accomplices to our own oppression in this society, that there can be subtlety in oppression.

The damage done through hacking is incalculable, but the "Computer Crimes" squad of Scotland Yard have every reason to be worried, not just about their success rate (low). Stories about hacking are legion: Satellites shifted around in space, Prince Phillip's mail read, bank accounts created, filled and drained, etc. The spread of this activity is difficult to ascertain - hackers can't admit to it, victims won't admit to it. (In the case of Prince Phillip's mail, a prosecution was brought, but the lack of relevant legislation gave the perpetrators no worries.)

Although many of the early home computers were quite primitive, now obsolete, the newer models are as powerful as the expensive mainframe computers bought by companies five to ten years ago, which were so costly in price, peripherals, training and maintenance, that the company can't afford to replace them. Individuals with a thousand pounds can get instant parity, or even superiority, to many companies. This is causing something of a crisis in certain boardrooms. (1) A further mistake made by the paranoiacs is that the state will be sufficiently unified in one supercomputer, which presupposes a minimum of conflicting interests.

Computer technology itself isn't perfected. "Electronic smog" has been found to be the culprit for robots going



A frightening innovation in employee monitoring is being undertaken by the Westinghouse Corporation at their Pittsburgh Research and Development Centre in the USA. They are hatching a device that would fit over a worker's head like a cap and analyse his or her brainwaves, thus telling if they are concentrating on their work. According to the Washington Post, Westinghouse has foc-

THINGS TO COME I

used in on a brainwave called p300 "as a means of determining an individual's level of attention".

Within the next ten years Westinghouse hopes to market a complete system that could monitor the mental processing efforts of workers as they work. Initially the system would be for high risk jobs like air traffic controllers and engin-

eers in nuclear power plants. But eventually it would find it's way into more mundane workplaces.

Though it sounds like a weird idea from a cheap science-fiction comic the bosses think it is worth investing in. Even if they do get it into production and onto the market, they will have to convince workers to co-operate. Some chance - who wants a spy in their head!

berserk, radar blanking out and heart pacemakers switching off. This pollution is the profusion of electromagnetic waves being emitted at many various frequencies by an ever increasing number of gadgets - burglar alarms, radio hams and especially personal computers. Although generally the result is little more than TV interference, it poses a serious threat to computerised factories in highly populated areas, and more seriously the workers there (in Japan 10 have been killed by malfunctioning robots, thought to be due to "electronic smog.") (2).

And of course, computer designers and programmers are only human. Bugs, some quite major, slip in, some with immediate effect, some dormant, and some problems, such as storage of fractions, haven't yet been overcome. And as programmers always know more than their employers, quirks and games can be easily slipped in. Computers are only as good as their inventors.

Not understanding the subtlety of control already present in this society (certain newspapers boasted of Thatcher's 1984 as being free of Orwell's nightmare) oppression is seen as something quite alien - even those who see certain measures being introduced consider them alien, intrusions into an otherwise fine system of government. This liberal smugness, as it deals only in possible threats and not in realised menaces, proves itself inconsequential.

Most debate about new technology revolves around work. At last, this is the crux of the matter. What is generally accepted is that high unemployment will be a permanent feature of 'computer-capitalism', and that new technology is the historical reason for this. Appended to this are either the belief in the imminent leisure society and the peculiar joys of round the clock consumption, or a bemoaning of declining standards and the necessity of hard graft.

But! The effect of technology is not limited to destroying jobs and making a predestined proportion unemployed. The inadequacy of such simple cause/effect equations is shown by the boom in the white-collar/secretarial market which is due, in part at least, to the increasing availability and power and decreasing cost of the word processor. The word processor has increased the range and productivity of the secretary enormously. Automisation, that is, the technology that replaces manual labour with fully computerised machines (robots), can't be pulled out of a hat and applied instantaneously to wherever one might wish. Computer technology is not ergo automisation. Certain conditions must be

satisfied - for example, the presence of machinery that can be controlled by a microchip. Where the production is of identical, predesigned commodities, eg cars or tape-recorders, automisation can take place. For word-processors the machinery, typewriters, is being replaced. Certain functions of the typewriter can be automatised, like the printing of a letter, but the writing and editing of the letter cannot, as yet, be.

New technology in certain sectors will mean an increase in the quantity of jobs, and each workers productivity. Some skills will be replaced by others, and there will be both redundancies and vacancies. Where new technology will result in fewer jobs - and has already done so - is in the factories. Robots are efficient, accurate, require neither wages nor teabreaks and can up production enormously. In automated factories, 'overseeing' may become a job in its own right. The computer industry itself will continue expanding rapidly, especially in maintenance roles.

Some jobs in the manufacturing industries, although not automated, will be deskilled by this technology. Skilled workers will find their talents made obsolete, and their privileges (due to the necessity of their particular skills) will be ended, and they will join the mass of unskilled labour.

This is not some sudden turn of the market. This is a deliberate policy to lower wages and inflict some reverses upon the troublesome proletariat, using



"GREYS" ANTICIPATIONS No. 5.

POPULAR
BIG SATISFYING
WHOLESOME . WELL-MADE

A Hive of Industry, A.D. 2500.

Literally a "hive" in that it is a city unto itself . . . radiating from the mammoth super-factory are workers' dwellings and associated institutes . . . architecture governed by the prevailing material—concrete . . . no smoke (other than from tobacco!) . . . no household cooking . . . meals delivered by pneumatic tube from central caskhouse.

new technology to compete with factory workers, to replace labour considered too costly, and to reorganise the production process to afford greater control. This is a continuation of capitalist policy in its struggle against the workers, which has previously taken the form of assembly line production and containerisation of docks, for example.

There are obstacles to the spread of new technology. In some cases, it isn't economically viable to apply it, the cost of introducing new technology outweighs the cost of labour - in West Germany wages are relatively high, and manufacturers must bring in robots in order to remain competitive (3), but in Britain, wages being comparatively low, the approach tends to be to try to increase the workers productivity by other means. In other cases, the industry is not one of assembly line production, and new technology has less scope for introduction (eg: ships, aeroplanes, houses).

There is also another problem, one of economics. Profit can only be made on variable capital, that is, labour, and not on constant capital, which robots are. In a society based on exchange, value is determined by the only common characteristic of all products, that is, labour, measured by time. Each increase in productivity reduces the amount of labour in each product, so that to realise the same amount of value more products have to be sold. This greatly increases competition for markets, between companies and between states. The resulting trade wars (tending towards military continuation) show that capital can't cope with its own increasing productivity. As value tends to diminish, the organisation of society based on it becomes increasingly fragile and barbarous.

With profit being made only on labour, Capital's tendency towards complete automation would appear quite unviable.

The labour market.

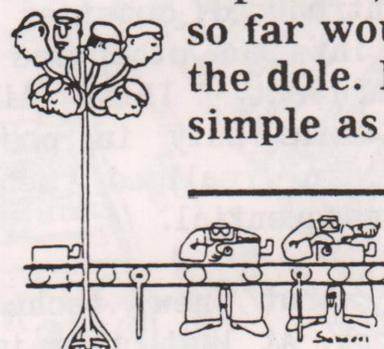
The net effect of the introduction of new technology is the intensification of the labour market. If wages are considered too high, the management can introduce new tech to increase productivity. Although new tech used in this manner predominantly squeezes industrial workers, the effect is felt throughout the labour market. The result of industrial high tech is to create a boom in the service sector, as it lowers wages but isn't applied there (there is little scope for its application in cleaning roads and making hotel beds.) Not only competition lowers wages - as the productivity is increased, the cost of the means of our sustenance is decreased. Our standard of living may not decrease,

but the cost of wages would, making employment more economical again.

The poverty of technology, the technology of poverty.

While at one end of the market there is large scale capital that can afford new technology, at the other is small capital (family business, enterprise allowance, etc.) and intense labour competition. This competition depresses wages and, paradoxically, sweat shops thrive. An entrepreneur can hire and fire at will, the threat of unemployment deterring resistance. Small scale capital is constantly being recreated, and is constantly seeking ways of profitably exploiting the pool of labour created by changes at the other end of the market. From the black market, to sweat shops, to hotel slavery, the free market does create jobs, but jobs so bad that unemployment benefit is preferable. Hence Restart.

6 Faced by the choice of going on the dole or working like the Japanese, the men so far would prefer the dole. It's as simple as that ;



The global effect

Automation, due to its enormous potential, effects the global jobs market. Industries that become deskilled and thus require an untrained workforce, can be moved to where there is a bountiful supply of ultra-cheap labour, the third world, with the parent company transporting and installing the technology. Other unskilled jobs can't be moved - the service industries especially (but internationally, the workforce itself is becoming increasingly mobile, getting on their bikes when the mountain won't come to them). Indeed by very dint of the inapplicability of new tech, the service sector has and will continue to expand in the West.

The Leisure Society.

The mistaken belief that technology reduces work *per se*, taken to its obvious conclusion, suggests that an age of leisure is dawning. No one will do all those dirty but necessary jobs, and everyone will be able to partake in constant pleasure. Although, as this view's proponents admit, this is a long

way off, they see the seeds of it in contemporary decadance and unemployment. The three million, they are the first of the new aristocracy! Work's for suckers! The most striking aspect of "capitalism without work" is the astounding lack of imagination. The 'decadance' is merely exaggerated consumption; the leisure society is described in terms of round the clock television; enough to make Fourier turn in his grave. In many ways, these bourgeois are merely wishing they could do without the proletariat, whom may one day bury them. Wishing, however hard, will not save them.

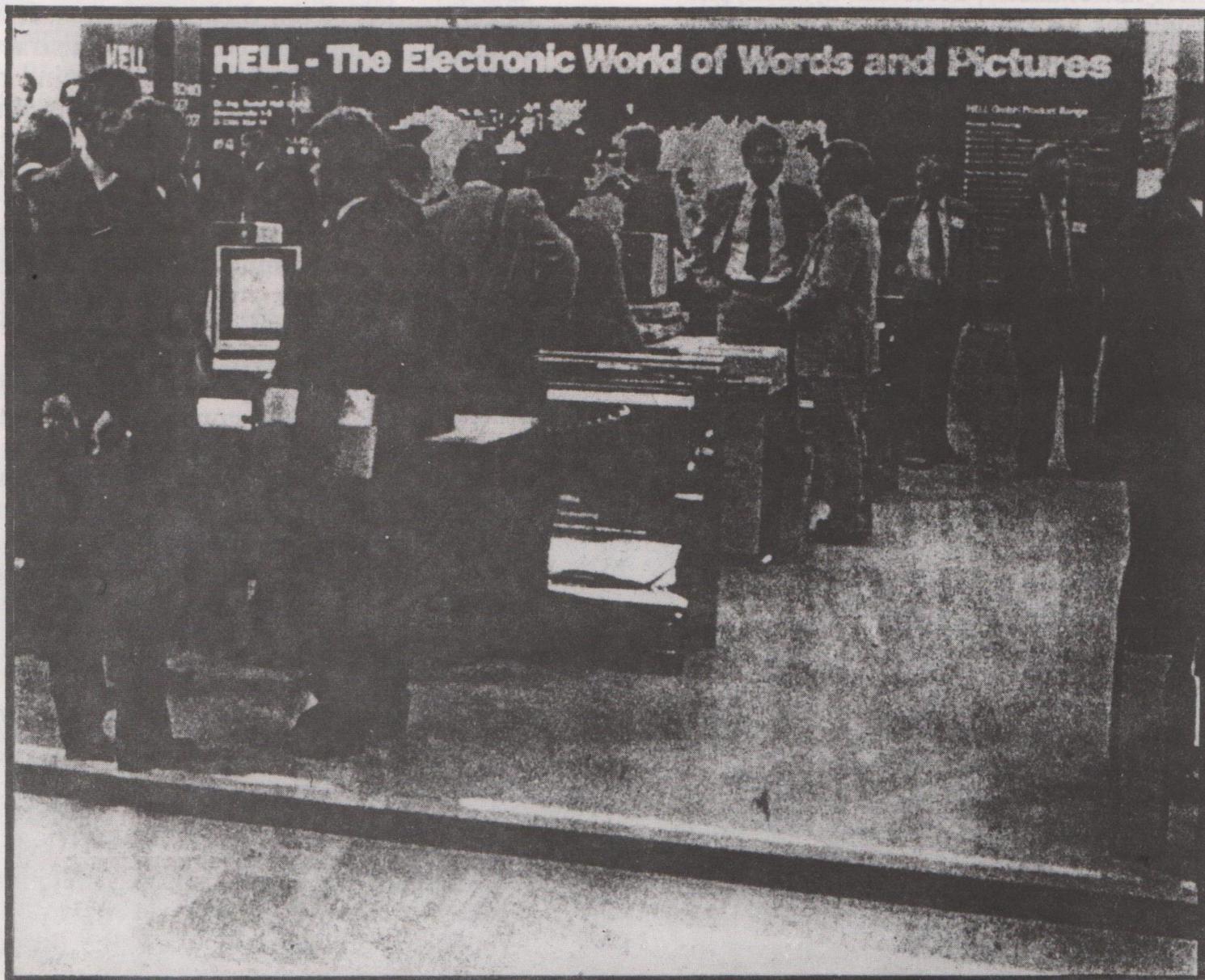
The obvious possibilities for reducing work through the introduction of new technology are tempered by the work found for idle hands, and machines, to do. As profit is derived from human labour, and the aim of this game is the accumulation of profit, this is going to be so. Capitalism simply can't afford to miss chances to extract more from its subjects, and so its promised consumption utopia rings hollow.

This time is one of transition. The labour market is going through great changes, in the skills required, the places of employment, the geopolitical distribution, the organisation of the working day. Futurology is idle speculation; what can be studied now is the crisis that new technology is a part of. Certain symptoms offer many possibilities. The rapid advances made by

scientists are making today's computers obsolete, and will inevitably make tomorrow's too. Quite aside from the pure cost of installing a new system every year, to keep up with the Joneses Ltd, the cost of up-to-date software (especially security software), training staff to use the new system, and the marketing techniques of the computer companies (aiming to 'lock in' customers and milk them like cash cows) is going to be crippling. The computer market is a hive of contradictory activity.

Thousands of questions are thrown up by these developments. We have no answers to these questions, but then, neither does capitalism.

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- (1) Guardian 21/8/86.
 - (2) Economist 27/6/87.
 - (3) re Volkswagen in West Germany, Sunday Times 28/11/82.



The road to Wapping began when Eddie Shah announced his plans to enter the national market with a new-tech low work-force daily paper. As he was coming from the outside, he had nothing to lose from taking on workers' defensive ('restrictive') practices. Nor did he have to fork out for redundancy payments or make losses on out-of-date, but not worn out machinery.

The Press Barons had wanted for some time to restructure the industry, to use new technology both to cheapen production by replacing workers, and to reorganise production procedures against the workers, but no-one wanted to be first to face the workers' wrath.

Shah's plans meant that they would have to do something to be able to compete, but it also made the workers realise what they were up against. If, once new-tech had been introduced to the industry, workers at one paper tried to stop it totally, the company would have to close down production (due to uncompetitiveness) and either start a new paper with new-tech, or leave room for someone else to. This is what News International effectively did anyway, without waiting to see how far workers would resist the changes.

At this stage, the only way to have ensured that at least new-tech would be brought in under the best possible conditions for the workers, was for the whole industry to come out together. But Murdoch set himself up as the villain, and the unions encouraged this concentration, with stupid, and sometimes nationalistic, irrelevant attacks, and free advertising for his competitors. While making a lot of noise about News International, the unions quietly made deals with the rest of the industry. For the unions it was a matter of principal - Murdoch had acted behind their backs, instead of discussing it with them first, behind the workers' backs.

Of course there is a real difference between sacking a complete a complete work-force, and making a large number redundant - the offer of a seemingly large amount of money to stop working certainly has its attractions. But we can't ignore lesser attacks just because there are big attacks to face. If solidarity is to be more than just going on demos and passing motions, it must be based on recognising our common situation and struggles, and what we can gain from each others' victories. By the time the Wapping dispute was half-way through, the unions had ensured that those closest to them had already passed through, and lost, the struggle against restructuring the industry.

SOLIDARITY

One reason why solidarity was absent or late from people and groups involved in some other struggles, was the particular product involved - the Sun. While it is obviously absurd to blame workers for what they are employed to produce, print workers have had the power to challenge at least the most blatant excesses of their bosses. With the old technology, printing was a skilled job, which gave the workers far more power than a replacable unskilled

worker. This power was used to resist small-scale attempts at restructuring for many years (which made the total new-tech overhaul so urgent for the bosses) but rarely did they look outside their workplace to see what was really going on in the world, and take sides. The refusal to print the Sun's moronic portrayal of Scargill as a nazi during the miners' strike was upstaged by the many issues that simply never reached their rail destinations due to their anti-miner stance.

Criticism of the Sun that developed during the strike was still extremely superficial - that it is sensationalised entertainment rather than news would be readily admitted by many of its readers. Probably only a struggle throughout the whole industry could have developed a proper critique of the Sun, which must also be a critique of the media as a whole, including the patronising banality called the Wapping Post.

But none of this excuses the disgusting moralist isolationism of idiots like Green Anarchist, who are so stuck in this world they think they are above, that they can't see beyond a commodity to understand the conditions under which it is produced.

OUTSIDE AGITATORS

The media, unions, police and courts all used the scapegoat 'outside agitators' to try to separate the sacked workers from their supporters. It is true that at times fighting the cops was a distraction from trying to stop the scab lorries coming out of the plant, but there were many more times when stewards' control over the demonstrators stopped them doing anything. Right at the start the stewards lied about how many exits there were to the plant, and anyone who informed the demonstrators that the lorries were coming out ½ mile up the road was called a provocateur - 'we must stick together' even if we're not achieving anything. And even without blatant lies, the stewards' control (which faded but never died) made the picket nearly always a couple of weeks behind the cops' strategy and a month behind those (printers and supporters) with the most initiative. Just because someone has proved him/herself at dealing with the bosses and getting concessions, it doesn't mean they know how to stop a lorry or a police attack, and someone who has a good idea once won't necessarily follow it up. we have to develop our own ideas and practice, and judge them for ourselves.

The end came when the NGA, mandated by its members nationally not to allow itself to be sequestered again, had to end its support for the dispute to avoid it. After all, what's the use of a union without any money?

The role of the union is to negotiate its members' conditions. If this gets too tricky, it calls its members out, but always for the purpose of getting the boss to negotiate, to get back to their

proper role. A good union spends its time around the table with the bosses, negotiating well enough that there aren't many strikes. But this is hardly the atmosphere to develop skills in organising and fighting struggles, or to understand workers' solidarity and how to develop it, as is shown by unions' treatment of their own office staff. From their perspective, solidarity also comes from negotiation, with other union leaders. Everything must go through the proper channels, otherwise it is suspect.

A union can only represent particular interests - it is at its strongest when it is small and can ensure that only its members get particular jobs. But workers have common interests that are not dependent on their particular job or industry, and it is becoming obvious that in the long run we can't win even our particular struggles on our own.

It is up to us to organise our own struggles, develop our own links and methods, and speak for ourselves. There can only be negotiations if we accept that the bosses have a right to exist, on our sweat. The union at most defends our existence as wage slaves and so ultimately defends our exploitation. The unions keep us divided and hold us back.

In the past struggles have been organised through strike committees, workers' councils, mass assemblies of strikers and supporters, in which all make decisions and carry them out, destroying the basis for bureaucracy and separate interests. At times workers' councils have joined up to take control of production and distribution in their area - but so far have always been destroyed through isolation, through their inability or unwillingness to spread this power through all areas of life and of the world, so that they became merely means for integrating workers into management of a small part of this system, of their own misery. No forms can guarantee success, but we can only be sold out if we allow our selves to be, if we allow others (unions, parties, 'specialists') to control our struggle.

FIGHTING BACK

Redundancy payments often sound like a lot of money (especially as the media tend to exaggerate, or talk only of the best offer for the minority) but for those who do not get a new job, the DHSS decides how you can spend it. Once your unemployment benefit runs out (normally after a year) you have to claim Supplementary Benefit, but you can not if you have more than £3,000 (higher for a couple) or if the SS say you should have more than £3,000 left. If you spend it all, you have to wait till they say you should have spent it before you get a penny off them. Miners have suffered particularly severe restrictions on spending their redundancy pay.

So if you've been laid-off, or if you're on strike and trying to claim benefit, stick together, cos nothing makes them act, or recalculate their figures, quicker than a bunch of angry people with a common purpose. And if you're organised and noisy you're more likely to find, and get support from, sympathetic staff and fellow claimants.

Companies normally restructure different sections of their business at different times so that they don't have to make the restructuring pay off immediately. This will often mean that those who are fighting lay-offs are in a weaker position than those who have already been through, or will soon go through restructuring. This makes it vital to explain to other sections of the workforce how the lay-offs will affect them, and to fight together against all lay-offs, even if only part is publicly planned. Recent legislation makes it harder to strike in solidarity, but with a bit of imagination you can find a grievance to strike over, so everyone knows what the real issue is, without the boss being able to do anything. And if you can't get others to strike with you, you can always try occupying the head-office, or wherever business will



most be disrupted. Getting to know your company, its strong and weak points, who owns it and who it owns, will always help in any struggle, and any acts of solidarity. And we need imagination, which means people having confidence in their own ideas and abilities, instead of waiting for those who supposedly know better.

The idea of a 'Social Strike' is that in areas which supply some kind of service to other working-class people, action is organised so that it is profits rather than the service which is affected, for example bus-conductors refusing to collect fares. The main problem with this is that it will often result in the disciplining of those taking the action, which would have to be resisted by strike action, so it normally seems logical simply to go on strike in the first

place. In the 1981 civil servants' strike, sections like the Inland Revenue were brought out first, to hit the government in the wallet and to get more public support, but the government was willing to lose money rather than give in, and nobody really noticed the strike until the DHSS was eventually brought out. The result was that the dispute dragged on for much longer than necessary, but those who now propose the same tactics (often to win recruits among claimants) seem to think they're being really radical. For the Social Strike to be a practical tactic, active support from the working-class as consumers must be joined to action as producers; for example, refusal to collect fares as a tactic against job losses would make a lot more sense in the context of action by bus-users against One-Person-Operated buses, and management would be discouraged from taking disciplinary action in the face of worker/user unity.

TODAY

Any map of the world drawn today should have the word 'austerity' printed in large letters across it. Everywhere the message is cutbacks, however this may be justified in each separate state.

But austerity doesn't only mean tightening our belts, it has meant, especially in the 'West', the creation of a whole new atmosphere more conducive to the reproduction of capital, an atmosphere of fragmentation, isolation, fear, impotence and of simply lying low.

'There will be no possibility of working class political activity, so long as the concrete problems which present themselves to each worker have to be resolved individually and privately, as is the case today. He has to preserve his job, his pay, his house and his family. The union and the party can not help in any way, indeed the reverse is true. A little peace can only be won if one makes oneself as small as possible, if one scatters. One can only increase one's pay a bit by working a lot or looking for supplementary jobs, competing with other workers etc.' - Piero Sraffa on the apparent situation in Italy under fascism, 1924

Thatcher's basic 'monetarist' policy of restricting the money supply has only ever been carried out with regard to the money supply that we have to some extent gained collective access to (with strings attached, of course), in the areas of services, welfare benefits etc. The message has been simple - the money is there, but access to it is to be determined individually; benefits are to be redirected to the 'deserving poor'; services are privatised 'to give us more choice' - if we have the money; the mass of unemployed youth is carved up into small teams on training schemes, to which the way out and up is individual and competitive; workers' bastions like the mines and car factories are fragmented by capital - intensive production techniques (either in the factory, or in competition, such as nuclear power against coal) increasing job competition; despite being anachronistic, Tebbit's 'get on your bike' was symbolically individualist (you leave on your bike and return in a Rolls Royce to laugh/cry at those who have remained in capital's ghost towns).....

Restriction of resources has made those groups still existing for particular struggles, battle for priority, which further isolates them - in the artificially created housing and job shortages, black/gay/women's groups find themselves forced back onto complaining of their specific oppression to gain better access for themselves, and finding 'friends' in power to take up their cause, so enforcing divisions (not all black, gay or women's groups have accepted this isolation and redefinition of their struggle, nor have all the white, male, straight proletariat accepted the lie that homelessness/unemploy-

ment are caused by the 'preferential treatment' of 'loony left causes').

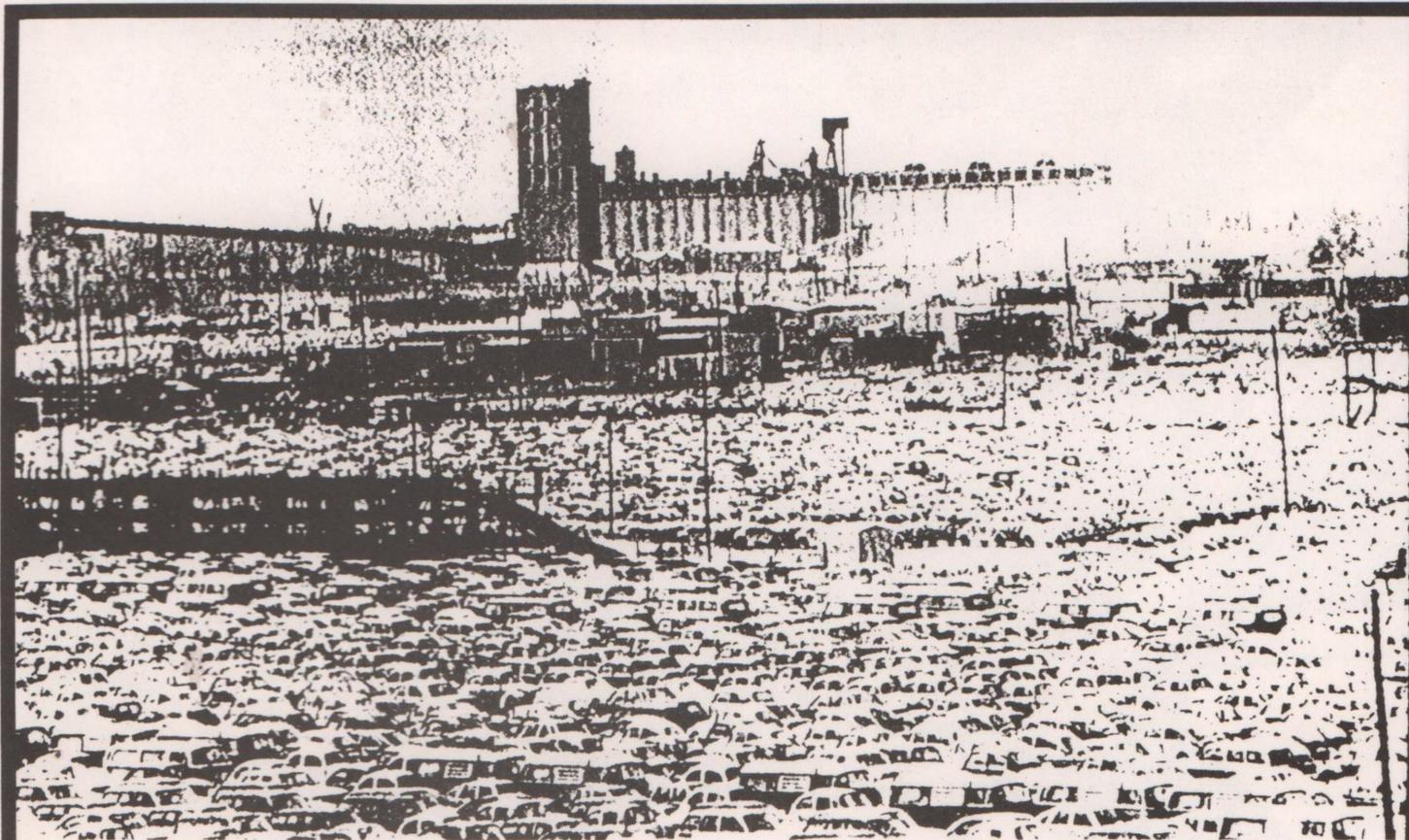
And the gains made in the struggle for autonomy from the family are being withered away by economic/legal restrictions - YTS rates require parental subsidies, student grants are being reorganised (slashed) so that parents will have to contribute far more, unemployed youth can only stay in B&B temporarily, squatting, which was used to immediately and collectively escape the domination of the family has become far harder, women have been particularly hit by job losses, while the increased stress of living in this world adds to the reproductive labour expected from women.....

This situation is both cause and effect of the decomposition of the social-political movement against capital, of our inability to coherently develop our struggles together, to base our particular struggles on a critique of the totality, to use our victories as starting points for greater struggle, to develop a continuity of struggle so that a laid-off worker, or a black person who succeeded in fight-

ing the racist allocation of jobs, does not find her/himself on totally alien terrain.

The movement (whose existence can only be denied because we have failed to recognise each other in it) in the totality of its practice (as opposed to its fragmented theory) has posed the collective appropriation of resources, through struggle, against the privatised appropriation (and its hierarchy that excludes the unemployed, 'housewives' etc) through the mediation of money, which hides the theft on which capitalist accumulation is based. The two are not totally exclusive - a collective struggle can win gains which are individually appropriated, like a pay rise. Austerity is the backlash of capital to restore its order. It is meeting resistance everywhere, but on an increasingly fragment level, and all too often with the aim of turning the clock back - trying to return to the terrain where we have won previous battles - which is always impossible. Capital has transformed the terrain we are fighting on, and individual bosses, as much as us, have to change tactics accordingly.

It was hoped that our analysis would help to pinpoint areas where this transformation is likely to create new forces, to take up the struggle on this new terrain, unifying 'objectively - by its direct and immediate action against capitalism - all the revolts of the other popular strata, - amorphous and directionless' (Gramsci). It would seem at the moment that this 'new force' will come from a convergence of old forces, from the points where struggles overlap. It is the black section of the working class that has been consistently combative on a mass scale. Their struggle against discrimination has overlapped with the struggles of gays and women, while their struggle with the force of 'law'n'order' has spread to white youth and strikers. But the struggle against exclusion (from jobs, housing, 'Britishness'...) must develop a critique of what we are excluded from, to reach to the heart of the system. It is when those who are not excluded from the meagre benefits of this world (a job, a home and a white face) see that they are excluded from their own creativity, from their production and their lives, that the fun really starts. The alternative would be the further development of the black middle class as the false antithesis of exclusion, as something to individually aspire to. Austerity and its laws mean that the joining of forces, while more difficult, is also immediately political, posing the questions of class, power and legality in the forefront.



7/5/74-HOUSTON, TEX: A jam of over 30,000 new imported automobiles with no place to go because of a decline in foreign sales has turned the port of Houston into an overcrowded parking lot. With 10,000 more expected this month, importers are scrambling to grab what little parking acreage there is left. (UPI)

This magazine is only one attempt to analyse the complexity of this society, to find the common basis for our oppression and exploitation, so as to find a unitary basis for our struggles against it. But unity can only come from action, not from mere theoretical agreement, nor from setting up a party that seeks to integrate all struggles into its own enclosed space, time and understanding, for the purpose of achieving separate power. In producing this magazine we have posed for ourselves more questions than we have answered, and we are continuing our analysis, our discussions on the practice of what we have learnt, together with (we hope) the development of our real practice.

If our language seems at times rather abstract and obscure, this is partly because this world is not as it portrays itself, so it is necessary to deal abstractly to find its tendencies that explain its concrete acts and existence (the basis of this society is value, an abstraction from our concrete production), partly because we have not yet made our theory totally concrete in our practice (which is probably impossible outside a revolutionary situation). Also as words change their meaning through use, it is sometimes easier to define things clearly with words that are least used, and so have retained a clearer meaning.



"Society does not develop in a continuous way, free from setbacks, but through conflicts and antagonisms. While the working class battle is widening in scope, the enemy's strength is increasing. Uncertainty about the way to be followed constantly and repeatedly troubles the minds of the combatants; and doubt is a factor in division, of internal quarrels and conflicts within the workers' movement.

"It is useless to deplore these conflicts as creating a pernicious situation that should not exist and which is making the working class powerless. As has often been pointed out, the working class is not weak because it is divided; on the contrary, it is divided because it is weak. And the reason why the proletariat ought to seek new ways is that the enemy has strength of such a kind that the old methods are ineffectual. The working class will not secure these ways by magic, but through a great effort, deep reflection, through the clash of divergent opinions and the conflict of impassioned ideas. It is incumbent upon it to find its own way, and precisely therein is the *raison d'être* of the internal differences and conflicts. It is forced to renounce outmoded ideas and old chimeras, and it is indeed the difficulty of this task that engenders such big divisions."