

## PORTUGAL PORTUGAL PORTUGAL PORTUGAL PORTUGAL PORTUGAL PORTUGAL

A recent film of the situation in Portugal revealed an important problem that has to be solved before the revolution becomes widespread and uniform throughout the country. It is also highly relevant for an industrial society like our own where the 'have-nots' are a minority but the 'have a little's form a large part but exploited majority.

Briefly, in the south of Portugal land was owned in large tracts by rich absentee landlords. Come the revolution these farms were taken over by their peasant workers and were a major acheivemnt of the revolution. In the north the land is farmed by very small scale owner-occupiers peasants and these formed a large part of the resistance to the revolution.

My assumption is that the owner-occupier peasants of the north resisted the revolution because they assumed that their land would be expropriated and that they would then be forced to become insecure 'tied' workers again - albeit on state cooperatives.

My thesis is that these groups of smallholdings - villages in fact - are already very close to being a collective. One can single out a number of reasons for this: the farms are usually worked solely by the farmer and his family so that all the ¢ rewards for effort and care lie with the 'workers'; decisions and the effect of these decisions are likewise all borne by the workers (this responsibility and the sense of value of living that it generates are strong motive forces for resisting 'state takeover'); there is little if any capital available so the peasant is unable to hoard and speculate for want of money himself - in fact his lack of any surplus wealth mean that he can easily be exploited by the wholesaler buyers of his produce (middle-men).

Thus I believe the revolution should assure such smallholders of security of tenure (say on farms of up to 15 acres) and encourage increased cooperation through capital grants for common machinery, etc.. Surplus land could be welded togather into immediate high level cooperatives for the non-owner peasants and surplus family of the small holdings who might otherwise drift to the cities might be attracted by 'work with responsibility' (usefully leading to disintegration of the male parental dominance of owner occupier farms).

Such a method of agrarian collectivisation seems to have been employed in China in the 1940's and 1950's (J. Myrdal 'Report from a Chinese village' Pelican books).

This model also provides an example of how to proceed in urban areas. Owner occupiers saisfying the criteria of 'necessary( use of property would be allowed to keep their own homes and once again 'non-necessary' property expropriated.

Overall in such a plan a large part of the so-called middle classes are often the most resistant to change as having little power lose first and lose what they have 'eaked out' with much 'blood sweat and tears' (they p provide the shock troups of the real benefactors of capitalism).

Thus all exploited classes become united in the revolution irrespective of their official class labels.

Footnote: There are no facts in this article as I know none. It was written from an impression formed during the film. I should really like to hear comments, criticisms and facts so that any future 'articulations' from me are made in the light of greater knowledge and understanding of this and any other situation.

Robin.

Tro.

THE BUILDING + THE BUILDING + THE BUILDING + BUILDING + BUILD IT + BUILD IT. This is on Gregory Boulevard on the corner of Noel ST. next to Hyson Green Girls Club. The building is fairly large: the main central area can accomodate about 75 dancing people with six smaller rooms. One is being used as a kitchen and another as a workshop for printing, etc. There is a large duplicator available A5 stencils, <u>What it could be used for?</u> It would make an excellent small <u>conference</u> centre, with a central area and workshop rooms. IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T page 3 It would be very suitable to use for films - anything from political, funnies, and classical stuff. There are a few people interested in this. Are you? Also as a place for MEETINGS

WORKSHOPS BOOKSHOP LIBRARY CAFE	A second-hand record exchange (a better deal than commercial record shops) operates on Thursday afternoons.
PLACE FOR KIDS	A BERLEY AND A REAL PROPERTY AND A REAL PROPER
EXHIBITION CENTRE	
LAUDERETTE	
ETC.	

Is anyone interested in 'Red October' Exhibition? The Russian Revlution was in October, as was Hungary '56 and Germany 1918. A few people are going to do an <u>exhibition on the Revolution in Spain in 1936 after the summer</u> with speakers, films, discussion, and original posters, pamphlets, books, etc. On Saturday mornings there is a kids get together.

> Every Wednesday afternoon women are meeting, some with kids. They say:

> > Some women are going to do exciting things down at the building one evening a week--- self-defence, dance, theatre, consciousness raising, writing and painting, printing, making kites, etc.

We want to explore, learn and create. We want women to get together.

The first meeting is this Wednesday 23rd June at 2p.m. So women with children come too.

Chris and Lynda

What needs doing?

WORKING DAY

Some electrical work, fire signs, toilets and painting. If you want to help come on

> THURSDAYS to the Building, 11am. to 3pm, SUNDAY JUNE 4th

WORK-IN SUNDAY 4th JUNE

This weekend is to coincide with the CACTL conference.

IF YOU WANT ANY INFORMATION, ETC., WANT TO HELP, ETC., RING 600337 or CALL AT 36, GREGORY BOULEVARD OR AT THE BUILDING

MEETINGS, MEETINGS AND MORE MEETINGS .....

11150

(or ... who was this Trotsky bloke anyway?)

There are lots of meetings to go to in Nottingham. Take an average week - NAC, Working Women's Charter, Battered Women, Womens' Liberation Group, Gay workers, Amti-fascist Committee, Tenants Association, CACTL, Chile, Portugal, Spain, and probably loads I've forgotten. Then at the weekend a national demonstration, a local picket, fund-raising, typing, duplicating, collating ... not to mention time off for reading and talking to people.

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Anyone who's unable to (or doesn't want to) devote all hours of the day and night to political activity of one kind or another has to make choices, and it's finding a basis for prioritisation which I (and no doubt many others) find difficult. Sometimes it's clearer - for example when a crisis (such as the James White Bill) necessitates prompt and intensive activity, but it's much harder to decide on long-term ongoing involvements.

## IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T page 4

I try talking as a starting point, relevence to me and my life, but that doesn't solve the problem, 'cos in one sense everything seems relevent, and in another sense everything seems, more or less, remote. So I carry on more or less randomly, getting involved in things my friends are involved in (not that I think that's a particularly terrible reason!), or doing everything for a couple of weeks and nothing for the next six months.

I can't think of any easy solutions to this, especially as many of us spend more than half the week doing tiring and tedious jobs, but, given that we have to make choices, I've been trying to think of ways of making these choices more meaningful.

I'd say that a big barrier to meaningful participation in a lot of political activity is simple lack of knowledge about exactly what's going on. Some meetings sound like they're being conducted in code, and I often find myself expressing solidarity with people I know next to nothing about. O.K. - I know I'd support them if I did know more about them, but that doesn't make me enthuisiastic about going and expressing my solidarity again next week. Lots of assumptions are made by speakers at meetings (As you no doubt all know ... etc), I find myself frequently suffering not so much from a lack of ideas but from a lack of context, background, historical perspective or whatever you like to call it.

I know I'm not the only person who feels like this - only last week I was talking to someone who was unable to follow the proceedings at a conference because she didn't understand the internal workings of trade unions. So what can we do about it? Read? But you come up against the same problems - there's so much written, so where do you start? Anyway, it takes a hell

of a lot of self-discipline to sit and plough through masses of literature in isolation from everybody else. And obviously, although lots of meetings could be de-jargonised a bit, certain assumptions have to be made (a fleeting reference to Stalinism can't possibly be followed by a detailed history of the Russian Revolution!\*).

One solution I'd like to see is a kind of "Socialism for Idiots" Course set up - a series of informal but informative meetings for people like me, preferably with some sort of continuity mather than just once-off topics. There are various ways it could be structured - people reading around a topic and exchanging ideas/information, speakers, or a combination of the two. Some suggestions for topics - historical backgrounds to situations in Chile, Portugal, Spain, Russia, China etc, trade unions and how they work, the developments of revolutionary movements, commonly held concepts like alienation, dialectics ... etc etc . ad infinitum.

Anyone interested in participating, or helping with suggestions for reading material on particular topics (preferably both!)? How about getting something together for the autumn? If you're interested contact me at 66 Maud St., New Basford, or Keith c/o 'If you don't ...'

Jean

(\* and even that wouldn't be enough - typists note)

### A REVIEW OF DOSSIER 1974

1974 was a very important year when across the world the 'Oil Crisis' was re-organising the balance of power between the working class and capital while different parts of capital itself was joggling to get on top; in U.K. the Tory Govt. tried to enforce discipline through the three-day week while the miners strike and all its supporters politically hammered them. Etc.

So, for revolutionaries it's important to know about the struggles that

took place in this year - and in fact, in every year - and how they effect each other across the world, in communities, in social relationships, in new methods of work study, in different investment plans, in legislation connected with skooling, the family etc. (Phew!)

I reviewed the <u>Dossier</u> partly as a counter to a lot of usually libertarian ideas which say: "All I can do is do something about the situation I'm in Here and Now". Other people's situations and struggles are 'over there'

#### IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T page 5

and I mustn't 'interfere'. I think this position has grown up as a very valid rejection of groups like Workers Revolutionary Party or the International Marxist Group which in their diffenent ways stamp heavy-footed into situations they know nothing about and offer the correct line. (This is probably worthy of discussion another time).

What the Dossier points out is the way people's struggles effect each other. It just doesn't make sense to draw a circle around 'your own patch'. For example, the attempts of a teacher to get re-instated after being suspended for 'giving school secrets' away to a community group could depend on what the schoolkids have been up to (are they confident enough and interested enough to support her/him); on the effects of a Housing Struggle or Workplace Struggle on the parents (how clearly are they against the Local Authority and Employers etc and how able to act together); on Education Cuts; on Government policy; on how amerikkan Autocapital and the IMF see the U.K. economy etc. We need to look at (class) society as a whole. So the Dossier says:

"It is not enough for revolutionaries to be wishful thinkers, waiting for the dawn of the Red Revolution. We have to develop our understanding of the broadest movements and the tiniest moments of the various class forces that will make that revolution - and first among them the working class".

The Dossier suggests doing this in several ways:

"Being able to document struggles that are taking place, the forms they take, the demands they put, the vanguards that are emerging, and the autonomous organisation that is taking place wothin the

working class".

"Being able to get behind the official versions of struggle .... For us, the prime way that this understanding develops is with active involvement in struggle, and in discussions with the people involved."

"Being able to develop an adequate theoretical perspective ..."

There are collections of news reports, interviews, events etc on STRIKES IN BRITAIN (July - Dec 1974); WOMENS STRUGGLES, IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN STRUGGLE, EVENTS IN IRELAND. There's documents on ITALY, SPAIN (1974 - 75); AMERICA (1964 - 74), AGRICULTURE, OIL AND THE WORLD MARKET. It's hundreds of pages long, costs 22.50 (!) and and perhaps be bought or borrowed from me.

I do something on these lines with paper cuttings - but its very inadequate and patchy. The Spain Chronology in 'If you don't' also comes from cutting up lots of papers. If anybody would like to help? ? ? ? 

"...it is not enough to be 'activist'. What we need is to learn the lessons of class struggle, and to be active as revolutionaries within it" ov all

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\* A SERIES OF FILMS, EVENTS, MEETINGS ? \*

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\* Would it be useful to organise a series of films,\* Exhibitions, meetings on 'live' issues (such as \* asking for a speaker from the American Indian a to the state Movement ), Spain or Portugal or Chile or Ire-\* And time land 'evenings' to take place at Dispensory \*\* 11 11211 \* House (on Gregory Boulevard - that 'bmilding')? Industry . If anyone is interested in doing this, please 1.1. \* come to the next 'If you don't ... ' meeting The second of the second \* as advertised on back page of this newsletter.

OUTINCS WITH KIDS FILL THE WOMENS' AID REFUGE

and the state of the state

NOW THAT THE WOMEN' AID HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN OBTAINING PREMISES TO HOUSE WOMEN AND CHILDREN, I THINK ITS ABOUT TIME THAT WE TALK ABOUT THE ROLE OF MEN IN BEING WITH KIDS, HOW WE FEEL ABOUT CHILDREN, PARENTHOOD, THE FAMILY AND ALL THE RELATED THINGS THAT OFTEN OFFER THEMSELVES AS DRY ACADEMIC DEBATE WITHOUT MUCH CHANCE OF BECOMING ANYTHING ELSE (AND WITHOUT MEN HAVING THE CHANCE OF BECOMING ANYTHING ELSE EITHER.') AS I WAS INVOLVED TO SOME EXTENT IN COLLECTIVE CHILDCARE IN LEEDS AS WELL AS DISCUSSIONS AND THINGS THAT FLOWED FROM THAT, I'VE ALWAYS FELT A GREAT LACK IN NOTTINGHAM OF ANYTHING OTHER THAN FRAGMENTED CONVERSTATIONS, TEMPORARY (AND USUALLY INDIVIDUAL) SOLUTIONS AND THE ASSUMPTION THAT, WELL, SOMETIME MAYBE

WHELL THE WOMENS' AID REFUGE WAS BEING SET UP, I FELL INTO CONFUSION. IT TOOK A WHILE TO DECIDE NOT TO ATTEND THE SERIES OF MEETINGS THAT CLUSTERED AROUND THIS ACTIVITY AND I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE CLEAR TO OTHER MEN THAT DISCUSSION ABOUT THE RUNNING OF THE REFUGE WOULD BE WOMANPOWERED RATHER THAN JUST TAKING ANY FORM THROWN UP BY EVENTS OR INVOLVING MEN IN POLICY DECISIONS SIMPLY BECAUSE WE GAVE A HAND IN SOME OF THE PRELIMINARY WORK.

HERE IS SOMETHING THAT WAS PRODUCED BY MEN (AGAINST SEXISMITE) IN LEEDS TO INITIATE DISCUSSION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE TOW OR THREE N.A.S. GROUPS IN THE AREA. AT THE WIENT I FEEL THAT THERES NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD. WE CAN WRITE OUR OWN FOR THE LEXT ISSUE OF IF YOU TONT WATER IT OUTINGS WITH KIDS FROM THE WOMEN'S AID REFUGE

Over the last few months a small group of us have been going out with kids numbers varying between 13 and 23; ages ranging from 3 to 15 - from the Leeds Battered Nomens' (Womens Aid) House. We've done this to give them a break from the place, and to try to relieve some of the pressure on the women there and perhaps enable them to have a bit more time to themselves.(all this being relative of course, as there are up to 5C kids in the refuge at any one time and we're never liable to be taking out anys more than a half of them).

So far, the organisation of these trips has keen 'loose and informal', i.e. near chaotic - it's been a case of getting a hold of the Free School van (usually), hassling around to see who can come, then letting the refuge know a trip was ON, all at the last minute. Then we headed off to places open and spacy - Otley Chevin, Ilkley Bolton Abbey and the like. Going to these spots has meant a minimal number of 'adults' were needed to look after the kids - who've tended to wander round in affinity/age groups and eventually find their ' way back to the van- and in this we've been lucky as there is a hard core of only four or five of us; but now we seem to tire more easily than we did, and feel the need for a lot more people to be involved in helping with outings. Althoughwe've mostly found these enjoyable, staleness sets in if all the time it's the same old people faces (and decrepit old bodies) turning out, and the good relationships that have been formed between some of the 'adults' and kids would

undoubtedly benefit from more variety and space being introduced in the form of extra people, and possibly extra trips. Presumably the kids too would welcome changes of personnel, though we tend not to get direct feedback on points like this - which is= a problem, and an illustration of the way we ned to improve relationships and communication with both the women and the kids at the refuge.

We'd like to be able to arrange outings a month in advance, which would simply require people interested to meet and make a commitment to one/two/three/four Sundays (or Saturdays - remains to be discussed) for that coming month. As regards transport, one more large van, in addition to the one we use, is quite badly needed, and any available cars would be most welcome too. So if you do own or drive a car or van please consider driving for us, or alternatively lending your transport.

(continued overpage...)

IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T page 7 (outings from the Womens' Aid Refuge continued....)

A note on our politics here: we'd all describe ourselves broadly as libertarian and anti-sexist in outlook, and it should be made explicit that on these outings we're in the process of trting to challenge sexrole stereotyping, i.e. we aim to avoid at all costs the situation where it is the women who are expected to comfort any small kids who are upset, where it is the men who organise team games (these don't really happen much) and monopolise the driving of the van as of right. (so far only male drivers have been available), and who are overall "in charge". (We tend to say lip service to the depth and extent of our socialisation as men, whilst feeling smugly self-righteous about our (comparatively) newly-acquired anti-sexist stance., and it is only when we have slipped back into some traditional oppressive attitude that we are pulled up sharply by the realisation that we are being sexist, and that the latel 'abti-sexist'implies a struggle, a process, and not an accomplished state.

A situation where we are interacting with women and kids may well be the one where the greatest tendency is the c to slide back into the cossetted semi-involvment of the traditional male role, as paternalistic or uncle-type fugures. If we intend to go beyond this very limited involvement - which we doand relate as whole people to what's going on, then we need to be fully conscious of this oint, and be very unalo when we feel the confines of the role. We'd also like all peo le along - kids, women, men, to be, as far as possible, equally involved in decision-making (what days to go, where to go, what to do when/if we get there), though the 'adults' will be ultimately responsible for deciding some things (such as what time we leave to get home) - even though it might not be them who actually decide. FINAL POINT: we feel we must emphasise that we do not want to discourage women from coming-lots more people of both scales are needed for these outings- so please, any women who feel they want to come along, do so. However, given that we are, at present and probably optimistically, appealing specially to those women and men who do not at present ave much to do with kids, we must stress that we think it is particularly the responsibility of the men to consider going out with the kida, because as men in this society they are never expected to have any real involvement with young people, whereas with women it is taken for granted that sooner of later in their lives, childcare will become a concern, parhaps the main concern.

In organising these outings, as in organising around any activity, we are seeking some oppressive realities of a sexist society.

The Womens Liberation Group is currently in discussion around the specific subject of 'Children' - i. and a joint intiative I thick is the most a propriate method of looking at the issue of childcare. On a personal note, I would like to stress that Gay People should not feel excluded from the discussion and decis ...making on this question At the same time, as an extension of discission perhaps of 'biological parenthood' (what do we feel when the political necessity and practical need for collective childcare cuts its way into our feeling for 'our own' children?), we could look at the way note osciwality itself (??) under ca italism determines childcare based on biology-relationship etc Anoni, A meeting (open to all) will be called. Contact Ron at 76410.

## JF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T page 8

THE WAVE OF RACISM AND THE INCREASED INTEREST IN THE NATIONAL FRONT.

Following the actions of (ex-Nazi) Robert Relf, the racialist campaign in the press about Malawi Asians etc, the extreme right organisations such as the National Front, National Party, British Movement etc have been getting a lot of support. Meanwhile:

"On April 24th, in the immigrant area of Manningham, in Bradford, Yorkshire young West Indians and Asians defended their community against the National Front and changed the terms on which the fascist/antifascist confrontations have so far taken place in British politics."

from 'Defend Manningham' RACE TODAY May '76.

An 'AntiFascist' committee has been reformed in Nottingham - which may or may not face up to the problems brought about by this situation. (c/o 15 Cropwell Road, Radcliffe-on-Trent, Nottingham). It's not wise to announce all its activities here but they include a series of Educationals around 'Germany in the 30s: what is fascism; 'The divisions within the right'; 'Sexism and Fascism'.

(The Left's practice) ... "Is based on an equation between fascism and organisations such as the National Front. It isn't based on prioritising the struggle against racism and sexism. It isn't based on an understanding of the soil from which fascism grows, the everyday life of the masses".

from Desperate Cry: towards a critique of

the straight left ...

CONFERENCE OF SOCIALIST ECONOMISTS on LABOUR PROCESS

## July 10th - 12th Coventry

\* '...capital tries to maintain and exercise its direct
\* control over the labour process ... The present crisis cannot be understood solely in terms of wages struggle,
\* or of an inherent tendency for the rate of profit to fall:
\* for accumulation to resume, capital must win its battle for control of production (and therefore the working class)
\* ...Militancy has developed within groups previously, but
\* wrongly, seen as outside the working class - nurses, teachers, office workers - as their work conditions have
\* become increasingly 'proletarianised'.

details from John Humphrey, 6 Bloomsbury Place, Brighton. (registration £1 etc)

WOMEN'S HOUSE SQUAT.

Publicity is something everyone's been very careful about so far in connection with this squat but it's wrong not to mention that <u>something</u> has happened. A house has been squatted - there's now several women and many children there - dozens of people have helped whether by looking after the squat, fixing the water system or just being around. Hopefully a group-agreed article can be produced soon ...

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#### GAY WORKERS GROUP

Such a group was started in Nottingham on 11th June made up of people who identify as gay and people who identify with the gay struggle. More info phone 76410.

#### SPAIN AND REVOLUTION

As an interesting article on Spain and Revolution, written by Alfredo M. Bonano in <u>Anarchismo</u>, I would like to enclose it in this issue, not only, as I said above, for its interest, but for the information and different view which has been presented.

I should agree with Alfredo Bonano in saying that the principal task for the Spanish libertarian movement now is the struggle against power, whichever colour it has been disguised. Also I agree that the conditions have changed since the Revolution in 1936, but the Libertarian.idea hasn't been killed, as libertarians have. So that is something that has to be pointed out in order to know the libertarians possibility of struggle. The example we have of this are the setting up increasingly of groups, magazines, meetings to discuss the emergence and development of the CNT, etc.

So the choice is there; on now when the country is becoming more 'democratic', to take advantage of this situation and spread out ideas and facts such as the future 'democratic' exploitation of the people. This task may be achieved by all the means in our hands: violent or not.

#### Salud

#### Gonzalo.

In this issue we print the first part of Bonano's article which is about the changed structure of Spain. The second part which deals with the situation as it is today will be printed in the next issue.

The spell of a death which seemed as though it would never happen, is broken. The body of Franco is at rest, with all the pomp and ritual reserved for the great slaughterers of men, and expectancy and the unknown hang in the air. While the regime is agilely decreasingly the different routes of power, while the fascist forces are counting thier strenghth and are preparing to -r' A face the encounter at a democratic level, and the legal forces are negotiating the exclusion of a supposedly turbulent communist party, while they (the communists) are trying to hold on to what they've got, and indefatigable statisticians are hastening to evaluate the pros and cons of a dictatorship which has lasted 40 years, the anarchists are dreaming of impossible parallels between 1936 and 1976. We have not been able to read everything that has been written by anarchists on the subject partly because many of the papers are still being prepared, nevertheless we are sure that such a parallel cannot be productive. This is not a time for incitement and a call to the "libertarian spirit" of the Spanish people. It is time for analysis and action.

This is why this article will be in two parts: one, larger, putting into relief of the present structure of the Spanish economy, the international interests implicated, and the perspective of a probable development; another, shorter, with the intention of indicating the direction of revolutionary action possible now in Spain. Let us examine the first part:

#### Changes in the population structure

The population of Spain is around 34 million, according to the 1970 census. The birth rate is the highest of all the neighbouring countries, with the exception of Portugal. The population increase is around 300,000 inhabitants per year, around 10 per cent. calculating the difference between births and emigration. Spain is traditionally a country with a high emigration rate, it is estimated that in the ten years between 1960 and 1970 around 700,000 people emigrated, even temporarilyto France, Switzerland, Germany and Belguim. The consequences of population changes are very great. Some provinces gain large numbers in population, others recede. Up to 1960 Madrid had an increase in population of over 236 per cent, Barcelona of over 172 per cent. But the greater part of the country had fairly modest increases. The South had an increase of hardly 10 per cent. per annum. After 1960, in the 10 years ending in 1970, this was consolidated. Depopulation increased in the South, in Aragon and New Castille. The maximum points were in the Iberian Cordillera of the East and in the Central Cordillera. The population of Spain is growing old statisticaaly. Those over 65 years who were 5.2 per cent. of the total population in 1900 and 5.3 per cent in 1930 were 18.2 per cent in 1960. Those over 50 years were 12.5 per cent. in 1900 while in 1960 they were 17.2 per cent. The study of the change in the socio-occupational composition is very important.

Two analytical methods can be used, either directly through research into the occupations, or indirectly evaluating the process of urbanisation. The first method indicates general tendencies. Between 1900 and 1960 the active population increased by 43 per cent. against the 64 per cent. for the whole of the popalation. Jobs for young people have ahad a tendency to decrease, which would mean less occupational possibilities in 1960 tan in 1900, which would explain emigration. For the rest the distribution of work in the broad socio-economic categories has changed. But this is late in comparison with other test European countries. We maintain that the process will be accentuated according to estimates for 1976.

The development of the large cities is achieved at the expense of the small ones, but at the same time the number of small and medium communes is growing, Spanish towns with a population of over 50,000 inhabitants in 1900 contained 13.4 per cent. of the population, in 1969 42.8 per cent. Spain is becoming urbanised at the expense of the country and the agricultural sectors in the same way as in the neighbouring countries.

Agriculture

More than 60 per cent. of the adtive population was occupied in agriculture at the beginning of the century. In 1967 they had discreased to 27.8 per cent. While at the beginning of the century agriculture represented around half the national product, in 1967 this had gone down to hardly 16.4 per cent. That does not mean, obviously, that entire regions are not still exclusively tied to agriculture. It only means that the great problems which are posed concerning collectivisation in the course of the Civil War, must be put into a new dimension in their recent perspective.

. The extension of this disintegration is very varied. There are the areas of the small holdings of the Galician coast, the areas of the still more or less small farms of the rest of Galicia, Asturias, ans the French border. Similar regions, with small holdings in the South of Catalonia and Mediterranean Andaluaia. On the contrary the farms are relatively large in the interior, often more than 20 hectares. The very large farms are the rule in the mountainous regions /provinces of Guadalajara, Ciudad Real, Sevilla, Cadiz. South of the central Cordillera are the large properties which exceed 100 hectares on average. It is not possible to make a reasonable evaluation of what way internal emigration will influence, even in a very short time, the structure of these areas. One could say broadly that the peasant population has diminished in number and has, on average become older, The number of those active in agriculture has decreased from 4,558,300 in 1900 to 3,488,000 in 1967. This decrease has been much more rapid in the last 20 years. Obviosly this means a decrease which varies according to different regions. leaker in the irrigated such as the Levante, very strong, and superior to the national average in the internal regions (Estremadura. New Castilla, Old Castilla, Leone, Galicia and the Aragon mountains). The growing old of the rural population can be indirectly evaluated by the diminution in mortality rates, and the slight tendency to an increase in birth rate. The characteristic of the past, analphabetism, is tending to disappear, especially in the south. Many peasants are following agricultural study courses. The average income remains far below the national average. The presence of the state in the agricultural organisations has made itself felt in the past ten years through vatious interventions, mostly of a marginal character concerning infrastructure, but financing the acquisition of machinery which obviously serves to accelerate the process of economic development and re-enter the structure of the project. Up to 1959 motorised cultivators, threshing machined and irrigation motors did not exist in Spain. In 1969 there were respectively 63,650, 30,000 and 167,650. Unquestionably Spanish agriculture has been submitted to an incredible push towards structural modernisation, both of its methods and of the mentality of management itself. The push comes from the considerable increase in consumerism, from the wealth from tourism Ito think

only of the fishing). But the obstacles are considerable: the cultivatable surface is conditioned by precise historical divisions which are not easily changable, too old peasants, a diminishing rural population and a lack of technical knowledge.

### Industry Slowly this has become the principal economic activity of S pain. The

number of industrial wageearners is continually increasing. From 15 per cent. at the beginnig of the century, there were 23.5 per cent. in 1950 and 36.4 in 1967. After 1956 industrial production graphs took on a rapidly increasing rhythm of development. After centuries of protectionism, the intervention of foreign capital/investment was greatly increased in the mineral, metallurgical and manufacturing sectors. This is mainly English, French and Belgian capital, while American intervention is less direct. The integration of the Spanish industrial economy into the international circuit is becoming more and more visable. On the other hand internal resources are still considerable. The mining industry employs at least 60,000 workers in 4,000 industries. There are 100,000 workers employed in metal working and engineering industries. It has been the steel industry which has, with a real production explosion between 1966 and 1968, reduced the imports deficit. In this sector gigantic international interests are involved. Fiat have installed the Seat at Barcelona, Simca are producing Barrieros lorries in Madrid, Renault is working in Valladolid and Citroen in Vigo. The textile sector employs 221,000 people, the chemical sector 162,000 and the construction sector reached 751,000 in 1960. These are impressive figures which give the measure of the great industrial take-off in Spain in the last few years, Spanish papermills which employ around 300,000 workers (including the wood industry) are often without competition in the American, French and German markets. Heavy industry in Spain has passed from 352 milliards of pesetas in 1964 to 595 in 1969, The rate of increase was 9.8 per cent. in 1965, 9.3 per cent. in 1966 5.5 per cent. in 1967, 6.1 per cent. in 1968 and 14.2 per cent. in 1969. The sect ors with an accelerated increase are the basic ones: steel, cement, petrol, metal transformation (naval and car) and the chemical sector.

#### Tourism

Tourism in Spain occupies a place apart, it being capable of (along with emigrants' returns) systematically balancing the commercial trade deficit. In spite of various attempts made by revolutionaries all over the world to put a brake on it through propaganda and acts of sabotage, we are faced with an enormous wave of people who go off to Spain every year for holidays, It is not possible to reach precise conclusions about the effects of Spsnish tourism on the economy. It is not possible to calculate the employment it determines, especially because the work is seasonal. It remains to be said that it was torism itself which accelrated the modernisation of the Mediterranean coastal regions and which is one of the weighttier elements in the possible future integration of Spain into the economy of the European democratic countries.

#### Who Supplies Spain

Between 1961 and 1969 the value of imports has quadrupled. If imports are classified according to country of origin we can see that Spain acquires the major part of the products it needs from a small number of countries. In 1969 the United States led the field with 17.2 per cent. of imports, them came the German federal Republic (13.3), France (10.1), Britain (7.5) and Italy (5.9). After 1969 the distribution was slightly changed with the increasing presence of Middle Eastern and Japanese suppliers. However, trade is still strongly unbalanced, since these countries do not absorb many Spanish produced exports. Who buys from Spain

In the last few years there has been a decrease of exports to West European countries, and particularly to Britain, and there has also been a relative increase in sales to the American continent and to certain African countries. In fact the United States constitutes Spain's biggest Market, with 15 per cent. of Spanish exports in 1969, which has been followed by a considerable increase in later years, Then come the German Dederal Republic, Britain, France, Holland and Italy.

DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY DIARY SPAIN SPAIN SPAIN SPAIN SPAIN

## MAY

1 First May Day since the death of Franco.

Massive demonstrations in the major towns in Spain. Women dance in the streets and demonstrate. Riot police police attack demonstrators in Barcelona. with rubber bullets and tear gas. Nearly 1000 people were arrested throughout the country. Right-wingers machine gun bookshops in Madrid selling left, moderate and even anarchist literature, 100 bookshop owners claim to have beeh attacked. In Madrid over 10,000 gathered in the Casa de Campo for a picnic. Lots of songs

A STATISTICS CONTRACTOR OF THE STATE

#### sung about freedom and just fun.

2 Committee formed in Wales to help Spain- ban urged on Spanish goods.

3 Para-military blown up in his car near San Sebastian.

5 41 elected telephone workers dismissed by the Spanish telephone company after a strike. The workers threaten an international boycott of phone calls. The workers were all militants in the strike. The company is managed by a former Minister of Agriculture.

13 construction workers fined between  $\pounds$ 200 and  $\pounds$ 1650 each without trial in Madrid as suspected strike organisers. They were locked up at Carabanchel prison  $\cdot$ because they could not pay the fines.

#### TORTURE

A militant Pamplona woman worker, Amparo Arangoa, is beaten and tortured by the paramilitary Civil Guard police in the Basque town of Tolosa. Cambio 16 a liberal magazine reports and includes photos as does The Times. Right-wing thugs in Madrid attack and stab a militant worker.

- 6 First interview between King Juan Carlos and a Spanish opposition leader, Gil Robles, of the Popular Democratic Federation (FPD), a conservative party and member of the Democratic Coordination, founded in February.
- 7 A group of Madrid lawyers arrive in London denouncing the torture of militants and opposition leaders by the police under the authority of the Interior Ministir Manuel Fraga. Their document specifically mentions 8 young people, two of whom are womenaged between 18 and 20. They were severly beaten on the body, head r : and genitals.
- 8 Asturian miners visit South Wales pits where they spoke about their long history of struggle against Franco and the present ones.
- Proposals for SPANISH PARLIAMENT, with an elected lower house and a partially elected senate were announced by the government. Proposed reforms, to be submitted
  - to a referendum in October would according to the Information Minister, Adolfo Gamero, "recognise the right of workers and employers to establish associations and professional organisations for the defence of their interests". ALL OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE OPPOSED TO THE REFERENDUM.
- 9 A joint letter by 2,700 lawyers, journalists, architects, adtors, etc. is sent to the Interior Minister demanding an immediate investigation into the torturing in Madrid of 8 young people.

Right-wing (Christo Rey) gunmen fire and kill one or two men on a left-wing Monarchist rally of 5,000 in Estella near Pamplona, headed by the exiled Carlist leader Prince Carlos Hugo of Borbon Parma.

- 10 2,000 (some say 10,000) demonstrate silently in Estella following the killing yesterday of a young man by fascist gunmen. They were attacked by police. The Carlists claim that the fascists were given police protection and were allowed to fire at will.
- 12 TORTURE INCREASING AS AN OPPRESSIVE METHOD

Evidence and information about torturing becomes more widely known especially in Spain itself.

A San Sebastian Lawyer who defends many militants and ETA members, says that "torture is as prevalent as in the worst times under the Franco regime". Many people are rounded up and tortured, especially those connected (or thought to be) with ETA, anarchists and communists and illegal workers organisations. 700 rounded up in April in Guipuzcoa alone suspected of ETA activities. In the Basque provinces ETA seems to have more than gained the popularity it lost during recent waves of killings of police and industrialists. THE BUNKER EMERGE

126 members of the Cortes (nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the assembly) protest to its president about the confusion in the country accusing members of the government of encouraging reforms. They are senior military officers and representatives of the "bunker", the entrenchment of the fascists. Leaders of the Democratic Coordination call for a democratic break with the

past and the abolition of all fascist laws and institutions.
15 The Spanish C.P. calls for a 'massive struggle' to overthrow the government of Juan Carlos and makes it clear that its recent alliance with other opposition forces is largely a tactical one.
16 4 boys and youths beaten by police near San Sebastian. Mothers and local council members protest.
17 The government ban supporters of the late General Franco from holding a demonstration to commemorate the six-month anniversary of his death, but said that

they would hold a service at his tomb in the Valley of the Fallen outside Madrid. Teh fascists are furious.

16 (AGAIN)

Civil Guards broke up a picnic gathering of 7,000 people in Aranjuez. Many belonged to the community associations of Madrid. 30 were arrested, 7 detained and several beaten. It was called a "political picnic" by the police. At the picnic a document was read out denouncing the lack of schools, protesting at poor sanitation, housing and rising food prices. It also called for amnesty for political prisoners. 2 journalists from the liberal paper El Pais were also beaten up. They were flogged with a riding crop during interrogation. Their newspaper protests.

18 MENAWHILE BACK TO THE IMPORTANT THINGS-

- King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia visit Asturias, and grant their son, Prince Felipe (aged 8) the title of Prince of Asturias, just to follow past traditions.
  19 The King actually goes down a pit today. What a hard job he must have. Thin crowds, mostly flagwaving schoolchildren, who were given the day off, greeted him when he drove through two mining towns. For security reasons the King visited a different coal pit from that originally announced. According to The Times "The change was apparently desinged to avert a possible hostile demonstration". The Prime Minister Arias Navarro was there too, but he didn't go down the pit.
  - The Asturian people have a long history of struggle against Franco and his puppets, like the King.
- 21 The Courts in Madrid confirm that the 4 leaders, including Camacho, will be brought to trial for advocating a change of govermment. King Juan Carlos's father, Don Juan, Count of Barcelona, arrived in Madrid for a meeting with him about family and political matters. His father has been in

exile for many years and was not favoured by Franco, so he chose his son to be the puppet. Don Juan has still not renounced his title to the throne, but says he only will once he thinks Spain is really on the road to democracy. Plans are being made for his sons visit to the United States next month. Spain is anxious to continue to receive economic and military aid from them in return for continued American use of bases in Spain.

- 26 While everybody was at work, representatives of the many opposition groups were looking at the governments plans for reform.
  - The measures were presented to the Cortes yesterday who promised to turn Spain into "a truly multi-party society". The idea is to have a National Pact in government. The Popular Socialist Party said the reforms "gave the appearance of change while keeping things basically as they are".

Yesterday the government released Camacho from prison in Madrid on bail of £800.
28 The Supreme Court is deciding whether a military or a civil court has the power to hear the case against Inspector Matute on charges of murdering a worker in Tenerife where he was chief of the political police. If he does go for trial he will be the first time that action will have been taken against a member of the security forces for brutality for 40 years.

30 King Juan Carlos took the salute to commemrate Franco's victory in the civil war 37 years ago. It is called the Victory Parade. The loudest cheer was for

#### BLOW FOR BLOW 90 minuted colour film.

This film is being shown on Saturday 3rd July at Dispensory House, Gregory Boulevard, Nottingham, at 7.30, by Campaign against a Criminal Trespass Law. Tickets are 30p in advance or 40p at the door. It will be followed by a 'Bop' in Dispensory House.

THE FILM is about the occupation of a factory in France by women factory workers. Although it is in fact a story, the film is made up of several real takeovers that occured around that time. (1972).

One of the filmmakers says: "Without these struggles, without those women who lead them, this film would never have been made."

One of the female workers says: "BLOW FOR BLOW is the story of the struggle we wage together - the story of our difficulties with our husbands, of the creche that we organise, the daily procession between work and home, the strike pickets where we exchange our joys and cares, the moments of relaxation with dancing and singing."

BLOW FOR BLOW - film.

Saturday 3rd July 7.30

Dispensory House, Gregory Boulevard. (between Noel St and Radford Rd)

tickets: 30p in advance from Mushroom

## & several individuals, 40p at door.

CACTL is also producing a local newsletter and intending to give out leaflets to school students while attempting to get motions passed through Labour Party and Trade Unions. Help needed. phone 708302

#### BROWN RICE AND GAY LIBERATION

The 'Down to Earth' collective has recently refused to distribute Nottm's Gay Info Sheet and has destroyed copies of one month's issue. Members of Gay Liberation and other supportive women and men have tried to open up discussion with members of the collective. So far members of GLF, Lesbian Liberation and the Womens' Liberation group have only been told that the collective is not in agreement and that those involved in D to E opposed to the newssheet do so because 'it's wrong'.

\*

Discussions on such an individual level can't hope to be very productive. But it strikes us as vital that:

a) illusions of unity of the counter-capitalist groups, fostered to some extent by 'If you don't hit it ... ' be clarified so that we all know where we stand.

b) that a thoroughgoing discussion is begun, not only around issues raised by gay liberation, but about the political implications of alter-. nativism, counter culture, and healthy eating.

We'd like to invite the collective around 'Down to Earth' to discuss among themselves and produce a discussion paper for 'If you don't hit it' and the 'Gay Info Sheet' on their ideas about gayness, the family,

sexuality and the position of women in society and also perhaps some details about how the collective operates.

from Lesbian Liberation Group, Gay Liberation, Gay Workers and others ...

## 'Down to Earth' and gayness.

I expect a lot of people have heard that Down to Earth have refused to accept the Gay Info Sheet (produced by GLF) on their 'free' notice board. Through various channels - the Nottm women's newsletter, the Elm Ave area food co-op, the Gay Info sheet itself, friends, lovers and comrades (!) people have been asked to complain about this. When I went in I asked the people serving what this refusal meant, and they said that one of the D to E workers had a ' personal objection' to gayness. What can be done about that? Well, starting some kind of discussion isn't a bad idea, so here goes. What's a 'personal objection'? Is it that gayness doesn't seem 'natural'? What is 'natural'? It horrifies me that people who are supposedly 'liberal's and i bas bash 'alternative' even, can kxxx not only have such absolute stands dsyof human I behaviour that they can say such & such iso hatural gibutaalso dan beise salsure redto they're right that they feel their decision for themselves should apply to then every one. Where does this kind of attitude lead? Me - I don't identify as 'gay' and I don't identify as 'straight'. I identify as confuded; XXdoXXX head **XXXXXXX** - as **XXXXX** recognising that categorising a part of my self- expression and calling it 'sexuality' is an oppressive structure laid on me by social standards and relations. At the same time, the splits - between physical, tant sexual, emotional, intuitive, psychic, intellectual and that - are there in my head and in society, however inauthentic they may seem. So it's a struggle like trying to live is, and at times identifying as gay is important. And at the same time I recognise that this society is hetero-sexist in its heterosexuality. That is - gay people are oppressed in all kinds of ways outside and inside their heads - taught to hate themselves, to think they're sick and perv rted, denied their self-expression, and all that kind of stuff. Where they are accpeted it's where they fit into hetero-exual based roles (you know - sex-role classification - 'male' 'female') - and even then they're not really accepted. Words used to describe a homosexual are in some way insulting - every one grins and winks and it's known what's thought of 'those kind of people'. So it's great when gay people take a new name - a new identity or whatever and say 'no we're nit sick or ashamed, we're proud' and they start fighting against all the shit. And in the women's movement, gay women come out and they say Shey here you all are going on about women's oppression, and how we're not allowed our own identities, he and here am I denied my identity.' And why is it denied? Because the idea that she - my sister - is gay can be threatening to me; can make me question all my assumptions, just like I questioned them to do with the conventional male-female stuff and nonsense and all thw monogamous things that go with that; just like I first started questioning years ago - the seeds of some king of rebellion - 'I don't like what I see of the society I live in' bas bash nd yes it did threaten me and was very beautiful toon- and here I am now the I ber other not accepting assumptions about any mode of behaviour, any attitude, hy social convention, any society. It's all so relative. Who decides what's natural? then Is it natural for women to be subjugated to men in relationships and in society (man-wife, doctor-nurse, boss-secretary etc.) Is it natural to be monogomous - like many birds - or onemale poly amous - like deers - or some kind of mixed sexual group - like lions? Is it natural for one woman to have s many kids as she can physically bear? (one a year, for how many years?) Is it natural to eat meat since we seem to have the teath for it? Is it natural for to eat our young if they're born deformed - like rabbits do? (and rabbits are vegetarians). Is it natural to go back to the survival of the fittest? Have youever seen that kind of philosophy at work .? Didn't Hitler think that what he was doing was in accordance with some natural plan? Ind no that isn't a bit steep in comparison because Hitler couldn't have done what he did without support, and that support was sown in people's assumptions that certain things were right and natural. He had six million jews warder murdered because they weren't as 'natural' or as'beautiful' as Arians. They weren't 'real human beings'. and after the jews the largest section of the population to be murdered in concentration camps were • gay people. They weren't'natural' either. At the same time, part of Nazi male cultute was gay in an anti-women way. Women didn't do too well in Nazi Germany. Their world was 'children, kitchen, church' and they got medals for motherhood, . . . . like they were some kind of baby-producing machines. OK, so what do we make of that? (over to next page)

If laws came into force in this country which made it much worse for gay people, and led to a lot more persecution, would any of you who have personal objections just let it happen or would you defend gays? Whose side would you be on? There are lots of people in this society who think that gayness isn't natural. They also think that blacks are in ferior and 'deserve what they get from white dif they insist on staying here'. They think that "womens-libbers" aren't 'real women' - they're not natural either. ('loud-mouthed lesbians' yeah) They think people on the dole are there becuase they're lazy or sick or whateever There may well be many who agree with Keith Joseph that 'social classes 4 & 5' should be kept from 'breeding too may of their own'. And it is from these people that the seeds of fascism and of turns to a more right wing state grow,

Saynig that certain ways of growing, cooking food and o tending our bodies are more natural is one thing( and even hereI don't think there are 'absolute rules' either) but saying that who I love or the way I perceive the world is 'natural' (or not) is very, very different. Yes I am angry about all this. And what I've written here has pretty well just tumbled out my mind, wax and in places it's very simplified and generalised, and there's no paragraphs and lots of mistakes (and no correcting fluid). I felt moved to write something and htis is how it turned out. I'd like some response from D to E. Will they accept this issue of If you don't ...? Anyway I hope it makes people think about it.

# 

"Perhaps being dead and being really alive are the same thing ..... we never realised until now that life had to be loved before we could understand it. We have thought of it as something always there and never bothered to notice it. Or else it was something to be endured, like an ordeal; or something which kept on changing its quality and was called by many names...birth, and childhood, and oldage. It was always a background, never part of ourselves; a distant mountain that we seldom noticed because it was too far wway to be climbed. I have never before seen life as something you can hold in your heart, warm and strong as sunlight; never realised it was something you could LOVE, which, because you loved it, could never forsake you."

> From 'Scarlet Feather', a story of a tribe of redskins. Joan Grant.

> > \*. 3'

## "Work" or a'bit of my life'.

What is "work"? Is it what I have to do but don't enjoy? What if I enjoy it? I don't have to "work" in society's terms - I8m on SS. Does that .people. mean I don't work? To many · the idea that I'm living off the state might be a bit snometul and certainly b ffling. I don't feel that becuase of my ideas about the society we live in. I know a lot of people who xaxa share with me some kind of critique of society. What do they think about "work"? A lot of my friends are also 'unemployed'. A lot of people seem to think we don't do anything. Most of my friends - myself included- are really busy. We rush around - doing practical organisational tasks for the various activities we're involved in - we carry these activities because we're unemployed and therefore have 'more time' - and our hours are flexible. Most of the people I know who are 'unemployed' work as hard as those I know who are 'at work'. And that's not just people who are 'unemployed'in the state's terms. What about women who look after kids and who clean, cook etc.? And what's more if I do try and insist on a day off - people don't always understand - 'you're on the dole, you've got plenty of time.' (Like they say to women who work at home - 'housewives never do anything') We don't get the privileges of being at work - like the right to a holiday. . nyway you can't take tome off - if you did the campaign/discussion group/newsletter you're involved in would fall to bits - or your household wouldn't get a meal. If you don't do it, no one else will g or else it'll fall onto some one 'unemployed who's already too busy); and if you don't do it today, you'll have to do it tomorrow. It's a more unrelenting 'boss' than at any 'workplace'. People at'work' dom't necessarily understand how some one 'unemployed' can turn up at a meeting and say 'I didn't do such& such - I didn't have time'. I'm 'Unemployed' - I understand. Sometimes I'm so busy I can't remember what I've done. And people say to me 'What do you do with your time?' Makes me want to scream. The split between : : . .

'work8 and 'play', between 'public8 and 'private' seems just as large as ever in my head and in my activity.

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L. L. MARINE MAL

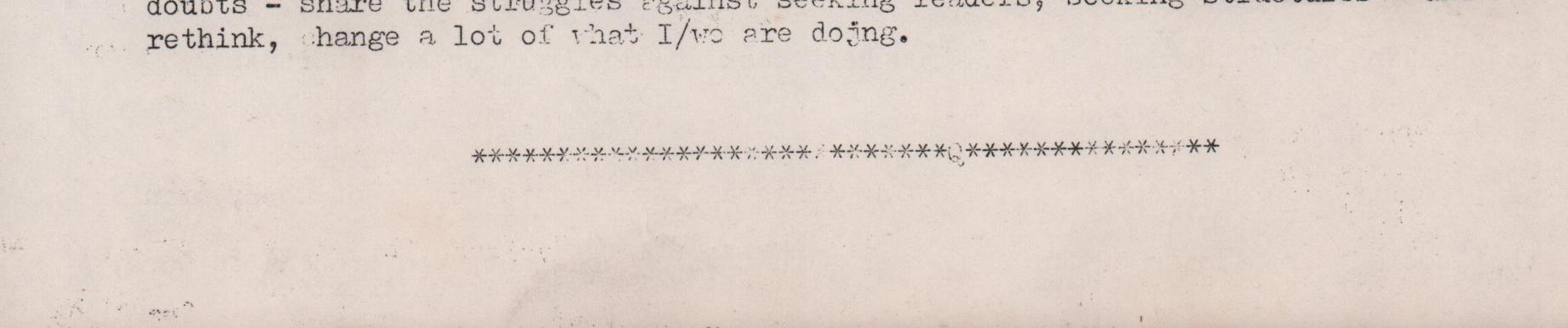
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I'm writing this to give some kind of **x x x** picture of a soul, a mind a person carried all over the place by many demands on her time, by internalisations and mystifications, trying to ' fit it all In' (into what?), get 'organised'. Yes it gets you like that. I spend so much time doing taks and thinking in squares and boxes that I start thinking about myself and others in those terms. It's really shit when you start thinking of people organisatio nally like that. You want to ask some one a certain question, but you're so shuttered you forget they're likely to reply. You think no futhrther than the question. And then they reply, and wow that really takes the lid off.

I suppose what I'm getting at is how we fit into 'given structures'. If the family and society aren't there to fit into, there's always meetings and campaigns. I do it - I plan ahead for a f 'free' evening, and then when it comes I'm scared - 'what shall I do?' And I fill up the evening with this and that to avoid thinking bout it. Then again when is what is I do what I want to do, and when is it killing time? I suppose only my attitude to ti tells me. When a friend of mine left the IMG - a few months after I had? he wrote me:-"I guess it must be strange for some one who's been in prison for 3 years coming out again. Just imagine it, as you walk through the prison gates. The wide, wide world stands before you whereas before your world was a tiny cell. Euphorically you cry 'I'M free'.....But after a while you're freaked out. You have to adjust to the new range of possibilities, you have to create new rel tionships because the pre-prison ones have been destroyed. You have to re-sh pe ypur life from scratch. You feel lost and lonely, without directiion. BHow does it feel to be on your own, no direction home, like a rolling stone?' Well that's what it feels like leaving the IMG. First he euphoria of a new founf fxx freedom. Then the disoreintation." You've got no structure - you could do anything - so you maybe skulk around trying to find a new structure to fit into. Another quote from the letter:-"We are not free but we will never be free if we feel lost when we have no leaders, when there is nobody to regulate our lives. When we wrote 'A desperate cry irom the heart' I don't think that we all understood the impli tions of wh t we were writing .... the whole thing about security, how people seek religion family, nation, sexual identity, race, leaders, and regulation of life when the social relationships of everyday life come into crisis, and how that is the basis upon which fascists build ..... 'The crisis of humanity is the crisis of working class leadership' NO a million times NO. The crisis of humanity is that the only class which can liberate humanity, the proletariat, seeks leaders. To liberate humanity, the proletariat has to abandon leaders, has to be independent, XXXIX SELF-TETERMINED." To liberate ourselves we have to abandon leaders....

This is why I'm trying to question the basis of a lot of my activity. It's why I'm less and less involved in campaigns... There seem to be so many ssumptions about what is 'useful activity'. How often doe what we do get through to any one? Do'we know how to get through to people? Do we know how ideas change? Do we understand what makes people change their minds? Do we understand how ideology works in people's heads - how people feel so easily threatened - and are then all the more vociferous against us? against change, against anything new? So many questions. Too many assumptiond. Campaigns seem so often to be structures in which to fit and regulate our lives by - and to give us the feeling 'well we are doing something' Are we? It's just not a good enough reason for doing compluing to say 'well what else can you do?' I'm not saying 'all these activites are useless' - I just feel ware of certain dangers and I want to discuss it all in this light. I want to share my questions and doubts - share the struggles against seeking leaders, seeking structures - and



## USETT, WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL

Work is a matter on which various sections of "the left" hold strong and often conflicting views. Some groups demand "the right to work", others the right not to work. Some groups demands greater financial rewards for working, while others find virtue in working for subsistance wages. Many of these apparent contradictions arise from the different conceptions of work on which they are based. This is not to deny that there are fundamental differences of opinion between the groups, but to assert that the concept of work is not something which should be taken for granted: it deserves deeper consideration than it is usually given.

One of the most searching discussions of the nature of work was written 90 years ago by William Morris. The essay "Useful Work versus Useless Toil" is as relevant today as when it was written for its examination of conceptions (and misconceptions) of work that have changed little in a century.

Morris's opening paragraph illustrates the timelessness of the whole essay:

"It is assumed by most people nowadays that all work is useful, and by most well-to-do people that all work is desirable. Most people, well-to-do or not, believe that, even when a man is doing work which appears to be useless, he is earning his livelihood by it he is emplyed, as the phrase goes; and most of those who are wellto-do cheer on the happy worker with congratulations and praises, if he is only 'industrious' enough and deprives himself of all pleasure and holidays in the sacred cause of labour. In short, it has become an article of the creed of modern morality that all labour is good in itself - a convenient belief to those who live on the labour of others. But as to those on whom they live, I recommend them not to take it on trust, but to look into the matter a little deeper."

The "right to work" campaigners might do well to take heed of this fundamental point - that not all work is good! Having demolished in a paragraph an assumption which many socialists seem not to have questioned in a century of theory, Morris goes on to describe the characteristics of useful work. These are three:- hope of rest, hope of product, hope of pleasure in the work itself. These criteria allow Morris to break down the work of society into useful and useless parts and to suggest ways in which useful work may be made as fulfilling as possible to those

## undertaking it ("Those who did the roughest work should work for the shortest

spells").

## Morris also develops an interesting class analysis on the basis of work, arguing

that society is made up of three classes - that which does not even pretend to work,

that which pretends to work but produces nothing, and that which works but is compelled by the other two classes to do work which is often unproductive (if not damaging). In his description of the professional classes - falling into the second category - Morris preempts Illich in his criticism of doctors:

"They are the parasites of property, sometimes, as in the case of lawyers, undisguisedly so; sometimes, as the doctors and others above mentioned, professing to be useful, but too often of no use save as supporters of the system of folly, fraud, and tyranny of which they form a part."

Morris also explains the role of commercialism and the production of mass cheap manufactures in perpetuating and re-inforcing an economy based on useless toil.

However strongly we may agree with Morris's insights into the nature and (un)necessity of work in a healthy society, there are several areas where Morris must be approached with caution. In his sexism and in his theory of change Morris displays the same weaknesses as many contemporary socialists.

Morris must be accused of sexism for his obsession with concept of "manliness"

and his complete neglect of housekeeping and child-rearing as worthy of discussion. This may be excused, to some degree, by the antiquity of the essay and the social by climate of the time. The same excuse cannot be used/present day righters on work. The method of social change that Morris advocates is one which recognizes the "vague hope" of parliamentary reform as "superstitious". The future is seen as:

"... struggle getting sharper and bitterer day by day, until it breaks out openly at last into the slaughter of men by actual warfare instead of the slower and crueller methods of 'peaceful' commerce." Histor i distributed by the But Morris fails to see that neither socio-economic conditions nor the capture of state power by revolutionaries is sufficient to produce a revolution. The

revolution will come when the masses have rejected the idea of useless toil for

themselves and move forward to a system in which it does not exist.

14

.....

Despite (or perhaps because of) the above criticisms, Morris's essay is well worth close study for its valuable and thought-provoking ideas on the nature of work. Read it!

"The income-reducing aspects of capitalist automation cannot and should not be countered by finger-in-the-dyke attempts to hold on to existing jobs and to create others. Such efforts can only delay the advent of a desirable new state of society, while little alleviating the misery inherent in the old. It is not jobs that are needed for the transition, but income." (Beyond Automation: G. & L. Crowley)

## IF YOU DON'T ..... IT WON'T

#### number 9

THIS ISSUE IS DEVOTED partly to WORK and we hope the next issue (n. 10) carries on on that there. THE RIGHT TO WORK, THE FIGHT TO LIVE, WAGES FOR HOUSEWORK are among the subjects we could tackle. Please send articles and come to the meeting on Tuesday 29th June at 15 Scotholme Ave., off Radford Rd., Nottingham.

At that neeting there is likely to be a discussion of the work articles and some sort of 'Connent' written; a discussion of arranging a series of neetings; noney; producing the next issue in two or three weeks and other items. All welcome.

> "It is one of the greatest misunderstandings to talk of free, human, social work, or work without private property. Work' is essentially the unfree, inhuman, unsocial activity, determined by private property and creating private property. The abolition of private property becomes a reality only when understood as the abolition of 'work'."

> > K. Marx (Archive-Drucke 1, Berlin 1972)

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is forth in

The Cover is taken from the Spanish magasime 'Symicalismo' On Portugal The Building on Gregory Boulevard Neetings, meetings and more meetings. Nevice of Dossier 1974 Outings with children - the women's aid squat Pascism / GACTL Film / Gay Workers Group / Womens House Squat Brown Rice and Cay Liberation Gay Liberation and Down to Earth Spain and Revolution Work - or a bit of my life Useless Toil versus Useful Work

METINGS

If you don't

Tuesday 29th June 15 Scotholme Lve (off Radford Rd)

Blow for Blow (film) Dispensory House, Gregory Blvd. Sat July 3rd 7.30 30p tickets Squatting Group People's Centre 28th June 7.30