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ZEROWORK

CACTL CONFERENCE REPORT

THE BUILDING

KIDS

PORTUGAL

AND MORE

IF YOU DON'T HIT IT.. IT WON'T FALL

Nº12A

FREE

STOP THE BUS CUTS



portugal what's left

REMEMBER THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL ? ? ?

A year ago over 100 people went to see the film VIVA PORTUGAL in Nottingham. In 1975 everyone seemed interested in the struggles of Portuguese workers and peasants. Even the traditional groups of the revolutionary

left got involved - in fact they took over the SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN both locally and nationally. But after the right-wing coup of 25 Nov 1975 they seem to have lost interest and discarded the Portuguese workers' struggle onto what Trotsky called 'the dustheap of history'.

BUT PORTUGAL IS STILL THERE - Portuguese workers and peasants are still struggling to maintain the gains they won during the months of revolution. BUT PORTUGAL is no longer on the itinerary of the 'package-tour' revolutionaries - this year it's Spain - next year, maybe somewhere else.

For the traditional revolutionary left PORTUGAL was just another bandwagon for propagating their own preconceived theories. They didn't believe there was anything they could learn from the experiences of the Portuguese struggle, or from the advanced consciousness of the Portuguese working class.

Many left militants visited Portugal in 1975 gaining valuable experiences and insights. But what has been done to analyse and pass on these experiences ? Surprisingly little.

STOP PRESS

* * * BUT NOT ALL IS LOST :-

PORTUGAL - CHILE - BRITAIN

A 3-day Festival & Conference organised by Portugal and Chile Solidarity Campaigns.
Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, London
18/19/20 FEB 1977.

TICKET FOR A TRACTOR CAMPAIGN

RAFFLE to buy a TRACTOR for the Agricultural Co-operative at BARCOUCO in Central Portugal.
3 first prizes of 2 week holiday for 2 in Portugal next year.
TICKETS 25P each or £1 for book of 5.

The East London Portugal Solidarity Group's pamphlet on WORKERS CONTROL - based on experiences of Portuguese workers themselves - is finally being produced.

Charles Reeve's study of 25 Nov : THE PUTSCHIST CONCEPTION OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION, so far available only in French and Portuguese, will be out in the New Year.

Solidarity's book: PORTUGAL - THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION ? is promised for January - about £2. Written by Phil Meyler, who's been living in Portugal since before 25 APR 1974, this promises to be the first account of the revolutionary process as seen and experienced by working people themselves.

OUR COMMON STRUGGLE - Bulletin of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee now comes out less regularly but in special large issues. The first one, LAND REFORM IN PORTUGAL, is out now and available from Mushroom.



'facism
never again!'

Bill

COLLECTIVE CHILD CARE?

John's article on children in the last "If you don't" prompted a lot of questions in my mind, and I'd like to elaborate on some of the points John raised. I must admit to being a bit confused about the issue of child-care, but I think this is partly due to the fact that a lot of discussions about children are generally unclear and airy-fairy. Maybe some more articles like this one and John's will throw some light on the subject. We hear a lot from some "left" groups about the virtues of "collective child care". A babysitting rota has been started. But what is collective child care? Is it the same as babysitting? I don't think so.

Most of the child care activities proposed under the heading "collective child care" seem to be little more than babysitting. Their function is to relieve the parents temporarily. Even self-organised playgroups, while having the additional benefits of enabling children to meet others of their age, do the same thing. It's fairly easy to participate in this sort of activity, even if you're a comparatively inexperienced adult. The child may be asleep, if its evening, or easy to entertain for the short time involved. You don't have to know much about nappy-changing or getting a particular child to sleep. You don't have to know the child as an individual.

I'm not trying to diminish the importance of this sort of self-help. It's really important, if not absolutely essential, for parents and children; its flexibility is its asset. But I don't think it's "collective child-care".

To me "collective child-care" implies much more than this. It is a full sharing of responsibility for the welfare and development of a child by a number of people. It is a long term, close relationship. I suppose a very basic form of "collective child-care" is where both parents take equal responsibility and have equal involvement with a child - a surprisingly rare occurrence. Collective child care would involve extending that arrangement to additional people.

Now that is really difficult to achieve. It is pretty hard to find a group of adults and children who can be close enough for long enough to establish that sort of relationship.

It has other faults too. One is that I'm not even sure if it's desirable for all children at all ages. Babies have to be introduced very gradually to the world and to sever their links with their biological mother gently. It takes time for a baby to be able to cope with and understand its own body, let alone the new and frightening experiences of the world. A baby needs a very limited number of people to relate to at first, and this number can be increased gradually as the child gets older and can recognise and relate to other people. Children aren't just objects to be passed from person to person for the sake of political ideas. They have needs too - for security, attachment and consistency in relationships.

Another fault is that the call for "collective child-care" often seems to be associated with a devaluation of the role of parent or full-time childcarer. This is clear when the argument behind it is that child care should be collectivised so that the chores and hardships are distributed and the unfortunate parents (who usually try to disguise their identity by encouraging the child to use first names rather than "mummy" and "daddy") can get on with more exciting "political" activities. But even when the argument is the different one that child care is really fun, and it ought to be shared out, it still seems to be associated with the idea that if you actually like caring for a child full-time, and want to do it, you must be stagnating and should be pitied for being stuck with such a boring unimaginative occupation. If you're a woman it's even worse, because then you must be fulfilling your "woman's role" right in line with your conditioning . . . It seems to neglect the fact that child care can be an enjoyable stimulating and political activity in its own right, that people - even women heaven forbid - might choose to do full-time. It's ironic that the women's movement has been so concerned with getting contraception and abortion facilities readily available, yet hasn't seemed to come to terms with the consequence

If you don't . . .

of that which is that many more babies are now born which are really wanted by their parents. I often have the uncomfortable, and I hope mistaken feeling, that a lot of radical women regard all women with babies as victims of their role, when many of them have actually made a conscious and happy choice to be mothers.

Another point I'd like to make is that many people who call for "collective child-care" seem to see it as a new, revolutionary idea. In fact forms of mutual aid in child care have existed as long as humanity has. The tribal and extended family systems have often embodied true collective child care. The rigours of industrialisation and urbanisation led to extensive and complex babysitting arrangements among the working classes. In my street most of the families do this so that parents can go out to work, or entertainment. The only reason I don't get more involved in it is that the families do things like hit their children, and bribe them with lots of sweets, which I really don't want my child to get involved in. (Very middle-class?) So "collective child-care" is hardly a new thing. It's not necessarily revolutionary either. It helps people to survive in the present system. It is also common among the middle classes. The National Childbirth Trust, for instance, has long encouraged mutual support and aid between mothers of young children. Very commendable but hardly revolutionary.

So I'd like to ask people to think before they use the slogan "collective child-care". If they mean babysitting and playgroups then why not say so instead of giving it the revolutionary mystique which is actually discouraging to many people. If they really mean collective child care then I think it's the sort of thing which you can hope to achieve best by natural evolution from friendships, rather than being generalised and sloganised about. It's not particularly likely to evolve from a babysitting rota. Most of all, please don't look on child care as boring and unstimulating, because it isn't.

Julie

-oOo- -oOo- -oOo-

CAMPAIGN AGAINST A CRIMINAL TRESPASS LAW: WHAT NOW?

The "Criminal Law Bill" has already had its second reading in the House of Lords and is well on its way to becoming law. The Bill is divided into three parts: the first dealing with Conspiracy, the second with Criminal Trespass and the third with Criminal Procedure. This last part has been portrayed as a device for increasing the fines for "football hooligans" but its major effect will be to remove the right to trial by jury for a number of offences. The conspiracy part of the Bill limits the charge of conspiracy to criminal offences (plus public morals and decency). But, of course, this would exclude trespass, a civil offence. This provides another reason for bringing trespass into the realm of the criminal law.

In introducing the Bill to Parliament the Home Office spokesman said that the Government was not committed to the "narrow" provision of protecting occupiers who had their property squatted but were open to suggestions on how to widen the scope of the Bill. This open invitation to the Tories to amend the Criminal Trespass proposals has gone without comment in the labour movement which doesn't look as if it's going to wake up until the police turn up in force to eject occupiers in a factory sit-in. Even then the occupation is likely to have been an unofficial one (not union recognised) and not worth making a fuss about. Don't rock the boat, brothers! "Meantime life outside goes on all around you".

This Bill, in whatever form it comes, will affect many thousands of people in all walks of life. CACTL is determined that it should be opposed, both inside and outside the labour movement, both before and after it becomes law. There will be a nationally co-ordinated day of action on February 19th including a march in London. There will be local action before then.

Contact: 15 Scotholme Avenue,
Hyson Green.
Tel: 708302

Colin

CACTL CONFERENCE

It was seven oclock in the morning and four of us were going by car down the motorway to the CACTL conference in Reading. I was looking forward to going as I thought I might learn more about squatting. When we arrived it was about eleven oclock. The first thing we did was to go and register, then we went into the main hall where questions were being answered, we couldnt hear very well as we were at the back. That session ended and three of us went to the squatting workshop which wasnt as good as I thought it would be. They didnt really discuss squatting in general but just what they had or were going through themselves. I thought we were going to talk about what could be done to try and stop this trespass bill coming out as it will affect squatting but they didnt. After the squatting workshop it was lunch time, over lunch we discussed the squatting workshop meeting and decided it wasnt very good and that we would try different workshops later.

I decided to go to the workshop on womens struggles, we talked about the things that women have to fight against like squatting. Why is it that Battered women have to leave the home with children and go looking for another home? I think the authorities should help women in these cases more. If the trespass bill becomes law which it most probably will, women like myself will be put into prison. Why should we? we are not the criminals, its the men who beat us up that are criminal.

We also talked about the things women in Ireland have to put up with every day. If they want to go to the shop or just down the road they are searched. They might go down the same road four or five times a day every day but still they are searched. The soldiers know who they are they dont just search them either they really

grobe them. If the women say they dont want to be searched by the men but by a woman they are left waiting in the street for hours at a time and no woman comes so they have to be searched by the men after all which is disgusting. Why should women have to put up with these harassments? Fighting for equal pay, nurseries for children, if women on Social Security want clothes for children they have to fight for them then they might not get them. I really enjoyed that workshop I wished I had gone to the morning one as well.

By this time it was coffee break we all went into the coffee lounge and discussed the workshops we had been to which we thought were alright. After coffee there were talks being given in the main hall so we all went in to listen, I cant remember all they said but we had to go to our Regenal meetings. Keith got up and said anyone who wants to discuss things better than this mornings squat workshop can do so with myself and others in the lounge bar, instead of going to their Regenal meeting.

I went to the Regenal meeting, there were eight of us we talked about what could we do to help stop the trespass bill and would we get enough support. We thought of a few things like giving leaflets out, marching with posters and things like that. It was now tea time so we went to a chip shop then came back and had a drink.

There were films to see about things like the rent strike in Liverpool, and one was about women occupying a factory. After the films it was time to go and see the play it was being done by a street theatre group. The play was very good indeed it was about the cuts.

The social was next, that cost twentyfive pence the music was being played by non stop Walter. We all had a good time well I did dancing and drinking what more do you need.

Round about twelve people were starting to go to bed wherever they were. Our room was upstairs, there were quite a few of us in there to. We all got nicely settled down when this voice came over the loudspeaker anyone wanting beds please get them now, then it was another voice anyone going into London tonight if so could you please give a lift.

Then a voice comes saying this is the union manager and I hope you all know the rules about drug smoking, at that everyone started to laugh finally we all got to sleep. The morning started with a cup of coffee, and after we held a meeting among us from Nottingham. We had to put down what we talked about at the Regenal meeting the daybefor. Someone then had to hand it over and the Motion was then voted on. The Motion we put forward was this. This conference resolves that if the criminal Trespass proposals become law CACTL will continue to confront it and to explain what it means to people.

Wherever such a law is used CACTL commits itself to mobilize to defend the Victimised groups and prevent the use of this law by direct action. Carried nen con.

Collin then got up and gave a good little speach on his ideas what could be done to help stop this bill and why.

There were a few more words said and then that was the end of the CACTL conference. People started to make there way out of the hall and arrange for lifts if anyone was going there way.

I made a very nice friend while I was at the conference her name is May Stone. She lives in Liverpool on a Corporation housing estate, she was telling me some of the housing estates are wikked the group of people on her estate wanted to hold meeting among themseves and they were'nt allowed.

I have her address and write to her I'm hoping she will write to me.

Well that was the end we all collected our belongings and went to the car we had arrived by.

It was a nice journey home the sun was just going down as we were driving through Oxford.

It was seven thirty when we got into Nottingham.

If anyone is interested there is going to be a demonstration about the cuts, inwhich people can help give leaflets out.

Ther is also two more thigs going on one is the bus cuts the other is a CACTL leaflet to be given out.

All this is happening on Saturday the 17th December.

So don't fogot come along we need alot of help.

Wendy

SOME KIND OF ANTIFASCIST and SOCIALIST MUSIC MAKING

The antifascist street show in November looked like it could have done with some music - before, during or afterwards. A group of people have sat together a couple of times, thumbed through some Song Books and tried out some songs. We've used guitar, flute, mouth organ, mandolin and our own voices.

IF YOU'RE INTERESTED IN JOINING IN then come to the next meeting or phone 79826 after 7.00.

Meeting at 37 Wiverton Rd., Forest Fields. Tuesday 7.30 21st Dec

BELOW ARE A COUPLE OF SONGS. The first is from 'The Good Times' Tendency' song sheets. To the wune of a famous Bob Dylan Song:

D O N ' T T H I N K T W I C E : I T ' S O U R F I G H T

There ain't no use you scratching, wondering why, boss,
If you don't know by now.

The ain't no use you scratching, wondering why, boss,
You never paid us anyhow.

When the whistle blows at the break of dawn,
Drive to your factory and find it gone.

You're the only reason we planed the bomb.
Don't think twice, it's our fight.

DON'T THINK TWICE : IT'S OUR FIGHT continued...

There ain't no use you calling up the cops, boss,
Like you always did before.
The ain't no use you calling in the cops, boss,
They can't touch us anymore.
When your plans went wrong, you would change the law,
Bring in your 'justice' to punish the poor,
Now what do you thin this Revolutions' for?
Don't think twice, it's our fight.

There ain't no use you sending us to school, boss,
Just to brainwash us some more.
There ain't no use you sending us to school, boss,
We're not your puppets anymore.
You used to stuff us into your sausage machine,
Make us passive robots by the time we're sixteen,
We'll educate you, if you make yourself seen!
Don't think twice, it's our fight.

There ain't no use you tying us to the sink, boss.
We've got better things to do.
There ain't no use, you tying us to the sink, boss,
That's the job in store for you.
You refused us abortion, contraception, equal pay,
Expected us to slave all night long and all day,
But now you're done for and we'll have our way.
Don't think twice, it's our fight.

There ain't no use you trying on your tricks, boss,
You won't catch us out again.
There ain't no use you trying out your tricks, boss,
You know that we know all of them.
Now your capitalist system is falling to the ground,
There's no place for you in the life style that we've found,
That's the direction this Revolution's bound.
DON'T THINK TWICE, IT'S OUR FIGHT.

POEM'S OF THE CRISIS YEARS 1929 - 1935.

This poem, written by 'Bert' Brecht was a powerful weapon against fascism and part of the fight for revolutionary change. It was about Germany.

Please, doctor, I've missed my monthly...

Why this is simply great
If I may put it bluntly
You're raising our birthrate.

Please, doctor, now we're homeless...

But you'll have a bed somewhere
So best put your feet up, moan less
and force yourself to grin and bear.

You'll make a simply splendid mummy
Producing cannon fodder from your tummy
That's what your body's for, and you know it, what's more
And it's laid down by law
And now get this straight:
You'll soon be a mother, just wait.

But doctor, no job, no dwelling:
My man would find kids the last straw.

No, rather a new compelling
Objective to work for.

But, doctor,...

Really Frau Griebel
I ask myself what this means
You see, our state needs people

To operate our machines

You'll make a simply splendid ^{little} mummy CHORUS...

But doctor, there's such unemployment...

I don't follow what you say

You're all out for enjoyment

Then grumble at having to pay

If we make a prohibition

You bet we've a purpose in mind.

Better recognise your condition

And once you've agreed to put yourselves in our hands you'll find

You're simply a splendid little mummy CHORUS...

ANTIFASCIST STREET MEETING

The second street meeting took place in Hyson Green around midday on Saturday 11th December. A slightly revised version of the street play was done and this followed by some speaking. Leaflets had been given out to advertise the play etc and other leaflets explaining why RACISM IS NO SOLUTION were given out.

This time - partly because the weather was better - an audience of passers-by collected and some dialogue took place. On the second run through the police kept an eye on us.

The STREET SHOW group is resting for a while now, waiting for better weather and rewriting, rethinking. However, one likely event is to maybe do the street play in Mansfield as the National Front are standing a candidate there in February and the International Socialists are standing against them.

THE ANTI-FASCIST COMMITTEE is arranging a series of Educationals in the New Year. They will be every three weeks (approx) and will start with one on IMMIGRATION CONTROLS.

The rest include

- * discussion of Gay Workers article on Sexism, Racism and Fascism.
- * Import Controls
- * Theory of Corporatism vs Strong State
- * History of racism, imperialism, immigration (introduced by B.P.F.M.)
- * Crisis in Immigrant Community (possibly Race Today)
- * Role of Family in different cultures

More details from Anti-fascist committee c/o 126 Derby Rd., Nottingham.

THE GAFFER'S STRIKE

An idea has arisen to show the film 'The Gaffer's Strike'. This is a Big Flame film (BF are a 'revolutionary socialist organisation) and a tour across the country is being organised.

"The general slogan is 'Less work for those with a job; more jobs for those on the dole' and raises '35 hour week with no loss of pay' and 'A rise for those on the dole and Social Security'. This is based on the politics of an equal right for money to live, whether working or not."

At the last 'If you don't hit it' meeting we briefly discussed jointly arranging a showing of the film and a meeting and a letter has been sent to further this idea. If it's to happen, and if so how, is not yet decided and views, comments would be more than welcome. Contact IF YOU DON'T.

NEWSLETTER ABOUT PERSONAL POLITICS

This has recently been produced; it outlines some of the aims of a group of people concerned with this issue and advertised several articles they have available. Copies from 23 Mansfield Grove or 41 Cromwell St., Nottm or phone 43081.

BUS PASSENGER ACTION GROUP c/o People's Centre, 33 Mansfield Rd., Nottm.

Following the initiative of the Transport and General Workers Union (5/92 branch) a small group of passengers have been collecting signatures in the square for their petition.

Bus cuts have been proposed and these will effect both the jobs of all transport workers and the service to all passengers. Fare rises seem to be planned for the New Year sometime too.

The Bus Passenger Action Group hopes to organise an effective series of actions over the next few months which will involve as many passengers and transport workers as possible. These will include

- * Regular collecting of signatures against the cuts in the square
- * Publicity through the Radio & Post and other ways.
- * Try and keep passengers informed of what's happening
- * Get financial details and policy detail about transport
- * Produce and sell some good snappy badges
- * Arrange a Public Meeting with T&GWU, Fare Fight and BPAG.
- * Go to various areas and various routes and show how the cuts would have their particular effect there.
- * Interview bus drivers (female & male, black & white), cleaners, canteen workers, maintenance workers, housewives, school kids, waged workers, pensioners etc and work towards a pamphlet about Public Transport. Could include something on Free Buses in Cuba, history of transport workers struggles, One Man Operation, Local Policy over Collar and Zone etc.
- * Perhaps do some of our own advertising (??)
- * Keep in touch with the T&GWU and work with them.

If anyone is interested in this then write to us.

Keith.

MARX READING/STUDY GROUP

This, like the Socialist Discussion Group, is in crisis. The next meeting will be on Monday 21st December at 58. Edward Rd., West Bridgford, Nottingham. for more details phone 813512.

IF YOU DON'T HIT IT FUND-RAISING SOCIAL

The Russian backers for IF YOU DON'T have withdrawn their support so we need money. Each issue costs about £3 - £5 to get out. There's going to be a SOCIAL to raise money. Please come.

"IF YOU DON'T" SOCIAL

Friday 7th January

8.00 'til late. 25p.

At 'THE BUILDING' Gregory Blvd., near the Library.

tickets available from various people
phone 600337 or 708302

We also need people to help produce and distribute IF YOU DON'T. Please phone the same numbers with offers of help.

GAY NEWS LIBEL

Gay News is apparently been prosecuted for libel over an article or poem. Not at all sure of the details. If anybody has any information please phone IF YOU DON'T. We may put the 'offending' article in the next issue.

ELLIS GUILDFORD SCHOOL

I started Ellis Guildford secondary Comprehensive for girls and boys at the beginning of the first school term.

When I went to school I noticed that in assembly the girls were made to sit on chairs and the boys were made to sit on the floor. At first I thought boys would only be sitting on the floor one week, then it would be the girls turn. while the boys sat on the chairs.

But I soon realized how wrong I was when the girls were made to sit on chairs every week but what made it worse is the way the teachers took assembly kept reminding us (girls) how much valuable time the boys had spent to let "you ladies" sit down.

I didn't agree with this and I complained to Nigel of the People's Centre. On hearing this he sent a letter to my school stating that if they didn't stop this discrimination the matter would be taken to court within six months.

I am now happy to say that girls and boys sit together in assembly. It was just after this school incident that I started noticing the careers films which were only shown every Tuesday. These films were supposed to help us choose a job, but the only jobs offered to girls seemed to be typing. One week I remember, the film was offering boys engineering jobs, showing boys fixing car engines, etc. I and the other girls had to sit through this boring film which, by the way, never even mentioned girls getting a job as an engineer. Instead of showing girls doing car engines, the only jobs offered in the form of engineering to girls was sitting down on a bench along with lots of other girls and soldering TV boards (making sure they were safe) and sticking them under a magnifying sheet. The narrator said that this was "a very good job"; you could even at lunch time catch up on the local gossip.

On the whole all the jobs shown in careers have had nothing to do with girls - only boys. I have never seen anything like girls doing engineering or something like that; Even tailoring was made out not to be a job for girls; girls "tailoring" was to sit in a mass productive factory at sewing machines. "Girls can get jobs as secretaries" has been repeated lots of times on the career films, even when we had a film on college. All the boys got to college on motorbikes, while the nice, quiet, good for nothing little girls all came on the scene quietly riding their highly polished bikes. That in itself was discrimination. And then after the careers lesson, the boys were asked to take a girls chair, as well as their own, back to the hall. Me and this other girl, after discussing it with other girls (and boys), decided to go to Radio Nottingham about this. We both went on the radio and told of our sex discriminating school; again a letter was sent. As far as I know there is no reply to the letter yet and the films are just as sex discriminatory as before.

BY ELAINE LEE

MURRAYS ALIVE & STRUGGLING-
THE LATEST AND INDEED FORTUNATE NEWS. IS THAT THE MURRAYS ARE NOT TO HANG!

THE LATEST AND INDEED FORTUNATE NEWS, IS THAT THE MURRAYS ARE NOT TO HANG!

The Supreme Court in Dublin has decided that Marie and Noel Murray who were sentenced to be hanged for the murder of an off-duty policeman, are to be reprieved.

In the last issue of "If you Don't..." we told how they had been accused of a £7000 robbery of the Allied Irish Bank in Dublin and the murder of a garda after the robbery. They were accused with Ronan Stenson. They were interrogated, tortured, beaten up, kept in isolation, allowed little mail, visits and news from outside, especially concerning the campaigns in Ireland and Europe to free them. Ronan was so badly beaten he could not appear in court. The court was a Special Criminal Court, there being no jury, just 3 judges; it restricted the Murrays evidence, would not allow the press in, etc. The usual fascist tactics were applied by the Irish government to stop even the reactionary press reporting the case. The Supreme court has given Noel life imprisonment and asked the Special Criminal Court to retry Marie. (continued on page ? - the back)

(continued on page ? - the back)

CRISIS IN THE HOSIERY INDUSTRY.

The Political Economy of Nottingham Group held a meeting on the Hosiery Industry. Ross Longhurst of the Nottingham Communist Group (10 Villa Rd., Nottm) gave a talk on the policies of the various sections of the Hosiery and Knitwear Employers and the facts behind the Import Controls controversy. There hasn't been time to write a full report of the meeting. A report will appear in the next issue along with some information from a previous meeting on the CUTS.

The next PEN meeting is: Monday 10th January and it will be on the Structure Plan. Starts at 7.30 at 3 Dunlop Ave., Lenton, Nottingham. phone 708871

REDUNDANCIES IN THE ARCHITECTS DEPT.

This article is taken from a letter from a member of N.A.L.G.O.

The County Council have threatened to make 7 architects redundant from County Hall. 'Negotiations' are continuing between NALGO and Local Govt over how the cuts can be accommodated. Action is planned and the level militancy of NALGO members seems to have increased but very little concrete has been worked out.

The last NALGO Executive meeting agreed to an overtime ban in the Architects Dept and also for a stronger last clause in the national motion against cuts in Public Expenditure. This is to be debated at a special conference in January.

AN ALTERNATIVE MAY DAY?

Would it be possible to organise some kind of fuller celebration of May Day this year (1977?). If you're interested contact IF YOU DON'T.

MORE ON MARX READING GROUP.

Following the discussion mentioned elsewhere it was decided to have a meeting on Monday 17th January to discuss the first two of the four parts of Civil War in France by Marx. Other reading relevant to this is
The Paris Commune - Solidarity pamphlet no 35
Mass Worker and Social Capital - Guido Baldi
State and Revolution - Lenin - all borrowable from phone 79826
Meeting at 7.30 at 58 Edward Rd., West Bridgeford.

INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTS ON THE REVIEW OF ZEROWRK.

Recent IF YOU DON'T's have included a series of reviews and articles concerned with work (i). This issue includes a critical review of ZEROWRK (ii) by John Kelly, who is a member of the Revolutionary Communist Group (for more details phone 624344). IF YOU DON'T may organise a Public Meeting on 'WORK AND UNEMPLOYMENT' early in 1977 (iii), a fuller article will be written for that. The subject is very relevant with mounting unemployment, increased housework and schoolwork, a fanning of the work ethic etc all being on the cards.

These notes are not meant to be a defense of ZEROWRK but a rather inadequate criticism of some of the politics behind the review.

* The ZW collective do not 'frequently criticise ... the Left'; most of the space is usefully concerned with considering the content and direction and limits of working class struggle.

* Neither is it true to say that the collective don't try to explain how capitalism has changed. They do try. Changed in the role of machinery & the state & planning are all looked at.

NOTES. 1. Work - or a part of my life; Work and the role of the revolutionary; Notes on Work; Review of Zerowork etc.

2. ZEROWRK available from Mushroom.

3. Report elsewhere in IF YOU DON'T of possible showing of film GAFFER'S STRIKE in conjunction with BIG FLAME.

... and composition and theories of crisis ... found intermingled with meticulous historical detail & empirical studies ...' and find the evidence for 'refusal of work' unconvincing without at least examining what has been happening as a whole in the period of struggle since the 2nd World War.

For example, the historical analysis of the changing situations and struggles of black workers in USA ties together 'history', 'class composition' and the 'refusal of work' into one movement of real living people fighting for their needs against capitals demands.

Oh! the INEVITABILITY of it all!

Several times John argues that the collapse of capitalism isn't dependent on workers' struggles, perhaps because the rate of profit must inevitably decline or because capital is an active social force while the working class is only potentially active, that the '60s welfare struggles were merely a response to inflation, etc.

I don't see it that way; capital is actually 'shit-scared' of class struggle and must ~~try~~ to make use of, control, direct and integrate it into its own future. This isn't to say that there's a penthouse suite somewhere full of nervous bankers ulcerated businessmen and manic politicians, trembling as they plot. But when masses of people express their needs fully and directly then this does threaten the stable system of exploitation. All the various kinds of capital (eg machines) are only yesterdays labour (I think) and get their value from labour power. For capitalism to continue, capital needs to control the working class; it wants workers to be prepared in every way to produce the right goods and services at the right time and for the right cost. Of course, there are massive problems with different factions of capital tripping each other up all over the place, but the consciousness and activity of the world working class is, for capital, the biggest headache of all.

OUR STRUGGLE FOR OUR NEEDS - whatever they are, whether they are sexual, for the kind of shelter and housing we want, for an income as separate from work as possible - translates itself in a complicated way into a material or economic fight against profit.

The consciousness, organisation, power, friendship and love we make in this struggle is the beginnings of communism. And its from these beginnings that a revolution will grow.

John's view (& his interpretation of Lenin) sees it differently; a 'revolutionary party acting OUTSIDE the class' is the vital point. While the working class struggle is 'largely structured by capital ...' the "exploitation integral to capitalism" has to be REVEALED presumably by a party of outside pissed-off intellectuals. A sharp split is claimed to exist between the class struggle and the activity of revolutionaries.

A different view - nearer to the one I hold - is that revolutionary consciousness and organisation begins within the struggle. For this to develop there have to be changes in the internal organisation (the political recomposition) of the working class. Divisions between skilled and unskilled, black and white, women and men etc along with tendencies for specialisation and hierarchy need to be dealt with. That's partly why it's necessary to recognise the importance of the autonomous movements of women, gays, black people, low paid workers and others, to see their demands made on the class (& the Left, too). Revolutionaries can play a part here?

The recomposition of the working class has, and will, throw up new demands and aims relevant to modern times. Among them is the struggle for an income separate from work. Not only are new aims thrown up but 'class vanguards' (actual groups of people) practically fight for these aims. I think the actions of West Indian youth - refusing shit work and low pay (as reported in Race Today) have far more revolutionary implications than the campaign for the Right to Work and the kind of people who support it.

I just want to end with some immediate practical points. Because its not true that working class struggle is inevitably limited to trade union consciousness or rigid reformism then I believe its important to be active politically within mass struggles, to learn within them and take initiatives. For example, this means

* The Bus Cuts campaign is important especially if it involves large numbers of passengers and transport workers * Similarly, extending the work of the Nottm Economy Group on Hosiery to interviewing and taking action with militants could be useful * IF YOU DON'T could play a more useful role here. KEITH

I could discuss the contents of this book at great length and in immense detail because there are many important issues raised by its contributors. Questions of class strategy and composition and theories of crisis are to be found intermingled with meticulous historical and empirical studies of recent US working class history. It would for example be very interesting to debate the significance, and origins, of the Lordstown dispute, mentioned by Peter Taylor in his chapter on the auto sector. But rather than take an approach of this sort, I want to focus on a number of themes running through the book concerning methodology and theory, which have serious implications for revolutionaries.

Although there is no doubt a variety of political differences between the contributors to this book, I think they do hold certain assumptions in common, about theory and method, and it is these which I propose to discuss. Although the empirical material in the various articles is of some value, my own view is that the method of analysis on which the work is based, the theories to which it gives rise, and the political conclusions which emerge, are almost wholly incorrect.

Let me begin with the method of analysis: in contrast to Marx, who treated the movements and development of capital as the independent variable in his analyses, the contributors to Zerowork begin from the opposite pole of capitalist society, that is, from the working class and its struggles against capital. The rationale for this method is described quite clearly in the Introduction:

"Capital is a class relation, and as such it admits only two ways of approach: either the capitalist viewpoint or the viewpoint of the working class." (p.2)

It is not entirely clear what these terms mean but a reading of the remainder of the book soon clears up any confusion. The Left is frequently criticised because it ,

".....sees the crisis from the point of view of economists, that is, from the viewpoint of capital.....It cannot grasp either in theory or practice that the working class struggle against work is the source of the crisis.. (p.5)

What this means is that the Left treats capital as an active social force whilst it treats the working class as a potential social force whose activity is largely structured or determined by capital itself. The fallacy in the criticism is that it falsely equates a 'capitalist viewpoint' with a bourgeois viewpoint. It is one thing to express capitals political interests vis-a-vis the working class, but quite another to understand the actual development of capitalism itself. Marxists have attempted (following Marx) to do the latter, a task which involves a study of what Zerowork might call 'economics'. But this fact in itself does not indicate the adoption of a capitalist viewpoint, in the political sense and the abandonment of a working class viewpoint. We have to ask what is meant by these terms. The contributors to Zerowork have a literal understanding of the terms: they write about working class struggles, about the organisations of the working class and about capitals' response. Marx himself had an entirely different conception of a 'working class viewpoint', a conception based not on empirical documentation and glorification of class struggles, but rather on the most complete understanding of the dynamics of capital, and hence of capitalist society. For his argument ran that once the exploitation integral to capitalism had been revealed, then the basis had been laid for the development of revolutionary class consciousness. A standpoint was described then as working class according to whether it expressed the revolutionary political interest of the class, and not, as Zerowork would have us believe, according to whether

the class was treated as a relatively active or passive social force. In fact as we shall see this latter criterion, although thoroughly misleading, does connect easily with Zeroworks own theory of the crisis, a theory which actually expresses the political interests of the bourgeoisie.

Leaving aside for the moment the persistent references to such notions as 'the refusal to work', or 'the separation of income from work' (of which more later), Zeroworks' own theory of the crisis can be expressed quite clearly and simply. The second quotation, above, refers to the struggle against work as the 'source of the crisis', and later on Montano quotes approvingly from the Wall St. Journal to the effect that,

"....wage push is an undeniable fact." (p.41)

The location of working class activity as the main focus of its work thus expresses both a methodological point, as well as a theoretical one. The activity of the class is seen as the fundamental cause of the current crisis, for by pushing up wage rates and earnings without correspondingly increasing productivity, workers have eaten into profits and driven up labour costs. Indeed Linebaugh and Ramirez go so far as to say that the crisis,

"...is a crisis of capital, and this is but an expression of a strategic leap in workers' struggles." (p.64)

This theory is in fact the 'overconsumptionist' theory of crisis in new garb, according to which profits are squeezed by higher wages until a point is reached where capitalists cease to invest and a crisis begins. There is however comparatively little convincing evidence in the book to support the argument. Carpignano notes that the rate of wage increases, which usually falls during a recession, continued to rise throughout the 1969 recession, but his figures make no allowance for the effects of inflation on money wage increases. Had they done so he might then have seen that although money wages increased, real living standards rose much less (if at all) because of the falling value of money. Unfortunately however the authors do not take the idea of scholarship very seriously and defects in their arguments, such as the above, tend to be glossed over. Their presentation of material reflects, to a large degree, a theoretical preoccupation with working class struggle which is not always illuminating.

In describing this theory of crisis as 'overconsumptionist', I referred to its 'new garb', that is, to the notions of a 'refusal to work' of the unity of waged and unwaged sections of the class, and of the separation of income from work. These ideas are intended as both explanations and descriptions of the phenomena of rising wages, falling productivity, struggles against rent increases, for higher welfare payments etc. These struggles, we are told,

"...connected welfare, reappropriation, and armed struggle with the factory." (p.15)

Few of these ideas receive any critical examination, and so it is perhaps worth making a few brief points about them. Firstly, the evidence for a refusal to work, if this phrase be taken literally, is hardly convincing. Although absenteeism rates climbed to around 10% in certain sectors of manufacturing industry, the fact remains that 90% of the workforce reported for work each day and did their work, albeit reluctantly. Even with labour productivity, it is true that this stagnated or even fell in certain industries, but these are by no means characteristic of industry as a whole. Output per man hour in US manufacturing industry actually rose at a faster rate in the period of 'refusals to work' (1966-1974) than previously, as the following figures show.

Output per man hour: average annual %age increase in US manufacturing industry *

<u>1950-66</u>	<u>1966-70</u>	<u>1970-74</u>	<u>1966-74</u>
2.7	2.2	4.8	3.6

Although it is true productivity rose more slowly in 1966-70 than in either the preceding or following periods, it was still rising and it rose even faster after 1970. If we take US industry as a whole then we obtain a very different picture to that portrayed in Zerowork, since the latter is based on only three industries, namely cars, coalmining and the postal service. Interestingly enough one factor which these industries have in common, and which distinguishes them from many other US industries, is that they are all heavily unionised. Such is the hostility of Zerowork to unions however that this fact has gone unnoticed. It is undoubtedly the case that the unions in these particular industries have a rather poor (or at least an inconsistent) record of defending their members' interests, but it is presumably this weakness which has contributed to the strength of shop floor organisation. Once again this contradictory aspect of unions is barely mentioned.

The idea of a 'separation of income from work' stands up no better to critical analysis, than the 'refusal to work'. Although workers did push for large wage demands in the late '60s/early 70s, at the same time as there was growing agitation over the question of welfare benefits this activity might be seen more plausibly as an inevitable working class response to growing inflation and falling living standards. This is precisely what one would expect under such conditions, and the phenomenon is hardly a novel feature of the 1960s, as the following comment by Marx makes clear:

".....crises are precisely always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally....It seems then that capitalist production comprises certain conditions which.....permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily, and at that always** as the harbinger of a coming crisis.

The struggle for welfare rights certainly marks a significant development in the post war period, but to argue as does Carpignano, that black rioting and looting, demands for higher welfare payments and demands for higher wages, unite waged and unwaged, is stretching a point. In what way are they united - politically, ideologically, organisationally? According to Carpignano their unity is based on the fact that the enemy and the objective are the same, but I would like to know how far this unity was actually perceived by the participants in the struggle before proclaiming the transcendence of the waged/unwaged ~~distinction~~ distinction.

Although Zerowork supposedly promotes a working class view of the crisis (as opposed to a capitalist view), the content, in both cases, is precisely the same: high wages cause falling profits and falling productivity. The only difference between Zerowork and the bourgeoisie, in this respect, is that whereas the bourgeoisie condemns high wage rises, Zerowork heartily and readily approves of them because it discerns in them some hidden political significance. This sort of explanation of the crisis is popular with the bourgeoisie because it is superficial and because it lays responsibility for it at the door of the working class. The capitalist mode of production is thus exonerated by default.

* National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality Fourth Annual Report March 1975, Table I¹, p.53.

** From Marx, K Capital, Vol.2, quoted in Freedman, R Marx on Economics Penguin, 1961, p.174.

and the problems confronting us are seen as the consequences of working class 'greed' etc. The significance of Marx's analysis of capitalism is thus lost entirely, for Marx sought to demonstrate that regardless of working class action, the capitalist system was necessarily prone to crises. Although workers' actions might determine the timing, intensity or duration of crises, the fact that crises break out at all was seen as an inevitable outcome of the contradictions of capitalist accumulation.

I won't pursue in detail some of the more novel ideas in this book but will just mention one example. Montano announces on the first page of his article that capitalism is now pursuing a strategy of 'long term crisis', whilst the Introduction to the book refers to ~~XXX~~ 'planned crisis' as the long term strategy of the capitalist state. I had always assumed that capital by its very nature was unable to plan in any meaningful sense, and yet now apparently its nature has changed. The authors unfortunately do not explain the ways in which capitalism has changed to make this possible. Nevertheless their theory of planned crisis is at least consistent with their overall theory of crisis: the working class through its struggles has forced capital on the defensive and planned crisis is the capitalist response. It seems to me that this view of crisis does credit the capitalist state with an inordinate degree of control over the economy, which I'm not sure it actually possesses, and does also come very close to a conspiracy theory of crisis.

The final point I wanted to discuss was the political perspectives of Zerowork. The 'Introduction' is uncompromisingly hostile to the 'Left' and indeed to socialism, since both entail, or call for, a society which is either utopian or totalitarian. And it continues,

"The practical and theoretical challenge is to . . .
build a society where the creation of wealth
does not contradict the autonomy of the working
class and its refusal to work." (p.6)

Although the questions of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and 'the seizure of power' are seen as questions which must at some stage be answered, one can see the way in which they are likely to be answered by examining the contents of Zerowork. The so-called refusal to work is seen as a vital element in the consciousness of the class, and is considered to be inimical to the continued development of capitalism. And indeed if it persisted it would be, but the contributors have failed to recognise that such militant economic demands can take either a reformist or a revolutionary form. Workers may put in larger wage claims year after year and continually damage capital in the process, but unless they are 'equipped' with a revolutionary awareness of their actions they are vulnerable to the classic capitalist arguments over wages: that if wages rise, firms will close, unemployment will rise, and welfare will have to be cut. Unless workers can respond ideologically to these arguments, and unless they can see that capitalism is the cause of our problems and not workers wage demands, then they are vulnerable to bourgeois propaganda. But 'refusals to work' are unlikely to persist in the face of continued ideological onslaught as the world decline in working class militancy testifies all too clearly. Basing one's politics on such militancy is no new phenomenon however, and it comprised the essence of the theoretical tendency characterised, and castigated, by Lenin as Economism*. The essence of Lenin's critique is that although the spontaneous activity of the class may damage capitalism, it cannot in itself 'generate' revolutionary class consciousness. This must be developed by the activities of the revolutionary party. There is nothing in Zerowork which seems to invalidate this judgement, and although the book draws attention to a number of phenomena whose significance I'm not sure I fully understand, I don't believe its contributors understand them either.

*Lenin, V.I. What is to be done? Moscow, Progress, 1973

Although we are greatly relieved that Marie and Noel are not to hang, we still demand that they be freed and that the trumped up charges be dropped. I wouldn't like to suggest what to do with those that have tortured them, beaten them, given the orders for this and made the judgments.

There have been campaigns all over Europe. Here in Nottingham we have held one meeting and picketed the Allied Irish Bank near Midland Station. We intend to continue this campaign. If you are interested or keen to help ring Manuel 600337. If you want you could also contact Save the Murrays, Rising Free, 142, Drummond St. London, wc1. It could happen to any of us- lets fight back.

- KIDS CARE - NOT DUTY -

I was going to write something quite lengthy about kids, parents and other adults but I've been very busy recently, you know the sort of thing- personal and social politics, cleaning, talking, sleeping, shopping, etc. AND CRIING LIVING AND CARING FOR CHILDREN! - dare I say it. So, I've decided to write something short and bitter. That's how I feel recently.

I've got my own kids, one living with me, Abbi who is nearly 6 and Marcel 8 and Joy 16, who live in Leeds. I used to have as a hope for the future that every child, as every adult is the responsibility of everyone. All that was required was the losing of that possessiveness of biological parentage, and so the disappearance of the nuclear family or any other type of family/tribe which exists to facilitate the exploitation of people, and so the disappearance (sorry) the smashing ~~th~~ of the very economic structure. This has not been stated such that it will occur in that order. It will happen in disorder, each effecting the other depending on particular situations of struggle.

At the same time as believing this, I saw little chance of this together responsibility in my life-style. I'd seen, heard and read alot about kids and communes and it always seemed to boil down to usually one of the biological parents, usually the mother, taking more care than the others, male or female.

So, my kids were my kids, that's how it was. If anybody wished to be with them and vice-versa, that was fine, but I had no great idealistic and often moralistic pressure on me to be collective with my kid, because it's revolutionary.

And I didn't feel guilty about it- I enjoyed it.

What alot of politicians And there's so many without kids- don't seem to realize is that it's wonderful seeing someone you love grow, open their eyes, walk, talk, annoy you, shit on you, etc. I've learnt more about myself and life through my own kids; I'm not a very good human, but my kids have given me so much, that I'm sure I'm better than I used to be. The only real regret that I have is that as a man I can't have kids myself, but nevertheless to share the experience is like nothing you will ever experience in your life.

Living with friends has helped me alot, so I've been able to go to bed out to see friends, meetings, dances, pubs, walks, drinks, etc. They were staying in, I'd get them to bed or ready for bed, so it was relatively easy compared with so many people especially women living isolated lives with their kids, and also my friends had some emotional commitment to them.

But recently, I've become more aware, especially through relating with a woman who has 2 young kids, that so many politicians, esp. women have got no fucking idea about what kids are about. People who are not so 'political' care more for her kids and mine without proclaiming any revolutionary crap about babysitting. They 'see' the need for women with kids to be babysat for to go to meetings (and oops, they nearly forgot) or to a friends, pub, film, etc. They don't even seem to get that together. Perhaps us with kids don't want that. Maybe the kids do't. Kids feel things, they are human; they always prefer somebody they know and are close to, somebody who comes to see them as well as the adults. Stop thinking about trying to fit us into your Red Diary, where you are 'free', and start thinking about what you are missing not having a real relationship with kids. As I said short and bitter.

Manuel.

Manuel.

THE NEXT "IF YOU DON'T..." MEETING TO TALK ABOUT THIS ISSUE AND THE NEXT WILL BE ON TUESDAY, 18th. JANUARY AT 7.30p.m. AT 10, MILNER RD., CARE OF KIDS?-ring 600337
BENEFIT/BOP FOR "IF YOU DON'T" IS ON FRIDAY 7TH JANUARY, 8p.m. AT THE BUILDING,
GREGORY BOULEVARD, 25p.INTERESTED? RING Keith 79826.

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10. ELLIS GUILDFORD : MURRAY'S ALIVE AND STRUGGLING

11. HOSTERY INDUSTRY : REDUNDANCIES : INTRODUCTION TO ZERO WORK

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17. KIDS CARE- NOT DUTY

18. CONTENTS : THE BUILDING

NB IF ANY OF YOU ARE WONDERING WHAT TO OBTAIN FOR MY 'WINTER SOLSTICE PRESENT', I WOULD LIKE SOME DUPLICATING PAPER, GESTETNER INK AND STENCILS- IF

THE BUILDING-

SUCH WONDERFUL THINGS have been going on at the BUILDING that I hardly know where to begin. For the benefit of those few of you who have not been down there recently, I'll mention the new superdeluxe ***calongas heater*** AND(+)

the XPalleydocious FALSE CEILING which retains all our new heat.....also.... we have been given a new cooker by Janet & Gordon (ta muchly) and, too, the K-K-K-KITCHEN has been given a new coat of P-P-P-PAINT, AND MOST subtly and ably done too by Phil and Myra And Les And Ali etc. Also John the glazier and ambassador from space has been putting in windows. Diane, Martyn, & Mike are getting on magnificently with the emergency LIGHTING system....Alex continues to provide us with his disco lights.....silent Phil has done many things including bringing down scrap, very useful to help finances.....Michelle and freinds from Southell oh alright Southwell are likely to be the core of a new bid to establish a regular Saturday Bazaar at the BUILDING, starting on the 8th of Jan. 1977. More info at 600337, John or Manny. Why while away those winter nites in dole-full despondency? Be crafty and make a bit on the side.coops!do you think they ever read this?Well, after all, even the S.S. let you earn £4 a week before they start to cut your money down, you know.

What else . Both toilets now work. We are now getting expert help from Tom..... Taw and Ros have loaned the BUILDING a pile of records and a lowenlee standard lamp. We get the BINS emptied regularly..the A3 duplicator(prints twice as big as this page) is nearly ready for use for posters, etc. The black guys John, Kenny, Lesley and freinds, continue to work on their disco stuff every Sunday.friends?that looks better.Am I nearly at the bottom of the stencil yet?? No you're not!

As usual there are jobs that need doing- painting and therefor paint, glaziers (we have some glass), a bit of plumbing- not much and the electrics being the most important.

On the financial aspects which you might like to know- we now have to pay £5 a week rent to the Corporation and the rates are being negotiated. They wanted to charge us alot, but we've knocked it down substantially because we are a registered charity and we are still, mainly through Diane, trying to get them to assess us more realistically. We also get donations when we are lucky, jumbles, scrap from it, and the new alternative indoor market to be held, as John said above, every Saturday from 2p.m. starting on the 8th. January. This will include whole food, leather goods i.e. belts, Turkish rings, wood work, candles, clothes, books about or related to the womens movement, the gay movement, kids books, etc. Come and sell, buy, talk, etc.