

Libertarian STRUGGLE

for Workers' Power

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A YEAR OF STRUGGLE



The threat to safe legal abortion posed by the Abortion Amendment Bill is vigorously opposed by the National Abortion Campaign, which is campaigning for free abortion on demand, and for the recognition that it is a woman's right to choose whether she has an abortion.



The barricades go up at Elgin Avenue. Squatters won their demands for rehousing by fighting together.



Unemployment rose steadily in 1975. More and more workers realised that the only way to fight redundancies is by occupying workplaces, bringing them under workers control.



It was with great pleasure that we noted the death of Generalissimo Franco, the Fascist dictator whose regime murdered and tortured thousands. Our only regret is that he died, not by Popular Justice, but merely of old age.



The attempts of the state to use nebulous 'Conspiracy' charges to imprison people who speak out against it suffered a serious set-back when a jury acquitted 14 pacifists charged with Conspiracy to Incite Disaffection. Throughout the trial the 14 emphasised the political nature of the charges, and exposed the repressive role of the Army in Northern Ireland.

AT A TIME when the working class are taking hammerings from all sides, it is nice to see a small victory in the acquittal of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) 14.

It proves that the state apparatus, however strong it appears to be, can be shaken.

The charges against the BWNIC 14 — conspiracy to incite disaffection — were proved to be groundless.

The leaflets, 'Some Information for Discontented Soldiers', it was decided by the court, actually pointed out the rights of serving soldiers, most of whom were ignorant of these rights.

Why were they ignorant? Because, although these rights are in existence, soldiers are never notified of these things.

This sort of information suppression is carried out all the time by the ruling class.

But the British Army is still in Northern Ireland.

It is worth noting that soldiers and Irish people will continue to be killed there with no gain to any side.

Worse still, the extension of the fighting to terrorist action in England has given sanction to domestic repression, like the failed attempt to bring back hanging.

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Trespass

Also being mooted is a complete revision of laws on trespass.

Following the persistent failure of the old laws of 1381 (Peasants' Revolt) to get squatters evicted without 'inhuman' scenes of destitute families on the street; and following the impotence of police to thwart workers' pickets and occupations, the Law Commission have decided to draft new laws to make homelessness illegal, to deprive workers of any chance of controlling their workplace.

This latest idea of repression is totally against the interests of militants in industry and in the community.

The AWA gives full support to the 'Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law' which is co-ordinating the fight against the proposals of the Law Commission!

International Womens Con

So 1975 was patronisingly called 'International Womens Year'.

The Australian Meteorological Department decided to name typhoons after men as well as women.

This was probably the greatest step taken towards liberating women.

In Britain, women have been on the defence.

The right to have an abortion has been lessened by Ms Barbara Castle implementing the Select Committee's proposals.

SPUC have just been held at bay.

The Sex Discrimination Act, which will be law by now, is a farce.

Like the Race Relations Act, it papers over the basic problem of the suppression of one section of the working class by another.

The Sex Discrimination Act is the Labour Government's public relations effort with women, yet it will also allow immense discrimination to continue in the form of Social Security benefits, for instance.

It will be difficult to prove cases of discrimination when they do occur.

One cannot liberate people from above, either through laws or party directives.

The real liberation of women will be done by women themselves in their day to day struggles against sexism.

Gay freedom

There is a possibility of a lessening of the laws restricting gays with a liberal peer introducing a private member's bill this year.

However, gays will still be discriminated against, both in jobs and housing, as well as many other aspects.

Anti-gay jokes will still be seen on the TV, and gay people will still face prejudice in their day to day lives.

Only by pressure from gays and other people fighting sexism can these prejudices be demolished.

Red herrings

1975 saw the passive acceptance of a blatant wage freeze: it also saw the

predictable rises in prices and unemployment.

With few exceptions, cutbacks in the public sector have been swallowed by the working class.

The trade unions have swung further to the right and right wing organisations in the unions and the Labour Party such as Truemid, the Social Democratic Alliance, to name but two, have appeared, capitalising on the red-baiting press.

Occupations

There have been, however, some large struggles against the economic repression.

There have been several hard fought occupations against redundancies, such as at Imperial Typewriters and Personna Razors.

Why is this situation so?

Primarily, the working class, having put faith in the Labour Party, has been sold right out.

But why aren't the working class turning to the left as a result?

Surely, any one of the fifty-seven varieties of Leninist groups can offer 'leadership'?

The AWA has consistently stressed that revolution comes by the self-activity of the working class, who are quite capable of liberating themselves and building a libertarian communist society.

Labour - left right out

The working class still has great faith in the Labour Party and is prepared to give it a breathing space to try and deal with this crisis.

But the crisis can only get worse and the Labour Party is in fact not defending working class interests but attacking them - Criminal Trespass Law, cuts in public expenditure, and so on.

The Labour Party has to be broken with irrevocably, otherwise working class organisations will be emasculated and living standards will crash, along with any serious resistance to the bosses' attacks.

Intensification

In every part of society the struggle must be built and intensified:

- * In housing, where tenants and squatters groups must fight back and unite.
- * In the fight against sexism and for womens' and gays' rights, where campaigns must be mounted throughout society.
- * On the industrial front where a strong rank and file movement must be built, where redundancies must be fought by occupations and speed-ups fought by a slow down in production.
- * Amongst the unemployed where the claimants unions must be built up by militants and turned away (where applicable) from social work.
- * In the fight against racialism which will be crucial in the coming months, with the right wing whipping up racial hatred on the strength of the proposed laws against racialism.

These struggles must be united into a mass anti-capitalist offensive.

WORKERS' POWER - NO SUBSTITUTE!

Editorial Collective

FREE PEDRO ASTUDILLO!

PEDRO ASTUDILLO is a 48 year old Spanish refugee who is serving a term in the French prison Fresnes near Paris. The Spanish Government has requested Astudillo's extradition for various heavy offences against the Spanish Army. Two French courts have granted the extradition. The only hope to save Astudillo from almost certain death is to have the French Government reverse the courts' decision. To obtain this, obviously Astudillo's case should be widely publicised in France and elsewhere. The public must vigorously state their support for Astudillo. The following is an abridged translation of Astudillo's story:

MY NAME is Pedro Jose Astudillo Callejo. I was born in 1927 in the Basque province of Viscaya. My father, after fighting with the Republicans, was captured and shot in 1940. My mother was tortured by members of the Falange and died shortly afterwards.

When the Army called me in 1949 I refused to join but was arrested four years later, served one year in prison and was forcibly enlisted.

However, after barely three months, I was again arrested inside the barracks and sentenced by a war tribunal to six years and one month's imprisonment.

I decided to break jail. I succeeded with the help of some comrades but was captured by the *Guardia Civil* one month later and taken back to the same barracks.

My former officers tortured me savagely (eg forcing me to drink petrol) to obtain from me the names of those comrades who had helped me.

I refused to give them away.

After a period of unconsciousness I found myself with a torn cheek, one testicle crushed and several ribs broken.

About four months later, the same comrades helped me once more to escape. I have not been recaptured since.

I was told later on that they had sentenced me *in absentia* to twelve years imprisonment for my second escape.

EXILE

I crossed over secretly to France at the end of 1954 and asked for political asylum.

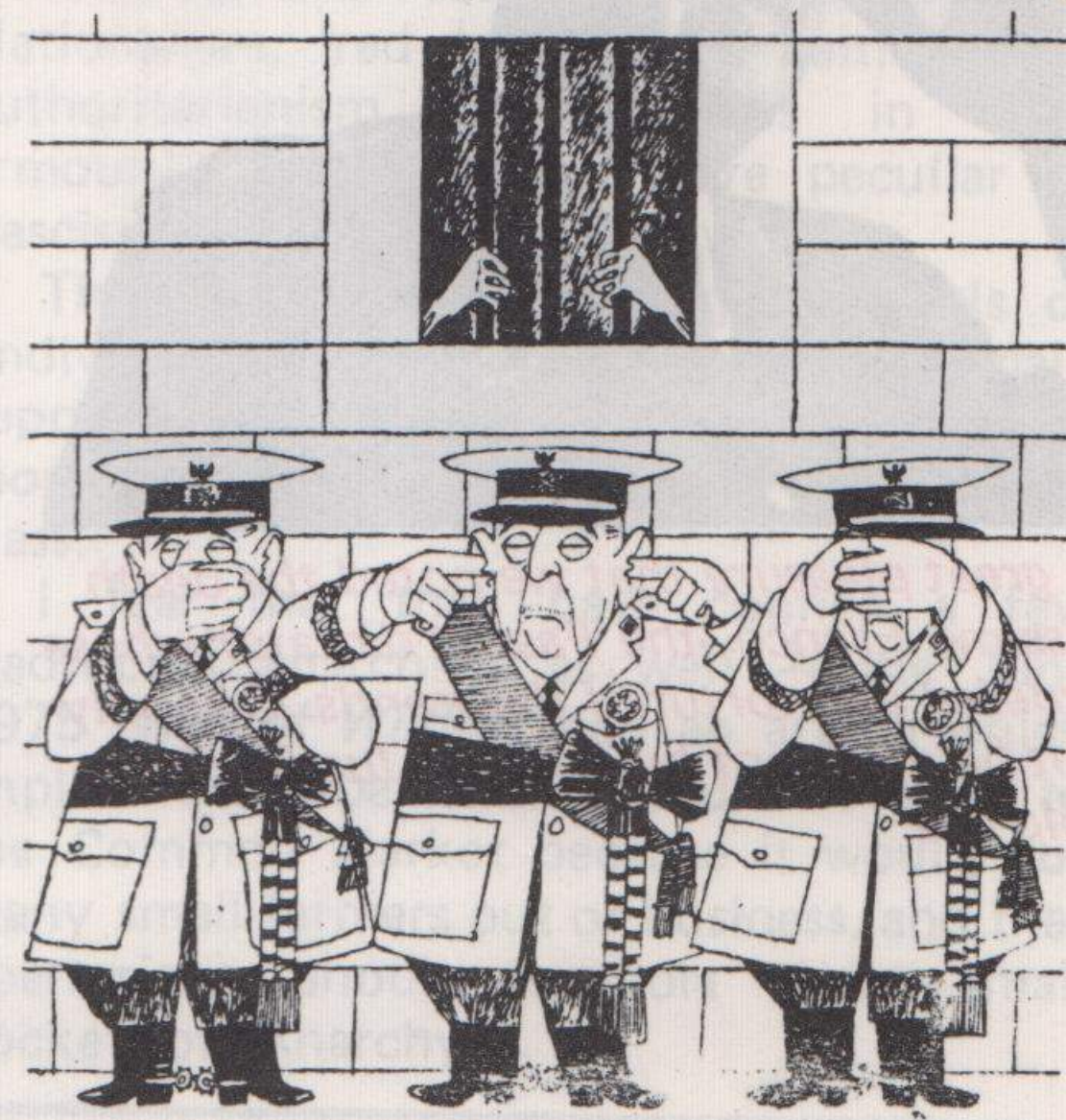
I had no job, no documents, no fixed address and did not know the French language: I was driven to steal to survive.

After a petty theft in a car in Marseilles I was given a six month jail sentence.

On two more occasions, I was refused political asylum.

Again I had to steal in order to survive, got arrested in 1957 and was liable to be deported from France.

But I found myself a wife and an illegal



- the avowed aim of which is to "round up a few pickets".

The truly working class aims of Truemid have touched the hearts of the employers, too.

Three of the full-timers that Truemid is sending to interfere with union elections on behalf of the candidates of the right are being sent on full wages by their bosses.

The unions most likely to receive the attentions of Truemid - and the new unit being set up by Tory Central Office to organise Tory trade unionists are - at the moment, ASTMS, NALGO, TGWU and NUT.

In Scotland and Wales, the right wing nationalist groups are also mounting campaigns in the unions. It's the old message they'll be putting across.

You see, when the left joins unions, that's infiltration; when this lot of fascists sign up, that (according to their Press allies) is membership.

Revolutionaries must be ready to meet this attack head on.

For a start, you can prime yourself up on their activities by subscribing to the best documented monthly watching Britain's fascist groups.

Get you: Union branch to subscribe at £5 for 12 issues (£2 for individuals) to Searchlight, 21 Great Western Buildings, 6 Livery Street, Birmingham 3.

lan S. Sutherland

job, and stayed in the country.

RESISTANCE

In 1969 as the resistance against Franco's regime was gaining in strength, I went secretly into Spain.

In 1970 some comrades asked me how to procure arms. I proposed to go and fetch from the barracks where I had served.

During the summer of 1970, after reconnoitering the premises that were familiar to me, we lay (without violence) our hands on some light arms and ammunition, and also on some political documents concerning the 'goings on' of the military police.

This expropriation was done on my initiative, for exclusively political aims and without personal material interest.

In March 1971, two comrades whom I did not know were stopped by the *Guardia Civil*, and after a shoot-out one was wounded, captured and on his possession was found a pistol that had been stolen from the barracks.

When subjected to torture, he gave my name.

I was living then with my wife who is French and our daughter in Basauri near Bilbao.

Friends told me about the arrest and I took off without any luggage.

Soon after this, my brother and his wife, who had given me shelter at their house in Patugalete near Bilbao, were both tortured and forced to give away my hide-out.

I had to go back to living illegally in France, and in 1973 was arrested with a false I.D. and was sentenced to one year in prison.

EXPULSION

The Spanish Embassy requested my extradition on the grounds of theft, possession of arms, transportation of arms and ammunition.

The tribunal in charge of the extradition procedures is the *Chambre des Mises en Accusation*.

My counsel presented them with a set of political statements in my favour and I gave the fullest details about the arms theft.

Accordingly, the tribunal ordered that I should be set free after my one year prison term, although the administration had decided to expel me from French territory.

I was also told that I was wanted by an Army judge in San Sebastian for an action against the Spanish state.

FITTED UP

Now I am again in prison.

The Spanish undercover agents in Paris engineered a plot involving an officer of the Spanish Consulate who was dealing in false passports and I was framed in his flat.

On this occasion, the Spanish Government has again asked for my extradition and now the French Government has granted it.

Only if the Government decides not to follow the tribunal's advice can I be saved from being turned over to the Spanish Army.

The danger that now threatens me is serious indeed.

For a soldier to have committed a theft of arms and political documents in his own barracks is classed as high treason and all the more serious in that the arms found their way into the hands of the regime's enemies.

If I am extradited I shall be first, horribly tortured to force out of me the names of my comrades and later my fate will be the firing squad.

PEDRO ASTUDILLO

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(Thanks to the I.A.T. for this article)

TRUEMID :- the Right move in on T.U.s

VERY SHORTLY, your union branch will be hearing from Truemid. Let me introduce, on my right (on my extreme right) Trade Unions for Industrial Democracy -- or Truemid.

Interestingly, this grass roots movement of the toiling masses doesn't hail from a back street in Glasgow or London.

It boasts a fancy suite of offices in Fleet Street and has announced that a team of full-time organisers will be setting out to cover the country.

Campaigning for Industrial Democracy - or what?

For a start, Truemid will remind those of a historical bent of another little organisation active

in the early and mid '60's.

Truaim that one, or Trade Unions Against Immigration.

Any similarity between name or personnel of Truemid and Truaim is, of course, a nasty left wing slander.

IF YOU CAN'T BEAT 'EM....

Anyone who doubts that Truemid is a genuine expression of working class interests must surely have failed to realise that it is sponsored by such graduates of hard work as stockbroker Colonel David Stirling, founder of the SAS, the British government's very own murder squad and most recently the founder of the very wonderful GB75

WHO DUNNIT?



AS WE GO to press, the questions surrounding the raid by the Derbyshire police on the Workers Revolutionary Party weekend retreat in Parwich, Derbyshire, are still unanswered by the authorities.

Sources exclusive to **Libertarian Struggle** report that Derbyshire Labour councillor Gordon Harris, of Alfreton, has tabled a question for the next meeting of the Derbyshire Police Authority — which is Labour controlled — asking the Chairman, councillor Joe Carty, for a statement as to who authorised the raid.

Harris makes the comment that 22 bullets such as were 'found' in the raid are not exactly the sort of armament from which



revolutions grow.

They are, of course, the sort of bullet used in the countryside for vermin control, and since the 'Red House' at Parwich is a former country house used by the huntin', shootin' and fishin' brigade, this seems a likely explanation.

POLICE SILENCE

According to **Libertarian Struggle's** source, the said Joe Carty is shitting himself. Rumour has it that considerable pressure is going on Harris to desist from his questions.

Our readers may be very sure that no whiff of this will appear in the capitalist press, but although the police committee meeting will be closed to the public (otherwise our comrades from Derbyshire would attend it) it is hard to see how the bureaucrats can avoid giving details in the Council minutes.

When these come out, **Libertarian Struggle** will of course reproduce the answers. Every effort will be made by us to produce the facts and break the police silence on this drama.

Other papers of the Left are free to reprint this information in full — the capitalist press will, predictably, ignore the courage of Gordon Harris. It's not often that we have a good word for a Labour Party member!

HYSTERIA

As the system intensifies and orchestrates its 'terrorist' hysteria, militant workers and organisations of the Left can expect police action against them.

When the chips are down, and the ruling class feels threatened, their own much vaunted 'law and order' will be thrown out of the window.

Already, Pat Arrowsmith and other

campaigners on withdrawal from Ireland are finding local police forces picking them up for search and questioning when they visit towns to speak.

The acquittal of the BWNIC 14 shows that the State is still vulnerable. What's the betting that trial by jury will shortly vanish in cases of conspiracy?

HARD LABOUR

The fact that the Westminster Gas Works has voted down hanging shouldn't blind revolutionaries into believing in the essential 'liberalism' of the system.

Reformists such as the **New Statesman** believe that all will be well, and the present wave of repression ended, if a more 'liberal' Attorney General is appointed by the Labour Government.

This pathetic optimism flies in the face of history. The very first Labour Government, in 1924, was in fact brought down as a result of an attempt to frame up a CP leader on sedition charges.

British political history is littered with cases in which Labour Governments prosecuted anti-militarist campaigners. Hardly surprising when you think that it was the 1945-51 Labour Government which introduced peace time conscription.

The London sieges have certainly brought out certain facets of the fuzz with which most of us certainly weren't familiar — though we might have expected it.

The Balcombe Street encounter brought out the existence of Scotland Yard C11 department, who concentrate on the use of listening devices, and the 'Blue Berets', who with their armament and uniform certainly blur the line between the police and the military.

That line has been shrinking ever since the miners' strike of 1972 and the 'anti-terrorist' operations at Heathrow airport.

The recent police and army operation in Southampton is also revealing. The discovery of gelignite was used as an excuse to detain 48 people — nearly all Irish.

A TGWU docks steward was arrested at gunpoint and many other Irish people living in the town were harassed. The army were used to search the docks and test secret equipment.

In this way, the State was able to gain valuable experience in testing reactions to the use of the army in an urban situation.

How long before the actual Army is used for crowd control — the State's euphemism for smashing demos and pickets — or is used for raiding purposes?

PC 49

STOP PRESS . . .

Our sources in Derbyshire inform us that councillor Carty, Chairman of the Police Committee has told councillor Harris that the authorisation for the raid must be regarded as "an internal police matter" and that he is unable to answer his questions on those grounds.

LABOUR BETRAYS PUBLIC TRANSPORT

BY THE TIME that this article appears in print, Britain's railway system may be doomed. The bureaucrats of the Department of the Environment (now there's a misnamed institution if ever there was one!) are putting round a secret plan which involves the 'Beechingisation' of our rail network down to about 4,000 miles.

Most of this will comprise about 4 main lines so that businessmen can make their expensive account journeys to Newcastle (to shut down factories in the NE?) or to Glasgow (to shut down factories in Scotland?).

The nearest the truncated system will come to actually transporting a worker will be the London commuter routes — perhaps kept open so that Civil Servants can get to work to draft plans to shut down railways and push up bus fares.

ROAD LOBBY

Britain's transport problems are now decided not in the House of Commons, nor the boardrooms of British Rail, nor even on the transport committee of your local council — but by what is known as the 'road lobby'.

These are the cowboys of the lorry industry, the boys who want ever bigger juggernauts on the roads, who relentlessly campaign against even the slightest legal restriction of drivers' hours.

Behind them are the big construction firms, with their eyes on juicy motorway contracts.

The oil companies, the motoring organisations like the AA and the RAC, the car manufacturers and every big firm running car fleets for top employees as a tax dodge are in there too, pitching

for the strangulation of Britain's public transport.

PRISONS

Already, rural economists have warned of whole stretches of Britain being turned into deserts or prisons where whole communities are cut off from the outside world.

In the towns and cities, one might cynically wonder if it really matters whether or not we have transport to work — since we probably won't have any work to go to, anyway.

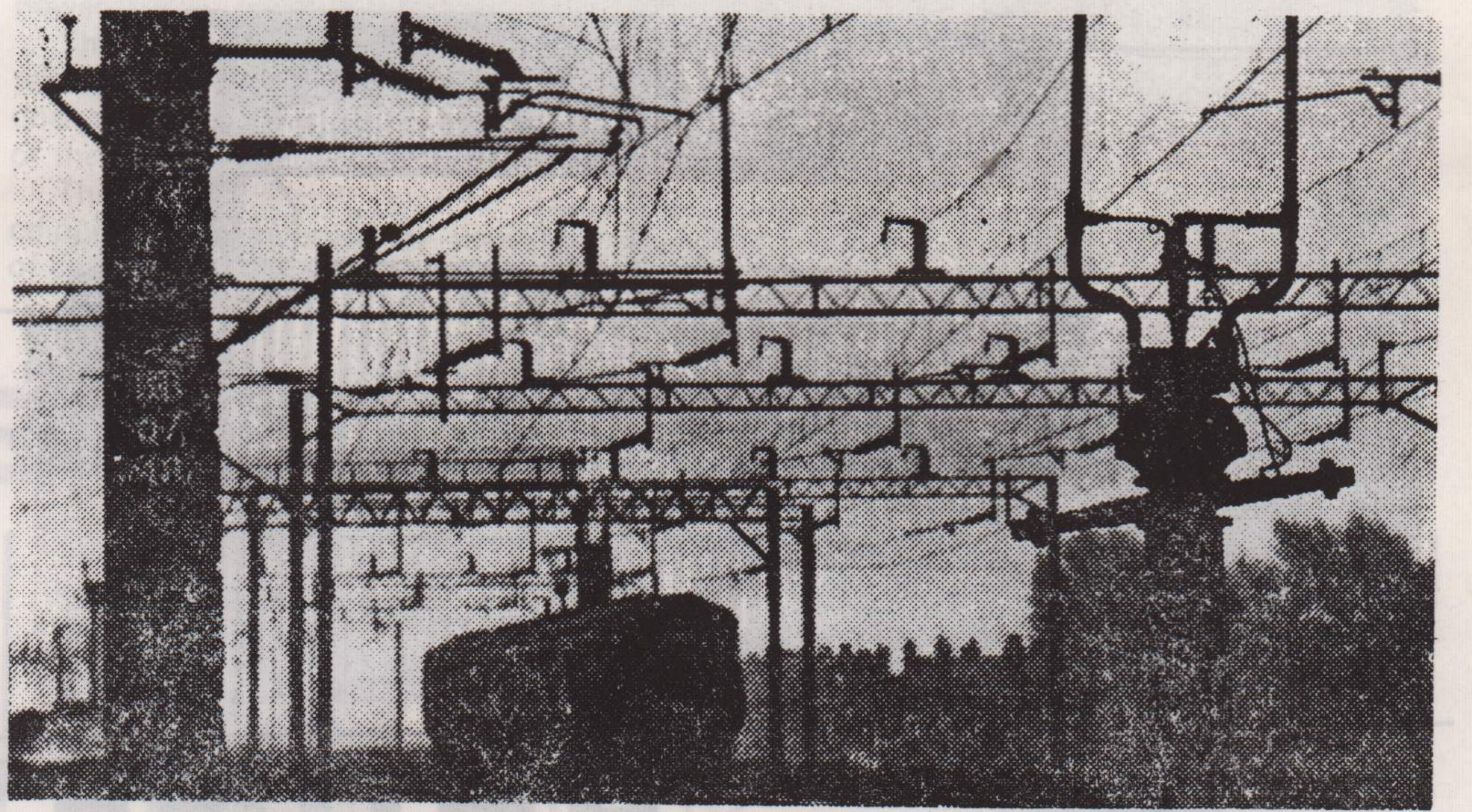
Labour's election manifestoes promised more — and improved — public transport. As with everything else they promised, you've had it.

The public transport unions won't fight, but will settle for the smallest possible number of redundancies that the Government, the bosses and the bureaucrats will graciously let them get away with.

Rail and bus workers should organise to resist the cuts around the following points:

- * Demand no cuts in tracks, or in bus routes.
- * No redundancies — under any circumstances whatsoever.
- * Continue to run services on slashed routes, and refuse to collect fares from the public.
- * Refuse to lift rail track and refuse to release locomotives and buses from active service to be mothballed.
- * Set up workers committees in every transport enterprise, nationally, regionally and locally. Liaise with other public sector unions and workers, some of whom may have advance warning of the intentions of government departments and local authorities.

'RAILWAY ENTHUSIAST'



'COMMUNIST' PARTY

N. G. A.

THE 'British' Communist Party held its 34th National Congress recently. And from all reports, its fortunes are very low indeed.

Membership has fallen by 1,242 during the last two years. Officially, it is 28,519. Unofficially, real membership is probably little over 20,000 with many of these being merely 'card-carriers'.

Morning Star circulation is officially put at 53,000 copies per day for September 1974, and 42,000 the same time this year.

But even this hides the real situation. The Soviet Union and other so-called socialist countries take 15,000 as a regular form of subsidy. Many other copies go to libraries and, like other daily papers, many are not even sold.

Actual sales of the *Morning Star* are unlikely to be more than 22,000 copies a day.

Such a decline in the fortunes of the Communist Party and the *Morning Star* would be tragic if the CP was a revolutionary socialist or communist organisation, and the *Star* a revolutionary paper. Neither are.

A WEED BY ANY OTHER NAME

The Communist Party and the *Morning Star* equate socialism with nationalisation, and state ownership of the means of production.

Though critical of some aspects of Soviet policy, they consider the state-capitalist economies of Russia and the other Eastern European countries to be socialist.

And neither the CP nor the *Morning Star* advocate the abolition of the wages system, or a classless system of self-management.

Such policies are left to the libertarian communists — the real communists — of the AWA and one or two other groups.

The Communist Party is an ageing party, and is in slow decline. Let us hope that it soon expires altogether!

Peter E Newell

DECEMBER **Libertarian Struggle** published an article criticising the National Graphical Association for, among other things, their extremely sexist attitude towards women.

Since then, the NGA National Council annual report has been published and here we print the section on 'Females on Keyboards' in full:

"The Association has continued its stand against the employment of females on keyboards. Whilst Government legislation covering discrimination against females may present us with problems, the effect of equal pay for equal work appears to have assisted in seeking to maintain an all-male presence, the implications being that all the things being equal the employers will opt for a man rather than a woman.

Where labour shortages have arisen we have continued to insist that management must advertise in the national, local and trade press and in the columns of "Print" [NGA's own newspaper].

When this has not produced the desired labour we have dealt with the local Department of Employment in an attempt to find suitable males of telex experience.

It has then been the policy to seek to recruit disabled males who would be trained as operators at Government expense, and this will continue to be our approach to the problem."

This underlines the points made in the December **Libertarian Struggle** about the divisive and sexist nature of NGA policies, and the need for women printers to fight against these policies.

Contact:

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F.C.

UNEMPLOYMENT why we must fight it

—public meeting—

Stanford Arms, Preston Circus,
BRIGHTON

Friday 16th January 8 pm
Speakers from AWA/Trade Unions



PORTUGAL

THE FOLLOWING interview first appeared in a Portugal Special of **Front Libertaire**, the paper of our sister organisation in France, the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste, together with the conclusions tacked onto the interview.

ORA comrades visiting Portugal in the summer interviewed workers at a metalwork factory run as a co-operative (Novo Rumo, 37B Rua Pedroucos, Lisbon). Through this interview we will better understand the strength of the autonomous initiative of these workers and the possibility of strengthening it at this stage of the revolutionary process.

Obviously some of the analysis of this article has been overtaken by events, but we still feel it is useful as a contribution to an understanding of the events in Portugal.

LS editorial comment

ORA: How did you set up the co-operative?

At the end of 1974, the boss said he had financial difficulties and that he wanted to close the factory.

Using the events of the 25th April as an excuse, even though the factory was already in the red before the coup d'etat, because the boss was speculating with the money.

Since the 25th April a workers committee has existed, composed of 9 members, each one representing one section of the factory and elected by the assembly of each workshop.

After a general assembly, we decided to exercise a right to look into the books and we demanded help from the Minister of Labour to deal with financial difficulties.

The Armed Forces Movement intervened at our request to oblige the boss to appear before the authorities to regulate his financial problems.

We started off judicial proceedings so that the factory would become the collective property of the workers

But since the property laws were still

the laws of the old regime, the proceedings are slow.

The boss still has the ownership of the factory, but only formally.

He no longer has any power and he doesn't get a penny from the factory.

3 of us have been granted the right to sign the papers.

PRODUCTION

ORA: How does the production process work, from the buying of raw materials, to the sharing out and use of profits?

Essentially, we produce light alloys. The greater part of our outlet is in the public sector which is our principal client (telephones, signposts, materials for aerial navigation).

For the purchase of raw materials, the nationalised banks allot us credits for up to as much as 60% of the price of the purchase for a non public outlet, and 90% for a sale to the nationalised sector.

We have succeeded in lowering the total cost of the manufactured products, which also lowers the selling price.

Profits go to an association fund which we use for investments and which allows us to create new jobs and to buy new machines.

Because the co-operative has only recently been created we can't yet evaluate exactly the cost of production.

This is why we are continuing to work to the maximum — that is to say 45 hours — but a reduction of hours in the near future is not impossible

WORKERS DEMOCRACY

ORA: What are the internal workings of the co-operative?

It is run on statutes worked out collectively by the 120 workers; there are 5 directors appointed by the management. Any one of us could be chosen.

If the co-operative were to grow and if it were necessary to appoint a director to supervise the whole thing, he would not be paid any more than the highest salary in the factory.

The workers committee has been superceded. It no longer has any reason to exist in the co-operative.

The old foremen of the workshops have been demoted and we have re-elected one

person responsible for each workshop.

A permanent discussion is taking place at the moment inside the co-operative on the value of work in each section.

In order to make a table of comparisons amongst the various branches, and in order to prevent one branch from having more power than another.

With this bias a process of modification of social relations is already in operation, beginning to question the relationship between intellectual and manual labour, and between tasks of production and of management.

WAGE SCALES

This process is still happening and has not arrived at any total practical application.

This applies concerning both wages — where differentials have been reduced with the discontinuing of high wages and the continual raising of the lowest wages: before there were 39 different wage scales for 120 workers, now there are 13 wage scales going from 6,000 escudos to 14,000 escudos a month — and concerning the total application of rotation of tasks.

The wage scales are calculated according to points which the workers give themselves, according to criteria which are not concerned solely with production, but which take into account 'political' relations with the others.

This is examined every 6 months.

It must be remarked in passing that the 5 women in the factory receive the same wages for the same work.

We have only been a co-operative for 3 months and our hope is not only to change material conditions, but also the relationships amongst ourselves.

We are hoping, for example, to develop a political grouping and a cultural club in the co-operative, leading from our own action.

But that can only happen progressively, in direct relation to the raising of everyone's consciousness.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSE

ORA: Why did you choose the form of the co-operative? Do you think that it could start off a revolutionary chain of events?

We had 2 possible choices — either to not intervene in events and to find ourselves on the street, unemployed, and at best in a



nalgo: PHONEY FIGHT AGAINST CUTS

MONTHS AFTER the Labour Government, acting as always on the pressure of the Stock Exchange, announced massive cuts in public spending, the local government white collar union, NALGO, has finally got round to deciding to oppose the cut-back.

ASLEEP

NALGO's awakening, welcome though it is to those long suffering NALGO members who wondered if the leadership was permanently asleep, doesn't amount to much.

For a start, the effectiveness of the union's protest is severely limited by the continuing insistence of the leadership that NALGO must be 'respected' and 'non-political'.

Thus, rather than fully encourage rank and file branch level action, the NALGO campaign is aimed at getting the TUC General Council to oppose the cuts.

Rather than the cuts being — correctly — seen as an attack on the living standards of the working class, and a smokescreen behind which reactionary political forces are assembling, NALGO presents them as a tragic 'mistake' on the part of an otherwise wise and excellent system of life.

RESOLUTIONS BLOCKED

At branch level, resolutions from militants urging that local branches set up campaign committees and join up with other public sector unions to organise and educate the rank and file members are being consistently blocked by traditionalist bureaucrats.

These people are appalled by the very idea of strikes and demonstrations. NALGO's own union machinery is pathetically inadequate to organise against the cuts anyway.

Very few NALGO branches have their own premises from which they can run campaigns, or even hold meetings.

Most of them still have their once yearly general meeting — repeat, once a year — in the council chambers of their employers.

The branch bureaucrats, who are greatly enamoured of wearing expensive chains of office, actually sit in the raised seats usually occupied by the leader of the council and the mayor, etc..

RIGHT MOVES

There has been, in traditional NALGO terms, a massive movement to the left over the last few years.

However, the present situation — given the psychology of NALGO members and their extreme timidity — may be of as much advantage to the far right as it is to radicals.

The far right claim that sackings, etc., will occur because we have lost the 'respect' of the public service employers by becoming militant and will seek to stampede the politically naive membership.

The main left ginger group in NALGO, the IS dominated *Nalگو Action Group*, has always concentrated on 'economic' issues, and has ignored political questions.

Now, as IS itself swings into a new outbreak of 'infiltrate the Labour Party' (which is, after all, the blind alley from which they originally emerged — in returning to its reformist lair the IS white elephant is merely returning to its spiritual home), what little political issues exist within NALGO are being befogged by calls for affiliation to the Labour Party.

This seems totally insane — what is to be gained from affiliation to the very party that is, by its actions in government, taking away your jobs?

1984, Doublethink et al, next stop.

CORNERED

The NALGO leadership has not yet sold out the struggle — simply because, to be a bit pedantic, they've never even started to struggle.

They cannot bring themselves to believe that the 'security' of a job 'down the council' is now, courtesy of Anthony 'the party's over' Crosland, non-existent.

For years, the NALGO bureaucrats have stopped calls for militancy on wages and conditions by referring to that security.

They have nowhere to run now. NALGO members stand at a crossroads — the active fascists in NALGO are more than prepared to take advantage of the bewilderment of the bureaucrats.

For the left, clear goals and good organisation are very necessary. That is why anarchists will be increasingly active inside NALGO.



- anarchists
- syndicalists
- non-Leninist Marxists
- libertarian socialists

Interested in working within NALGO to create a viable libertarian presence in public service industries are asked to contact:

Ian S. Sutherland
13 Deincourt Close, Spondon, Derby
or
Martyn Everett
11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

PRESS FUND

Libertarian Struggle needs to expand. We need to have more pages to cover a wider range of topics. The Press Fund is a vital part of expanding both this paper and libertarian ideas.

A good libertarian communist paper is one of the best ways of getting across those ideas at a time when the Leninist left is stagnating and traditional anarchism is, as ever, a non starter.

We need more articles by readers, articles on their own struggles and on more specialised issues such as rank and file movements in trade unions. We need more suggestions on how to improve the paper; we need letters.

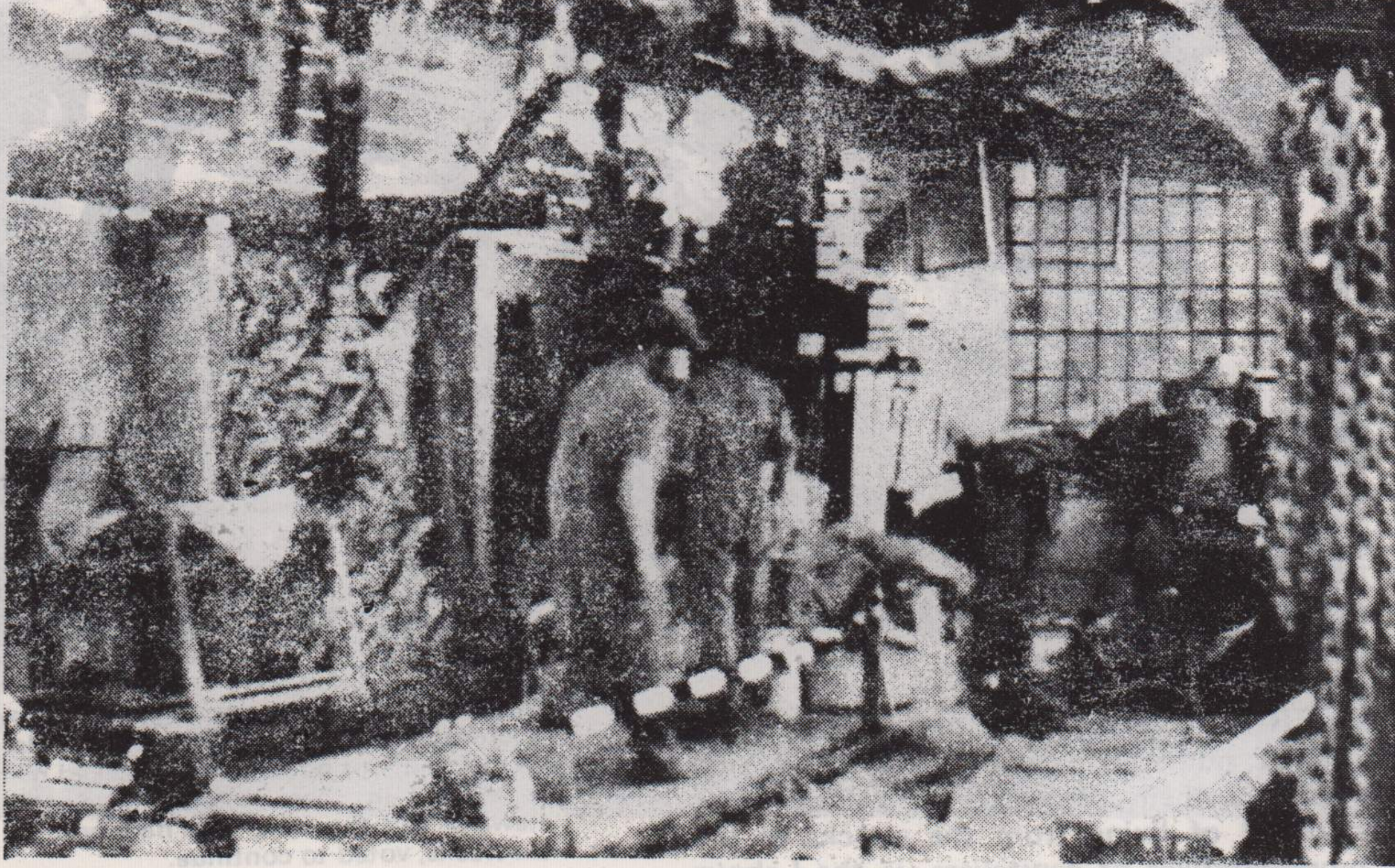
In order for all this to be effective we also need to expand our sales, be readers selling papers and distributing them to shops, workplaces, housing estates, dole queues, etc.

A necessary precondition for having a good paper is having money — and lots of it. We say this at a time when our bills are mounting and creditors need to be paid.

So to be quite frank — GIVE US YER MONEY — and as much as you can afford.

Rush donations to: Libertarian Struggle, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside.

interview with a revolutionary worker



demonstration against redundancies, or to have a direct effect on events, take the situation into our own hands and form a co-operative.

It is less of a theoretical choice than a collective response to a practical situation.

In a co-operative, the boss loses his powers. To give us self-management would have been in the situation which we are going through, to manage the boss's affairs. Besides this, we have some influence with the Minister of Labour who proposed some co-operative schemes to us, and who guaranteed us financial aid.

But this is our very own co-operative scheme, that we worked out after a lot of work, of collective explanations and discussions.

We knew as well that there were already some co-operatives in Portugal — more than

400 in Lisbon alone — and that historically they had existed in other countries.

Our aim is that by the extension and federation of co-operatives in all branches we can overthrow capitalism.

THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS

ORA: With this perspective what do you think of the role of the AFM and the political parties?

All the political ideologies are represented in this factory — Communist Party, Maoism, anarchism — but we only wish to retain that which unites us.

We cannot deny each other's different political ideas but what counts is our unity and the way that we resolve collectively the practical problems that we come across, that is, outside of political labels.

It is not so much in a party that political development happens, but in collective action at the base. That's the crux of the matter.

It is the direct action of workers that will change social and economic relationships and not the central committees of the political parties.

It is the workers who by their action will lead the country to revolution.

But the political pluralism is such that there are so many political parties which call themselves socialist that we can't count on any party.

We only have confidence in ourselves.

As for the AFM, we have had total support from the Revolutionary Council, but we can't wait for the most progressive forces in the AFM to go one step further.

It's these forces which started the revolutionary process: now it's up to the workers to go further and to take the system of production into their own hands.

CONCLUSIONS

ORA: Our conclusions: can the co-operatives promote the taking over of real power?

For the moment, the changeover seems unlikely in so much as there is no confrontation between the power represented by the AFM and this type of workers' initiative.

On the contrary, these initiatives of forming co-operatives can be in agreement with the political and economic plans of power.

The co-operative system, essentially only taking place in medium and small factories, does not affect the vital productive sectors of the economy, which are nationalised.

The nationalised sectors help the co-operatives and profit by them (purchase of cheaper materials).

On the political level, the AFM seems to be turning, following pressure from the leftist wing towards a sort of state capitalist society, with decentralisation of power, leaving a relative autonomy of decision to the base organs.

There is a risk of institutionalisation of these powers at the grassroots, making them the seeds of decentralised structures of a future state capitalism as in Cuba or in China integrating and diverting libertarian consciousness, and relying on workers' initiatives to make them more profitable.

SELF ACTIVITY

The forms of direct democracy in some of these co-operatives as well as in the tenants and workers committees, will only find a real political outlet by means of workers autonomy in their struggles, by their not allowing their grass roots organs to degenerate into organs of a socialist state, that is, state capitalism.

Our role as libertarian communists is:

—to support the militants in the workers and tenants committees and in all the other organs that the workers have formed against the attempts to absorb this autonomous force by the AFM and the Leninist organisations by presenting our analysis of the Portuguese situation.

—to assist in a theoretical clarification and the development of forms of autonomy that are defended by our Portuguese comrades, whether they be from **COMBATE** (a paper that is a mouthpiece of workers groups calling for the self organisation of workers and peasants) or from libertarian communist groups of factories and neighbourhoods.

—to exchange information and start action in areas of common struggle to the Portuguese comrades and European libertarian communist workers or those close to us, in order that our support can become a common struggle against international capitalism.

Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste

welfare state taken ill

THE LABOUR Government's fight to drive down working class living standards is reflected in the pressure for cutbacks in all areas of social spending.

Following Anthony Crosland's statement on 5th August the Dept. of the Environment issued circular DOE 88/75 in September which outlines their intentions for next year.

They proclaim a standstill in 1976/77 (which inflation and ongoing commitments will turn into a hefty cutback) because of 'overspending' in the current year.

Simply put, this means the following:

EDUCATION

A fall in the number of primary school teachers, larger classes, less teachers, fewer courses in 6th forms and colleges. Fewer youth club, evening class, library and other facilities for youth, community and recreation.

HOUSING

The DOE wants to "prevent rises in management costs", which will mean more inefficient housing departments, poorer maintenance, less regularly.

TRANSPORT & PLANNING

Fares to rise further. Road and pathway maintenance will be cut.

ENVIRONMENT

"...reduction in the level of services on parks and open spaces, refuse collection and town and country planning". Anti pollution and clean air programmes will be reduced. Crematorium charges will be raised.

SOCIAL SERVICES

We are promised an ominously vague collection of 'economies and savings'.

THE BRIGHT SPOT

is that the DOE will allow for increases in local government officers, police and probation services — presumably they will need the latter to cope with the results and reactions to the cuts in all the other fields.

CUTS — THE FIGHT BACK

The present cuts have provoked opposition throughout the country, though this is usually limited to single-issue campaigns restricted to pressure on the local authority.

In Leeds the teaching unions have formed the basis of the local Campaign against Cuts in Education — largely due to the CP and the IS.

However, the acceptance of the 'popular front' tactics by the IS has led them to tail-end the CP in searching for 'respectable' allies, a strategy which has limited the perspectives and chances of the campaign.

The problems created by the 'popular front' came out clearly at a Public Meeting on Saturday November 15th. An audience of 200 was presented with a platform which led off with the glittering star turn of Lord Boyle, Vice Chancellor of Leeds University and a former Tory Minister of Education.

He made a progressive Tory speech — enough to upset Joseph and Thatcher — about education spending developing our "best economic asset".

However, he drew back, as middle class liberals in whatever guise must, from tracing the cuts to their roots in the economic crisis.

He therefore refused to oppose the £6 wage limit and even his well-meaning 'defence' of education opened the door to split the opposition to ALL cuts in social spending, pitting education against the rest.

BOOM! WENT THE BOOM

He was totally out of tune with the meeting and almost all other speakers made the point that the working class was the intended victim of the Government's measures and that only the working class destroying the Government's present economic policies could defend any of the gains made during the boom period.

It was repeated many times that to separate education from any other sector was to concede the battle beforehand.

A number of trade union speakers talked



of policies adopted to fight back, such as blacking all work on vacant posts.

The meeting developed well from these points with student and trade union speakers attacking the 'popular front' approach which had led to Lord Boyle's guest appearance and calling for unity on a class basis, for the Campaign to extend itself into the industrial trade unions.

WORKERS ACTION

The possibility opened up for laying out a concrete programme to resist the cuts and redundancies, through a fight for opening the accounts to workers' inspection, demanding that the local authority implement its programme despite the Government's directives (as has happened before in Poplar in the '20's and Clay Cross a few years back), uniting workers to take industrial action to defend jobs, maintain services, and exercise control over public works.

This was thrown away by the hasty closing of the meeting and the lightning movement of a motion limited solely to education and lacking any single practical proposal for further action.

So the result is, if anything, a setback. A wasted meeting. Two hundred people assembled on a rainy Saturday afternoon, and thoroughly dampened in every way.

However the lines are clearer. Even the CP members were not too happy about the result and the younger CP'ers themselves understood the need to fight on a class basis.

The loss of the IS and Lord Boyle should not prove too damaging to the struggle, which it was evident the trade union speakers understood was already joined, for the working class to defend its living standards.

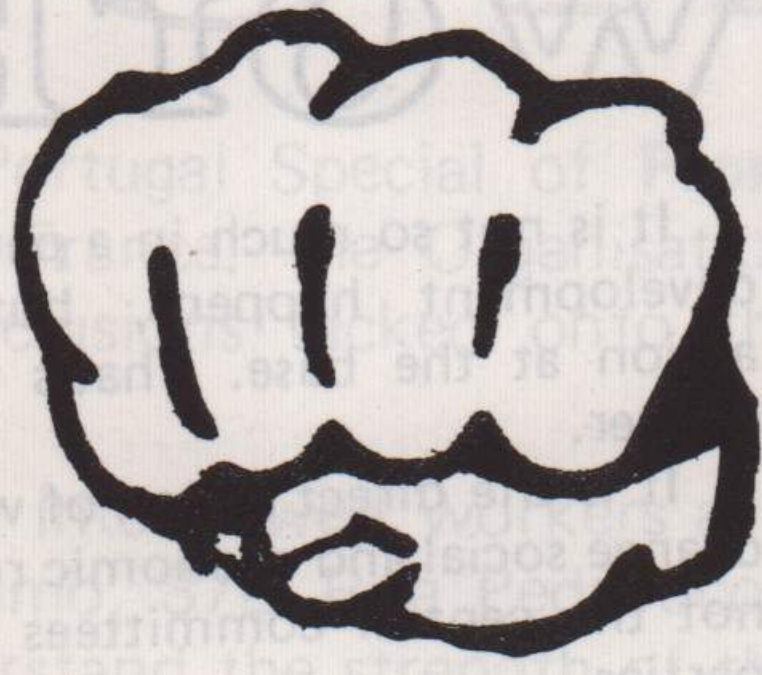
In learning how to fight the Labour Government, the road is opened to workers power.

London 25 255 J.R.

WE THINK OF

WHAT

LEFT HOOK



EVEN ITS most dedicated opponents would admit that the International Socialists have been the "success story" of the Left over the past decade. In common with the obsessive secrecy found in the Leninist groups, IS has never revealed its actual membership — estimates have varied from 700 to 2000. The circulation of Socialist Worker is said to be between 15,000 and 25,000 a week.

Such was the dynamic appeal of IS that people with profound misgivings about Leninism — including some anarchists and syndicalists — found themselves in its ranks.

Alas for them, and for the hundreds of others who saw IS as "different" from the other Leninist/Stalinist/vanguardist/elitists, the IS dog is now returning to its Marxist vomit.

IS's all too brief foray into the politics of anti-centralisation has proved too much for them.

RANK AND FILES

IS was mainly responsible for the promotion of various Rank and File groups in industries and unions throughout Britain — such as the NALGO Action Group, NUT Rank and File etc..

This was a considerable achievement and IS members deserve fraternal congratulations for it.

However, these groups began to show increasing signs of independence — reflecting the day to day needs of the workers they attracted, and becoming genuinely direct expressions of rank and file dissidence.

Since they had been set up to pursue not the interests of the working class, but the interests of the 'vanguard', the Party, the elite, the General Staff of the Proletariat, it was necessary from the IS viewpoint to deal with them.

Thus, IS set out to strangle its children. In committing this murder, IS injures itself, and can destroy the hard work of industrial militants.

PARTY LINE

In the case of the NALGO Action Group, the rigid Party line which IS members had to follow constantly clogged up their efforts — as local government workers — to fight the right wing union bureaucracy.

They were forbidden by IS to stand for election to the union executive unless they agreed to produce an election manifesto of monumental Leninist turgidity.

The Party's stupid boasts, in its internal documents, that it controlled the NALGO Action Group inevitably fell into the hands of the far Right (in this case the new "Truemid" fascist grouping, of which see page 2), and have been used to embarrass militants in branch after-branch.

How did the fascists get hold of IS stuff? Well, it certainly seems that for all the secrecy, and the IS thing about "security", they have been well and truly infiltrated.

BUREAUCRATS' SMOKESCREEN

The latest blow that NALGO militants have suffered at the hands of the IS bureaucracy came at a meeting in London of the IS "Nalگو fraction", where the astonished IS/Nalگو members were told, by an emissary from the Central Committee, that their task was now to work to get Nalگو affiliated to the Labour Party.

There was to be no dispute about this, that was their instructions.

Opponents of this sort of authoritarian high-handedness were promptly expelled.

After the meeting, one completely confused IS member wailed, "God knows what will happen to IS, they're expelling all the best comrades".

Objectively, this Labour Party affiliation campaign works against the interests of Nalگو militants.

It is a feature, not only of Nalگو, but of

other public service white collar unions, that they are not affiliated to the Labour Party.

They thus lack a Labour supporting bureaucracy, and rely on so-called "non-political" officials.

When the membership begins to demand change, this official caste can be easily exposed by militant activists.

However, when the union leaders can hide behind the political smokescreen of appealing to the membership on the basis of not affecting the electoral chances of "our" party, then the task of militants is that much more difficult.

All that the IS campaign to affiliate to Labour will produce, is to erect an organisational barrier that didn't exist before.

Let IS take note of one thing — anarchists will not forget this trickery, and if they succeed in their devious aims, we will be ready for them at that future date when they turn to attack the Labour supporting bureaucracy that they themselves have created.

IRELAND

No-one really knows how many IS members are being expelled. Explosive issues in IS range from rank and file group autonomy to Ireland.

On Ireland, the IS play the straight 19th Century Marxist card.

All the complexities of the Irish situation are bulldozed — by their own terms they fail completely to apply Marxist analysis to Ireland.

They appear to believe that Ireland can be explained by simple reference to "national self-determination" and by more or less unconditional support of bourgeois groups like the Provisional IRA.

In order to protect IS innocents from contamination by more sophisticated Left analyses of Ireland, IS members are being pulled out of groups such as the Troops Out Movement.

DISILLUSION

Our task is to show disillusioned IS members that it's not merely the case that the "leadership have sold out".

As far as a genuine, dynamic, independent, democratic, revolutionary socialism is concerned, the IS bureaucrats never bought in!

A recent edition of *Socialist Worker* illustrates the devious world of half-truth in which the IS moves.

In a lavishly illustrated article on the US militant Joe Hill, IS manages to review the man's life and activities without once mentioning that the comrade was an anarchist!

Similarly, IS Books manage to publish a volume on the life and politics of the German Marxist Rosa Luxemburg, which ignores the massive attack, from a libertarian Marxist position, that Rosa Luxemburg made on the whole concept of a centralised elitist Leninist party — ie. the very kind of thing that IS is.

The danger is that expelled IS comrades will promptly join up with other variants of the Leninist disease, such as the Workers' Revolutionary Party (nee the SLL).

All they'll be heading for in such quarters is a double dose of disillusion.

AWA groups can help such comrades by presenting to them the reasoned case for anarchist organisation, leading to a libertarian, revolutionary, socialist society.

Ian S. Sutherland

FIGHTING BACK!



OVER THE PAST few months, we have studied numerous strikes by the working class in their struggle to defend their standard of living from the attacks of the representatives of capitalism, ie the Labour Government.

The measures taken by our 'Socialist' Government against the working class — mass redundancies, wage freeze, and cuts in public expenditure and education etc — only go to make the employers more bold in their exploitation of the working class.

Seeing the level of unemployed at over a million only encourages them to challenge the workers to resist their opportunist policies, in a 'take it or leave it' attitude.

Even more than to challenge just the workforce, but as Chrysler have done, to challenge the Government with threats to shut the firm down if their demands for hundreds of millions of pounds are not met, this at the same time as they threaten redundancy and speed-ups.

So not content with just exploiting the working class directly, they also want paying for it, out of the very tax money their own employees have paid, and had denied back to them in the form of health, education and a fair social security set up.

But even if the Government is negative in its attitude to capitalism, the working class is not:-

Swansea, December 4th:- Construction workers who have had what is becoming a common trick played on them, that is a change of sub-contractor and where the main firm (in this case Alcoa Ltd) denied responsibility, became

redundant when they brought in a new contractor. The sub-contractor will only take on 35 of the men, but not another 6 sacked men who, as always in these cases, include the shop steward. But the men, who have been on strike six weeks, voted to continue.

Merthyr, November:- 400 women at Courtaulds, members of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, have voted unanimously along with another 1400 in South Wales and Merseyside to continue their unofficial strike for the full £6 against the £3.60 offered.

In spite of this being the most militant action taken in the clothing industry for years, it is still unofficial. The unions say a secret postal ballot must be held by the whole 5,000 members in the Northgate Group, and that only members who are at work can vote, so that the workforce are not only fighting the employers, but their own reactionary General Secretary Jack McGougan. This is the price of having a so-called 'moderate' as a union official — a sellout every time!

London, December 5th:- the 120 T&GWU members who have been on strike for 5 weeks at the Talk of the Town in London's West End, claimed a victory when an agreement was reached which included their demand for a 100% union shop.

East Midlands, December 8th:- Hosiery workers at Nottingham and Leicester are striking every Monday in support of the full £6 increase, but with the short time working in the industry this is just supporting the employers who, instead of shutting on Fridays, are closing on the strikers' Mondays!

An all-out strike is what is really needed in this fight — they have also mistakenly been conned into supporting import controls. This is also doing the employers' job for them because, by cutting imports, we would only be jeopardising the jobs of the working class abroad, at the same time as cutting the bosses' competition down for them.

Lyn Hurst

Are You Coming?

EARLY IN the new year, the AWA will be holding a one-day open day school on the subject of 'Libertarian Communism'. Among the subjects to be discussed will be:

- * Anarchism in perspective — a critical history
- * The basic tenets of libertarian communism
- * Anarchism in Spain
- * The Russian anarchists / the Makhnovist movement
- * The development of rank and file organisation in the British workers movement
- * British anarchism after the Second World War

The school will take place on February 7th at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 starting at 10am and finishing at 6pm. A creche will be provided for those who want to bring kids, and accommodation is available for those who come to London the night before.

The cost of the day will be 30p in advance or 40p at the door. For more information write to: Day School, AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS

The Devil In Covent Garden

THERE WAS an instance late last year that highlighted the true face of organised religion.

An action that pointed out that the role of the Church is not the unification of people, but the division of the people; not the needs of the people as a whole, but of their own church members. Showing up their divide and rule tactics that they preach to the whole of society as part of their job, that is supporting the state and the monarchy.

The Lord looks after his own

The particular instance in question came to the fore when a Mr Edward Alf claimed unfair dismissal from St Lucy's Convent, Medstead, Hampshire.

He was sacked because he was not a Catholic, and was turned out of his tied cottage, along with his wife, daughter and their furniture. They had to be housed by the S.S. in a hotel at £16.25 a night. Not only did they sack and evict him, they resisted his application for redundancy pay by getting sworn affidavits from prominent Catholics.

They even got the Mother General of the Order in Rome to swear that the Catholic Order of St. Lucy was not part of the wider church organisation and employed less than five people.

A fact that denied redundancy pay to Mr. Alf. The gardener now employed is a Catholic.

Lyn Hurst



forgive them their trespasses

IN THE NEW YEAR, in indecent haste, the Government hopes to make law a "Criminal Trespass Act". This act is intended to smash all picketing, occupations of factories, occupations of colleges, DHSS offices or council offices, and to outlaw squatting.

What are the proposals?

It's quite simple. Clear out all previous laws on trespass dating from 1381 - the peasants' revolt - and adopt the recommendations of the Law Commission:

- * it will be an offence to enter property by force adversely to any person in physical Occupation of it, or entitled to occupy it.
- * it will be an offence to be unlawfully on property and refuse to leave as soon as reasonably practical after being ordered to leave by someone entitled to occupation.
- * punishment of up to 2 years imprisonment.
- * the police will have power of arrest where they have reasonable grounds for believing that an offence has been committed!

C.A.C.T.L.

To fight the law - we fear the Government will try to rush it through in January - a 'Campaign against a criminal trespass law', CACTL, has been formed. CACTL hopes to incorporate the interests and activity of trade unionists, squatters, tenants, lawyers and students. It is already established in London, Manchester, Liverpool South Shields, Oxford and York.



Robin Healey soaks the poor

AFTER THE last Tory Conference, hearing them whine about their taxes, it is worth looking at who bears the real burden of taxes. It isn't the pop stars of the fame drain who can afford to live abroad or unacceptable Capitalists as in the Lohnro affair who can FIDDLE THEIRS through tax havens like the Cayman Islands.

The majority of income taxes come from the earned income groups automatically assessed through PAYE, no escapes, no loopholes. For instance, a self employed draughtsman I knew used to claim for his wife as a secretary, his Mother as an office cleaner, his house telephone bills, travelling expenses, and an entertainment allowance, among other things.

He didn't even have to rack his brains figuring it out; that was done by a firm of accountants who make a lucrative business out of legally fiddling taxes. But this is only chicken feed compared with real businessmen with their deluxe life styles on the expense account and other perks ie, company cars and houses (these company expenses cut down the company tax).

This state of affairs is quite calmly accepted by the tax authorities but when someone with a fixed income tries, that's a different matter. This brings us to the case of Mr SA Woodcock, an Engineering worker from Droylsden, Manchester. For the past four years Mr Woodcock has been attempting to claim tax relief on his clothing expenses incurred at work.

Letters had been sent to the Inland Revenue to try and ascertain permissible expenses for specific items. But that was to no avail. Mr Woodcock had even gone as far as to write several times to Dennis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, reminding him that virtually every member of Parliament was a participant in expense account perks.

He received no reply even though the letters were sent registered mail. Over the four years of Mr Woodcock's battle with the tax Bureaucrats he has subjected to an avalanche of paper work which must have cost a small fortune.

IS THERE AN END IN SIGHT?

Eventually on May the 9th 1975, Mr Woodcock had his case presented before the special commissioners at the VAT tribunal centre. At the tribunal his case was claimed as follows: Tools and overalls as per standing agreement with craft unions, replacements of such items as shoes, socks, shirts, trousers, etc...

Although Mr Woodcock pointed out to the tribunal that every claim had been kept to a minimum, they reduced his claims even further. After the hearing, which lasted five hours, Mr Woodcock eventually won his case. At the time of writing, a fellow worker at the same factory is also proceeding to claim similar additional expenses.

But in no way does it seem that Mr Woodcock's right to tax relief set any precedent for anyone else. So it seems that the Inland Revenue are prepared to offer stiff resistance to this worker's rightful entitlement. We quote from a letter he received from the Inland Revenue, dated 23 May:

"You mention in your letter the case of S.A. WOODCOCK who was granted additional expenses by the special commissioners. I have knowledge of that case but in any event decisions by general or special commissioners have no relevance to, and do not impose binding rules on, other tax offices."

Income tax is able all a continuous form of wage freeze. At a stroke the government can eat up increases in pay by increasing tax. Yet everyone accepts income tax as being a way of life. The state then taxes what we buy (by VAT) in order to finance its operations. Either way it is a fact that taxes are biased against the working class.

The whole revenue system is greatly weighted against the workers as the cases above show. No amount of fiddling around with that system will change the distribution of taxes. The only answer is autonomous working class control of society, crucial to this is the need to abolish the wages system in such a society. In this way NO government or state will exploit our labour.

G.B.H.

AIMS & PRINCIPLES

- 1 Capitalism is a class society.
- 2 The basic irreconcilable contradiction within it is between the class which owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, the bourgeoisie, and the class who produce the agricultural and industrial wealth, the working class.
- 3 The social enslavement and exploitation of the working class forms the basis on which modern capitalism stands, without which capitalism could not exist.
- 4 The state is the instrument of the ruling class. To destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, we must destroy the power of the state.
- 5 Russia and China are class societies in each of which a ruling class of administrators collectively owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, and in which a working class, the sole producer of all wealth, is exploited by that class. These states we define as corporate state capitalist in that the ruling class is totally integrated with the state, as is the trade union structure.
- 6 The class nature of society is reflected in all the dominant philosophies: class, race, sexual, social and personal relationships. The class relationships are expressed through all social relationships and generate attitudes such as sexism and racism.
- 7 The conflict of interest between the two classes generates the class struggle. In the history of society, the class struggle has been the primary factor in the determination of the form and structure of society.
- 8 The day to day struggles of the working class reflect the class struggle. The position of the working class as the collective producer of society's wealth makes it the only force capable of replacing capitalism by a classless society. The existing defensive organisations thrown up by the working class, such as trade unions, whose bureaucracy is increasingly incorporated into capitalism, are not adequate for the smashing of the capitalist system, and the building of a free, classless society. However, the working class rank and file organisations such as democratically controlled shop steward committees, factory committees, strike committees, are developing through the place of work. These organisations are the forerunners of workers councils which are the expression of working class power. Outside of work, the working class has developed other forms of organisation that are potentially revolutionary, such as tenants action committees, rent strike committees, and tenant-worker joint action committees.
- 9 Dual power exists before the power of the bourgeoisie is smashed. If the working class are successful, then the organisation of the needs of society will be firmly based in working class hands. This is the collective working class in power, in which the working class destroys all remnants of bourgeois society, such as racial hatred, the family and hierarchies. This is the period of transition between capitalism and libertarian communism.
- 10 From our analysis we reach the inevitable conclusion that capitalism cannot be reformed in any fundamental way and that the only meaningful transformation of society is through the development of working class organisations and by means of a violent social revolution. Violence becomes inevitable for the working class to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the dispossessed ruling class.

The role of the AWA

- 1 The task of the AWA is to aid the preparation of the working class for their seizure of power. The establishment of an anarchist society is something that has to be consciously fought for by

the working class. The AWA is a conscious organised expression of libertarian communist ideas. Through the shared experience, information and knowledge of the class struggle, AWA must be able to analyse and disseminate the nature of the problems facing the working class, and apply these lessons in the class struggle.

- 2 The AWA aims to offer a lead within the working class movement by example and explanation; and to build into the movement a high level of political consciousness so that it is capable of defeating capitalism and fighting the creation of a new ruling class. Fundamental to this is the contradiction between the organisation as a tendency within the class and its being in ideological advance of it. This contradiction can only be resolved with the establishment of a libertarian communist society. During the period of transition, the potential basis for the emergence of a new ruling class is progressively removed so that the need for a separately organised libertarianism will decrease.
- 3 The AWA seeks to develop and support working class organisations which are the forerunners of workers councils and to develop in them revolutionary consciousness. The AWA does not seek independent power for itself but seeks to work through the working class organisations.
- 4 The AWA seeks to establish international links with libertarian revolutionary organisations and groups with an aim of establishing an international libertarian communist movement.
- 5 The AWA seeks to combat attitudes of sexism, racism and national chauvinism as attitudes that help maintain class society.

The form our organisation takes is a realisation of libertarian perspectives in the current situation. We recognise that it is not a social model of a free society and must itself develop in interaction with the developing liberation of society.

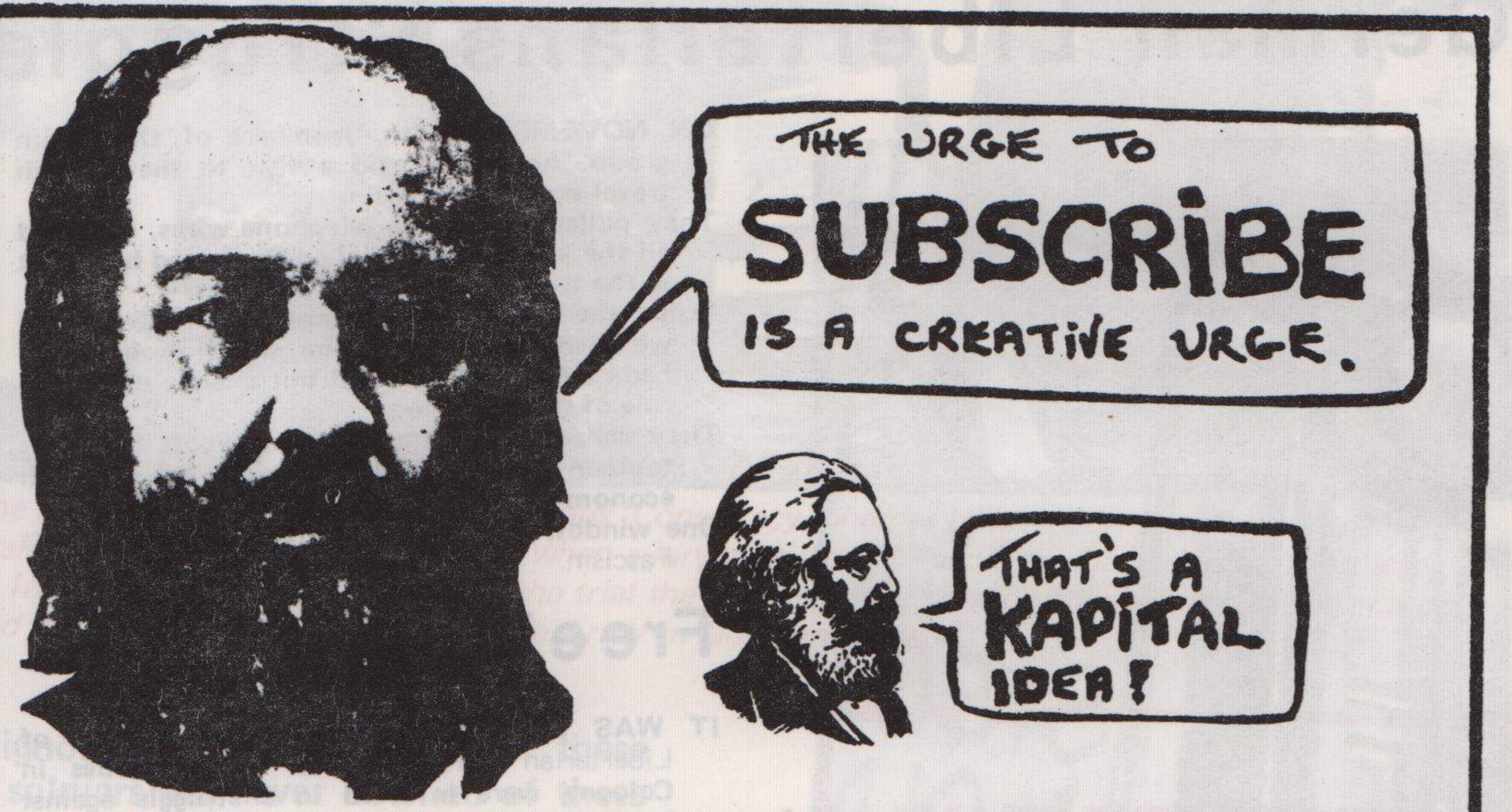
- [1] We are a membership organisation.
- [2] Membership is open to those who agree with our analysis of society and its transformation, and who work towards this end.
- [3] The main policy making body will be the National Conference. Between National Conferences there will be held bi-monthly Delegate Conferences to co-ordinate and carry out National Conference decisions, to decide interim policy and to initiate activity. Delegates are mandatable and rotated. Delegate Conference decisions can be revoked by National Conference.
- [4] We seek to establish AWA groups in all areas, not only geographical but also industrial, educational, etc.. Groups interpret National and Delegate Conference decisions to relate tactics to their local experience.

As agreed at the National Conference in London, 31st August - 1st September 1974.

The "Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" was written by Makhno and other anarchists who had participated in the Russian Revolution and the ensuing civil war.

They stressed the need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class.

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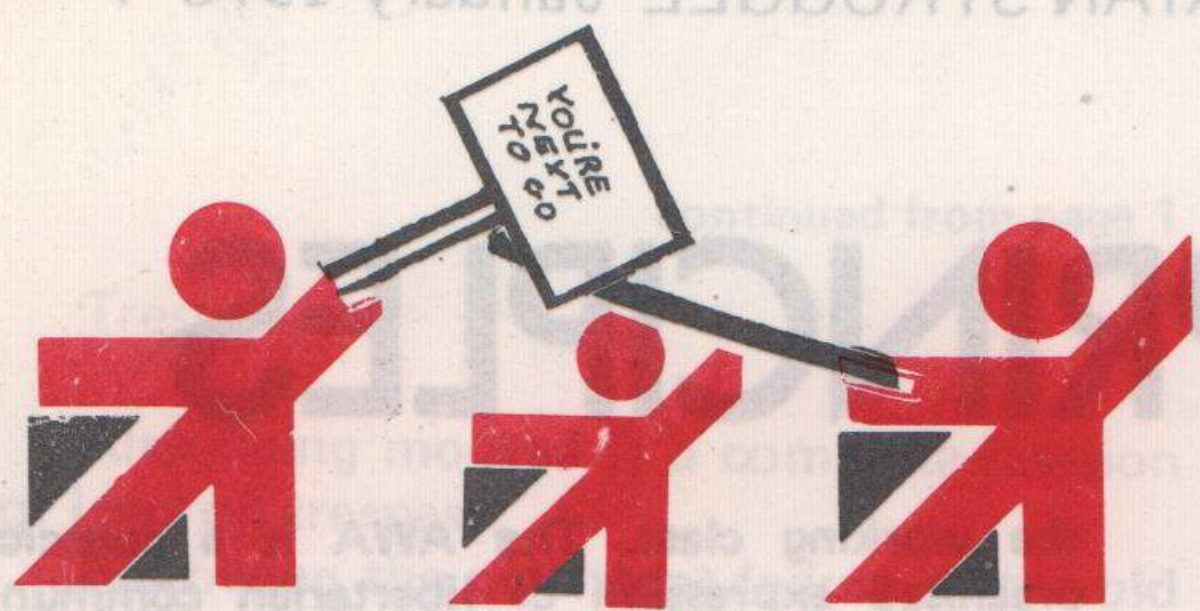
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Listen Little Man!

IN JUST OVER a year the National Federation of Self Employed has built up a membership in excess of 50,000. Each member pays a £12 subscription and they have 300 branches in 36 regions. Meetings of the NFSE have been addressed by such reactionaries as Dr. Rhodes Boyson MP, Cyril Smith MP, and Peter Walker MP.

The small businessmen of this country are currently engaged in a struggle to preserve their position.

The National Federation of Self Employed (NFSE) has been formed by these petty traders and others to co-ordinate the struggle.

The self employed are above all small capitalists, who compete with and see themselves on the same level as the big capitalists. They have a direct economic interest in capitalism.

However, they are sandwiched inbetween the big capitalists and the working class.

In a time of crisis, such as now, they will be swallowed up by bigger firms as they cannot operate as efficiently as these bigger firms.

In bourgeois economic language, their economies of scale are not as advantageous as those of the large companies.

AMALGAMATION

Logically, as the petty bourgeoisie are going to be 'amalgamated' into the working class, why don't they see that their long term interests lie with the working class?

Simply, it is because they are just as much the victims of capitalism as anyone else, at the mercy of the ruling class and trying to survive in the short term; so to survive in the short term they see their interests as lying with capitalism.

needed to put a sick capitalism back on its feet.

In Britain today we must consider the position of the petty bourgeoisie as to whether or not they have potential as revolutionaries.

The majority of the petty bourgeoisie will eventually be squeezed into the working class.

Given a revolutionary consciousness amongst the working class, they would become part of the mainstream of the revolution.

In the process of being squeezed into the class, they become embittered and reactionary.

WHAT THE NFSE MEANS

The NFSE arose out of the self employed in September 1974, started by a Lancashire shopkeeper, with the immediate aim of squashing the proposed sky high National Insurance (NI) contributions for the self employed.

The NFSE's major gripes over the NI 8% contributions rate and VAT are just manifestations of greater economic pressure.

These are the growth of the big corporations due to their rationalisations and more efficient use of the factors of production as well as the ever deepening crisis brought on by International

In 1974 a record 5,208 small firms went bankrupt

In 1973 the figure was 3,380

In the first six months of last year there were 3,754 bankruptcies of small firms

100 small firms a week are going bust

Over 100 dairy farmers are going broke each week

The total debts of these small firms were over £31m in 1974 — up £20m on the year before

However, even the petty bourgeoisie have different sections within it — there are great differences between a small shopkeeper and a landless peasant.

REVOLUTIONARY?

These factors make the petty bourgeoisie a reactionary class.

Economic circumstances make them dependent on the stability of capitalism and thus they support attacks on the living standards of the working class, which are

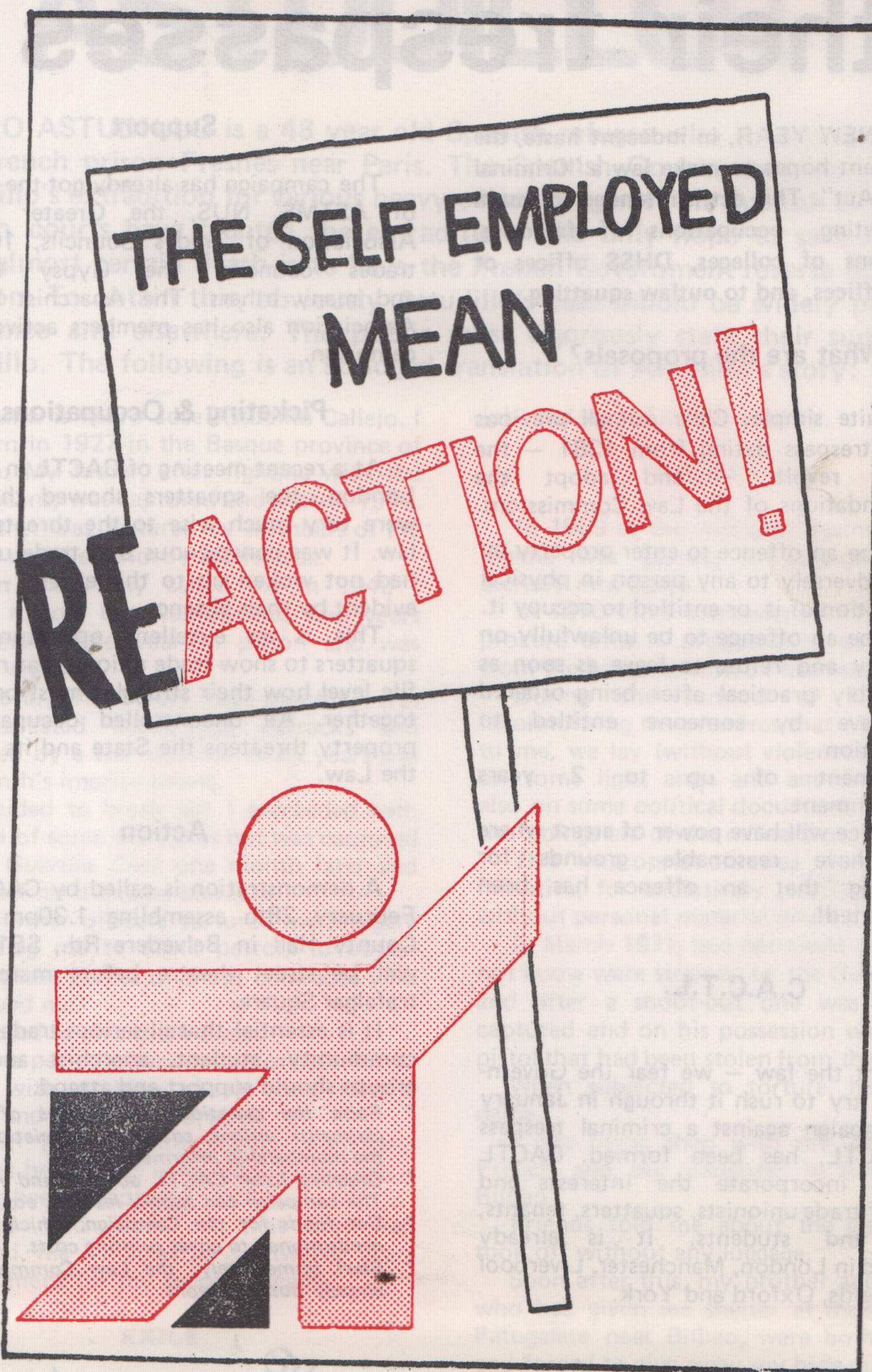
Capitalism's overproduction of goods with the consequential fall in the rate of profit.

Looking at NFSE's propaganda, all the economic factors mentioned above become very clear.

The NFSE are well aware of the nature of capitalism and see their problems as being because of it.

But they have no interest in the welfare of the working class, and no interest in the smashing of capitalism and the state.

Though their interest is ill founded, the reasons for this are clear.



PERSONAL SACRIFICES

The petty bourgeoisie have in most cases made severe financial and personal sacrifices in order to build up their businesses. To a large extent they control how or when they work (almost libertarian!).

They aspire to greater units of production and distribution of their own and as such are totally opposed to any advances made by the working class which threaten their position.

It is for this reason that the NFSE uses Nationalism, 'red (and black) baiting', and authoritarianism as weapons in their armoury — all of which are peculiar to Fascism.

They rely on the bourgeois ideals of 'individuality', and 'free enterprise' to gain support amongst the middle class and the more reactionary elements of the working class.

I fear that they have conned a few traditional anarchists as well — the June 1975 issue of *Wildcat* had an article which implied that libertarians should vote No to the Common Market because it would put many small farmers out of business, and that libertarians should support these small pockets of 'Anarchy'!

The NFSE are dangerous. The petty bourgeoisie have historically been most reactionary — witness the reactionary riots in Portugal last August.

This statement does not prejudice my earlier remarks on the potential of the petty bourgeoisie being revolutionary given certain criteria.

DANGER FROM THE RIGHT

We must fight tooth and nail against the NFSE and their bed partners in the National Front and the New Look Tories.

Even though capitalism is destroying the petty bourgeoisie, they cannot work with the working class to smash capitalism.

This would be suicidal for them if they were to do so, unless, they were prepared to work towards forming collectives and eventually becoming part of the working class in a revolutionary situation.

This is almost impossible due to the economic and social divisiveness of the system.

N.B.

FOOTNOTE

1. *Wildcat* June 1975 article on back page called Country Notes.

German Libertarians Struggle



SOLIDARITY

ON SUNDAY November 23rd, slogans were daubed on the West German Consulate in Edinburgh by sympathisers of Ralf Stein, an anarchist charged with being "an alleged sympathiser of terrorists". For more details see October's *Libertarian Struggle*.

Letters of solidarity, newspapers and books may still be mailed to:-

Defence Committee for Ralf Stein,
c/o Ralph Aurand,
5 Köln 30,
Tieckstr. 49,
West Germany.

ON NOVEMBER 24th, members of the Berlin group 'Anarchos' paid a visit to the Spanish travel agency in Berlin.

They pulled out all the telephone wires, collected all the agency's material on Spain and burned it in the street.

Inside the office, they painted on the walls and windows saying that the situation in Spain hadn't changed and will not change under the rule of the new King.

They called on all tourists to boycott Spain, as tourism is the mainstay of the Spanish economy.

One window had painted on it: Tourism supports Fascism.

Freeing the Buses

IT WAS REPORTED in October's edition of *Libertarian Struggle* that our comrades in Cologne were involved in a struggle against increases in bus fares.

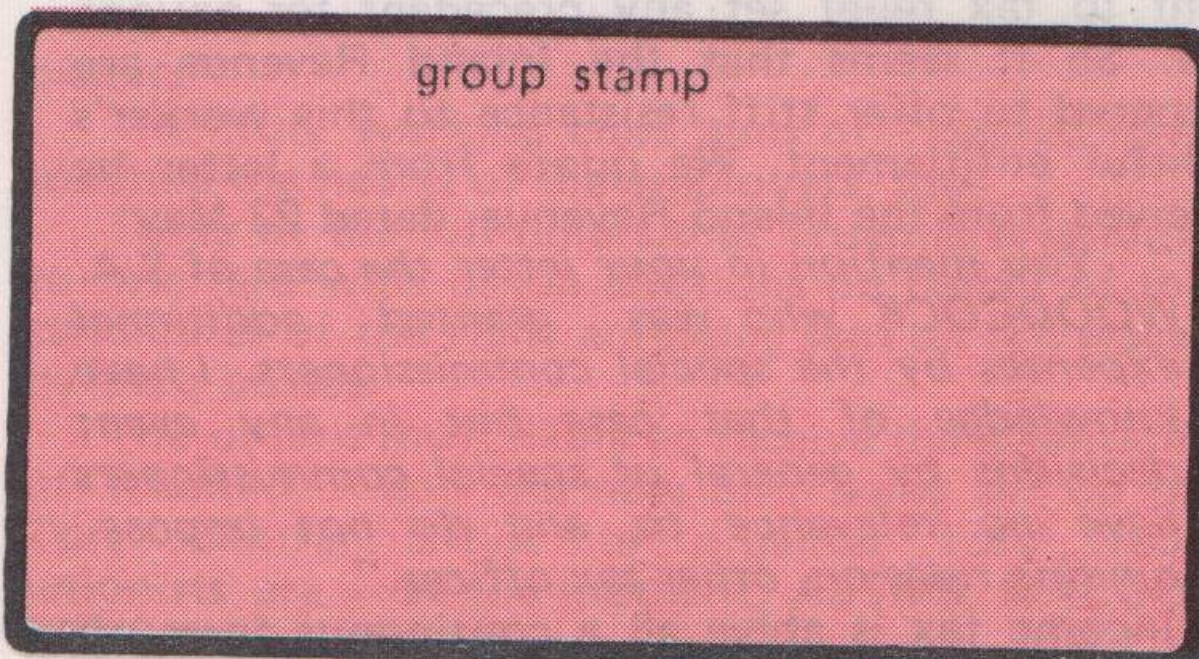
It seems that this struggle has now spread to Berlin and Hamburg. Our comrades in Berlin report that the Berlin Transport Company (BVG) are planning to increase their fares shortly.

The tactics that are being used are similar to those that were used in Cologne: the destroying of ticket machines, distributing pamphlets telling people not to pay bus fares, the stealing of tickets, and so on.

One group in Berlin, known as the 'revolutionary cell', printed for the second time bogus tickets and distributed them along with leaflets to people in the working class districts of Berlin (Nenkolln, Krenzberg and Wedding).

In Hamburg, comrades printed letters with the official heading of the Hamburg Transport Company (HVV) in which they said that all public transport — buses and underground — were to be made free of charge.

A few days later, officials from the HVV along with police officers were patrolling the underground and travelling on the buses looking for people who weren't paying their fares.



Ireland. Libertarian communists in Ireland contact Alan MacSimoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland, with a view to forming an organisation.

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FREEDOM. Fortnightly paper of the Freedom Press group. 10p + post from Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E.1.

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publications

SUBVERSIY. The paper of students in the Anarchist Workers Association. Send a stamped addressed envelope for a sample copy. No more bundles of this issue as they are almost all gone. Subversiy, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside.

FRONT LIBERTAIRE. Paper of the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste. Send £2 for 12 issues to:- Front Libertaire, 33 rue des Vignoles, Paris 75020, France.