'Crisis' like "inflation" has, in the post war years, become one of the most over-employed words in the English language. Every day it is in the papers and on TV. Trade Union leaders and self-styled revolutionaries, politicians and pundits pontificate about the crisis day in and day out. But what, in reality, is the crisis and what, if anything, can the working class do about it —

THE CRISIS is children in Ethiopia and Bangla Desh with their stomachs swollen with malnutrition, while in the West crops are ploughed under, food is hoarded or destroyed and farmers are paid to reduce their acreage under grain.

THE CRISIS is men bored and frustrated with their working lives coming home and taking it out on their wives and kids.

THE CRISIS is kids rioting at football games and the cops rioting at pop festivals.

THE CRISIS is workers having to fight the organisations their parents created as well as the bosses.

continued on page 3
WORKERS POWER

WORKERS POWER is produced by the SOCIAL REVOLUTION group. The paper aims to say why the everyday existence and struggles of workers in this society, and the trend of current events, show the need for and tendency towards a free socialist society, created by the action of the vast majority, the working class.

WORKERS POWER is produced because we believe that is groups of workers are to make any meaningful contribution to the struggle for socialism, then they need to communicate their ideas.

WORKERS POWER is produced by different local groups taking it in turns to edit and layout each issue. We do this in order to attempt to break down the divisions of labour imposed by modern society.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION is a democratic organisation organised on a federal basis. Our policy is decided by national conferences which are held every three months, local groups taking it in turns to put forward policy as they consider appropriate to their own situations. Our group contains Marxists, libertarians and anarchists. We believe that continuing the sectarian divisions within the socialist movement of the past, created largely by the different labels people attached to themselves, will cause irreparable damage to our struggles. We believe that only by synthesising that which is best in these theories and practices can we make significant contribution towards the establishment of a socialist society.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION will not be telling anyone to 'follow us', or issuing calls to 'build the revolutionary party' as if it were some universal panacea to the problems facing our class. But revolutionary groups do have a role to play in the struggle for socialism. These groups should attempt to clarify issues, to attempt to show the links between seemingly isolated and unconnected activities and struggles — to show that these are linked in the overall fight to overthrow this rotting corpse of a social system, capitalism, and replace it by a democratic society with people producing for use not profit. For the abolition of working for wages and salaries, and its replacement by communal work with free access to the needs of life. For the abolition of states, nations and wars, for the establishment of a world community where all are free to develop their capabilities to the full. We call upon all those in agreement with our views to join us.

THE NAME OF THE PAPER

We adopted the name WORKERS POWER FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION at our Easter conference because we hold that only by the working class gaining a position of supremacy in society can it destroy social classes and therefore bring about the social revolution to transform society. Since then, however, there has been criticism of this name both within and without of our group. Some thought that it made us sound too much like a Leninist group; others that the term Power might convey the idea that we wished to see some new state being set up after the revolution; others that it put people off buying the paper because it sounded too much like left-wing papers. For these and other reasons we decided at our July conference and in a subsequent ballot to change the name as from the next issue to SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

A MESSAGE FROM OUR PRINTERS

ABERDEEN PEOPLES PRESS run a fast, cheap, and efficient printing service for community/alternative/conservation/charitable groups and individuals who are at present hindered from getting into print by commercial printing costs.

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Bread 'n Roses

is the typesetter for WORKERS POWER and LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE. We provide a cheap and quick typesetting service for libertarians, whether it's magazines or leaflets you want. We are also very helpful when assistance is needed for layout facilities. Give us a ring at (01) 399 1436.
THE CRISIS is the racist rhetoric of the radical right becoming more meaningful for many workers than the broken promises of the Labour Party and comic-opera jargon-mongering of the would-be Lenins and Trotskys.

THE CRISIS is the oceans of booze and the mountains of pills people swallow every day to keep themselves from cracking up, while so-called drop outs are in jail for smoking cannabis.

THE CRISIS is young workers sexually repressed by their upbringing in the authoritarian structure of the nuclear family attacking gays because of the manner in which they express their sexuality.

THE CRISIS is not only about how much is in the wage packet, about how much a loaf of bread costs, about what happens in the production line from 8am to 5pm, although this is an important part of it. The Crisis even as you read this is manifesting itself around you, in personal relationships, in how you spend your leisure time, in every aspect of human life.

Listen! The social fabric, so carefully woven by the ruling class, is being rent asunder.

Must it always be this way? Social Revolution says 'NO!' We can and must build a new society where men and women are no longer the object but the subject of their activity as human beings. But this society can only come into existence when the majority, the working class want it and organise to fulfill that want. Brothers and sisters, workers learn to want, learn to organise and do it now!!

Statisticians with radical views have started to get together in the Radical Statistics Group, recently started by a group of friends at the London School of Economics. It now includes statisticians in universities and polys, research agencies, local and central government, though not yet in industry.

Members of the group are interested in a great variety of activities. We want to protest at the way our work is controlled and misused by our employers, and at the secrecy which is forced on many of us. We want to raise discussions about the way statistical work is distorted to serve the purposes of profit-making and political control, both inside and outside professional associations like the Establishment-dominated Royal Statistical Society.

We think it's important to break the isolation among statistical workers - who are spread about everywhere in tiny groups and most of whom identify with their employers - and between statisticians and other workers. This means trying to break down the mystique of statistics as a specialism. One way of doing this is for us to offer our help to community, rank and file, socialist, women's, consumers' groups and so on, in ferreting out statistics they need, helping them carry out surveys etc.

We are not well enough coordinated yet to be able to guarantee assistance on any topic, but we'll be glad to try to help. You can send enquiries to the Radical Statistics member in Social Revolution by writing to the London group.

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY

SLUM LANDLORD

Oxford University is well-known as a place where the children of bosses learn to be the new bosses. Less renowned, however, is its role as a property owner on a large scale.

Unlike most universities, Oxford (and Cambridge) are collegiate. This means that they have a central university body in charge of research etc., and Colleges, concerned mainly with residence and social affairs. When they negotiate with other bodies, whether students or townspeople, they can pass the buck from one to the other. Nowadays, the central university pleads poverty and tries to cut back the number of staff. At the same time the Colleges have vast endowments, acquired over the past 800 years. No-one knows exactly how much, as the Colleges are 'exempt charities', and not only avoid tax but, unlike Oxfam, do not have to publish figures. Even the official University Grants Commission cannot find out.

But we know that in a recent year, the income from the property was over £4 million, so the property value is probably £40-60 million. St. Johns, Oxford, appears to be the richest - its income was £5 million.

Oxford Housing Action Group has recently been investigating the situation. They wrote to Colleges, most of which did not reply. Then they wrote to Parish Councils in Oxfordshire, and found out who owns what. Many villages are completely owned by Colleges, in others most of the land is. The conditions of College-owned houses are often very bad - some have no toilets or other basic amenities. Some 'charity!'.

Colleges own land in the County, and elsewhere, eg. in Kent. They also own a lot of land in the city of Oxford. Some of this is used by the Colleges, either for offices or residences, and some is let out. The College tenants often live in conditions as bad as those in the villages. Many are College workers (or servants, as the College bosses call them) who have tied accommodation. This means that if they leave the job, they can be evicted.

Most College workers are domestics (known as 'scouts') who are very badly paid and may be sacked if they try to form a union. The tied houses help to keep them under control. Recently, New College (in fact, one of the oldest) sacked a worker and then threatened to evict him - he is now in other tied housing, this time with the Coop. The Colleges also can use their power to influence the use of property by leaseholders - for example, preventing meetings in pubs.

The Colleges also own lots of sports grounds in the city. Every College has its own tennis courts etc., which are rarely used, whilst local kids are deprived of facilities, and the Council is forced to build houses miles out of centre.

There is another sort of tied housing, that for the teachers and graduates. Here no expense is spared. The money screwed out of tenants is used to pay for flats - a recent block cost £40,000 each.

Today the people of Oxford are refusing to tug their forelocks in the old way. The Trades Council has set up an enquiry into the position of the University, and this will try to discover the facts. The Housing Action Group recently called a meeting to discuss tied housing, and a working party has been set up to plan future action on the issue, with representatives from trade unions and tenants groups.

Other universities, especially Cambridge, own similar amounts of property, and doubtless behave in a similar way. It is necessary for the people affected to unite and deal with the lot of them.
TAKEN FOR A RYDER

The Ryder report is a good demonstration of the inability of capitalism even to discuss its problems seriously, let alone solve them. The team was set up by the Wilson Government to look at British Leyland’s position. The Chairman was Sir Don Ryder, who came from the paper company IPC.

Although critical of the management, the report accepts their view of the future sales.

It accepts that the car industry will continue to expand slowly. It does not consider whether the continued increase in the sale of private cars is desirable — that has nothing to do with making profits. Nor does it consider how BLMC affects other car companies, which will obviously try to compete. Even if the entire British car industry were nationalised, it would still have to compete with foreign companies, and would face the same problems of profit and periodic crises. In fact the report hardly mentions the general crisis in the industry. Chrysler and Volkswagen have recently had massive redundancies, much worse than BLMC, but of course this does not worry Sir Don — except when it affects markets.

The usual solutions are proposed: massive investment and ‘rationalisation’. It is not pointed out that BLMC can easily get money if there is a prospect of profit — early this year a plan was announced to invest £22 million in South Africa, where it is possible to pay starvation wages and anyone who goes on strike is locked up.

The report speaks of great increases in productivity, and has various ideas for screwing more out of the workers by ‘improved industrial relations’. It devotes a lot of discussion to industrial democracy, ie to conning the workers better. Thus on one hand ‘Management must have executive responsibility . . .’ on the other hand, there would be no point in establishing committees which were purely consultative . . . ie the con must work. An interesting aspect of this is that the report proposes the incorporation of the shop stewards committees. This shows how the bosses co-opt one group after another, forcing the workers to create more representative groups.

The report tries to gloss over the matter of redundancy, but it is obvious that if the number of cars sold does not greatly increase, and the number of cars per man does, then the number of people employed must fall.

Faced with this situation, the workers appear to be demoralised and confused. This is not surprising. For years they have been told by various leaders that nationalisation is the solution. Now it is here and obviously it isn’t any solution for the workers at all. The only defensive measure left for the workers is a unification of all workers in the industry, not only in Britain but throughout the world, in order to resist the bosses’ manoeuvres, combined with the occupation of the factories as happened at Chryslers. However, there can be no solution which seeks the continued existence of the car industry. Instead the way forward is to unite with other workers in organisations to take over industry and do away with pointless, boring work of which the car industry is a good example.

There’s a motorway at the bottom of my garden and noise where there once was peace and I think I’m going slightly deaf for the noise it just doesn’t cease.

And all the houses are up for sale but nobody wants to buy — who wants to live on a motorway, and the prices are rather high.

The squatters have been evicted though no one else wants them at all now they lie empty and broken with LEB OFF marked on the wall.

But up the hill are the posh houses with gardens and cars parked all round maybe the traffic vibration down here will cause the whole lot to fall down.

Sheila

(LEB = London Electricity Board)

gay workers

The second Gay Workers conference will be held in Leeds on 14 February. Despite the fact that there are many non-work aspects of gay oppression, it is on workplace struggles that the gay movement has been able to organise. For example, South London Gay Liberation Front cannot even stop the pub next door to their centre from discriminating against gays. Admittedly GLF has more life outside London.

The only growing radical tendency is that of gay trade union groups. This is something which the union bureaucracy have not always been happy about. The Executive of NUPE has even talked of expelling members of their gay group. But though gays have made some impression, it has often only meant that employers find an excuse to sack somebody instead of doing so from blatant prejudice. As was discussed at the last conference, it is easy to get pious motions passed by local TU branches, but not so easy to get the issue taken seriously.

The next conference will have as its main purpose the production of a gay workers’ Charter. It will be useless to water this down so much that it will be supported by trade unions without thought.

However, we must not forget that prejudice is not based, as a few argued at the last conference, on ignorance. Sexual oppression can only be ended once the family, itself a product of class society, has become redundant.
The NHS is Britain's largest single employer, with about 1 million workers, yet until recently it was not a scene of major class struggle. There had been earlier industrial action, notably from technicians and ancillary workers, but 1974 saw a massive wave of action from many quarters. Radiographers, technicians, nurses, engineers went on strike. Many joined trade unions, and the staff associations were forced into industrial action, notably from technicians and the miners showed that it was possible to improve conditions as the miners were affected by inflation like everyone else. The example of nurses, engineers went on strike. Many joined trade unions. In April 1974 'reorganisation' was introduced which meant an increase in bureaucracy, and at the same time alienated those who had previously kept staff in check — the senior nursing and other staff. Finally there was such a breakdown in services due to staff shortages and poor conditions that the bankruptcy of the old appeal 'don't hurt the patients' was obvious — they were already being hurt, and in some cases killed.

The result was an upsurge of industrial action, with nurses and others marching through cities and miners and dockworkers coming out in support in some places. Despite the weak economic power of health workers in general, the degree of public support was such that the Government was forced to concede increases way outside Phase 3 and the Social Contract.

Anger at the way NHS patients were subject to delays in treatment while those who could afford to go privately were seen quickly, resulted in action against private patients, which forced the Labour Government to implement long-standing Labour policy to remove them from NHS hospitals.

In these fights the attitude of the unions often proved a hindrance. There are four main unions in the NHS — ASTMS, COHSE, NALGO, and NUPE — and several others. Many nurses were alienated by the squabbles between COHSE, NALGO and NUPE (ASTMS does not organise nurses). In a few places there are joint shop-steward committees, but in most places cooperation is limited to that occurring through local leaders, which is not usually much.

In Yorkshire, ASTMS radiographers for several weeks defied union advice to return to work while the Halsbury Committee sat, and in many other disputes officials had difficulty controlling action.

For the future the problem of unity has to be faced. Health workers are divided into many groups — there are 10 sorts of technician — and between them there is often rivalry, ignorance and antagonism. For example, in Oxford a group of technicians began to campaign for a crache, but nurses said they were not interested if technicians were involved. In the campaign against private practice there was a failure to explain the issues to the majority of doctors, so they supported the position of the senior consultants.

There has already been a meeting to discuss the formation of a united union for health workers, and another is planned. The unions have naturally not supported this — ASTMS circularised branches advising members not to participate. The initiative comes largely from health students, who contrast the unity they find in NUS with the divisions later. Health students have also led the way in campaigning on the related issues of a common training for health students, and democratisation of hospital work and formation of a 'health team'.

This unity will be necessary to carry on the coming fights, which will be concerned with redundancy rather than wages, and will require united action to dispense with the bureaucrats and run hospitals under the control of workers and users.

The resources available to us — raw materials, land, productive machinery, technology, human knowledge and creativity — are greater now than ever before. Because of the anti-human organisation of society into conflicting classes and market interests, these resources are squandered in war and armaments production, built-in obsolescence, car production, empty houses, unproductive jobs operating the money system (banking, insurance, advertising, taxation, selling etc.), by the buying up of patents for new discoveries, and in many other ways. A social revolution to reorganise society on a world scale, with the means of life under the common ownership and democratic control of all the people, will enable us to produce with a minimum of work all we need for a full and satisfying life. As we steadily reorganise production to suit our real needs, we can introduce free access to more and more (and eventually all) goods and services.
From 15th January to 14th March this year the printworkers at Uniprint on the outskirts of Copenhagen struck against closure. This was Denmark’s first factory occupation, showing that the class struggle is reaching higher levels in Denmark as well as other European countries.

Uniprint is part of a large publishing concern with branches in a number of countries. It is a highly developed printing company with a daily output of 65,000 books, all of it trivial stuff: westerns, criminal stories, romantic love stories. Uniprint employed 66 workers: typographers, lithographers and bookbinders.

STRIKE

The disputes started when the management declared the company would have to close because it was unprofitable (in reality it wasn’t, but was making payments for other parts of the concern for tax reasons). Winther, the owner, wanted to move to Sweden, where labour prices and other things would increase the profit by 10%.

The workers responded by striking. Winther’s goods were blacked in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, France and Germany; in Scandinavia this is continuing long after the dispute — surprisingly. The workers retaliated by writing and publishing the news themselves. They went around the country spreading information and seeking support.

The workers then set up an information stand outside, as well as continuing to picket to prevent strikers entering or machinery leaving. This was the first time in 40 years that the Danish bosses have gone as far as getting the police to interfere in a labour dispute.

WHAT THE MINISTER SAID...

Three days later some 3-4,000 people demonstrated against the use of police outside the Ministry of ‘Justice’. The social-democrat justice minister said he saw this not as a police interference in a labour conflict, but as interference in an illegal occupation of private property!!!

POLICE USED AGAIN

After this the workers set up an intermediary headquarters in a former inn nearby, kept patrolling the factory, negotiating with the owners and his lawyers, and kept up the public meetings around the country.

The owner set March 14th as the deadline for a possibility of 24 workers returning to work. They weren’t fooled by this divisive trap, instead as 7am they all occupied the factory again. At 7pm the police threw them out, this time using force.

This marked the end of the action. The workers have declared themselves unemployed and have gone on the dole.

LESSONS OF UNIPRINT

This dispute showed important lessons for the Danish workers, as well as acting as an inspiration for workers in other countries by showing that as the crisis deepens our brothers and sisters will also react in a radical manner to defend themselves.

The workers at Uniprint once again showed that workers can maintain the initiative. Instead of going peacefully home and letting others run the show for them, they stayed on the spot throughout normal workhours, making themselves a single unit, harder to attack, which enabled them to create a strong base of support. When faced with immediate closure they retained the initiative by twice occupying, thereby preventing removal of machinery and books.

The action showed how joint solidarity within the factory and the wider community could create a powerful force against the bosses.

Information about the strike was badly covered in the mass media (hardly surprisingly). The workers retaliated by writing and publishing the news themselves. They went around the country spreading information and seeking support.

UNIONS AND LEFTISTS

Danish unions are much like the ones in this country. When it comes to any radical action you find yourself fighting them as much as the capitalists. In this case the dispute was directly controlled by the workers on the spot — even though the union in this case provided useful support, which was even more unusual as the workers themselves kept the initiative.

From the start the leftists turned up with offers to run the show. They were all told that of course they would be welcome to give a hand in the practical tasks, but any decision was to be taken by the workers alone. This saved the dispute from degenerating into boring discussions on ‘building the party’ or which guru showed the true and only way to the promised land — something that would have quickly ended the fight.

BOOKS STILL IN THE SHOPS

On the debit side the workers can be criticised for not doing anything to prevent Winther’s books being distributed to the shops. This could be done because the normal return percentage for this kind
THE SAME CLASS STRUGGLE

VIETNAM WAS THIS OUR WAR?

For ten years students and intellectuals have been the camera-fodder of the campaign 'against the war in Vietnam'. Few issues in the last thirty years have illustrated such a divergence of attitudes and opinions between rank and file workers and those intellectuals who claim to speak on their behalf. On the whole, working people never involved themselves.

The movement was compounded of frustration and guilt, escapism, simple humanitarianism, a desire to 'do something', and a spontaneous emotional identification with the oppressed. Unfortunately these motivations can never provide a substitute for a real understanding of the forces involved in a social conflict. Even before the last great bombing offensive against Hanoi, the movement had begun its rapid decline.

At the invitation of the Left, the majority had renounced their own share of violence, their own experience and practice of oppression, to escape into the illusion of active participation in 'the making of history'. Under banners proclaiming 'Victory to the NLF' they blinded themselves to the 'imperialism' inherent in all power over people, and thus to the real tragedy of what was happening in Indochina; they renounced solidarity in any real sense with the people of Vietnam.

But the illusion could not sustain itself. The myth of the 'Workers State' has been exploded. It is no longer possible to hide from people the fact of wage-slavery, the daily repression and the sense of domination. The only real satisfaction of the workers was the suppression of the Go Vap Tramway in November 1946 (close to 6,000 peasants were executed or deported). Opposition groupings within the 'Communist' organisations have been sidelined and, when possible, murdered.

The May Day Victory celebrations in Hanoi: the directive goes to the South — longer working hours and lower wages are necessary for increased production, workers must 'redouble their efforts'. Both private Capitalist and 'Communist' (State Capitalist) legitimise their power and privilege with the lie that centralisation, long hours, increased estrangement from one's work, and the curtailment of liberty are the unavoidable price to be paid for the benefits of the technical revolution, and thus for survival. Every call for productivity under the conditions of either 'Soviet' or Western capitalist economy is a call to slavery.

The 'Communists' in Vietnam have consistently advocated policies against the self-assertion of workers and peasants. What support they have elicited has been based on crude nationalist blackmail and deceptive promises, protected by the ruthless and daily suppression of every attempt of working people to articulate for themselves their social disaffection. The most notable events of this known are the collaboration of the Viet Minh with the colonial authorities in the suppression of the Go Vap Tramway Soviet of Saigon in October 1946, and the suppression of the peasant rising in the North against forced collectivisation in November 1956 (close to 6,000 peasants were executed or deported). Opposition groupings within the 'Communist' organisations have been sidelined and, when possible, murdered.

The May Day Victory celebrations in Hanoi: the directive goes to the South — longer working hours and lower wages are necessary for increased production, workers must 'redouble their efforts'. Both private Capitalist and 'Communist' (State Capitalist) legitimise their power and privilege with the lie that centralisation, long hours, increased estrangement from one's work, and the curtailment of liberty are the unavoidable price to be paid for the benefits of the technical revolution, and thus for survival. Every call for productivity under the conditions of either 'Soviet' or Western capitalist economy is a call to slavery.

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Still, what would have been won in the event of victory? — Exploitation as normal. But even such very limited successes are becoming more difficult to attain. The real value of Uniprint is in the solidarity it generated and the realisation that the old methods just will not do. As such it represents a step forward by our class to the creation of workers councils to take over the means of production and begin the communist reorganisation of society.

NOTE: Information for this article comes from NOTES FROM DENMARK produced by a libertarian group in Copenhagen, PRESSEBANDEN.
Nothing's free under capitalism, or is it? There are many services which are actually 'free' at the point of consumption — we don't have to pay out any money at the time we're using the service.

The most obvious example in this country are doctors and hospital services provided through the National Health Service. This has been an important benefit to us, if only by removing worry and anxiety over the prospect of large medical bills, which would itself lead to further illness. Of course it is all paid for through the National Insurance scheme, by deductions from our gross wages and salaries. In fact the real rise in our cost of living has often been obscured by ignoring the increase in NI and Pension deductions.

We sometimes forget the value of water which is abundantly available in most households simply by turning on the tap, paid for by a simple standard rate direct to the water authority or through our rent. And of course there is the library service in almost every town and even village (through the mobile libraries).

Recently another scheme was proposed which would have made public transport 'free' in the London area. The main purpose behind this was to decrease the use of private motor cars and alleviate the traffic chaos in the city. It would also, incidentally, have been of benefit to, for instance, old age pensioners and workers with large families who could travel in off-peak hours without the usual fetters.

CHILE — reform to reaction

It is nearly two years since the military coup in Chile. During this time the people have suffered the most intense repression. Working class areas are frequently subject to police raids, and anyone who organises a union is liable to be arrested. Many supporters of the former Government have lost their jobs, and others have been arrested and tortured or killed. Thousands of refugees have come to Europe, including several hundred to Britain.

In order to understand the reasons for the coup, it is necessary to look at the position of Chile in previous years. In 1970, a Popular Front Government was returned, but did not have a majority. This Government consisted of the 'Communist' Party, the 'Socialists' (who provided the President, Allende), MAPU and others. It operated on a platform of constitutional change, and nationalised many industries, particularly the copper mines.

At the same time there was a mass movement for 'popular power'. This involved the formation of factory committees, which joined up in cordones industriales, and groups of peasants, tenants, etc. In many areas peasants took the land of the major landlords. In towns, democratic committees were formed to control prices and distribution of essentials, and prevent profiteering and black marketeering. However, these committees were weakened by an attitude that ultimately they could rely on the Government, and this prevented proper appreciation of the need to prepare for self-defence. In fact their attitude was similar to that of those workers in Britain who hope that the Labour Government will rescue their firms if they occupy.

This proposal wasn't, as you might think, supported only by left-wing Labourites, but also by a broad spectrum of Labour, Tories and Liberals, the conservative Royal Institute of British Architects and a campaign group called Homes Before Roads who were worried by the destruction of so many good houses to make way for huge urban motorways. The usual illogical arguments which these same people normally hurl against Socialists advocating 'free access to goods and services' were absent. Nobody suggested that people would ride up and down all day on tube trains and buses just because they were free!

The problem with all these schemes is that, within the framework of the market economy, none of them is secure, and they often have indirectly harmful, as well as beneficial, results. The NHS was originally intended by its more radical proponents to provide completely free comprehensive health care in the community. In practice more and more of the services have been lumbered with a price tag, often by Labour Governments (as with prescription charges) who at election times claimed to be the main defenders of the service. Concessions to private practice made in 1945 are only now being withdrawn under pressure from NHS workers, and this has been used by the Government to try and deflect attention from its policy of starving the NHS of vitally needed funds. In an effort to economise, more and more small community hospitals and clinics are being closed in favour of huge, impersonal and physically remote hospitals which are inconvenient for both staff and patients. The NHS is ever more clearly appearing as Socialist critics have always described it — a patch-em-up and back-to-work service.

The other schemes are also suffering from a shortage of funds. There is now serious talk of installing meters in each house for water, much the same as for gas and electricity. The 'free' transport system would, in the long run, have become a subsidy to central London employers by reducing the cost of travel for their workers. It also meant possible redundancy for ticket collectors and others, but assuming this could have been overcome its effects would have been generally beneficial. But with the crisis, higher unemployment and inflation, the scheme has been quietly forgotten.

*Development since the coup and general implications of Chilean events will be discussed in the next issue.
Just a short while ago a reconvened delegate meeting of the Local Government group of the National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO), the largest union of white-collar workers in County and District Councils, agreed to accept an employers' wage offer which by any standards was paltry.

Heralded as a 25% increase in all the newspapers, it really meant after various deductions a maximum of about 16.5% on a few selected grades to a derisory 8% for those at the bottom of the salary scale who have suffered most from the effects of inflation. It bore no relationship at all to the claim which had been formulated earlier by the rank and file against the advice of the national executive, for a flat rate of £10 +15% (even when the official trade union leaders let them down or, as so often happens, stand against them. At a time when a few NALGO branches are just starting to organise a system of 'shop stewards' at office level, many workers are by-passing even this now institutionalised system and acting directly through their own temporary delegate committees.

We face a difficult problem in knowing how best to organise. It is clearly ridiculous for us to go through all the stages the other unions have, making all the same mistakes in an effort to 'learn by experience'. We have to somehow get the experience of others across to our own members. At the same time we can't expect to leap ahead all by ourselves without any personal direct experience of organising strikes and other industrial action. This really is the importance of us taking some kind of organised strike action, however limited it might be to start off with - it makes everyone realise they can do it. If nothing else this was the benefit of the 'London Weighting' strikes to the London Branches. We got very close to such a situation this time for many more members by pursuing our claim through the official union channels. If we can once get to this stage, then I'm sure we could progress very rapidly, especially where other workers with more experience are organising unofficially at the same time.

ORGANISING THE NEW MILITANCY

Until fairly recently the job of organising this new militancy and of conveying the experience of other workers to NALGO members was carried out by individuals and various small 'outside' political groups. But there is now a growing network of local NALGO Action Groups, linked regionally and nationally with a newspaper called NALGO Action News. These groups have mostly been initiated by members of the left-wing International Socialists (IS), but they have quickly attracted other activists, who in their isolation and for lack of anything better have taken up the groups as their own.

It was this network which provided the necessary co-ordination to establish a single definitive claim (£10 +15%) at the earlier delegate meeting, and which did most to counter the defeatist talk of the union establishment.

It has also tried to break down to some extent political/industrial/personal divisions by working on issues around women's liberation and racialism, with somewhat less success, perhaps partly because of its own backwardness in these areas. Libertarian Socialists are not generally strong enough to initiate these types of groups themselves, but we can and do make an important contribution within existing groups. Apart from adding our own individual strengths, we act politically to counter the mystifications of the left-wingers about the Labour Party, nationalism etc and help ensure that independent groups do not become dominated by a single political tendency.

In NALGO we must learn from the fate of other pressure groups, like the teachers' Rank and File which has suffered from its own bureaucratic tendencies, and ensure that the membership drives of organisations like IS, who are trying to take over the role in industry which the Communist Party has been vacating, do not turn our group into a mere political front, with decisions about our future being taken elsewhere. Fortunately we are helped in this respect by some IS members who place working class unity above the interests of 'The Party', in contrast to their organisation's leaders.
It’s a common assumption that Britain is a democratic country and that everyone living here enjoys freedom to express their views openly. But at this moment 14 people are facing charges which could bring them life imprisonment – for the ‘crime’ of distributing a leaflet! The 14 accused are members of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, a pacifist organisation whose name explains its main aim. BWNIC published a leaflet called ‘Some Information for Discontented Soldiers’ which gave details of the ways by which any soldier who no longer wanted to remain in the army could leave it. The BWNIC were charged with (amongst other things) conspiracy to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act. Their case comes up at the Old Bailey on September 29th. Since the 14 more people have been arrested and some of these charged for possessing or distributing the leaflet.

The Conspiracy Act under which the 14 are charged dates back to 1875, and has recently been dragged up more and more. The best known example is that of the Shrewsbury pickets whose long jail sentences were due to the fact that you can be given a much longer sentence for conspiring to do something than actually doing it. The raving about the ‘violence of the pickets’ in some papers at the time of their trial did not explain why the police stood by while pickets were supposed to have gone on the rampage – or why arrests were not made until months later.

The Conspiracy Laws then are a way of putting people away for a long time for offences that might normally only result in a fine – another twist is that you can be done for conspiring to do something which is not in itself an offence – the possibilities are endless! But the Conspiracy Laws are not the only weapon the state is using.

The increasing use of the army within the UK to repress civilian protest is another way the state is clamping down. The army were used to break the Glasgow dustcart drivers’ strike. Army exercises in ‘internal security’ have been held at various places in Britain including Heathrow Airport and the city of Hull. In Ireland the army shot dead 13 unarmed civilians in the Bloody Sunday massacre. They have carried out a policy of raiding people’s homes, beating up the occupants, and dragging off people to internment camps where people are kept prisoner without charges or trial. Like the Provisional IRA and the paramilitary Loyalist groups, the army are a force for violence, not peace, in Ireland. Only when all these armed forces stop their military operations will some progress be made towards peace in Ireland.

The examples above all show the State acting repressively when it feels that any threat to the present system is serious enough. The State consists of organised force – the law, courts, police and in the final resort the naked power of Army, Navy and Air Force – to protect the privileged positions and interests of the top people in industry and Government.

Thus the extent to which Britain is really democratic is very limited. We can protest and criticise to a degree – but if the State considers our actions are too effective we’ll be stamped down. With the economic system in trouble and people becoming increasingly unwilling to keep in their place, a deliberate attack on civil liberties is underway.

How can this be resisted? How can we best defend the BWNIC 14 and others? We think lobbying M.P.’s and sending petitions to Parliament are only of limited use. Politely asking the State to change its mind is not very effective. Better tactics are those in which large numbers of people can be actively involved and which do not passively depend on M.P.’s and suchlike.

One of the main methods being used in the BWNIC defence campaign is along these lines. Throughout the country, from Aldershot to York to Aberdeen, people are openly distributing to soldiers the same leaflet which the 14+ are charged with distributing or possessing. The State will either have to charge hundreds of people or be selective in a totally illogical manner.

Of course the State is physically capable of arresting hundreds of people – but it would have to consider if the benefit gained would outweigh the uproar and added protest it would cause. If enough people are involved the State could be forced to back down. If the campaign is to be successful, it will have to be based on active local defence groups which involve as many sections of working people as possible. The more links there are with workers organised in both industry and in ‘white-collar’ jobs, with tenants associations, and with local citizens’ rights groups, the stronger the campaign will be. It’s important that we do win both for the sake of the individuals charged and so that the State will be deterred from further political prosecution prosecutions. Several other important issues are involved. The use of the conspiracy laws is increasing and they are a threat to anyone who dares to protest; freedom of speech in general is threatened and in particular the right of civilians to communicate with soldiers. If troops were being used to break a strike and the strikers leafletted the soldiers they could face the same charges as the 14.

Although the defence campaign is important, we must also realise that as long as the State exists, it will always try to keep us from doing what it considers to threaten today’s capitalist system – by force if necessary. New laws will be passed, ancient ones dug up, or whatever is thought necessary and can be got away with. The State is a permanent threat to all genuine freedom of expression and civil liberties. Because of this, we believe that the only sure way to guarantee basic freedoms is to prevent the State machine acting against us by undermining and getting rid of it as part of a wider movement to establish democratic control in all areas of society.

We believe that a society which is not dominated by State power is both possible and desirable. Instead of orders ‘from above’, such a society could be run on the basis of grass-roots democracy, the decisions about what goes on in a workplace being taken by all those who work there and people who live in an area would decide what was to happen concerning that area. More general matters could be discussed and voted on by meetings of delegates from all over the region, industry or whatever, involved: these delegates would convey and express opinions of the people who had sent them. Such a way of running things would be de-centralised – unlike increasingly centralised bureaucratic set-up we suffer at present. By doing so much at local level, much unnecessary work could be avoided and people would have far greater control over their lives than they have today.

The struggle to create such a society and the campaign to defend the BWNIC 14+ and other victims of the State’s attacks are closely bound together. Unless we can defend ourselves under attack, we will never develop the strength and self-confidence to construct a free socialist society. And, unless we realise that the enemy is the State and the whole system it defends, and not just some acts of the State, we will always suffer from restrictions and attacks on our ability to live freely.

If you want to support the DEFEND THE 14+ CAMPAIGN in any way – there are several sorts of activity going on now across the country – or simply want to know more, write to: BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1; or to any of the SOCIAL REVOLUTION groups in our contact list.

POSTSCRIPT: Members of the Aberdeen Group have been taking part in the activities of a local group as part of the Defence Campaign: we have leafletted both soldiers and civilians in Arbrough and Aberdeen, as well as picketing an Army Recruitment Centre. More activities are planned for the near future.
THEATRE REVIEW

'Layoff' by the 7:84 Theatre Company

7:84 is one of the more successful theatre groups. It takes its name from the figures for the distribution of wealth in Britain (7% of the population own 84% of all private wealth). Basically this play is an account of the way capitalism develops. At first there are old-style employers such as 'Brassneck'. The play shows how their conspicuous wealth is replaced by the smooth manipulation of the 'Labour Relations' school, ably assisted by the trade union leaders.

At the same time, the small firms are taken over by others, culminating in the formation of the multi-nationals. The play ends with an account of four strikes at an ITT factory in East Kilbride, showing how the company, with help from the Labour Postmaster General (J. Stonehouse, the Hon. Member for Manchester and Walsall North) was able to break strikes by importing from its overseas factories, and how a later strike succeeded through the solidarity of workers in Portugal, Belgium and even Spain.

There are serious political weaknesses in the later parts. Although the redundancies at British Steel are mentioned, it is said that the problems only arise from the private ownership of industry. The criticism of multi-nationals is perhaps on the left, at times seems rather chauvinistic. Further it is stated that the multi-nationals are tending to produce a world government, and abolish war. Apart from the theoretical issues of the relationship of capitalism to war, it is difficult to see why companies that make so much money from weapons should seek to abolish the market for them.

The style is similar to that of Brecht, using a musical format, which is very entertaining, so at least people will watch it. Certainly I would advise people to do so if they get the chance. However, I would have doubts about the political viability of this form of revolutionary theatre. However acceptable one finds the political line, and however well produced, the lack of audience participation can surely only reinforce the division between mass and political leader on which capitalism rests.

P. McShane

REVIEW

THE DISPOSSESSED (Gollancz), by the science fiction writer Ursula LeGuin, is a brilliant and moving account of life on two planets. Ursas, the planet of profit-States, property, and male ruling class domination, provides a satire on our present society on earth. It is visited by the physicist, Shevek, from the moon Anarres, where there is a genuine Communist (also called Socialist and Anarchist) community, with social and sex equality, democratic control of work, and no Governments or money.

This doesn't mean there aren't any problems, or even the danger of bureaucratic stagnation (a planet which Shevek and his friends are fighting). But for a full discussion of the way people could live in Socialism, and how they could tackle their problems, this is the best book I've seen.

PRISONER OF MAO, by Bao Ruo-wang (Jean Pasqua/Un), is the first account by an inmate of the Chinese labour camps. Most prisoners, who are condemned for offences ranging from extra-marital sex to derogatory remarks about the Government, never get out alive — Bao was released because he was a French citizen.

What makes this book depressing is that not only are the prisoners subjected to brutal and miserable working and living conditions, but they are also forced to continuously spy upon and indoctrinate one another. For example, they have to express gratitude for their near starvation rations. And all this State Capitalist oppression justified in the name of Communism!

Stefan

UNILEVER'S WORLD

CIS Anti-Report No.11 £1.

Unilevers are one of the largest multinationals in the world, and yet to most people, including many of its own employees, it is a hidden force, operating as it does through dozens of different subsidiaries. It dominates the branded food markets of Western Europe, Canada and Australasia, with substantial interests in every other developed part of the world, using raw materials drawn also from all the poorest areas of the world.

Each time you come away from the supermarket you might easily be carrying 50% or more of Unilever's products — Wall's meats and ice-cream, Birds Eye frozen foods, Liptons teas, Batchelors and Unox tinned foods, Blue-Band, Stork and other margerines, Vesta dried foods, Gibbs toothpastes, Lux, Radiant and other washing powders, MacFisheries and many many more. When Unilevers haven't got an actual monopoly in any particular product line, they often have agreements with their major 'competitors' to carve up the market (as with ice-cream).

In each one of its operations, Unilever's management, despite working through a myriad of subsidiaries, is centrally organised and sure of its aims. It faces a workforce deliberately divided along wage-grade, union and regional lines. It is in a strong position to oppose any attempts at national and international organisation of its workers by transferring commodities and even production across national frontiers. All the time Unilevers are expanding, buying up competition, rationalising and reorganising with all the consequent redundancies. The CIS report details several examples of this process (the Walls takeover of Richmonds and the margarine Co's in Holland).

The raw materials are drawn from every continent through plantation and trading companies like the huge United Africa Company, which has survived 'decolonisation' and continues to prosper at the expense of impoverished plantation workers and 'cash croppers', or Liptons in India and Sri Lanka (Ceylon), paying starvation wages even after exposures in the Guardian newspaper. Virtually the whole West German fishing fleet is Unilever owned. In many cases Unilever owns and controls the whole process of production from beginning to end — ground nut and timber plantations, mills, ships, road transport, manufacture, packaging, wholesale and retail and advertising agency. The entire agricultural economy of many third-world countries is dependent on Unilevers.

This report goes a long way to uncovering the Unilever empire. It's essential reading for all Unilever workers who want to combat the control which the company has over their lives. Buy a copy, pass it round, reproduce parts of it and dish them out at work.

Available from Counter-Information Services, 52 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W1.

M. Ballard
It was the hot summer of 1911 which saw the seamen and then the dockers, recovering from their earlier defeats, and launching a new militant strike, which soon sparked off disputes in nearly all docks and major industrial areas. Confrontations with the police protecting the employers' property were common, and in Llanelly two men were killed.

The strikes revolved around issues of wages, working conditions and work control and the same issues were taken up by way of example by the children of strikers from some of the poorest working class districts. Starting (it appears) first in Llanelly, strikes by schoolchildren spread across the whole country, proving particularly strong in the port areas of Liverpool/Manchester, Hull/Grimsby, Glasgow, Dundee, Peterborough, Aberdeen, etc.. The most frequent demands were:

- Less hours — no cane
- Payment for monitors’ duties
- One shilling a week for attendance
- No home lessons
- Free pencils and rubbers

which appeared in various forms.

Nearly all the strikes were in council schools that were run on especially authoritarian, inhuman lines, with the very poor children discriminated against just because of their poverty. There were often 50 or 80 seriously-involved strikers in each of the affected schools, some of them part-timers who also worked in the mills and factories. In Dundee, the biggest strike took place, involving eight schools and thousands of children. Rolling Columns and Flying Pickets went from school to school trying to get everyone out.

NALGO—CONT FROM PAGE 9

NALGO Action Group will need to make a concerted effort at dispelling the myths surrounding the causes of inflation and the ideas of national as opposed to class unity which have helped to disarm our members so far. There is also an urgent need to break down the suspicions which still exist between us and the manual workers, so noticeable during the dustcart drivers’ and electricians’ disputes. We must also seriously tackle the need to explain to other workers, frightened about rising rates and council rents, that the real culprit is the profits/market system and NOT our ‘excessive’ wage demands.

To carry out effectively these ‘propaganda’ exercises, we must continue with our own political clarification and establish the limitations of a group based on a coalition of political outlooks.

The NALGO Action Group, and similar groups in other industries, have an important role to play at the present stage, but the rapid development of the class struggle may well dictate new strategies in the future.

NALGO Member

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