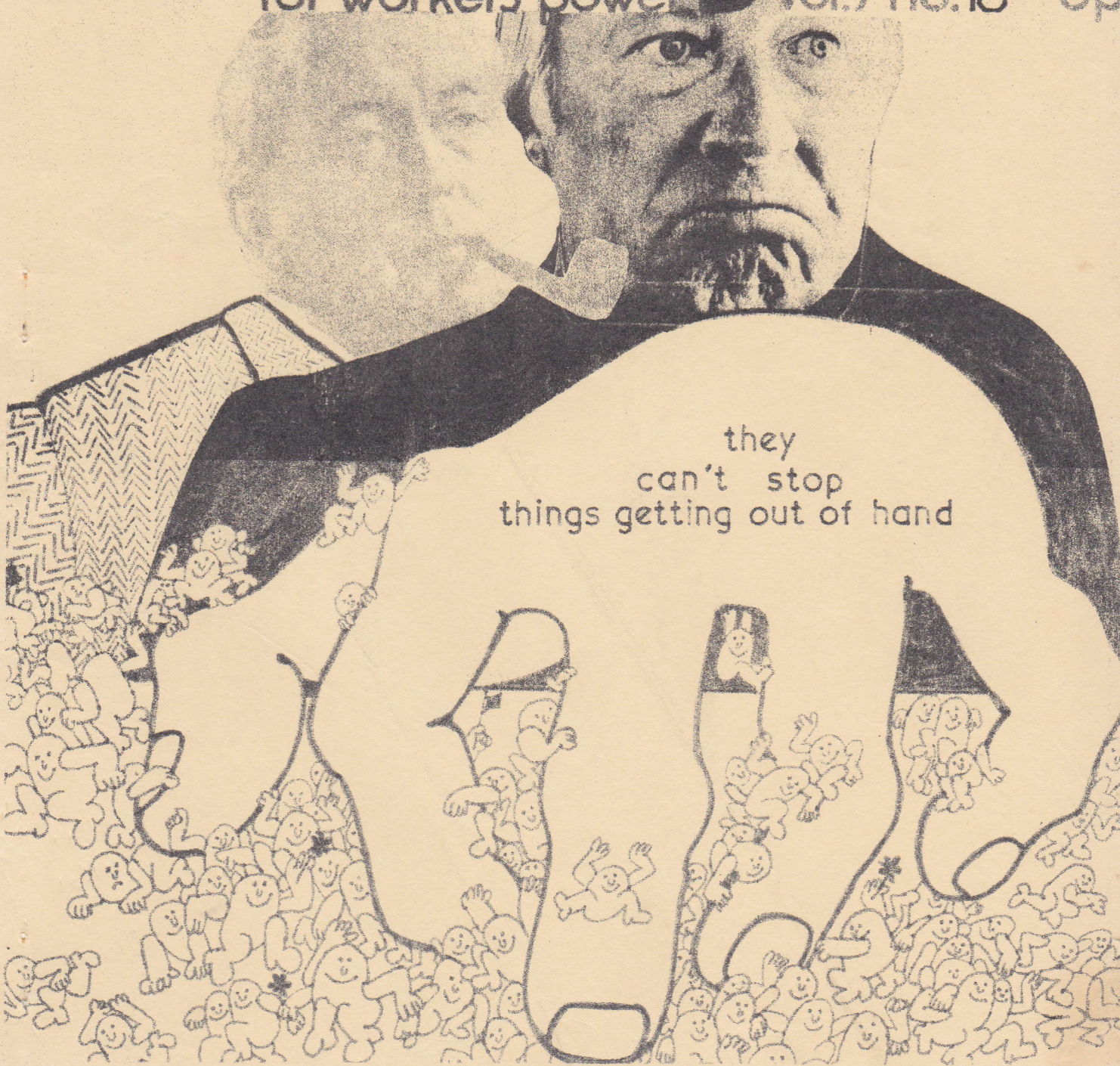


# solidarity

for workers' power vol.7 no.10 5p

- 'Crisis'
- Good ole '30s
- Motor carping
- Psychiatry



they  
can't stop  
things getting out of hand

# Which 'Power' Crisis?

The recent confrontation with the miners, which ended in an electoral defeat for the Tory government and a victory to the miners on the wages front, highlights the nature of the crisis of British Capitalism in the 1970s. Unlike the class conflicts in the 1920s, the recent episode was more than a battle over sharing the cake. It developed into a challenge to the authority of the Government, its Parliamentary majority, and its wage legislation. The Conservatives called for an early election because they believed they would be returned with an increased majority. In the event they found themselves out of office.

This outcome has a number of economic, social and political implications which should be studied in depth. Here we merely wish to point out two particular aspects of this crisis which others in the revolutionary left tend to ignore. First: the impact of direct-action by people working in industry upon the politics of both Unions and Government. Second: the meaning of this particular Establishment defeat for British society as a whole.

. . . . .

Over the last ten years direct-action by the rank and file on the shop-floor has developed to such an extent that both the Labour and the Conservative Parties have attempted to contain it within a new framework of law. The various proposals (Labour's 'In Place Of Strife', and the Conservatives' 'Industrial Relations Act') were designed primarily to threaten shop-floor militants with legal prosecution if they overstepped the limits imposed by the new laws. That today it is the Government itself which has to step directly into the attempt to control the shop-floor indicates that the previous means used by the employers and Unions have become inadequate. It also indicates a change in society which the Tories badly underestimated. Over the last decade there has been a gradual erosion of authority in almost every aspect of social life: parents, husbands, bosses, union officials, politicians, clergymen, scientists and even revolutionary leaders have encountered a growing challenge to their hitherto accepted authority.

The successful exercise of authority in society depends on its apparent legitimacy in the minds of those who submit to it. The current erosion of authority indicates a change in those minds. It is the emergence of this new attitude, on a social scale, which both Tories and Labour, Government and Unions, have attempted -

but failed - to hold back. It is the spreading of these new attitudes, particularly amongst younger people, that will provide the impetus to future struggles and eventually to an alternative society.

Once any government decides to pass laws to curb industrial action and limit wage claims, it transforms its role from that of an indirect mover in the class struggle to that of a direct participant. Thus, when the N.U.M. presented the Coal Board with a claim which exceeded the limits set in 'Phase Three', Heath declared that the N.U.M. was challenging the authority of an elected government. The N.U.M. denial that their motives were political was of no use: whether they liked it or not, whether they intended it or not, any wage claim exceeding 'Phase Three' limits was bound to be interpreted by the government as a direct challenge to its political authority. Heath's faction within the Conservative Party deliberately manouvered towards an electoral showdown with the N.U.M. and T.U.C. over the issue of 'Who governs - Unions or Government?' Heath resorted to unprecedented tactical measures such as the three-day working week. The havoc it caused to the economy he considered an acceptable price to pay for an electoral victory which would give the Tories an increased majority and so reassert their authority as rulers. Others in the Conservative Party proposed an 'arrangement' with the miners so as to keep the economy going even though this might be a blow to the Government's authority. Heath's view prevailed; yet in spite of modifying his tune from 'Government versus Unions' to the all-embracing 'moderates versus extremists', the Conservatives found themselves out of office.

This outcome has a significance which most of the electorate are probably unaware of. This stems from the particular role of the Conservative Party in British society. It is this party which was dominant in shaping British society, it represents the dominant class, the dominant ideology, the dominant motivations. Never before has it been so divided, confused, disorientated, its self-confidence cracked, its self-image blurred. Never before has it lost an election over the issue of 'who governs'. What are the Tories to assume now? That the Government cannot govern when it comes to a wages issue? That the 'extremists' have defeated the 'moderates'? As the Tories have always identified their Party's interests with those of 'the country', what is to become of 'the country' now that, as one Tory put it, "the electorate has let the country down"?

In our view Britain is now entering a period of economic, social and political instability. This results from the decline of the ruling class, of its values, motivations, authority and ideology. Organically linked to this decline of the ruling class is the emergence of new social attitudes - whose fruits the Indus-

trial Relations Act was vainly intended to hold back. The challenge to the authoritarian structure of capitalism remains, and we believe that the Labour Government's attempts to cope with it will fare no better than the Tories'.

Whether the struggle of the new social attitudes against the old ones takes place in the home, school, college, office, or factory, it is one and the same struggle. There will be many more battles before the new social attitudes assert themselves as an alternative society (an alternative not merely to Western societies, but also to those in the East). Yet if there is one significant lesson to be remembered in all these struggles it is that the arena where the actual outcome is decided is not the electoral campaign in Party, Parliament or Union, but in the home, school, and on the shop-floor itself. Elections at best serve to ratify what has already been won.

#### THEM & US

Recently several left bookshops have been selling an American paper called 'New Solidarity' which is published by the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Activities of the N.C.L.C. include its self-proclaimed "Operation Mop-up" of the American Communist Party. This took the form of physical attacks on individual C.P. members culminating in a confession from one member to having been 'programmed' by CIA/British Intelligence teams to assassinate the N.C.L.C. leadership.

Recent articles in 'New Solidarity' on the current state of Britain have come up with the information that 'The Observer' supports Enoch Powell and has called for military dictatorship, and that during the recent crisis old people were being dumped by police vans in London to die in the streets.

We hope that none of our readers were ever in doubt, but just in case, we would like to make it clear that 'New Solidarity' does not - and never did have - anything to do with us.

#### A Case for Treatment?

"It is not only as though the vanguard of anarchy were at loose in the world...There are people about who hate civilization because it exists,...they are the enemies not merely of our national existence but of the inner spiritual essence of our national life. They hate us very much, but most of all they hate anything good about us." The Times (21 March) on the attempted kidnapping of Princess Anne.

who  
said  
it?

'The bourgeoisie... is just as necessary a precondition of the socialist revolution as the proletariat itself. Hence a man who says that the socialist revolution can be more easily carried out in a country because although it has no proletariat it has no bourgeoisie either, only proves that he has still to learn the ABC of socialism.'

1. Lin Piao, in the course of the anti-Mao struggle
2. Rosa Luxemburg, in the 'Polish Polemic' with Lenin
3. Fred Engels
4. The foundation document of the SPGB
5. The Chairman of the Confederation of British Industry.

'You admire the delightful variety, the inexhaustible wealth of nature. You do not demand that a rose should have the same scent as a violet, but the richest of all, the spirit, is to be allowed to exist in only one form? I am a humorist, but the law orders me to write seriously. I am bold, but the law orders my style to be modest. Grey and more grey, that is the only authorized colour of freedom. Every dewdrop in which the sun is reflected, glitters with an inexhaustible display of colours, but the sun of the spirit may break into ever so many different individuals and objects, yet it is permitted to produce only one colour, the official colour. The essential form of the spirit is gaiety, light, and you make shadows its only proper manifestation; it must be dressed only in black, and yet there are no black flowers.'

1. Alexander Solzhenitsyn
2. Pablo Picasso
3. Karl Marx
4. Dr. Bronowski
5. The Chairman of the Royal Horticultural Society.

(a)

(b)

# THE 'GOOD OLD DAYS'

I often hear references to the events of the '20s and '30s quoted as evidence for or against particular points of view. These are often out of context and superficial, if not downright incorrect and misleading.

I was born in 1913 and lived most of my life in the East End of London, where I was active in the working class movement, up to the outbreak of the Second World War. After the war I returned to the East End, only leaving around 1962.

I have attempted to remain active, always finding it necessary to change my opinions as new situations emerged, or new evidence came to my notice, which made me look again at my experiences and assess them anew. 'Revisionism' is a dirty word for some 'politicos'. For me it is an essential element in my development and understanding.

While I was a Marxist-Leninist, believing in the need for a vanguard party, I always looked at things with this in mind. Now that I have come to believe that vanguardism leads to a new form of control and exploitation by those who become the 'leadership', I prefer to look for those activities which point to the growth of self-activity, autonomy, and the self-management of struggles.

When people try to compare capitalism's present difficulties with those of the '20s and '30s, they fail to see the very different nature of the problems. The General Strike was not about people trying to raise their standard of living by fighting for wage increases. It was a struggle against the attempts of employers and governments to carry out savage wage cuts. Mass unemployment meant a surplus of wage labourers competing for few jobs. Today the situation is different. Living standards - in the material sense - were so poor as to make any comparison with present standards meaningless. The General Strike was carefully prepared and deliberately provoked. It led to the defeat of the whole British working class and made them incapable of resisting the attacks which followed, during the next ten years.

This was the period when the Communist Party was growing in influence throughout Europe, when workers looked to the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union for leadership. What did they get? Russian foreign policy under Stalin was trying to drive a wedge between the rival imperialisms in order to 'build socialism in one country'. This meant 'diplomacy' which sacrificed the workers' struggles and revolutionary aspirations in order

to buy time to develop Russian military power. It also meant giving time for Fascism to grow and for the development of its military forces. Stalin's use of the Communist International as a tool of Russian foreign policy led to the surrender of the German Communist Party to Hitler without a shot being fired. It led to the defeat of the Spanish Revolution.

Communist Parties in France, Britain and elsewhere cynically followed the twists and turns in Stalin's policies to the detriment of their own supporters and the working class they claimed to represent. They endorsed Stalin's 'show trials' and the systematic execution of many of the old Bolsheviks. They denied the existence of concentration camps in Russia in which millions, including many revolutionaries, lost their lives. They called the Social-Democrats 'Social-Fascists' while in some cases actually cooperating with the Nazis.

After Hitler had triumphed they switched policies almost overnight and initiated first 'united front' and later 'popular front' movements. This misled people and prevented them from thinking along class lines. The effect was that workers lined up behind their respective rulers. As this continued, so did the drift towards imperialist war.

This sort of thing doesn't come from nowhere. The defeat of the Russian Revolution had begun when Lenin and the Bolsheviks put down all forms of workers' self-management in Russia. At the same time the Party had opposed all autonomous forms of working class activity. This same attitude was at the core of everything done by the Communist International. When Stalin considered that the Communist International might be too hot to handle, it was systematically undermined and finally liquidated.

I saw all this happening without realising the full implications. I was hooked on the idea that 'defence' of the Soviet Union was the only way to further the 'world revolution'. The sacrifices we had to make were 'necessary'. With hindsight I now know how little I shared Stalin's objectives. But at the time when invited to follow policies with which I did not agree, I was persuaded on threat of expulsion from the Party, to follow or be branded a traitor. Despite doubts in my own mind concerning the purges and many other things I continued in the Party because I was still in agreement with their main policies.

## THE INVERGORDON MUTINY

I well remember the Invergordon Mutiny (September 15, 1931). Two leading members of the Party went to prison, one for 3 years, another for eighteen months. They were trapped by Government agents in a compromised situation. The Party was quite willing to present them as victims of the Government's actions, without making it clear they had had nothing to do with the Invergordon Mutiny. It suited the Government to produce these 'reds under the bed' so as to undermine the true character of the Mutiny which was started, managed, and carried through by the ratings of the Atlantic Fleet.

I got to know Len Wincott, the leading light of the Mutiny, intimately. This action was self-managed and reached a degree of success which no amount of 'leadership' from the Communist Party could have provided. On the contrary, it would most likely have failed miserably as did so many other struggles which they 'led', and in which I participated.

## THE HUNGER MARCHES

The Hunger Marches and some other struggles certainly seemed to offer a field of activity which was meaningful for me. I remember marchers from different parts of the country billeted in schools, church halls and in people's homes. Meeting them, and learning about the conditions they had endured where they lived, and how they had organised the marches taught me a great deal. We chatted for hours in cafés and in people's homes. It wasn't all 'political discussion' or sermons from Party functionaries, although there was more than enough of that. The miners from South Wales sang their songs, as did the Scots and Tynesiders.

We fought with the police on many demonstrations. It was always ordinary folk who decided the practical things on their own initiative, like who makes the tea, and where do we sleep, and how can we minimise the effects of police violence or deal with casualties, etc. The leaders were too busy issuing 'directions' or planning 'strategy' which usually had to be ignored because things didn't work out as they had forecast. When the rank and file discuss plans, they always ask 'what should we do?'. When leaders plan they always ask 'what should we tell them to do? We've got to give a lead'.

Unfortunately, we were only too ready to follow our leaders. Those who criticised found themselves accused of breaking 'the unity of the working class'. They were called names like 'utopians', 'ultra-left', 'Anarchists'. This sort of thing was very effective at the time, when Old Bolsheviks like Zinoviev and Kamenev were being branded and liquidated. Asking too many questions was more than enough to cast doubt as to your own reliability. If 'Old Bolsheviks' could betray, might not there be traitors in our own ranks? Strange as it may now seem, this was very effective at the time.

## THE FIGHT AGAINST MOSLEY

This brings me to the fight against Mosley, which led to my expulsion from the Communist Party in 1937. People refer to the 'Battle of Cable Street' (October 4, 1936) as if it had been the direct result of Communist Party activity and leadership. Not many know that the Party was opposed to confronting the Fascists and the police when Mosley proposed to march through the Jewish areas of East London.



It was only after a bitter internal struggle that the Party's policy was changed, three days before the event. I remember the meeting at which we received the new Party line. It took place at the home of my wife's in-laws. We immediately communicated the new line to our members, who were waiting in cafés and other places where whitewashing, leafleting, etc., was being organised. It was around 11 p.m. The whole area was alive with activity organised by many different groups, not least by groups of people who came together in the streets where they lived.

The change of Party line was only tail-ending the decisions already made by the ordinary people of East London. I was at last able to relax and get on with the real job in hand rather than trying to fight the Party line. My previous instructions were contained in a note from the East London Organiser of the Communist Party. It had run as follows:

'Dear Joe, In case you come back, the D.P.C. has made the following arrangements re Mosley's March.

A Party meeting at Salmon and Ball and another at Piggott St. in Poplar, i.e. near to each end of the march. Meetings to be kept orderly. Avoid clashes.

Loudspeaker van is touring area, advertising the meetings

Thousands of leaflets are waiting at Carter's for immediate distribution. I leave a copy here.

What Stepney must do is rally masses to each of these meetings (mostly to Salmon and Ball).

Keep order: no excuse for Government to say we, like B.U.F. are hooligans.

If Mosley decides to march, let him (my emphasis. J.J.)

Don't attempt disorder (time too short to get a 'they shall not pass' policy across. It would only be a harmful stunt).

Best see there is a good strong meeting at each end of march. Our biggest trouble tonight will be to keep order and discipline.

Push the Party leaflet around the crowds (Poplar and Bethnal Green are getting supplies too).

(28/9/36)

F. Lefitte

It was only when the people of East London, supported by tens of thousands, had made it quite clear that they intended making every sacrifice to prevent the Fascists from marching that the C.P. agreed to 'lead' the fight. The C.P. has consistently claimed the credit for the victory ever since.

This was another clear case of people taking matters into their own hands and managing their own struggles, only to allow some party - in this case the C.P. - to take over and lead them up the garden path.

I was secretary of the Stepney Branch C.P.G.B. from 1933 to 1937, during which time I had disagreements with many local members who were backed by the London District Committee and by the Central Committee. The conflict came to a head after October 4, 1936, when I was subjected to strict disciplinary decisions and much character assassination, lies, etc., before being finally expelled.

## THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

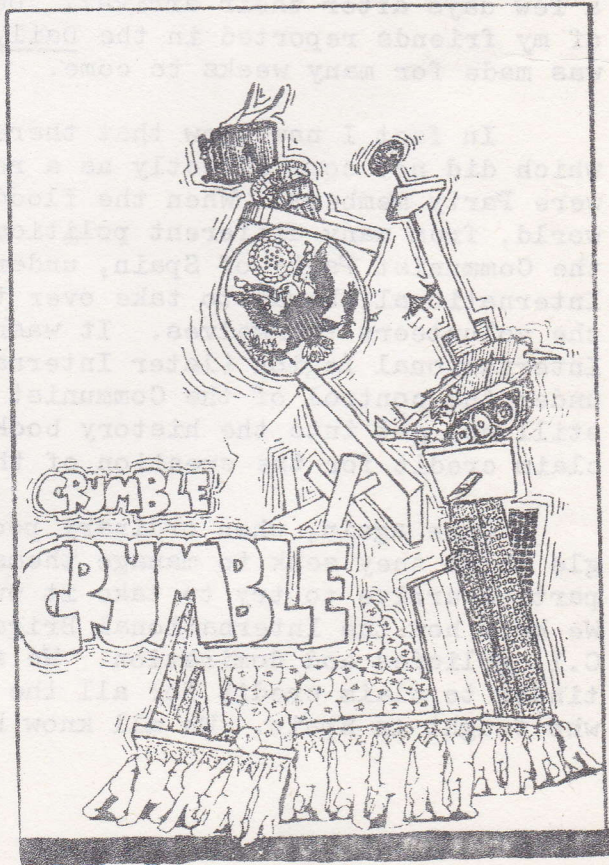
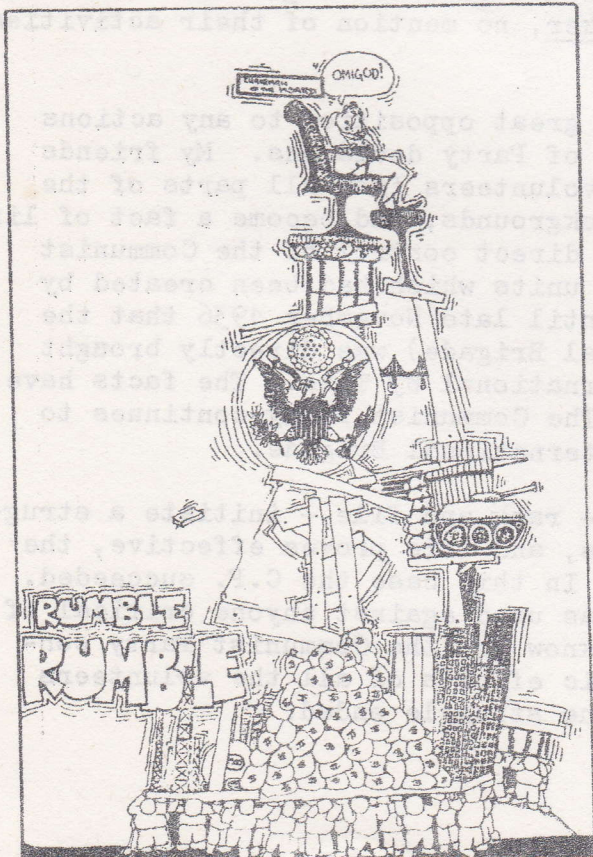
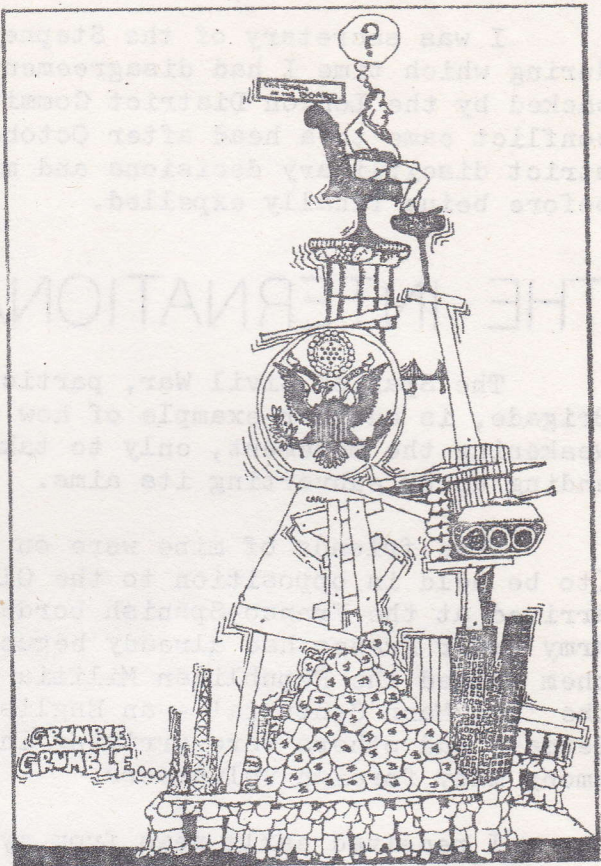
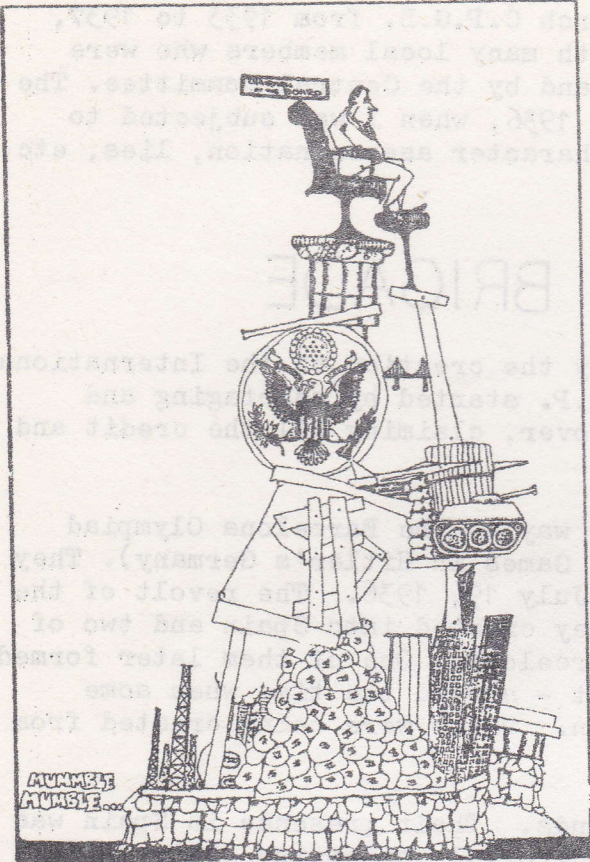
The Spanish Civil War, particularly the creation of the International Brigade, is another example of how the C.P. started by sabotaging and weakening the movement, only to take it over, claiming all the credit and ending up by subverting its aims.

Some friends of mine were on their way to the Barcelona Olympiad (to be held in opposition to the Olympic Games in Hitler's Germany). They arrived at the Franco-Spanish border on July 19, 1936. The revolt of the army under Franco had already begun. They crossed into Spain and two of them joined the Republican Militia in Barcelona. One of them later formed the 'Tom Mann Centuria' - an English unit - around the time when some Germans and others were arriving in Spain. Units were being created from among many foreign volunteers.

I received early news from my friends. Their presence in Spain was reported in the Daily Express, with an editorial condemning their actions a few days after their arrival. Despite all efforts to get the activities of my friends reported in the Daily Worker, no mention of their activities was made for many weeks to come.

In fact I now know that there was great opposition to any actions which did not come directly as a result of Party decisions. My friends were Party members. When the flood of volunteers from all parts of the world, from many different political backgrounds, had become a fact of life, the Communist Party of Spain, under the direct control of the Communist International, began to take over these units which had been created by the volunteers themselves. It wasn't until late November 1936 that the International Legion (later International Brigade) was directly brought under the control of the Communist International by Tito. The facts have still not got into the history books. The Communist Party continues to claim credit for the creation of the International Brigade.

Once again, when ordinary people - rank and file - initiate a struggle which they seek to manage themselves, and this proves effective, the parties arrive to try to take it over. In this case the C.P. succeeded. We know how the International Brigade was used against anyone critical of C.I. policies and domination. We also know how the Communist Party continues to claim credit for all the heroic efforts of all the volunteers who fought in Spain. We all know how the struggle ended.



The intellectuals who became 'fellow travellers' throughout the '30s were themselves ready to surrender their autonomy and ability to think for themselves. They got sucked into the Stalinist arguments concerning the need for uncritical support of the Soviet Union against Fascism. They were used by the arch-manipulators of the C.I. to provide some credibility and respectability for all the diabolical things they were doing in the Soviet Union, to say nothing of their efforts to justify their counter-revolutionary policies in Spain, Germany, Britain and France. All this resulted in a massive defeat for the working class movement.

## THE PROBLEM TODAY

When I hear calls today for a 'General Strike led by the TUC' or for the 'Return of a Labour Government pledged to Socialist policies', I know that those who 'strategically' launch these slogans think they will benefit from the disillusionment that will follow. They hope that people will later turn to them for leadership. It makes my hair stand on end when such manipulators refer to the great struggles of the '20s and '30s as though this mass movement could be recreated, and as though this mass movement was an example to be followed. The defeat of the revolutionary movements of that period was paid for and is still being paid for in countless loss of life and mountains of human misery.

Things are very different now. The miners' strike (which ended with Wilberforce in a defeat for the government) and the present challenge which the miners have made to all governments, could not have happened in the conditions of the 1930s. The industrial struggles since the Second World War have found the workers far stronger than they have ever been.

Hungary and Poland in 1956, Paris and Czechoslovakia in 1968 are instances of struggles conducted before Party leaders could take them over. They have done more to challenge established society than all the mass political movements of the 1930s. To call on anyone to repeat the actions of the '20s and '30s is to further a mystification: that this period of heroic struggle could have succeeded, if only there had been 'correct leadership'. This is what is meant when the traditional left say that we are in a 'crisis of leadership'. Each group claims to be the only correct leadership, and all you have to do is join and follow them.

The past provides ample proof that all forms of Party leadership can only lead to a victory of the leaders over all those they seek to lead. Capitalism's problem today consists of a deepening crisis of authority in which Trade Unions, Parties and Governments all over the world are finding it increasingly difficult to control workers - manual and white collar - as well as other social groups. I am not saying that capitalism does not have its economic problems. I am saying that its major problems spring more from the resistance and combativity of ordinary people who challenge

the values of established society every day of their lives, than from some inexorable economic laws which determine that capitalism will collapse. This is not to say that the Revolution will not entail a completely new life, which will include a new type of economy not based on wage labour or classes.

If we need to remember the events of the '30s - and we do - it is because they must not be repeated. They happened because we listened to leaders, experts, wise men, statesmen, those with fixed ideas about how the economic and political system works, who thought they knew exactly what we ought to accept, who offered to do it for us, who told us we couldn't get what we wanted by ourselves without their leadership.

We will only get what we want when we are prepared to take the responsibility for our own actions, combine with others of similar views, and reject all 'saviours from on high'. Stay on the ground. Insist on managing our own lives where we work and live, along with fellow humans who don't seek to use us for their own selfish ends. I know this sounds utopian to those who think that human beings cannot change their mode of behaviour. They do change. They have changed. If they hadn't or can't we would have to face a new barbarism. I prefer to believe - and there is much evidence for my belief - that we can avoid this.

We will - we already do - do things for each other. We are social beings as well as individuals. We need each other. We don't need exploiters, manipulators, those who seek to benefit personally at other people's expense. We can begin to be the new human being right now. Without this kind of being little will have changed, however one seeks to structure the economy or any of the relationships within society. No alternative, non-exploitative society is possible without completely new values. When these values become dominant, society will have changed. Day one of the revolution is today. You can start with yourself.

Joe Jacobs.

## ANSWER TO QUIZ (page 4)

(a) F. Engels (1875). 'On social relations in Russia'.  
Marx-Engels Selected Works, vol.II, p.50.

(b) Karl Marx (1842). 'On the Recent Prussian Censorship  
Instruction'.

# MOTOR INDUSTRY

## From the workshop into the corridors of power

The rise of the Convenors' Committee, its increasing integration with the full-time trade union superstructure, and the growing institutionalisation of the Works' Committees within many Ford plants, has created a situation where their relationships with the workers they represent is virtually the same as that between the trade union officials and 'their' members.

We hope to hear from other car workers, in Ford as well as other firms, about their experiences of this process. We are also very anxious to increase our circulation amongst car workers. Could those who would like to take extra copies of the paper to sell in the plants please get in touch with us.

The following article was written before the settlement - well within phase 3 of the Ford claim on March 4. The points made in it are still absolutely relevant.

- Eds.

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Organization is building up inside Ford. The Convenors' Committee is going from strength to strength. They have their own room now at Ford negotiating headquarters. They are consulted at every meeting between the Company and the Unions. They have regular meetings together to discuss and decide policy and have ready access to the national officials to keep them in touch with the shop-floor. No more hanging about with placards outside the building trying to persuade the Unions to "give 'em hell in there". Oh no! It's a warm room with coffee and sandwiches now. That's progress.

But hang on, you say, didn't we have organization before? What about the 1969 fight against the Penalty Clauses? What about the Parity Campaign and the nine week strike? All that wasn't fought inside Ford negotiating headquarters. That was done through involvement with the lads, mass meetings in all locations, leaflets, broadsheets, marches through Dagenham, Liverpool and Swansea, with banners and slogans, and more than anything, the feeling of involvement, the knowledge that you were participating in your own destiny.

Those on the shop-floor had something to talk about then. They used to know what was happening and why. They were sometimes even consulted about things before they happened.

There you go again, never appreciating what people do for you! That was all a bit of a drag anyway. Now we are organized we don't need all that untidy stuff. The Convenors' Committee save you all the trouble of deciding what you want in a claim. They tell the Unions for you. They don't need to

drag you out to all these meetings and bother your stupid heads with things that they know already. They save you all that boring reading of leaflets and getting worked up about things.

Look at 1973. They got you £2.20p without all that wasted time and effort. They let you have a bit of messing about to show you were involved. What more do you want? The convenors devised the 1974 claim themselves, specially to save you trouble. It's nice and moderate, quietly refined, so that it won't upset and inflame anyone. They did not bother to tell you too much about it in order to avoid unnecessary agitation. They can be relied on to fight tooth-and-nail to get you Stage 3 of the Tory government's incomes policy. That's what you call organization! It will be even better if the convenors can get on the National Joint Negotiating Council: it will save all this unnecessary consulting with the shop-stewards which gets a bore sometimes.

Of course you do have a part to play - a most important part. What you must do is keep your subs up to date and have faith. Oh, one other thing: when you come to elect your shop-stewards, be careful. Some of those who you elect are a bit of a nuisance - not many - but there are some who argue sometimes and seem to want to upset the ORGANIZATION. They always want us to ask for things that the Company don't want to give us, always using words like CLASS and CAPITALISTS... We can do without these militants. You take the point?

A.B. (Halewood)

## The Ford wage settlement

The new Ford wage settlement was for an increase of  $6\frac{1}{2}$ p per hour, plus a cost-of-living arrangement for an additional 40p per week for the first 7% increase in the retail price index and a further 40p per week for each additional 1% increase thereafter. The rates are:

Grades	A	B	C	D	E
New Hourly Minimum	82 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	89p	91 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	94 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	99 $\frac{1}{2}$ p
New Hourly Maximum	88 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	95p	97 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	100 $\frac{1}{2}$ p	105 $\frac{1}{2}$ p

(The vast majority of productive workers are on rates B and C)

The agreement also increases annual holidays to 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  days per year and increased the funding of the lay-off pay scheme. Overtime payment for Sunday night working has been increased to double time.

# The struggle continues

The following article has a different point of view from A.B's at Halewood. It describes what happened in the Body Group at Dagenham.

- Eds.

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The wage claim to most workers was, in my opinion, almost a non-event. Coming as it did during the energy crisis and the miners strike there was a feeling that any activity would be helping the Company out of its problems. Consequently many workers wanted to get it out of the way as soon as possible. The final negotiations took place with Harold Wilson and his minority Labour Government almost at the conference table.

Subsequent events show that the most important aspect of the claim was Employment Security.

On the night shift of Wednesday 6 March the Company instructed the welders in the 5410 A/shift department to change from a gas-welded joint on the Cortina coupe pillar. The reason given was that the correct type of brazing rod was not available for a month or more. The welders refused to accept the explanation, but said they would gas-weld if extra labour was put on the job. The welders were told at 4.30 a.m. "gas-weld the job or you are off pay". The Company stopped the lines and the men were taken off pay. The night shift were supported by the day shift who went home at 10.30 a.m.

Miraculously, the Company were able to get hold of the correct brazing rods in time for the start of the Thursday night shift. When the welders reported for work on Thursday night they noted that the rods were available and therefore asked about the two hours pay that they had been stopped on the previous shift. The night manager said pay was not on, but they could discuss it on Monday day shift. The welders took umbrage at this and went home saying they would report for work on Monday.

The rest of the story is briefly as follows:

Thursday night A/shift. Body in White production workers laid off for two nights.

Friday B/shift, days. Production workers laid off.

Monday A/shift, days. Welders agree to start work Assemblers in the same area go home in protest at being laid off the previous Thursday and Friday.

Monday B/shift, nights. Underbody workers refuse mobility of labour in protest at lay-off stoppage of work.

Tuesday and Wednesday nights B/shift. Ditto - as Monday night.

Thursday night B/shift. Underbody on strike because of lay-offs.  
Reporting Wednesday.

- To be continued!

G.W.



## Working For Ford - seen from Vauxhall

Having worked at Vauxhall, Luton, I feel I ought to make some comments on Huw Benyon's book Working For Ford. (See review in Solidarity, Vol 7, no 9)

One impression I got was that Benyon had a starry-eyed picture of the Liverpool workshop representatives and the full-time union officials. I agree that they are forced to work within the system, but this does not excuse their attitude towards their membership.

The book shows how local trade union officials - and even sometimes shop-stewards - are used by management. But Benyon's explanation of why this happens doesn't change the fact that he has serious illusions about the shop-stewards' organization at Ford and Vauxhall. He claims a 'radicalization' of the bigger unions with Scanlon, Evans and Jones in the fore. This, however, is only window dressing as far as the attitude of the union leadership to shop-floor organization is concerned. One of the main features of the current situation is the very bad relationship between the full-time officials and the rank and file. Almost every shopfloor initiative is throttled from above.

The book contains much useful material, including historical bits from Detroit and pieces describing daily plant life and the individual's work situation at the forced pace of the assembly line. It reminded me of Vauxhall, Luton. The struggles of the '60's were hardly ever reported in the papers but were nevertheless crucial in our efforts to challenge managerial authority on the assembly line. For the most part the convenors remained aloof from our struggles. This seems to be the case at Halewood too.

The book shows how workers can organize and run assembly operations themselves without the need for foremen. It also shows how struggles tend to intensify as management - ever more distant from the point of production - tries to dominate the day to day execution of work. The author does admit that 'factory consciousness' (as he calls it) is political in the tradition of the shop-stewards' movement after the 1914-18 war. But most left movements, with the exception of Solidarity, have tended to decry this aspect. From my own experience it seems that much of the potential of this 'consciousness' has been neutralized by trad left groups fucking everything up - wading in and trying to 'politicise' or 'radicalize' workers by imposing a ready-made alternative leadership.

Benyon is right when he refers to the high level of labour turnover and points out that even at Halewood the personel managers say that recruiting intelligent workers only spells trouble. The dilemma of management is that they want a labour force which is both stable and trouble-free when the very conditions of work in car factories create an acute awareness of conflict.

This is why employers are now talking about the Swedish method of 'job enrichment' which has been tried out by Phillips Electrical N.V. at Eindhoven. I was a little surprised that Huw Benyon did not raise this point in his book. (No. 3 of the Solidarity Motor Bulletin will deal with 'job enrichment' and the Swedish motor industry. It should be out in May 1974, price 8p post free. Eds. Solidarity)

Overall I think the style and layout of the book is a refreshing change from the run-of-the-mill surveys of shop-stewards and the industrial struggle in the motor industry. I found it easy to read and would recommend it to any car worker.

G.S.

## — seen from Dagenham

H.F.'s review of Huw Benyon's book Working For Ford, turned out to be a criticism of the Halewood shop-stewards. My experience of over twenty years employment at Ford leads me to believe that departments get the shop-stewards they deserve. My experience also shows that men who call shop-stewards "a shower of scheming bastards" (as H.F. approved of his mates doing - Eds) are the first to run back to work when the heat is on.

I would suggest to H.F. that he takes on the shop-stewardship of his department in order to put right some of the things he complains of.

My criticism of Benyon's book is that he accepts the Halewood stewards version of national events without reference to the Dagenham convenors and stewards. It is a fact that Dagenham Body Plant stewards went to Halewood to advise on the organisation of the new plants. It is also a fact that the Dagenham plants held a one day token stoppage to protest at the cheap labour agreement signed by the officials of the AEU and the GMW.

T.C. (Dagenham)

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(We would welcome further contributions to our discussion on the questions raised by Huw Benyon's book. Eds. Solidarity)

# goodbye sailor

The inglorious end to the spectacular life of the Heath government leaves many questions unanswered. The attitude that the new Labour government - even one packed with 'lefts' (Orme, Heffer, Foot, etc.) - is a step forward, belongs to the mythology of the 30's and 40's.

Even considering the popular politics that this government is likely to implement, rent and price freeze, repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, aggressive stances against those nasty men that feature in the News of the World and Socialist Worker alike, we can consider the new Labour government only as a capitalist one - one interested in exports, development, industrialisation and rationalisation. The fact that the introduction of these measures takes place simultaneously with various aspects of populist legislation does not detract from the capitalist nature of the Labour government. Sugaring the capitalist pill does not produce socialism.

The relevance of Labour's programme to modern capitalism becomes clear when we contrast it with the history of the Conservative government in 1970-74.

In very few ways did Heath's government resemble those aristocratic (or pseudo-aristocratic) cabinets of the Conservative Party up to 1964. The departure of Home as leader in 1964 marked the last phase of the 'wind of change' in the party. Gone were those liberal gentlemen. Instead the tough, intelligent and successful men came into the shadow cabinet, and later, into the government. The Conservative Party had undergone its own 'middle class revolution'.

These new middle class leaders had another feature in common: they were largely associated with the non-productive sector of the economy. They were financiers and consultants geared to making profits without the intermediary of first making products. Such people sooner or later come into conflict with the needs of industrial capitalists. In a period of inflation - itself largely a product of speculation - planned industrial management runs into problems. Wages, prices, sales, markets and costs all become unpredictable. Most important, labour in less well paid industries, frequently in manufacturing industries, becomes increasingly scarce.

When CBI leaders and prominent industrialists, such as Lord Stokes and Kierton, begin to complain, one can see that the classical ruling class party is not just the 'executive organ of the bourgeoisie'.

To hold such a view of the Conservative government, as just the 'executive organ', is again to phantasise in the style of the '30s. If only one thing was apparent, it was the personal self-interest of many members of the Heath cabinet. The various 'affairs' concerning Maudling, the histories of people such as Keith Joseph, Walker and so on, leave no room for doubt.

Although they shed their shareholdings and directorships on becoming ministers, their aims and ideologies remained intact. Their self-interest became temporarily 'platonian' but no less exacting.

Somehow the left has come to regard rampant speculation, and the shift to non-productive development which it represents, as compatible with the fundamental interests of capitalism. Somehow they forget their basic ideas that all wealth is generated by production and not by financial manipulation. Speculation and inflation show one fact, that there is over-rapid industrialisation and wage increases relative to the production of agricultural produce, raw and manufactured materials. To exacerbate this problem by allowing speculation in Britain is profoundly against the fundamental needs of capitalism.

The approach of the Conservative government stands in strong opposition to that of the new Labour government. The Labour government's aim of dealing with wage rises is quite obvious. In the building trade it means to close tax loopholes for 'lump' workers, elsewhere we can expect the type of capitalist rationalisation that previous Labour governments have gone in for. Despite a 'voluntary' wage policy, stage 3 will remain. All of this will be 'in the national interest' - that is - in the industrialists' interest.

The Labour party policy for industrial relations is equally important. Instead of the provocative Industrial Relations Act, which only a few backward firms have cared to use anyway, there is the Industrial Democracy Bill designed to involve workers institutionally in their own exploitation. Such a bill will encourage the development of bureaucratic layers of management (under the name of works councils etc.) consisting of union representatives and managers, and even rank and file workers. This trend towards an in-plant labour bureaucracy is already well under way. The Industrial Democracy Bill can only increase this development and cause uncertainty and division among workers. The Labour party knows that combination laws cannot work in Britain during periods of great militancy. What is possible is the co-option of the militant movement by confusing it and changing its goals.

Those who believe that the Labour party programme holds any advantage for the majority of people in Britain believe that socialism devolves from parties and unions.

Most of the Left in Britain hold this view or derivatives of it: ie. if socialism does not come from the Labour Party it comes from other 'leaders' or vanguard parties. But the goal is not nationalization, the abolition of private landlords or the capture of top union offices, it is the self-management of society in all its aspects. That is why we see the Labour party as the conscious agency of progressively expanding state-capitalism which, due to present limitations, is restricted to the form of strong state intervention in the economy rather than 'expropriation'

The Labour party is not the powerless or duped 'objective' ally of private capitalism, nor is it a party that is not militant enough to put through its own programme and bring socialism (from where?). Such a view reflects a bureaucratic and idealist view of both socialism and history itself: somehow good men or organisations replace bad ones and so change society. The real alternative to the Conservative government lies elsewhere: not in attempts from any quarter to capture state power, but in the self-management of production and society, and so, at present, in the organisation of struggles against various facets of the existing system. Such a new type of society or its forerunners in daily struggles cannot be mediated either by the Labour party nor by the various 'revolutionary' sects that hang leech-like from that stinking corpse.

D.B.

## LAST TANGO IN BELFAST

The City Hall in Belfast, the dome of which looks rather like that of the Taj Mahal covered with bird droppings, was visited the other week by a deputation of gentlemen wearing dog collars. They braved the flights of dive bombing pigeons to pressurize the City Fathers - not to see what could be done to help families being intimidated from their homes or anything like that - but to ensure that the film 'Last Tango in Paris' would not be shown in Belfast.

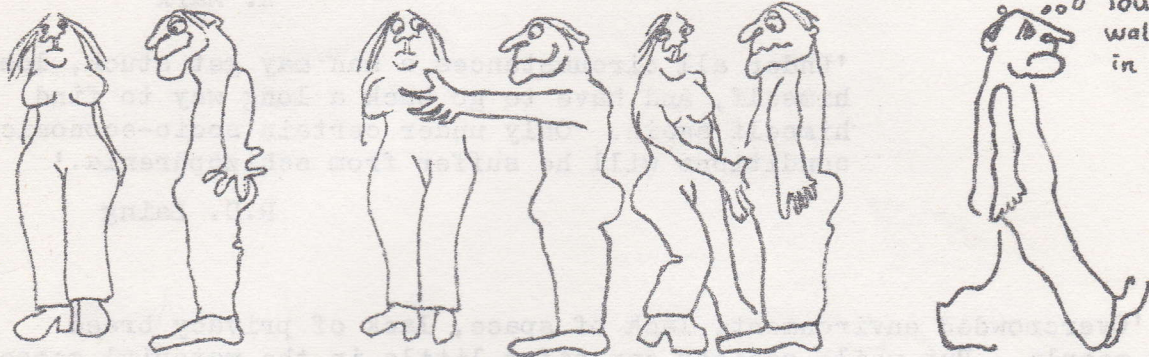
As an additional bonus the Councillors have agreed not to abide by the standards laid down by the British Board of Film Censors but to view suspect films themselves (they are paid £5 attendance money on each occasion) and this ensures that there is no decline in the moral standards of our citizens. Members of the youth section of Ian Paisley's church are picketing a theatre where 'Jesus Christ Superstar' is being shown and the letters column of the Belfast Telegraph has letters condemning the show as "degradation", "darkness in the hearts of men", "complete blasphemy" etc, etc...

Ian Paisley has recently told a meeting of the Assembly that there can be no Council of Ireland because the Spanish Inquisition had devised the most refined tortures which Protestants had ever suffered. These are just a few facts to remind you that clerical dictatorship does not exist on one side of the border only and that Protestantism on this side of it is not always synonymous with "civil and religious liberty".

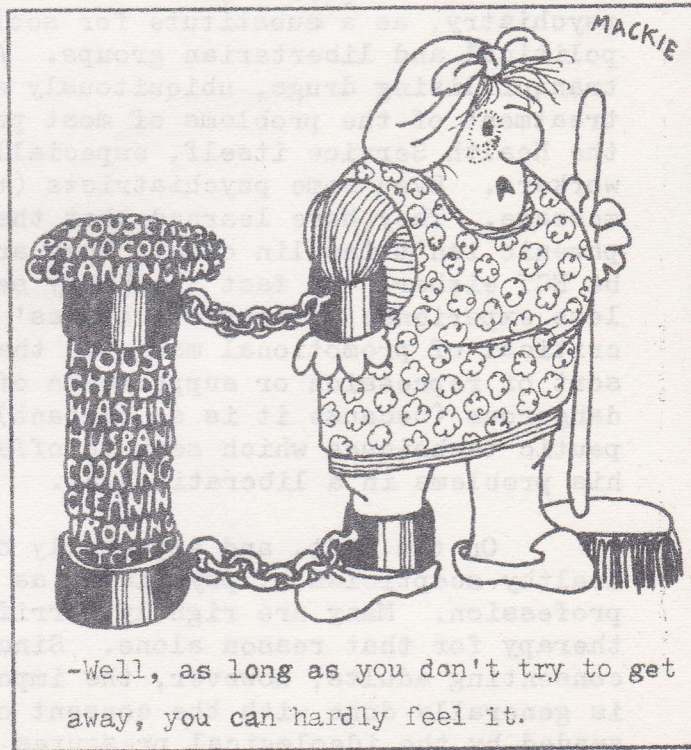
L.T.

# MEN'S PAGE

Walt Hanreck



You can't even walk the streets in safety these days...



# POLITICS IN ALL THERAPY

'Under all circumstances a Negro has black skin. But only under certain socio-economic conditions is he a slave.'

K. Marx

'Under all circumstances a man may get stuck, lose himself, and have to go back a long way to find himself again. Only under certain socio-economic conditions will he suffer from schizophrenia.'

R.D. Laing

'Overcrowded environment, lack of space, lack of privacy breed unhappy people. But while society can offer little in the material sense, Limbriitol relieves the depression behind the anxiety.' A not untypical advertisement in a psychiatric journal.

The political implications of this sort of psychiatry should not need elaborating in a journal such as this. The awareness of this sort of psychiatry, as a substitute for social change, is general amongst left political and libertarian groups. Awareness of the fact that dispensing tranquillising drugs, ubiquitously and in large quantities is no real treatment of the problems of most patients is even spreading rapidly through the Health Service itself, especially amongst psychologists and social workers. Even some psychiatrists (the ones who prescribe) are getting the message. They have learned that the best thing for people called schizophrenic isn't insulin coma. They are slowly realising that it might not be ECT either. In fact the heavy sell by drug firms is to GPs, who have less experience of 'anxiety states' and such like and tend to be less critical of promotional material than psychiatrists. Horrifying as this sort of repression or suppression of problems can be, I believe it is less dangerous (because it is so blatant) than much of the trendy psychotherapeutic techniques which seem to offer the patient a way of 'working through' his problems in a liberating way.

On the left, and especially on the libertarian left, there is a healthy scepticism of psychiatry as practised by the established medical profession. Many are rightly horrified that gay people are given aversion therapy for that reason alone. Since the law permitting acts between consenting adults, however, the important point is that aversion therapy is generally done with the consent of the person. The recipient is persuaded by the ideological pressures of society (or by individuals) that he

wishes to choose this 'treatment'. This is clearly a far more pernicious process than the naked power behind treatment in a Special Security Hospital (for those detained under the 1959 Mental Health Act, e.g. in Broadmoor). The repression meted out to those who 'in the opinion of the Minister require treatment under conditions of special security on account of their dangerous, violent or criminal propensities' is at least fairly plain for all to see. One may argue about its desirability. Some of us believe that after 'the revolution' there will still be a few people whom society thinks should be re-educated under conditions of some security. No one would deny that this is a form of repression. The repression which people need be warned about is the repression which is subtle, concealed, not obvious.

Recognition of this has led some to reject all psychiatry as repressive, as well as all social work and all psychology. (Note the distinction: psychiatrists are medics specialising in primarily mental issues. Psychologists are not medics, cannot use pills, hence use other treatments. They also study 'normal' people. They are thus becoming involved in General Hospitals, for instance.) I, for one, do not believe that all psychiatry and psychology is necessarily repressive. I happen to believe that some alterations of mood, for instance, may be the result of endocrine or biochemical changes in the brain (e.g. post-puerperal depression). Psychiatry might not necessarily be repressive in such cases. If you fear what may be done to you in the name of 'treatment', you may wish to stay away from orthodox treatment. A stronger position to be in, however, is to be able to understand what may be done to you (you may not be able to cope outside the system), and thereby attempt to parry or deflect the undesirable effects of psychiatric treatments.

The subtler forms of oppression in capitalist society are not usually intended as such by their perpetrators. The essence of the capitalist society we live in is that the majority do not yet share our insights into its real nature. Doctors think they are helping you even when you think you are being oppressed by their ECT and their tranquillisers. This is worth remembering because you may be able to get some of what you want, if you make clear what you don't want and why.

It is important to distinguish between the objective functions of an institution and its functions as seen subjectively. Mental hospitals are important institutions in this society: they take in members who are not behaving according to prevailing expectations, and discharge them when they are behaving 'normally' again. As such they clearly function objectively as institutions of social control. The norms of social behaviour by which a psychiatrist judges whether you are 'ill' derive from the ruling ideology - an ideology which is related to the social and economic needs of the ruling class. In prisons the objective and subjectively perceived functions coincide. But in mental institutions the apparent function is that of helping the individual towards a goal he wants. There is thus at present an implicit and generally unrecognised contradiction between the subjectively perceived and the objective functions of treatment. This contra-



diction is not intrinsic to psychiatry or to clinical psychology. It need no longer exist when the ruling ideology is the ideology of the majority of those who enter the institutions (but remember that ideology changes more slowly than political power!). Thus it should be possible to agitate for hospitals to become asylums (literally, a sanctuary or place of refuge). Such a function for hospitals is impossible under present conditions, although attempts by staff to provide this may ameliorate some of the repressive aspects of treatment in mental institutions. Moreover, individual staff who try to make psychiatric hospitals function as asylums may gradually be forced to see the objective functions they perform.

Psychiatric or psychological treatment may be objectively repressive when neither staff nor patients perceive this. Without emphasising the distinction, I have already touched on two quite different forms of repression. One is oppression which relates fairly directly to the economic needs of capital. The other sort of oppression might be described as cultural oppression. Prescribing tranquillisers to enable people to get back to work serves capital objectively, and as such is a form of economic repression. Persuading gay people to accept treatment is a form of cultural oppression. This distinction is crucial because cultural oppression is more likely to be perpetrated by the more trendy and, on the face of it, more 'liberating' forms of therapy. Telling a wage labourer that he is suffering from an 'anxiety state' and that he should take these and these pills clearly benefits capital in two ways: by returning him to the production of surplus value and by providing more profit for the drug firm concerned. Indirectly it benefits the economic and social status quo, by substituting pills for social change.

It is well established that individual psychotherapy tends to be offered to verbally adept members of the upper social and economic classes, while physical methods of treatment tend to be given to lower social and economic groups. One might suspect that what is being offered selectively is less repressive. The fact that (especially in the USA) much individual psychotherapy is only available to those who can afford to pay for it leads naturally to the demand by the class-conscious (in Britain as well as in the U.S.) that this sort of individual therapy should be available to all, in preference to physical treatments. Such a demand completely forgets that the therapists are unaware of the objective functions of mental institutions. They are offering you their ideology - permeated by prevailing capitalist values. This is the gentlest of cultural oppressions because those who purvey it and those who receive it are unaware of the ideological implications of the apparently liberating idea of 'personal growth'. A hopeful sign is that some psychologists (not particularly political ones) who have visited Carl Rogers' 'Center for Studies of the Person', for example, have come away very aware that there is something wrong in an approach which seeks to clear away the hang-ups of the American middle class, while surrounded by the urgent social problems of the ghettos.

The particular ways by which ideology is reinforced may not be as important as they seem: it is not methods which are repressive, but the uses to which they are put. When someone can't cope and goes to someone else (even a friend) for help, they put the other in a position of power. All therapy involves power. And therefore all therapy is political, in some degree. The question is: power controlled by whom? And for what? In a situation where one individual needs help, it is never possible to eliminate the fact that the 'helper' has a certain degree of power over the helped. Even in an organisation like People not Psychiatry (where it is intended that the helped become helpers, and vice versa), power is not evenly held in any given interaction. Equally, there can be no such thing as the 'non-directive therapy' so valued by Rogers, Truax, Carkhuff and others, unless the patient is talking to the wall.

Information is essential for power to be meaningful. A first step in increasing the power of the patient in relation to any form of treatment is therefore to arm him with information, both about his legal rights and about possible alternatives in treatment.(1)

In mental institutions power is wholly vested in the staff. The 'right' a patient has to refuse treatment will probably result either in compulsory detention, or more likely in discharge. 'Either you accept my treatment or you are back on the street'. The use to which this power is put is almost always to further the interests of particular staff or the ruling interests in society. Thus patients may be drugged (a) to keep them quiet on the ward, because nursing staff are overworked, or (b) to get patients to go willingly to rehabilitation schemes.

Drugs could be put to other uses, such as tranquillising the nursing staff. This too would be repressive. Much is made in the libertarian left of the repressive nature of behaviourist theories, behaviour therapy and especially behaviour modification techniques. Much of this is misplaced generalisation from the theories of Skinner, Eysenck, etc. These men have certain theories which they regard as lying 'outside politics' and with which we disagree in various ways. Certain methods (largely, anything more than just talking to patients) have come to be called 'behavioural'. Whether these methods are repressive depends entirely upon who uses them, and for what. When we express pleasure (rather than ignoring) the child who has just discovered something for himself, we use the same methods or principles as does the psychologist who 'treats' certain 'symptoms' of a patient by behaviour modification. A patient who lies on his bed all day and refuses to go to occupational therapy may be given behaviour modification by a psychologist, at the request of the medical or nursing staff. But those methods could just as well be applied to the nursing and

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(1) One source of information is the Mental Patients Union (c/o 97 Prince of Wales Road, London NW5). They have issued a sheet giving the likely side-effects of drugs, for instance, and hopefully will get the resources to provide much more information.

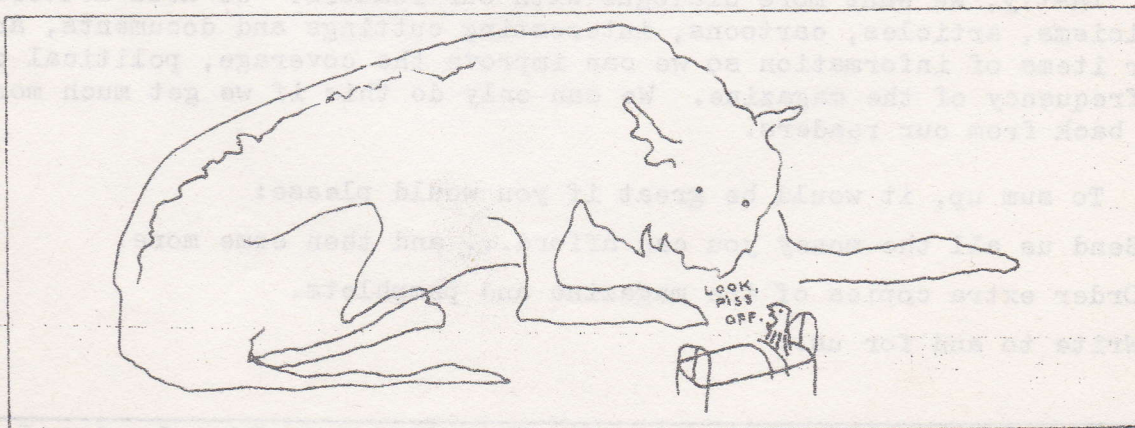
other staff at the request of the patient. That such psychologists do not accept 'referrals' from patients is due to two things. First the psychologist cannot usually reliably reward the changes in staff's behaviour (e.g. by means of social approval, and salary). Of course, and more importantly, psychologists implicitly see their function as being support of the social mores held by senior hospital staff and which are a part of the dominant ideology in society. Radical social workers, psychologists, junior hospital doctors and nursing staff who wish to exploit the contradiction between the objective function of mental institutions and the subjectively perceived function of helping the patient might like to try a little behaviour modification on the staff.

A much underestimated and frequently repressive technique could thus be used in a revolutionary way. But the converse is also true. The David Mercer/Tony Garnett/Ken Loach film Family Life got rapturous reviews when it came out, especially from nearly all on the left. It portrays a group therapy session, with the patients 'talking through' their problems, as a progressive and liberating form of therapy and contrasts it with what else is meted out to the heroine (which is repressive in that context). Group therapy can have progressive aspects. It may help patients to see how others see them (not a bad idea for any of us). Patients may gain valuable experience in dealing with stressful situations between each other, and may thus learn how to deal with situations outside the hospital. A group tends to equalise the power of individuals within it. This is precisely where group therapy can be repressive: groups are very powerful agents for enforcing conformity among their members. They can induce conformity to almost any viewpoint, unless an individual is well prepared to resist. Groups are used in U.S. prisons to teach conformity with the prison rules, and the mores of capitalist ideology. More insidiously, in many groups ideas of personal growth, of the basic beauty in everyone, ideas that we should all 'love everyone', may be reinforced. Ideas about the conflicting interests of different classes in society tend to be suppressed by the group. Group therapy need not be a progressive and liberating experience. One other highly political function of group therapy has been succinctly described by Goffman. I can do no better than quote it: 'In general this therapy ... begins as a gripe session during which patients express demands and complaints in a relatively permissive atmosphere, with relatively direct access to a staff member. The only action on the part of the therapist that seems consistent with his obligation and his profession is to turn these demands aside by convincing the patient that the problems he feels ... are really his problems; the therapist suggests that he attack these problems by rearranging his own internal world, not by attempting to alter the action of these other agents ... I have seen a therapist deal with a Negro patient's complaints about race relations in a partially segregated hospital by telling the patient he must ask himself why he, among all the other Negroes present, chose this particular moment to express this feeling, and what this expression could mean about him as a person'.

Similarly family therapy, so beloved of Laing and Esterson, may be used to curb and 'socialise' a deviant adolescent. Group and family therapy do at least have the merit of generally perceiving that mental problems are not usually the product of the individual in isolation. It is clearly very difficult for the most 'liberating' individual psychotherapy to do anything but seek the patient's present problems somewhere 'deep' inside himself. But the sort of psychiatry which most recognises the influence of society upon the individual's mental state (community psychiatry) frequently has aims quite opposed to those of us who see the need for revolutionary change. This is precisely because much community psychiatry attempts the resolution of social problems within the existing social relations of production. It does not seek solutions to these problems in ways which raise the consciousness of the need to change the existing social relations of capitalist production.

Therapy, like anything else in a capitalist economic system, can be made into a commodity, with an exchange value. Within the realm of private practice it is all too plain that therapy is a commodity with a value. It is equally plain that the 'therapy' Roche sells is a commodity. At present nursing care and most treatment given under the NHS in psychiatric hospitals do not constitute commodities. If they are allowed to become commodities, economic exploitation of the consumers (patients) will complement the present exploitation of the staff. Decent health care is one of the necessary means of subsistence of those who work. Decent health care implies information, and the power to choose on the basis of that information. Let us have no illusions about the likelihood of the bourgeois state giving us decent health care. It will give us exactly as much as is necessary to maintain the labour power of workers, plus whatever they can extract for the existence of their relatives, the old, etc... But patients and staff have an identical interest in their demands for a less exploitative, less repressive psychiatric service.

H.W.B.F.



# APPEAL TO OUR READERS

Regular readers will have noticed a marked increase in the tempo of our work in the last few months. We have produced 3 new pamphlets (Vietnam: Whose Victory? by Bob Potter, Redefining Revolution by Paul Cardan and The Lordstown Struggle by Ken Weller) and the first two issues of our Motor Bulletin, not to mention a couple of issues of the magazine. We have also had to do some reprinting, for example History and Revolution, also by Cardan, the first 2000 copies of which have now been sold out. On top of this, we produced a number of leaflets and a series of posters during the election campaign. We hope to produce several more.

All this has cost a lot of money - about £1000 in printing costs alone - and we want to keep the work going. We have a number of pamphlets in advanced stages of preparation, including a text on China and one on Poland. We are also preparing a new, printed, edition of Cardan's Modern Capitalism and Revolution (with a substantial new introduction by the author) and one of The Irrational in Politics by Maurice Brinton. All this means that we need a lot more cash if our work is not to be crippled. We are therefore making one of our rare financial appeals to our readers. We ask you to dig deep and send us every penny you can afford, so that our work can progress and develop.

A second way in which our readers can help is by helping us to get our material to a much wider audience. Why not order a few extra copies of each issue of 'Solidarity' and of our pamphlets, to sell among your contacts? We also need new subscribers.

Our sales are slowly rising again, but as always we are convinced we are only reaching a tiny fraction of our potential readership. We would ask all those in general sympathy with what we are trying to do to turn from simply consuming our material to actively contributing towards its distribution.

Lastly, we want more dialogue with our readers. We need letters, criticisms, articles, cartoons, interesting cuttings and documents, and other items of information so we can improve the coverage, political content and frequency of the magazine. We can only do this if we get much more feed back from our readers.

To sum up, it would be great if you would please:

1. Send us all the money you can afford... and then some more.
2. Order extra copies of the magazine and pamphlets.
3. Write to and for us.