

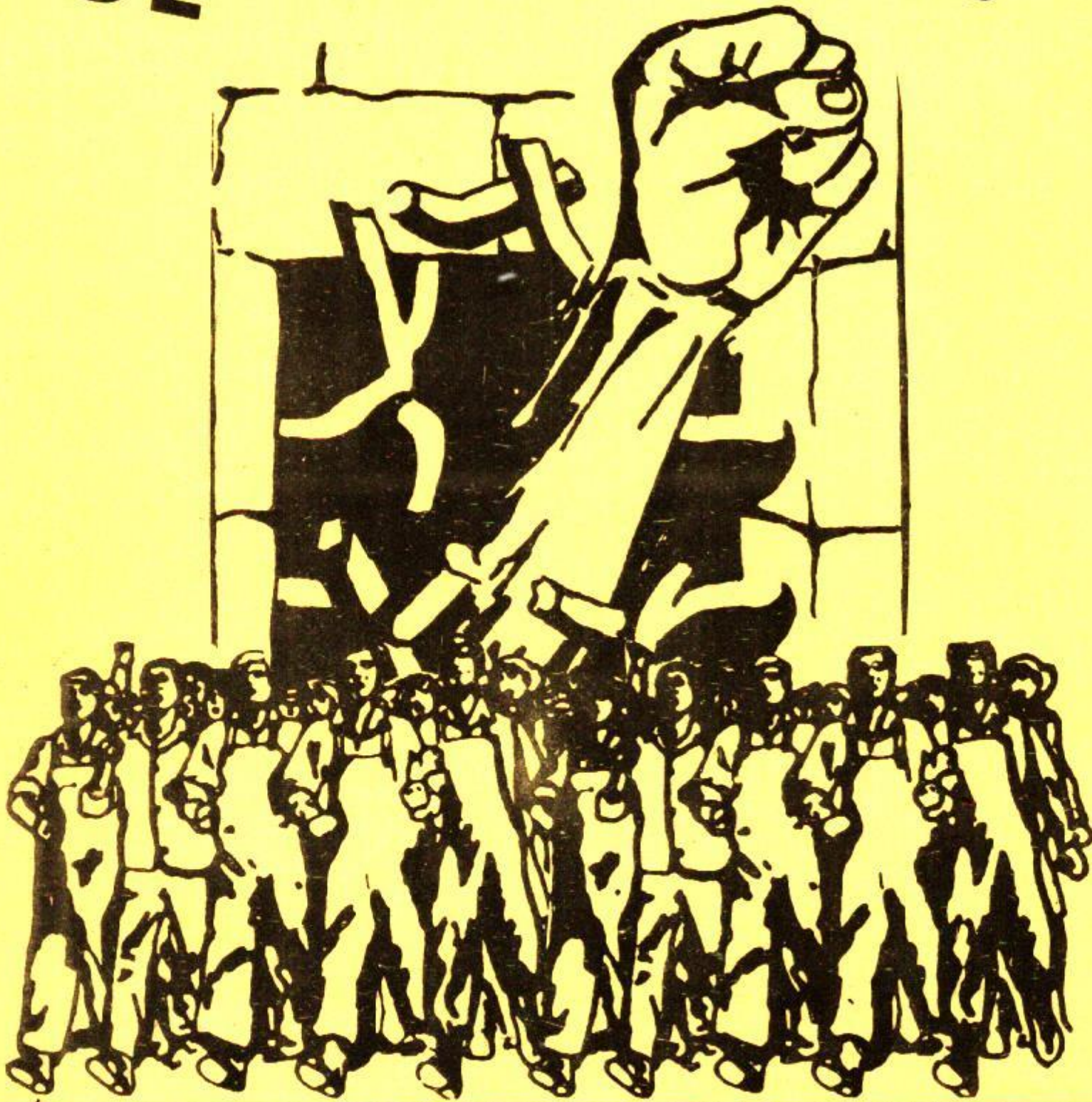
WORKERS'

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COLLABORATORS



NOTICEBOOK

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EDITORIAL

We are witnessing a new, dangerous phase in industrial relations, one that, until recently, most organised workers believed couldn't happen again.

For the second time in the space of 1 month, two separate large groups of organised workers have been threatened en masse with dismissal if they do not bow down to the force of management and the state - the toolroom workers at British Leyland, and now the ground maintenance workers at Heathrow...

One has to go back a long way in the history of our class to find such shenanigans!

And to think that to carry a Union Card was once a symbol of job security, strength and purpose!

What has happened?

The most significant feature of the trade union movement at the present time, is the separation of the union leadership from the mass of members. We have seen increasingly the collaboration of the union leadership with management and state...No longer can the big trade unions be said to represent their members.

While workers on the shopfloor, in the face of of the crisis of capitalism and the mounting vicious attacks on our livelihoods and our organisations, are desperately trying to fight back, each step is marked by a bitter struggle against the betrayals of our own so-called leadership.

It is easy to say these 'leaders' are corrupt. While this may be true in some cases, what is more relevant is the fact that they have changed sides. Their interests and ideas are no longer with the workers. On the contrary, they identify themselves with the attitudes, needs and interests of the employers and the capitalist state.

They see the survival of capitalism as their most important task!

Betrayals of workers are not new....But what is new is organised collaboration, and this is what the TUC is doing.

It is all the more traitorous at the present time with contradictions sharpening for social change - revolution or fascism... By supporting the state and holding back our development and strength, they are laying the ground for the development of fascism.

Yet, despite all our struggles against them and the ruling class, these betrayals must also reflect our weakness as a class.

There was a time when we would never have allowed this to happen, and this is what we have to do now, before it is too late. The growing struggle against the social contract is already a major step forward...

We must strengthen unionism on the shopfloor, both its ideas and organisation....

We must reject collaboration, and support and help all workers who are being blackmailed by their own unions....

We should strive to throw out all 'leaders' who betray, and ideas which betray or divide....

We must restore service to the working class as the test of leadership....

And, above all, we must wage even greater struggles against our employers and the state....

In this way, we will clarify our ideas, consolidate our strengths and hopes, and succeed in building a movement for revolutionary socialism where we have failed in the past.

We in the Communist Workers Movement are dedicated to these principles.

* * * * *

This is the 3rd issue of Workers Notebook. In this issue there are a number of contributions from workers in different parts of the country. This is an important function of the Notebook, and we welcome further articles, letters, and criticisms.

DO YOU KNOW ?

how the bosses suffer when they are made 'redundant'..

Sir Brian Massy-Greene, former Director of Consolidated Gold Fields, has got a golden handshake of £250,000!

Mr. John Anson Payne, Chairman of the FMC Meat Group for just 17 months, got a golden handshake of £205,000!

Mr. John Barber, former Deputy Chairman and Managing Director of British Leyland claimed redundancy pay of £378,000 last summer. The poor man was getting a salary of only £42,000 a year and wanted 'adequate compensation'. In the end, he settled out of court for a mere £100,000!

And where does all this money come from for these worthy gents?

From the workers in each case...

And what do the workers get when they are made redundant?

That 2% of the population own a staggering 72% of landed wealth.

THE BUTTER CON!⁵

Up to 200 tonnes of butter is made in Britain every week at a wholesale value of £200,000.. But it is going straight into cold-storage!

Britain has a butter mountain of over 2,000 tonnes and a further 10,000 tonnes is being held in private cold-storage by wholesalers who get Common Market aid towards storage costs!

* *

Britain's stocks of butter are likely to increase even more over the next 3 months as dairy herds reach the peak of their annual production of milk.

With so much butter, you might expect it to be cheap!

But the price of butter is going up again by 6p a pound! You will now have to pay 56p a pound for your butter as opposed to 28p a pound last year.

* *

This hoarding of butter is a clever trick to artificially create a shortage on the market, and so push the price of butter up...! And Government and industry have the gall to argue that high wages are the cause of inflation!

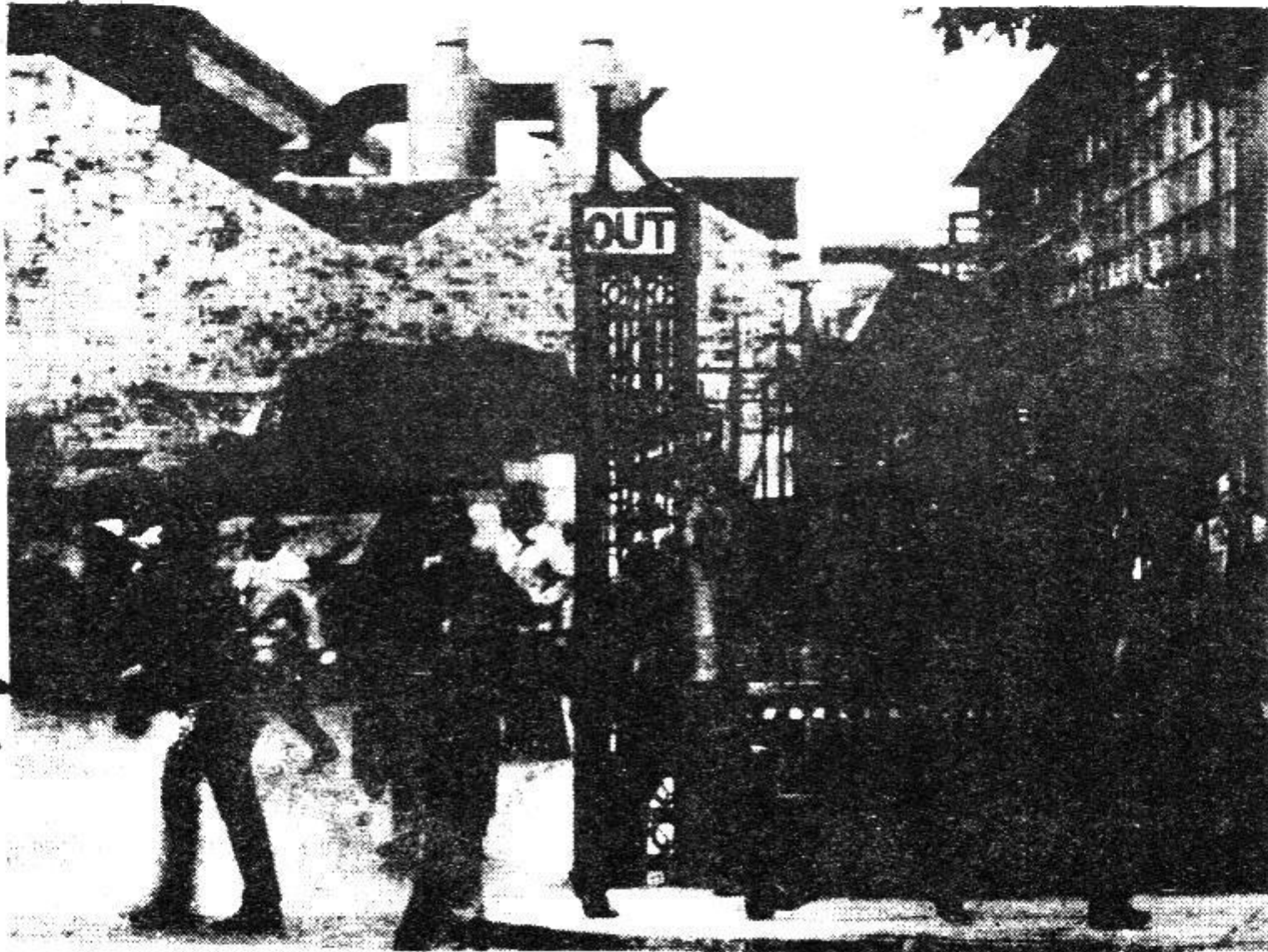
What a con!

* * * *



WHAT IS

AT



The problems of British Leyland today cannot be seen in isolation, for they are the product not only of the crisis in the British motor industry, but the crisis in general.

Competition

In an era when the motor industry has such a key position in the economy with so many other industries dependent on it, Britain has fallen behind in the fierce international competition.

BRITISH

LEYLAND

In the early 1950s, Britain's car export monopoly was challenged, first by the Germans and then by the United States. As a reaction several smaller British firms came together to form British Leyland, which expanded, incorporating more firms, through the 1960s. In this way, it was hoped, the British motor industry would be made more competitive in the world market and at home.

Nationalisation

But British Leyland did not meet up to expectations. In March, 1975, a huge loss of £42,900,000 was reported, and any improvement at this time was unlikely as the world crisis of overproduction hit the motor industry. The government had to step in to maintain the viability of the British motor industry. It took over almost the whole capital of British Leyland in May, 1975. At this time, over 170,000 people were employed by Leyland in Britain.

Ryder Report

The Ryder Report planned out a programme of restoration in which increased investments were to be made. It was proposed that assembly operations be further rationalised, and redundancies were an important feature of the programme. It was stated:

"...a gradual reduction in the number of workers required to produce a given number of vehicles" would be necessary.

To match the Japanese productivity lead it was reckoned that a reduction of 50,000 workers was needed.

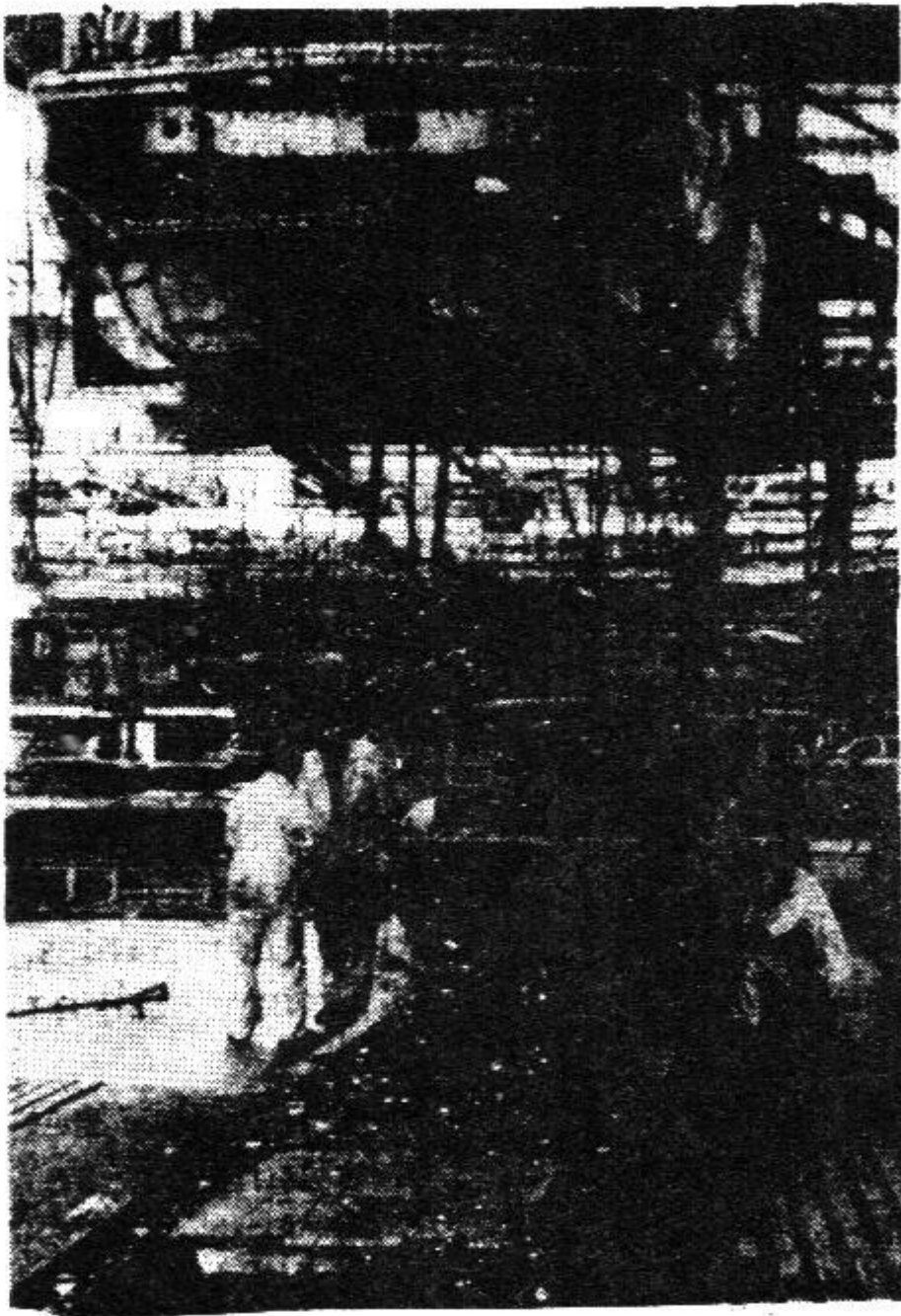
One workers tells us of the effects of the Ryder Plan in the Allegro section at Longbridge " The company wanted us to work virtually non-stop from the moment the bell rang to start work until the moment it rang for finishing work... with both tea-breaks abolished. We have never accepted conditions like this." (CIS)

Deals

The Trade Union leadership struck a bargain with British Leyland management in order to maintain industrial peace...As another worker said..." They made it plain to us that they wanted a special effort to stop strikes "... (Times, 20.1.77)

A package deal, championed by the Trade Union leadership, offered fringe 'benefits' for more productivity. One of the clauses cancelled lay-off pay for 3 months for unofficial action lasting half a shift or a total of 8 hours, at any time in the previous quarter of the year.

The workers at British Leyland voted against the package.



Production

Workers

Whenever proposals have failed to win the support of Leyland workers, the Government and the TUC have resorted to blackmail and threats. They threaten to withhold funds from Leyland of withholding funds and investments.

But in spite of these bullying tactics, there have been a series of strikes at Leyland... The latest was the unofficial strike by 6,000 toolroom workers.

Toolroom Dispute

Their demands were separate negotiating rights for toolroom workers, restoration of pay differentials, and parity within British Leyland.

These men were incensed at the way the social contract had reduced their wages in real terms, and demanded a return to free collective bargaining. They were also angry and bitter with trade union leaders who had betrayed the interests of the workers in order to maintain a bankrupt Labour Government..Some of the men, disgusted with leaders like Scanlon and Jones talked about forming a breakaway union.

But despite massive support from shopfloor workers all over the country, they were forced to return to work with little gain from their demands.. This retreat was in the face of one of the biggest betrayals in recent times - the collaboration between the TUC, Labour Government, and British Leyland management!
This was a sorry day for the British working class..We all allowed it to happen!



But something positive did come out of this struggle. On the 3rd of April, 1977, British Leyland workers organised a conference of Trade Unionists in Birmingham, where they rejected the continuation of the social contract and called for a return to free collective bargaining. It was decided to organise a 'day of action' on the 20th of April.

The 1,700 delegates, representing miners, dockers, engineering workers, office and building workers, and others, all declared their opposition to the social contract.

We in the Communist Workers Movement wholeheartedly support this struggle against the social contract and urge all workers to make 20th of April, 1977, a 'day of action'.

The Real Crisis Of Leyland

British Leyland is in crisis, but not because of workers defending rights and fighting for their livelihoods. These are the lies of the conspiracy of Government, TUC and Management!

British Leyland is in crisis because British capitalism is in crisis, because employers are attacking workers and the trade union movement on all fronts in order to squeeze more profit out of us.

That we resist, that we fight back and look to the future, is a symbol of hope, progress and the real struggle for socialism.



FIGHT FASCISM

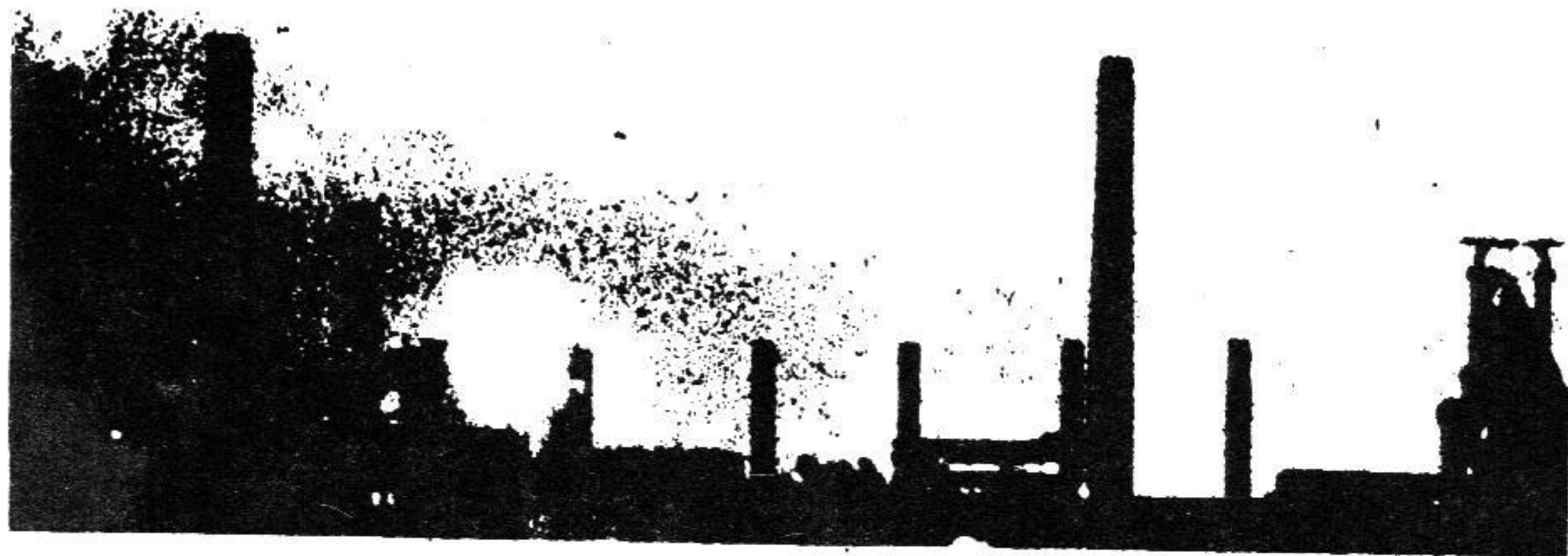


MY FACTORY

Oh how I hate this factory,
Its little gaffer too;
They get a morbid pleasure
Telling people what to do.

The women work quite hard, here,
Without a word of thanks;
While greedy little gaffers
Go running to their banks.

(Written for Workers Notebook
a Birmingham woman worker.)



Some Facts on Housing

Miserable Conditions

.....According to the 1971 General Household Survey, 45.4% of all households were rented, 30.9% of these rented from the local authority.

.....According to the Shelter Report, 1970-71, 3 million families are living in slums, near slums, or in grossly overcrowded conditions.

.....In 1975, 100,000 people were homeless.

.....1.8 million houses are regarded as.. "unfit for human habitation."

.....Another 4.5 million dwellings are needing repair or lacking one or more basic amenities, or both.

.....Many houses are infested with mice, rats, cockroaches, beetles, bugs and fleas.

Government Answer

.....The number of houses in the public sector has fallen sharply over the last few years. Cuts in public spending and rising interest rates on loans were the chief reasons.

1968-69 - 89% of council money was spent on new homes;

1974-75 - This has dropped to 50%!

Local authorities built $\frac{1}{4}$ less homes over 1970-75 than in the previous 5 years!

.....Council rents rose faster in the last 7 years than even prices!

.....Improvement grants for house repairs and 15 extensions have mostly found their way into the pockets of property companies and other landlords. In London, 1971-72, 70% of grants went to landlords and developers in Kensington and Chelsea; 67% in Hammersmith; 64% in Westminster.

.....In December 1974, local authorities were told to plan nil growth in repairs and main maintenance for 1975-76.

.....Clearance and improvement schemes in working class areas and council estates are being delayed or slashed. Some local councils have been criticised by the Government for carrying out 'extravagant' improvements to inter-war houses. Such houses have long been neglected and have even Victorian-style amenities....e.g., 20,000 houses in Birmingham have only outside toilets.

.....In March 1975, the Government announced a budgeted housing expenditure of £527 million for 1975-76 was to be cut to £271 million! And in the future up to 1979, they would cut it to £230 million!



DO YOU
KNOW.....

How the other half live?

Tory leader, Maggie Thatcher, is selling her country home in Kent. The Elizabethan-style house with 8 bedrooms, swimming pool and five acres of land, is on the market for just £65,000!!!

THE HOUSING



Thousands Homeless

In the first half of 1975, 25,000 homeless families approached their local councils for accomodation - an increase of 100% in just 5 years.....

And at a time of cutbacks in building programmes, desperate housing shortages, and deteriorating house conditions, the number of houses lying empty has reached a post-war high record, 250,000 building workers are unemployed, there are 40,000,000 stockpiled bricks, and brickworkers are on short-time!

People who are lucky enough to be housed are often put in high rise, ugly flats and maisonettes. A typical example of the condition and fate of such blocks is the 'Oak and Eldon Gardens' in Birkenhead....

The Monster of Birkenhead

Despite a grim record of disasters in high-density building planning, Birkenhead's petty bureaucrats decided in 1957 to erect a monstrosity in the town centre. This building was 11 storeys high; there were 240 maisonettes in 2 blocks; and this was ironically named 'Oak and Eldon Gardens'! Building and interest charges were £750,000..

Later, tenants stopped using the underfloor heating, as this was much too expensive, and changed to other forms of heating. This led to widespread condensation of water in the building, and in 1970, £350,000 was needed to replace defective window frames which had allowed dampness to penetrate the outside walls.

Problems increased....

Larger families were moved in. There were no communal facilities, except a laundry and a tiny children's playground. There was little privacy for tenants....Up to 17 families would have to pass by their kitchen windows along the balconies..

Repairs were neglected by the council..

There were several deaths...One young child fell to his death while playing on a landing.

People moved out, and no-one wanted to move in..the flats became impossible to let. As the buildings emptied, vandalism set in.

The council's proposed solutions to the problem were amazing!

The Lunatic Fringe

18

A 'Labour' Councillor wanted to empty the maisonettes, 'upgrade' them, and refill them with 'better-class' tenants! He also suggested that an art gallery could be opened there, and dances could also be held in it..

Another idea was to cut off the 1st 6 floors with a lazer beam!

Another proposal from Labour and Liberal councillors was that old people be housed in these high-rise horrors!

In the end, the Tory-controlled council applied to the Department of Environment for a loan of.. £250,000 for demolition! This was refused.

Now these empty blocks stand as a monument to the senseless housing policies of a capitalist society!

Lambeth Waste

Another example of these policies is in Lambeth, London, an area with 17,000 on the housing list, and where the council spends £500,000 a year of ratepayers money to provide bed and breakfast to homeless families.

It was here that the council decided to demolish 49 houses in St. Agnes Place. This was despite the advice of architects that the majority of the houses could be lived in for another 30 years! That is, if improved by the Self-Help Housing Association. This body offered to repair 22 of the houses free-of-charge. But the council refused!

What did they offer instead? New houses? NO! That would be too expensive.... They proposed that the land left should be grassed over to join 2 parks together!



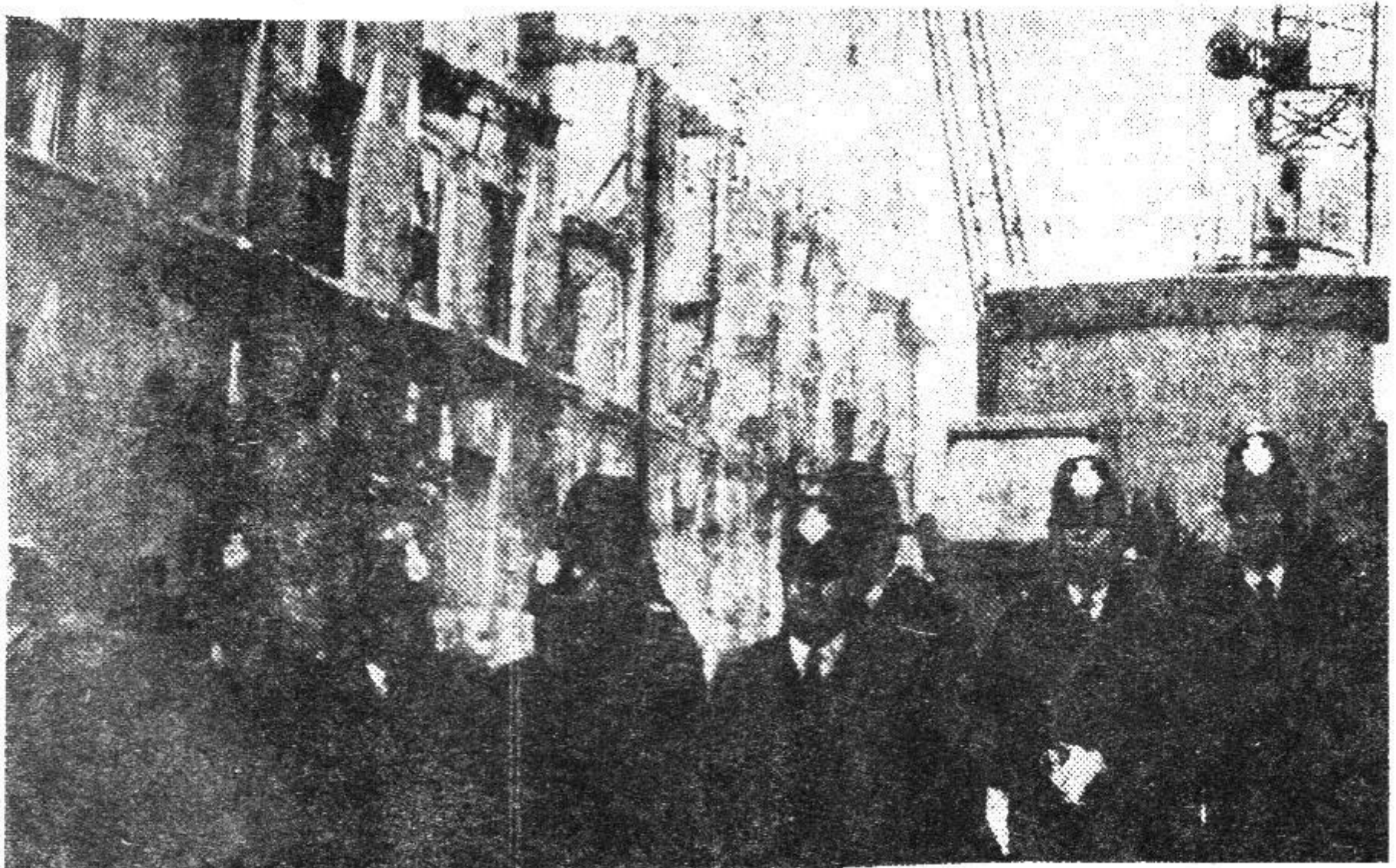
The council's attitude to the housing problem was revealed in a Councillor's remarks when he seconded the proposal to demolish the houses...

"..To make sure that the extra population doesn't stay, we should demolish the houses that encourage them to do so.." !!

Despite angry protests from the people in the area, the houses were knocked down.

And what has happened to the grassy parkland that should have taken their place?

The council now states that it can't afford to grass over the land until 1981!



Police Protecting Demolition Of St. Agnes Place

These are just 2' examples of hundreds all over Britain.

With so few houses, many people cannot be housed. Yet only one out of three local housing authorities accepts full responsibility for the homeless. The others pass it on the social services which results in a pass-the-buck routine with the homeless shoved from one department to another.

You may live in an area where the council has a 'bed-and-breakfast' policy; here, you and your family would probably be split up, with the mother and children temporarily accomodated, and the father left to roam the streets. Sometimes the children are taken away from both parents and put in local authority care. This costs £40 per week..

Or you may find yourself in Buckinghamshire where the homeless are offered a place on a caravan site, and just have to buy a caravan!



Change needed

21

Faced with such prospects, many of the homeless drift around the country in the hope of finding a home, as the jobless do in the hope of finding a job...

And the situation is getting worse!

How much longer must we tolerate this crazy system that doesn't care...that has homes lying empty, but people unable to use them; that has millions of bricks and building materials to build new homes, yet has $\frac{1}{4}$ of a million building workers on the dole, and brick workers on short-time...

So long as production is for profit and not need, we will see the same things over and over again...

WHAT WE WANT

Housing is a right for all people!....good, well maintained, well built, low-rent properties with adequate heating, water, electricity and gas! There should be as of right provision of adequate communal facilities, nurseries, kindergardens, laundries, shops, safe and extensive green play areas, cultural and medical centres. Transport should be cheap and adequate....

Is this a dream, a fantasy?

NO! This is what socialism is all about.. We forget quickly...This is what workers have fought for and believed in for generations.

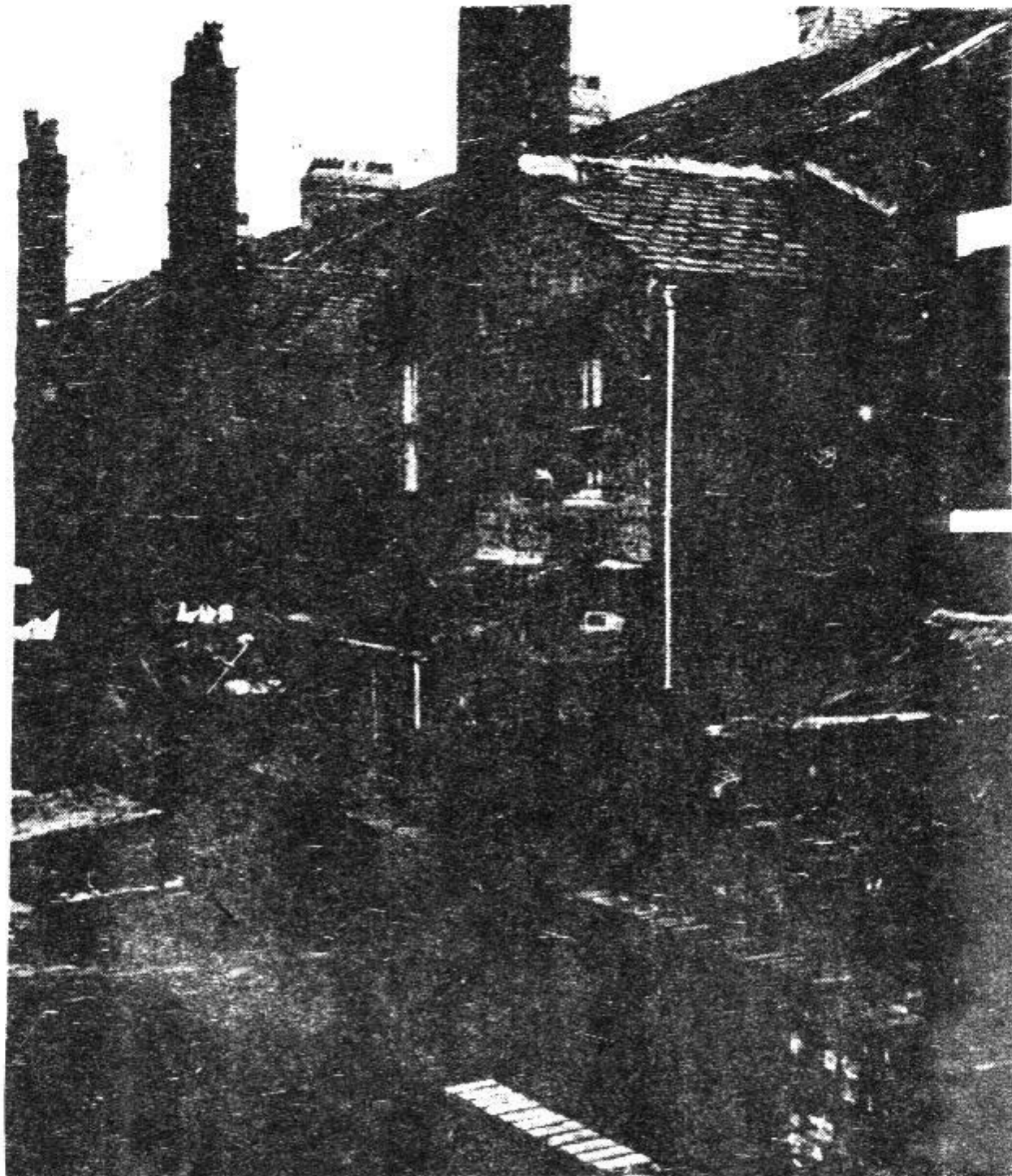
Phoney Socialism

It seems impossible to achieve because of the betrayal of socialism in Britain.

The Labour Party using the name of socialism has betrayed us time and time again...has adopted housing policies that protect the rich and not the working class, that in deeds are no different from the other parties.

22 We suffer not only through lack of adequate housing and living conditions, but through loss of hope, strength and determination.

This is the legacy of the Labour Party's phoney 'socialism'.



Liverpool decay

Revolutionary Socialism

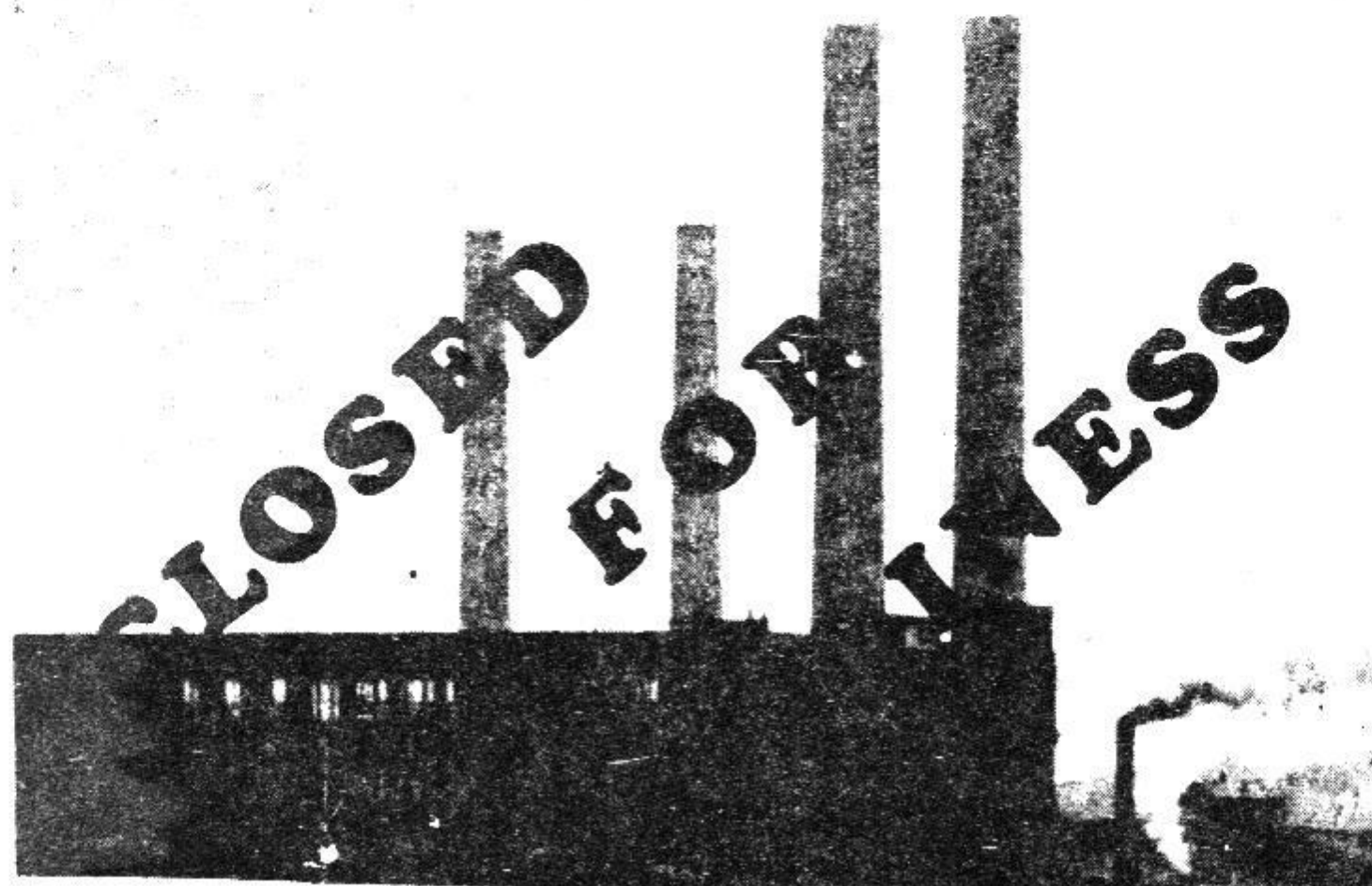
In Albania and other revolutionary socialist countries workers once had the same problems and doubts as we have, but they succeeded in turning visions of the future into reality. We can do the same.....

* * * *

In 'Life under Socialism' in this issue of Workers Notebook, on page , we examine some aspects of housing in Albania.....

PLESSEY

23



The present fight against redundancies at Plessey is just the beginning of a long struggle. 4,000 workers are to be made redundant out of a total workforce of 18,500. And these figures are only the tip of the iceberg!

THE BIG THREE

Plessey, GEC, and Standard & Telephone Cables, (a subsidiary of the American company, International Telephone and Telegraph) - the big three in telecommunications - blame the redundancies and problems in the industry on the Post Office. But this is far from the truth, though the Post Office must share some of the blame...

In the past, these 3 companies have dominated the British market in telecommunications. From this position of power they were able to direct the Post Office in its choice of modern telephone exchanges.... and in reality, led the Post Office into buying the outdated Strowger system! This was still being produced in Britain, though not the most modern type. Nonetheless it was very profitable to all 3. Producing the most up-to-date machines requires huge capital investments, and this the big 3 were reluctant to do.... They did, however, keep investing money abroad because of higher rates of profit!

Plessey, in particular, had invested its capital into countries like Brazil and South Africa where working class oppression is particularly brutal.

What's more, Plessey bought out Automatic Telephone Exchanges (ATE) and made it clear that they intended to use the Edge Lane factory in Liverpool only for the older Strowger system, and then close the site down.

This explains why they moved all other types of work, like traffic systems, to other sites in the country, and why they diminished the workforce from 15,000 ten years ago, to 7,000 now!

PLESSEY CAUGHT

When the Post Office announced its intention to switch to electronic equipment in view of increasing demands for telephones, Plessey was caught out on a limb.. It was unable to supply these exchanges.

PROFITS RISE AND RISE

Whats more it had the gall to claim it had no money

In fact, their share of the market has fallen dramatically from 51% in 1966 to a mere 19% in 1974!

But, their total profit from all ventures has risen!

Year	No. of Employees	Profits & Directors Fees	Profit per employee
1974-75	71,645	£28,000,000	£400
1975-76	66,464	£38,000,000	£572
	(minus 7%)	(Plus 33%)	(Plus 43%)

Figures for 1976-77 are expected to be in the region of £43,000,000 profit!

CLOSURES

With the cutting back of orders from the Post Office, to the tune of 30%, Plessey is closing down some factories and making more workers redundant....

But the workers have been fighting back with occupations, demonstrations, and various bans.

But at Edge Lane, the problem is more complex. The divisions among staff and hourly-paid workers are being used to undermine the struggle of staff workers.

Some workers have been led to believe that by accepting redundancies, they would be able to pick up a large amount of money, and at the same time walk into another job..

But things are not that simple.

Management don't intend to permit voluntary redundancies. Their policy is selective, that is to choose the areas where it suits them. This will no doubt include older people, less able to find jobs, or people in special trades that are becoming out of step with modern industry.

Secondly, they say they will pay redundancy payments on the last 8 weeks average pay... But, by the time the redundancies in the allotted areas come up, there will be no work, thus bonuses will be small or non-existent, and redundancy payments will be minimal.

SOLIDARITY WITH PLESSEY WORKERS!

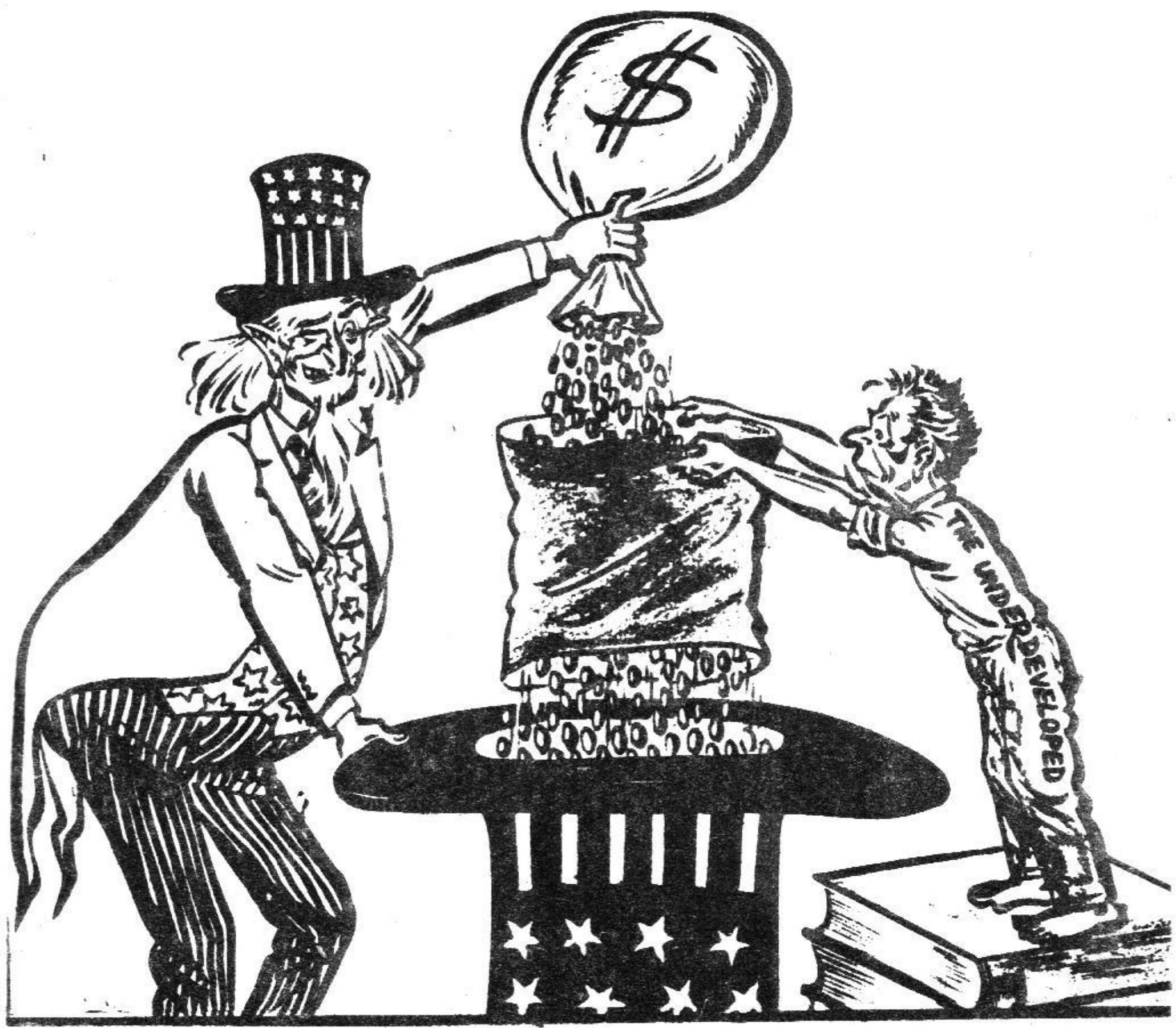
It is in the interests of all workers that the fight at Plessey should be supported. Today it is the Plessey workers threatened with extinction... Tomorrow who will be next?

Workers Notebook joins with workers throughout the country in extending solidarity to Plessey workers in struggle!



INTERNATIONAL

COMMENT



U.S. "Aid"

INDIAN FARCE

indira's brutality

For the first time since "independence" the Congress party has suffered a defeat at the elections. Indira's government, since the declaration of the emergency, has adopted increasingly repressive measures against workers, peasants and other lower sections of the Indian community.

The policy of compulsory sterilisation was hated, especially since the people effected were young and belonged to the poorer sections of the community. Workers who stood up for their rights were imprisoned and brutally treated at the hands of the police; democratic rights were suspended; people were harrassed. At the same time, Indira was allying herself closely, economically and politically, with the Soviet Union.



Indira Gandhi

In India, elections are a farce, more so than in any other country. Here, the vast majority of people cannot read or write; 80% or more of the population, who live in villages, are deliberately kept misinformed. Then, at election times, most political parties try to persuade people to vote for them with false promises, threats of violence, and bribery of village leaders.

Elections in India require huge sums of money on the part of the candidates; the government party usually does better because of police and army support. Indira, despite all the resources of the government, lost the elections. This reflects the hatred Indian people have for Indira and her policies.

just a new face

The new government which has been formed is a combination of the old Congress clique of pro-American politicians, like Desai and Jagjivan Ram, and Jan Singh members of pro-fascist organisations, together with some socialists.

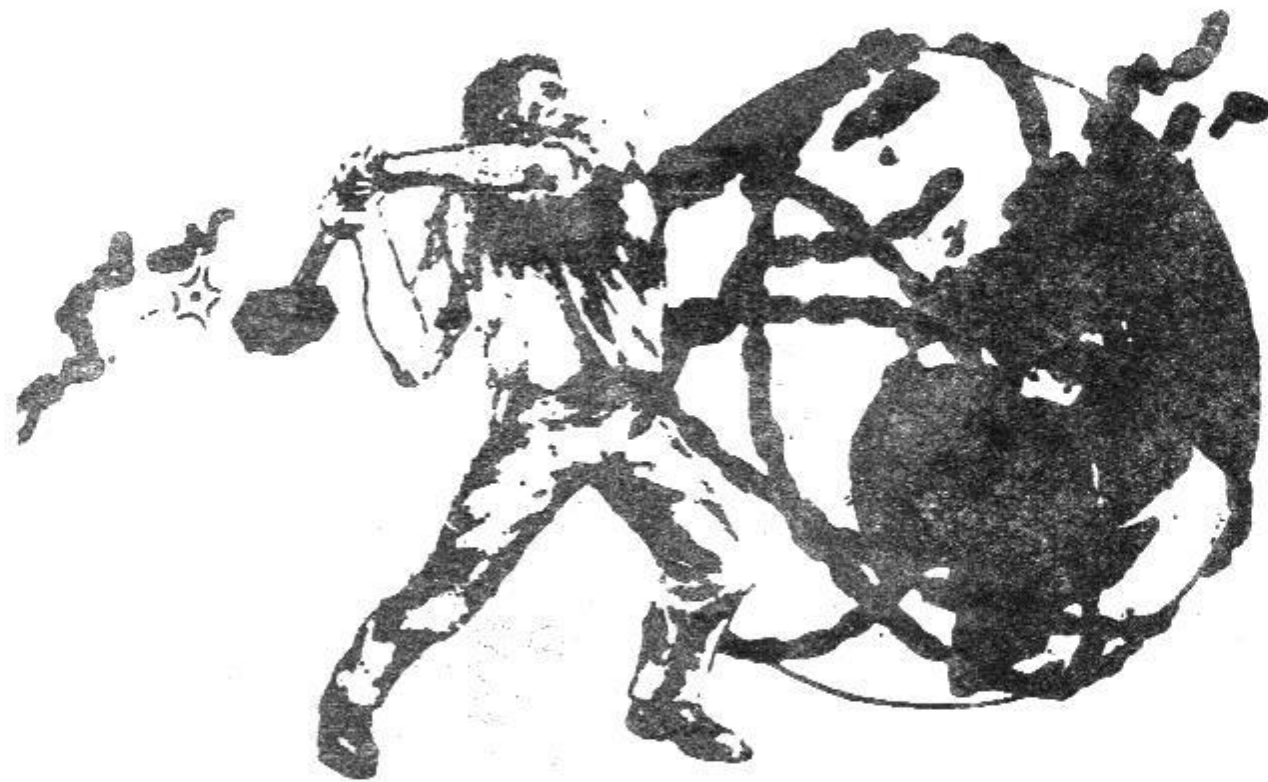
Desai, the new Prime Minister, disagreed with Indira over her international policies. As far as internal politics go, he intends to continue in the old way, repressing workers and peasants all over India. He has already said that birth control is vital for India; he has also said that he does not intend to solve the problem of unemployment immediately.

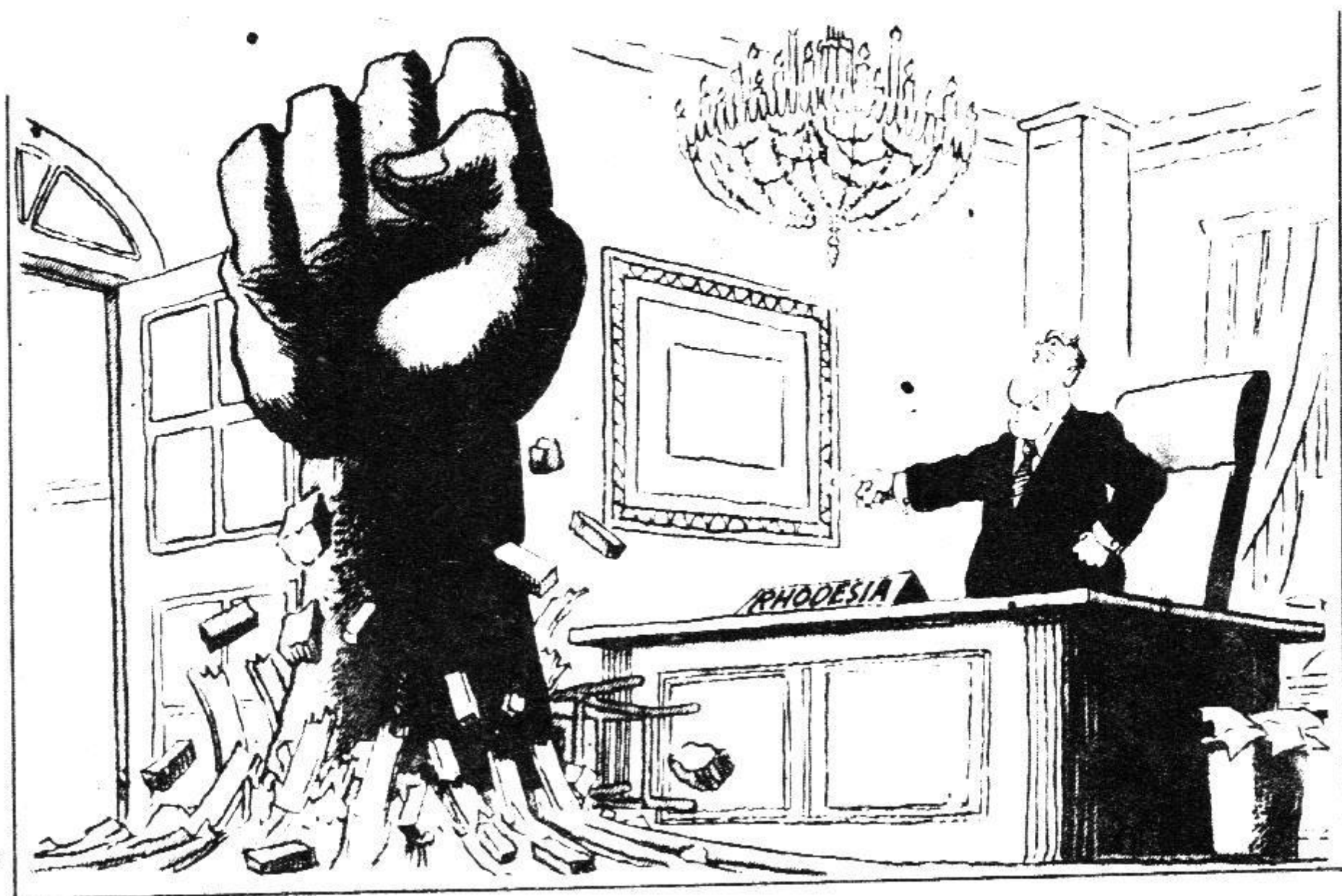
people against imperialism

However, he has made it obvious that there would be a change in India's policy towards the Soviet Union. This may be good, but if the Soviet Union is replaced by U.S. imperialism, the Indian people will not gain by it. When the workers and peasants threaten imperialism in India, the same repressive measures as adopted by Indira will be used by the present government. Indian people must prepare themselves for the betrayal by the present government, as it is sure to come.

* * * * *

breaking the chains of imperialism



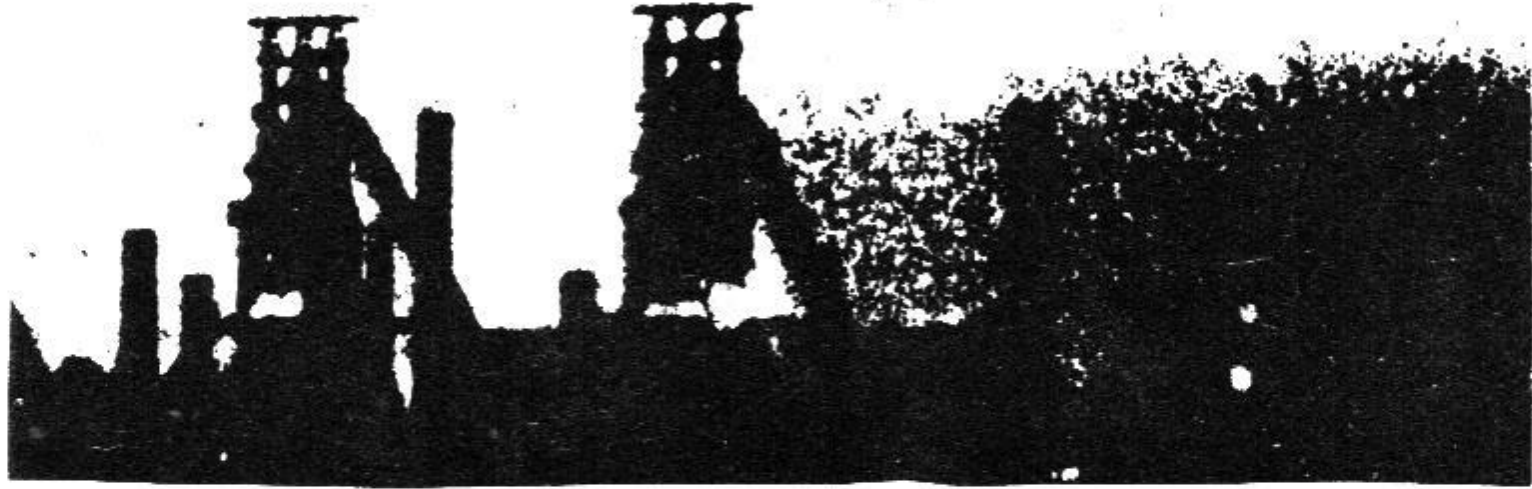


" I HAVE TO INSIST THAT YOU USE THE SERVANT'S ENTRANCE ! "

THE PREDATORS



NATIONALISATION



For many years, so-called 'Socialists' in the Labour Party, and even so-called 'Communists', have called for nationalisation of industry as a Socialist demand, something workers should fight for....

Is this so?

Is it a Socialist demand?

Should we be fighting for it?

The Reality

Looking at the actual state of affairs, what nationalisation has meant time and time again is that taxpayers money, workers' money, has been used to bail out bankrupt capitalists.... from decrepit coalmine owners to rundown railway employers.

Nationalisation guarantees the income of the former shareholders but not the livelihoods of the workforce.

Manny Shimwell said in 1947 that nationalisation would enable pitboys to become managers. What it actually meant was that the pitboy stood a 50% chance of being made redundant, and that the board, as before, would be composed of the same people, or unemployed businessmen and politicians!

Was Lord Robens ever a coalminer?
Was Peter Parker ever a shunter?
Not likely!



Now Rationalise

Of late there has been a change in the direction of policy for the nationalised industries. Where previously they were held to be a 'public service', which was more often than not a hidden con for the cheap provision of goods and services to other capitalists, now, as these services have become less important, and are overtaken by newer, more profitable, privately owned sectors, there comes a cry for them to be 'rationalised' as well!

Rationalise the nationalised!

Who Wins?

The result is that railways are run down in favour of road haulers and motorway builders; Coalmining is phased out in favour of oil from the North Sea or elsewhere, and with the ultimate in capitalist absurdity, the Government, while trying to nationalise the shipbuilding industry, gives Ravi Tikkoo a subsidy of over £4,000,000 to build ships in Japan!!

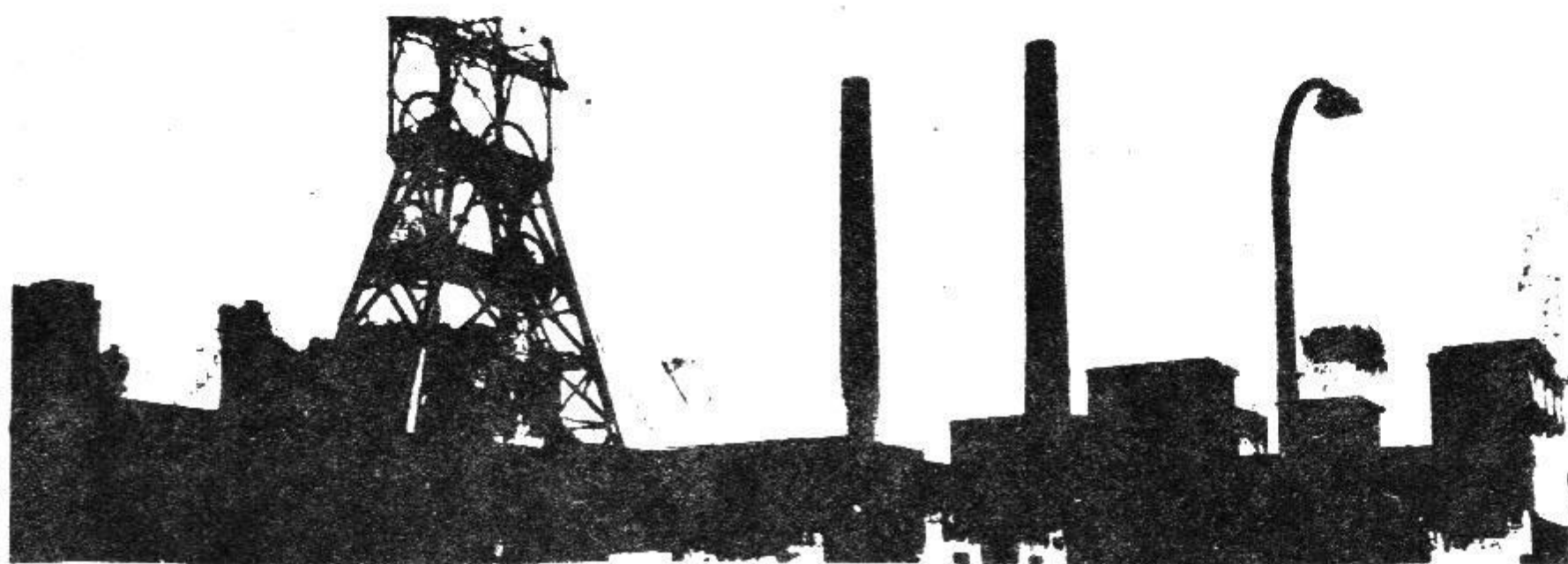
The old days of 1947, when the National Coal Board put signs at each pithead declaring... that..."this colliery is now owned by the people"...have gone. Now there is no pretence. In their relationships to the consumers (e.g., the Gas Board's 10% increase!) or (the Post Office's £400,000,000 profit!) and to their workers (see the redundancy figures, the low pay, the bad conditions on the railways and on the mines), state-owned industries function just as do privately owned monopolies...they fleece the customers and exploit the workers.

Our Attitude

What attitude should we have to nationalised industry? Obviously we are not going to call for its return to private ownership. Not only would this be calling for a retrograde step in historical terms, it would also be unlikely in the extreme that you could find a private individual willing or able to take over the railways, or the mines.

State ownership of these is a necessary historical consequence of the inevitable tendency to monopoly in capitalism.

The really important question is - should we join the lemmings of the labour movement in their rush to extend nationalisation? The answer to this as a general principle must be NO. We should no more call for nationalisation than we should for, say, I.C.I. to take over the chemical industry. Even though such a growth of monopoly does bring the conditions for the collapse of capitalism closer - it does so by increasing exploitation by creating redundancy, and in the short term at least, strengthening capitalism.



Right to Work.

When, however, we refer to nationalisation as a "general principle", this does not exclude particular circumstances where it may be advantageous. In individual plants when fighting for the Right to Work, it is possible that only political pressure on the state to take over the enterprise may guarantee these jobs in the short term. The main point in such circumstances is that the principle for which we are agitating is the Right to Work, whereas far from being a principle, in these circumstances nationalisation would be a necessary expediency, no more.

Who Controls the State?

In conclusion, it is not nationalisation, but socialisation of industry that is a revolutionary socialist demand. For socialisation is inconceivable without a change of system, without the establishment of a workers' state. It is state power that is the key. So long as state power remains in the hands of the capitalist class and their political representatives, there can be no real benefit to the working-class through nationalisation. The fight for socialism is the fight for workers' state power, the fight for socialisation of the country, and as a result the socialisation of industry. Only in this manner can state control of industry serve and defend the needs and interests of the working-class.



To the JUBILEE YEAR

When the sun rises, I work;
When the sun sets, I rest.
I dig the well to drink;
I plough the field to eat.

What has the Queen to do with me?

KNOW THY ENEMY

Know thy enemy:
 he does not care what colour you are
 provided you work for him
 and yet you do!
 he does not care how much you earn
 provided you earn more for him
 and yet you do!
 he does not care who lives in the room at the top
 provided he owns the building
 and yet you strive!
 he will let you write against him
 provided you do not act against him
 and yet you write!
 he sings the praises of humanity
 but knows that machines cost more than men.
 Bargain with him, he laughs, and beats you at it;
 challenge him, and he kills.
 Sooner than lose the things he owns
 he will destroy the world.
SMASH CAPITAL NOW!

But as you hasten to be free
 And build your commonwealth
 Do not forget the enemy
 Who lies within yourself.

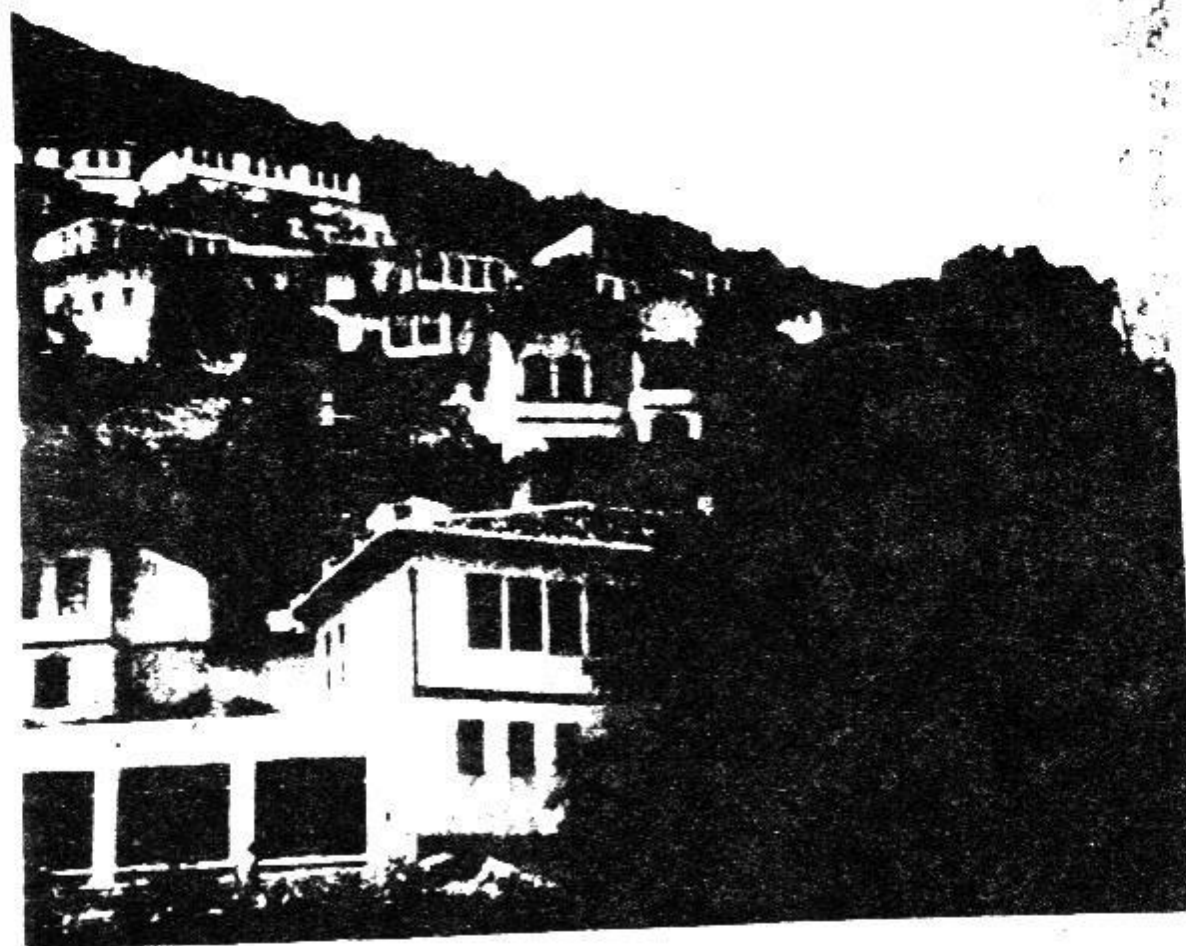
(Written by Christopher Logue.....)

Life under SOCIALISM...

Housing in ALBANIA

Before the socialist liberation of Albania in 1944, the workers and peasants had to live mostly in poor, wooden houses which had no proper roof, nor even a proper chimney! Only the rich landowners could afford a chimney because of the high chimney tax! Most people lived in remote villages. There was no water supply, no electricity, no gas, no school, no doctor, no post office nor even proper roads.

New Housing



Today, just 33 years later, although the population has doubled to 2 million, over half the population (1 million people) are living in new houses and flats with all the modern amenities. The only old houses that remain are those well-built stone ones that could be improved.

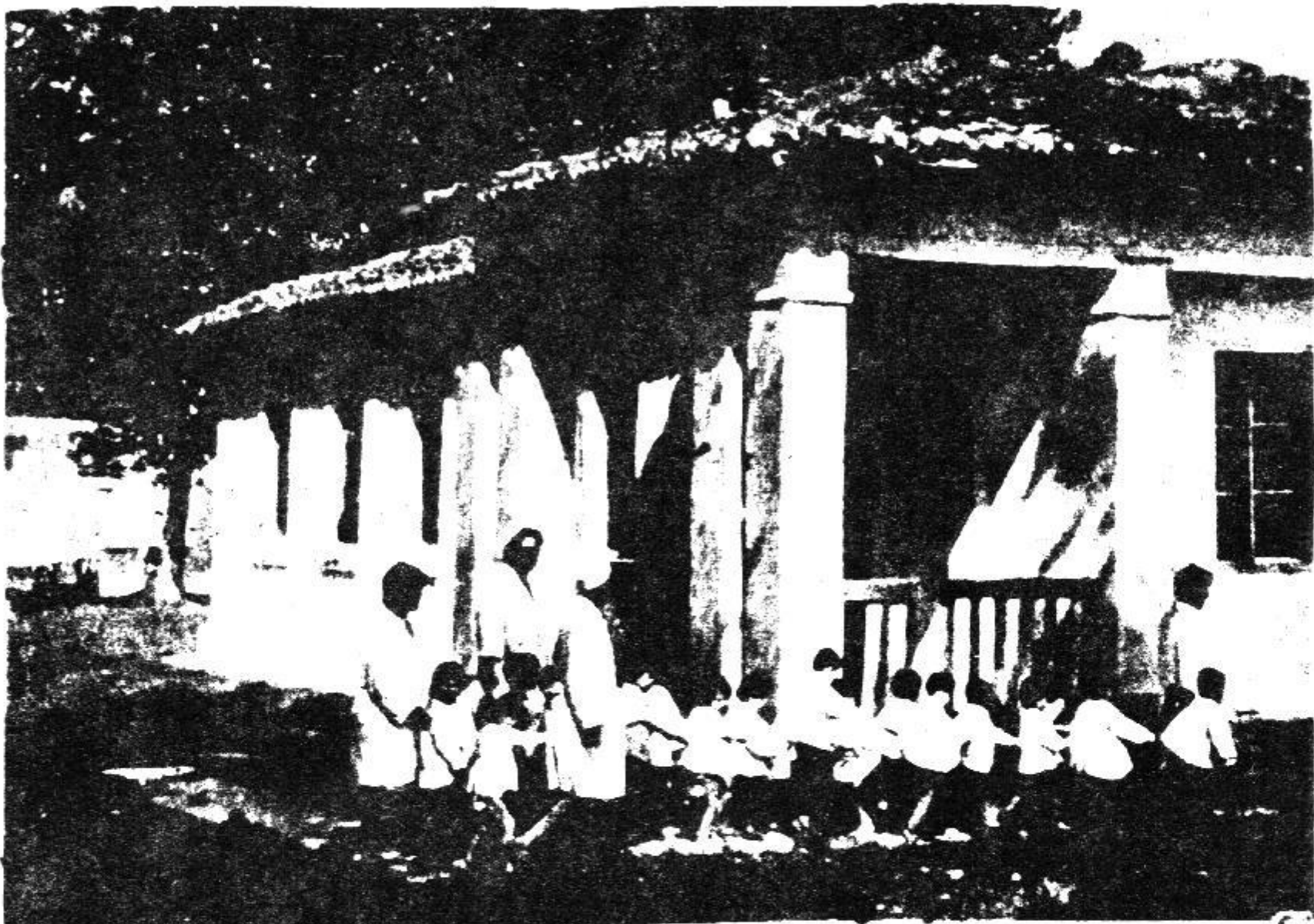
No Homeless

There are no homeless in Albania. Housing is guaranteed. Every enterprise (they are all state-owned) is responsible for making sure every worker is well-housed. The state builds thousands of homes.

1950-60 72,000 new flats were built.

1961-70 121,000 were built.

1971-75 400,000 people got new homes!



A village kindergarten

To further increase the number of new houses built, the state also provides building materials and specialists to countryside cooperatives and town localities, where

volunteers build the housing needed. Sometimes a newly-married couple have no home of their own. Then all the local inhabitants get together and build them one. This is just one example of how people care for each other in socialist Albania.

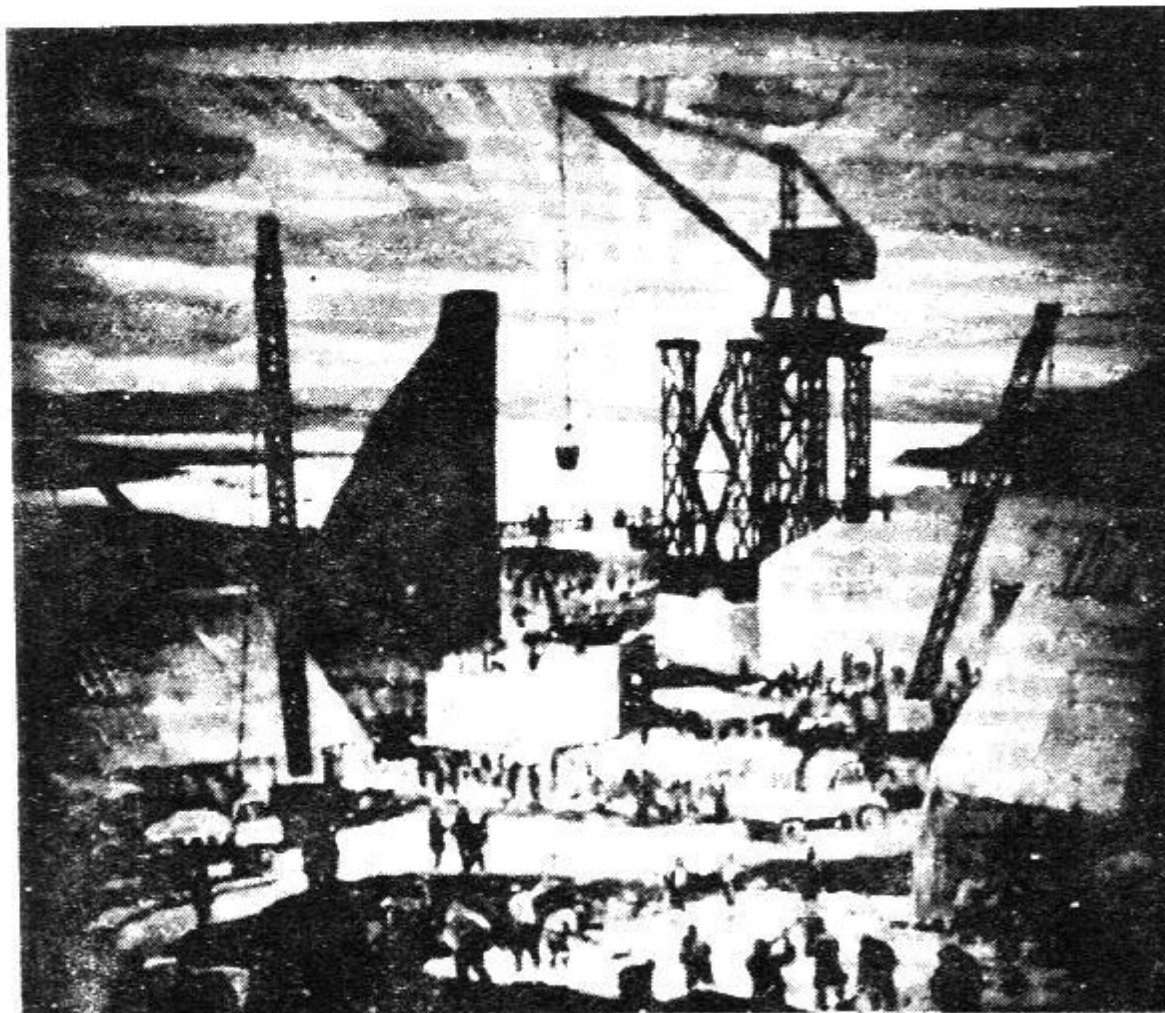
ELECTRICITY AND WATER are now supplied FREE to all homes in town and village!

RENT is LOW. There are no profit-mongering landlords in Albania. Rent is fixed for all at 3% of the weekly wage. In Britain this would mean a rent of £1.20 out of a take-home pay of £40.

TRANSPORT is CHEAP and plentiful.

CULTURAL AND SPORTS facilities are provided FREE NURSERIES, SCHOOLS, MEDICAL CENTRES, CINEMAS are found not only in the towns, but in every village.

socialist art



Do you know

That while we are made to pay higher and higher prices for foodstuffs and have to eat less and less of them, there are mountains of food in storage in the E.E.C.

The Common Market has a surplus 307,000 tons of beef, 196,000 tons of butter, 66,000 tons of sugar, 1,500,000 tons of wheat and 1,346,000 tons of dried milk.

These products will either be dumped cheaply (the price lowered by EEC subsidies) in non-Common Market countries or destroyed.

All measures will be taken to prevent this food from entering the EEC countries and so lowering the prices and thus the profits of the few.

That Ford Motors in Britain has greatly benefited from the Social Contract.

Their recently announced pre-tax profits were £121.6 million, nine times higher than their last year's profits of £14.1 million.

While Ford's wage costs have been held down hard at home, export sales have risen with Ford vehicles made more competitive with the cut in the value of sterling.

It's very clear who wins - and it's the working people who lose all ways - with low wages, high prices, and money losing its value in their pockets.

FORUM

FOR DISCUSSION

(These views are not necessarily the views of the CWM, but we hope that they will stimulate thought and discussion among readers and workers' discussion groups. We would welcome comments and your own conclusions.)



—Class

To live we need to produce, and through the mode of production, we enter into relations with each other. These relations of production have led to classes, the exploitation of one class by another, to class struggle.

White Collar

Some argue that only production workers are working class. The white-collar worker is unproductive; he only helps the capitalist increase his wealth by reducing the cost of production.

Yet, just like the production worker, the white-collar worker owns no means of production and is exploited by the employer:

An example of such a worker is the bus driver.



Secondly, can we assume that workers have different class interests from production workers? The fundamental class interest of the working-class is the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism. Does not a bus-driver share this interest?

However, such an argument does reflect the contradictions inherent in class struggle in advanced capitalist countries. While both production and non-production workers are exploited to increase the capitalists surplus value, their class interests can hardly clash, yet the contradictions among them are used to split the working class.

The Supervisor

Another argument uses some political factors to exclude some workers from the working class. One example is the supervisor. He is part of the process of production and is therefore exploited in the purely technical division of

labour. On the other hand, his position of domination reflects a social division. Thus, it is argued, the supervisor is neither in the working-class nor the bourgeoisie. But here, it must not be forgotten, it is the capitalist, the owner of the means of production, who determines the relations of production.

The "Expert"

Another contradiction arises from the division between mental and manual labour. One argument is that the working class is thus excluded from knowledge of the production process, and that this is necessary for the reproduction of capitalist social relations. Here the "experts" are the ideological dominators and are excluded from the working-class.

Contradictions

Thus it would appear that a worker who is in a position of political or ideological domination, a supervisor or an "expert", despite the fact that he might be exploited in the process of production, must be excluded from the working-class. Thus the argument that determines class according to production and non-production work contains many problems. It glosses over the essential question of the ownership of the means of production, and changes existing contradictions among workers into class divisions, so avoiding proper examination of these contradictions.

Origins

What are the origins of these contradictions? In the cottage industries of early capitalism the workers often owned part or all of the means of production and so had control over the production process. With industrialisation and the concentration of workers in factories the worker lost control of the production process and became a mere component.

With the concentration and centralisation of capital, a managerial hierarchy developed. It became impossible for the capitalist to participate in all aspects of decision-making. The result was a separation of legal ownership from control over the production process. So complex hierarchies arose.

The capitalist owns the means of production and ultimately controls them. But he employs people to control the process of production and others to control labour power. These workers do not own the means of production but have some positions of control. Such are managers, technicians, clerical workers. However, the most important contradiction determining class is the economic one between capitalist and workers he employs. The political and ideological contradictions are secondary. Thus, the existence of a strong trade union movement among white-collar workers could push them closer to the production workers.

But where does all this leave us? What is fundamental is whether a particular group of people share the same class interests. But to examine these contradictions helps us understand various social positions and their revolutionary potential.

From a NOTTINGHAM READER



Mao — as a guerilla leader in the
early 1930's.

used by cunning and wondered
At how easily Gods were made,
And the Gods ran as Mao had said they must
Run, real power, comes only from the barrel
of a gun.

But Excelsior! is not for mortal man
Said the men who write the history books,
Upwards slaves must not go
Nor yet dare to look, remember Icarus
And his mortal wound,
But oh, Mao thought it better to think
On Alexander, or Hannibal
Than spend his time thinking negatively,
And so he took his army round
The better to ascend to liberty,
Building as they marched
A revolution that was not based or bought
On mere possession, but a revolution in
thinking

For nothing is more important
Than the importance of man
And what is more potent
Than the portable nature
Of revolutionary thought?
For six thousand miles
Across six thousand years of servitude
They bore their tatty banners

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