

# solidarity

FOR WORKERS' POWER

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 6

the ambiguities  
of  
'workers' control'



HOW I  
HELPED  
SUPPRESS  
LENIN'S  
TESTAMENT!



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# SOCIALLY-RESPONSIBLE SCIENTISTS VS. 'SOLDIER-TECHNICIANS': 1-0

Some unscheduled explosions shook the quiet city of Durham during the afternoon and evening of Sunday, September 6, 1970. At a marathon teach-in, catalysed by activists of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS) a campaign was launched which has already embarrassed the authorities. This campaign could have far-reaching repercussions.

Let us start at the beginning. The Durham 'happenings', which provided much copy for both the local and national press, were planned to coincide with the annual jamboree of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.). The B.A. is a conservative and complacent body of Establishment scientists, content over the years in presenting scientific advances to the public, with only ritual attention to their social consequences.

From the very first day of the Conference, BSSRS-inspired activities had livened up the tedium of the official programme. On Wednesday, September 2, as B.A. delegates - many in resplendent robes and glittering medals - had entered Durham Cathedral, they had been startled to receive annotated advance copies of Lord Todd's inaugural presidential address. (Lord Todd is Master of Christ's College, Cambridge and Director of Fison Ltd.) 'The comments added to the prepared speech were highly critical of Lord Todd's concepts of history, science and technology and especially of his idea that higher education should be restricted to an intellectual elite. The leaflets were, on the whole, well received and later could be seen all over the Cathedral. You could even hear the paper rustle, as everyone turned the pages in unison, during the speech'.\*

As the delegates emerged from the Cathedral onto Palace Green, duly blessed and full of self-righteousness, they had been met by the anguished cries of 'napalm-burned' or 'gas-choked' demonstrators writhing at their feet. A Newcastle Street Action Theatre Group had laid on an impromptu demonstration of some of the achievements of modern science and technology. Dr. Ian Ramsey, Bishop of Durham, was later to say that 'the cries of protest on Palace Green could be far more important for the progress of Science than the famous clash between Bishop Wilberforce and Thomas Huxley about the origin of man at the B.A. meeting in Oxford in 1860!'.\*\*

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\* New Scientist, September 10, 1970.

\*\* The (Newcastle) Journal, September 7, 1970.

There had been other attempts to bring the Conference down to earth. The BSSRS had organised a number of conducted tours of the local slums and of industrially polluted sites as 'counter-attractions' to those offered by the B.A. Systematic questioning at B.A. meetings had also been laid on. 'After delivering a talk on "Solid-state detectors for night vision" a Scientific Officer from the Signals Research and Development Establishment was asked what he thought about the deployment of these devices against guerillas in Vietnam. He answered that the question was irrelevant, despite the fact that a film strip projected during his talk showed men using the detectors who apparently were soldiers. Professor D.J. Johns who gave a lecture on spin-off of aerospace technology was asked whether he thought that NASA's budget could better be spent on civil problems. He replied that American tax-payers and not British subjects should be concerned with that question. And so on.' \*

BSSRS leaflets had been distributed at all the major B.A. lectures and even at the residential colleges. These leaflets contained both general and specific criticisms of the content of the lectures. The unspoken relationships between the direction and content of scientific research and the requirements of the ruling class, between governmental sponsorship and governmental expectations, between pollution and social structure, etc., were constantly highlighted. Over a dozen of these 'Broadsides' were produced. Readers interested in obtaining copies should write to the BSSRS, 70 Great Russell St., London WC1.\*\*

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\* New Scientist, September 10, 1970.

\*\* The BSSRS preparations for the B.A. meeting had not escaped the snooping attention of various interested parties. On August 5, 1970 a Mr. B. Rye, of Chemical Industries Association (Alembic House, 93 Albert Embankment, London S.E.1. - Tel.: 01-735 3001) had sent a letter and enclosure (both of which later fell into the hands of BSSRS activists) to Dr. H.D. Turner, Secretary of the British Association. The documents, later circularised (on whose authority?) by Dr. Turner to general officers and local sectional secretaries of the B.A., warned of the impending campaign of the BSSRS as if it were some kind of plot, and included potted dossiers on those thought to be the main plotters. Mr. Rye claimed that his information emanated from 'a Public Relations firm frequently consulted over press and publicity matters'. The report of Mr. Rye's 'Public Relations firm' contained such gems as 'there will be lots of very young graduates and students helping on the campaign ... they are out to cause lots of noise about ecology and the environment', and 'Jonathan R. is from the LSE. He is an "activist" and very left-wing. Anything he is involved in, in the way of demonstration, is likely to be noisy and not very pretty', etc., etc.

The teach-in, on September 6, was devoted to the general theme 'Science is not neutral'. It attracted a remarkably mixed audience and 'proved to be undoubtedly the most unusual meeting in B.A. history. In order not to inhibit discussion Professor Felix Pirani of Kings College, London, who chaired the meeting said that "there was only one rule: one person speaks at a time". Then, without encouragement, began a free-wheeling talkathon and "happening" which lasted for seven and a half hours without interruption and without any formal lecture. The size of the audience fluctuated from about 150 to 50 but about 200 regular B.A. members must have passed through. The range of participation included past B.A. president Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, both academic and Civil Service scientists, science students, local Durham folk and - not through their choosing - the press. Since everything was questioned at a basic level even a press representative was grilled about his motives after someone objected to having his photograph taken.'

What the New Scientist didn't report was that the teach-in was also attended by some mysterious gentlemen believed to be 'delegates' from MI5 and the Special Branch. They seemed concerned at the implications of a widely distributed leaflet, produced by a group of BSSRS radicals active in various fields of science. The leaflet is reproduced in the box below. The second clause, later overwhelmingly accepted by the meeting, was to become known as the Durham Resolution.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: A SCIENTISTS' PLEDGE

As a socially responsible scientist I hereby undertake:

1. Not to use my scientific knowledge or status to promote practices which I consider dangerous.
2. Not to conceal from the public any information about the general nature of my research and about the dangerous uses to which it might be put.
3. Not to conceal from the public any information about the real identity - and degree of public accountability - of those who finance or control my research.
4. To explain to the public the general nature and possible uses of research conducted by private or State bodies over which there is little or no public control.
5. To warn the public about such organisations as conceal information about the possible dangerous outcome or uses of their research.

I consider it my duty, as a socially responsible scientist, to honour this pledge, whatever the personal inconvenience or risk involved.

Many interesting points emerged dramatically during the teach-in. Mr J.C. McLaughlan, Chairman of the Institute of Professional Civil Servants, claimed that there was nothing derogatory 'in a democratic society' for a scientist to be employed by the government on secret work. These people were 'soldier-technicians' and this was an honourable occupation.

The newly-coined term quickly caught on. We should hear it a lot in the days to come. Philip Corrigan, lecturer in Information Science at Newcastle Polytechnic pointed out that a significant amount of Defence research was going on in British universities. At Southampton University for instance such 'soldier-technicians' were doing nerve gas research. Dr. Jerome Ravetz, senior lecturer in the History and Philosophy of Science at Leeds University pointed out that in Japan any physicist working at a Defence Establishment was not allowed by fellow-scientists to present papers at scientific meetings. At Japanese universities, military personnel sent to do post-graduate physics were automatically failed by their professors. He defined a 'soldier-technician' as 'someone who had violated the basic ethical code of scientists which is to share knowledge for the benefit of mankind. Those who are soldier-technicians rather than scientists, even if they are university professors and Fellows of the Royal Society, will have to make their status clear to themselves, their colleagues and their students'.

We thoroughly endorse these definitions and suggestions. We moreover urge our friends and supporters in the universities to insist on knowing whether any of their teachers are 'soldier-technicians', i.e. whether they are engaged in work covered by the Official Secrets Act. Soldier-technicians should, after all, be granted their due. Perhaps they should be saluted as they entered and left lecture halls or strolled along in the groves of Academe.

In a dramatic confrontation, Professor Ziman, of the Physics Dept. at Bristol University (a leading official of the B.A.) was asked about some of the disclosures made during the Aldermaston March of 1963. As revealed to a very wide public by the Daily Telegraph (April 19, 1963) - hiding behind Prague Radio (itself echoing the Spies for Peace) - certain leading Oxbridge and other scientists had, together with top military and Civil Service brass, been selected for survival in underground bunkers known as RSGs (Regional Seats of Government). From there, they would rule what was left of Britain after a nuclear war.\* Professor Ziman was asked:

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\* For background information about the RSGs, see Solidarity pamphlet No.15 'The RSGs 1919-1963' by N. Walter. For information concerning the repercussions of the disclosures see 'Resistance Shall Grow', a pamphlet jointly produced in 1963 by the Independent Labour Party, London Federation of Anarchists, Solidarity and Syndicalist Workers Federation.

whether the B.A. had been a party to this selection. Did its leading officials know that from among their own ranks some had been chosen for survival while others had been written off?\* Would the B.A. make a pronouncement on the matter? The question remained unanswered.

The climax of the teach-in was undoubtedly its last few minutes, before a vote was taken on what later became known as the Durham Resolution. Mr McLauchlan (of the IPCS) said that in his opinion 'the terms of clause 2 of the Scientists' Pledge could not be accepted by anyone subject to the Official Secrets Act (would acceptance amount to mutiny among the soldier-technicians?) or the terms of clause 4 by any scientist working in competitive industry'.\*\* He was contradicted by Dr Kenneth Mellanby, Director of Monks Wood Experimental Station, who said that he too was a member of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants and that he saw nothing objectionable in the resolution. Amid increasing excitement clause 2 of the Pledge was put to the vote and carried by a large majority.

We now need massive support to help disseminate the Durham message. It must be taken up in every Science Department, in every university in this country and abroad. We ask the following questions of any science students among our readers. Are your teachers socially responsible scientists or 'soldier-technicians'? Where do your teachers stand on the Durham Resolution? We hope readers and supporters will be fired by what one of those present at the Durham teach-in called the 'aesthetics of a dynamite-in-candy floss operation'. This could be the beginning of a significant movement. The New Scientist (September 10, 1970) has claimed that the 'Durham Resolution will occupy a place in history similar to the first Aldermaston March'. Will it? Over to you...

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\* Among those chosen for survival (i.e. 'soldier-technicians' par excellence) were the following: Sir Harold Warris Thompson, CBE, Professor of Chemistry at Oxford University. Between 1952 and 1963 Harold was Scientific Adviser to the Home Office for Civil Defence (Southern Region); Dr Cyril Leng Smith, Director of Research (Radiotherapeutics) at Cambridge University. Cyril is a member of the 'Association of Radiation Research (Great Britain)' and of the 'Radiation Research Society (USA)'. He was one-time joint editor of a journal ironically named 'Radiation and Health' (written from the depths of an RSG?); Professor Archibald Niel Black, MBE, of the Department of Engineering, University of Southampton. In 1964 Archie became Deputy Chairman of the Universities Central Council on Admissions. How many students know that a 'soldier-technician' has this kind of say on general policy in relation to higher education?

\*\* It was left to the local paper (The Journal, September 7, 1970) clearly to articulate Mr McLauchlan's fears. 'Rebel scientists were flinging defiance at the Official Secrets Act. They were appealing to colleagues to break the code of silence surrounding military and other research work. ... They had drawn up a scientists' charter amounting to a Hippocratic Oath. ... They hoped that their bombshell, dropped right in the middle of the B.A. meeting; would reverberate throughout the world and affect scientists in the USA, Russia and China, as well as Britain'. Exactly!

# PILKINGTON AND THE G.M.W.U.

The Pilkington experience was important. It marks a milestone in the exposure, to ordinary workers, of the role of the trade union leaderships.

The Pilkington strike, like many other recent disputes, was directed as much against the GMWU as against the employer. Irrespective of the outcome of the current dispute at St. Helens, the reverberations of the April and May events have badly shaken Ruxley Towers. Sources not a million miles from the Esher H.Q. of the union report worried meetings of senior officials and research officers to discuss strategies to weather the current storm. Even the Solidarity 'GMWU - Scab Union' pamphlet was discussed at least twice by the N.E.C.

This campaign to retain some sort of credibility, even to the employers,\* has taken several forms. Since the end of the Pilkington struggle the GMWU has given official recognition to no less than 17 strikes. It has appointed a team to carry out an 'internal enquiry' into the union set-up at St. Helens. The team (a sop to the Wood Court of Enquiry into the dispute) is headed by one Alex Donnet, Scottish Regional Secretary, who on the face of it seems an unlikely candidate for the job of cleaner-in-chief to the Augean stables of the GMWU. In a union in which third-generation officials are common, and in which everybody seems to be related to everyone else in an incestuous, byzantine, sort of way, Brother Donnet is no exception. Brother Charles (the term being used in the strict, genealogical sense) is also an official (as well as being Chairman of the Scottish Labour Party). His sister and his son are also - surprise, surprise - employed by the union.

The attempt by the GMWU to regain the confidence of its members has been a dismal failure. Spurred on by the action of the Pilkington men, workers in other industries dominated by the GMWU have recently moved into action against their own union-management set-ups. Notable examples have been the nine-week strike of 1000 men at Renold Chains at Manchester; the strike of 500 men at the Northern Rubber Company at Retford, Nottingham, who came out against an agreement signed by 'their' union; the strike of 4000 gas workers at Coventry and Birmingham who were out for 3 weeks, not to mention the 5000 workers (3500 of them in the GMWU) at GKN-Sankey, Wellington, who were out for 7 weeks. All these disputes were marked by a new and welcome bitterness towards the officials.

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\* David Pilkington, the Personnel Director of the Company, was quoted in the Sunday Times (May 17, 1970) as saying: 'We would never have had this trouble if the union had been more militant'.



The situation at Pilkington is a common one. The 'sweetheart contract' is a fact of life for hundreds of thousands of workers in Britain. More and more such agreements are being signed every day, usually to the uncritical plaudits of the 'Left'. Such agreements often imprison workers, depriving them of the most elementary rights. At the same time, they tend to remove the union leaders from even residual pressure from workers, unable to exert even the last of sanctions, namely that of voting with their feet.

It is clear that the GMWU sees contracts of this kind as a major solution to its problems. It is signing such agreements which ensure it a membership tied hand and foot, and it is prepared to pay a high price to the employers to get such contracts.\* It is scrabbling round the country to new and unorganised factories, going into management and signing agreements 'on behalf of' (but over the heads, and to the great disadvantage of) the workers involved. In return for the company granting the union sole negotiating rights, workers are being bound hand and foot.

In this situation it is ironic that militants should still often be uncritically demanding a closed shop imposed from above, thereby helping to dig the grave of shop floor organisation. For our part we are pleased to see the weakening of the power of the leadership of the GMWU. It can do nothing but good. Anything that damages such a corrupt and rotten set-up cannot be all bad. We like to feel that we have contributed our little mite to their current embarrassment, and we hope to do what we can in the future. We would be pleased to receive comments and further ammunition for this task.

Mark Fore.

After the end of the Pilkington strike in May the men left the GMWU by the thousand and formed the Glass and General Workers Union. The management and GMWU provoked an incident which led to a dispute which has isolated the militants and led to the victimisation of 250 of them and another 27 in Pontypool. These men need all the help they can get. Please send every penny to the Pilkington Rank and File Committee, 10 Greenfield Road, St. Helens. Phone St. Helens 25925.

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\* A good example is the strike at the Clabon's cold store in Aberdeen, where the men had begun to organise themselves into the TGWU and had made a £3 a week wage demand. The management's response was to call in the GMWU, sign an agreement with it for less than the amount demanded by the men in return for granting the GMWU sole negotiating rights. The firm then sacked the leading militants, provoked a strike, and with the collaboration of the GMWU recruited blacklegs. The men have now been out for 3 weeks on official (TGWU backed) strike. The local regional secretary responsible for this 'agreement' is none other than Alex Donnet, the great reformer. A similar sequence of events took place in Torquay, when the hotel workers tried to organise themselves.



# REVIEWS

THE PILKINGTON STRIKE by Colin Barker. Published by International Socialism, 6 Cotton Gardens, London E.2. 2/6 post free.

This 24-page pamphlet was produced in rapid response to the bitter struggle of Pilkington glass workers in April and May this year. It is written in a readable and humourous style, is well illustrated and documented and is based on a considerable amount of unpublished material. It deals with the financial background of the Company, with its domination of the town of St. Helens (known locally as the 'arsehole of the world'), and with the origin and history of the dispute. It takes the piss out of the standard GMWU/press ploy of the 'great Red plot', describes the smashing up by strikers of the local offices of the union, the clashes on the picket line, the 'clergymen's ballot' and the emergence of the rank and file movement.

The section dealing with the GMWU is largely taken from the SOLID-ARITY pamphlet 'GMWU: Scab Union' (with acknowledgments). But it contains some interesting new material on the role of the union. It quotes for instance a letter from a retired manager to the Strike Committee. The letter enclosed a £10 donation to the fund. It is worth quoting:

'I came to despise the union because of its pro-management and anti-union attitudes. They were highly regarded by the management because they always said the sort of things that management wanted to hear.

'In particular I came across the late Jim Matthews. There was not a dirty piece of intrigue too dirty for him to be involved in. He was then associated with some enquiry organisation of some sort and would seek out past histories of workers and hand on the information to the employers.

'On one particular occasion when negotiations about a money increase were under way at a national level he actually hung back as an adjournment took place and whispered advice to the employers' representatives, of whom I was one and was present. "Don't give it to them" were his actual words. To me Jim Matthews was and, although now dead, still is the true image of the NUGMW.'

In its conclusions the pamphlet suffers from the usual I.S. habit of riding half a dozen horses at once, and of changing them in midstream. It consequently suffers from a number of ambiguities. After an accurate

summing up of the role and structure of the union, the solution Colin Barker offers is a programme of... reforming the union!!

'There are 800,000 workers in the GMWU and it's useless to suggest to them to do nothing, that they should just sit there and take it. What is needed is a real fight inside the union, over a long period probably, to reintroduce the basic principles of trade unionism into that organisation, and clean the union up. Such a fight for democracy in the union and a militant approach to workers' problems must be unofficial. There is no choice.'

This sort of conclusion is a classic non sequitur. It is obvious that there are a number of alternatives to either 'doing nothing' or to attempting to 'clean up the union'. The most positive is to build up rank and file organisation, cutting across union boundaries.

The trouble with this pamphlet is that, like I.S. itself, it suffers from organisational fetishism. It sees the solution to social problems as being changes in the leadership of this or that organisation. In other words, it accepts the 'crisis of leadership' argument so beloved of more orthodox Trotskyists.

The practical content of Colin Barker's solution, given the present constitution and actual mode of functioning of the GMWU, could only be achieved with the agreement of the union leadership, hardly a likely contingency. Moreover even if the reforms proposed were, by some miracle, achieved, the conversion of the GMWU into a 'liberal democratic' type of union (say, of the general type of the AEF) would leave all the major problems confronting militants still to be solved.

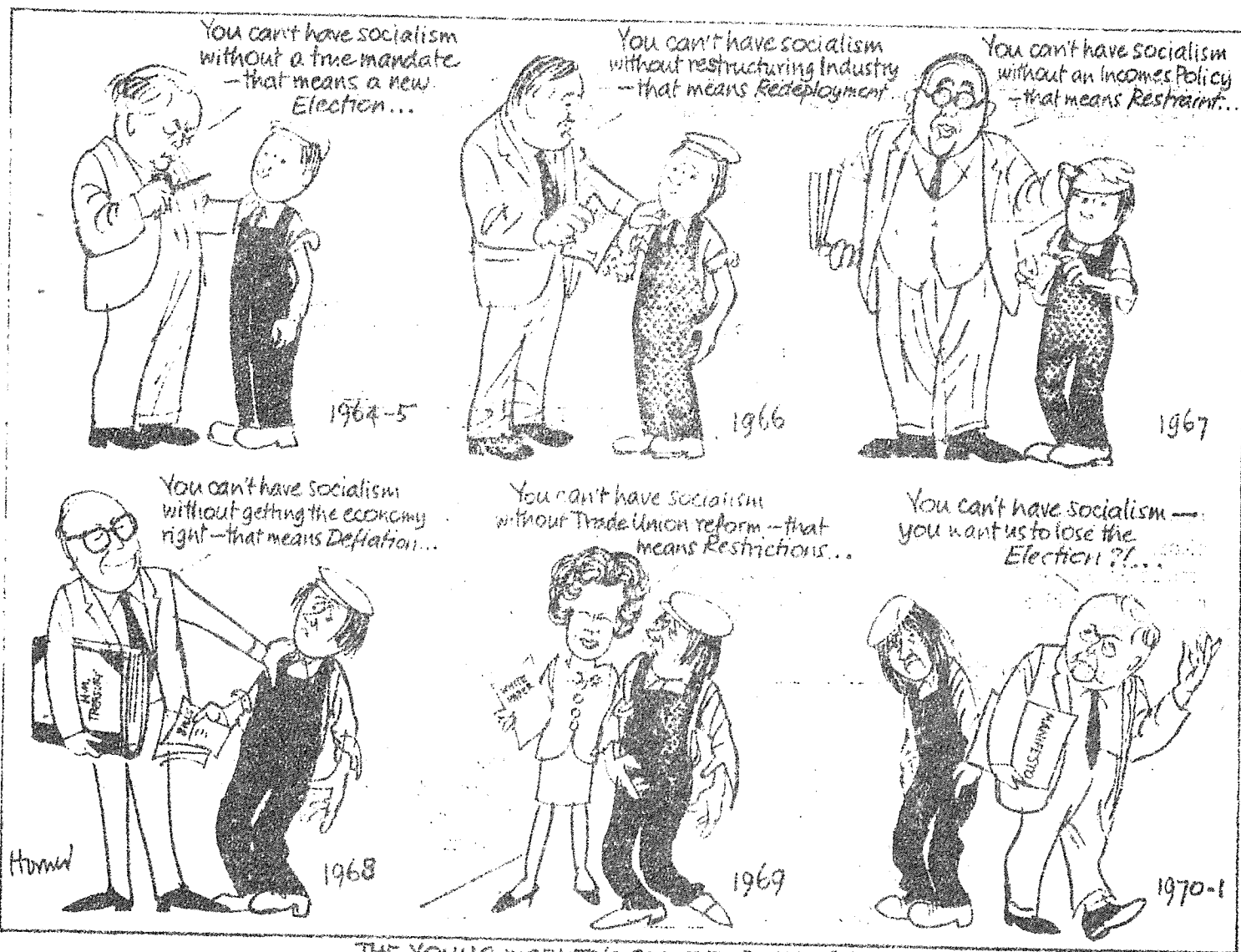
With all its faults, the pamphlet is however welcome, if only because it transcends the general poverty of the industrial material produced by the trad Left. This failing is directly related to the Left's view of the role of the working class. While the Left directs a massive amount of attention to fairly unimportant areas, little serious thought is given to the direction and meaning of processes going on within industry, the arena which (in theory) is regarded as being of paramount importance. The role of the working class is not seen as a conscious, autonomous and creative one, but as one of following the 'correct' revolutionary leadership, for whom alone it is necessary fully to understand. Like the British Army the trad revs are usually well equipped to fight the war before last.

C.I.R. EXPOSED from 34 Pelidan Gardens, Birkenhead, Cheshire. Price 3d. (plus postage).

The government's new Industrial Relations proposals will greatly increase the power of the Commission on Industrial Relations. This has made this pamphlet very timely.

The pamphlet is produced by a group of militants at Girling Brakes, Bromborough. It deals with the members of the C.I.R., Woodcock, Blakeman, and 'comrade' Paynter, and with the Commission's record in its recent investigations at BSR and Birmid Qualcast.

Although I have minor reservations about some of the ambiguous slogans at the end of the pamphlet (i.e. 'Keep the capitalist state out of the unions' - a rather belated call in my view), it is a useful addition to the armoury of any militant and I recommend that individuals, Shop Stewards Committees, etc., should order bundles to help prepare workers for the struggles ahead.



THE YOUNG WORKER'S GUIDE TO SOCIALISM

# THE AMBIGUITIES OF WORKERS' CONTROL

'Merits of Workers' Control in Industry'

(Title of an article by Alasdair Clayre, The Times,  
September 19, 1969.)

'Workers' Control exists wherever trade union practice,  
shop stewards' sanctions and collective power constrain  
employers'.

(Ken Coates and Tony Topham, 'Participation or  
Control', p. 10, March 1967.)

'Workers' Control, like charity, should begin at home.  
It is no use hoping for the workers to control industries  
if they don't control their own unions'.

(R. Challinor, 'International Socialism' no.40,  
October/November 1969.)

'The working out of even the most elementary economic  
plan - from the point of view of the exploited, not the  
exploiters - is impossible without workers' control,  
that is without the penetration of the workers' eye into  
all open and concealed springs of capitalist economy'.

(L. Trotsky, The Transitional Programme', 1938)

'In the long run Workers' Control is a political rather  
than industrial concept ... To accept that a man who  
works for an organization has the right to own it and  
direct it challenges the whole basis of property-owning  
capitalism'.

(M. Ivens, The Times, December 12, 1969.)

It is obvious that all those quoted opposite cannot be thinking of the same thing when they talk of 'workers' control'. What then does each of them mean when they use these currently fashionable words? Those who seek to answer this question will discover to their amazement that none of these pundits proposes a clear and unambiguous definition.

'What do you mean by workers' control?' is a question to press on anyone now raising the slogan. Some of the usual answers are listed below. (They are discussed further on in the article.) We have grouped the answers under three main headings:

1. Workers' control = participation of shop floor representatives on the Board of Management of various enterprises.

There are many variations on this theme. Some propose that the 'representatives' only be observers. Others demand for them the right to advise. Or the right to veto decisions taken by management. Or the right to participate in the taking of these decisions. Some propose that the 'representatives' number less than half the Board, others demand half... or more. Some would restrict their rights to dealing with technical aspects of the work process. Others would include working conditions and pay within their terms of reference. Finally some suggest that the workers' 'representatives' should be union officials, or Company nominees. Still others advocate that they should be technical experts. Some propose that they should be elected from the shop floor itself.

2. Workers' control = participation of shop floor representatives in trade union decision-making.

Here too there are many variations. Some who hold this view would demand that workers be given the right to participate in union decision-making - i.e. that the unions be made 'more democratic', for in theory all union members have this right. Others demand the right of groups of workers to veto decisions reached 'on their behalf' - but without consultation - by the union Executives. Some would restrict rank and file rights to strike decisions only. Others would extend them to the right directly to negotiate about conditions of work and pay.

3. Workers' control = an adjunct to nationalisation ('Nationalisation under workers' control').

The function of 'workers' control' under these circumstances is seldom spelt out. Some see it as a 'transitional' demand, others as a characteristic feature of a socialist society. Some see the objective of this kind of workers' control as being to advise the 'workers' state' on matters of overall economic policy - or to seek to influence such policy in a particular direction, or to ensure the smoothest possible execution of an industrial policy elaborated by the political institutions of the 'new' state.

Before going any further let us state here that we of SOLIDARITY reject all these meanings of workers' control and consider them ambiguous, or

harmful. All these interpretations evade the key issue of decisional authority within society. For these reasons we do not in fact use the words 'workers' control' but speak of 'workers' management'.

\* \* \* \* \*

The variations on the first concept of workers' control ('participation in management') all tacitly accept the authority of someone other than the producers themselves to manage production (i.e. to take the fundamental decisions). The producers are only allowed to 'participate' (i.e. to play a part or look in).

The advocates of this type of 'workers' control' seem mainly concerned at 'improving communications' in industry. They see industrial struggle as deriving from defects in such communications rather than from an irreconcilable conflict of interests. Their models are the Joint Production Committees that became widespread during World War II.

As against this viewpoint we insist that the General Assembly of the workers in any plant, or its elected and revocable Council, should alone have all managerial authority at plant level. Regional or national federations should have authority at regional or national level. All other bodies claiming managerial rights (whether they be managers in the pay of capitalist enterprises, trade union officials, government nominees or Party bureaucrats) are parasitic and must be exposed as such. As for the technical experts - they should advise, not impose decisions. Anyone who discusses workers' control without clearly stating his views on the authority of the General Assembly of the workers at plant level, or of the Federations of Workers Councils at higher levels, is spreading a smokescreen around the central issue.

The advocates of the second concept ('participation in union decision-making') argue beside the point. The rule of the Factory Council implies that they take over all the functions at present carried out both by management and by the unions. 'Workers' control' is not decisional authority in the hands of union officials. The rule of the Factory Councils will make the unions as well as management redundant. That is precisely why the unions (whether democratic or not) will fight to their death against workers' management of production.

As for the third view ('works' councils acting as pressure groups to influence the government's national policy') it implies the acceptance by the workers of the authority of a political bureaucracy.

As against this we stand for Community Councils, Workers' Councils, University Councils, Schools' Councils, etc. - federated at local, regional and national levels - becoming the decision-making authority on every aspect of production, services, and social life. It is these Coun-



cils who must decide the what, why, and how of the workings of society, including every aspect of production. Needless to say such a state of affairs cannot be achieved without revolution. Our view of revolution is not merely the replacement of the rule of the representatives of Capital by the rule of the Revolutionary Party. For us revolution is the rule of Industrial and Community Councils. Unless the revolution transforms the entire structure of authority relations throughout society it is doomed to degenerate into the rule of an elite.

\* \* \* \* \*

Others hold entirely different ideas on 'workers' control'. For example in a recent polemic on the subject between International Socialism and the Institute for Workers' Control (see I.S., no. 40, Oct/Nov 1969) Tony Topham of the I.W.C. declares 'No Incomes Policy without Workers' Control'. The author goes on to clarify his meaning by saying 'No Incomes Policy without a Workers' Veto'. Topham seems to consider the right of 'workers' (unions? shop stewards' committees? General Assemblies?) to veto governmental decisions as 'workers' control', or at least as some part of it. But to demand the right to veto someone else's decisions conceals the acceptance of that 'someone else's' authority to initiate the decisions in the first place. Topham concedes the very principle we are contesting.

Raymond Challinor of I.S. rebukes Topham, but in a different vein altogether. 'It is no use hoping for the workers to control industries if they don't control their own unions'. First control the unions, he seems to be saying, and control of the factories will perhaps come later. But what does 'control of the unions' mean? Challinor believes that the unions must (and therefore presumably that they can) be made more democratic. He explains: 'Not only is the idea that workers' representatives should receive the average pay of the men they represent intrinsic to the concept of industrial democracy, but it is equally important that they should be subject to recall'. This is a pious hope and in contradiction with the whole historical development of the unions under modern capitalism. It ignores their gradual but irreversible integration into exploiting society. The view expressed implies moreover that Challinor expects 'workers' control' to be exercised through 'democratic unions'. Why through unions? Why not full managerial authority exercised directly by the General Assembly or its Council in the factory and through Federations of Workers' Councils at regional and national levels? Why this fetishism of the authority of both unions and government?

The Institute for Workers' Control considers its role mainly as 'educational' and 'reformist'. It is 'practical' and 'realistic'. It therefore refuses to discuss such unrealistic issues as Revolution or the rule of the Factory Councils. It accepts the present authority of

the trade union apparatus and merely seeks to extend it.\* International Socialism on the other hand consider themselves 'political' and 'revolutionary' and can afford to 'challenge' the present union bureaucracy (although at election time giving 'critical support' to one bureaucratic faction against another).

Both I.W.C. and I.S. however share a restricted view of how workers should exercise their authority. They both share (without being aware of it?) the assumption that the basic decisions concerning production will have to be taken out of the hands of those directly involved in production and vested in the hands of some political bureaucracy (those managing the 'nationalised' industry). For those who accept such fundamental assumptions, 'workers' control' will always be restricted to technical or supervisory functions, for it is conceived of as something separate from the question of political authority.

For us workers' management\*\* means the same as workers' power. Let us spell it out. NEITHER THE RULE OF CAPITALISTS. NOR THE RULE OF PARLIAMENT. NOR THE RULE OF THE TRADE UNIONS. NOR THE RULE OF THE 'REVOLUTIONARY PARTY'. BUT THE DIRECT AND TOTAL RULE OF THE FACTORY AND COMMUNITY COUNCILS. In other words we stand for a society based on self-management in every branch of social life. Community and Factory Councils must take over all decision-making authority at present vested in Parliament, political parties, unions, or capitalist management.

In this we differ from all those revolutionaries (the 'trad left') who stick to the idea of political authority as something separate from the productive process. We believe that the very system of rule by a separate political apparatus is redundant and that this apparatus will be replaced - in the revolutionary process - by the direct rule of the Councils. All political organisations who will attempt to build a separate power structure outside of the Councils will be challenged by the Revolution as just another set of external manipulators. For 'workers' power' challenges not only property-owning capitalism but the very separation of political authority from production. Sooner or later all revolutionaries will have to choose between 'All Power to the Councils' and 'All Power to the Party'. Their choice will determine not only their political role but also their historical future.

A. O.

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\* 'It seems sensible for us to speak of "workers' control" to indicate the aggressive encroachment of the trade unions on management's powers in a capitalist framework'. Tony Topham, 'Industrial Democracy in Great Britain', MacGibbon and Kee, 1968, p. 363.

\*\* A full discussion and documentation of the differences (both theoretical and practical) between 'workers' control' and 'workers' management' will be found in the introduction to M. Brinton's 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control: 1917-1921' (The State and Counter-Revolution).

# TROTSKY... AND THE SUPPRESSION OF LENIN'S TESTAMENT

SOLIDARITY's major contribution to the Lenin Centenary Year (1970) has been the publication of a work of demystification entitled 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control: 1917-1921' which is already provoking some interesting, if predictable, repercussions. We would not like 'the Year' to close however without a further historical contribution, this time on the subject of Lenin's 'Testament'.

Readers will know that we have no particular brief for what Lenin stood for. The fate of his Testament however provides a fascinating study in the manipulation of information for the ends of power. It shows - with inexorable logic - what happens to those (like Trotsky) who put Party fetishism before allegiance to principle. Finally it illustrates the inescapable relationship - in politics as in life - between the means adopted and the end achieved. As such, it warrants our concern.

About a year before his death Lenin dictated some paragraphs - later to be known as his Testament - in which he assessed the strengths and shortcomings of various members of the Bolshevik Central Committee. He urged that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary of the Party and replaced by someone 'more loyal, more courteous and more considerate to comrades, less capricious,' etc. After some heated early controversies, the very existence of this letter was, for nearly three decades, to be denied by the Stalinist apparatchiks. The Testament only ceased to be a 'forbidden document' in Russia when it was specifically referred to by Khrushchov in 1956 - in his revelations to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Later that year it was published in full in the June issue of the Party's theoretical journal 'Kommunist'. The Testament will soon be restored to its rightful (and not very important) place in history. (1) Even the Chinese and Albanian comrades - who still deny its existence - will realise one day that if 'power flows from the barrel of a gun', truth has other, equally explosive, means of propagation.

To the Trotskyist movement the existence of this document has been known since 1924. For some 40 years they have been reproducing it in pamphlet form, on countless occasions and in every part of the world, usually in conjunction with an article ('On Lenin's Testament') written by Trotsky in Prinkipo (Turkey) in December 1932. Learned reference to the Testament was, in fact, one of the diagnostic hallmarks of the informed Trotskyist between 1926 and 1956.

What is less well known in the revolutionary movement - and what is not even hinted at in all the Trotskyist hue and cry about the 'suppressed' Testament - are the extraordinary lengths to which Trotsky went to impede knowledge about this text and to prevent discussion of its contents. In other words what is conveniently forgotten is the extent to which Trotsky himself contributed to the suppression he complains of. (2)

Trotsky's deafening early silences about the contents of the Testament, and his later nauseating disclaimers about its very existence, deserve far wider publicity, if only as a belated act of political sanitation. They puncture the pretensions of all those modern Trotskyists who believe their leader (or God?) was, from the early nineteen twenties on, a consistent and courageous opponent of Stalinism.

The true facts show something very different. They show that the Stalinists have no monopoly when it comes to the 'falsification of history' for tactical purposes. They show how, between 1924 and 1926, Trotsky successfully - and massively - undermined his own future credibility as an opponent of the Russian bureaucracy, placing weapon after weapon in Stalin's hands. They highlight the process whereby he successfully helped sharpen the pickaxe for his own brain. Ritualistic Trotskyist appeals to 'historical truth' (appeals duly echoed at the recent S.L.L., I.M.G., and I.S. Trotsky Memorial litanies in London) sound very hollow in the light of the story we are about to tell.

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Lenin's Testament 'was written at two periods, separated by an interval of 10 days: December 25, 1922 and January 4, 1923. At first only two people knew of the document: the stenographer, M. Volodicheva, who wrote it from dictation and Lenin's wife, N. Krupskaya. As long as there remained a glimmer of hope for Lenin's recovery Krupskaya kept the document under lock and key. After Lenin's death (January 21, 1924) and not long before the Thirteenth Congress (May 1924) she handed the Testament to the Secretariat of the Central Committee in order that through the Party Congress it should be brought to the attention of the Party for whom it was destined'. (3)

Krupskaya explained why she had not communicated the document earlier. In a note to Kamenev she stated that Lenin had expressed the 'definite wish' that his letter should be submitted to the next Party Congress after his death'. (4)

'At that time the Party apparatus was semi-officially in the hands of the "troika" (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Stalin) - as a matter of fact already in the hands of Stalin. The troika decisively expressed themselves against

reading the Testament at the Congress - their motive not at all difficult to understand. Krupskaya insisted upon her wish. At this stage the dispute was going on behind the scenes. The question was transferred to a meeting of the Elders at the Congress'. (5)

This meeting of 'Elders' (Central Committee members plus selected Senior Delegates to the Congress) was held on May 22, 1924. It was here that Trotsky first learned about the Testament. (6) After a decision had been adopted that nobody should make notes, Kamenev read out the text. According to Deutscher (7) 'the reading of the will had the effect of a bolt from the blue ... Amid all the worshipping of Lenin's memory, amid the endless genuflections and vows to "hold Lenin's word sacred" it seemed inconceivable that the Party should disregard Lenin's advice'.

Bajanov, one of Stalin's former personal secretaries, recorded the minutes of this interesting meeting and has left us a fairly full account of it. (8) Zinoviev and Kamenev (Trotsky's future 'allies' in the 'Joint Opposition' of 1926-27) rushed to extricate Stalin from the very awkward situation in which he now found himself. They argued that the will should not be published. Things weren't as bad as Lenin had said ... Stalin was now a reformed character, sincerely trying to change his ways ... He had made amends ... If Lenin had only lived a bit longer he would have realised all this ... etc., etc. Zinoviev even declared that 'the fears of Ilyich (Lenin) have not been confirmed' and went on with 'a thousand variations on the theme of the young maiden who to be sure is with child, but one so small that it is not worth the trouble of speaking about it'. (9) Trotsky himself implicitly acknowledges the authenticity of Bajanov's testimony. (10)

'All eyes were now fixed on Trotsky: would he rise, expose the farce and demand that Lenin's will be respected?' (11) One might have anticipated some such reaction from someone who over the previous months had been urging a 'New Course' in Party and State affairs and a conscious campaign against bureaucracy. But Trotsky, drawing on his fine command of language, 'did not utter a word'. (12) For Stalin and his acolytes Trotsky's silence must have been wonderful to listen to. They won by default. The standard-bearer of the struggle against the bureaucracy, the apostle of 'permanent revolution', didn't produce a squeak.

Breathing a collective sigh of relief, the meeting resolved to disregard Lenin's advice about removing Stalin. But this momentous decision had implications and a dynamic of its own. It meant that the Testament could not now be published. To publish it, while flouting its main practical proposal, 'would show up and render ridiculous all the mummeries of the Lenin cult'. (13) It was left to the ageing Krupskaya to make a stand. 'With the gentle insistence characteristic of her, Krupskaya argued that this was a direct violation of the will of Lenin, to whom you could not deny the right to bring his last advice to the attention of the Party'. (14)

But Krupskaya was overruled. Trotsky still remained silent as 'the Central Committee, by an overwhelming majority, voted for the suppression of the will'. (15) They decided 'that the will should not be openly discussed at the Congress - as Lenin had requested - but "explained" in private to various delegates, i.e. restricted in its circulation to the ranks of the bureaucracy itself'. (16)

The 13th Party Congress opened the following day. 'The activity of the Secretarial machinery had been so effective that not a single oppositionist was elected to the Congress as a voting delegate'. (17) No mention was made of the Testament at the Congress sessions. (18) Instead the proceedings degenerated into an orgy of anti-Trotskyism, precipitated by the publication of Trotsky's famous open letter on the 'New Course' a few months earlier. Zinoviev proclaimed the famous phrase 'It is now a thousand times more necessary than ever that the Party should be monolithic'. (19) Trotsky, (according to his present-day supporters 'always a principled opponent of bureaucratisation in the Party') did not challenge the fundamental assumption underlying Zinoviev's claim. On the contrary he supported it! Dissociating himself from the Forty Six (which included many of his sympathisers) who had demanded freedom for inner-party groupings, Trotsky proclaimed 'the allegation that I am in favour of permitting (such) groupings is incorrect'. (20)

But let us return to the Testament. The 13th Congress was attended by one Max Eastman, a young American revolutionary who had been excluded from the American Socialist Party in 1919 for his support of the Russian Revolution. (21) By some means or other Eastman had got to hear of the Testament. At the 13th Congress he 'urged Trotsky to take a more militant attitude and to read Lenin's testament from the platform - but Trotsky would not listen'. (22) In fact Trotsky did the very opposite. So energetically was he at this stage fighting the growth of the bureaucracy that he urged Eastman to treat as 'an absolute secret' anything he might have heard about the Testament. (23) Eastman's account of the whole disgraceful episode is confirmed by Trotsky himself, in a letter to Muralov written on September 11, 1928 from his exile in Alma Ata. (24) After the Congress Stalin, tongue in cheek, adroitly volunteered to resign his post - as Lenin had demanded. No one - not even Trotsky - supported the proposal. Stalin was later to make great play of this episode. (25)

It is hard to imagine what would have happened if Trotsky had publicly read Lenin's testament to the rank and file delegates at the 13th Congress. Krupskaya could have vouchsafed for the accuracy of the text and it would have been infinitely more difficult for Stalin to impose his bloody rule. One can only guess at Trotsky's motives. He was reluctant to appear as a contender for Lenin's mantle (the workers, already oppressed under the whip of the new bureaucracy, could not allow themselves such moral niceties). Moreover Trotsky still felt a deep organisational loyalty to the Party, although it was already irrevocably and irreversibly bureau-

cratised. (26) This helps explain his pathetic utterances to the Congress: 'Comrades, none of us wishes to be or can be right against the Party ... In the last instance the Party is always right, because it is the only historic instrument which the working class possesses for the solution of its fundamental tasks ... One can be right only with the Party and through the Party because history has not created any other way for the realisation of one's rightness. The English have the saying "My country, right or wrong". With much greater justification we can say "My Party, right or wrong".' (27)

This fetishism of the Party - in stark contrast to Marx's utterance, in the Manifesto, that 'the Communists do not form a separate Party, opposed to other working class parties', had already had disastrous results for the working class and for the fate of the Russian Revolution. It was soon to have similar results for Trotsky himself. It epitomises the triumph of dead ideology over living ideas and the alienation of revolutionaries in relation to their own creations.

The 13th Congress ended on a ghoulish note. Lenin's testament was for the time being safely buried. (28) Zinoviev proclaimed the benediction. 'The entire Congress' he said, choking with emotion, 'has now been inspired by the wish to work as if Ilyich (Lenin) was still there'. (29)

But the corpse would not rest in peace. Late in 1925 Max Eastman published his famous book 'Since Lenin Died' described by Deutscher (30) as 'a true account, the first to see the light, of the struggle over the succession to Lenin'. In the book Eastman gave the full text of Lenin's testament. Before publishing the book Eastman had submitted the manuscript to Christian Rakovsky, a firm supporter of the Left Opposition and close personal friend of Trotsky's, who was at the time Russian ambassador in Paris. 'Madame Rakovsky sent it back with enthusiastic praise and that was, I thought, as much "authorisation" (to publish) as could be obtained under the circumstances', Eastman was later to write. (31)

The publication of this book embarrassed Trotsky, at the time still manoeuvring in the Party and seeking to fight the Stalinists on their own ground - and by purely organisational methods. Stalin's associates charged Trotsky with having committed a gross indiscretion and pressed him to issue a denial of Eastman's disclosures (which both they and he knew to be substantially correct). Trotsky's associates urged him merely to issue a disclaimer of all responsibility for the book. But this wouldn't satisfy the Politbureau, who wanted a categorical denial of Eastman's story about the Testament. Trotsky, the valiant fighter against the bureaucracy, capitulated again. In his wisdom, he had decided that the time was 'not yet ripe' for an open break with the apparatus. So on September 1, 1925 over Trotsky's signature, a statement appeared in the journal 'Bolshevik' dealing, inter alia, with Eastman's book :

'Eastman asserts in several places that the Central Committee has "concealed" from the Party a large number of documents of extraordinary importance, written by Lenin during the last period of his life. (The

documents in question are letters on the national question, the famous "will", etc.) This is a pure slander against the Central Committee of our Party. Eastman's words convey the impression that these letters, which are of an advisory character and deal with the inner Party organisation, were intended by Lenin for publication. This is not at all in accordance with the facts. During the time of his illness Lenin repeatedly addressed letters and proposals to the leading bodies and Congresses of the Party. It must be definitely stated that all these letters and suggestions were invariably delivered to their destination and they were all brought to the knowledge of the delegates of the 12th and 13th Congresses, and have invariably exercised their influence on the decisions of the Party. If all of these letters have not been published, it is because the author did not intend their publication. Comrade Lenin has not left any "will"; the character of his relations to the Party, and the character of the Party itself, exclude the possibility of such a "will". The bourgeois and Menshevist press generally understand under the designation of "will" one of Comrade Lenin's letters (which is so much altered as to be almost illegible) in which he gives the Party some organisatory advice. The 13th Party Congress devoted the greatest attention to this and the other letters, and drew the conclusions corresponding to the situation obtaining. All talk with regard to a concealed or mutilated "will" is nothing but a despicable lie, directed against the real will of Comrade Lenin, and against the interests of the Party created by him.'

Comment is superfluous.

This text - Trotsky's major contribution to the suppression of Lenin's Testament - was promptly reprinted by the Comintern journal Imprecor (International Press Correspondence) on September 3, 1925. Trotsky's lies were then systematically and widely disseminated throughout the international communist movement through the enthusiastic good offices of Zinoviev's international propaganda machine. They were eagerly re-diffused in practically every country of the world by Communist Parties already more or less under the influence of the dominant faction in the Russian Party. (32) Trotsky's real disagreements were so little known abroad as to be almost confidential.

And the masses? All those who had not, since 1917, appeared on the scene of history? All those who had been denied power because they had been denied knowledge? All those on whose 'ultimate' behalf the historical process was being manipulated, the facts juggled with, the power struggle waged (within the narrow confines of the apparatus)? Well, they were finally to be provided for. Max Eastman had not yet deserted the radical cause. He refused to let sleeping dogs lie. He wrote a further article about Lenin's Testament. And one fine day - on October 18, 1926 to be precise - people throughout the world finally read the real text of the Testament... in the columns of the New York Times. The revelations must have been an anti-climax. The Testament, after all, is a trivial affair. Stalin had 'concentrated enormous power in his hands'.



Lenin wasn't 'sure that he (Stalin) always knew how to use that power with sufficient caution'. There is no concern about the concentration of personal power per se. Lenin is not worried about how it came about, nor about its implications in relation to a socialist perspective. What bugs him is that that power may be injudiciously used by the wrong individual. His proposed remedies are entirely administrative: the removal of a Secretary, the 'raising of the number of members of the Central Committee'.

That's the end of our story. We hope to have thrown some needed light into some murky corners. The whole dismal tale of the Testament should be a warning to all those on the 'left' who still believe in apparatus politics. Insoluble problems await them along that particular road. Those who fetishise the 'historical birthright of the Party' - and use such concepts to silence their scruples - have paid the ultimate price, and will continue to pay it. They have moreover failed - and will continue to fail - in their objectives. The heat and passion generated by such controversies can only be understood within a specific emotional and intellectual context. For the deeply religious the observance of the rites, the carrying out of the Last Commandments and the correct implementation of an apostolic succession are fundamental matters. For us - who couldn't care less about Gods - both the problem and its solution lie altogether elsewhere.

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- (1) The most recent Russian edition of Lenin's Collected Works now contains the text in full (vol.45, p.344).
  - (2) In this respect it is particularly nauseating to read in Lenin's Suppressed Letters (A Perspectives Publication) produced earlier this year by 'The Militant' brand of Trot now controlling the Sussex University Socialist Labour Club, the statement (p.1) that 'after Lenin's death these last letters, including the famous "Testament", were kept hidden from the eyes of the Party and the International ... for 30 years this material was suppressed by the Soviet bureaucracy'. This might, on the other hand, be more true than the author realises. But only if one includes Trotsky in that very bureaucracy.
  - (3) L. Trotsky. 'On the Suppressed Testament of Lenin'. Merit Pamphlet (Pathfinder Press Inc., 873 Broadway, New York). Third (1970) edition, p. 13. Words between parentheses are our own.
  - (4) See her letter of May 18, 1924, reprinted in B.D. Wolfe's 'Khrushchev and Stalin's Ghost' (New York, 1957), pp. 258-9.
  - (5) L. Trotsky. Op. cit., p.13.
  - (6) Ibid., p. 13.
  - (7) I. Deutscher. 'The Prophet Unarmed', O.U.P. (1959), p. 137.

- (8) B. Bajanov. 'Avec Staline dans le Kremlin' (Paris, 1930), pp.43-47.
- (9) B. Bajanov. 'Stalin, der rote Diktator' (Berlin, Aretz, 1931), p.33.
- (10) L. Trotsky. 'Stalin' (Hollis and Carter, London, 1947), p. 376.
- (11) I. Deutscher. Op. cit., p. 137.
- (12) Ibid., p. 137.
- (13) Ibid., p. 138.
- (14) L. Trotsky. 'On the Suppressed Testament of Lenin', p. 14.
- (15) I. Deutscher. Op. cit., p. 138.
- (16) M. Eastman. 'Since Lenin Died' (London, 1925), chapter II.
- (17) R.V. Daniels. 'The Conscience of the Revolution' (Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 239.
- (18) L. Shapiro. 'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union' (London University Paperbacks, 1963), p. 283.
- (19) 13 Syezd R.K.P.(b), Moscow, 1924, p. 112.
- (20) I. Deutscher. Op. Cit., p. 139.
- (21) Eastman, who spoke Russian fluently and had been in Moscow during the whole development of the inner-Party crisis, was to become one of the first American members of the Left Opposition and one of the first translators of Trotsky's works into English.
- (22) I. Deutscher. Op. cit., p. 140, f.1.
- (23) Max Eastman. Op. cit., chapter II.
- (24) I. Deutscher. Op. cit., p. 140.
- (25) See International Press Correspondence (the Comintern Journal) No. 64, November 17, 1927, pp. 1428-29.
- (26) By 1924 those who had belonged to the Bolshevik Party since the early days of 1917 constituted less than 1% of the membership.
- (27) 13 Syezd R.K.P.(b), Moscow 1924, p. 166. Stalin was later to use these phrases against Trotsky - with telling effects - at the Fifteenth Party Congress in 1926.
- (28) Even today the Russian bureaucracy cannot give a true and accurate version of what happened at the 13th Party Congress. After the 20th Congress (1956) it issued a pamphlet entitled 'Lenin's Last Letters and Articles' (Progress Publishers, Moscow), in which one can read (p.61): 'Lenin considered it necessary that after his death the letter (known as Lenin's Testament) should be communicated to the regular Party Congress. In accordance with his wishes the letter was read out to the delegates of the 13th Party Congress, held from May 23 to 31, 1924.

The Congress unanimously decided (sic!) that the letter should not be published just then, since it was addressed to the Congress and not intended for publication'.

This passage is an interesting example of recent historical falsification. It should provide a good reminder of what's what to those who claim that a reformed Russian bureaucracy today no longer tells downright lies - but merely peddles partial truths.

(29) M. Eastman. Op. cit., chapter 9.

(30) I. Deutscher. Op. cit., p. 201.

(31) Ibid., p. 202.

(32) What is amazing is that as late as 1928, after his expulsion from the Party, Trotsky was still justifying his unprincipled and suicidal conduct in relation to Eastman. In his letter to Muralov (see The New International, November 1934, pp.125-126) Trotsky wrote: 'During the time when the Opposition still figured on correcting the Party line by strictly internal means, without bringing the controversy out in the open, all of us, including myself, were opposed to steps Max Eastman had taken for the defence of the Opposition... my then statement on Eastman can be understood only as an integral part of our then line towards conciliation and peacemaking'.

Post Office charges will shortly go up by over 75%. The cost of sending a copy of SOLIDARITY through the post will probably increase from 4d to 7d, thereby exceeding the cost of a copy of the paper itself. This is going to have serious repercussions on our ability to pay postage on some bulk orders. It is unfair that we should have to pay the extra postage costs. It is also unfair that bulk order takers should have to pay them (this would amount to a sort of penalisation: the more SOLIDARITIES ordered and sold, the more the personal cost). We have therefore decided on the following provisional measure, which will become operative with the increase in postal charges.

Copies of SOLIDARITY will cost 1/-. This will be printed on the front cover. The new cost will include postage, but will also apply to copies purchased from sellers or from bookshops. The new scheme will ensure a more even spread of the extra postal charges and will spare us a lot of tedious accountancy. Discounts reflecting reduced postal charges for large orders will be possible.

This new measure takes no account of the steadily increasing cost of paper, ink, stencils and staples. Our prices have remained constant for over 9 years - a remarkable achievement. We will almost certainly have to increase the basic price at some time in the future. We are investigating a scheme whereby an actual discount could be allowed to bulk order takers, without bankrupting us completely. The introduction of this scheme will probably coincide with the onset of decimalisation. Watch the paper for further news.

# ABOUT OURSELVES

In the past few weeks a number of our members and supporters have been engaged in the activities described in the first article of this issue. A real campaign is developing in which we intend to play our part. All those interested in helping should write to us or get in touch with the BSSRS as soon as possible.

Our pamphlet on 'Authoritarian conditioning, sexual repression and the Irrational in Politics' (2/6 post free) has had a very encouraging response. Two thousand copies were produced and have nearly all been sold. We have received many encouraging letters and our material has been brought to a wide new audience. Big orders have come from a number of Women's Liberation Groups. We have also been busy ensuring that our newly-published book 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control 1917-1921' (6/- post free) is distributed and read as widely as possible. The translations are going well. Initial sales have been rather patchy. We have received some quite unexpected orders from various distant parts of the world but many local subscribers and supporters have not yet ordered. (We must remind readers that the book is not being sent automatically - but only on request - to regular subscribers and bulk order takers.) Bookshops sales in London have been good. To date some 550 copies have been paid for and about 700 further copies are out. Those who have made us loans are being systematically repaid. We need more orders from local libraries for copies with hard back covers. Drop in and ask your librarian to order a copy (25/-). We also need help in placing the book with bookshops, particularly in universities. Again we need your help. This book is essential to an understanding of our ideas on workers' self-management and on the nature of Russian society.

We have recently been reprinting many of our basic pamphlets. The demand for these is continuous and is in fact increasing. Although this is an encouraging testimony to the spread of our ideas, the slave labour involved constitutes a great drain on our human resources. With more capital we could do this on a much larger and more efficient scale, possibly in print. If a few dozen people gave us a few quid each we'd be over the hump and onto the road to offset litho. We also badly need new subscribers (£1 sent to the address below will ensure you get all our next productions to this value).

A printed Spanish edition of Modern Capitalism and Revolution by Paul Cardan has recently been published in Paris (by Ruedo Iberico Publications). Copies (price uncertain) can be ordered from Librairie La Vieille Taupe, 1 rue des Fossés St. Jacques, Paris 5. We have also just heard of a Japanese translation of 'Paris: May 1968' and of forthcoming Norwegian translations of a number of our pamphlets. Further offers welcome.

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