

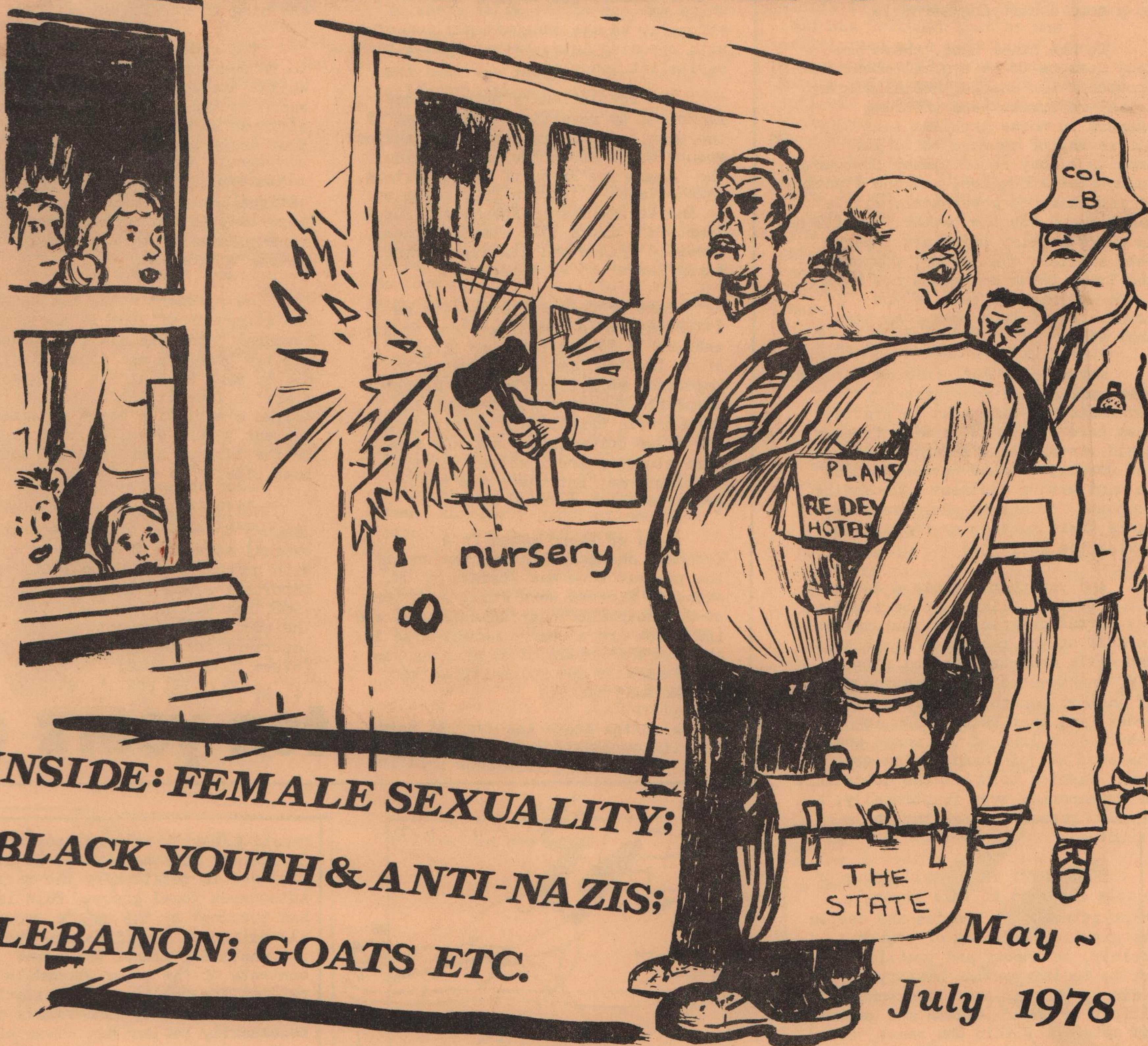
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Soli

# SOLIDARITY FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION

No. 3

## BIG BROTHER'S

15p



INSIDE: FEMALE SEXUALITY;  
BLACK YOUTH & ANTI-NAZIS;  
LEBANON; GOATS ETC.

## SMASH AND GRAB



# SOLIDARITY -

where we  
stand



Are you satisfied with your life in our society? Certainly, there seems to be plenty of room for improvement. Wherever you live, it's certain that every aspect of your life is regulated by managers and officials of one kind or another. It's quite likely that you don't know your neighbours or workmates very well - and feel anxious and lonely from time to time. Although we apparently have a much higher standard of living than our grandparents ever had, everything you buy seems shoddy, and the process of getting the necessary cash is a soul destroying struggle.

On the other hand, there are good reasons to be cynical about the prospects for change. Socialists and social reformers were offering answers to these problems long before any of us were born; yet despite bloody revolutions, protracted industrial struggles, and the election of reformers to government, little has changed for the better. Conditions in every country today are remarkably similar; the Labour, Communist and Trade Union movements now seem to be an integral part of the forces that intend things to stay that way.

But when we come to come to examine most radical and revolutionary movements, we find that in practice they have little to do with freedom. Rigid hierarchical organisation and the worship of dead heroes go hand in hand with a coolness approaching contempt for anyone who doesn't share their particular formula for saving the world.

And yet there exists a movement for freedom. It isn't to be found in any formal organisation, but rather in some of the responses of EVERYONE who fells down-trodden and ripped off. Whenever we recognise the needs of another person, sex, race or creed, and that recognition is returned, a link of the chain snaps. Whenever we join hands in an open and equal fashion to shift the deadweight of bureaucracy even fractionally, a shudder passes through the whole structure.

SOLIDARITY is a small group of people involved in this struggle, which attempts to broaden and deepen the growing criticism of modern society, in theory and practice. We try to rediscover the history of ordinary people, that lies beneath the history of their leaders and generals, and attempt, within our means, to encourage autonomy, participation, and equality in every struggle against management and officialdom that we are involved in.

## may '68

Ten years ago we seemed to be at the dawn of a new world. The worldwide movement of protest against the Vietnam war had stimulated a radical critique of capitalist society, especially amongst students. In France, 10 million workers went on strike in a movement which, in both strength and radicalism, was probably the most advanced ever in the history of capitalism. The whole of our lives seemed about to change.

Today, how different it seems. Although there are many positive things happening, the running seems increasingly to be made by the forces of reaction. In most countries racism has emerged as a strong political force. The state is taking more control, aided by the antics of 'urban guerillas'. Far from creating the future, people are concerned with holding what they've got and trying to stop things getting worse. For instance, in the field of education, which was one of the major areas of struggle, we are increasingly concerned with opposing cuts, rather than attacking capitalist schooling.

The revolutionary movement has responded by reverting to the ways of the past. A proliferation of Trotskyist groups argue about the correct line. The 'Communist' Party of Great Britain, which seemed a joke in 1968, seems to be increasing its influence. And Euro-communism looks like attaining some power in France and Italy, where the struggles of 68 were greatest.

Part of this difference is an illusion. The movement was not as strong then as it seemed to be to those of us involved, and it has grown in important ways, involving new groups of people. The student movement, for instance, in Britain was mainly in a few major Universities, and now many more students are involved in other institutions. But there are real problems which we have to face.

Some of these arise from economic changes. Although the end of the postwar boom was visible by 68, economic factors were still much less of a constraint. Today unemployment and inflation are a real constraint. As in the 30s, the 'crisis of capitalism' has paradoxically not helped those who attack that system.

Also the state has learned more than its opponents. As one of the

'gurus' of that period put it "the revolution revolutionises the counter-revolution". The state is both more subtle and more determined. Likewise many in the press and elsewhere were scared off by the prospect of real change.

But some of the major problems arose from the weaknesses of the movement itself. It was in many ways naive, and important differences were ignored. The paradox of anti-Stalinists waving North Vietnam flags went unnoticed. 'Solidarity' would not now print a pamphlet about a pro-Vietcong demo without mentioning the appalling nature of that organisation.

One of the major problems was the attitude of revolutionaries to women. This was one of the most glaring weaknesses in France, for instance. Out of this grew the women's movement, attacking at first the attitude of the left to the women in its ranks. This fight continues today, but at least no-one dare suggest that there is no problem, or that the blatant macho posturing of 'Street Fighting MAN' has anything to do with socialism.

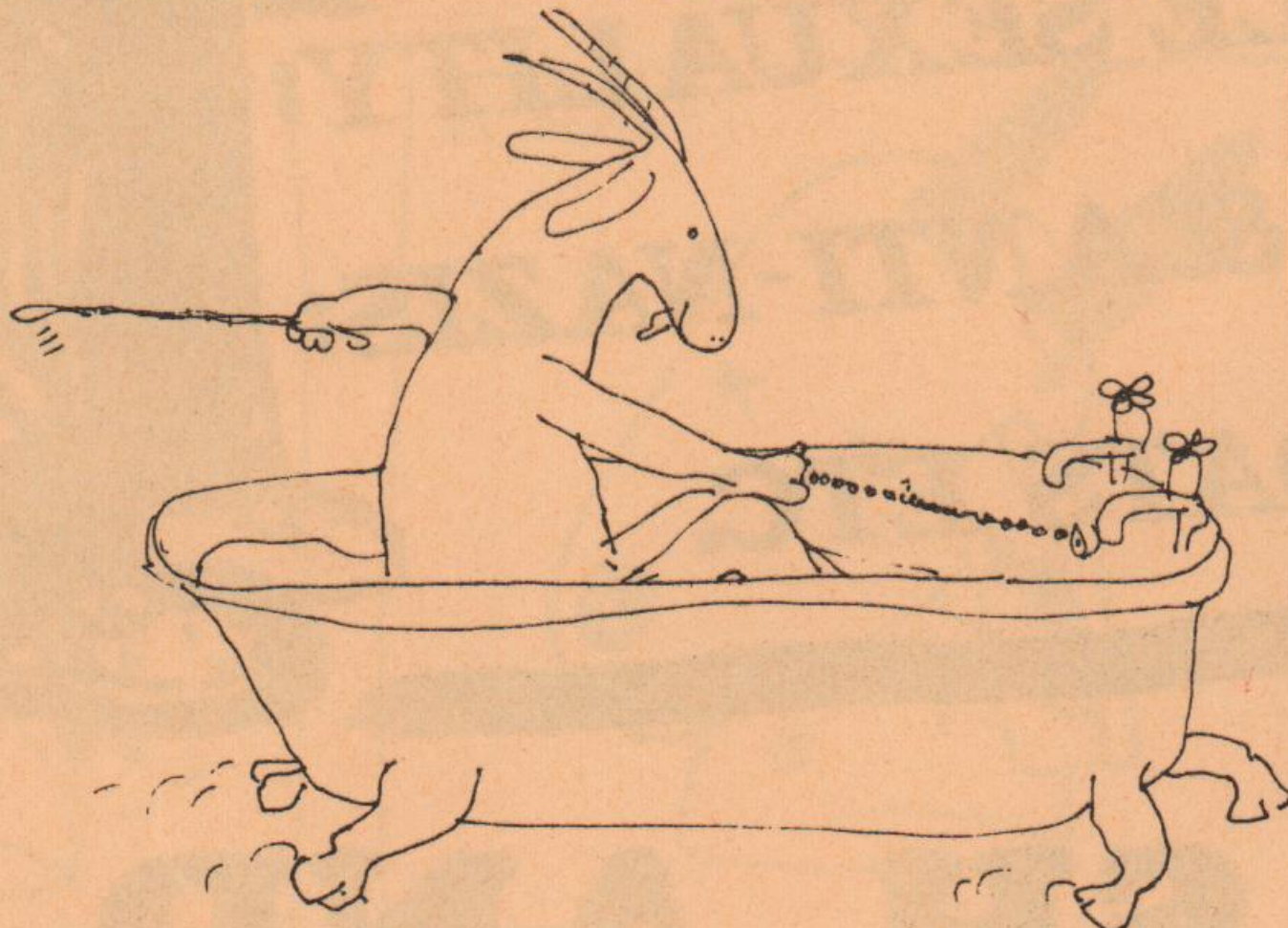
The other big problem which has to be overcome is that of nationalism. Whilst the movement of ten years ago was consciously international, its attitude to nationalism was confused. Most supported 'national-liberation' movements, and many called for 'nationalisation'. Indeed most still do. As nationalism and racism become more important to the ruling classes, the consequences of this confusion will become much worse.

One movement which has arisen in the aftermath of 1968 is the ecology movement. This, like all real movements, has its problems and contradictions, but in many ways it has the greatest claim to inherit the 'Spirit of 68'. And, as a worldwide movement against nuclear power develops, it is seen to be the largest mass campaign since that time.

Solidarity intends to report and discuss these and other issues, and the overall struggle of people to do away with bosses of all sorts, which was an important element of the movement in 1968. That was an important year for the socialist movement, but what is important for us is to prepare for the future. 1968 is dead.

DON'T MOURN FOR IT. ORGANISE.

## ten years on



SOLIDARITY is the paper of the Solidarity National Group. It is produced in rotation by the various autonomous local groups. This issue was produced by the Oxford group; all editorial decisions are our responsibility alone. While the contents of the paper generally reflect the politics of Solidarity, articles signed by individuals don't necessarily reflect the views of all members.



# stroke

A recent and still continuing dispute in the North Sea has shown some of the particular difficulties facing workers on unofficial strike.

With a few notable exceptions, national trade union organisations have been unenthusiastic and unsuccessful in helping people working offshore. In some cases, full-time officials have told offshore workers that they can do nothing for them. The response of a group of electricians, EETPU members working for Mather and Platt Alarms Limited, was to organise themselves at a local level. This was very successful, and the wages and conditions they achieved were among the best in the British sector of the North Sea. From Mather Platt's point of view, this was unprofitable, especially as their workforce grew. They began sub-contacting work, and just before Xmas announced 30 redundancies. When the rest of the electricians came out in support they too were sacked. Pickets were mounted at Mather & Platt offices and at Dyce Heliport, Aberdeen, from where the workers were flown to the rigs.

The EETPU refused to make its members' case official. Apart from the lack of strike pay, it proved difficult for the strikers to approach and gain support from other workers. A few local TU officials gave the strikers assistance, but not openly, for fear of treading on the toes of EETPU officials. But from most quarters the response was that since the strike was unofficial, no help could be given. This meant that contacting sympathetic trade unionists was either difficult or impossible, since by control of information (eg. how to contact shop stewards) union officials have considerable power over communications.

This does imply, of course, that an official strike will meet with cooperation and support; but in an unofficial dispute it is much easier for officials to oppose a strike they disagree with. Aberdeen Trades Council had voted support for the strikers and was putting an emergency motion to the Scottish TUC in mid-April on their behalf when the chairman ruled that this was unconstitutional because the strike was unofficial. A compromise was reached: the Trades Council maintained its verbal support for the strikers but withdrew the emergency motion.

Finally the lack of official backing by the strikers' union may undermine support from other workers - though this has not invariably happened.

Since the vast majority of strikes are unofficial at the start, and many continue without being made official, the issues mentioned above should be of general relevance. The long standing libertarian view that unofficial strikes are preferable to official ones because of the relative autonomy with which the strikers can sometimes operate has to be offset against the factors mentioned above.

Despite the difficulties in getting support, the Mather and Platt strikers voted at a mass meeting on 27th April to continue the strike. Some of them have received unsolicited job offers from other companies operating in the North Sea; they see this as an attempt to break the strike, however.

Sandy.

Spare a thought for the Electricity Board customer who, when writing a complaint, found that he had to quote the following reference number:- 1740519518000A64001001000010390V !

## pound away

Shoddy production of the new pound notes has caused a lot of trouble for the High Street banks. Their 24-hour cash dispensing machines were all adjusted to "recognise" the new notes, but owing to large random variations in size, the machines have malfunctioned badly, either rejecting the notes, or packing up altogether. A Treasury spokesman was however unrepentant; "We don't make them by hand, you know", he quipped. Meanwhile, the decision to print the serial number on just one corner of the new note has caused chaos in the handling of torn and damaged currency.

# ROBOT

A new computer software package called ROBOT has been developed in the States, which is supposed to be able to allow the computer user to communicate with the machine in Plain English, via a typewriter keyboard. The idea behind this is certainly not to permit everyone to have access to information held on computers; rather, a saving is foreseen in employing unskilled workers to replace skilled programmers and coders for certain purposes.

## bureauscab

An interesting document was recently circulated to staff in the Department of Education and Science; here are a few extracts:-

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR STAFF IN THE EVENT OF A RAIL STRIKE ON 1 MARCH, 1978

1. The general requirement is that you must make every effort to report for duty at your normal place of work unless you receive instructions to the contrary. If you are physically fit you should be prepared to walk up to 4 miles each way as a stage of your journeys to and from your office.
8. If you cannot reach your normal office under one of the arrangements above, and cannot work at home, you should try to reach one of the other offices of the Department (for example, Canons Park or one of the Departmental Museums). If this is not possible you should report in person to a Department of Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office if there is one within 4 miles of your home. You should say that you are a Civil Servant reporting under the emergency scheme for loan to some other department. If there is no employment exchange or Branch Employment Office within 4 miles of your home you should report to any other government department within that distance. You should tell your Senior Officer in the Department of Education and Science what you are doing either by telephone or post. If, having taken all reasonable steps to fit into one of the categories above no work has been found for you, or you have been unable to report to your own office or that of another government department, you may at the Department's discretion be paid your salary in full. In these circumstances you may volunteer for emergency duties outside the civil service...

And so it goes on.....





## Fighting Fascism – is it becoming an

# ANAL FIXATION?

It's hard to think of any leftist campaign in recent years that has generated as much interest as the Anti-Nazi League. So it seems important to ask how effective this campaign really is, both against the National Front, and as part of the wider project of liberation. I recently took part in two major ANAL functions, and although I was deeply impressed by the determination of so many people to put a spoke in the Front's wheel, I feel that a big question mark hangs over ANAL itself.

The first, and most encouraging, of these functions was the Anti-Nazi Carnival in Victoria Park on April 30th. It has been argued for a long time that the old-fashioned, macho left demonstration is too tedious and unproductive for most people to stomach, and the carnival seemed to show very clearly what a little imagination can do in politics. That 80,000 people were prepared to march for the highly political purpose of enjoying themselves, as well as waving two fingers at the fascists, points to a lesson for us all. (That the National Front could only muster 200 people the following day for the counter-march suggests that they had been quite effectively demoralised, to boot.)

Yet the march itself was pretty unimaginative, even though the police were nowhere to be seen most of the time. This was probably our own fault, although the strong disapproval voiced by the leftists when libertarian chants went up was a certain disincentive to doing anything else. The only interesting incidents were the chanting of "Colonel B is H A Johnstone" throughout the march as it passed through Fleet Street, and the obvious discomfort of a small group of police who had been assigned to stand guard over a skip of cobblestones lying in the march's path in the East End. The National Front launched an abortive attack on the march in Bethnal Green, but for the most part they just huddled in small groups behind protective police lines.

The music in Victoria Park was

very much better – all the bands were excellent, despite continual hassles with volume and distortion on the PA. The tremendous crush couldn't have been anticipated, although I felt that the



very long march leading up to this showed that the organisers were much more concerned with creating a spectacle than with our enjoyment. You couldn't help being impressed by the very high level of political awareness that everyone seemed to share. Even the very youngest seemed to know what it was all about, and there was no racial or sexual aggro – in fact I saw a group including lesbians, rastas and very straight white punks arm-in-arm, singing along with Tom Robinson's "Glad To Be Gay". The concern shown by the artists for the safety of the crowd was just as much to their political credit as their more overt statements, such as Robinson's appeal on behalf of the H A Johnstone defendants.

But the success of the carnival, not excepting the hard work put in by ANAL, was essentially the creation of everyone there; the organisation itself was pretty much in the background. So in an attempt to find out more about the organisation itself, I attended the inaugural meeting of ANAL in my home town.

This too had its positive aspects. Some three to four hundred people turned up, and I think many of them

were new to this sort of game; and over £500 was raised to finance anti-fascist leaflets. A succession of speakers made a strong case for the view that the National Front were racist, anti-"Labour Movement", and in the central tradition of Hitlerite Nazism, in case anybody was in any doubt. We were told at some length about the record of Nazism in Germany, which is perhaps not as superfluous as it might at first seem; after all, the war is two generations away for many young people now. We were repeatedly reminded that the National Front would be getting an increasing volume of

free publicity, owing to their election involvements, and great stress was laid on the need to propagandise at workplace and street level, rather than in meetings of what the left is pleased to call "workers' organisations" – the Unions and the Labour Party. We were told that we were "early volunteers in a new time of greatness", and the collecting tins were circulated.

Yet although I was encouraged that so many people were concerned about opposing fascism, I felt that their goodwill was thoroughly abused by ANAL. Not only were we being asked to accept a very shallow picture of what fascism was, we were constantly exhorted to drop "sectarianism" and embrace Christians, Labour Party members, and other long-standing opponents of the oppressed, at the expense of our own brothers and sisters.

The clearest unspoken expression of this was that every speaker was both white and male. Nothing was said about the threat posed by fascism to the aspirations of women, or the very existence of gay people of both sexes. According to ANAL National Secretary Paul Holborow, there was "no time to





go into it".

Nothing was said about the National Front's authoritarianism, or the inadequacy of the fetish of leadership as a solution to our insecurity in these troubled times. Quite the reverse. Paul Holborow twice said of the unemployed, "we think those people ought to be set to work" (his choice of words, not mine !). And we were told that only the "disciplined workforce" could defeat fascism.

Even the "non-sectarianism" seemed to be pretty one-sided. The meeting gave every appearance of being tightly controlled by the Socialist Worker's Party. When a group of Trotskyists walked out, they were rabidly denounced. (Actually, they had gone to look for someone who had thrown a can labelled "Zyklon B" into the hall).

No time was allowed for discussion, and when the meeting protested, "questions" only were allowed. Only three questions were permitted. They were asked where ANAL stood on "No Platform For Fascists" and Immigration Controls, but they obviously didn't want to embarrass their Labour Party friends by replying. They were also asked how decisions would be taken in ANAL in future. We were told that a committee would be elected at the next meeting, but it seemed pretty clear that WE weren't going to be allowed to make any decisions ourselves !

Although this was only one local meeting, from what we've heard from elsewhere, it was not atypical. So perhaps it is worth trying to put fascism in perspective, before we ask how we can possibly associate with this kind of organisation.

I can't agree with those who say that anti-fascism is a waste of time. The National Front pose a big practical problem, particularly as a physical threat to everyone who meets with their displeasure. I can't stand idly by and watch my brothers and sisters get beaten up; and the best way to fight them is to prevent their recruiting through meetings and paper sales, and to campaign more generally to loosen their foothold amongst working people and others.

At the same time, the National Front are a small problem compared with the state and its political apparatus as a whole; indeed, the LEFT wing has been far more successful in recent years in attacking and demoralising our struggles - though there methods be more subtle. Quite clearly, ANAL asks us to abandon the fight against our main enemy for the sake of unity against fascism.

So my attitude is that although there is no way I'm going to join ANAL, if they initiate activities that seem worthwhile, like the carnival, then I'll be there. I may well have my own leaflets, and they may not like what I've got to say.

Vastan Bulbous

## consume more, live less, in CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A few weeks ago Dr Husak (the Czechoslovakian premier) visited West Germany. The event was presented in the liberal press as a big East-West meeting. In reality it was nothing of the kind. The only difference between Western repression (notably in West Germany) and Eastern oppression is that they have different labels attached. This may seem like a sweeping statement, to some extent it is. But during a visit to Czechoslovakia last year I encountered the problem head-on in a discussion with a Czech student. The girl explained how the schools and colleges teach the kids to denounce the Western countries as "State Capitalist." And here we are told that the trouble with Russia was that it moved steadily to a "State Capitalist" position after the excitement of the revolution had died away. So we all exist under the same chains. Centralised control of the economy in Czechoslovakia is mirrored by the multi-nationals in Britain. Speechlessness and powerlessness of the working people is maintained by THE SUN and RUDE PRAVO alike. In Czechoslovakia the party encourages higher consumption in order to strengthen socialism and build the world revolution. Here we are bullied into massive consumption on the basis of the individualist ethic of "Have more - live happier."

The differences are slight, though it is true to say that we do have an advantage in being able to produce magazines like this which would never be seen in Czechoslovakia except perhaps amongst a few groups of "subversive intellectuals" who sometimes duplicate sheets and books without being tracked down and imprisoned. Few of us would find it easy to live under the "iron fist" of the communist party. But here the fist is present even though it is disguised in a soft glove. What can we learn from the experiences of people living in Czechoslovakia and the other "Peoples Democracies"?

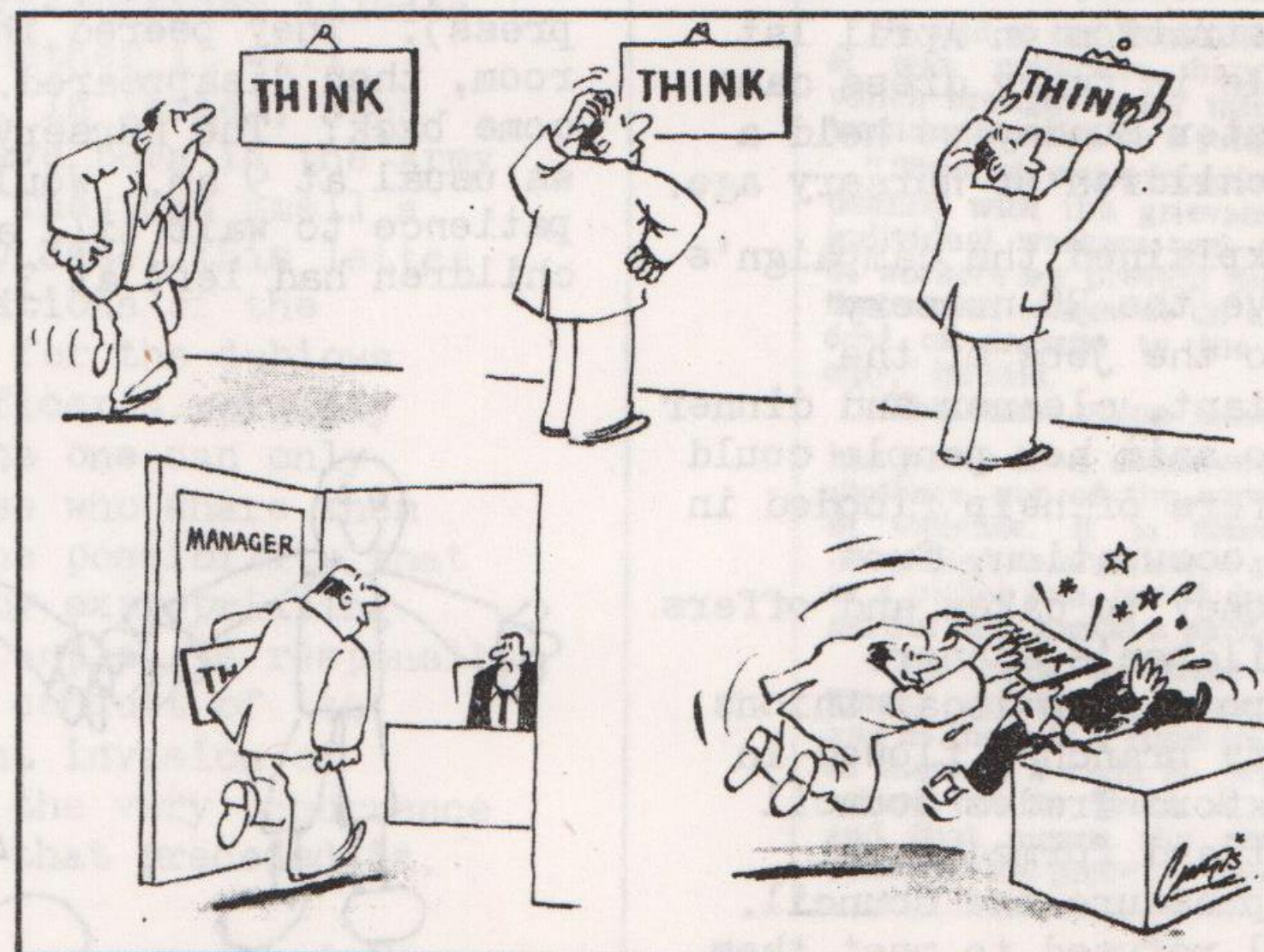
Firstly, Czechoslovakia acts as a warning against any form of central-

ised authority. Bureaucracy and rigid planning have given socialism a bad name. It seems that the only way to challenge this is to organise in local collective groups. In the village where I stayed it was noticeable how the people cooperated at a grass roots level as long as the party officials and higher paid managers stayed out of sight.

Secondly, Socialism must be associated with open and easy expression of ideas. We attended a meeting with the "Socialist National Youth League" where we were told that the reason Czechs are not able to travel to the West is that our governments will not give them visas. In reality Czechs have a long struggle to get authorisation to leave the country. The Czech didn't translate these lies until the direct question was put, when she had to explain that she hadn't translated because she knew the official was lying.

Thirdly, no revolutionary change can come about solely by altering the structure of the economy. People's everyday lives must be radically altered first. Some aspects of the Czechoslovakian economy are what I would expect to find in a socialist country, others (particularly the central domination with respect to production targets) were completely alien and ridiculous. "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs". Nevertheless, if the power of the party and the army could be relaxed I guess that the Czechoslovakians might move rapidly in the direction of a more socialist form of organisation. Some young people I met were aware of the ways in which their ideals have been distorted. Perhaps future crises and upheavals in the capitalist countries will be reflected in Czechoslovakia in new forms of libertarian communism. The alternative is the continued growth of strong states throughout the world.

Fried Egg





# Oxford Nursery Occupation

South Oxford nursery was due to be closed by the County Council on March 23rd. Parents of the children and supporters of the Oxford City Nursery Campaign had tried all other means of protest in an attempt to keep it open - petitions, public meetings and demonstrations. But it was no use, the Council wouldn't budge. We decided to occupy the nursery on March 21st and entered the building when class was over, armed with advice about the Criminal Trespass Law.

The day-time running of the class and the continuous occupation of the building was organized by a series of rotas and was only possible through the broad based support of the community of Oxford. The practicalities of teaching, cooking, security, publicity and administration were organized democratically and all meetings were and continue to be open to all supporters of the campaign. We heard that the Council was going to cut off our supplies of water, heating and electricity and asked NUPE to block this attempt, which they did.

We decided early on that we had to obtain the goodwill and support of the public and especially of parents with young children. Clearly the campaign had to be effective politically but we wanted it to appeal to children too. So we put on a lot of events - first we dressed up as a flock of clowns and went through the town with balloons and cymbals, leafletting and collecting signatures. We held a carnival demonstration on April 1st which 200 people in fancy dress came to. And on Easter Sunday we held a party for all children of nursery age.

Our leaflets explained the campaign's demands: to save the 30 nursery places and also the jobs of the teacher, assistant, cleaner and dinner staff. We also said how people could help us and offers of help flooded in throughout the occupation, from donations of money to cakes and offers to cook the children's dinner. Letters of support from local Unions and Labour Party branches flowed in daily whilst Oxford Trades Council pledged support and formed a delegation to pressure the Council. But the Council refused to meet them.

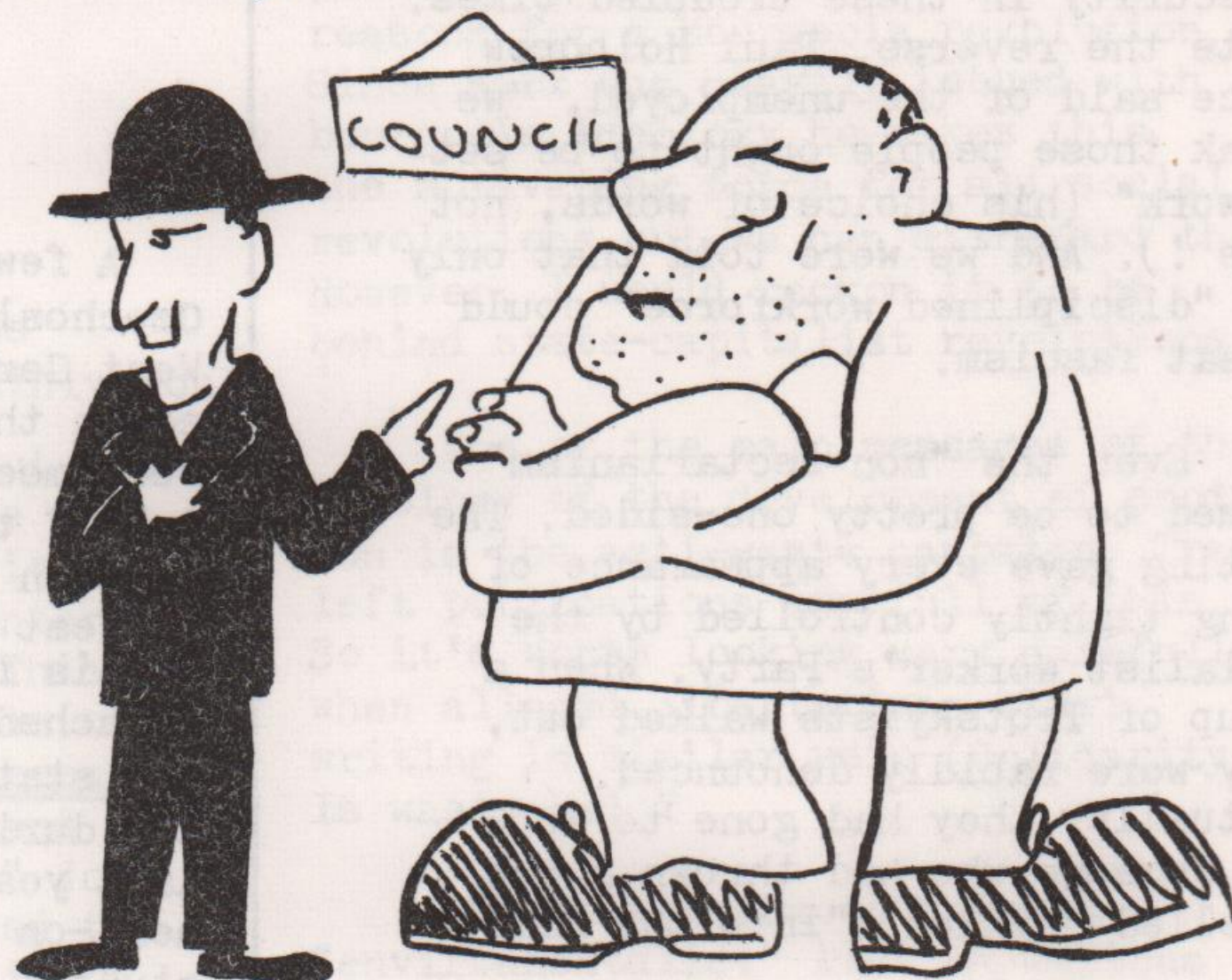
The national press and TV covered the first day of the occupation but local papers gave us great support and continued their coverage throughout. But the Council were hoping that public support would dwindle in time - they refused to talk to us.

On April 17th came the first official response to the occupation, an ultimatum from the Council. We called a demonstration to answer the demand we leave and 300 people turned up to blow a raspberry at the Council officials, who were too nervous to enter the playground in the presence of their rate-payers.

On April 21st the children made a cake and we had a birthday party to celebrate one calendar month in occupation. That same day we received a notice of court action from the Council. We had kept up a regular nursery class of 14 children and a rota of at least 6 adults, 24 hours a day for a month. The Council's public image had taken a battering, their patience had run out and now they were taking us to court the following Thursday. Needless to say, our defence was useless; they allowed an airing of our arguments but the law was heavily in the Council's favour, all they had to do was prove ownership of the building and the eviction was granted.

At 7.45 am on Friday the bailiffs and police arrived to meet press, TV, photographers and lots of nursery supporters who'd been on watch since 6 am (we'd had a tip-off from the press). They peered into the classroom, then disappeared. Would they come back? The nursery class began as usual at 9 am. Would they have the patience to wait till after the children had left at 3.30pm? - No.

Please don't worry about my friend the bailiff - he will act quite officially!



## 11am, April 28th

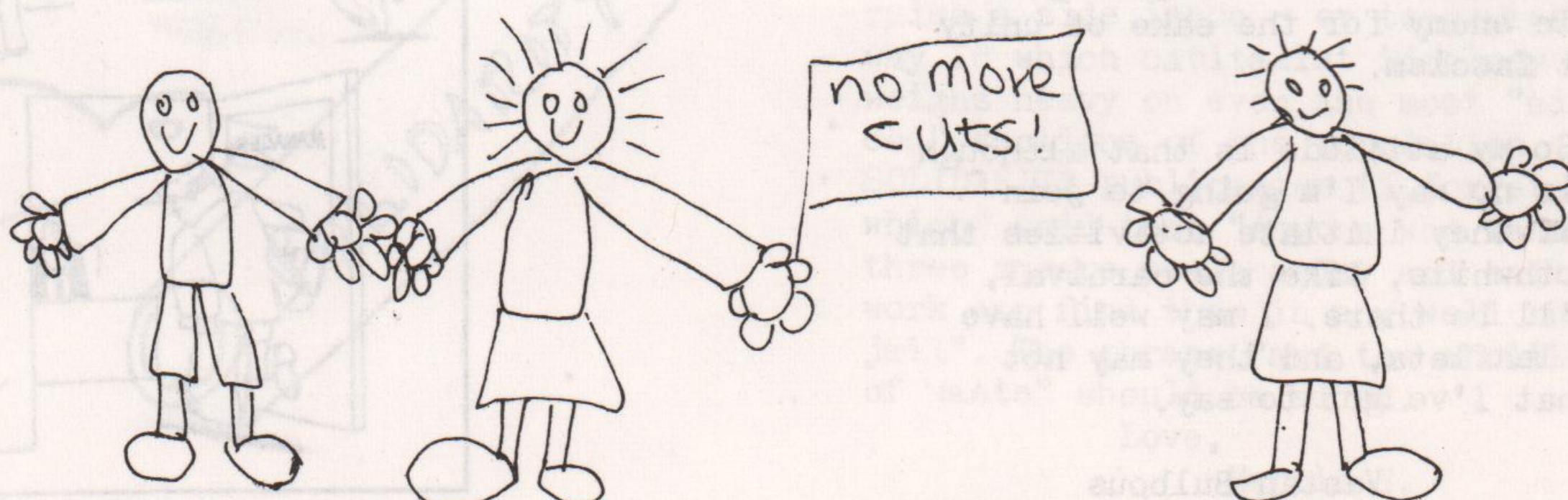
They return, this time scurrying from door to door unable to use their keys class becomes a singsong we hold their attention but not their patience.



One small window a twist of the key the classroom is full of uniforms and heavy weights like smashing a glass child a knee in the windpipe from the system breaking/ the hole/ pane all the occupation sucked outside frozen moments of order shattered emotions lying brittle bric a brac upon the floor we build our own pack of cards this time and finally they showed how easy it was to destroy it.

Still swaying from the experience we moved into a nearby youth club and there the class continues. So it's back to street canvassing, producing an exhibition about the occupation and taking it round community centres and shopping centres, showing our video film in pubs and launderettes ... The campaign marches on, always keeping in mind that without wide community support community actions can't succeed.

Roger





# COL. 'B' & ABSENCE OF INTELLIGENCE

As you are no doubt aware, judgement has been reserved in the Peace News/Leveller Contempt of Court Case. At the time of writing (early May) there may be a wait of up to two weeks for a verdict. The Leveller and Peace News had published Colonel 'B's name as Colonel H.A. Johnstone to help demystify the contrived "secrecy" surrounding the Aubrey/Berry/Campbell Official Secrets Case. After all, in cross-examination, Johnstone had said that he'd been named in "Wire", the staff magazine of the Signals Corps, along with ample information for anyone to work out who he was. All that needed to be done was look up the reference. Yet, late in January, both Peace News and the Leveller, plus friends, were "visited" by the Special Branch, and noises were made about contempt of court. It took a couple of months before digestion was completed, and charges were excreted upon the two magazines, plus five each of their staffs. Two facts militated against the defence - the case was heard in a special court with 3 judges - and no jury. And there was no case to be answered - so how could they answer it? The technique used is similar to one used against "Gay News" and "Socialist Worker" - if found guilty, defendants are fined, but either way, costs are run up, and then not awarded - so the case bankrupts Peace News and Leveller, which (unlike Gay News and Socialist Worker) exist on shoestring. Thus the two magazines which have consistently exposed most "secrets" bite the dust.

But that's not all. Solidarity was far from being the only publication which reprinted Johnstone's name, but the Special Branch chose the NUJ's organ "The Journalist" (which published the name quite late on), and charged the editor with contempt. Thus, it was inevitable that the NUJ's April conference would have plenty of motions on the subject, some naming the Colonel. So the Director of Public Prosecutions comes along and orders that the name not be uttered there or else. The union complies, but the name's shouted out anyway. Meanwhile, Labour M.P's are circulated with the NUJ's story, so four 'left-wingers' stand up on Thursday April 20th and utter the name to the world. The rest is common knowledge. How the DPP tried to order the papers not to republish the name, and the speaker ruled that he was entitled to say this, and grovelled about how he should have prevented the dread name being uttered. Most papers printed the name anyway - and pundits pontificated for days on the end of civilisation as we know it. All for a name.

Wot's in this name? The whole thing's been very convenient for those who want the lid kept on how

"democracy" works. It's been the perfect excuse for an attempt to stifle the two most persistently investigative magazines, and to censor parliament, so shortly after broadcasting of the proceedings began (yawn).

It's a man's name - so there's the good old excuse that we must keep it secret to protect the poor chap from reprisals. This has been swallowed by the Sunday Times, which even had the sickness of mind to compare him to a rape victim in this regard. Yet he made it perfectly clear what his rank and number was, and in which (available) magazine his name could be found. His telephone number's in the directory, so he can hardly be in danger. The DPP told the papers that the court had ordered his name not to be published, but at the time no such order was made.

So much, too, for the curious idea that his name was a "secret" that might help the "Russians": they'd have it anyway if there was any use for it, other than keeping tabs on who's who. The scare about his name has been a good way of keeping public attention away from other, more important secrets (though they haven't been entirely successful). What is important is what Colonel Johnstone is, because he's one of the most experienced officers in Signals intelligence, the vast world-wide network of monitoring stations for all radio traffic, which exists primarily for the benefit of US military and commercial operations.

Yet, at the committal hearing, when asked about the dangers of revealing information about SIGINT, as John Berry is alleged to have done, he came out with some pretty infantile opinions.

He continually stressed his belief that nothing about SIGINT should be discussed - not even its existence, let alone how much it cost - outside the closed circle of those suitably "cleared and indoctrinated" (his words). In fact, it was a bit of a strain for him to speak about it in court as "it runs against all my training". The Official Secrets Act was his guide - "Until this case the public has been unaware of UK SIGINT security" and "any reference to SIGINT in the media is damaging". It's this kind of "Watergate" mentality which is responsible for the present witch-hunt of investigative journalists, and has learned from Nixon to keep the door firmly closed when dirty tricks are afoot. The power of these small-minded people seems to be growing, although Johnstone himself has apparently fled the country.

Yet there are others in the army who don't absorb the "intelligence" (?) mentality. People like John Berry, who became a political activist, and many others whose stint in the army left them with a very un-military cast of mind. If Colonel 'B' and his friends decide to clamp down from above, surely there will be more prepared to speak up from below...

Niall M.

For further information contact:  
Aubrey/Berry/Campbell Defence Campaign,  
c/o 374, Grays Inn Road,  
LONDON WC1

Peace News/Leveller Defence Fund:  
Box B/HAJ,  
5, Caledonian Road,  
LONDON N1.

Don't forget the picket-nic at Cheltenham on May 28/29th. The area is full of nasty installations and should be an interesting event. Details from the address above.





# men and men

Around 200 men spent the weekend of 22nd and 23rd April at the men's national conference in London. My article describes those two days from one particular viewpoint. Undoubtedly many other men experienced things very differently.

I came along not knowing what to expect and was very scared. Fortunately I was with a friend. Many others were alone - sitting widely scattered, reading (or pretending to read) conference papers. This lasted for over an hour, while the hall slowly filled. It took a lot of courage to strike up conversations with some of these sombre strangers. Eventually the opening plenary was started. The discussion was muted and the organisers took it upon themselves to reply to every point made from the floor. The conference structure was outlined - 18 specialist workshops, divided into four sessions, two on Saturday and two on Sunday. On the Saturday night there would be a theatre group and a social and on Sunday mid-afternoon a closing plenary.

## MEN AND THINGS

A major split over structure became evident. Some of us argued that the proposed structure was unnecessarily specialised. We suggested that on the first day men could separate into non-specific workshops to relate to each other in whatever way they chose and to discuss whatever topics were of interest to them. The second day could be used for a few specialist workshops. Our reasons were the following: men attend numerous conferences, meetings and seminars devoted to the discussion of this or that topic. On such occasions the topic is all important, the participants don't matter as people. We hadn't come to this conference to discover any new truths, agree on better theories or proclaim manifestoes. We wanted to waste time. To get to know each other. For the people to be all-important, the topics incidental.

This approach would not be suited to the practical topics, such as Greche Organisation, which could take place on the Sunday. Most of the proposed workshops were not of this kind. Their topics were ideally suited for discussion in a self-organised group, for example Sexuality, Monogamy, Men and Child Care, Patriarchy, Contraception, Consciousness Raising. The separation of these topics into distinct workshops struck us as insane - instead of the one duality fostered by contemporary society (Personal versus Political) we were being asked to categorise our lives into eighteen compartments!

Instead of encouraging the discussion the organisers stated that "it has been a lot of work and we would prefer you not to fuck about with the conference structure." They told us it had taken twenty (!) meetings to organise. The plenary was very quiet and obedient. Further argument with the leadership seemed pointless. We announced that there would be an anti-workshop lasting throughout the two Saturday sessions and we invited all those interested to join us.

The plenary eventually decided to adopt a very watered-down version of our proposal - the participants would immediately split into informal groups for one hour, they would then break up for specialist workshops and would come back together briefly in tea-breaks between workshop sessions.

## OUR ANTI-WORKSHOP

Instead of the originally proposed two sessions, our anti-workshop went on for all four sessions of the conference. Our numbers varied over the two days, but most of the time there were about twelve of us. Eight men stayed together for the four sessions, others joined in for one or one or two sessions. All together about 25 men spent at least one session in our group. At first we were scared, very tentative and rather abstract. In our first hour together we found out, in a haphazard way, each other's names and some background details. The spectrum of male sexuality was well represented: men variously described themselves as bisexual, homosexual, celibate or heterosexual. Our ages varied from about fifty to about twenty.

Our make-or-break crisis came when the formal workshops were due to start. At this point some men got up to go to the Sexuality workshop. Someone suggested that we talk more openly about our individual sexuality rather than going on talking in generalities. Those who had been on the point of leaving decided to stay and give the group a chance. Somehow we broke the ice and from then we went like a bomb - no stopping us! A refugee from the Sexuality workshop joined us after a while. He told us that they were sitting up as stiff as ramrods, looking very tense and discussing points typed out on a sheet of paper. We all fell about the floor laughing - not because the other workshop was tense, but in delight at having overcome our own tension. Those men who had earlier been about to leave said now that they were very glad they had stayed.

From talking to other men in tea-breaks and from the reports of refugees we pieced together a picture of the other workshops as being abstract and lonely places. This, though it may well have been a false picture, strengthened the bonds between us, as we felt that we were in an oasis, surrounded by desert.

## WE TALKED ABOUT...

We talked about so much...all men having small penises...people imprisoning each other in expectations...monogamy...jealousy...intercourse...dislike of intercourse...alternatives...cuddling...the Hite Report...dancing...tasting your semen...how to tell someone else what you want...and what you don't want...children...not having children...'meat markets'...marriage...rape...battering of women...celibacy...masturbation...bisexuality...cuddling with men...homosexuality...communes...childcare...computers...work...black men and white women...black women and white men...us seeing each other again...

We didn't discuss the men's movement...the women's movement...socialism...the revolution...Ireland...and other matters too numerous to mention.

We weren't gentle, if being gentle consists of talking quietly and smiling, while looking into each other's eyes. We were aggressive, if being aggressive is getting excited, interrupting each other, telling each other to shut up. Those who advocated this kind of gentleness and criticised this kind of aggressiveness soon left us. We were glad to see them go.

We weren't equal, if being equal means going round the circle, taking turns speaking. We were being dominated, if being dominated consists of some people having more ideas to communicate than others, or more pain to relieve than others.

We didn't perform an analysis, practice self-criticism or promise critical support to anyone.

On Sunday morning the group was tense. Many of us felt very scared of the evening, of leaving this island of sanity which we had so painfully established. We eventually got over this preoccupation with dissolution and enjoyed ourselves again. It was a sunny day. After lunch we walked to the local cemetery and sat on the grass and talked on. When it got cold we went back indoors and when it got late we went home.

Misha Wolf.



# no nukes is good news

The anti-nuclear 'week of action' which began with the 10,000-strong rally against the Windscale extension at Trafalgar Square on April 29th, ended with a march and festival at Torness (30 miles east of Edinburgh) the following weekend.

Together these represented the biggest effort by the environmental movement in Britain to mobilise its supporters since the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the early sixties, and so they were a test of the present strength of the movement and of where it has got to in raising and answering the questions implied by the nuclear programme and possibly successful ways of opposing it.

The Scottish Demonstration attracted an estimated 5-6,000 on the march from the rallying point at Dunbar to the proposed site at Torness, of which 4,000 stayed to camp out for the weekend.

The multitude sat cross-legged or sprawled in the solar energy to hear platform speeches, folk and rock music and later showings of films of other occupations from the US (Seabrook) and the German (Kalkar) the latter vividly showed the violence the State is prepared to exert in order to resist opposition.

Other events included examples of alternative technology in action. A 10 foot windmill brought to the site by a trawler converted by the environment group Greenpeace for their campaign to stop the killing of whales. One unplanned event was the success of 200 demonstrators to embarrass 6 policemen into releasing a dope arrestee by the use of non-violent action. The van he had been put into was surrounded and chants of "we all smoke dope" were heard.



Seven (or seventy) mistakes have been deliberately introduced into the right hand drawing. How many can you spot? What can we do about them?

It was a good weekend, most people probably enjoyed themselves, and a lot of learning and discussion went on. But it probably didn't make the technocrats quake in their jackboots. Nor were the questions of whether there is a non-violent way to oppose nuclear development tackled (and what do we do if not), and even what 'non-violence' means.

Before the two day occupation ended a formal declaration against nuclear power was left on a sign board on the site. Discussions about what kind of activities would be necessary to continue resisting the expansion of nuclear technology included proposals to attempt a long term occupation of the Torness site, and a bus to tour the country carrying information on alternative technology.

Information about further events can be got from the organizations listed below:

SCRAM The Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace, 2, Aninsle Place, Edinburgh.

Greenpeace (London) 6, Ensleigh Street, London WC1

N.I.N. Nuclear information Network c/o 29, Gt. James Street, London WC1

Foe Friends of the Earth (London) 9, Poland street, London W1



A new Ecological Rag just hit the streets "Ecology and Anarchism" which includes articles on ..... Ecology and the French Elections... Chemical and Biological Warfare... La Hague, the French Windscale... Criminalization of the German Anti Nuclear movement... Effects of nuclear pollution on living beings plus an editorial discussing the use of the Nuclear Power program by the State as an excuse to "promote mass insecurity and make more repressive social control measures acceptable"

Copies can be obtained from : B.A.N.G c/o 63, Millbrook Road, Brixton, London SW9 10p + 7p postage

## anarchists afloat



SOLIDARITY is one of forty anarchist groups who have been sent leaflets by the Maritime Revolutionary Workers, Via Ferruccio, 4/B - ROMA 00185, Italy. They are looking for support for the project described below.

"We are preparing a vessel to transport cargo worldwide on a moneyless ownerless basis. Negotiations are in progress to have a 10000 ton cargo ship, sailing under international registration, ready to load cargo by mid-1980. The ship will not be controlled by force, either inside or from outside, so that a non-violent anarchist nature can be allowed its expression.

We know that there are now groups of people producing the necessary products required by the starving and uncomfortable sick bodies of billions of humans. One of the strongest feelings is that there is so much available cargo to move urgently to so many needy people that the work is already a priority world peace precursor. Organisation is required to be able to work and communicate towards liberating the world population's basic human needs in a simpler way without this present horrifying waste and destruction.

We are asking ourselves questions such as: "Who can support this ship? Where will this ship load? What will this ship load? Where will this ship take that load?"

We have many people who want to operate many ships within these more practical liberating structures. However, outside support is essential as the maritime workers at sea are in a very difficult position to organise the necessary vast amount of contacts etc.

Aboard ship today the radio is protected by force. A liberated radio would enable each ship to maintain contact with all information needed to carry out its trip. Constant information between groups involved in cargoes and people and abroad, as well as broadcasts to local listeners in some South American port, for example, giving much required information.

We wish to receive information from other groups and individuals of similar azimuth to enable us to establish a fix from which the Maritime Revolutionary Workers can begin to set course".



# Black Youth IN BRITAIN



When violence erupted at the 1976 Notting Hill Carnival, Sir Robert Mark (Police Commissioner) said that it was in no sense a race riot. It was not racial in the usual sense of the word, where one race sets out to do another one in. It was far more an anti-police demonstration. The violence towards the police by young blacks stemmed from an enormous backlog of hatred and resentment.

The young blacks benefit the least from the education system. Many leave school hardly able to read and write. A group of school leavers in the City of Westminster could not write their own names without supervision in order to claim social security benefits. Some do not even have a command of standard spoken English. They can only communicate with their own group using West Indian dialect and their own slang.

Unemployment among young people is high, and in this area again the blacks are worst off. Their unemployment rate is four times that of young whites. Where jobs are available young blacks take the least qualified. They are also discriminated against because of their colour. Like all young people they want money in their pockets to go to discos, buy records and clothes. It is small wonder they turn to theft. The police know this and as one of them said 'We pay particular attention to young blacks'.

The police interest, however, goes a long way beyond this. There are many wrongful arrests and frame-ups. Indiscriminate raids are made on black homes. A youth interviewed on television said he often stays in at nights because it is not worth being out on the streets at night because of police harassment. This situation was well understood by blacks and liberal and left whites so that when the violence exploded at the 1976 Carnival everyone was united in condemning the police. Particularly because of the excessively heavy police presence which was regarded as an insult and a provocation to blacks generally.

## THE 1977 CARNIVAL

The situation at the 1977 Carnival was very different. The fighting with the police was preceded by the two days of violence perpetrated by young blacks on whoever happened to be there. Over

the past few years there had always been a certain level of crime at the Carnival in the way of stealing but not on this scale and not accompanied by such violence. The change indicates the deterioration in the state of young blacks and their ever increasing mood of defiance and hatred for a society which had rejected them. Their unemployment rate had increased 210% between May 1976 and May 1977.

A situation which surfaced in an obvious way for the first time was that they were now mugging their own people. A crowd of black people were set on in Westbourne Park Road, without a single white person being involved. A crowd of black youths invaded a carnival dance at the Hammersmith Palais. They were mostly setting on young black girls, beating them and dragging them across the floor by their hair. The fact that they will set on their peer group shows their increasing alienation from their own people.

## THE SOCIAL SITUATION

The fact that many black youths are homeless is central to this. They are in conflict with their own families. Aggravation between kids and their parents is not peculiar to the blacks but it shows itself to a larger extent and much more intensely among them. In the first year of its existence a hostel for homeless kids in Waltham Forest catered for 64 blacks and 11 whites. This probably gives a fair estimate of the overall breakdown between the two communities.

The reasons the kids ended up there were various. One factor was social deprivation, which neither the kids nor their parents could do very much about. One kid had both parents working nights. He had to look after the younger children in the evenings and could not do his homework. As he hardly ever saw his parents to talk to the situation was never sorted out. In the end he got so cheesed off he simply ran away. In most cases it sprang from a conflict of attitudes between kids and their parents, arguments over deadlocks etc. One boy was forbidden by his father to have a girl friend at the age of 17. Many older blacks want to work hard, keep their heads down and generally make themselves as inconspicuous as possible in white society. Any signs of rebellion or visible symbols of black pride are regarded with fear and suspicion. The

authoritarian attitudes of Westindian and African parents are well known. African kids are also among the homeless. The parents often take a heavyhanded and Victorian attitude when it comes to discipline and orderly behaviour. This is a legacy of colonialism when 19th century attitudes were imposed on the blacks and persisted after they had broken down in the imperial country. \* This can result in an excessive harshness. In many cases the parents themselves throw the kids out and reject them completely. Black social workers are acutely aware of this problem. Pastor Morris and Jeff Crawford, Community relations officer for Hackney, have said some hard things about Westindian parents.

However the problem cannot be solved simply by putting a different attitude to people and expecting rationality to win the day. The social situation of blacks militates too much against this. The working class blacks live on more of a knife edge than the white working class in the struggle for survival and respectability, a thing which is very important to many of them. It is so much easier for their kids to leave school without qualifications or a job to go to, to drift into petty crime and trouble with the police. The pitfalls loom so much larger for them that the obvious reaction is to try to control the kids rigidly and keep them on a tight rein.

Among the Westindians there is a split between the family and a total lack of family structure. Girls have illegitimate babies. The men do not consider marrying them or taking any responsibility. They think they can sow their wild oats and come and go as they please. In Jamaica the crime and violence, the general instability of national life is often put down to the lack of a stable family structure especially by strongly religious people. This must be an added reason for those blacks who consider themselves to be respectable family people to raise their kids on the straight and narrow.

## MUSIC

Another factor in the cultural gap relates to music. At Carnival the young blacks ignore the steel bands and hang around the sound systems. The steel band sprang up in post-war



Trinidad as part of a youth rebellion movement. It was an urban slum phenomenon, founded on the waste of industrial civilization. They started banging on old machine parts, dustbin lids and oil drums. The first steelbandmen were the roughnecks. There was intense rivalry between the bands and their followers resulting in violence at Carnival. A similar thing had happened last century with fights between rival gangs of stick fighters. Police and troops were used to put them down resulting in Carnival riots. However the Crown Colony administration had grown vastly more sophisticated over the years and this time social workers were liaising with the steel bands.

The steel bands were particularly despised by the coloured middle class, who were oriented to white culture and despised anything black particularly if it reminded them of their African origins. \*\* One coloured barrister speaking in Colony said that it would be a terrible thing if Trinidad culture was represented by gangs of hooligans beating on drums. He said that he was 'all for educating people to an appreciation of true culture'. However the steel drums were rapidly developed so that they could play melody as well as percussion. All-Trinidad steel band contests were organized. The competing bands started playing the European classics. They had adjudicators from music colleges in this country. One said that the steel bands could be judged by the same standards as the symphony orchestra. After they had proved themselves technically proficient and moved closer to white culture the steel bands became very respectable, totally integrated into the national life and regarded as a credit to Trinidad. At Carnival the young blacks do not follow the street parades. The masquerade bands are all older blacks or very young children. The teenagers do not participate. The reggae music which sprang up in Jamaica has not as yet been incorporated to the same extent. It is still a vehicle for the rebellion and resentment of youth. The lyrics from the soundtrack of the Jamaican film 'The Harder They Come' contain such lines as 'Walking down the road with a pistol in your waist, Johnny you're too bad Just stabbing looting and shooting Johnny you're too bad'.

In 'Many Rivers To Cross' there is the line 'Sometimes I feel like committing some dreadful crime'. Junior Murvin's 'Police and Thieves' was a hit in 1976. An older black, writing in the Caribbean Post, remembered the celebration of the Jubilee in the 1930's. He recalled all the wonderful calypsos of the time and asked what blacks were doing to celebrate this Jubilee. 'All we hear now is the harsh strident beat and threatening lyrics of the reggae'. His antipathy explains why it is still a vehicle for the thoughts and feelings of the young.

However, there seems no doubt that reggae will eventually be recuperated. Manley tried to utilize reggae in the run-up to the general elections in Jamaica. For many young blacks dreams of stardom, money and status

through the music industry must present an alternative to socialism as a way out of a dead end situation. The millionaire status of Bob Marley is a potent example. Another example is the kid who was into thieving and used the money to set himself up with an expensive sound system and became a freelance entrepreneur.

#### WHITE SYCOPHANCY AND THE YOUNG BLACKS

The attitude taken to the anti-social activities of young blacks by many white people has been one of concealment, an attempt to sweep it all under the carpet. This has been true of liberals and also the revolutionary left. In 1974 The Sunday Times did a magazine feature on black youth in Britain, telling the truth about the way many of them were living. There was nothing reactionary about it, but outraged liberals nearly did a war dance. They wrote to The Times not so much disputing the truth of what was said, but saying it should never have been published at all. It was simply providing racists with ammunition.

This view was mistaken then and even more so after the last Carnival, when there was no point in trying to hide things anymore. It has only resulted in the extreme plight of young blacks being hidden and their conditions deteriorating. It has also done nothing to improve race relations among the general public. The papers have published statistics like 80% of the street crimes in the metropolitan area are perpetrated by blacks, 60% of the victims are white. These figures have been left as a propaganda point for the National Front, as no serious attempt has ever been made to connect the social conditions with the statistics. Most people prefer to ignore the statistics.

One young black interviewed on the radio said that when they were asked about stealing they always said 'We never do anything wrong; the police just pick on us for nothing..



In other words we lie like hell and rely on the liberalism of people in the media to bend over backward to accept this story". The reason this kid blew it all over the air was because he was talking in the immediate aftermath of Carnival. There did not seem any point in telling the same old story. Any white persons who think that blacks are in any way grateful for this liberalism are deceiving themselves. They just see it as something which can be taken advantage of. The same thing applies to the attitude of some black militants to the white revolutionary left. They don't like white left wingers for a variety of reasons. Partly because there are innate feelings of white superiority, which show in a patronising attitude. But there are also white liberal guilt feelings, so that the whites bend over backwards to the blacks just because they are black, somehow manageing to do the two things at the same time. Some black militants take the attitude that if you scratch at the surface of a white revolutionary you find a white liberal and if you scratch a white liberal you have got a fucking mug. While whites can be seen in this way it just keeps the two races apart. If one lot are trying to put one over on the others it does not leave much room for comradeship and honesty.

#### THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

A distinction has to be drawn between liberals and a group like the Socialist Workers' Party. When they fail to tell the truth it has to do with a conscious manipulation which springs from their attitudes to party building. This is particularly acute in relation to black youth. About three years ago the SWP had just discovered unskilled working class women and black youth. The move in that direction was occasioned by their lack of success in their traditional hunting ground, among the advanced white male workers. An SWP fulltimer speaking about the demonstrations they were planning outside job-centres said "We will use black youth." It is hard to believe that these manipulatory attitudes have changed.

This is an inbuilt feature of vanguard parties in the Leninist mould. They believe that the working class cannot achieve much except under the leadership of the Party. This shows itself in an interesting way in "Socialist Worker" reporting of the events which concern black youth. The 1976 Carnival riot was described as a police riot. The impression gained from the reporting was that the police were the real aggressors on that day, and that the poor down-trodden blacks were being hammered yet again by the pig arm of the capitalist state. In fact the reverse was true. The kids set on the police with incredible ferocity in revenge for past persecutions. The police took one of the worst beatings of their lives. The young blacks proved extremely courageous and skilled street fighters. To describe what happened in any other way does not give them credit for what they did. It takes the triumph away from them. The reporting of events at Lewisham took an entirely different tone. We stopped



the Nazis. The Nazi Front got the hammering of their lives last Saturday. Thousands of people responded to the SWP call to stop them marching. The difference lies in the fact that at the Carnival it was the young blacks on their own, while at Lewisham the SWP played a leading part. It seems that the blacks cannot be credited with a triumph unless it is under the leadership and guidance of the Party

Most white left groups have pursued a policy of trying to recruit blacks into their own organisations. This has been met with a certain amount of suspicion. Blacks see white middle class people maintaining their ascendancy even within left groups. They do not see the possibility of a change in black/white relations. They rather see themselves being taken over yet again. A much better approach, and one which amazingly enough has never seriously been tried, would be to seek fraternal links with black groups and try to find common areas of work. Apart from anything else there is nothing the white left can do directly to get through to the most alienated of the black youth. It can only come from the blacks themselves.

#### YOUNG BLACKS AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

How are the black youths to participate in the working class movement? This question poses a dilemma in relation to traditional left politics. The kids rebellion extends into the field of employment. It is not true to say that they are all unemployed simply because they cannot find work. Many have had jobs and walk out on them because the expectations are greater than those of their parents. The West Indians who came here in the fifties swept the streets, cleaned up in hospitals and did all the menial jobs which the white working class would no longer touch. Their children will not put up with the same thing. The jobs are low paid but money is not the most important factor. When asked why they left a job the same answer is always given: "I just got bored with it."

Left politics are generally centred around health and safety at work, wage demands and right to work. The question of job satisfaction, which is of immense importance to working class people, is never raised. How are these kids to be involved in the working class movement if they are unemployed and do not want to work anyway. They are certainly not going to be involved in trade unionism which means that a good chunk of traditional left politics is inappropriate to young blacks. The trad left believe that you can lead people to revolutionary politics through a series of stages. First of all they have to be encouraged to join TUs and then to fight the union leadership. A series of reformist demands can be formulated which escalate to the point where it can be pointed out to people that there is no solution within the present system. In this way it is believed people can be led to revolutionary



politics. All this is implicit in the notion of Rank and File. In the case of young blacks it would mean encouraging them to knuckle under in the boring jobs which they have rejected anyway. It would mean integrating them into a system in order to take them through a process of de-integration. In some ways it would be taking them backwards. If the white working class had reached the same stage and were saying I'm not interested in more money for this particular job, you can stuff the job.

This is not to say that the black kids have a consciously worked out revolutionary perspective. They do not fully understand the causes of their oppression nor do they have a strategy for dealing with it. They have an instinctive gut reaction. Their rejection of work probably does not spring from superior aspirations. It would be interesting to know how many of them could conceive of a job they would like to do, or of a situation they would really like to be in. What is certain, however, is that their rebellious instincts are far advanced when it comes to what they are prepared to put up with.

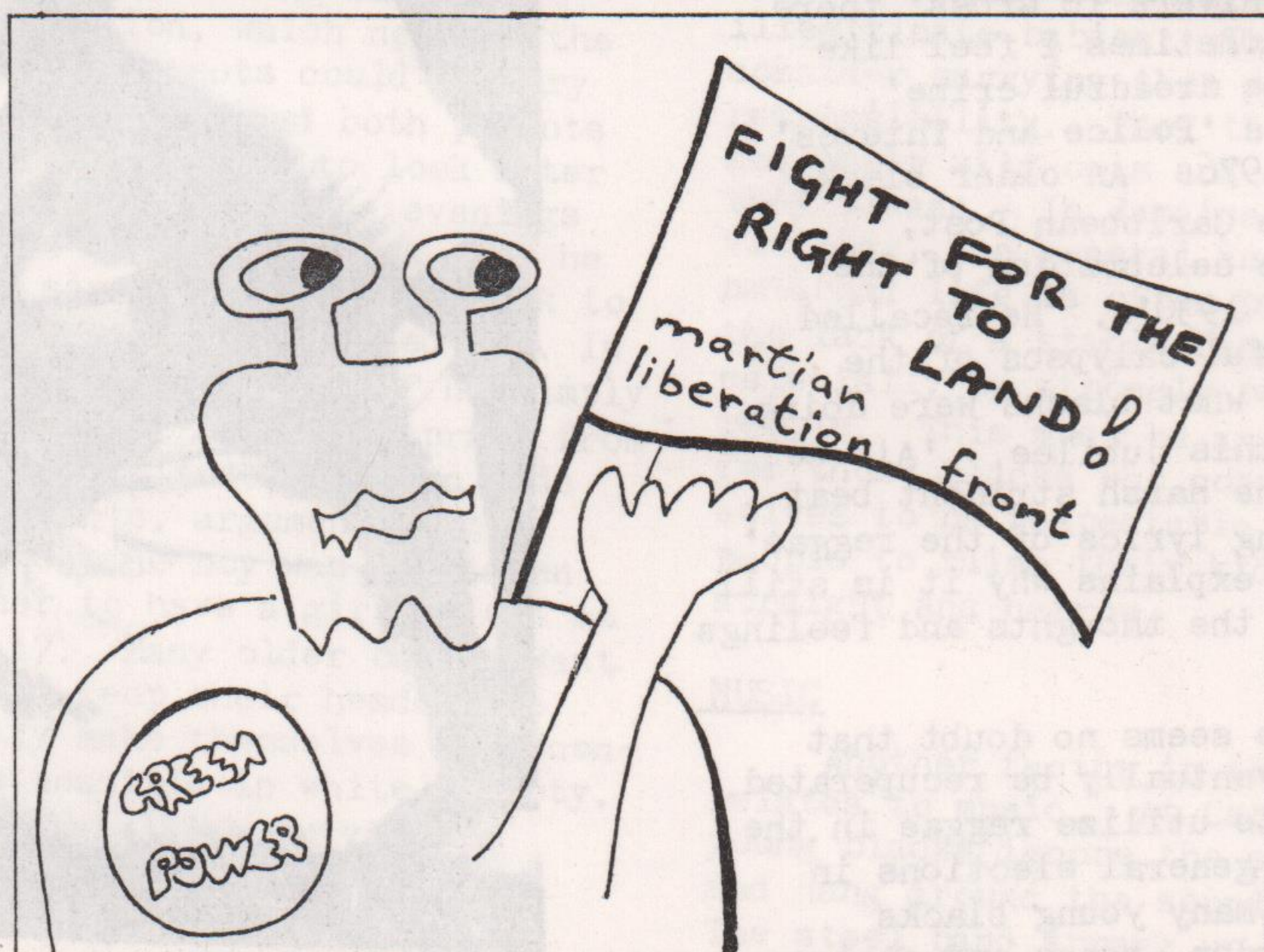
A viewpoint is often expressed on the left that the more deprived people are the more likely this is to make them revolutionary. I have heard it put at a meeting that the more working class kids benefit from the education system the more likely they are to be integrated and to turn away from social change. There was an

implied attitude that it was almost a good thing that they were not benefiting and advancing themselves. Middle class people do not seem to think that their superior skills, knowledge and occupation of professional positions makes them any less revolutionary. Why this should have such a deleterious effect on people from working class backgrounds is a mystery. It can be argued that the more pleasant life is the less people are likely to want major changes. On the other hand the more capable they will become of achieving their own liberation. Given the fact, however, that some kids have already been deprived it would be wrong to expect them to knuckle under in jobs they hate. If they do not want to work this has to be accepted.

One thing which springs from the extreme alienation and isolation of many black kids is their entire lack of class consciousness. A member of the Defence Committee for kids arrested at the Carnival tried to interest them in going to the picket line at Grunwicks. The response was 'Great, we will do some pick pocketing there'. A sense of class solidarity cannot arise in the normal way, through experiences in work and in the unions. If their isolation is to be broken down some other organizational framework will have to be found.

This raises the question of organizing among the unemployed. When the black caucus in what was then IS were campaigning for their 'Right to Work March' they came across a persistent answer from young blacks. 'We are not interested. We do not want to work.' They could not see much point in marching from Manchester to London for the privilege of working in low-paid, boring jobs, initiatives like the Right to Work Campaign are obviously based on the campaigning which took place around unemployment in the 1930s. They have not been a success.

In the '30s the hard core of the unemployed were men who had been in work many years and had TU experience. Nowadays many of the unemployed are school leavers who have never worked. From the point of view of employers many of them are unemployable. In London the response of many of the unemployed has taken the form of a semi-criminality. The young blacks steal. Many people are working off





their cards: window-cleaning, house painting and casual labouring. This is because there is still enough money around for people to afford these services. The situation is much more uneven than in was in the 30's. Then unemployment was largely confined to those areas which had industrialised in the 19th century. They were uniformly depressed so there was no opportunity to make any money on the side. Everyone was in the same boat. There was no one on the streets with anything worth stealing. Supermarkets did not exist. Stealing from the corner shop would have been too difficult, and the owner was probably a friend anyway. Most people nowadays have no scruples about ripping off in Tesco's. There is still enough prosperity around for people to be able to alleviate their condition and turn it into something of a lifestyle.

Such people are not going to be involved in any on-going organisational framework. Their activity will probably take the form of direct action around specific issues like opposing the Front at Lewisham. People will come together for a short period and then fall away again. To hope for anything more immediately would be bashing one's head against a brick wall. How activity can be developed from this is an open question.

Barbara Roberts

\* The facts about slavery and the obvious ways in which blacks are kept down are well known. But one writer in the Jamaican Gleaner said that what is not so generally appreciated is the way in which we were colonised in our minds.

\*\*The "horrible African Drum" was banned from 19th Century festivals.

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THIS TEXT IS PART OF A PAMPHLET BEING WRITTEN BY BARBARA ROBERTS ON "BLACK YOUTH IN BRITAIN".



## The Hunting of an Indian

Leonard Crow Dog, "The Medicine Man", was born in 1942 on a reservation at Rosebud, South Dakota, a member of the Brules-Sioux tribe. In 1973 he took part in the occupation of Wounded Knee and became one of the more important members of A.I.M. (American Indian Movement).

The siege of Wounded Knee and the police provocation allowed the authorities to charge him with "inciting violence and injuring an official in the execution of his duties". The case was heard in 1975 at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The prosecution witnesses failed to identify Crow Dog, contradicted each other, and swore that they had suffered no violence, but this wasn't enough to halt the course of justice - Crow Dog was sentenced to eleven years in prison. Many petitions were organised and the sentence was suspended subject to confirmation. The defence appealed.

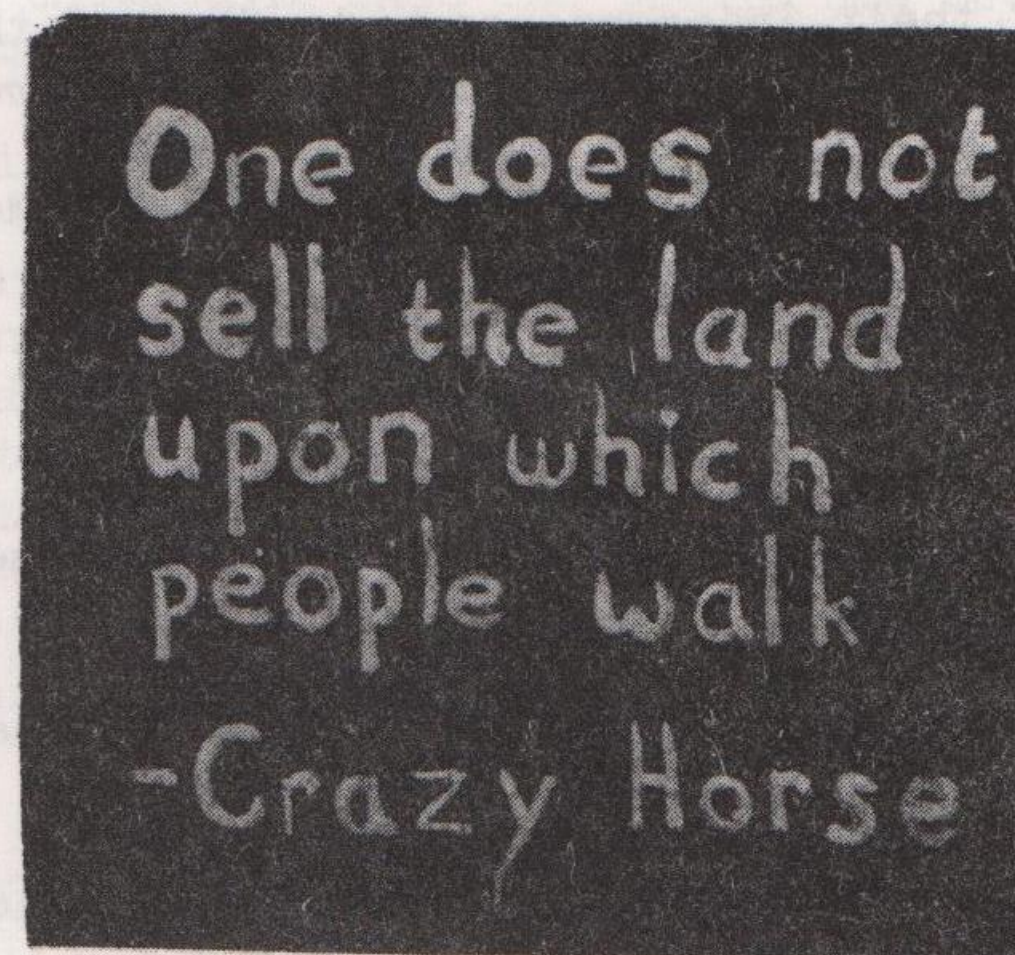
The police didn't give in. On 5th September 1975 they moved in on Crow Dog's small holding with helicopters and personnel carriers. They threatened Crow Dog and his wife and son, beat him up and hauled him off to prison, where he was subjected to sleep deprivation and night and day interrogations. The question was always the same - "where is Dennis Banks?" (head of A.I.M.).

Crow Dog didn't know but in January 1976 the F.B.I. picked up Banks in San Francisco. Crow Dog was charged on a new count of "acts of violence occasioning actual bodily harm". The trial was rushed through in four hours, the defence lawyer having no time to prepare his case, and Crow Dog got ten years. At first he was held in solitary confinement at Haute Terre, Indiana. Then he was transferred to Rapid City where he lost over thirty pounds in weight. A writer friend who visited him was shocked at how thin he had become.

But the legal offensive was not yet finished - a third accusation was followed by a third trial. In March 1976 an incident occurred at his home with a "stranger" who became over-familiar with his wife. He was accused of "threatening behaviour with an offensive weapon" - a toy tomahawk. The third trial (with an all-white jury) lasted two days. One piece of evidence produced was a photograph of the "injured" man (a mock-up - white man's magic to nail a medicine man?).

The address of District Attorney Hurd clarifies the situation admirably...

"This country, its government and its system are good....to protect them is one of my duties... that is why I am keeping you in custody. Perhaps Pfersicka molested Crow Dog's wife, but I am inclined to think that he was thrown out of the house on the grounds that he was a government informer, and, if he is a government informer, it is to protect it, the government and its system".



The case has still not been decided. Meanwhile Crow Dog was transferred from prison to prison - the seventh and last was Chicago - and the sentence passed after Wounded Knee was confirmed. Finally Amnesty International adopted him, a fund was set up for his defence and bail and he was freed on bail. The story continues.....

Gonzo

\* June 1977

Adapted from FRONT LIBERTAIRE DES LUTTES DE CLASSES No. 69.





# Lebanon: LOOTING FOR PEACE

The state of Israel will be thirty years old this month. During this brief time it has fought four wars: in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. Now it is fighting its fifth (a pseudo-war) in the Lebanon.

These wars arise from the conflict between the Zionist immigrant-settlers and the indigenous Palestinian population - deprived by the Zionists of their independence and often of their land and homes as well. At a deeper level they arise from the inherent dependence of Zionism on imperialism, and from the influence of the traditional Arab regimes on the Palestinian movement. This emerges quite clearly in the recent Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Israel is not fighting the Lebanese regime, nor the Syrian army stationed in the Lebanon. It is fighting the Palestinian resistance movement which uses Southern Lebanon as its base. The Lebanese and Syrian regimes did not make the slightest attempt to resist the Israeli invasion: they too want to see the Palestinian resistance movement crushed.

In all four previous wars the entire Israeli population (excepting the tiny anti-Zionist left) wholeheartedly supported the war effort. Although conscription makes military service compulsory (3 years for men, 2 for women) and although every Israeli has to serve one month a year in the Reserves until his fifties, most Israelis never grumbled. Many volunteered, even when their services were not required by the authorities. Those not called up often felt offended.

All this changed for the first time during the 'Lebanese operation'. In Israel there is a vague feeling that this is a 'dirty war'. The Israeli media scrupulously refrains from

showing the damage caused to civilian life in Lebanon by Israeli bombardments. The Minister of Defence, Ezer Weizmann, apologised - to the US - for having used cluster bombs in Lebanon. He did not know, he said, that his predecessor had promised the US not to use these bombs on civilian targets. No one in Israel wants to talk - or hear - about this war. Not even the soldiers participating in it. However, every now and then, something turns up in those magazines whose journalistic aspirations are not smothered by their political loyalties, confirming people's worst suspicions about this 'mopping up' operation. One such item, a letter by a paratroop lieutenant, was published in the Israeli weekly Ha'olam Haze on April 19. Though written by an officer who supported the war politically it gives a glimpse that pierces the image of innocence which Israel - and its supporters - work so hard to create in the West.

## ZIONIST OFFICER EXPOSES HIMSELF!!

### "OPINION OF AN OFFICER"

"The feeling is hard.

"We arrived there with a big army, with mighty forces. In fact, we won. But the feeling is that there was no one to win against. The feeling is that in fact there was no war here. There were local battles but no war. The operating army is big and powerful, an army designed to fight an army, not to conduct a mini-war like this.

"But more than this, the distressing thing is the looting. Whatever will be said or written in the papers is all crap - the fact is that there isn't anyone who didn't return from there with a Kalachnikov (rifle), a

TV set, a transistor radio or a lighter. I personally didn't touch anything and my soldiers who dared take things had their loot confiscated. But the boys looted. They simply, as said, plundered and looting.

I think that one reason for the looting is frustration, the (frustrated) desire to feel like a victorious army despite the fact that there was no war. Dan Ben-Amotz, so I think, once wrote on this subject of looting in war. In one of his books, I can't remember now which, he describes the desire of a conquering army to loot as a sort of compensation for the fighters. He compares this to wars of the past, when part of the temptation to fight was the loot awaiting the victors, the possibility to rape women, etc. However unpleasant this may be, considering all education and humaneness, I think that deep inside the human being, especially the soldier, there still lurks this animal drive to loot.

One of my soldiers whom I caught looting was sentenced to thirty-five days in prison. No, it wasn't the battalion commander who sentenced him, but the military police. Will our battalion commander sentence anyone for looting? I wish he himself were sentenced. He sits in his command tent with Lebanese whisky bottles and juke boxes.

At first they said we could take 'mementoes' only. They didn't know that this could be interpreted differently by each person. So one took a transistor set as a 'memento', and another took a TV set. When they saw what was happening they said it was forbidden to take anything. But that was already a bit too late. By then looting was already at its height. Fighters took less. Command staff, coming after the fighters, took large quantities of property. But all in all - everybody took. I searched the gear of each of my soldiers, and what ever was found was burnt in front of their eyes. But the damage to the houses and property was done and it matters little if the robbers enjoyed it or not.

There is no point in complaining. All in all, we want to get out of there. This situation is unpleasant. At night you are with your finger on the trigger literally defending your life. But above all there is a feeling that this time it was all muffed. Right now we sit there on the water. Most of the army has already folded up, as the politicians say 'until the U.N. takes over'. The feeling is that we simply want to get out of there - the sooner the better.

As for the justification of the operation you think there are no doubts? It was clear that whether or not there was a connection to the P.L.O. action on the Israeli coastal highway, we had to clean this territory of saboteurs once and for all. But there is disappointment with the way in which this was done.

We fought there as at El-Alamein, with a huge armoured corps. But on the whole this is not territory for



R. COBB



armoured warfare. Why are we training for years to execute what is called 'vertical roundabout', that is, to fall on the enemy from the sky, in his rear?

I understand that the (possible) number of casualties is a problem. Still, to solve this problem - and there was readiness to do so - we should have acted otherwise. We should have landed on the bridges of the Litany, which is a natural and serious water obstacle, which can hardly be crossed at this time of the year, except over the bridges. And then the rest of the army should have pushed them from the Israeli border northwards (towards the Litany). There would have been a hard war then, that is clear. But we would have hit the saboteurs. They would have fallen into a serious trap.

With the present method, as it was carried out, I don't think it will make any difference to them. They were not seriously hit at all. We captured headquarters, we destroyed saboteur bases, but most of their camps are between Tyre and Beirut. I also fail to understand the Government's policy in this matter. With whom did they intend to negotiate an arrangement? With the PLO which they don't recognise? With the Lebanese Government which doesn't exist? With the USA, which has no authority over the area?

The 200-300 saboteurs killed are a tiny, and meaningless, percentage. As for the destruction, may I suggest to all do-gooders to join an armoured corps, to put on the gear, and sit out during a bombardment. The possibilities then are rather limited - if you wish to stay alive - particularly as the saboteurs are dressed in civilian clothes. When we move to conquer a big village like El-Khyam I prefer that it first be bombarded by planes and artillery rather than having a single soldier of ours scratched.

I realize that there are two kinds of justice: their justice - the justice of the civilian population, and our justice - the settlements in the North (of Israel) who wish to live in quiet and not rush to the shelters twice daily. We cannot afford our nation the luxury of justice versus justice. On the scales (of justice), it is clear to me that my justice is more important.



When we enter a village and ten civilians are killed, that is unavoidable. I prefer this to the possibility that two of my soldiers be killed. It is worth the price to me. When I fire on a house suspected of harbouring saboteurs I prefer that house be demolished rather than one of my soldiers be wounded. When we go to blow up a house with explosives it is clear that we check it seven times so that no-one stays inside, and that, as far as possible, all property is taken out. But when you are under fire you have to reply, forcefully and massively. A sterile war does not exist. Only in movies, perhaps.

As for the population in the area, I don't think it is entirely innocent. The saboteurs ruled by force, spreading terror. But it was proved that whoever wanted to resist them could do so. The Christians wanted to resist, created a popular army, and barricaded themselves in the enclaves from which the saboteurs were expelled. Those who surrendered are in fact accomplices. This may sound un-humane, but that's it.

The job is hard. When the saboteurs heard us approaching they took off their uniform, hid their weapons in the attics and mixed with the population. We have no way to distinguish one from the other! Often many civilians are hit. I propose to whoever considers himself humane to join me one night in an ambush on the Litany river. He will return in the morning scared to death. Then let him talk of handling the problem with kid gloves and similar nice things

Note: Anything published in an Israeli newspaper is subject to triple censorship: a) by a civilian censor, b) by a military censor, c) by editorial self-censorship. This letter did not slip through this triple barrier by chance. On page 2 of the same issue there are blanks indicating censored material.

Perhaps the censor thought that this letter might help silence those in Israel who protested against the Israeli war in Lebanon, the do-gooders to whom the officer alludes. It is doubtful whether it will achieve this aim. In Israel, even the do-gooders have been in the Army and fought wars. They can smell a dirty war. In any case, this letter admits the accusations of the 'do-gooders'. As for the dubious nature of the officer's morality and justifications one can only suggest that those who share them might consider the possibility that Zionism itself, by expropriating the Palestinian people, is responsible not only for the conduct of its Army in the recent invasion of Lebanon, but for the very occurrence of all four wars that preceded it.

A.O.

# RECIPES



## BRAISED BUREAUCRAT AU BOEUF

Stewed eel has been a low-cost favourite among the working people of Britain since Shakespeare's time, and this timely variation with its slippery human equivalent is sure to prove just as popular.

Clean and scrape scales from:

1 bureaucrat

take care in this step, even if dead some residual muscle twitching may occur, and combined with the oiliness of the skin surface this may make pinning down for cleaning nearly impossible. Nearly, we say; perseverance will pay off.

Cut TUC official into six-inch long strips and soak in acidulated water for three hours. Drain, then cover with:

Fresh water

add:

1 sliced or whole convenor stuck with cloves

½ cup chopped shop stewards credentials

3 ground pay slips

Simmer uncovered until tender, from three to four hours. Slice very thin and serve hot with:

Lenin harangue pie

or cold in:

pay freeze aspic.

Trade unions were the peace-makers and the peacekeepers of industry, TUC general secretary Mr Len Murray said yesterday. But, like the police when they were doing their duty, they did not always get the credit for it.

He said at the Institution that it was collective bargaining which brought order into what would otherwise be a jungle.

"Through our procedures for dealing with the grievances of individual workers and groups of workers we prevent disputes that would otherwise do a great deal of damage to the economy," he said.

"The trade union movement has never been a movement of violence, nor of the condoning of violence. It is sometimes compelled to organise a protest or a picket line, but it does not set out to organise a puch-up."

"The right to strike is no longer generally questioned, and as there is a right to strike so there is a right to persuade others not to break a strike, and that means the right to picket at the place of work."



# letters

Dear comrades,

We wish to criticise certain aspects of "Solidarity for Social Revolution" number 2.

Firstly, we found "Wanking; Women; Waste; etc", on the cover, insulting and sexist, and we are not the only ones to feel this, some women we tried to sell it to refused to buy it for this reason. We can't believe there was anything accidental in the arrangement of this list, and feel the responsibility must rest with the entire London editorial group.

Secondly, the cartoon on page 5 was a total waste of space and wasn't even funny, maybe someone would like to explain to us its revolutionary significance.

Thirdly, whilst we agree with most of the criticism Liz Willis made of the Women's movement in "Politics or Biology?" p. 18, we found her tone negative and unnecessary. Liz says "It is not just that the 'mixed' movement has made certain things into 'women's issues' by reluctance or antagonism to dealing with them. The women's movement has done so too." Quite true, but it has done this because of the longstanding attitude of the 'mixed' movement and as a direct response to it. The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) developed partly as a reaction to indifference in the 'mixed' movement and its continued "reluctance or antagonism..." has only encouraged the growth of hostile separatist elements within the WLM. Therefore it can't be held responsible for the continued false division of politics into "main issues" and "women's issues". The blame for this still falls mainly on the male dominated (i.e. 'mixed') political organisations who continue to mostly ignore issues of sexual politics and personal life.

Of course all libertarian women are part of the women's movement, as Liz says, and as such should be eager to make their views known within the WLM with all its faults. Similarly all liberatirian black's are part of the black movement, would Liz recommend that a black comrade should not be involved with other organised blacks, because that movement includes black separatists and weird religious sects like the Black Muslims and Rastafarians ?

The WLM is large and amorphous containing all sorts we certainly would

want to have no truck with, but that's no excuse for us to ignore the rest, do we need to protect our purity?

We do not accept Liz's interpretation of 'feminist' as: "This word implies that the interests of women are taken to be of paramount importance, to the exclusion and eventual detriment of others." John Stuart Mill frequently referred to himself as a 'feminist', to him it meant the political and economic equality of women with men, and that's basically what it means to us. The difference today is women no longer need to rely on men to fight against sexism for them. Anarchist-Feminism means to us that women are not prepared to leave revolution and the building of a new society to men alone. All past societies have been established by men in their own interests, often to the detriment of women's independence and interests. Of course, the sort of society we hope to build would be based on all peoples interests, and to achieve this end the best means is for all people to organise together. Separate organisation for this end is a contradiction difficult to reconcile with our ideals. Nevertheless it would be foolish to let our ideals obscure the reality, that capitalist society socializes men and women into separate roles so that their interests, though not mutually exclusive, are not necessarily identical either. As long as this remains true, both women and blacks will continue to feel the need to organise separately. The most important issue now is whether we can co-operate to bring about a revolutionary change of society that will put an end to false divisions, or whether we'll remain in isolated impotence. It's for the 'mixed' political groups to make the first move, by showing that they don't see so called "women's issues" as inferior, but equally necessary to a revolutionary analysis encompassing the whole of life,

Fraternally,

Sheila D. Ritchie and Mike Ballard

Hello.

It is now a commonplace among even those vaguely familiar with Marx that the failure of pre-capitalist society to develop the means of production is one of the principal reasons for a bourgeois revolution. Since Marx was heavily imbued with bourgeois ideology he makes this the motivating force for all social revolutions but we can disregard this. However, I would reckon it to be behind state-capitalist revolutions.

One of the main messages of the ideology of the development of production is the anti-waste campaign. Trad left publications are full of this. So it's worth looking very carefully when alleged libertarians start writing in similar vein (Solidarity 2). Is waste bad ?

Stefan appears to have an "environmentalist" line on various matters. Superficially, environmentalism is anti-waste (conservation, etc) Indeed, many environmentalists go on: about saving oil, trees, whales, etc. However, they apparently contradict themselves by calling for the waste of wildernesses, uranium resources, and suchlike, in pursuit of other objectives. But this contradiction is only apparant. Environmentalists really have other objectives (broadly, the creation of a sustainable decentralised society). Arguing in bourgeois terms is very much easier, if far more dangerous, than putting forward radical reasons why oil should not be burned in motor car engines.

In fact, every one of Stephan's examples of waste can be condemned far more forcefully on other grounds. Warfare is bad because it kills and maims people. A vacuum cleaner in every house is bad because it is part of the con whereby intellegent, creative beings are obliged to do moronic, repetative work, and so on.

As regards human labour power, there will always be plenty as long as there are people around. So why worry about conserving it ? Technology (even very "soft" technology) can enable people to satisfy their needs and still have lots of time left over. What are they supposed to do with it? Either they can produce useless goods or services (waste) or they can produce nothing (waste).

In reality, "waste" is a word like "weed" which only admits to a subjective definition. A post revolutionary society will doubtless have its own perspective. Meanwhile, I suggest that the "revolution of everyday life" - the revolt against drugery and hierarchy in all their manifestations - is the main item on the agenda. To bring up waste is to raise a side issue - or to express the way in which capitalist ideology weighs heavy on even the most "advanced" sections of the population. Some SOLIDARITY publication (I forget which) said that "Anyone who wants three square meals a day and endless work can find them in any well run jail". The phrase "and the abolition of waste" should be added.

Love,

Martin S.





# SCRAP SUS LAW



You may not realise that you don't have to do anything at all to be arrested and imprisoned. According to the Vagrancy Act of 1824, a person can be charged with "being a suspected person loitering with intent to commit an arrestable offence". This charge, commonly known as 'sus' or 'loitering with intent', gives police power to pick up anyone they want to. Like other sections of the Vagrancy Act, which deal with beggars, fortune tellers, or just people sleeping rough, it was introduced to control potentially troublesome elements, particularly the unemployed, and people injured in the Napoleonic Wars.

It is not surprising then that black youths, who are often unemployed and considered a threat, are frequently charged under this Act. In London, although only 8% of the population are black, over 40% of those charged are. A leaflet produced by a group campaigning against the law gives an example of a 15 year old boy who was arrested 3 times within a year, on each occasion the excuse was suspicion of theft, but he was never charged with any of these offences. Naturally it is very difficult to defend oneself against this sort of charge, as the offence only exists in the minds of the police. In this respect it resembles the conspiracy charges, which have been used increasingly in recent years to attack protestors, when there is no actual action they can be charged with.

A number of black community groups and neighbourhood law centres in London have begun a campaign to repeal the law (Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act). They may be contacted at:

B.P.O.C.A.S.c/o 206 Evelyn St  
London S.E.9

In a period of mounting racism and attacks (both official and unofficial) on black people, such a campaign should be supported. But at the same time we must be careful not to give the impression that the problem is simply this law. The whole state machine - Parliament, Police, Judiciary etc. - is racist, sexist and repressive. If they don't keep people down one way, they will try another.

PHIL McS

# reviews

## thoughts on female sexuality & the hite report

The Hite Report - well where do you begin? It's a collection of the feelings and experiences of women who answered a detailed questionnaire on female sexuality.

I don't want to give a summary of the book - although I could list some of the questions that were asked, or some of the conclusions that came out of what the women answered. I feel as though almost everything in the book is important; quoting one bit would mean quoting all of it. But I would like to try and convey something about the reassurance and exhilaration and solidarity that I felt when I read it. Women have been conned! It was so amazing to read account after account of women relating their personal experiences - like how they feel about masturbating, about orgasm - their feelings about intercourse; or all the other things - and find how similarly they connected to my own individual feelings - it's so nice to talk about how sexuality is for women --- women are so sensible!

Cath



In the Hite Report women describe their sexuality and emotions with a lot of honesty and pain and joy and a great sense of liberation. Reading it gave me that same sense of pain and joy and liberation. I felt angry and hurt that I have been raped a thousand times in the name of love or sex or both. I felt how hard it is to be our own bodies, rather than be in them. I felt that a new female sexuality is possible, perhaps an androgynous sexuality.

A time will come when sex won't be defined by a patriarchal myth that intercourse is best for men and women. Masturbation is best! Lesbianism is best! Clitoral stimulation is best! Everything and anything is best! Intercourse can be great for some women some of the time. But that's all - the rest isn't 'foreplay'.

I felt a time will come, if we make it, when sex will no longer be a frenetic genital activity - the only acceptable way to find creative, loving, emotional and sexual expression for ourselves, for each other. Sex will no longer be aimed at orgasm. Touching and caressing and hugging and playing with a lot of people a lot of the time will be OK! Friendships will not be either platonic or sexual; people will not be homosexual or heterosexual or bisexual. People will be sexual. After all, sexual energy is just life energy. Friendship and love will be sexual... smiling will be sexual... love will be sexual... sex will be loving...

Danna

We each wanted to write separately what we felt about the Hite Report but we talked and shared a lot of our feelings after reading it and while writing this article. We think this book is excellent - we think it's great. We think you should read it, whether you are a woman or a man.

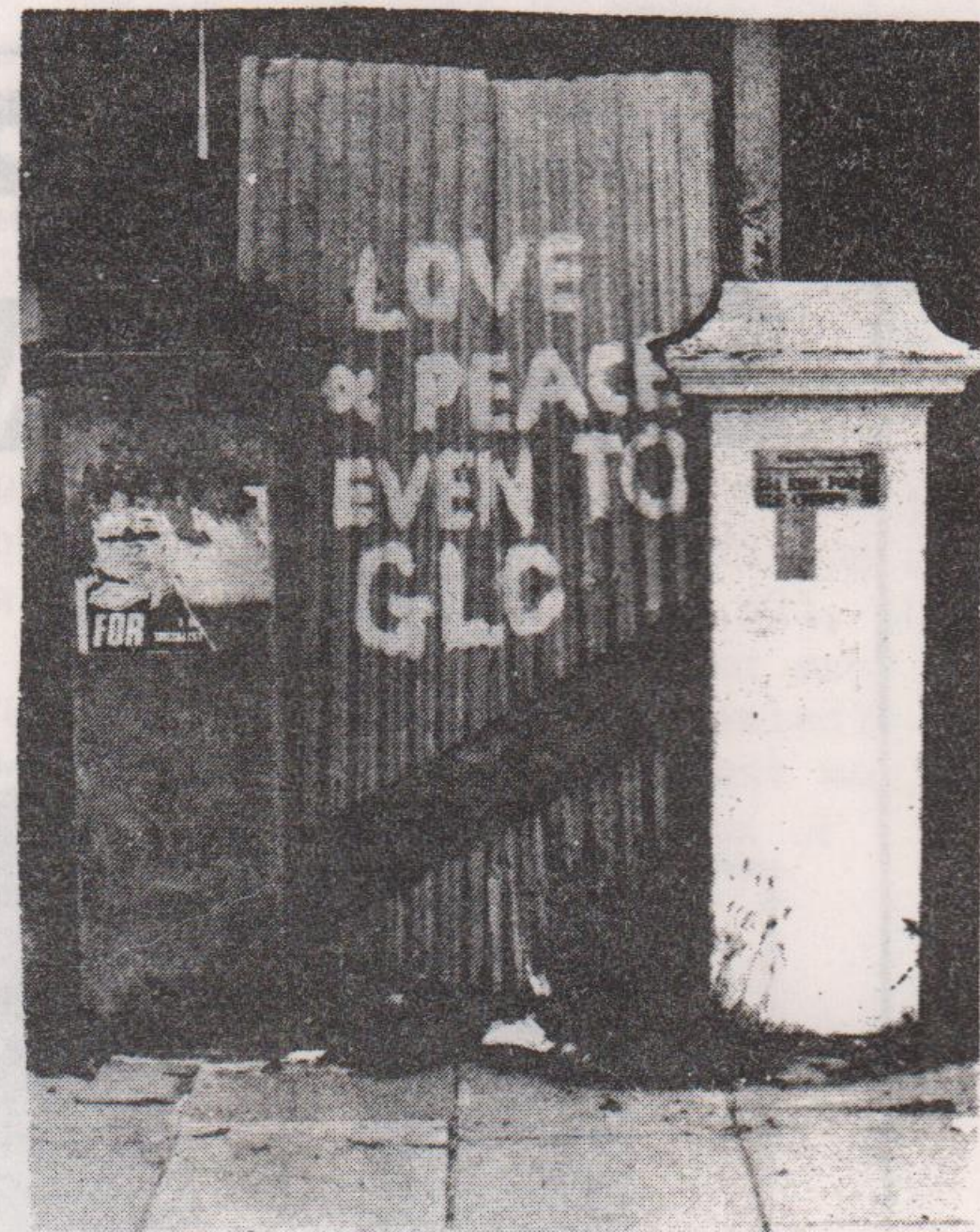


The Hite Report - Summit Books £1.75  
available from most bookshops.





## Does Love = Death in Western Europe ?



### ILLUSTRIOUS CORPSES

This is a great film, the latest of Francesco Rosi's attempts to demystify the real structure of power and to expose it for the sordid manipulation it really is. In this vein Rosi has already given us such perceptive works as 'Hands over the City', 'Salvatore Giuliano', 'Lucky Luciano' and 'the Mattei Affair'. But this is his most explicitly political film to date.

The scene is contemporary Italy. The old administration is tired and threadbare. There is corruption everywhere. Noisy leftists are on the streets. The Communist Party (PCI) is on the verge of legally acceding to power.

A series of judges are mysteriously murdered. Initial enquiries suggest the revengeful acts of wrongfully indicted men (whose sheer number implies a devastating comment on contemporary Italian 'justice'). But further probing leads an 'honest' police inspector to other conclusions. It begins to dawn on him that the murders are 'political' and that their objective is de-stabilisation. But by whom? In whose interests? Officially the police suspect the leftists. Modern techniques of phone tapping and bugging are brilliantly illustrated (beware the friendly dog, wagging its tail as it follows you!). We enter vast buildings, wholly devoted to spying. 'Keeping track of the leftists' is a whole industry. Vast stores of film. Files and tapes on every conceivable dissident. Piles of pamphlets. A profusion of modern gadgets. The permanent class war economy.

The political scene is surveyed with considerable subtlety. Articulate magistrates, in the privacy of their homes, rant and rave about 'a sub-version of authority that started with Voltaire and hasn't ended yet, even with Marcuse'. Leftist groups in action. Police interrogation

techniques. An extravagant party where, amid an ostentatious display of conspicuous consumption (mountains of food) members of a top bourgeois family insult one another, discussing the merits of Stalinism and Trotskyism.

A series of clues and chance observations have now convinced the inspector that one, at least, of the real plots is being hatched within the Establishment itself. Generals and admirals, top officials in the Ministries, even 'his own Chief of Police' are in it up to their necks, their weapons ready, waiting for the right moment.

The inspector warns an old PCI schoolfriend, now a journalist. The Party decides that the threat is real: one of their top leaders will meet the inspector, check his information. But the zealous inspector has by now himself fallen under suspicion. He knows too much. He must be eliminated. He is gunned down, in a deserted museum, together with the Party Secretary to whom he is spilling the beans about the right-wing plot.

The Police Establishment put out their own explanation for public consumption. 'In his concern to solve the earlier murders the inspector was becoming paranoid. In an anti-red frenzy he had decided shoot down the Party Secretary, then to commit suicide'. The Party is horrified. Not at the murder of one of its leaders, but at the destabilising effect a popular reaction, triggered by the murder of the Party leader, might provoke. (The fruits of office are now literally within its grasp.)

The Party, cynically, falls in with the 'official' explanation. The Revolution? Well, the Revolution is the Party coming to power? And if the truth gets in the way? 'Well, pace granisci, sometimes the truth is not revolutionary'.

Maurice B.

### DELIVER US FROM LOVE

by Suzanne Brøgger.

This is a book I recommend everybody to get a look at. It challenges lots of assumptions about the traps of male and female roles, marriage, the concept of love in western societies, and exclusive "one-to-one relationships". Heavy sections on rape and transvestites are counter-balanced by humorous passages which reveal the stupidity of the systems in which we live:

"I am convinced that an active radical struggle against the nuclear family is the ONE THING that our otherwise tolerant-repressive society - where all the rebels are put on TV and wrapped in spun sugar as ornaments in democracy - would not tolerate."

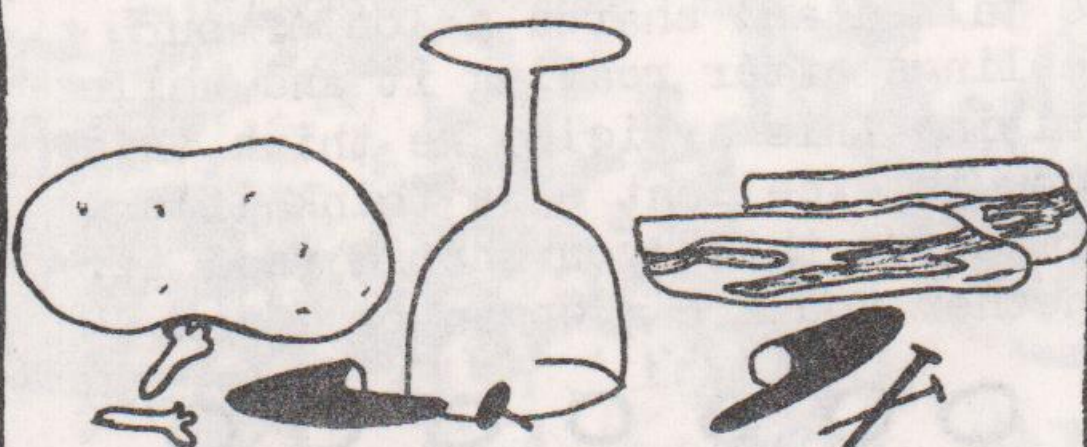
She writes with a definite aim in mind. To shake us up and make us think. The book shocked me out of the complacent idea that I am doing okay by simply trying not to be sexist. Such ways of thinking are not enough. It is feelings and relations which must change. We must look at the real misunderstandings, the real origins (sexual and psychological as well as economic) of our masculine system before we can hope to confront capitalism. There is no room for Utopian beliefs. We must act now. Even if it does mean "closing the educational sector to men before it is too late."

"From the nuclear family to nuclear weapons... That is in brief the history of patriarchal culture."

Read.

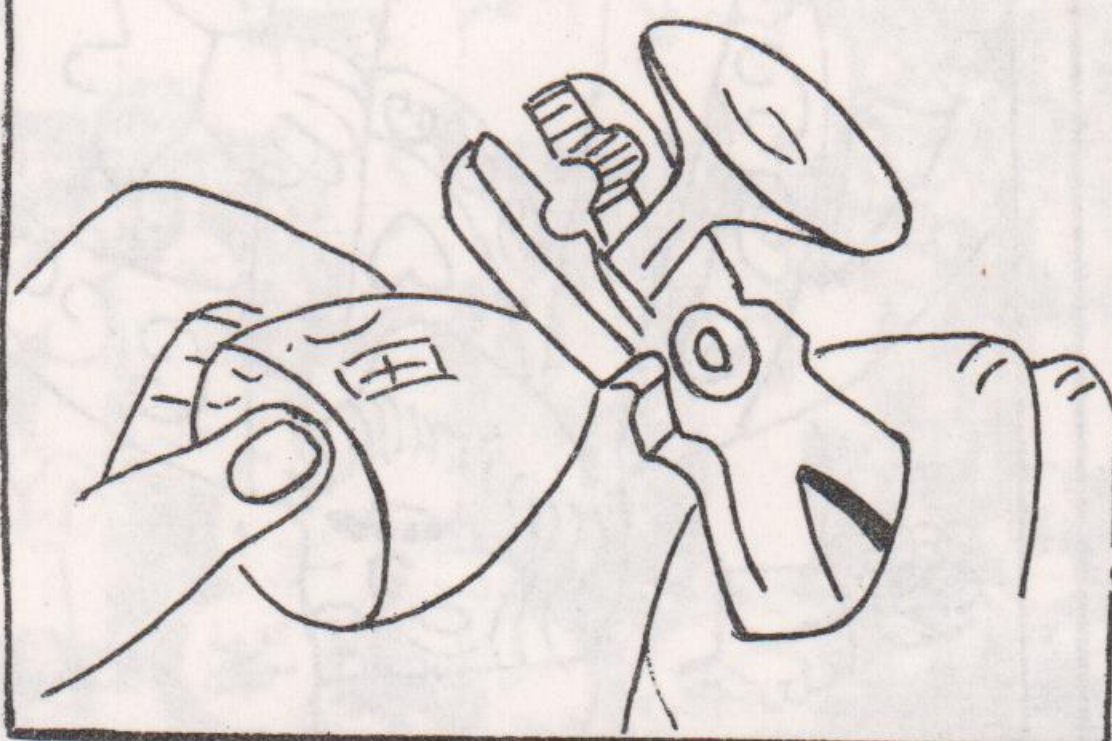
♂ Egg.

### How to build your own goat

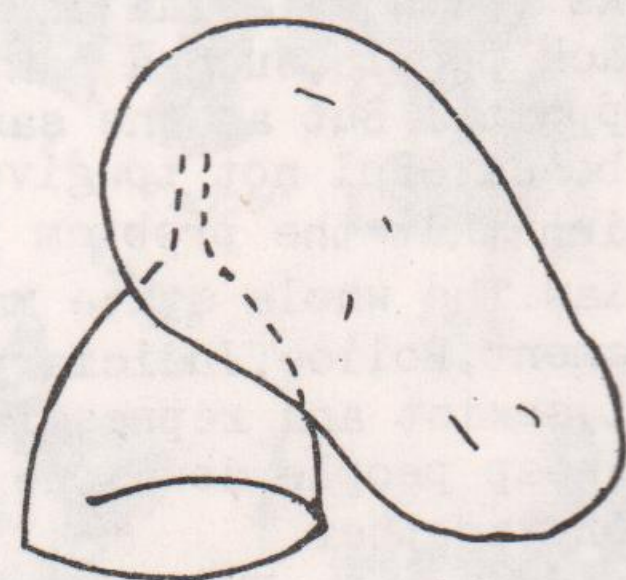


you will need: a wine glass; a potato; two beer caps; two cloves; four matches; cotton wool; red drawing pin; one rasher of bacon, cut in half; two pins.

#### ① Break the stem of the glass



#### ② Stick the spud on it





# berufsverbot is a disgusting german practice

by John King

"The West German Face of McCarthyism" by Hugh Latham, available from the author, 6 Little Green Lane, Farnham, Surrey, 30p including postage.

If you want a job in the public service in West Germany (teacher, social worker, train driver, swimming bath attendant, and so on) you must provide details in your application of your residence in the last five years. You are then investigated by the secret police (Verfassungsschutz). If they raise any doubts on your "loyalty to the constitution" you are summoned to a hearing. You aren't charged with anything specific, but your guilt is assumed until you prove your loyalty (if you wish). This isn't always easy, as this chilling little dialogue suggests: HERR HERZER (member of the tribunal): "Do you really believe that a person dominated by communist ideology could be in agreement with the Basic Law? You must be able to answer this. You must know the difference between communist ideology and the Basic Law. As a public servant you must support the free and democratic constitutional order".

MANFRED LEHNER (Catholic pacifist denied job as a teacher): "I have already declared that I utterly and completely support the free and democratic constitutional order". HH: "But if at the same time you support this program (of the German Peace society) we begin to have doubts. In the report of the Verfassungsschutz of 1973 the German Peace Society is described as pro-communist".

ML: "I know the program and practice of the German Peace Society, and from this I know that the GPS is not a communist organisation but that in it people of differing political persuasions campaign for peace. I know too what can be believed about this statement by the Verfassungsschutz about the GPS. For example, it says that the Federal President of the GPS has been a member of the provincial executive committee of the German Peace Union in North-Rhine-Westphalia. He has never lived in North-Rhine-Westphalia and has never been a member of the GPU. On the other hand, he is a member of the FDP (Liberal Party). Herr Maikofer, Federal Minister for the Interior, has apologised for this mistake. I know of a discussion

between the Hessian Institute for Research into Peace and Conflict with a representative of the Ministry in which it was agreed among other matters that the Minister would in future avoid all statements that could give grounds to a third party to consider the GPS or its members as hostile to the constitution. Have you nothing about this?

HH: "No".

ML: "But here is something in my favour and you know nothing about it".

HH: "But the Hessian Institute for Research into Peace and Conflict is obviously infiltrated by Marxists. What do you actually know about Marxism?"

ML: "As far as I am aware the Hessian Institute is supported by provincial state funds. For me Marxism is a scientific theory."

FRAU RIST (member of tribunal): "I don't understand you, Herr Lehner. You are informed that the Hessian Institute is infiltrated by Marxists and then you describe Marxism as a scientific theory. At the mere idea of Marxism cold shudders run down my spine".

(Latham pp. 4-5)

Since the Berufsverbot (literally, 'occupation ban') began in 1972 a million people have been investigated, and more than 3,000 have been sacked or refused appointment. Some have been members of the CP and its front organisations; others were pacifists, Social Democrats and Free Democrats (Liberals). Possibly some - though Latham ignores them - were libertarians. The evidence against them has included "participation in a meeting protesting at the National Party (Neo-Nazi)"; attending public meetings and even film shows, supporting appeals, petitions, protest declarations; writing letters to the press; scholarly publications and contributions to seminars; travel in the GDR and USSR; living in a communal house; visiting a pub used by communists; parking a car near a pub where there was a communist meeting; announcing an information stand for Amnesty International; refusing to recant the aims of the Socialist High School League or the German Peace Society; activity for solidarity with Chile or Vietnam; distribution of leaflets, use of the concept "imperialism"; scholarly work which does not

conform to the theory of Critical Realism (the philosophy of Karl Popper). And still there are six years to 1984!

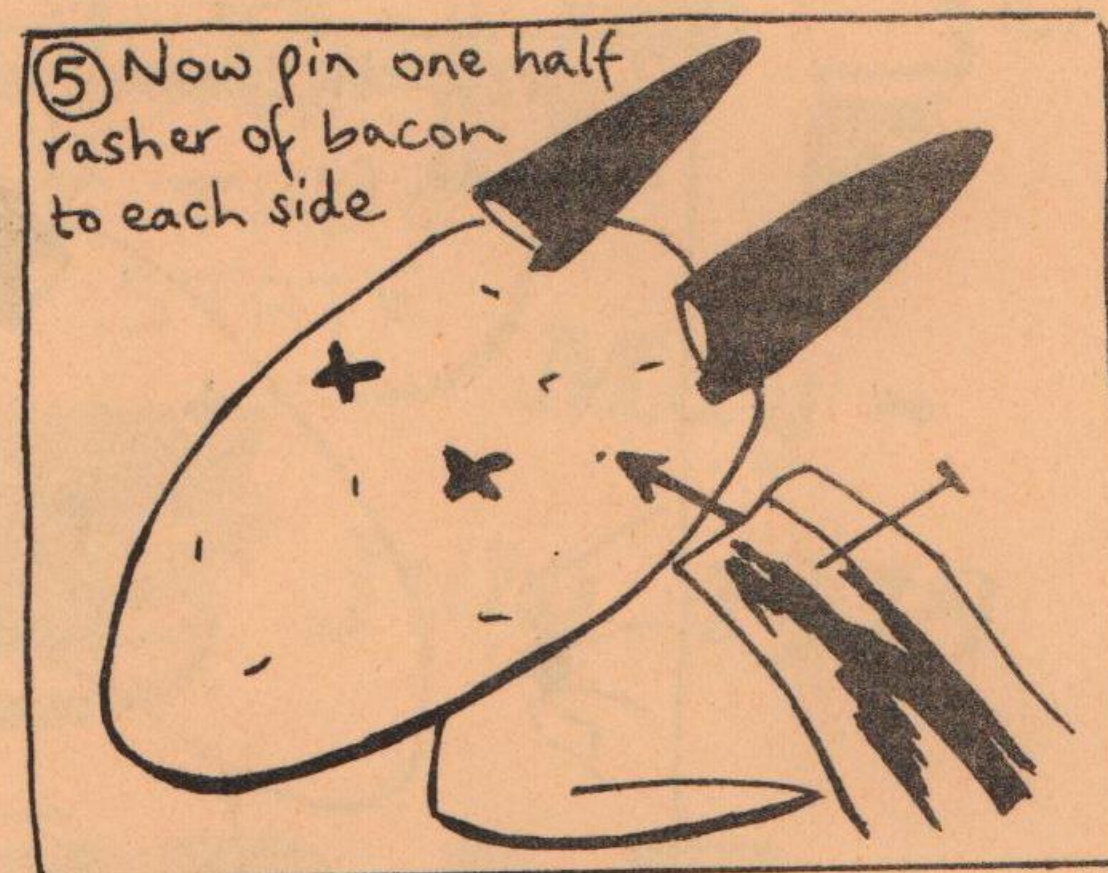
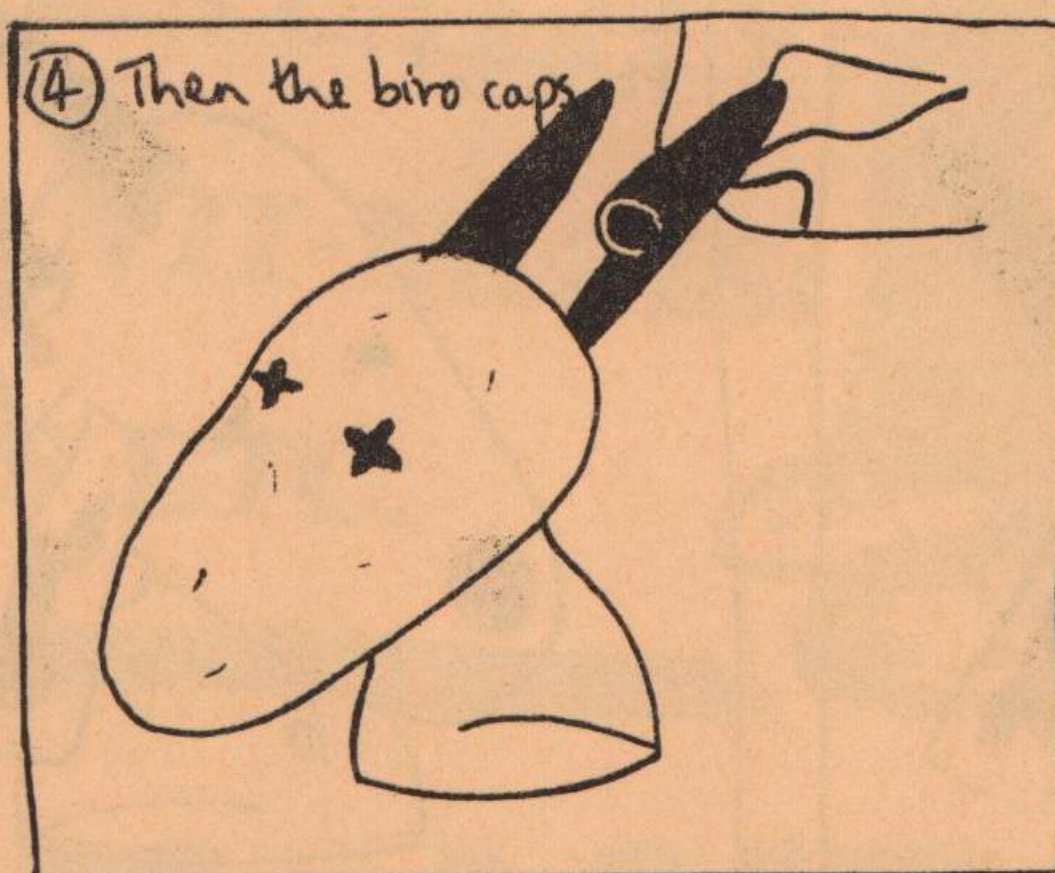
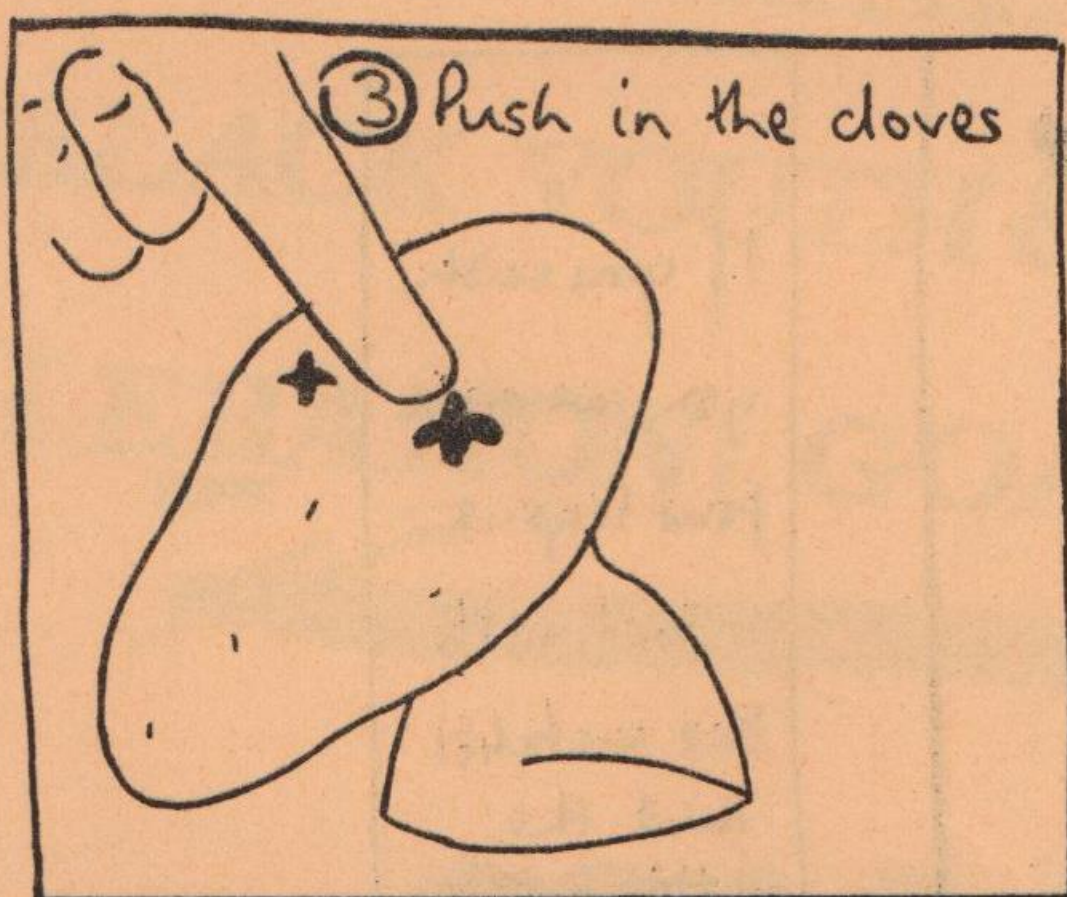
Latham's pamphlet is the first detailed account of the Berufsverbot to appear in Britain. It isn't really very good, which is hardly surprising given the publisher (the West Europe Committee of the CPGB). It's printed on flimsy paper, has a most unattractive paper, and is blessed with cartoons which have all the subtlety of your average MORNING STAR headline. I simply don't believe, as Latham claims, that the Berufsverbot was introduced because of the ruling class' fear of the growing might of the West German CP. (No Maoists, anarchists, RAF, students?) Sometimes it's downright evasive. Berufsverbot victim Ilja Hausladen, who's already told his tribunal that he was politicised at a very early age by his grandparent's experience in Dachau and Ravensbruck, is less than entirely convincing in the following exchange:

HHerr Herzer: "What do you see to criticise in the GDR?"

Ilja Hausladen: "There are certainly some things in every country which are open to criticism. But as I told you at the beginning, I haven't studied the laws of the GDR and I can only criticise things which I am well informed about. This is not the case here."

Latham lets this pass without comment. Nor does he stress the way in which popular anti-Nazi sentiments were exploited to justify the introduction of the Berufsverbot, which has in practice left the neo-Nazis unscathed. This might be a lesson for us vis-a-vis the National Front: some hopes are very slippery indeed.

The struggle against the Berufsverbot is much too important to be left to the CP. It's all too easy to imagine the same thing happening over here, with Labour Party hacks shedding crocodile tears as their own local authorities weed out those with nasty non-conformist ideas, everyone else cringes even more than usual and the Special Branch files reach for the sky. Are there any Solidarity readers with first-hand experience of the system, or with ideas for a specifically libertarian campaign against it?





# SOLIDARITY

## Holidays in the sun

After Solidarity's merger with Social Revolution we are having a week of holiday/conference/celebration on Friday 21st - 28th July at Lauriston Hall in the South West of Scotland.

Partly this is to help us to catch up a bit on personal politics and the atmosphere should be more relaxed than at a typical Solidarity weekend conference. All Solidarity members, friends, critics, sympathisers and their kids are welcome.

The rates are £2.80 per day inclusive and half for kids, but it should work out less if you can only just afford that because we will be operating a (voluntary) incomes sharing policy for the week.

BOOK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE to John Cowan, (3R) 17 Cheviot Crescent, Fintry, Dundee. Please enclose a £5 deposit (£2.50 for kids) which will eventually be subtracted from your "bill".

Ideas for the week and offers to lead off discussions, games etc would also be welcome.

### Get in Touch ?

ABERDEEN - Solidarity, Box 23, 163, King Street, Aberdeen

MANCHESTER - Solidarity, c/o S.D. Ritchie, 61, Hornchurch Court, Bonsall Street, Manchester.

OXFORD - c/o EOA Books, 34, Cowley Road, Oxford.

LONDON - c/o 123, Lathom Road, London E6.

If you want to find out about Solidarity contacts in other areas, write to the National Secretary via the Aberdeen Group. International Correspondance and Subscriptions (£2 for a string of pearls of wisdom) should be sent to the London Group, who will also be doing the next issue of SOLIDARITY magazine.



"Looks like fun for a change, they're playing charades."  
 "What's that comrade supposed to be miming?"  
 "Dialectical Materialism!"

## Aberdeen Conference

The last SOLIDARITY conference in Aberdeen attracted a small but dedicated bunch of members and sympathisers. There were several Scottish libertarians and contingents from London, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle. Despite its small size I felt that the conference was one of the better ones I'd attended over the last few years. The conflicts and arguments, of which there were many, were conducted in a forceful but sensitive way. Members of the London editorial group conducted a spirited defence of their issue of the magazine, but in the end their interrogators extracted only limited admissions of sexism.

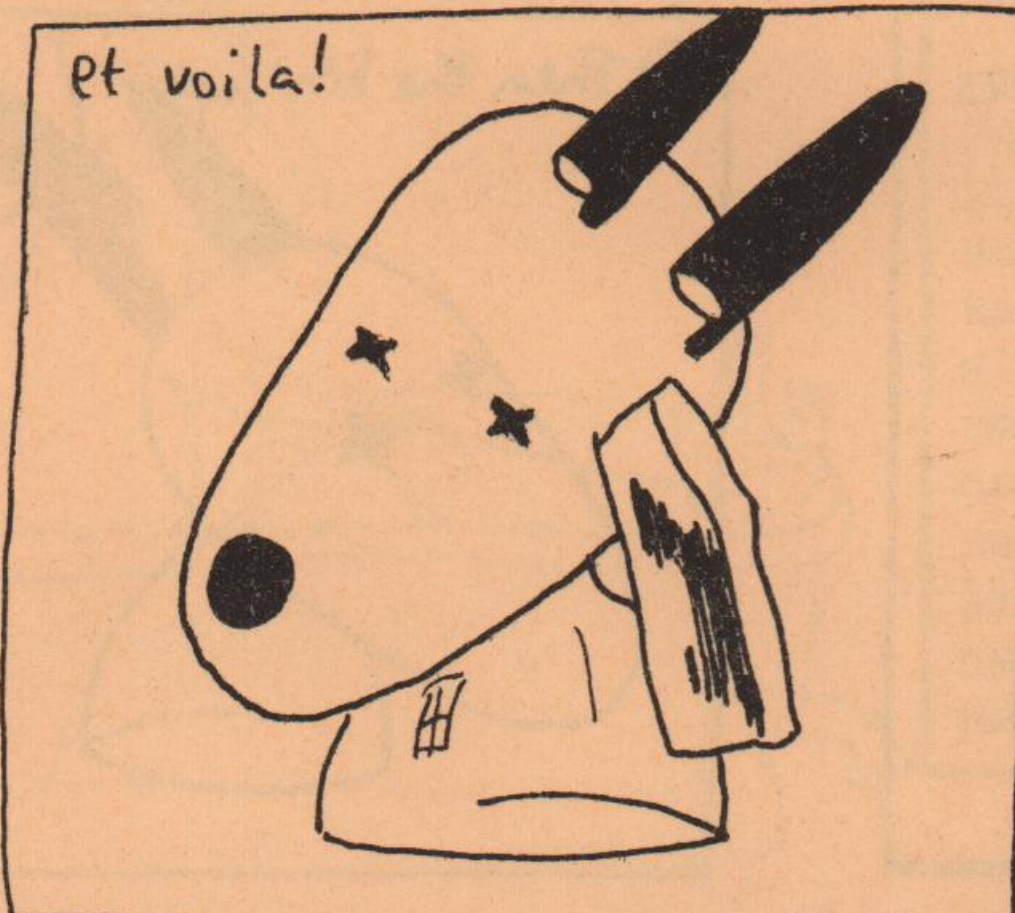
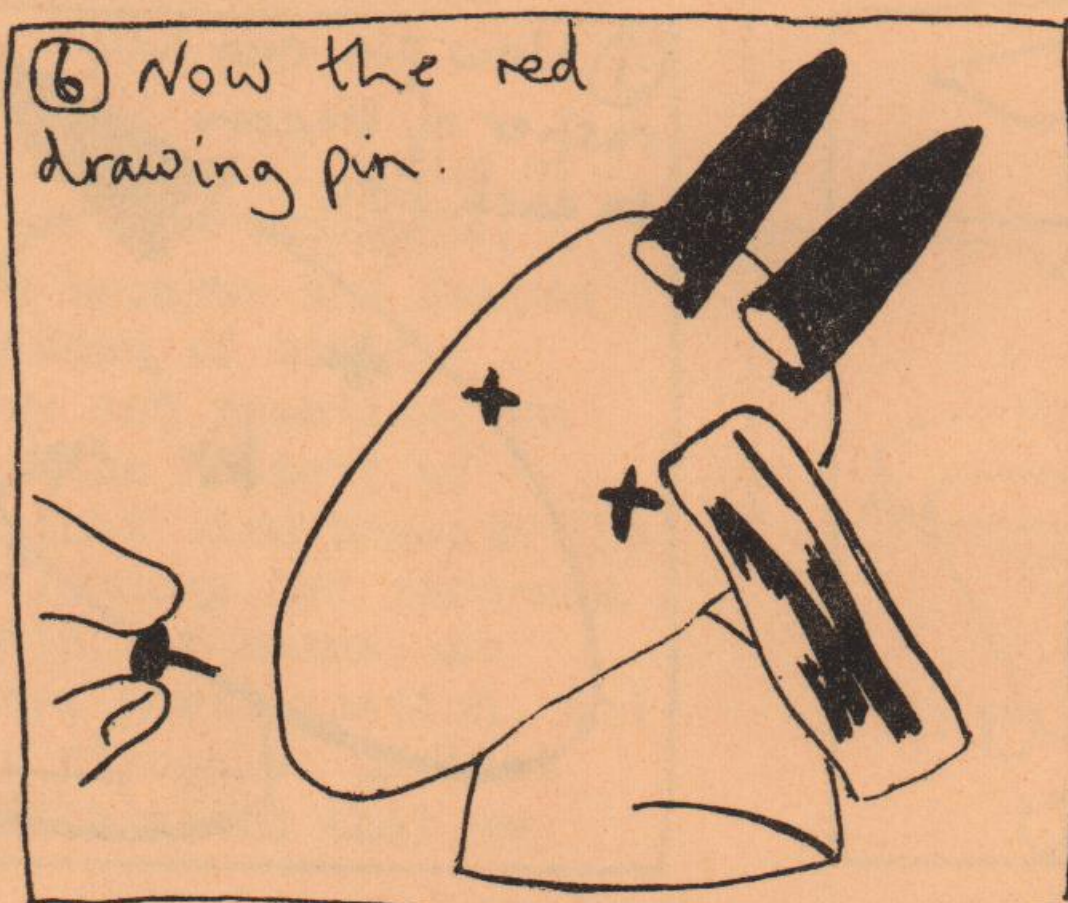
The open session of the conference on 'Nationalism, Ecology and Decentralisation' ended up being mainly a discussion on nationalism. Nevertheless it was sustained at a high level for over three hours. Perhaps it wasn't such a bad thing that the introductory speaker left his notes in London!

On Saturday night the Aberdeen comrades put on an excellent social with bopping downstairs to reggae/soul/TRB and Irn Bru upstairs to

sustain the polemics.

The Sunday morning session was serious but no breakthrough in the problem of how we relate to each other. On the one hand there were people who claimed positive discrimination for the more inarticulate and traditionally downtrodden (gays and women) - and who seemed to put down those who wouldn't take advantage of the opportunity to be inarticulate and shut up those who were articulate regardless of the fact that they were boring or interesting. On the other hand there were those who wanted to see the clearest exposition and development of ideas and were relatively content with any elitist consequences. Between two such positions it is not necessary to choose, rather it is a question of balance. What emerged in this session was a recognition of the necessity for that balance without any achievement of it.

Nonetheless, it was well worth the three-day train journey and many thanks to the Aberdeen comrades for their organization and hospitality  
 J.L.



if you wish,  
 you can make  
 four legs &  
 a tail with  
 the matches  
 and the  
 cottonwool.