



Issue Number 4 30p

# Bristol district shows the way PIGS ROUTED



St. Pauls Bristol: a little known working-class district before April 2nd 1980. But the riot that started with a police raid on the Black and White cafe showed that the police are not invincible. Where there is anger and determination they can be beaten.

The police provocation was met by massive resistance by the whole community - black, white; male and female. They fought with anything they could lay their hands on, until they forced the police out of their area.

When the police turned and ran, the youths moved in for the spoils. Taking what is theirs but what the law denies them. We were told that trolley loads of groceries, fags and booze were wheeled away, radio sets and HiFis carted back home.

## Burning

Yet when it came to the bank and the post office, they were just burnt. No money was taken. Even the old ladies joined in, taking linen and telling their men what to pinch.

When we arrived on that Wednesday night, the first person we met in Sussex Sq. told us: 'This whole city's fucking stagnant. This is the best thing that could have happened to it'.

The riot was an eruption of anger and frustration that has been building up for years. That is everybody's problem, but the blacks had been deliberately picked out by the police.

## SUS

A resident told us: 'I've lived here a good few years and I know the score with the old bill. I can walk up and down here a million times and be O.K. But a black kid can get picked up anytime, whatever he's doing'.

A jazz musician living in St. Paul's had plenty to say in the matter 'I've lived 55 years and this has made it worthwhile. It has been brewing for some time now - but what you see here is just the tip of the iceberg. That's how revolutions start. (Xtra!: that's why we came). People can take so much for so long but they have got to react sometime. Anyway, for now people were just loading up with what they could. They wanted a good Easter which otherwise they wouldn't have had. This'll be the best Easter of their lives.

'Don't talk to me about racism round here' he went on. 'The only racism you get is from the police, and they're

not local. The black kids go to school with the white kids and get on fine. Today when they see the black kids in trouble the whites soon pitched in.'

A man at the Black and White said 'For twenty years they've been having their conferences, talking about talking and they've done fuck all for us. There is virtually nothing to do in the area, the Black and White is all people have left: They opened a 'community centre' but the place is completely sterile - too ordered. No music after-eight,

people fuss if you drop litter. It just adds to your frustration.'

## Tourists

'There used to be the Caribbean Club, that was a good place. But it was such a slum that one night the floor fell in when the police raided it! The raid on the Black and White was not really to take one person. They tried to round a whole lot up. Yet another attempt to close the cafe. That was the last straw'.

When we came back to the scene next morning, the whole of Sussex Square was crawling

with journalists and film crews. They dragged out every priest, every 'community leader' and every social worker available to pass judgement. And so the 'official version' of what happened was born.

We decided to go at this point. The local kids, now ignored again, were still smirking. They had fought and won. That's all that mattered. And as a local told us; 'Maybe not this week, maybe not the next. But this will happen again. The police have treated us like shit but now they've shown their weakness'.



**Latest tip: Anarchist revolution three to one against ~ ODDS SHORTENING...**





Issue four and we bet you didn't expect us to last this long did you? Well, we have to admit it's a mystery to us too.

Actually we've a sneaking suspicion it's something to do with our inherent egoism - you can get a real taste for seeing your own stuff in print. (Like sharks for blood).

On the other hand we're pleased to offer the same to you lot out there. Otherwise you'll be stuck with a set formula of articles. Well, since the tyranny comprises a militarist, theoretician, bourgeois feminist and sufferer from academic workeritis, among others, at least it'll be varied! Trouble is, our satirist (sic) is threatening to write spoofs on the rest of us - and he may have a point.

Enough in-talking. That's tyrant won't approve (thought we were joking?). Apparently I'm supposed to tell you all how wonderful you are for supporting us. We've been amazed at the generous donations (thanks especially to Geoff and Graham).

Even so, we'd prefer you to join us by writing articles or sending artwork (or both...). And how about selling copies? It's great fun flashing 'Paper for the Armchair Terrorist' under caps and militant sellers' noses. We sold issue three to several millions too stupid to realise the back page was a piss take...heh, heh!

Apparently we're also selling well to the fascist fraternity. Less said about that the better, eh Derrick?

Keep the letters coming - it makes us feel important. Even if it's just to hassle us about copies not received. And keep the money coming - we'd enjoy a summer holiday this year.

Enjoy issue 4...issue 5 should be out before issue 6 and definitely before issue 7.

# ON ME AND MY UNION

I belong to a union. Its a union marked by the most heavy-handed authoritarianism, financial inefficiency, appalling communications and a horribly apathetic membership. Its the biggest Union in the country - wonder what all these other Unions are like.

Mine's a working class union none of your trendy sitting around in a circle stuff. At my first union meeting there were six people sitting on the platform and four people actually representing 'the membership', and I think a couple of those had wandered into the wrong room and didn't want to be noticed by doing something positive like walking out.

Debate is at a really high level, really participatory. I brought about really radical changes when I arrived - like voting. The chairperson, (though he wouldn't recognise that description) thought a motion was carried if it was merely proposed and seconded.

One meeting I brought along a work-mate. That was a mistake - I got elected Branch Treasurer. This is how these vicious union bureaucrats are made. The next stage is in those pretty little slips advertising positions as full-time branch officers. I'd like to sell the membership out for £169.70 a week.

We've had a little trouble recently actually holding our meetings. Our branch officer keeps on forgetting to book the Hall at our local headquarters. One day we actually tried to hold the meeting anyway. But our comradely caretaker was so totally appalled at such spontaneous revolutionary action that he threw us out. Why do they call the unions a movement?

We're a rich branch. You see, if we don't hold meetings we can't spend money. We get 2p from each members weekly due of 29p. I wonder what central union does with the rest?

I know what we do with ours. At the beginning of the meeting we go through a pile of begging letters. If they start off 'Dear Brothers' we give 'em £10, if someone's got a relative or friend

with 'em we hand over £20.

We must be the only branch to give the steelworkers £30 the day after they went back to work.

We do try, but somehow we end up with more money than we spend. What we need is a strike, but you see our members can only just rustle up the energy to pay dues. There's a sector of our branch that sends in money regularly with no address on it. We don't know who it is. Would Brother Johnson of the Ealing postal district please contact branch 1647, we need militants like you, maybe you can help spend your money.

I like our branch really, it has a quaint sort of charm. We've got this SWP member with a speech

impediment. He keeps on losing track of his line. There were these two pseudo-revolutionary 'rank-and-file' conferences - one organised by Socialist Workers, the other by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (I think). He couldn't remember which one was which. So I sent him to the Revolutionary Communist Tendency's one - all the way to Manchester. Still, we paid his fare.

We got a letter from the TUC last meeting. We were really chuffed. It said they were holding a Day of Action in a few weeks time and we were invited to participate. Of course they weren't calling any strikes or anything like that, but if we wanted to take the day off, jolly good luck to us.

There was some spiffing good talk in the branch about general, strikes, arming the pickets etc. I said I'd carry half of our bann-

er on the march if someone would carry the other half. But it seemed they were all busy that day. Somethor time perhaps

Really though we're a happy band here in branch 1647. We sit around in our combat jackets and cord trousers muttering into our beer, stabbing each other in the back. Sometimes though our homely bickering is rudely interrupted - we call the phenomena 'The Suit'.

It's usually black or navy blue with a pink striped shirt and reddish tie. It gets elected to committees with alarming alacrity, I don't know who votes for it - we don't. It's marked by articulacy and regular drycleaning. Eventually the committees become so high we lose sight of it. They tell us some of these Suits become real bureaucrats or prospective MPs. It's good to know someone's on our side.



## Optimism before the big Sellout

# FROM THE POSTBAG....

## Dear A's

I've just got hold of 2 give away copies of 'Xtra!' from the newsrack outside Balham Tube station. Although I am far right, I DO read left wing mags to find out what you are saying. Xtra! I must admit, is alot LESS jargon-ridden, stuffy and humourless than the usual output.

As an NF sympathiser, I've been wondering what the hell is going on lately! I used to get Spearhead, their magazine, but either someone has made off with their subscription records, or its ceased publication, since my cheque last year has not produced any more copies. Your articles, although hostile to the Front, provide illumination in the blackout. Of course, like all the left, you regard NF supporters as collectively defficient in reasoning power (and they dismiss the whole of the left as subhuman), BUT at least you seem to

realise that social deprivation, not just malice, may drive people into the NF. The logical conclusion is that just bashing fellow workers over the head won't solve the problems of the inner city, where Both of you draw support. Dare I say it, but for the grace of Marx, some of you could have gone Fronting! But then I'm middle class, ex public school, and can't understand why the workers don't try to get along with one another a little better.

The Front's main appeal to nobs like me is their stand against the de-Europeanisation of the U.K. I'm friendly with individual non-Europeans, but I suspect the Front have a point about the unholy alliance between capitalism, needing immigrants for cheap labour, and the left, who want raw recruits for demos. I will buy the Front's stand on law 'n' order too, as we middle class like a bit of stability. However, as I look to Europe and voted for the Common Market, I

oppose the NF's failure to support the only WHITE rich man's club within reach. As for anti-semitism, this is a bit of a bore and doesn't grab my imagination at all.

I'm in a dilemma, especially after reading Xtra! and other reports on the NF. My favorite newspaper, the 'Nudes of the World' has carried stories about Martin W's gayhood, and the urinary pantomime of the Front's 'Piss in boots' solicitor. As the Radio 4 Week ending satirists would say: 'It makes you fink, dunnit?' There is also the possibility that neo-nazis and skinheads have been admitted to the NF - hardly the sort of people I could identify with. I found the leader, John Tyndall made good, rational speeches, although he seems rather aloof and humourless, but who is this new man, Andrew Brons? I once walked past 73, Great Eastern St - rather a crummy area, and to think, I might have been clobbered by a

psychopath! I had hoped to buy some rightist literature there as I'm fed up with the left monopoly in the radical bookshops, but the place looked as forbidding as a fortress.

Well, I'm going on rather long. Let me say, please keep the free Xtra!s coming. You keep me informed on what's happening in the Front when everyone else is gagged by the N.U.J. If you keep talking about NF, it means at least they are not all washed up yet. You see, I still think of them as Britain's last hope. Solidly working class and rough diamonds they may be, but the trouble is there is no other party on the right I can support. Compared with them, the Bicester National Socialists and the British Party are raving nazis - too full of hate to think straight. But I'm rambling on again and you've got to get back to the demo.

John Subhuman.

P.S. I have prepared a pamphlet stating that mass car ownership is the greatest single deterrent to revolution. Smash cardom and the all right jack attitude of the car driver, and you have taken the first step towards true revolution.

Our address is:  
Xtra!  
182, Upper Street  
Islington  
London N1.



# STROLLIN'...

Well there we were, assembled for the first major anti-nuclear demo. A stroll from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, in the company of 'nice' liberals, 'monsignors', etc.etc. All to celebrate (if thats the word) the first anniversary of Harrisburg - or the first birthday of the day they nearly lost Pennsylvania.

Even without the tubes, a figure of somewhere around 15,000 people turned up, and the sun came out in solidarity, braving the cold with the rest of us.

The highlight of the march for me was dying in a nuclear



accident in Piccadilly Circus where a model nuclear power station went 'puff!' and the people around it 'kinda' died (good spontaneous stuff).

The trouble with the march was it was too much like every other march. You know, you assemble, walk, chant a bit, try to find friends. And when you finally get to the end, you all cram into Trafalgar Square and all stare at a platform of assembled stars, all very alienating and elitist.

It would have been more fun and relevant to replace the platform with a fair. Something to get involved in.

# 'NUFF SAID...



The National Front holds its biggest rally yet - over two thousand participating - from the front steps of an empty house. Anti-Fascist demonstrators, confused by deliberate police blind alleys are to be found anywhere and everywhere from Elephant and Castle down to Peckham. It's a problem of communication. Next time: a radio to listen to Police messages? More people on bikes to find out what's going on and let everyone else know walkies talkies (?!!!)



In this day and age, it is perhaps only to be expected that the very foundations of our society should be subject to mockery and cruel jests. The pristine splendour of the ancient ceremony of the new Archbishops enthronement was disrupted by what can only be described as hooligan elemen-

ts. These unfortunates can only be seen as poor hapless tools in the pay of more sinister foreign agencies.

Both our front page picture and this one show these individuals at their game. Our police can only be praised for their forbearance and firm response.

Xtra! will not bow to black-

mail, we are not afraid to point the finger. The two groups of dissolutes involved were the March 25th Group (which our informants suggest is based around Kent University) and the Hastings Anarchists. It is time than ordinary decent people took a stand against the actions of this politically motivated minority.

# FIXING 'CHIX'

On October 10th last year, 96 women, all asian, stormed out of CHIX sweet factory in Slough after a 'meeting' in which the owner of the company Mr Denis 'The Fuhrer' Rose (home address available on request) refused to discuss the complaints of his workers.

These 96 workers made up 90% of the staff. The other 10% were the supervisory members of staff, by coincidence; all white.

This strike has been made into a strike over union recognition, but that is only the superficial cause of this motion. of the asian women have only a limited knowledge of English language and therefore could not express their complaints to the management. They were then given a chance to have an English speaking representative to act on their behalf, the all-powerful union official. (Basnett's General and Municipal Workers Union).

The strike was called when Rose refused to recognise the union but the reason for the strike was the conditions under which the women were working. It was the need to change these conditions that made them turn to the union for help.

The women were earning 95p per hour (£38 per week), working in poor conditions and suffering constant racist abuse from the all white management and supervisory staff.

The racist abuse has not stopped with the strike. Rose,

straining his intellect to its limits, divides the pickets outside his factory into two groups. The Asians are 'apes', and the white pickets are 'unemployed, wog-loving layabouts'. The Fuhrer expressing his anger at any student present said that in his Masterplan all universities would be closed for three years and all students forced to do engineering.

Rose has told the press that his wages are no lower than many other factories in the area but he fails to mention that since the beginning of the strike he has increased wages by 30p per hour to £1.25 per hour.



Rose is using white school leavers and some West Indians to keep production going, but by manning the picket line everyday the women have managed to reduce the factory to 50% of its former output. In doing so many of the women were arrested and subjected to humiliating court appearances and heavy fines.

After six months the number of strikers has dropped from the original 96 to either

10 or 70 depndng on which side you believe. Personally I don't believe anybody and from what I've seen on the picket line I would put the number at 25, but then I never could count.

Whatever the number left, those that do remain seem determined to carry on the strike, if just to see the racist employer go bankrupt.

The leader of this dispute, like all Great Leaders, apparently shows his solidarity with the workers by arriving in a taxi, smoking a few cigars, giving a few orders and then leaving by taxi. Has Brother Anwar caught the cigar habit from watching Fidel Castro?

Perhaps I should not ridicule Anwar too much because at least he attends the picket line regularly, which is more than can be said of the national union officials who having blessed this strike with the official strike tag have never to my knowledge, attended the picket line in the last six months.

Whatever the failings of the leaders and despite the fact that this is being called a strike for Trade Union Rights, I fully support these women and attend the picket line. This is not only because it's a good place to sell copies of Xtra! but also because it is a fight by a group of oppressed workers against the worst employer I've ever had the pleasure to shout abuse at.

If you feel like shouting abusive language that even Xtra! won't print (because they can't spell it) and putting an oppressive employer out of business, phone me on Slough 20422.

Graham.



# ANTI-MILITARISM

## Protest in World War One...and now

We know war is coming. We know we've got to do something about it, but what? and what sort of support can we realistically expect from 'ordinary' people?

Before the first World War socialists from all the soon-to-be belligerent countries were 'united' in the 2nd International. They confidently believed working class strength would prevent full-scale war.

Below we look at what went wrong and why it went wrong.

### Differences

*'Our exertions have been in vain. And now we are only too surely confronted by the fact that war is upon us and we are menaced by the terror of foreign invasion'.*

This declaration came from the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), on 4th August 1914. On that day parliamentary socialists in France, Germany and Austria voted for war credits, granting their governments the money to rearm. The German declaration expresses the views of them all.

Just what had happened to the international socialist movement? The question of how war was to be prevented had been a major topic at socialist conferences since the anarchists had introduced it in 1868. And since then a myriad of different theoretical and tactical approaches had been debated.

But there were widely differing opinions as to how socialists should react to war. The centrist marxists (including the bulk of the SPD) favoured a form of passive resistance. They were quite prepared to mount parliamentary opposition, backed up by street demonstrations. But in the end, they reasoned, only socialism could end wars. And since they saw socialism as both inevitable and imminent, it was implied that real action was a waste of time.

### Ouvrierism

For this attitude French socialist Herve accused the SPD of transforming the international's motto to: 'Working men of the world - massacre each other' An extreme pacifist (that is, before 1914) Herve advocated mass insurrection and desertions in the event of war.

But his view was not shared by the vast bulk of French socialists. Whilst they did not accept extreme pacifism, they did support the idea of preventing war by any means - including use of the controversial general strike.

The general strike was first proposed as a tactic against war by the Dutch anarchist Nieuwenhuis in 1891. And it was taken up by the French socialists largely as a means of ingratiating themselves with the main socialist union in France the CGT (Confederation generale du Travail).

This heavily anarchist-influenced syndicalist union based its beliefs on 'ouvrierism' - a rejection of intellectualism and politics in favour of economic action. It saw the general strike as THE revolutionary tactic, a spontaneous, conscious act of a proletariat on the verge of triumph. And as a tactic to prevent war it had the advantages of crippling the war economically and raising class consciousness.

However, the most extreme version of anti-militarism came from Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin and the ultra-left marxists. Insurrection and mass strikes (not general strikes, this idea was tainted with implications of anarchism) would just be a beginning. With capitalism weakened war would provide the ideal moment for the revolution itself to begin.

The nearest the second international got to consensus on the question of anti-militarism was at its Stuttgart conference in 1907. Its resolution was a remarkable achievement indeed. Synthesising all the differing views into a statement that had something for everyone, it managed to avoid the troublesome problem of international action altogether.

Even so, the years leading up to World War One weren't just characterised by endless discussion. Italy's involvement in Tripolitana (1911) was met with a succession of protests and demonstrations across Europe, as well as a general strike in Italy itself. There were mass demonstrations in all of the movements affiliated capitals in 1912 at the outbreak of the first Balkan war. And the German Socialists mounted a full-scale psychological attack on militarism at home, even relaxing their differences with the French for a time.

None of these actions altered the course of events. But it didn't seem to matter all that much. By July 1914 several months of 'peace' had lulled everyone in the socialist camp into a false sense of security. And the death of Franz Ferdinand caught most of the leaders in bathing suits enjoying summer vacations.

By the time that war was declared it was inevitable there would be little or no opposition - and, apart from some rather unrealistic soul-searching by the Germans, most of the parties had no trouble in switching their efforts to national 'defence'.

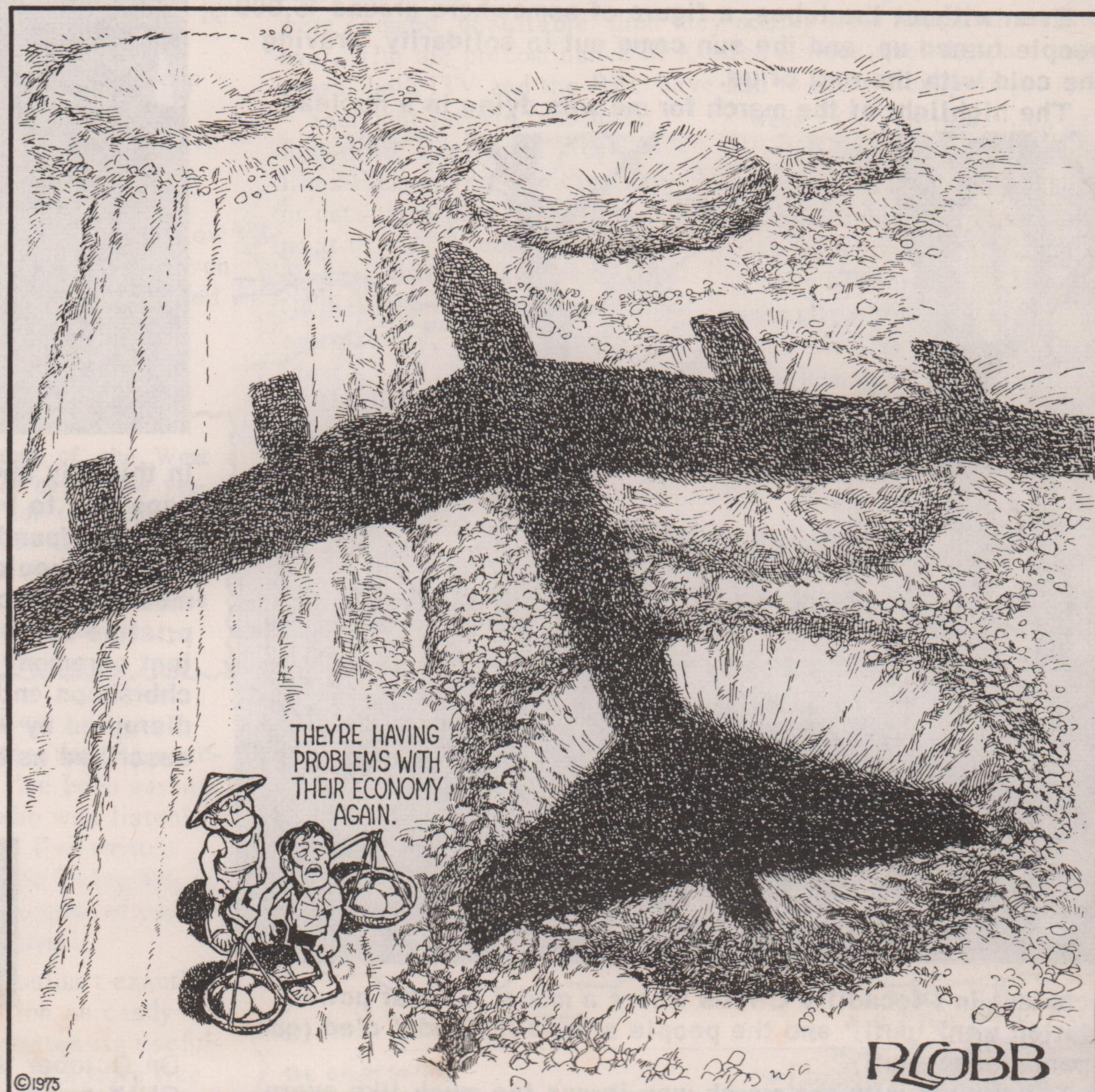
Why was this so inevitable? The truth is the socialist movement had never been international. There had consistently been misunderstandings and suspicions between the various national groups. And in 1900 Nieuwenhuis had been violently shouted down when he'd dared suggest that belief in the nation was 'antiquated prejudice'.

This led to confusion over what was or was not a 'defensive' war. Lenin concluded the only side with any justification in war was the small nation combatting imperialism. But in the German camp, at least, there were people who fully supported imperialism on the grounds that it raised the living standards of ordinary Germans.

### Stake

Perhaps more important the Germans and French had a stake in the existing order. The SPD was a massive bureaucratic structure with assets which made it amount to a corporation. The French had greater parliamentary strength and also felt more could be gained within the State than outside it. As for the British; their own reluctance to go to war was so like that of the British liberals as to be indistinguishable from it. The trade unions, on the other hand were in many ways (with the exception of the CGT) even more conservative than the parties.

When it came to making a real stand both parties and unions had more concern for their own organisations (and



thus also for the nations in which they operated) than they had for stopping war. And this is hardly surprising. The Germans were still uneasy that anti-socialist laws might be re-imposed. The French were aware that a list (carnet B) of potential 'troublemakers' in the event of war had been drawn up by the government.

It was also not surprising that ordinary Europeans were nationalistic and conservative in attitude. Most of them had seen what seemed like a transformation in their own lifetimes. Socialists were making massive electoral gains - they were taking part in government. They seemed to be moving towards a position of strength which would benefit the working class.

The only real exceptions to the backsliding majority were the Russians. In Russia bread riots and wave upon wave of strikes marked the beginning of revolution. Lenin and Luxemburg had proved to be right - anti-war protest (albeit after the war had started) could lead to revolution and withdrawal from war.

But if the socialist parties had given up protesting by 1914, this wasn't true of all the people they purported to represent. In the forces there were desertions by those who were individually disillusioned. More important there were strikes, walkouts, demonstrations and takeovers by groups of the disillusioned and these were increasing in number as the war continued.

Many of these mutinies were small and short lived. Several hundred RFC men at Biggin Hill went on strike for, and won, better living conditions. 20,000 soldiers on strike took over Southampton docks. Similar action was taking place throughout Europe, and it was involving hundreds of thousands of people.

Neither was protest limited to the armed forces. At home the fires were being kept gently smouldering. In Britain, for example, the 1915 Munitions Act made it illegal for those working in the war industry to strike. It also tried to prevent workers from moving out of

munitions - by prohibiting other employers from taking them on within a specified period of their leaving such employment. The Act was never completely successful. A powerful shop stewards movement, including many who had been syndicalists, consistently opposed the measures and strikes continued - as much to the annoyance of Trade Union Officialdom as to the government.

It cannot be said these examples displayed an international spirit. Few of them were revolutionary. But they did prove that war tends to polarise class conflict. The working class - as cannon fodder and producer - is pushed to its limits and is prepared to fight back.

### Bankrupt

If the example of the First World War tells us anything it is that protest will happen no matter how bankrupt left-wing leadership proves itself to be. In fact, by capitulating when it did, the left effectively legitimised nationalism and quite possibly slowed down the amount of protest there might have been. As Hitler was to write of the German Socialists:

*'To argue....that in 1914 the SPD worker did his duty is false. For it was not the avowed Marxist who did his duty at that time but the German who, in a state of inward elation, temporarily renounced Marxism'.*

The Second International provided links that should have enabled it to co-ordinate its anti-militarist propaganda. Today those links do not exist, but we must succeed where it failed.

That means not just talk but action. Direct and deliberately illegal action has to be backed up with propaganda. And if we are to have any success at all, we have to start now - warning people about what we're being psyched up to. Appealing to people as the individuals who will be facing the firing line. Appealing to working people as the class which will pay for the war they never asked for.



# Why CAPITALIST ECONOMICS spell War

Wars to end all wars, that was how the two great imperialist holocausts of this century were portrayed both before and after they took place.

The First World war was depicted by the Allies as a crusade against secret diplomacy and Prussian militarism. The Second was explained as a crusade against fascist and nazi barbarism.

After the First World war we were told that the powers would spontaneously disarm. After the Second they told us that, on the contrary, it was the very existence of stockpiles of arms which would safeguard peace.

What rubbish will they come up with after the next disaster for humanity? Already we are being prepared for the next 'crusade' with a barrage of ideological propaganda, the Russian ruling class ranting about capitalist encirclement, the Western elite about Soviet hegemonistic ambitions.

Underlying this mystification is capitalism (on both sides of the Iron Curtain), locked in a cycle of crisis, war and reconstruction. After World War II capitalism seemed to have solved its contradictions by balanced expansion of internal markets through deficit budgeting (that is, high levels of public spending) and controlled wage bargaining by 'responsible' trade unionism. But the days of peaceful reconstruction are at an end, the system has proved itself once again unstable.

Why? Capitalism must expand or collapse. Businesses must increase their rate of profit to support the capitalist class itself, to support the ever-increasing demands of its non-productive overheads (police, bureaucracy, communications and so on), and in order to compete with other businesses, whether on a local, national or supra-national level.

But there are limits to how far they can exploit workers - so rates of profit tend to fall. Therefore permitted consumption must be expanded, which means creating vast, ever-changing desires; but on the other hand obsolete plant must be replaced to increase productivity, which means consumption must be curbed to invest on an ever-increasing scale.

The short term solution is a mildly inflationary policy, which stimulates consumer demands while making cash readily available for investment. But as the demands on the economy grow, so this inflation must increase.

Inflation gives rise to ever-increasing wage demands as workers try to defend their living standards. And this can become the main threat to the whole system.

There are two possible solutions

a) a massive austerity programme to hold back consumption while capitalist stock is completely overhauled (for example by wonderful micro-chip technology)

b) war, as this will destroy masses of surplus capital and win control, it is hoped, of new markets.

Once the possibility of war is entertained, other factors accelerate the drift into conflict. The armaments industry becomes the growth industry when others are in decline - it must do, since if high quality arms are to be produced cheaply they must be produced on a massive scale, opening a new competition for outside markets.

At the same time when a government pays for the arms, it puts new pressures, as an additional overhead, on the market sectors of the economy. Arms represent an investment which demands a return - a return that can only be found by using them for imperialist plunder.

For example, when Hitler accelerated his war-course in 1937, he did so largely because the strain of rearmament demanded sacrifices by the German working-class, whose revolt could have caused the destruction of the regime.

In fact, the peaceful alternative of massive reinvestment is only an illusory one. Every time the bourgeoisie now tries to raise production it only succeeds in raising inflation. Investment in industry is unprofitable because there are high rates of interest on the money needed to invest, and uncertain, because there is deepening recession. War is ultimately the only solution.

The proletariat is the only class capable of reversing the drift to war. War can only be waged once the economic base of society is placed on a war footing. Here the trade unions have a vital role to play for capitalism disciplining the working class and putting forward phoney nationalistic palliatives (such as import controls).

The inherently revolutionary nature of the proletariat will only reveal itself when it acts autonomously of such constraints, resisting all austerity measures whether or not mediated through the unions and the 'workers' parties.

Only then can the permanent tendency of capitalism towards war be reversed; only when capitalism in its totality is swept from the face of the earth to be replaced by a human community producing for need and not artificially created desires, will the scourge of war disappear altogether.

The preparations for imperialist war must be overtaken by class war - and the destructive capacity of the capitalist powers makes this an absolute necessity.

# FARE DODGING

## Inter-City Savers 100 % off

Is it all a terrifying right-wing plot? These fare increases, I mean. London Transport has increased bus and tube fares three times in less than a year. And now they're asking the GLC to make motorists pay more.

When, I ask, are they going to put a tax on humble cyclists and pedestrians? For at the present rate of increase, most of us will be forced into the latter category before long. And immobility of the general population is just what the Tories need.

However, there is another way. It's called fare-dodging. And you can choose just how much - or how little - you are prepared to pay though obviously this depends on how daring you are.

## e tubes

Take the London Tube for instance. At one extreme of riskiness, all you do is buy the cheapest ticket available. And at the other end of your journey you hand in your ticket - and walk on briskly. I've always found this easiest when there are masses of other people (rush-hour is obviously the best time). And if you can manage to hand in your ticket when the ticket collector is engaged with someone else paying an 'excess fare' (or refusing to do so!) chances are that s/he won't notice you.

If you need to travel on the Tube alot, however (eg to go to work), a season ticket becomes a regrettable necessity - because there's no way that you can get past the same ticket-collector at the same stop without the proper ticket several times a week. You will be remembered - and fined heavily when caught. BUT a season ticket CAN enable you to travel everywhere else virtually free - I reckon I save maybe two or three quid a week this way (sometimes more). How? Quite simply, holding up a season ticket enables you to get past most collectors.

A few hints here. Do NOT look furtive and guilty. Look the collector straight in the eye (it might even stop him/her from looking at your ticket when there is a large

crowd of people - there is no way that the collector can inspect all the tickets closely. If people are not going through the barrier single file (this is often the case), make sure you're as far away from the collector as possible - quite apart from the fact that s/he won't be able to see your ticket so easily, s/he has much less chance of grabbing you.

The topic of being grabbed is a subject unto itself. But briefly: if this happens (being grabbed, that is) your tactics are probably wrong - reread the first part of this article. If, however, such an unfortunate situation arises, it's no use wailing 'I'll be more careful next time'. You have two alternatives: bluffing and paying up, or disentangling yourself and running off.

When deciding which of these options to take (oh! dear, this is making it sound rather dry and academic - can you imagine taking a Higher Diploma in Fare-Dodging? 'Candidates have 30 seconds on this paper - and no copying please'), there are two factors to take into account: first, the positioning of the collector and secondly, your physical state versus that of your assailant.

On the first point, if the collector is stuck in one of these little wood and glass boxes and there is no turnstile, there is very little s/he can do except shout. In which case march past with a dignified air. If however, there is a turnstile and s/he won't let you through - pay up. In fact it's best not even to attempt dodging in such circumstances).

If the collector isn't in a box, it really boils down to your chan-

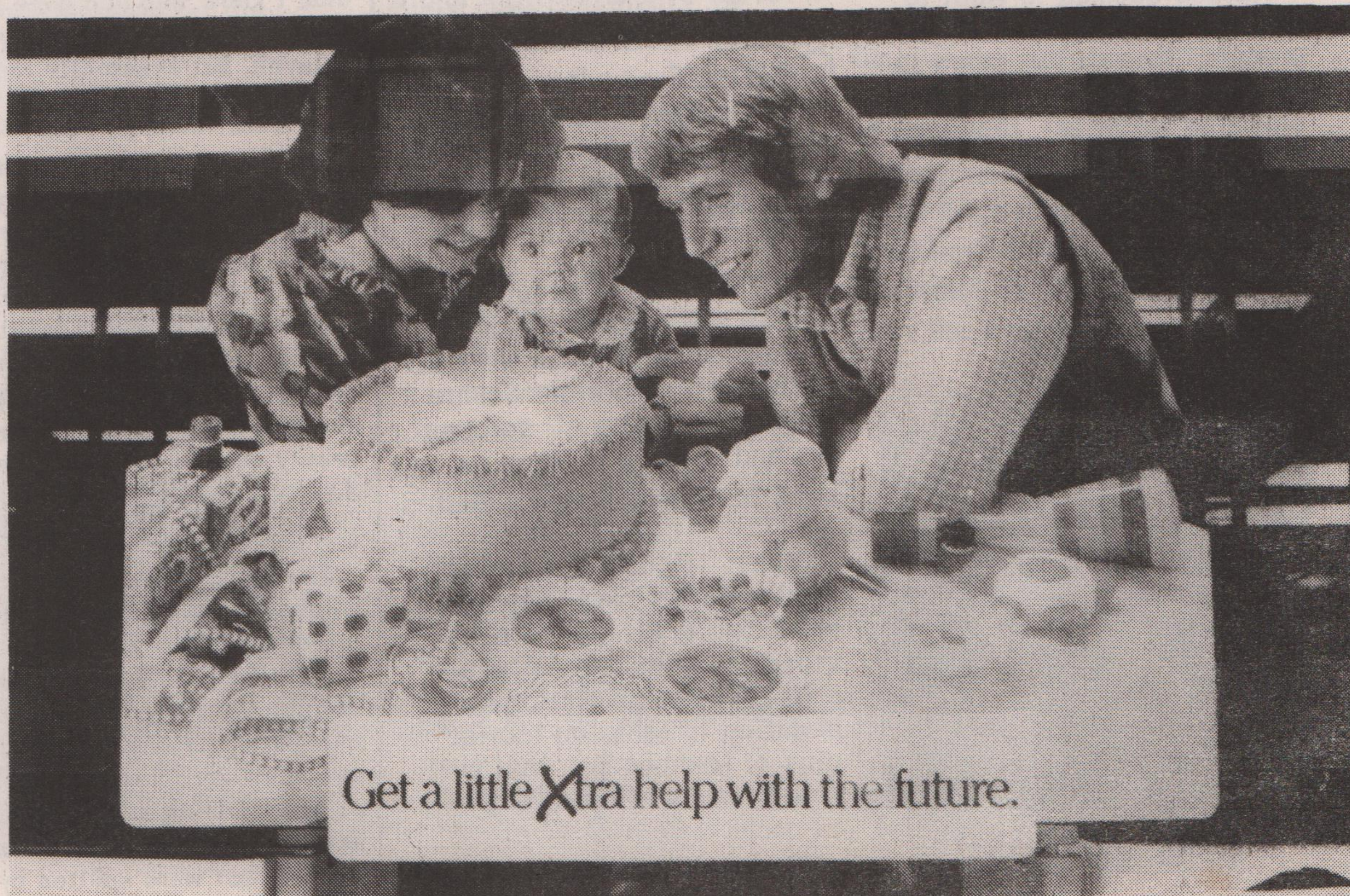
ces of freeing yourself from his/her grasp. Small, wiry persons like myself have an advantage here - often your physical strength is underestimated. For God's sake make sure they don't get hold of your season ticket (especially if, like me, you carry it with your cheque card etc). It's best not to wear delicate clothing which can tear. A hint for sexists: never underestimate the strength of female ticket collectors.

It's a good idea to carry the right amount of change if you think you might get grabbed - if you're able to pay the right amount on the spot they'll probably let you go (and if they don't? ... haven't you read 'Xtra! Judicial'?).

A season ticket is also useful in that if you are travelling home from other destinations than the one marked on your season ticket, all you need do is buy the cheapest available ticket to get you into the Underground - unlike British Rail, there are very few ticket collectors on the trains.



Nb I know this article is very London biased. If you want to correct this regional imbalance why not write in with your own local/national tips. Winning entrants will receive a free 'Fare-dodgers Pass' which enables you to crash any ticket-barrier - providing you're prepared to risk a £200 fine.



Get a little Xtra help with the future.



# TOWARDS A REVOLUTION

## THAT T.U.C. MARCH

TUC activists and their wives (in thick jumpers and high heeled shoes) waded through the mire of Hyde Park. It was annual demo time - when you do your bit for Labour by mouthing at the Tories. Bet we aren't the only ones who can't remember which cause this day of inaction was supposed to be supporting.

Well, let's face it, it was boring. And the cops wouldn't let us sell papers in the park, so it wasn't even going to be profitable.

Comrades gathered by a park kiosk. Word had gone out there was going to be a bit of 'entertainment'. Well, it was funny, there were only about thirty of us - and thousands and THOUSANDS of them.

Do it yourself posters were hysterically funny. Anarchists are amazingly good at ripping off placards, but when it came to attaching our own posters we could have done with an SWP hack or two, complete with the tools of the trade. (Ever tried to buy sellotape in the middle of Hyde Park on a Sunday lunchtime?).

### Energy

All that surplus energy and yet no way were we going to take over any marches.

We started at the back behind the Young Socialists, but we'd have been there for hours. Blowing whistles, chanting anti-trot irrelevancies and trying out a few new war dances, we moved round the park. We even had a few people dancing. And paper sales rose dramatically, especially when we gave them a free blow on a whistle too. People seemed a bit hesitant at first, glancing round furtively to be sure friends weren't watching.

Now, we could have just kept on going round. But we didn't want to end up being the Park attraction. No, we'd join the demo as it meandered its way out of the park. A pair of scissors made short work of the white tapes penning in each 'section' (y'know, Nos. one to ten, union leaders, MPs etc, workers at the back).

No-one seemed to want to join us - apparently they were prepared to wait ten years to move off, rather than disobey stewards (after all, they've got ARMBANDS on!).

### Exit

It could also have been because as we careered across

the park towards the exit, a line of blue-uniformed stewards (which group were they with?) started moving down to meet us.

OK. So it wasn't on. One comrade was warned for being scissor-happy, (wonder what you can be charged with for cutting bits of white ribbon?).

One quick dash straight across the park and we're in the middle of the demo itself, followed by two luckless cops demanding to know who's making the decisions about where we're going and what we intend to do. When we laugh they're confused and clearly don't believe us.

We decide to cut across to Trafalgar Square. Chants of 'autonomy' don't seem to appeal to anyone but us and we are told to disappear in time-honoured English.

### Mayfair

The inhabitants of Mayfair are a bit bemused by the group of black flags bearing down on them, (surely they must be lost? - 'Hey! the demo went thataway!').

Yeah, well a panda car seem to have got lost too, (what luck something for our lot to do after all....)

The next thing we know the heavy mob are upon us. In a show of spontaneous mass decision-making, the comrades turn right into an alley at breakneck speed, with SPG contenders for the Olympics (Nasden, not Moscow) in hot pursuit.

Three comrades are stopped and searched, then released again (well the orders are - keep this one peaceful lads). A fourth in a show of revolutionary solidarity quickly discards revolutionary insignia in favour of a brisk walk and a reassuring whistle.

### Garners

In the Haymarket the group stops to point out to an erring TUC activist that he's eating in Garners. He seems unimpressed.

But not nearly as unimpressed as the massed ranks of union stalwarts when we start heckling in Trafalgar Square. Apparently we're all scroungers and/or paid by Moscow and none of us know what a bath's for.

They, of course, do know what a bath's for. They're also hot on what cameras are for. A steady flow of people takes time off from revolutionary chanting to take the tourist pics of Number Ten that will grace family albums for years to come.

Say cheese Maggie....

## OUR BODIES

Women's bodies were exploited and degraded yet again at the Miss Oxford beauty contest on 29th March, for the profit of sponsors Southern Gas, Hartwell's Motors, MV Holidays and the Oxford Mail. Oxford feminists and anarchists took direct action.

In theory

Our plans for disrupting the contest:

1) Picket - asking people on their way in why they wanted to go and watch women being degraded. Banners eg:

bouncers and some were beaten up and others molested by the crowd.

At this point the men in bikinis were about to strip and storm

**We are not beautiful**  
**We are not ugly**  
**We are ANGRY**

A man in stripy swimming trunks wearing a Miss Stereotype sash.  
2) The fuses for the stage lighting were removed and hidden before the show.

3) Smoke bombs in the theatre during the show.

4) Bags of flour and eggs to be thrown among the audience during the show.

5) Rape alarm to let off.

6) Men in bikinis to storm the stage.

Practice

The picket was received with embarrassment and jovial shouts of 'who'd want to exploit Your bodies?' etc. There was some disagreement among the women about what to shout - some of us didn't like the chant 'men are sick, cut off their pricks'. A policewoman asked us whether we knew anything about the stolen fuses. We told her that we didn't know who had done it: Most of us didn't. The show was delayed, but eventually replacement fuses were found.

Some of us had gone into the theatre with tickets - others sneaked in during the interval. Inside, the contestants were being interviewed. One of them was asked why she thought there were women protesting about the contest. She giggled and replied she thought we wanted to be beauty queens but didn't have the confidence.

During the interviews the smoke bombs exploded, filling the theatre with smelly red smoke, sending the audience scrambling out yelling 'FIRE!' (until calmed by the compere). Flour and eggs were thrown, one bag of flour landing at the contestants feet. All the bombers split fastish, but were spotted by

the stage, but the bouncers forced them to leave. Then the police seized and searched two women who had been on the picket. The police found a bag of flour on them and accused them of breaching the peace, throwing flour (the 'evidence' was that one woman did NOT have flour on her), letting off smoke bombs, stealing fuses and trespassing without tickets. They were forced to pay £4 each for balcony tickets and the theatre plans to sue them for damages.

Meanwhile the show went on.

## About Those Tickets

They'd planned their precious debate for months. Getting hold of tickets was no problem - forging them was. Next time Peter Hain organises something, all we can suggest is that he uses better quality paper for his tickets.

If only he knew the hassles it meant getting paper of poor enough quality. Oh! the hours that were spent trying to get the tickets printed as badly as the originals. If you could only send us a stamped addressed envelope, Peter, we could give you the addresses of some quite good printers.

As the faithful waited in line for their two-hour 'participatory' debate, unscrupulous entrepreneurs (see New Statesman) crept amongst them, plying them with more genuine looking tickets than the genuine tickets - money changes hands. But enough of these sordid details. In all, I'm told, almost fifty pounds was raised.

Most of the money was donated to the steelworkers, who had organised a collection outside the debate. And WE didn't have any Hall hire fees or speakers' expenses.

**Heckler: What about workers' councils?**

**Second heckler: ...but Dave I**

**keep trying to tell you**

**- I don't want to work!**



Conclusions and self-criticism. The protest did cause trouble and did probably get publicity. But we could have done better.

1) The women on the picket should have agreed on what chants are effective and what is only alienating.

2) People should have had a clearer idea of the plan, which was hatched by a small group who failed to communicate with the rest of us.

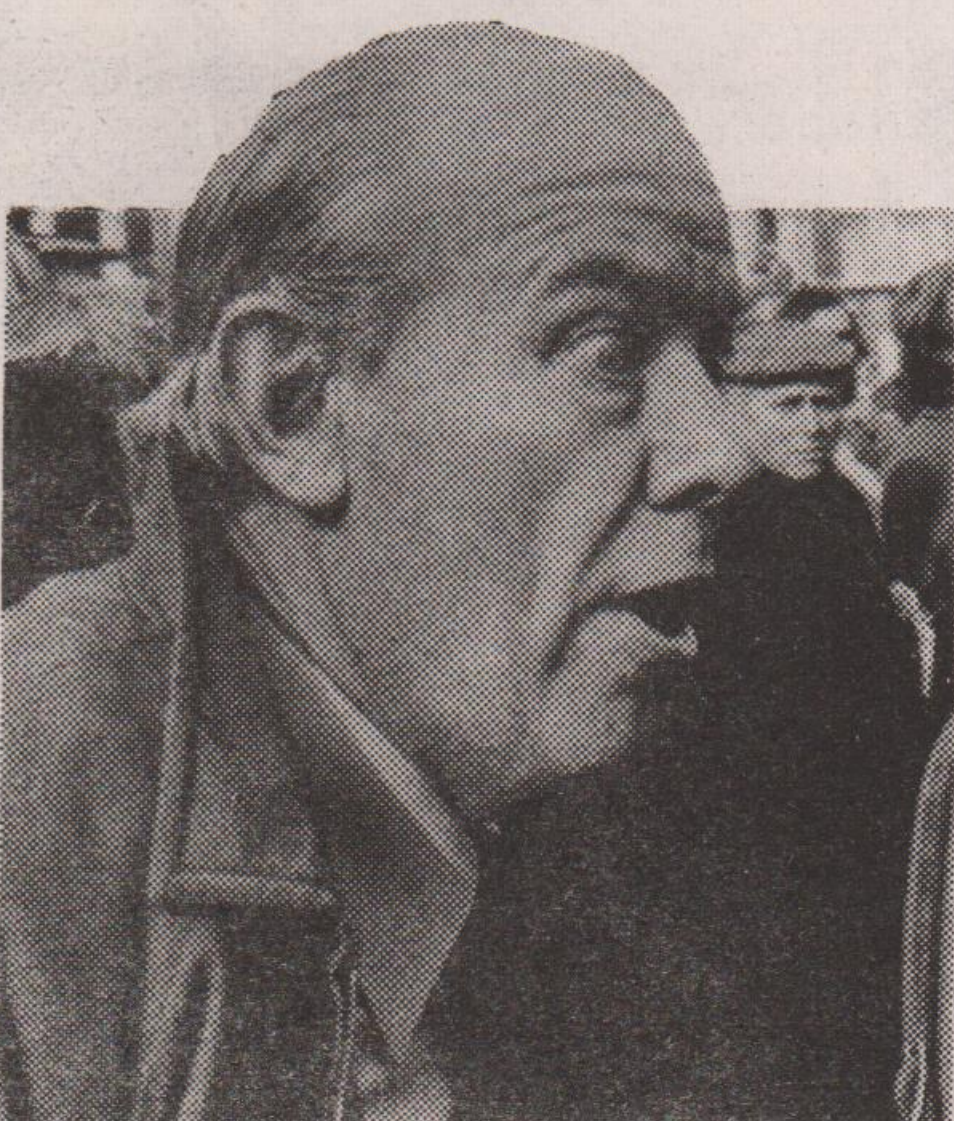
3) There should have been a clearer plan for entering and leaving the theatre - without anyone getting beaten up or detained by police.

Comments on the disruption Colin Hart, sponsor: It is taking things too far.

Roy Castle, entertainer: I will stock up on Women's Lib jokes for the next year.

Naomi Delaney, Miss Oxford: I think it is a shame people of that mentality should do that sort of thing.

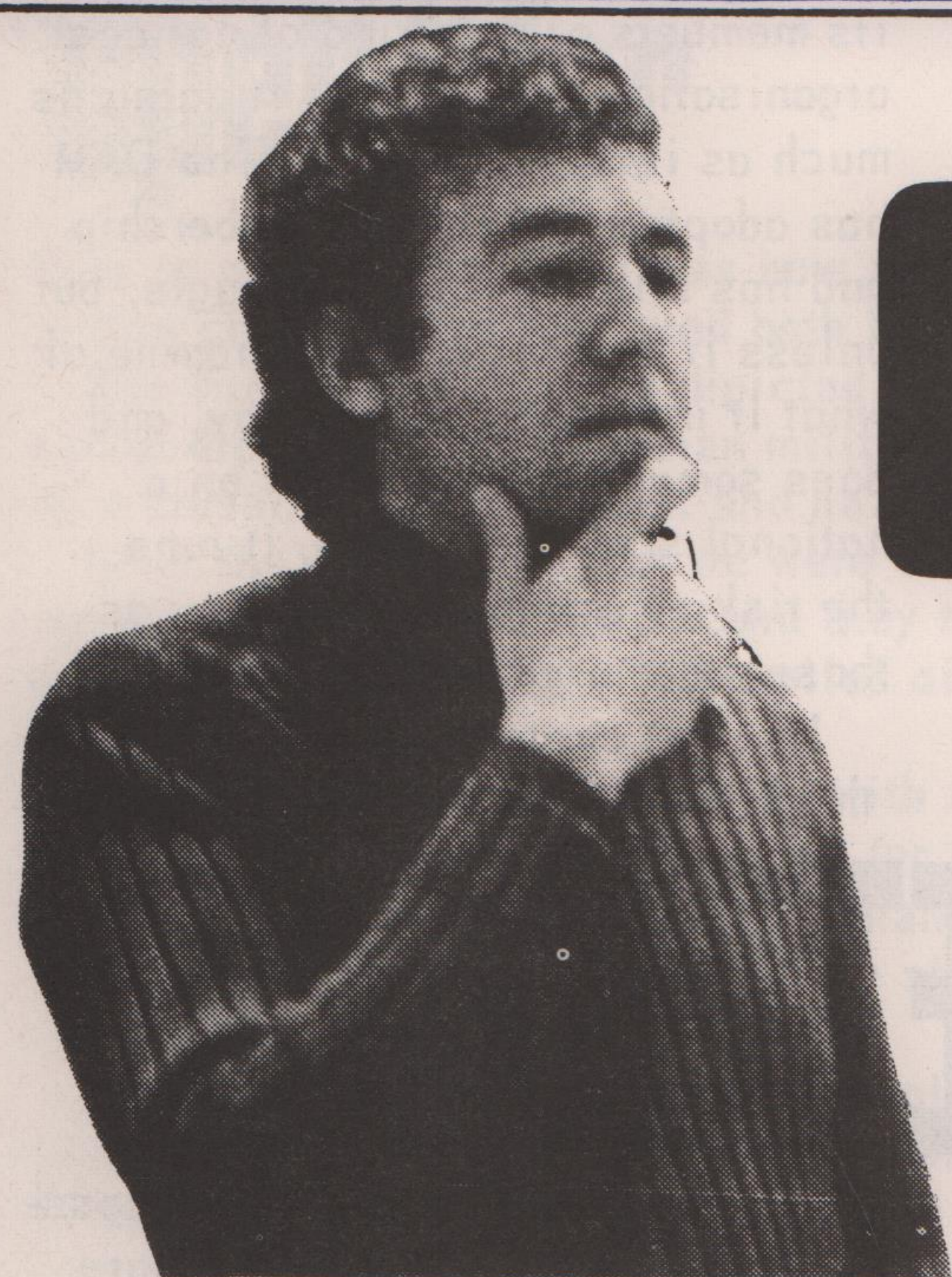
TODAY MISS OXFORD -  
TOMORROW MISS WORLD



"ave a Bath!"



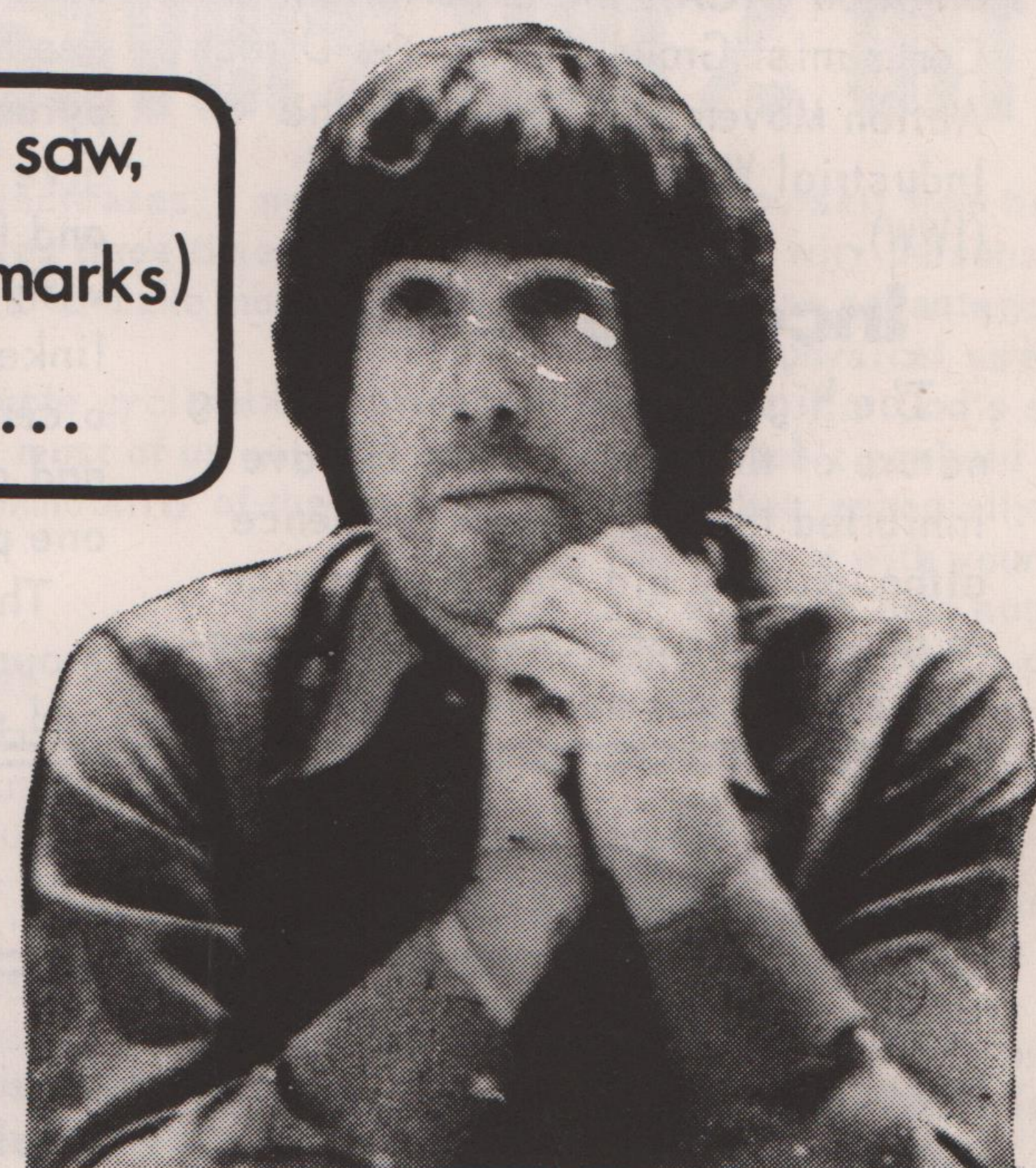
# ONARY INTERVENTION



## CRISIS!

(FOR THE REST  
OF THE LEFT)

We came, we saw,  
(made a few remarks)  
— then left...



It was billed as the debate of the decade. Tony Benn on how the Labour Party is the only hope for socialism, despite the last eighty years. Paul Foot on why working class militancy needs a vanguard party and Tariq Ali on why revolutionaries should work through parliament and 'please Tony why can't we join your party?'

All these sterile little ideologues trying to blame each other for the decline in the left over the past ten years and their failure to relate to ordinary people. Ten years ago they saw themselves as a force for the future, today they've got a reactionary government with more conviction than they have themselves.

Yes, we had come to destroy the meeting. There were thirty-nine of us in all, consisting of anarchists and autonomists. The two main groups were the London Workers' Group and the Monday Group, with a sprinkling of odd Tyrants (some of them very odd indeed). Punk was the word most used to describe us. But I'd say we were more into black leather. Still, enough of these poetic details.

We started off at a gentle pace, with the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and the Sinn Fein leading the way with vocal interjections. However, by the time Tony Benn started up even Peter Hain (chairperson) could detect he had a 'sloganising disruptive minority' to contend with.

As far as I can remember the meeting voted to throw us out, but all the stewards stood around in the aisles and made no moves. As if to illustrate the value of solidarity, an isolated Irish heckler in front of us was bravely attacked by about half a dozen stewards. This led to a unique autonomist/Sinn Fein alliance.

The reaction of the rest of the audience were typical of the weaknesses of the left as a whole. They were angry at having their meeting disrupted, yet they were so passive. Serried ranks ranks of mutely protesting little militants. About as much life and vigour as a trade union committee. Ali Tariq Ali could do was protest to the New Statesman that we supported the Red Brigades (that's odd, I thought he did...).

So, after giving Paul Foot a hard time (of course our interruptions did not appear in SW's account of his speech), we filed out. Afterwards I was told the meeting became even more turgid and boring. At least we injected some excitement into their wretched debate.

Incidentally neither the steelworker nor Hilary Wainwright (co-author of Beyond the Fragments) were heckled that much. Wainwright emphasised the extra-parliamentary opposition of, for example, womens' and rank and file groups. And she opposed opportunist party building.

Some anarchists would criticise our actions on the lines of Paul Foot's 'don't call them anarchists - any self-respecting anarchist would be shocked at their behaviour'. But then brown rice and vegetarianism aren't in themselves revolutionary forces. If you want a liberating revolution, the Paul Foots and Benns of this world are going to be even more upset.

On a final point, we were told they were recording the debate with the aim of producing an album - 'Revolutionary slogans for the converted'. I suppose they'll have to put it out as a single now.

'Even though the oppressed masses have often rebelled against capital and its agencies, they have only done so under the leadership of the intelligentsia; and the firm solidarity and discipline won in this common struggle subsequently proves to be the strongest support of the system once these leaders openly go over to the side of capitalism'.\*

**Paul Foot: ...and we're fighting everywhere to extend class consciousness**

**Heckler: Yeah, in Hampstead!**

So wrote Anton Pannekoek in 1920 about the class struggle in England.

The Debate of the Decade was a superlative example of the role played by the middle-class intelligentsia as shock absorber of any revolt from below. Not a single worker on the stage, very few in the audience. Keep quiet; people have come to hear His Master's Voice. If you want to say something write down a question and we might consider letting you speak. Sssh! You will give us revolutionaries a bad press.

We must understand the roles these people perform. They have plenty to say about the forms protest must take - build the socialist party, sell our newspaper, come on our demonstration. But a fetish for organisational forms is only a wet blanket on any spirit of revolt. Where rebellion is mediated - through unions, parties or controlled de-

bate, it is separated from its source. It is lost on attempts at reform, where no real reform can be offered.

Organisation is important, but only so long as this is moulded by the current mood and objectives of the people in struggle. Beyond that, organisation becomes an end in itself, and therefore one more obstacle to revolution.

Only by consistently challenging this control over protest, only by taking protest beyond what is permitted, will people gain confidence in themselves, a spirit of autonomy which is the precondition of any social revolution.

Anyone who has been on a demonstration where anger and indignation have broken free of the constraints imposed by police and leaders will know what I am talking about. It has to be experienced to be understood. A sudden upsurge

against the latent violence of everyday life, and instantly, if only momentarily, you feel the beginning of popular power. Any demonstration, any 'protest' that follows will be oppressive if it less than that moment. It will be revealed for what it is - a process of letting off steam while They are still in control, subverting any sense of class unity.

No one can doubt the left believes it has the answers to the crisis. But whenever we allow them to channel our spirit of rebellion away from what is really vital - the assault on capital and all its agencies, our energy is being deliberately wasted.

The left may offer more rational, more equitable, more just, or more libertarian forms of exploitation, but not an end to it, since they are part of it.

On this basis we must examine critically every single form of permitted protest and understand its political content - anti-fascism, anti-sexism, anti-nukes, anti-toryism, and the rest. If we make ourselves unpopular in the meantime, if we are accused of sectarianism, that is the price of clarity.

Only when the present political hegemony enjoyed by the likes of Foot, Benn, (and Thatcher) is totally smashed, does the debate begin.

\*World Revolution and Communist Tactics

**And from SOCIALIST CHALLENGE....**

**After organising the spectacularly successful Debate of the Decade...the Labour Co-ordinating Committee meets in Birmingham this weekend.**



## PAGE EIGHT

Until the Second World War, anarchist history was a history of class struggle and syndicalism. The history of anarchism since then has not been impressive. There are too many people who believe revolution begins at home, and so sit at home waiting for the revolution to begin.

There are four libertarian class-struggle organisations in this country. The Anarchist Communist Association (ACA), the Libertarian Communist Group (LCG), the Direct Action Movement (DAM) and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

### Inconsistencies

The high dues and inward looking nature of the group seems to have inhibited their growth or influence although they did start a campaign to boycott the Moscow Olympics before Maggie got onto the scene.

The organisation should be controlled horizontally, where people delegated to do some organisational duty do precisely what the rank and file members tell them (and not in a pyramidal fashion where leaders give orders to those below them) and federatively where all groups with a common purpose are federated linked directly together (and not in a centralist manner where orders and communication are centered on one place and group of people).

The self-determination of each group is put above everything else and so consensus agreements are

Councilism is the system where assemblies of all workers elect a Council to run the factory etc., and elect delegates to a Central Assembly which co-ordinates factories and elects a Central Council.

### Education

However, there is one vital difference which distinguishes between the true 'syndicalists' and the true 'councilists' or 'libertarian communists'. Syndicalism has two main functions as described by Rocker: 1) To enforce the demands of the producers for the safeguarding and raising of their standard of living 2) To acquaint the workers with the technical management of production and economic life in general and

The DAM is becoming a large general anarchist organisation with emphasis on economic struggle, but not leaving out social and community issues. Its sudden increase in size (doubling in four months) and the lack of experience of many of its members of this kind of national organisation has stopped it doing as much as it could.

The DAM has adopted individual membership and has a line of class-struggle, but unless it decides on a programme of what it intends to do and say, and does something significant on a national scale very soon, it runs the risk of going the same way as those other organisations.

Its next conference in Leeds on the 26th/27th of April could be de-

# Defence Of SYNDICALIST METHODS

They produce the paper 'Bread and Roses' currently the only anarchist (semi-) agitational paper (apart from the Beano) which is reasonably down to earth and cheap (15p). It mainly suffers from a lack of contributors and irregularity.

The LCG, currently working very hard to promote a front organisation called 'Resistance' (to the cuts) which is enjoying some measure of success, is a bit perplexing. While continuing to say it is anarchist, members have stated in their paper 'Libertarian Communist', that 'building the revolutionary Party' is of importance and they have joined the Socialist Unity group which stands parliamentary candidates. Also at least one member is standing as a

required. Education is considered to be of great importance.

However, many anarchists would say that this is anarchism in general and not specifically syndicalism, so we have to take it a bit further.

Rudolf Rocker in 'Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism' says that trade unions of a city or district would combine in Labour Chambers. These would be grouped according to districts and regions to form a National Federation of Labour Chambers. This federation would provide the co-ordination of work, education production etc.

### Two Functions

At the same time, every trade union would be federatively allied with all the organisations of the same industry and in turn with related trades, to form a federation of Industrial Alliances.

However, Rocker says nothing of how the trade unions would be internally organised, or how these two federations would interact.

The IWW is often thought of as being of classical syndicalist design. It is organised into industrial unions which are linked via federation, as in Rocker's FIA. However, the constitution states that: 'Workers in a given industry (...are...) welded together as the particular requirements of said industry may render necessary'. Also: 'Component parts of the IWW may set up such co-ordinating bodies as they wish... provided that they shall not void rank and file control'.

In practice, local branches (which don't control the workplace) have regular mass meetings which decide all important issues and elect committees to do the day to day things. Delegates to conferences are elected by all the members and an Executive Committee is elected by referendum, to run the union as a whole on a day to day basis.

However, not only does the IWW not like to be called syndicalist (but rather an industrial union) but this method of organising is almost identical to the Councilism advocated by groups such as Solidarity who say they are opposed to syndicalism.

prepare them to take the socio-economic organism into their own hands and shape it according to socialist principles.

i.e. Organisation and Education leading to Emancipation; the watch words of the IWW.

Negotiations of wage demands and working conditions is not something which is on the libertarian communist or councilist programme.

Revolution is not rational.

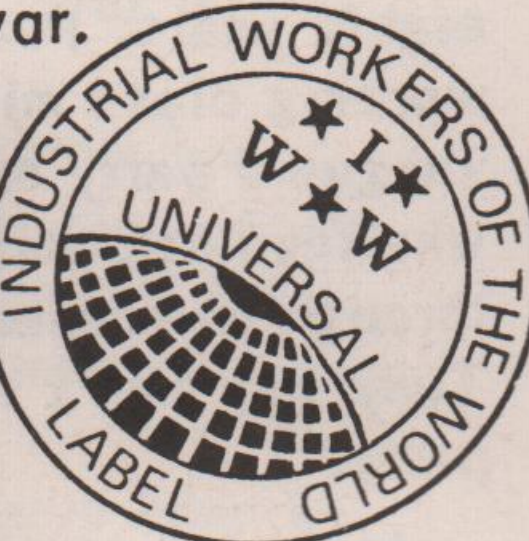
The near certainty of years of turmoil and the suffering of much worse than present conditions, and the chance of being killed or injured, make revolution a totally occurrence. Yet people revolt.

Councilist, and other theories of what a revolutionary society will be like, fail to give any indication of how that revolutionary society is to be achieved. They say: 'how can compromise with capitalism, in the

cisive. If people realise the necessity of such organisation, and more members put something into it, the

DAM will become the most significant development in the anarchist movement since the war.

## UNIONS & RACE



The I.W.W. has been fighting to unite the working-class since its inception, and had preached racial equality when such ideas have been fashionable or when they could get you lynched!

It is appropriate therefore, that the union's first major publication for some time in this country is an examination of racist practice within unions both in Britain and the USA. The subject is not looked at from a religious, ethical or philosophical viewpoint but rather from the historical.

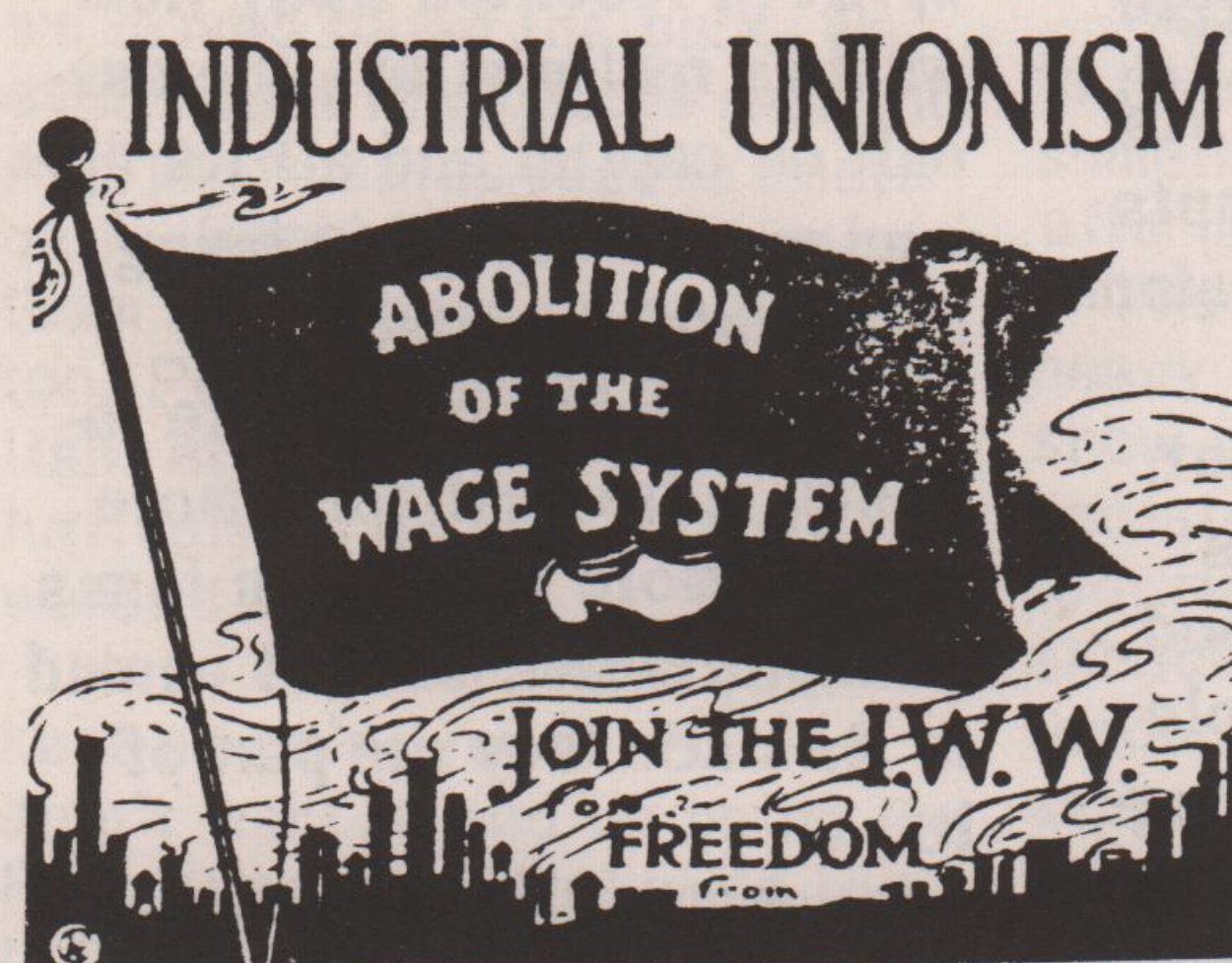
Divide and rule has been a tactic of the employing class. Allying with first one group, then another, the bosses play off these groups against each other.

Whenever prejudice and discrimination of any type, puts one group of workers at a disadvantage, the living and working conditions of everyone suffer. The group being discriminated against knows that the other group won't come to their aid; the so-called 'privileged' group is 'encouraged' to lower their demands due to the threat of the job or whatever being given to the 'non-privileged'.

Divide and rule is the name of the game and there are many forms of it. Colour of skin, colour of collar, colour of flag; anything which divides people will be used by the bosses. The message is 'you're better off than the other lot so don't rock the boat, and it will stay that way'. And of course the lower status group must be stopped from rocking the boat as well!

Racism is no longer such a trendy subject as it was, but has in no way disappeared. (See the article on CHIX in this issue) And remember; we are all minorities.

Unions & Racism is available from Xtra! for 50p post free.



councillor as a Resistance candidate.

This and other such inconsistencies have tended to isolate the LCG from the anarchist mainstream. However, it does print Xtra! quite cheaply so it can't be all bad.

The oldest of the groups is the IWW. This stands out because it is not a political organisation rather an Industrial Union, which is hard to distinguish from an anarcho-syndicalist union.

The Direct Action Movement, about a year old, grew out of the Syndicalist Workers Federation and other syndicalist groups, has a growing membership of well over a 100 and is rapidly becoming the most successful anarchist grouping for many years.

The DAM, ACA and LCG are organisations of anarchists which advocate libertarian methods of organisation for the whole labour movement, hoping to transform it into a revolutionary movement. They are not vanguards of THE political organisation.



form of wage bargaining, lead to revolution?'. They will not dirty their theories with what must occur in practice. And where practice and theory are at odds; it is the theory which is wrong!

To get away from this theory and back to practice, the IWW is an alternative union for workers to join. It lacks a large bank balance which established unions have, but in most strikes, strike pay is never paid and the millions owned by the big unions are invested and used to pay bureaucrats. It also lacks a large membership to support groups in dispute, but little support is ever forthcoming from large unions as the centralism stifles it.

Syndicalism rests on the idea that workers organisations should collectively replace all governments.





# XTRA-JUDICIAL

## BAIL Why You won't get It

Bail, or so we're told, comes under the heading of 'impartial' justice. It is part of that bit about being innocent until proved guilty.

**In theory you are entitled to bail if you aren't about to commit further crimes, interfere with the course of justice, or abscond from the trial.**

In practice your chances depend on the following:

- a) How much money you can cough up
- b) Police objections
- c) Magistrates, malice and the general stupidity of the bench

### Money

If you're in the money you can hire a solicitor to apply to a judge in chambers if bail has been refused. But you don't get legal aid for this and, if you can't pay their fat fees, you'll get fobbed off with the Official Solicitor - who doesn't exactly win any prizes for the number of times he gets people out.

In some cases a bit of money can arrange bail for you beforehand. One West London solicitor's office will arrange bail with the police at £200 for a magistrate's court and £500 for a Crown court.

If your solicitor isn't doing a deal over bail with the police, it's quite likely you can arrange it with them personally. Usually bargaining goes something like this: if you plead guilty they'll make sure you get off lightly, if you don't plead guilty they'll make sure you don't get bail. You should take this seriously - four out of five magistrates will take heed of police objections to anything you have to say.

Bail is often a punishment. Beaks have a nasty habit of thinking a taste of the nick is good for us. But this is illegal. Don't hesitate to remind the old sods of the rules of their own game (see *R v Brentford Magistrates*).

Police objections to bail are not unrelated to the fact that Old Bill feels a lot happier knowing you're inside from the time you're charged till the time you're convicted. That way you have less hope of sorting out your case, seeing your solicitor, and locating everything from documents to witnesses. They want a 'sporting' chance of getting you convicted.

**Being refused bail is a punishment for being what you are and getting charges in the first place.**

### Police objections

The key to getting bail is what the police have to say. And the Old Bill has a remarkably fertile range of crap excuses when it comes to making objections. If they want you inside, they'll dream up something.

In many courts it's common practice for a police inspector to have a word with the bench beforehand. So when you come up the question will already have been decided. But you can still put up a fight, making it a dam sight more difficult for them.

You can expect a standard list of police objections, including the following:

- a) You may commit further offences or interfere with prosecution witnesses. If they try this one on you, cross-examine along the lines of the evidence you do have. Push for facts as opposed to opinions and ask the magistrate to allow the officer to give his statement under oath. If the real objections the police

have are: you didn't play ball at the copshop; refused to confess; and didn't help them by clearing their books; you should bring this out in court.

b) You may hinder police enquiries. Cross-examine the officers on exactly which enquiries they have to make. How will you hinder them, and what are the facts to support this suggestion? Also point out that police enquiries tend to drag on forever. (After all, they're not very bright and detection rates are far less impressive than fit ups!)

c) You are of no fixed abode (NFA). Under civil law, if your residence is a squat it does not automatically constitute NFA. Remind the court of this fact, emphasise how long you have been there. Talk about your possessions, commitment to the area and so on.

It may also be suggested you are living in a doss house, or have no strong ties in the area, especially if you're an ex-con. Have a respectable friend ready to tell the court about the stability of your residence, work you do in the community etc.

**If the objection is still being raised, suggest to the court that you will reside at an agreed address as a condition of bail.**

d) You are already on bail for a similar offence.

There's not much you can do about this one. But you might try something along the lines of 'the court may think a week or so inside is nothing, but I'm innocent of these charges and will have great difficulty proving myself innocent if I'm in custody'. Also if you're the victim of some promotion-seeking CID squad, make the point to the beak that the second arrest was to stop your bail.

e) Your sureties are unacceptable. A surety is someone who agrees to put up their money to guarantee you'll turn up for your trial. Sureties are not required to have the money in cash, but they have to prove to the court's satisfaction that they are worth the amount - for example that they own a house, TV, car and other personal possessions.

Your best bet is to choose a surety who has a steady job, no record and who is a householder and respectable member of the community. This person should be someone who has known you for a fair amount of time.

Police objections can be anything - that your surety doesn't know you well enough, or knows you too well, or that a woman is not acceptable as a surety. You should argue all you can and if this doesn't work, find some others.

### Sureties

It's best if your sureties are present in court, although they don't have to be. Bail may be arranged with sureties who are 'acceptable to the police', which means your sureties have to make a trip to the copshop rather than the magistrate's court. If the police don't accept them, sureties should apply in writing for a reason and pay a visit to the clerk of the court to examine them.

According to the letter of the law, you are permitted to submit sureties who have previous convictions and the magistrate is supposed to take into consideration the nature of the offence and how long ago it was committed. **Good luck on that one.** Also a surety is not required by law to be a householder, but again it helps.

It is not unknown for the police to try putting the frighteners on sureties, implying you'll abscond and they'll lose their money. Your sureties should be forewarned if you decide to go on holiday. And if sureties inform the police within 24 hours when you don't turn up for a meeting and they fear you've absconded, they may not lose their money.

But this depends on convincing the court they've done everything possible to make sure you would turn up at the trial. Otherwise they will be out of pocket.

### When bail is refused

If you don't get bail straight off, insist the magistrate gives you a written notice stating the reasons for refusal. If he kicks up tell him to have a read of 1967 Criminal Justice Act, Section 18, subsection 8. The magistrate should be doing this anyway, as well as advising you of your right to apply to judge and chambers.

Having done that you might as well remind the court of your existence as often as possible, by reapplying for bail. If you want, you can make an application every single week after tidying up your cell. There's no law preventing you from applying as often as you like.

Then there's a little question of money, the snail's pace of legal machinery and class justice. What it amounts to is if you're out of pocket, you've got lousy legal service and a long wait ahead of you.

### If you're not having a jury trial

Unless you and the prosecution agree to a long remand or you get remanded for medical reports, you will appear before a magistrate after eight clear days to be remanded again. Take up some of the court's time and reapply for bail. If you don't have legal aid or money for a solicitor, speak up and tell the beak you want to apply for bail yourself.

If the amount of bail is too high, or there are any other unreasonable conditions, argue to get them changed. Each

bail application before the magistrate will be more or less the same. But some of the police arguments may start to wear thin.

If you've been kept inside while the police are making enquiries, ask them why they've not finished and point out they may be obstructing justice by preventing you from properly preparing your defence. Point it out to the magistrate if their objections change week by week - make sure he understands you're being given the run around. Have new sureties available, or fight it out with the prosecution over previous objections.

### Changing bail conditions

If you've been granted bail and they've got you signing in at the copshop five days a week, demanded enough sureties to ransom the crown jewels, taken away your passport and generally made your life a misery, try to get the terms of your bail altered.

The character to see about this is the ol' judge in chambers. And it's back to forking out pound notes to get a brief to do five minutes work. Legal aid up to £25 is available for the paperwork on the application, but this does not cover the lawyer's fee for mouthing at the judge.

### Bail pending appeal

When you've been convicted, if you're considering an appeal, get onto it immediately. Once your appeal is in, you can apply for bail pending appeal - ie bail during the waiting time. Obviously bail can only be considered if you are appealing against conviction. Only a handful of applications are ever argued before a judge in the court of appeal. Again it's a case of a judge sitting in private, bound by law to consider the question.

What are the chances of winning your appeal? Appeals against conviction are dependent on

- 1) The blatantly biased summing up of the judge.
- 2) The judge misdirecting the jury on points of law.
- 3) The discovery of fresh evidence. Any other factors on the conduct of the trial, which renders the verdict of the trial unsafe or unsound.

The appeal cannot directly challenge the jury's interpretation of the facts. However. In this respect the jury's verdict is final.

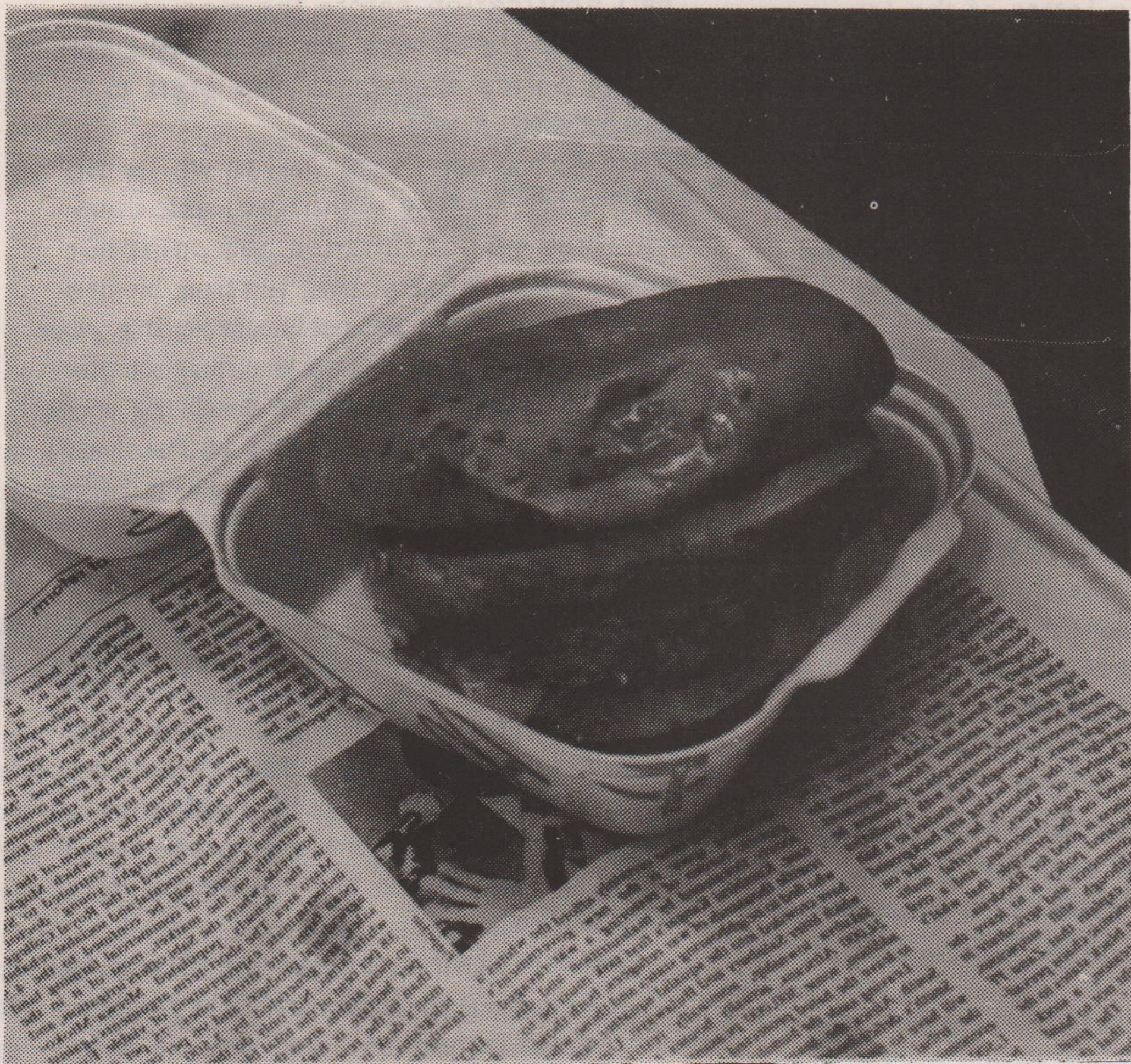
Bail pending appeal will cost you like any other judge in chambers application. But in any controversial case, where there is a strong case to put to the appeal court, it's worth another £50 or so, so have a bash.





# LEGALISE IT !

PAGE TEN



The Legalise McDonalds Campaign has been given a much needed boost by the recent report of Government-sponsored Committee of Enquiry into the Hamburger industry, which recommends that the possession or consumption of McDonalds by 'consenting persons over the age of 16' should no longer be a criminal offence.

The LMCC, as it is affectionately termed, has been arguing for years that McDonalds should be legalised because (a) they 'constitute a nil health hazard situation - there are no harmful side effects, apart from nausea, vomiting and instant death in 100% of known cases'; (b) there is 'not a shred of evidence' that McDonalds 'lead on to harder stuff like Wimpys'; (c) they are not addictive; (d) consumption of the item leads to 'creative outbursts' - like running to the toilet; and (e) as an LMCC spokes person so eloquently put it, 'OK so maybe they're not so good for you but you should be allowed to do what yer like wiv yer own body, like'.

## Acne

Speaking to a hastily-summoned Press Conference last night, LMCC's anaemic, bloated, acne-encrusted, pot-bellied, bandy-legged, greasy-haired, malodorous Chairperson, Mr. Chas Berger, claimed that so far from being a health hazard, McDonalds were positively beneficial to the human body. As for being addictive, 'I can give them up whenever I want to. It's just that I never want to'.

Inevitably (given the fact that 'satirical' articles like this have to be padded out somehow), LMCC has several 'militant' factions. The 'Peoples faction', as it is commonly known, wants McDonalds to be available 'on demand' via the NHS (though some angry right-wing sorts see this as tantamount to 'euthanasia by the back door'). The 'ultra-Militants' go further, demanding that McDonalds be made compulsory, possibly via ordinary drinking water. This 'MacDonaldisation', as it is imaginatively termed, would help reduce the 'worryingly high' number of people in Britain who are not overweight.

## Ultra-Leftists

However, a small but significant number of 'extremist ultra leftists' (as opposed to the moderate variety) oppose the campaign. Legalisation of McDonalds, according to these people (mainly Spartacists and assorted loonies), is as best 'irrelevant to the working-class struggle', and at worst a sinister CIA plot to destroy the revolutionary struggle by turning the whole country into a bunch of apathetic overweight, gaseous, toothless, cancer-ridden specimens, hypnotised, glassy-eyed and vulnerable to the 'pushers' of comm-

ercial TV and radio with their soothing siren-song 'There's a difference at McDonalds'. The Spartacists and company point to the terrifying example of America where a 'drugged, mindless and helpless population is able to conceive of 'revolution' only in terms of their car wheels'.

What are the chances of McDonalds being legalised then? Undoubtedly the legalisation lobby has received some major propaganda boosts recently, such as the arrest of Paul McCartney in Tokyo where he was discovered smuggling a Big Mac

into Japan (a country which has a strict moralistic line on substances which erode the work ethic), and who was savagely punished by being locked up for a year, beaten, tortured and (worst of all) forced to eat it.

## Tory Ministers

Moreover, there are rumours that senior Tory Ministers favour legalisation not merely because of all the tax revenue that could be generated but also because with widespread McDonalds-taking, the population would be too obese and weak to 'start any of this revolution business' as Willie Whirelaw put it. However, if legalisation did take place, it is probable that 'explicit shop-window displays of such goods which offend so many decent-minded people' would be banned; and prominent 'Warning signs' outside public licensed 'MacDonalds shops' would be compulsory.

## Colonels Corner

### Daily Telegraph

Colonels get a raw deal these days. All these issues in the headlines which cause disgust, outrage, foam at the mouth - and where, pray, can such emotions be registered?

The Daily Telegraph's letters page cannot begin to cope with the enormity of this Great Social Problem. So Xtra!, always eager to help, is starting a new series where any colonel of any age, sex, or class (always providing of course, that he is over sixty, English, purple faced and lives

in a country mansion) can vent his feelings on any subject under the sun.

1980 wasn't designated as year of the Colonel for nothing - in fact it wasn't designated Year of the Colonel at all. Entries to be accompanied by a sub. and a crate of sherry (nothing cheap and nasty, mind).

Winning entrants will receive (or not, as the case may be) a prize of money not exceeding £5,000 and a special Xtra! 'How to wind yourself up without even trying' manual for Hard-Pressed Colonels.

THIS MONTH

The chairman of the West Midlands police committee yesterday called for the trimming of "candy floss" items such as education and social services so that more money would be available for the police.

'A Colonel' writes:

Hear, hear! My sentiments exactly - just what I've been saying for years, but who was listening then? I tell you, I've written more letters to the Telegraph on this subject than most of you have had hot sherreries.

Mind you, I wouldn't exactly describe education as candy floss - that overrates its usefulness somewhat - it's more like caviare: a little can whet your appetite for more, but a lot can make you violently sick.

## Excess

And that's PRECISELY the trouble with education. Give 'em some and they won't be satisfied until they're right proper little smart-assed know-it-alls. Take sex. I happen to think that's a subject properly left to Parents. But mowadays schools start teaching youngsters the moment they've got hair they can sit on.

I ask you! Where is society going to when parents are too embarrassed to tell their own children about ...um, er...the bees...and....well, you... I think you know what I'm referring to.

And then - what's the point of teaching most young people anything? They're so damn thick-skulled, most of 'em. So stupid they're only fit for the Police force anyway. And you needn't try telling me that you need to be 'taught' how to beat people up.

## Discipline

That's another thing. It was possible at one time to advance arguments in favour of schools when there was a bit of good old-fashioned discipline - a touch of the birch here and there (and if appropriately directed, it rendered all this sex education nonsense superfluous anyway). But now, these airy-fairy do-gooders, these namby-pamby pie-in-the-sky sociologists, have deemed such action 'harmful'.

Pah! I tell you, when I was a boy, children who didn't toe the line were shot dead. And it does not require a string of O-levels to deduce that such juveniles didn't misbehave ever again. Now THAT is what I call a REAL 'deterrence'.

# CENSELESS

## cuts in TV movies

A worrying tendency to those of you who are avid watchers of movies on TV is the increasing number which reach you in a mutilated form. Until quite recently films were shown complete and if they were deemed 'unsuitable' then they simply were not purchased. However, with the predominance of X-rated movies over the past ten years, both ITV and the BBC have had to alter their policy.

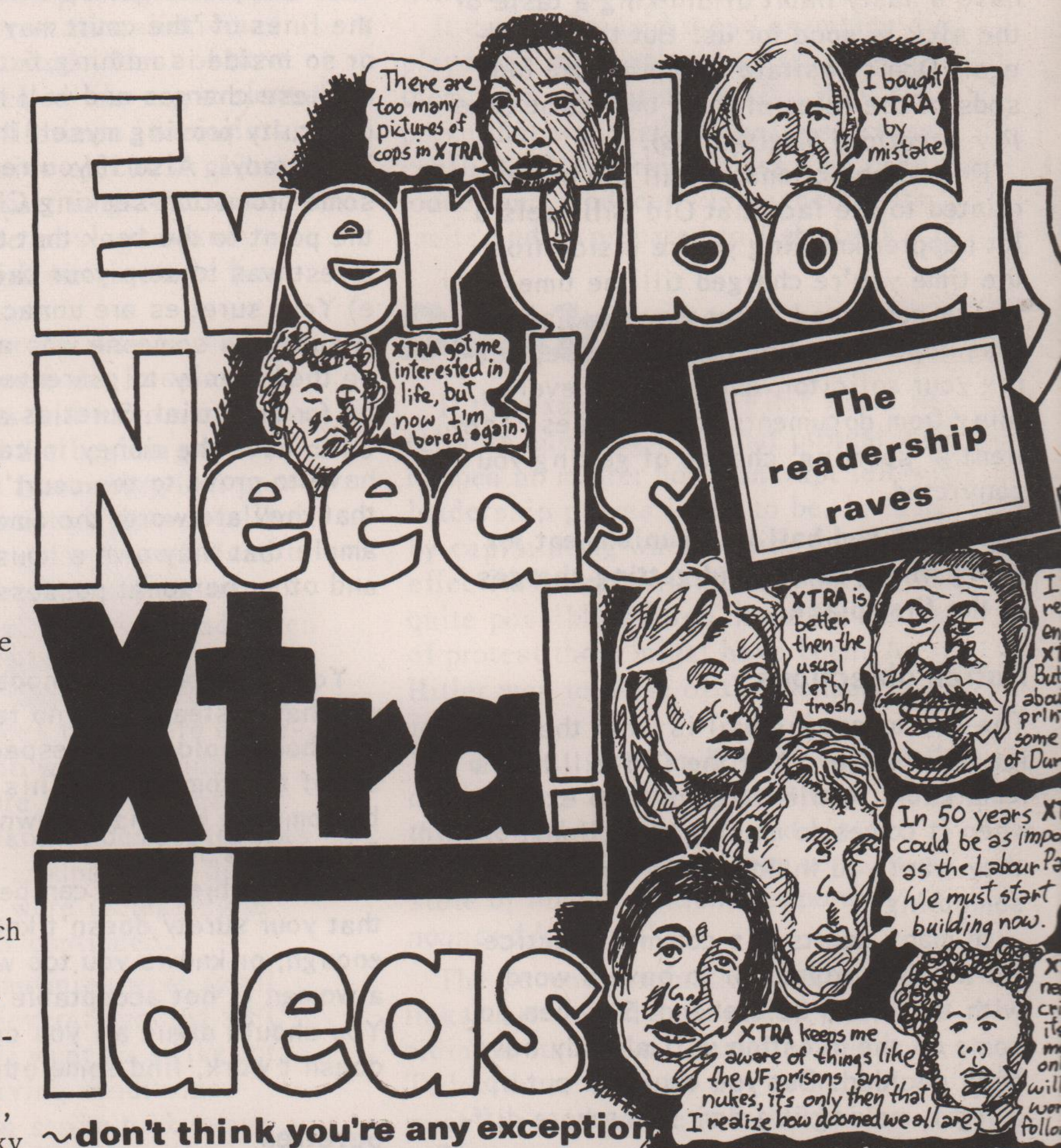
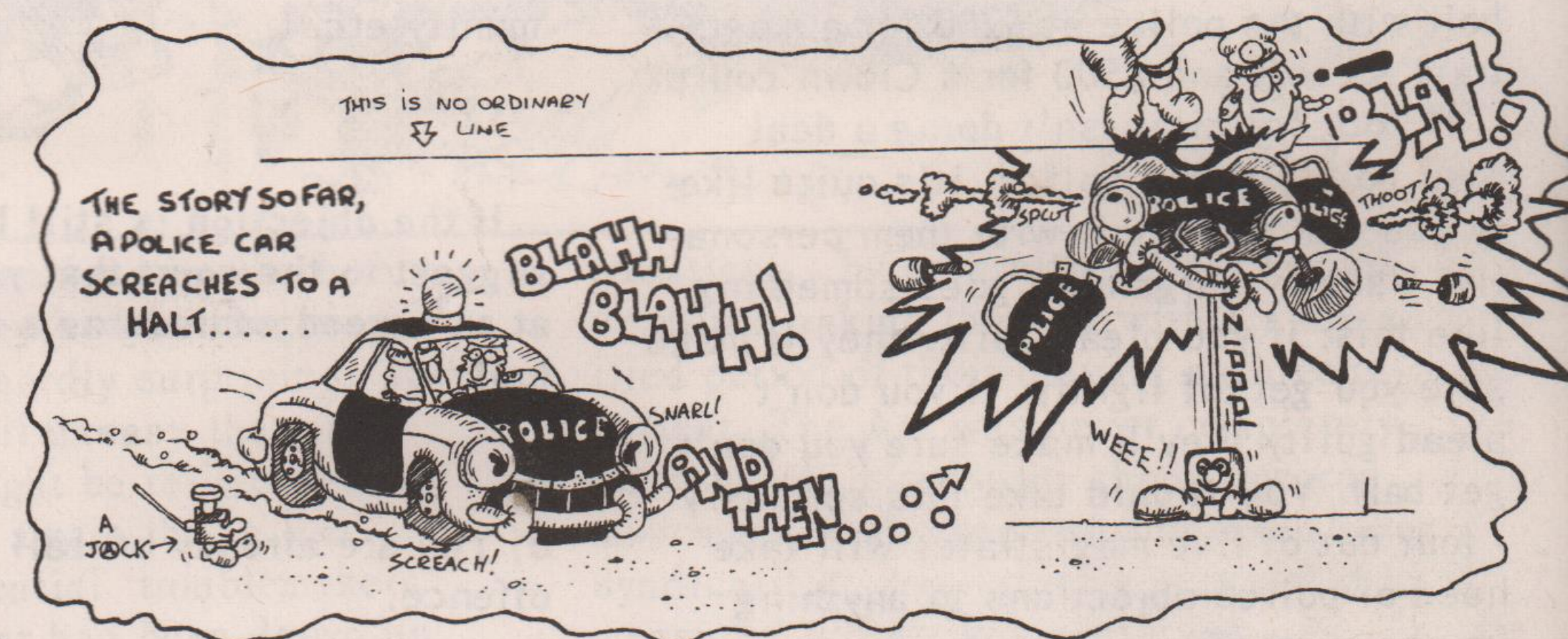
Such mutilations take three forms: the Beeb or ITV cut the films themselves; the distributor cuts them then offers the print to the TV companies; or else the director agrees to cuts. Of the three the last one is most satisfactory, yet it happens least.

'Don't look now' was cut by Nicholas Roeg - that is, a short scene with 'fuck' mentioned was cut, another 'fuck' was dubbed into something more innocuous and a long explicit love-making scene we re-edited so that it appeared the two participants were merely looking for a birthmark. The whole significance of the episode was undermined and the tension of the film at this point was upset.

This state of affairs can only continue because most of the major films of the seventies

were 'X's and the cause of such certification would almost certainly hold still today. This sort of censorship is arbitrary, insulting to anyone with a brain and totally hypocritical. Cuts are normally of swear words; (Pinter's 'No Man's Land' was shown complete on ITV, but then of course he's an artist.) sex; Pennies from Heaven was relatively explicit; violence; there are numerous examples in TV movies and detective series!

What can you do? Well, every time you spot a cut, write in to the TV company and complain. Silence will be read as acceptance. Paradoxically, if you've not seen the film you might expect not to notice the cuts. But usually they are so botched you cannot fail to spot them. When you do, complain. Only a large campaign will stop the practice.



~don't think you're any exception~

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# XTRA-CULTURAL

## MAKING THE MUSIC CHARTS mixing the politics

### THE CHARTS

Xtra! has often been criticised for not providing enough coverage of musical affairs. 'You can't separate music from politics', according to our culture vulture reader. So here is a full, extensive guide to the whole political/pop scene.

#### The Liberals.

'Has-beens' is the best description of this lot. Under their popular former lead singer Ewart ('Warty' to his friends) Gladstone this band had an unbroken string of hits and chart dominance. Now, a hundred years later, they blame their almost total lack of success on 'this diabolically unfair chart system whereby the Tories and Labour only have to sell 100 records to get a hit, whereas we have to sell more than 20,000,000

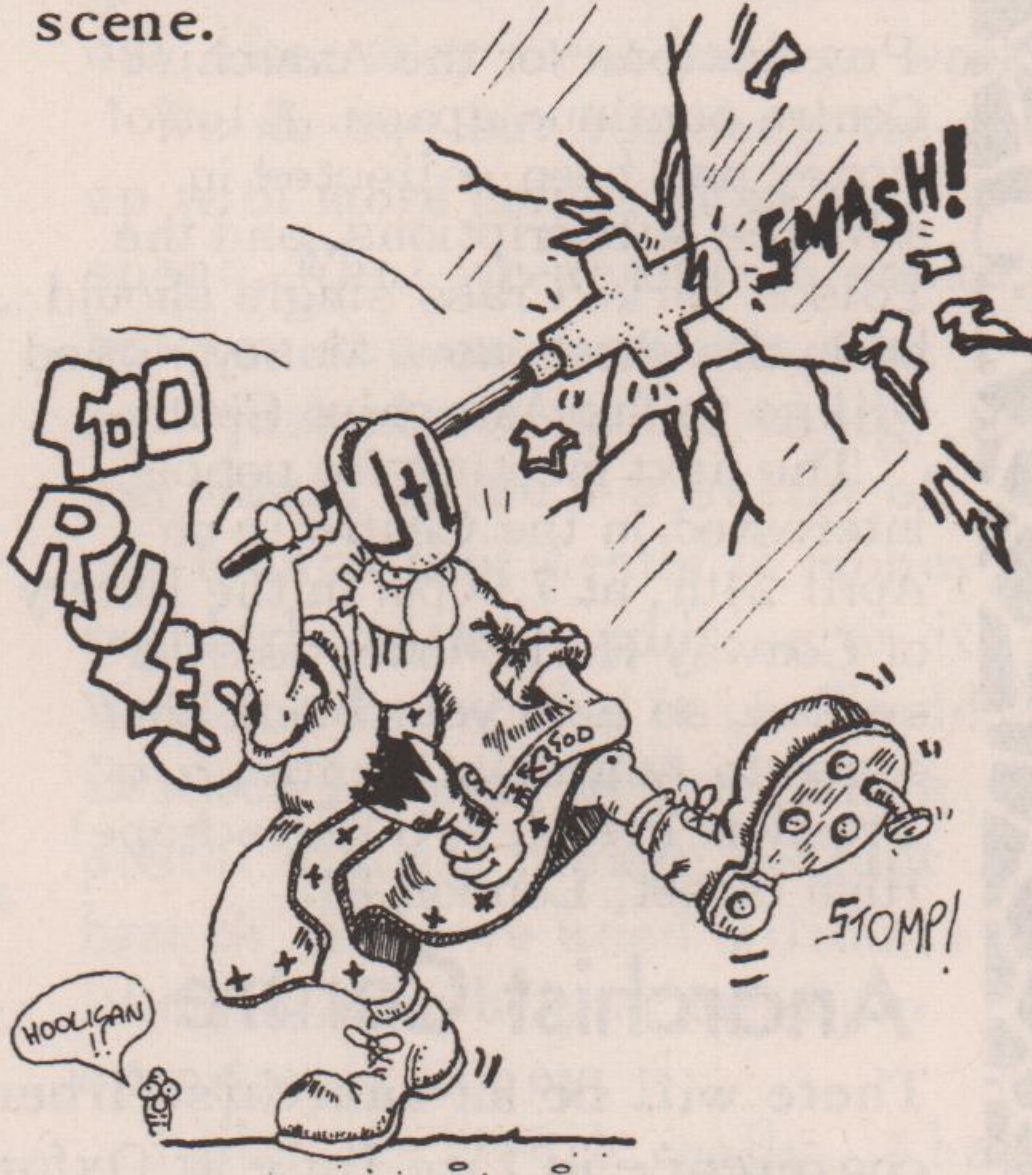
0000000'. Scored a minor hit with 'Love me, Shoot my dog' a few months back, but have faded since then. Nonetheless many people in the business predict a 'big comeback'. Their sound varies between bright, energetic noises and (more usually) a droning, Toriesque dirge.

#### The Labour Party.

Several members of this group are also in the TUC. (see below), and in recent years it has become increasingly difficult to tell the two apart. Originally regarded as a 'new', 'radical', 'credible' band it is now perceived as having 'sold out' and 'gone commercial'. Claims to be 'very different' from the Tories, but most outsiders can't tell the difference. A dreary tedious sort of sound, punctuated by a gruff bassline and whining guitar.

#### The Church.

Though many 'purists' claim that this group has never recovered from losing its most famous lead singer, Jeez Christ (who died of a crucifixion overdose nearly 2,000 years back), The Church seems recently to have staged something of a 'comeback' onto the pop scene.



With last year's sell-out tours of Ireland and America (part of the so-called 'God revival') under its new skinhead lead singer Pope Paul XVII performing that popular favourite 'We don't need no contraception, we don't need no birth-control', The Church looks set for a successful decade. However, it is not without its troubles, as many

of its diehard fans are ruthless fanatics who are notorious for their persecution of rival groups' fans. Moreover, a lot of its chart success seems to be due to 'hype' - people have been threatened with all kinds of nasty things after they've died, if they don't go to The Church's Sunday gigs - although such cases of intimidation are hard to establish. The style of music is not so much head-banging as knee bending.

#### The TUC.

This band has been around for years, and is widely regarded by the trendies as Boring Old Farts. However, they still draw huge crowds to all their gigs - few other bands have managed to pack Trafalgar Square (the biggest venue in Britain) as regularly as they do. Many people have complained about the size of the venues chosen, claiming that people are too far away to be able to pelt the lead singer, Len Murray, with eggs, tomatoes etc. They regularly appear on pop programmes like 'Panorama' and 'Newsnight' performing hits such as 'The First Cut is the Deepest', 'Maggie May Not' and they've a laid back, droning kind of sound.

#### The Flying Pickets

This band broke away from the TUC a few years back - it's a more energetic, new wave group altogether. Disliked by almost everyone, it nonetheless receives extensive media coverage and has an impressive string of hits to its name. Essentially a fast heavy-metal sound.

#### The Police.

One of the most amazing success stories in recent years. Their success is truly international - they are huge in Russia and South

Africa, and very popular everywhere else. Recent hits include 'Message in a truncheon', 'The beat goes on' and 'We don't need no education (what we want is thought control)'. In Britain they tour regularly with other bands such as The TUC, The Flying Pickets and although they are supposed to be the support act, they almost invariably end up as the headliners.

#### The Marxists.

This group first came to prominence in the (eighteen) sixties, with pretentious concept albums (often double or even triple sets) such as 'Das Capital 194', 'Works Vol. 20,243' and 'Live at Conway Hall'. Formed by hairy lead singer Karl Marx, The Marxists have scored tremendous successes all over the world, literally monopolising the charts in Russia, China etc - though many people think that such charts are totally rigged and that other bands never get any airplay. In recent years several members have left the band to form 'solo' breakaway combos such as The Militants, SWP and The Communists - and yet others have joined 'established' bands like The Socialists and even The Tories. Constantly tipped as The Next Big Thing both by their 'fanzines' (Socialist Worker and the Morning Star) and by their enemies, Xtra! confidently predicts that The Marxists are poised on the brink of oblivion.

#### The Anarchists.

This little known band is predicted by some to be the Rising Hope of the Eighties

**the backlash starts here...**

## ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF A WESTENDER

Well, we couldn't miss it, could we? Time Out had plugged it for weeks on end, as had all the left press. Even the Tory-graph liked it. 'The Accidental Death of an Anarchist' is what I'm referring to. We weren't sure quite what to expect, but we knew it would be satirical, enjoyable, making telling political points: a Good Night Out.

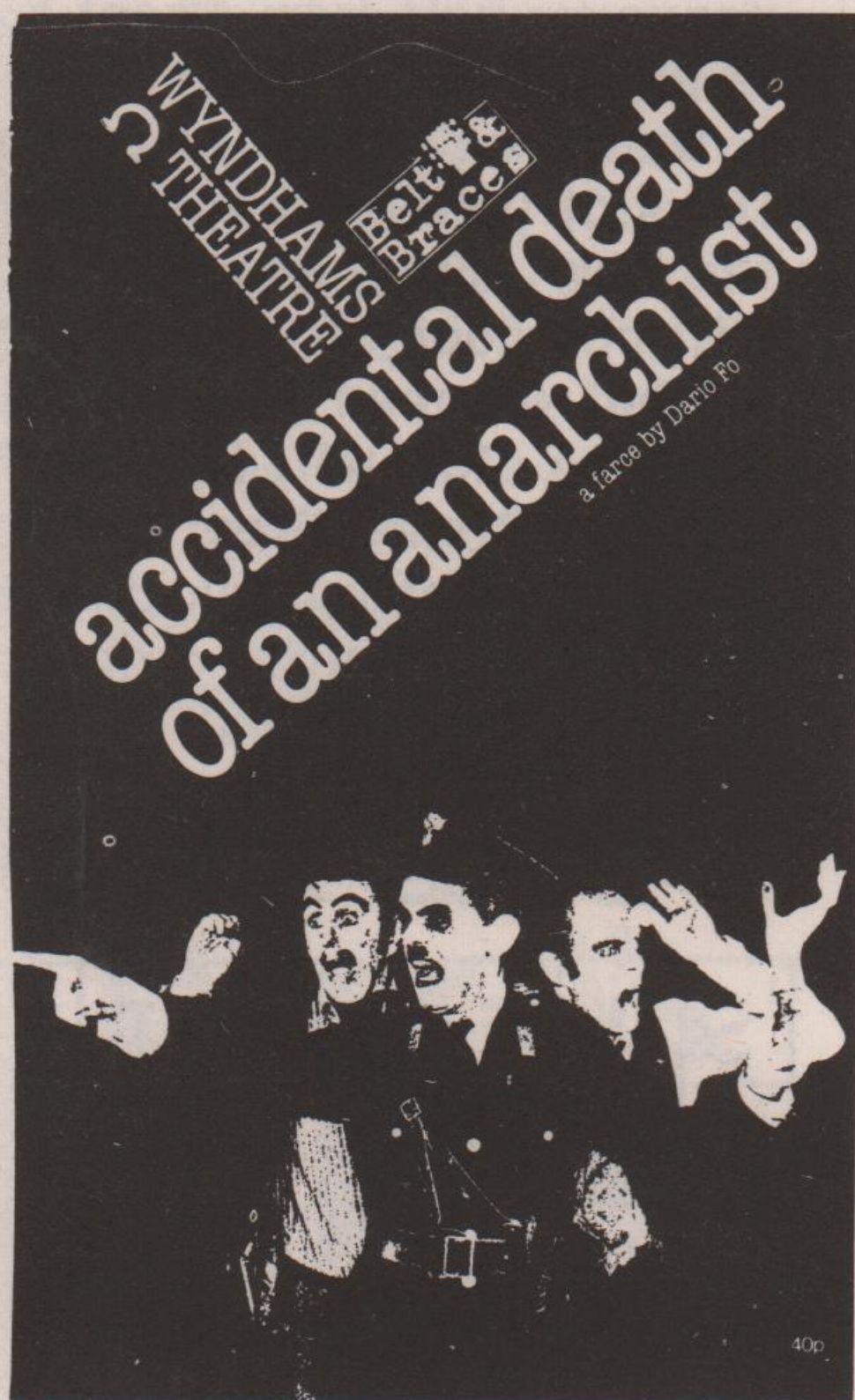
It wasn't. It was the worst play I had ever seen. Funny? The loudest gales of laughter were produced by the liberal scattering of four-letter words. But honestly, the standard of humour scarcely reached the level of Little and Large. Pulling faces, donning 'funny' clothes and makeup, falling over, shouting, blowing raspberries ..... I prefer my local pantomime, thanks.

#### Time Out

And what about the political content? Time Out's gushing reviews should have been a warning. The standard SWP-type line - you know, 'anti-authoritarian' (providing, of course, the authoritarianism comes from the right). All the worst excesses of standard left-wing jargon - the programme notes sneer at 'so-called 'progressives' '.

And who the hell was in the audience? Mill-workers, carworkers, steelworkers, unemployed, pensioners? I didn't see any. No, they were well-to-do theatre-loving leftists - armchair 'progressive' anti-authoritarians if ever I've seen them. People who pay £3 to get two hours of 'anarchist entertainment'. And you could purchase Socialist Worker and Socialist Challenge in the foyer.

Unfortunately, Anarchist T-shirts, badges and records were



not available. However, you could further the progressive cause by purchasing 'Unique Theatre Souvenirs': how about a T-shirt for only £2.80 or a sweat shirt for a fiver. And don't forget on your next visit that you can entertain your guests in the 'Royal Room' for such 'moderate charges' as £10 (plus a £5 minimum Drinks order).

#### Slapdash

The above details were culled from the glossy Programme (only 40p). This pamphlet gave us more laughs than the performance. For instance, the performance was described as 'slapdash and unstructured'. For myself, I

found the production to be the absolute antithesis of spontaneity - the actors were almost interrupting each other in their efforts to get out their carefully-rehearsed lines.

The 'extraordinary amount of detail about contemporary events' presumably refers to the comments about the Muppet Show and Star Wars (I suppose in a decade they'll get round to the Mod revival). And was I alone in finding the juxtaposition of all the turgid leftist blurb and adverts running along the lines of 'as a special gift for Mother's Day .. a lace trimmed hankiechief' .. well, ironical to say the least?

#### Consumerism

But how ironical, on reflection? Consider: there was a common theme to at all. The backpage article in the last 'Xtra!' put it well: 'Consumers to the last'.

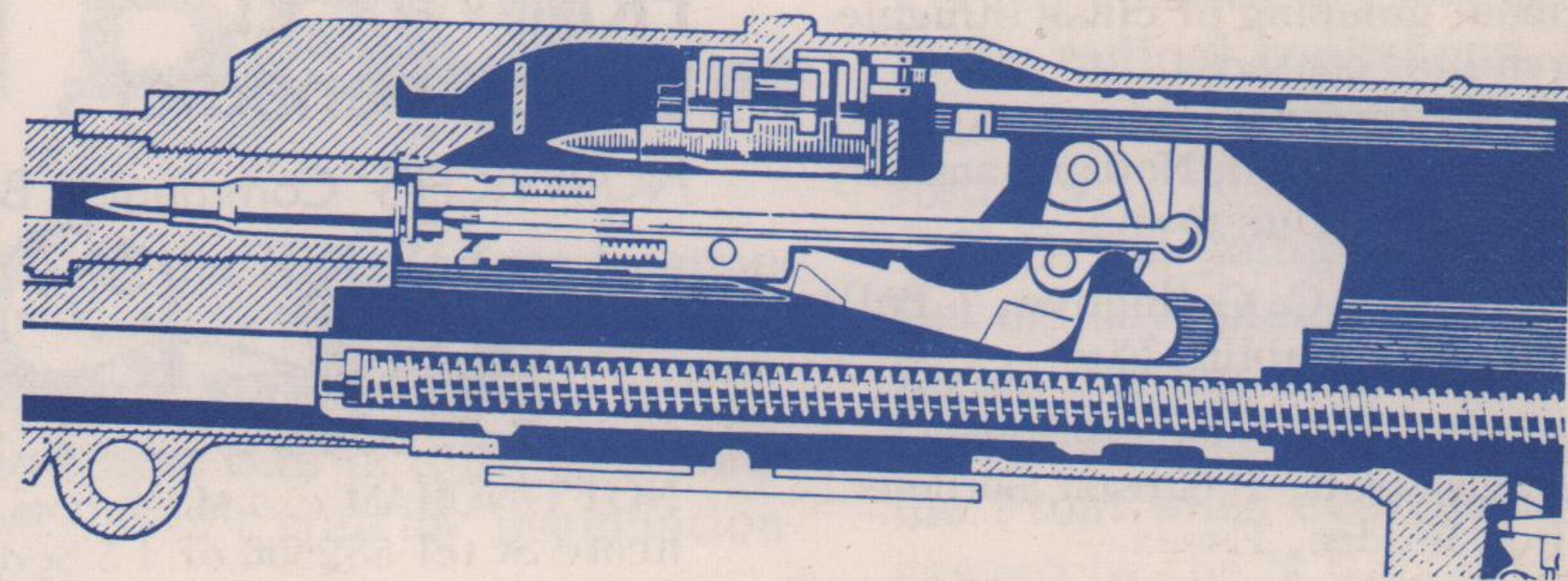
Yes, Consumerism. Going to see a play in the West End is Culture, A Good Thing. Watching other people. Sitting, passive. Not thinking. Absorbing. Then at the end, having collected our 'souvenirs' we can say 'our minds have been improved! No need for THINKING FOR YOURSELF'.

One person in the audience started laughing loudly even before it started. How symbolic.

And then they have the gall to ask us to sign a petition calling for the abolition of VAT on theatre tickets. Perhaps we should levy it on food instead.

If you want a 'fuller' review, covering the mass of subtleties and tortuous plot, or to get the 'jokes' explained to you, you'd better look elsewhere. You see, I left after 40 minutes.

## CAMP OVERHILL



Is there something  
the Army isn't  
telling us about  
Anti-terrorism ?

NEXT ISSUE: The  
Inside  
Story

