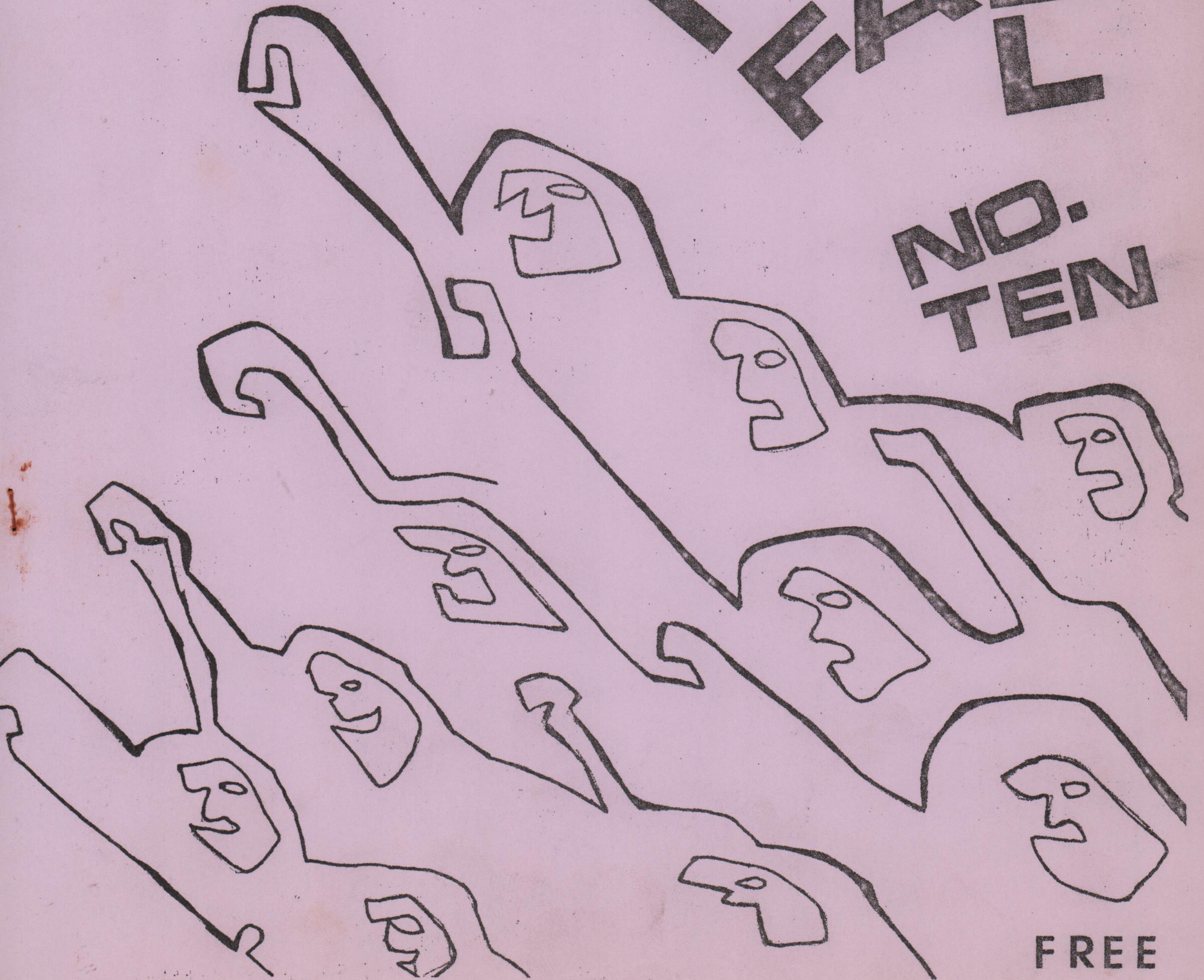


IF YOU DON'T HIT IT

IT WON'T FALL

NO.
TEN



FREE

IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T.

IF YOU DON'T HIT IT ... IT WON'T FALL - INTRODUCTION.

This is issue no 10 of If you don't ... it won't. Published on 31st August 1976. For those millions who have never heard of it perhaps this definition (from Nottingham Voice no 44, in a review) will help.

"If you don't..." is a newsletter/paper/leaflet produced in Nottingham as a means of exchanging information and ideas towards a revolutionary change in society.

What's in it varies; the decision about what goes in depends on meetings and on who does the typing, duplicating and distributing.

Who sees it? It is distributed as a couple of hundred copies to People's Centre, Down-to-Earth, Mushroom, Selectadisc, Dillons Bookshop, Peace News offices, Black People's Freedom Movement offices; through meetings such as the Womens' Group, 'political' groups; through interested individuals.

CONTENTS.

Introduction	*	Struggle goes on	*	Meetings
Battered but not Beaten				
Sex Discrimination Campaign	*	Socialist Discussion Groups		
notes on WORK				
Silkscreen printing?	*	FARE FIGHT	*	on FASCISM
Let's fight fascism and make a revolution				
Struggle against Fascism				

THE NEXT ISSUE will be out very shortly and will probably include several articles on political study/discussion groups; another on work. Some of the articles in this issue are fairly controversial and may bring replies. The decision to print them or not rests with the next IF YOU DON'T MEETING. If you have any copy (articles, announcements, cartoons etc) then come along or phone 79826 or 708302 or 600337.

This newsletter is FREE to get but costs money and time and thinking and working together to produce. Please help with whatever you can - paper, duplicating, typing, money etc.

INTRODUCTION TO "BATTERED BUT NOT BEATEN".

This is written by one of the women involved in the fight to get somewhere to live away from her husband. There are also articles in Nottingham Voice no 48, Peace News 2025, August issue of Womens Liberation Newsletter. This article also appears in the Sept. issue of Womens Newsletter 'cos typing and duplicating was a joint effort. There's a WOMENS' HOUSE meeting on Sept 1st.

IF YOU DON'T MEETING

MONDAY 6th September 15 Scotholme Ave,
Illyson Green, Nottm (7.30)

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON.

At SHERWOOD NICK (also known as Her Majesty's Prison, Nottingham) there's been a struggle going on for some time over the food. Information is hard to come by but it seems that some time ago everyone refused to drink some of the tea. More recently all the prisoners refused to eat an evening meal. This Hunger Strike lasted for a couple of meals. Little success has been achieved so far but maybe outside publicity could alter that. There were no ringleaders - anyone in such a position would get really badly hammered by the screws (warders).

At COUNTY HALL there is something happening about the fact that the women who do jobs like cleaning have to work really akward hours. Further, among the male Porters the question as to whether the shop steward is doing his job is being asked. There's been some sort of action at the Raleigh, Plessey (?) and Gerrards and there should be more action over rents: a recent letter from the Council said "I have to give you notice that the rent .. will be increased from 4th Oct" (by £4.20 a fortnight!) and WE WILL DO FEWER REPAIRS.

MEETINGS

WOMENS' HOUSE SQUAT meeting 1st September 7.30. 30 Colville St.
SOCIALISM & FEMINISM discussion 7th September 8.00 tel 624344
NATIONAL ANTIFASCIST DEMO IN BLACKBURN Sept 11th tel 866126
S. EET THEATRE MEETING (on fascism) sunday 12th 2.00 23 Mansfield Grove, Nottingham
SEX DISCRIMINATION CAMPAIGN meeting at People's Centre 8.00 21st September.

BATTERED BUT NOT BEATEN

To all women who have had a life of being beaten by their husbands, this is to try and point out that you don't have to stay; you don't have to let people push you from pillar to post. You are a person in your own right, entitled to live a life, and not just a mere existence. In this article, I would like to show that women who have been beaten can come back into fighting force. They call women the weaker sex; we are by no means weak in any way. We may think we are, at a particular time in life, but in actual fact we are quite strong, and the more we are beaten, the stronger we become in our determination to free ourselves of the great burden marriage has laid on our shoulders. Is it not enough that we have to keep a home, bring up children, and many of us have to do a full time job as well?

My aim is to show how a group of so-called beaten women joined forces with a number of people who sympathised with them, and gave their full support to these women, when every one else seemed against them. I was one of these women. Women's Aid had been trying to get a official refuge, since July 1975. Nottingham City Council agreed, and although this was a matter that needed immediate attention, and there were many attempts to convince the local authority of this fact, now, in August 1976, there is still no refuge. They say it will be autumn, but will it? And how many people will it help? Six women and their children - this is a very small amount of the people in need. And if you gathered together a majority of beaten women, and placed the six and their families in beside them, you would have no difficulty in losing them in the crowd. So what is the answer? There can only be one answer:- more refuges are needed. There can be no doubt of this in any one's mind. This is fact not fiction. Now how can this be solved in our case?

THE SQUAT BEGINS

Some people were asked to open a squat. These we will call the support group. They opened a house that had lain empty for around eight months. Women's Aid supplied furnishings, a cooker, bed clothes, and others gave what they could. Repairs were done to the house, as vandals had been there. Water pipes were fitted. Gas and electric supplies were reconnected, as some one had acted as guarantor for each. At last the house could begin. It was then kept free from vandals (and 'council vandals' - typist's note), by people doing around the clock watch. The house was never empty at any time.

Then the women started turning up and were taken to this house. Somewhere where you can be safe; a chance of a new life to women in this position. People do actually care. You then realise that there is some hope for you yet. Before very long the house was full. This was the easiest part of the exercise. A few weeks went by. Meetings were held and the support group came in and out all the time. They watched the kids, took them out, anything they could do was no bother to them. They were real friends to these women who were complete strangers to them. They are real friends.

Then the real fight started. The council decided to take out a possession order on the house. So action had to be taken. We were not going to sit back and give in without a fight of some kind. Letters were written to newspapers. TV was asked to come on the morning of the Court case. The national newspapers were contacted to cover this story. We also contacted trade unions and as many organisations as possible, to raise and gain support for our cause. A week previous to this a number of us picketed a full council meeting, where we hung a large sheet over the balcony. The message on it was "We shall not be moved". We left the building. The sheet remained there for quite a substantial time, from what we gather.

Another person you have dealings with is the Homeless Families Officer. He is there to house people, but to women who have been battered his answer was: "A home? Never. You won't get housed here."

I will see you get your fare, I really think you should go back home to where you came from. After all you are your own local authority's problem not ours". So there you are classed again. This is another problem you run up against - being a category not a person. You are either a battered woman or a social problem or a problem to society. What wicked creatures these battered women are. We are like something riddled with disease that says Keep Clear. Not to be helped or associated with. Its a wonder when people think on this problem in the Victorian manner they do. We are not burned like witches.

Well to get back to the problems of being one of these women and what you can actually do to help yourself. You say, "I can't leave; how could I manage? Where will I live? Who can I turn to?" Well, I came to Nottingham because after being told there was accommodation for me in Mansfield, I travelled down from Scotland with my nine-year-old son. After travelling from nine o'clock the night before, I arrived in Nottingham at seven in the morning. We got something to eat, then travelled to Woodhouse and then to Mansfield. When I arrived at the accommodation promised, I did not get over the doorstep. I was told "Sorry, we cannot accommodate you." So there I was with a child who was tired, a load of luggage and myself exhausted; wondering "What do I do? Where do I go?" and for one moment I thought "What have I done?" Trying to think straight. I traipsed the streets looking for somewhere to stay. After hours and hours, I booked into a bed and breakfast in Woodhouse. This was Friday night. After twenty-four hours of travelling, walking and being disappointed in everything I attempted, I decided we needed some sleep. My son fell asleep in a restaurant over his meal. In the morning I would have to start again. What would a new day bring? I could not sleep, no matter how tired I was, trying to think of what to do. I watched daybreak come up. Well, the new day had come and after breakfast we were off again. This was when we came back to Nottingham, thinking accommodation would be easier to find. How wrong I was. And by now it was Saturday, a bad day to do anything, it seems. But there I was, and it was getting on for tea-time. So I got bed and breakfast again. What money I had would soon go at this rate. I stayed at this house for the next four days, and tried from there buying papers, going around. Then I was told by the police to see the Homeless Families Officer. By now it was Tuesday morning. I had around two pounds left. This would not get me bed and breakfast. Now this man told me how he sympathised with me, but I should go home. "As I said at the beginning, you're not Nottingham's problem." I was to travel back that day, and would get there at eleven at night, and go to the nearest police station, who would get a social worker out to help me. I have had their help on previous occasions. They took me back to my husband. But I agreed to take the ticket home. He made things look so bad that it was the only way, or was it? I met some Scottish people who I had met when I arrived. They spoke to me, as by this time I was quite upset at the thought of going back. They said I was stupid. What was I going back to? I had only been here a few days, and I should go to Social Security. In fact one of them went with me, and these people are the reason I stayed then. I got a payment for the day, to keep me going, then while walking up Mansfield Road thinking, "Surely things can't get any worse", my luck changed.

MY LUCK CHANGED

I was suddenly looking in a shop window - this was called the People's Centre. I went in to ask about accommodation. I was asked if I happened to be a battered woman. When I said I was I was told that "all right we have accommodation for you". I think my legs gave way. I was taken to a house where there were more women in the same position as myself. I felt very strange by this time. It was 5.30. I was given a coffee and made very welcome. Someone cared. What a strange and wonderful feeling to actually be accepted by people again. Then someone said there was a meeting. All these people started turning up. This was the support group. I never knew

so many people cared about women in our position but some do. I felt very strange that night. Then things began to happen to me. After years of being on pills for nerves and at the latter end being quite ill I began a new term of life which I am leading very successfully and happily. Now after a week of being free of tension I wrote a letter to the paper. I have done a number of interviews on radio and a programme for Women's Aid. I have been given a new lease of life and am enjoying it to the full. I have done things I never thought I could do. I am now trying to do what little I can at present at the People's Centre which I have already mentioned. This is run by volunteers trying to help people with any problems they come up against. I am still in touch with the support group who are now very good friends. I have made a lot of friends. This was the big surprise to me. I expected to be very lonely and in fact I am happier now than I have ever been. I am content and have found through being helped I now want to help as many people as I can. I intend taking a course in the Autumn to enable me to do this to the best of my ability.

So to any woman who is a battered woman, don't be afraid to get out of it. Yes it can be hard and really trying but if you want peace and contentment in life don't be beaten. Don't give in. Get out while you can. We are four women and twelve kids. People say "don't you all have battles royal?" but we have not had this problem. We are all good friends and work and help each other in whatever way we can. We never fall out at all. We discuss things openly and then try to solve any problems that arise in a mature manner. We are independent, standing on our own two feet and living a life again. It is still a strain at times but one you can live very happily with. After all you are now mother and father to your children, but now you are happy the children are not seeing their mother being beaten up any more. My surprise was I thought my son would speak about his Dad and miss him. But he has not even mentioned him. I asked him if he wanted to go back and he said no, he did not want to see his Dad and did not mention him again. So after ten years of being continually battered I left and after eight weeks, yes that is all it has been my life has changed for the better. I have been given another chance in life and intend to use it to the full. Why don't you do it? It really is the only way out. These men won't change. No matter how many chances you give them. Don't let them fool you.

Remember BATTERED NOT BEATEN

NEVER GIVE IN .. NEVER BE BEATEN

Mary McCormick

THE SEX DISCRIMINATION CAMPAIGN group will meet again at 8.00 p.m. on Tuesday 21st September, at the People's Centre. All of those who've helped in the last year are very welcome to come to the meeting, as are new members. We want your ideas for new activities for the coming months!

We are, of course, continuing on our existing projects such as the Day School on the women's movement, speaking to schools and to women's groups and other organisations about women's rights, and publicising the sex discrimination and equal pay legislation. If you can't come to the meeting and want more details, telephone Liz Coffey at 344 - 2667. We will be meeting most Tuesdays at the People's Centre as from 21st September, but it's best to telephone Liz first to make sure.

SOCIALIST DISCUSSION GROUP I

Recently, quite a number of people on the left in Nottingham have been expressing a desire to get together on a non-sectarian basis to discuss issues around socialism. Some people have talked about their need to learn about political issues before deciding whether to commit themselves to a particular group. Others simply want an additional forum to discuss and develop their political ideas. Since July a small number of us have attended a discussion group where we've discussed the labour party, the need for a revolutionary party and related topics.

We've found these evenings very stimulating both for the 'experienced' and 'inexperienced' socialists among us. They've also been enjoyable. Our next meeting is on Tuesday 7th September at 8.00. The subject of the meeting is Socialism & Feminism. All those interested in this are most welcome to come along. We're also hoping to discuss the future of such socialist discussion

groups in Nottingham.

Anyone who has views on this is also welcome (eg should we run courses for ourselves on specific issues? or simply have general discussion? do we want to contact all the left groups in Nottingham about the discussions? do we want to invite speakers or show films? should we divide into smaller units dealing with specific needs etc?) *

Come along and help us decide how we can develop from here. Contact:

John Kelly/Sue Llewelyn tel 624344

POLITICAL STUDY/DISCUSSION GROUP II

This idea of a political study/discussion group has been going around for some time now - it's a sign of the times - and seems to be of interest to quite a lot of people.

Rather than present an article on this subject in this issue (as I had meant to do) perhaps the next issue of IF YOU DON'T GO ON HOLIDAY IT WON'T GET PUBLISHED can be devoted to the opinions of several/many people. I shall pass around the draft so far written and others can add to / change or IGNORE it.

keith

notes on W O R K

The term or concept of working class seems only to be appropriate when we talk on a macro level about bourgeois society, as well as other societies which have as their basis the exploitation of the national and international population. But on a micro level it seems less useful (typists note !!), simply serving as a general basis in which to analyse and struggle with particular movements.

Struggles don't only occur with the mass of those that directly sell their labour power; they also occur with particular groups who are exploited in other ways and oppressed as well as the personal struggle that each one of us has. These groups include women as a whole, gay people, kids, blacks (note from typist : the working class is a multiracial & manysexual class) as well as particular struggles which occur in the home, over housing, imperialism, revolutionary struggles in other countries, schooling, playareas, food etc. In these struggles develop perspectives of what it is that people are working against as well as what alternatives people want.

It seems to me that left groups and parties are so obsessed and spend so much time looking at struggles in macro terms (I used to do it too) that they impose (some more than others) these terms on particular struggles. (bit of manuscript a can't read - typist)

Let's take an example. The thing called work. On a macro level we can talk about the working class as being the class which is exploited by the bourgeoisie in a capitalist society. But, on this level, am I working class since I don't sell my labour power directly to a capitalist? Do I work? even though I'm unemployed. There I go again, using terms like 'unemployed' which have as its basis the ideology or perspectives of a particular exploitative society. The word is used to mean that one is out of work, so the concept of work and employed in this society refer solely to being in a position of being exploited or selling your labour power on the market at below its value.

So we find the political left organising struggles for the 'Right to Work'. What this means is that they put their main efforts into the right to be employed (ie exploited) in this system, seeing as they do that the revolutionary struggle lies mainly with those that are 'at work'. So, much less effort is put into developing other forms of struggle (especially anything close and personal) unless they emerge as a formidable force, like the womens & blacks struggles. So they jump on these struggles and fit them to their macro ideological framework and suddenly find articles, passages & quotes by their Gods eg Lenin, Trotsky & Mao (typists note - perhaps Bakunin!).

*Issue 9 of IF YOU DON'T included an article by Jean suggesting a discussion group. Jean says to say she has joined the above one.

IF YOU DON'T ... IT WON'T

It seems to me that there are different types of work, and that the motivations for doing them are likely to be ~~whiffenent~~ different. It also seems that what matters in revolutionary struggles is whether work is useful or not or to what extent and for whom. I can't see anything revolutionary in campaigns for the right to work in this system. What is more important is what we get for it : how much money; what are the conditions of work - as well as what other sorts of work we do (eg housework, doing your own work to get money, being on Social Security, doing jobs on the side for money or not, liberating useful things (otherwise known as stealing in this society) etc. I am not suggesting they are necessarily revolutionary struggles (many people already do it) but that they could be and perhaps this gets away from the concept of work as something that only comes from selling your labour power, ie for a wage. To me this is a job, which is primarily a means to the commodity money. The end in this society is money because it buys things, many of them not useful.

So for me the struggle is about getting sufficient money to live on and doing useful work, and the relative importance of either will depend on the circumstances and conditions of each peice of work and the people doing it. I would not defend the right of people to work making armaments to defend British Capital interests, as at Chilwell Army Depot in Nottingham. If they are going to be redundant and less arms made - great - but let the struggle be about getting them other jobs or other suitable sources of money, eg Social Security/Dole payments.

The campaign for the right to work is a means of organising the 'working class'. The campaigners see it mainly as a way to revolutionary consciousness (their type, of course) and as such see it as a revolutionary act. To me this is manipulation of people; it is like teachers using playing cards and other means to get kids to read. Without sounding puritanical, the act itself is a form of struggle of revolutionary significance. The right to work or reading-through-playing-cards are cons.....

Manuel Moreno

ARTICLES ON WORK. The above article is one of a series on work - others are invited. Perhaps the Right to Work campaign would like to reply.

SILKSCREEN WORKSHOP. Is anyone interested in setting up a screen printing workshop? Perhaps once one is set up there could be fortnightly (?) sessions producing posters on a variety of topics : fascism, sexism, social contract?

FARE FIGHT. At long last a campaign against the London Transport Fare Increases has got underway. FARE FIGHT includes members of the successful George Davis' campaign and have been distributing thousands of leaflets and IOU slips. What they are doing is buying a cheap ticket then giving the ticket collectors IOU slips for the remainder. The amount of red tape & cost collecting it could make collection impossible. There's been a tremendous response so far with the battle reaching new levels. For example, when when London Transport withdrew credit from certain people, questionnaires with dozens of questions have been sent back to LT. For more details : FF, Flat 3, 76 Sidney St, E1

* * * * *
*Subscribe to RACE TODAY SEND £3.00 for a year's sub to *
*Race Today, 74 Shakespeare Rd., London SE24OPT. *
* * * * *

MORE ON FASCISM.

There are likely to be Educational/Discussion meetings on subjects like Racism & Sexism, the Nature of the Right; Germany in the 30s etc arranged soon.- organised jointly by Gay Workers Group and Black Peoples Freedom Mvt.

Here are some suggestions for reading. Has anyone any more?

Mass Psychology of Fascism W. Reich. What is Class Consciousness? W. Reich.
The Rise of Fascism in Germany. L. Trotsky. Behemoth. Franz Neumann.
Alien Invasion. Bernard Gainer. Our Flag Stays Red. Phil Piratin.
Desperate Cry. Goldmund, Gabbler & Goldstein. Popular Front. G. Fofi.
The Mountain. Reifenstahl. Calagari to Hitler. S. Kracauer.

LET'S FIGHT FASCISM AND MAKE A REVOLUTION.

Recently the ANTIFASCIST COMMITTEE has made some decisions particularly worth mentioning. Most of its activity so far has been to call public meetings, persuade various bodies to take a firmer line on racism and fascism and this includes taking part in the Trades Council's march a couple of weeks ago, organise counters to National Front (& National Party) actions including coaches to national demonstrations, picketing a National Front meeting in a pub (the pub has now withdrawn permission for them to meet) and in the square (this meeting was called off). A leaflet has been printed for mass circulation.

As part of these kinds of activity there is a coach being organised to a demonstration in BLACKBURN at 9.00, on Saturday September 11th, outside the Salutation Inn, Maid Marion Way. Tickets approx £2.00 (50p deposit) are available from D. Rowley tel 56744 day 866126 night.

Further, another Public Meeting is being considered.

However, there has been a lot of criticism of the COMMITTEE (from many sides) and what follows is one particular piece of criticism (briefly). The next two sides also offer some comments. Further comment is invited (see the Introduction).

A particular mistake has been to assume that Cutting off the Head (ie the NF and NP) means to Cure the Pains in the Body (ie the attraction to racist and fascist ideas by many working class people as a possible solution to the experience of the crisis). OF COURSE, CHALLENGING THE NATIONAL FRONT IS IMPORTANT AND MUST BE DONE but to entertain the idea that by preventing the Front from meeting in the square in Nottingham is to stop 'the racists' from being 'able to establish a base here' is a mistake (made in a recent anti-fascist leaflet). An asian brother took up this assumption at a recent meeting by pointing out that there have been many attacks on asian people in Nottingham whether the Front are 'organised' or not. Further,

"A gathering of white left-wing and liberal forces can not be mistaken for a mobilisation of the white working class"

Race Today Editorial June 1976.

In the light of the Anti Fascist Committees general approach so far it is important to note the recent decisions which relate better to the point made by the asian brother and the Race Today Editorial. These decisions are TO HOLD A SERIES OF STREET & LOCAL MEETINGS IN WORKING CLASS AREAS.

The details of these meetings are far from being worked out as yet but some points can be made to start with.

THE LEAFLET. Because of the many criticisms a completely new leaflet is being produced. This will be presented at the next meeting.

A SIX MONTH COMMITMENT and we must LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES. Street, Area & Factory gate meetings involve a lot of work and (for many) mean breaking new ground. If leaflets are to be given out in a housing estate & shopping centre (say) then perhaps we can do better than the usual 'hit and run'/slip-a-leaflet-through-a-letterbox-and-go way of doing things. Further, if this is to happen in several estates then it'll mean some months activity, coming back from one and thinking about where we went wrong/right. What is the best time and place to hold meetings? How should they be advertised?

THE FORM OF THE MEETINGS. Perhaps we can avoid the traditional rally in the square approach where more than half a dozen speakers take the platform in turn. Maybe one good, clear & political speech followed by discussion etc.

STREET THEATRE. This, too, could be very useful - as well as being enjoyable to prepare. There's likely to be a meeting on Sunday 12th Sept. (see Introduction page of this newsletter)

The National Front may decide to make trouble - we'll have to be prepared for that. There are many more points to be made; this article has singled out only a few, but perhaps it possible to end with two further points.

one "Only a mobilisation of the strength and power of the Asian community in itself and for itself could deter those who have, to date, viewed the community as an easy push over - a target for those frustrations and energies that are better spent against the state" (Race Today Edit)

two Street Meetings can't be 'giving the line' in working class areas. There's going to be a lot of questions raised. The important one will be to develop

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The Anti-Fascist Committee has recently produced a leaflet for mass distribution in the Nottingham area, in which a series of fascist arguments and ideas are attacked. The way in which the question of fascism has been approached, however, has a number of deficiencies, which in our opinion are sufficiently serious as to warrant some comment. It should be said at the outset that whilst we support the anti-Fascist ctte we also believe that critical discussion is essential for its success.

How then does the leaflet deal with the question of fascism? Two methods of attack are employed: the first is to expose fascists as disrespectable and violent, whilst the second is to reply to racist lies. Let us deal with each in turn.

The whole of the first page of the leaflet is devoted to proving that fascism, far from being the respectable movement which its adherents claim it to be, is in fact nothing of the sort. This point is 'proved' by showing that several leading members of a number of fascist groups have previous Nazi connections, and, in some cases, continue to profess Nazi sympathies. Therefore, the National Front and their friends are not in the least respectable since they represent merely "...the old face of fascism." The implication of this sort of argument is that if the National Front etc. stopped talking about Nazism, and if their leadership did not have Nazi backgrounds then things would be altogether different. For we would then be dealing with a "respectable" party. The whole argument about "respectability" is in fact utterly confusing and ought to have been used, if at all, only in passing.

The argument about the respectability of the NF etc. is pursued further on the other side of the leaflet. Here we are told, in case we didn't know that fascism "...leads to.....concentration camps..." And lest there are any lingering doubts, "...the real character of these people..." is finally exposed by relating various acts of fascist violence. Again we must ask, what are the implications of these arguments. Are they an appeal to the best traditions of the working class, to the anti-Fascist struggles of the 1930s? No, they are not. This final appeal is in fact an appeal to bourgeois respectability and pacifism. Revolutionary socialists are not in principle opposed to violence yet this leaflet makes no distinction between the violence of revolutionaries and that of fascists.

The second prong of the attack is an empirical refutation of the lies of racialism. Why racialism? Because the "...racists like the National Front or Powell have one answer....its the immigrants; just send them back!" In other words the second page of the leaflet begins by making the completely false statement that fascism=racism. As we shall see at the next General Election the fascists of the National Front have answers to a host of questions, and these answers comprise not only racism, but national chauvinism, hostility to trades unionism and to international finance capital, and the belief in a national solution to the international capitalist crisis. Let us see then how the arguments of the fascists are taken up.

The important subject of unemployment is dealt with quite briefly and not altogether satisfactorily. The problem is not that "...bosses..put their own profits before workers jobs", a formulation which suggests we are afflicted with 'greedy' bosses, but rather that the capitalist system will not function unless there are profits. The problem is not an excess of greed on the part of the bosses, as the leaflet appears to suggest. The capitalist system is necessarily subject to crises regardless of the greed or otherwise of the bosses. This failure to adequately explain the actual causes of the crisis is once more apparent when the leaflet proceeds to take up the question of housing. The existence of homeless

people alongside unemployed building workers is of course a clear testimony to the irrationality of capitalism and provides an excellent opportunity to explain the nature of the crisis. But the opportunity is missed, and the reader is simply left wondering why such irrationality could ever be allowed to exist.

Racists also accuse immigrants of 'scrounging' on the dole, and so the leaflet proceeds to argue empirically that they actually receive less benefits per head of population than the rest of us. But having said this it then goes on to make the extraordinary qualification that this fact is only due to there being a greater proportion of the black population of working age! In other words, if there were not such a higher proportion of blacks of working age then we should have to concede that the fascists were right about scrounging after all. Empirical arguments of this type are in themselves inadequate as a defence against racism. But what is even worse about this argument is that it does not challenge the concept of 'scrounging' at all - and this at a time when there is a vigorous campaign being mounted in the bourgeois press against all 'scroungers'.

From this point on the leaflet gets progressively worse. After starting with arguments about 'respectability', and subsequently failing to challenge the bourgeois concept of 'scrounging', the next section completes the process and capitulates entirely to bourgeois ideology. On the question of repatriation, it points out quite correctly that immigrants were encouraged into Britain in order to meet labour shortages, although it fails to point out that they were subsequently concentrated in the most badly paid sectors of the economy. On what basis then is repatriation opposed? Is it argued that racist measures of this sort will in fact divide and weaken the working class in the struggle against capital? Is an independent working class position put forward? On the contrary, after a liberal and humanitarian appeal to the effect that repatriation is inhuman, the leaflet marks its final capitulation to the bourgeoisie by claiming that repatriation would be bad for British industry! Since when has it been the business of socialists to protect British industry? This final argument is in fact an appeal to the capitalists, telling them of the folly of repatriation.

This piece of advice is then immediately followed with the statement that "The alternative is to fight together for no redundancies, more houses and better social services" - but on what basis are we to fight? The leaflet has failed to show how fascism and racism affect the working class as a whole and it has therefore failed to show how unity is possible and why it is necessary.

At this point we must ask why it is that this leaflet displays the weaknesses we have described. I would suggest that it is due fundamentally to an inadequate understanding of fascism. Fascism, according to the leaflet is characterised by a fondness for Nazism, by racism and violence. Any idea that there is a connection between these ideologies and the crisis of capitalism is absent and hence there is no explanation of the growth of fascism and racism. Equally no connection is made between the bankruptcy of reformism, as seen in its inability to defend the working class against the effects of the crisis and to explain the causes of the crisis, and the growth of fascism and racism. Thus there is no mention of reformism in the leaflet. This failure to understand fascism and racism and their roots in the capitalist system leads to emotive appeals against 'Nazism' on the one hand, and to empiricism and bourgeois ideology on the other.

Revolutionary Communist Group

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There will be a follow up article to this in the next 'If you don't'