

FREE BELATIONSHIPS

"The monogamous relationship is the foundation of our society. I'm not going to lash out at that..."
(Victor Lowndes, of PLAYBOY, talking on the Radio 4 programme WOGAN'S WORLD in1974)

The idea of property gives the form to all relationships in our society. It underlies our personal relationships too. It does not matter whether you are legally married or merely living together; the chances are that you suffer from the same basic mystification. One person is the property of the other. Each is each other's property, especially the woman. The message from the media sings the same tune: "Baby be mine....I know she's mine....You ain't woman enough to take my man".

Capitalism. Relations of Production.
My factory, My workers, My profit,
My wife, My husband, My child,
My shoes, My God, My God,
Why hast thou forsaken me?

Then the bitterness, the inevitable jealousy. If it's mine it can't be yours too. I use her so you can't. Property is exclusive, only one owner is possible of such private possessions. The alternative is unthinkable like someone else drinking out of your cup. So soon as it's for real it's for only two, that's how you know it's real...Babe I'll love you for ever, slip the ring on to show you're mine alone...That's so romantic, babe. Lock them together, ideally in a detached house, as far as possible in a detached life. Tell them that each can satisfy the other's need if only they try hard enough...Till death us do part.

Like a circle going round and round round and round the same centre with perpetual motion endlessly nowhere

Closed with a vow that shuts like a lock with a circular ring in the end of its nose symbolising POWER

When it all falls through, don't try something new - repeat the old medicine - "adultery" is followed by a new marriage. Monogamy must prevail - it's the easy way of keeping us all isolated in our most dynamic feelings, handcuffed together. Frustrated people, unfulfilled people, will work harder, to acheive the mythical self-realisation that only advertising can give.

But socialism is about sharing, about breaking down our isolation, about setting people free to control their own lives in cooperation with others. If our relationships aren't free, what else can be? Jealousy isn't inevitable. It is agonising to be rejected, of course, but is it always rejection of me for him/her? She insisted she loved us both, at the same time, and courageously went on insisting it, and in the end I realised she meant it, though I went through all the useless, pointless, conventional agony of jealousy. And after all, wort not arrogant

to suppose that I could have satisfied everything she wanted from her relationships, myself alone? What ultimate machismo, to think she should have no needs I could not supply! The age-old male illusion, building self-respect on sexual prowess in particular, a satisfied harem, or the next stag will take over and leave you cuckolded, the impotent failure.

Me Tarzan, you Jane, Me satisfy you All your life through You not complain Or I go away again

Just because he is accepted, I am not necessarily rejected. I knew I wasn't. Change the images you use and you can begin to change yourself. It's not "mine" so I can't "lose" it, no one can "steal" it from me, but she can go away from me even without that. She's free, I'm free, we don't "belong" to each other, we just want to be together, and share certain things. So we don't blackmail each other into staying. In open, free relationships everyone is there because they want to be there and not somewhere else. They don't stay together because of the blackmail threat-"You'll hurt me if you go, so you must stay". It feels good to know you're there because you like me and want to be with me, not because I won't like you again if you go away.

Andrew loved his wife so much
He shut her in a rabbit hutch.
In front there were two lovely doors
But they were always shut of course.

Their marriage limped along just fine Rather like this stupid rhyme Until she gnawed a hole one day So the wire netting fell away

Poor Andy flew into a rage
And swore that if she left the cage
He'd never let her back again
Because she'd caused him so much pain.

Rather than see him so upset
She said She'd stay and be his pet
And now when Andrew needs some petting
They do it through the wire netting.

No, I'm not talking about sexual holidays but about non-competitive, parallel relationships (going on at the same time - but not necessarily in the same place !!) that don't involve people rejecting A for B. A sexual holiday is one side of the knife edge - it's the recuperation of the act of open relationship, the trivialisation of it - only one relationship really matters. A bit on the side doesn't count because it doesn't change anything. If open relationships succeed there's a dangerous domino effect (for capitalism) there's always another person involved; to convince, to convert, to try and get them to abandon the old mystifications. Of course people do get hurt sometimes even free relationships can involve real rejections. But you never know - people might get too interested in sex to go to work

"Adultery" is the other side of the knife edge. It's not at all an attack on monogamy, any more than

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

Another issue of "If you don't" but not, I think, another step forward. This issue contains mostly articles of a non-local, non-urgent nature. One remedy for this would be for us (the collective) to "consciously" solicit and publish the material we want to see in the newsletter, rather than just "unconsciously" publishing any material that happens to be sent in. However, this would be a mistake because we would become "reporters" of other peoples struggles, as opposed to the coordinators of information and ideas stemming from the work of other groups. The first "If . . . " (Nov. '75) stated that "How it develops will depend very much on if people want to use it, and, if so, how they want to use it". If the "use" is divided into a large number who read it and the same old few who write it: failure. In my view the way for the newsletter to develop is for people involved in local struggles to write about them. If you have any articles, information, dates of events, that you would like to see in the next issues, please send them to: 15 Scotholme Avenue, Hyson Green, Phone 708302, or, COME TO THE NEXT "IF YOU DON'T" MEETING AT 18 PREMIER ROAD, FOREST FIELDS, ON WEDNESDAY 18th MAY AT 7.30 p.m.

The next issue of "If you don't" will be appearing very shortly and will be devoted to anti-fascism. The next 'normal' issue will be out (hopefully) for the beginning of June.

Colin

CONTENTS: Free Relationships: On the Streets: Chile TU letter: CACTL: Books Diary: Family First Rules OK? Co-op Action Group: Women in China: Cartoon

A LETTER

We have deceived the following letter. We fell that some of the points raised deserve further discussion, and would welcome contributions from other people.

Dear If you don't,

I was interested to read two of your recent issues (collected from Mushroom) but was struck by some obvious contradictions that must have struck you, but were published anyway on account of a lenient editorial policy, one can only presume.

In Other News (Mar/April issue) you say that a Kids publishing collective will be producing a mag shortly. "Kid" is a derogatory anti-child word ranking with "Darky" or "Bird", both affectionate but imperialistic or male orientated words before consciousness or racism and sexism outlawed such terms. If it is no longer done to compare a woman with a feathered animal, it should no longer be done to compare a child with an offspring of a bearded, horned animal.

It was stated that the work published in the mag would be non-sexist, anti-sexist, non-racist and anti-racist, but not anti-sexual or non-sexual. This would appear to be completely absurd. If they are "Kids" then presumably they have not reached adolescence and therefore these terms are of completely nebulous significance to them, and any opinions they have are likely to be inherited from adults with whom they associate. Therefore in a sense they will be publishing brainwashed attitudes. These distinctions are hard for an adult to define clearly so how are their idealogical complexities to be properly appreciated by readers of below 11 yrs old. (Or is it to be one of those mags where the fun is in writing it, but no body is expected to read it?)

The use of the complex terms in your article serves to substantiate my suspicion that the editorial policy will be one that is placed upon the "kids" by their associated adults, and is therefore a prticularly iniquitous form of brainwashing or cultural imperialism. Why no just let the "Kids" publish and be damned, as you did with that poem.

Yours, with friendly interest,

David A Nicholson-Cole Lenton

CRIMINAL TRESPASS - A LIBERAL VIEW

On 14 December last year an exclusive clique mainly of gross, quasi-alcoholic bigots assembled in the House of Lords to vote on what could be the most significant piece of civil liberties legislation this decade, the Criminal Law Bill. Part II of this comptises the iniquitous Criminal Trespass proposals which will give police draconian powers to immediately intervene in squatting, occupying and picketing situations at the crucial early stages. Previous "If you don'ts" have covered the five exact proposals in more detail.

Most of the smears and myths used by the law and order lobby were unsuprisingly perpetrated in the Lords debate, Lord Mansfield said that "many people sympathised with the problems of innocent victims of the present housing shortage, but there were many instances when squatters were more concerned with free accommodation than a roof over their heads". (BBC) Unfortunately he forgot to cite any of the thousands of examples, and sumpathy stops neither rain nor sledgehammers. He went on: "There should be no difference between someone who stole a dwelling and someone who stole another kind of chattel". (Police are advised to keep watch for drug-crazed hippies with tow ropes or 500,000 cubic feet pockets). Proposing the Bill for the government Lord Harris of Greenwich requested the "views of both Houses on whether there was a need for a wider provision (our emphasis) to deal with squatting which . . . prevented local housing authorities from discharging their responsibilities". (Like Lambeth Council no doubt, which demolishes 18 good homes a month to make way for 'open space' as they put it). Only two people Lords Wigoder and Gifford, provided anything approaching opposition, and eyen then couched in relatively cautious terms. Lady MacLeod "complained that the government did not seem to be tackling the problem of homelessness at all"(BBC), yet immediately before that she had said that the provisions "would help to prevent a great deal of damage to property". Presumably she hasn't seen County Court sheriffs and bailiffs in action at four in the morning. It's this twised and perverse logic which recurrs thematically amongst the Bill's supporters, and yet manages to achieve its objectives in much the same way as the National Front manages to maintain an image of being the opponents of not only the trades unions but also international capitalism and high finance.

Certainly the anti-squatter brigade have taken a leaf cut of Goebbel's book - repeating a lie until it's accepted as the truth - to good effect. The general public now believes that squatters are poised in the shadows really to pouhce on their homes as they go on holiday or out shopping, and CACTL and other activists seem to be helpless in countering the smears. All the denials in the world, all they examples of the reality will do no good; the idea has been planted in their heads and Callaghan and Co. can press full steam ahead knowing they have near 100% public support.

THE STATE GET IT RIGHT

Right from th start the State's tactics have been ingenious, unmatched almost anywhere else. The continual changing of the "aw Commission's suggestions through 1974/5 and early 1976 rendered CACTL's information quickly obsolete, requiring regular updating of legal explanations of considerable complexity. This also prevented the opposition from building into a broad movement as quickly as it might otherwise have done: you just can't explain the intricacies of conspiracy law, and the significance of a 600 year legal precedent, the difference between torts and crimes and the relation to practical situations all in a nutshell.

Again, when the five specific offences were created by the Commission this could have been interpreted as a liberalisation at a first glance - "violence to secure entry" seems to be about violence until you read between the lines and find it covers mere presence of large numbers and so on. The measures are packaged neatly: someone in the Law Commission would go far in advertising.

Again, when the Bill was presented before Parliament hardly a word was said of Part II: full marks to the strategist who decided to include the measures as a small part of a general "overhaul" Bill encompassing such diversities as drunken driving rabies smuggling and football hooliganism, the £1000 fines for which drew off all the establishment Press attention.

Again, the terms of application of the offences were publicised in as confusing a way as possible. On 26 November last year the Daily Telegraph wrote that Clause 6 - the first offence of "violence for entry" - would not apply to factory or student sit-ins; a subtle distortion. It was true, but three of the other four offences - clauses 7, 8, & 10 - do. The dishonest slant of the article provoked a certain R. Salt of Standerstead to write propesting that the offence of entering would not apply to squatters occupting empty property! "If occupation of university premises and factories is also to be allowed", said Mr.(sic) Salt, "the new offence seems to apply only to entering homes which the tenants or owners arein residence, but are absent temporarily for a short time. This appears to be of little value. I have not seen any cases of squatting reported which fall into this category". An admission from a private lanlord that squatters occupy unused buildings and not people's homes, then, but in a mish-mash of incorrect facts designed to defuse the Bill's opposition and increase the indignation of the right wing.

All these aspects, coupled with the sudden change in name in December from Criminal Justice Bill to Criminal Law Bill, the creation of indecision in the opposition movement by the rumour that the Bill might be dropped, the uncertainty of the timing of the proposals, the emphasis on (a)irrelevances like football hooliganism (the £1000 fines were the main headline on many national dailies, indicating an efficient PR set up with press crime reporters) and (b)on the occasions when trespass is covered, on squatting (when the proposals in fact threaten workers, students and travellers), have served to further the governments's interest and minimise opposition. The government's tactics have been highly successful. But perhaps the most disturbing tactic is the use of co-option - the granting of a meagre reform, namely a limitation on conspiracy sentences in Part I of the Bill with no change in rules of evidence - which serves a dual purpose: (i)it weakens opposition to the Bill by giving it a "decent face" to present, and (ii) it will make any future campaign to abolish conspiracy that much harder, by 1 removing the most appealing argument against it - the absurdity of higher sentences for conspiracy than for the action itself; and future governments will be able to point to this Bill, when enacted, as a recent "reform" in bringing the law up to date and in touch with common sense.

CACTL FALLS BY: THE WAYSIDE

How has CACTL reacted to this well-oiled machine? To give it credit, it has done wonders with a tiny budget and limited facilities. But the demonstration was a balls up (Not all due to CACTL); the route was not in a densly populated area and the low attendance at Highbury Fields an embarrassment. CACTL have a healthy disregard for authority but it doesn't engender public support to over do the anarchy line, mich as I personally approve of it: Slogans such as "Occupations IN! IN! IN." sound more like "lets occupy for the hell of it" than being forced into it by economic and/or social circumstances, and are playing straight into the hands of the right wing. Its just not good enough to say t at that's not what they mean; its what can be interpreted that counts. I approved of Colin's article in "If you don't" No. 15, until the last phrase "Property is Theft", again meaningless and destructive - thank's Colin I'll come round and have your stereo. CACTL must . present a tempered front like the NCCL and Release have done, and show that it has constructive and well considered attainable proposals to reform the law the other way, for example by extending the 1965 Rent Act harassment provisions to all occupiers and similar short term proposals (the long term solution being the impelementation of a full housing programme); it must align itself more with "respectable" organisations for media purposes - for example quoting the Institute of Personnel Management which agrees that occupations of factories are usually a last resort by workers with a genuine sense of grievance to draw attention to their plight and effect a remedy, be it through a work-in or whatever. The present "smash-thestate" approach of GACTL is not working, although I agree that with the media boycott they're having to put up with that's hardly surprising. Emphasis pn direct action is fine, so long as it's clearly framed in the context in which that direct action becomes necessary.

John Bachelor

P.S. That D of E suppressed report on squatting favourable to CACTL's position, is summarised in London Free Press No. 19 (available from Muchroom).

CACTL - A PARTIAL REPLY

There are many points in John's article with which I (and I suspect the majority of the "If you don't group) disagree. There are two points in particular that I feel need taking up. If anybody else would like to contribute to a debate on the strategy/tactics of campaigns (not just CACTL) please write.

Firstly: "It doesn't engender public support to overdo the anarchy line". Unfortunately CACTL doesn't come anywhere near the "anarchy line" let alone overdoing it. CACTL as a campaign is made up of a variety of individuals and groups (mainly vaguely marxist) who see the direction of the campaign as working through the orthodox "respectable" channels of political dissent in order to get the government to drop the trespass Bill or amend it in some way. This tactic has been "successful" in getting the support of the Labour Party (30+ constituency parties, and, I think, the National Executive Committee (NEC)), the trade union movement (40+ Trades Councils and the TUC General Council) and other groups (including Release and NCCL). But this "success" is meaningless in terms of actually getting the Bill dropped. I and other irresponsible elements have been accused of trying to change CACTL into a revolutionary organisation. I plead guilty. At the moment CACTL does not have a "smash-the-state" approach and I believe this is why it is not working. The easiest way to "engender public support", of course, would be to take a social democracy/liberal/tory line - "Yes, homelessness and redundancies are a scandal but we must propect people's property". One of the jobs of a revolutionary is to convince people of the need for revolutionary change not to choose slogans/lines that appeal to a large number of people.

Which brings me on to the second point - "Property is theft". If property were not theft, if there is a moral(as well as a legal) right to the ownership of property, then what arguments has John to support CACTL? Surely a person who pays his taxes to a state has the right to expect that state to propect his property, especially as the whole of our law and social system is based on it? On the point of your taking my(sic) stereo - then you would be as much a thief as me, John, and I or another would have a right (or duty) to take it back. To escape from this situation of conflict we must rely on mutual aid. We must move away from the concept of "ownership" towards one of use. New relationships need to be forged. As Bob Dylan sings: "To live outside the law you must be honest".

Colin

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In a recent issue of a left-wing journal there was an article/criticism on Black FLAG. If anyohe has a copy of this or knows where I can get one please contact Colin at 708302 or via "If you don't".

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CHILE

"If you don't" has recieved a letter from the secretary of the Nottingham Chile Solidarity Campaign asking us to publicise the extensive trade that is going on between the Chilean Junta and this country. Many commodities are involved, for example onions, which are appearing in large quantities in the market, under the label "Spanish-type onions". (In fact most so-called Spanish onions are now Chilean, although some come from Poland). Also weveral local firms are involved in trade with Chile. Sainsbury's is one, and alos, apparently, Marshalls of Hucknall Lane, Bulwell, which has been carrying goods either from or to Chile. Investigation into the nature of their involvement are going on.

We reiterate the Chile Campaign's request that people contact any Trades Unionists who may be involved either in the trade or in shops or canteens handling Chilean goods. Members of the TGWU in Northampton have been refusing to carry Chilean goods. We reproduce opposite a letter to British Trades Unionists from the Chilean TUC.

The Nottingham Chilean Solidarity Campaign can be contacted at 5 Lenton Boulevard.



CENTRAL UNICA DE TRABAJADORES DE CHILE

TRADES UNION CONGRESS OF CHILE.
London Office: 203 KINGS CROSS ROAD
LONDON, WCIX 9DB

March 1977

APPEAL TO BRITISH TRADE UNIONISTS

Dear Brother/Sister,

at this moment the Fascist Junta in Chile is Planning to ship massive amounts of Fruit and Vegetables to Europe. Millions of boxes of fruit and vegetables (mainly onions) are being assembled for shipment or may be on their way to Europe.

The Chilean T.U.C. (CUT), which I have the honour to represent in this country, is deeply concerned about this trade. Foreign trade is the Junta's lifeline and we have been asked by our colleagues in the Trade Union Movement in Chile, fighting as they are under conditions of the most severe political and economic repression, to appeal on their behalf to the British Trade Union Movement to boycott this trade.

This trade does not benefit the Chilean people. The only reason that this produce is being exported is because the economic policies of the Junta have reduced the standard of living of the mass of Chileans to such levels that they cannot afford these goods.

These goods are known as 'Non-Traditional' exports. In the past our country never produced enough of these goods, fruit, vegetables, etc, to supply our own people, let alone to export them. Since the Junta seized power the living standard for the average Chilean has fallen by two-thirds. The Junta is now exporting food which the people of Chile badly need but cannot afford. It is taking the food out of our peoples mouths to export it.

The foreign earnings from this trade will not go to help the Chilean people. Only the large landowners and the Military budget will benefit. In the first year of the Junta's rule alone, real living standards fell on average by almost 50% whilst military expenditure rose 300%.

The only way forward for the Chilean people is the quickest possible overthrow of this regime. Help us in our struggle to liberate our country from Fascism. We appeal to you, wherever possible, don't work with Chilean goods. Bring every pressure to bear to ensure that these goods aren't sold in British shops.

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE !!

NO TRADE WITH THE JUNTA !!

BOYCOTT ALL CHILEAN GOODS !!

yours fraternally

Pedro Cornejo

CUT Representative Great Britain.

crime is necessarily an attack on property. It confirms the original idea of exclusivity, simply by destroying one exclusive relationship in order to establish another. It would have been easier, when I began to relate to J. if "adultery" had been my aim, (or hers). That would have been comprehensible, but a free open relationship where you can't "lose" because I "gain" or vice versa, is a lot harder. "Her" man couldn't grasp that..... Nor could some other people.

So in the end there were four of us in the middle of it all, trying hard to work it all out, but the other people we had to convince weren't ready for it. It broke down in the end. But it wasn't less meaningful for all that. We learnt a lot. You don't reject the idea of revolution because the Hungarian revolution failed, do you? If that sounds a grandiose comparison, you may be right, but it still expresses the significance of the experience for me. You only learn what the forces are that hold us down when you actually start to challenge them by doing what isn't done.

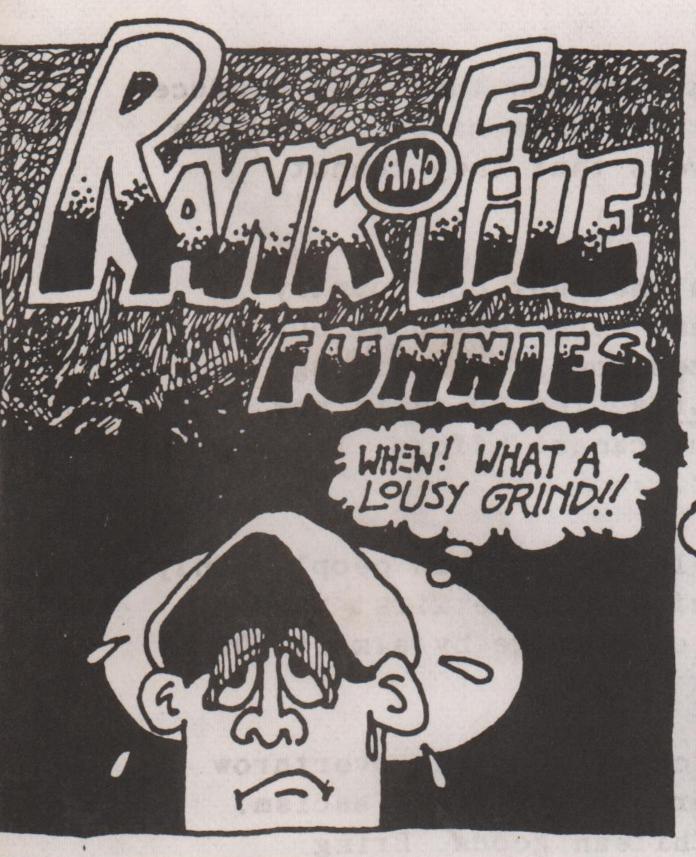
Jealousy isn't a fundamental human characteristic unless you teach people to feel it, to grasp certain situations as justifying it. Children are taught not to feel jealous of each other in the family. They have to share love. Why not adults ? It's not the old male chauvinist dream of polygamy. It's for both sexes, straight and gay. If A is good, isn't 2A even better ? How do you know you haven't the potential within you to demand and satisfy more than you're getting and giving now ? Our creativity, our potential, is so frustrated and crushed out of us by the concealed but terrifying pressure of conformity, that we just don't realise half the time that there is anything to liberate in us. But "when the workers rise/not with the alarm clock but with their desires/the capitalists must beware"

M.O.

(all poems except "Tarzan" and "Relations of Production" written at the time. All the rest four years later).

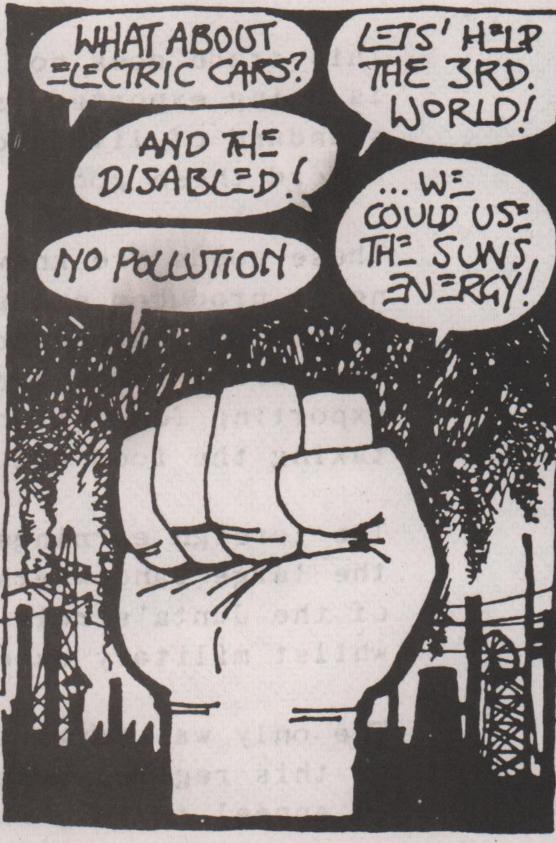
THE ABOVE ARTICLE IS TAKEN FROM 'SOLIDARITY' PAPER OF THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL GROUP COPIES ARE AVAILABLE FROM: 34, COWLEY ROAD, OXFORD.

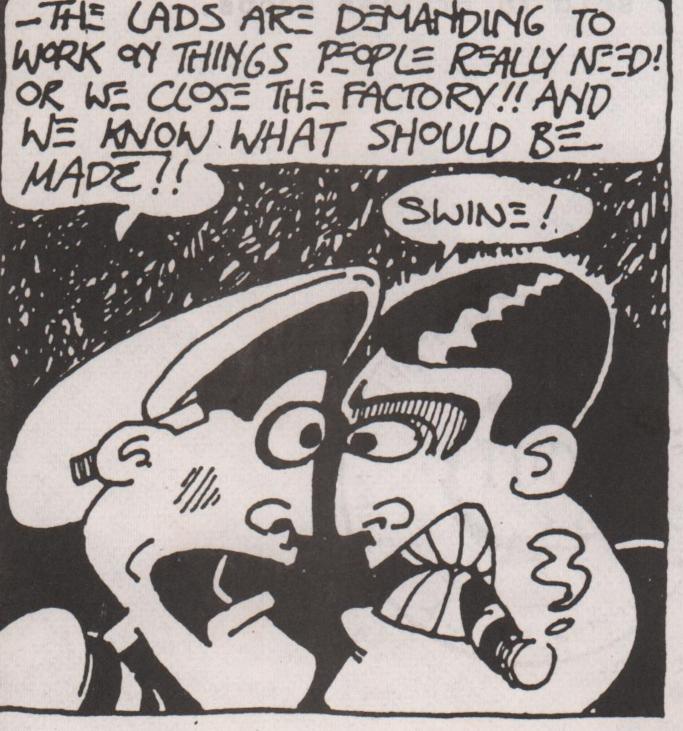
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- 2 May Mon NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN (NAC) 'A womans right to choose' week of action starts: Freddy Gaunt Radio Nottingham 1.30

 POLITICAL ECONOMY group: How to investigate industry 7.30 at 3 Dunlop Avenue
- 3 May Tues NAC PHONE-IN Graham Knight Radio Trent 6.30. Please phone in.

 CACTL 'OCCUPY FILM 7.30 Byron Building Trent Poly. A film of the recent Fisher—Bendix factory occupation and discussion.
- 4 May Wed NAC PUBLIC MEETING 7.30 ICC*: Theatre Group, National/local speakers, discussion (Also at University Portland Bldg 1.30)

 SEX DISCRIMINATION & EQUAL PAY ACTS WEA course second session 7.00-9.00 Adult Education Centre Shakespear Street.
- 5 May Thur NAC 7.30 at the Poly: Dr Sheila Abdulah.
- 6 May Fri WINSTANLEY at the Film Theatre, Broad Street (Also on Sat at 5.00 & 8.00 and Sun at 8.00) 'England is not a free people, till the poor that have no land, have free allowance to dig and labour the commons....' Gerrard Winstanley 1649.
- 7 May Sat NAC leafleting and petitioning throughout the city centre.
 Help needed: Contact Rachel 43081.

 BUILDING* BAZAAR AND JUMBLE SALE 12.00 onwards.

 NUT/NATFE members conference on Women's Rights, Clifton
 College. Details from Ceridwen Roberts tel: 708871.
- 8 May Sun GYROSCOPE meeting 2.30 at 23 Mansfield Grove (See Books page)
- 9 May Mon BUILDING* discussion meeting at 7.30 with the Anti- Fascist Ehibition and slides.
- 10 May Tues BIG FLAME MANIFESTO discussion 8.00 at 23 Mansfield Grove.
- 11 May Wed TECHNOLOGY OF POLITICAL CONTROL 7.30 at the ICC* IMG public meeting with speaker Karen Margolis who wrote the book.
- 12 May Thur ABCDC Aubrey, Berry Campbell 'Official Secrets' defence campaign. Local defence group 7.30, 49 Constance Street.
- 13 May Fri SEXISM, RACISM, FASCISM: Anti Fascist committee Educational 7.30 at the ICC*
- 14 May Sat BUILDING* WORKING WEEKEND 10.00 onwards (and Sunday)

 NAC NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON. Coaches leave the Salutation, Maid Marxion Way at 9.30 Tickets £2.00 phone 43081.

 DISCO for BATTERED WIVES REFUGE. 8.00-11.30 at the Yorker,

 Mansfield Road. Tickets 60p in advance from the Women's Group.
- 16 May Mon POLITICAL ECONOMY group meeting 7.30 at 3 Dunlop Avenue
- 18 May Wed IF YOU DON'T.....meeting. All welcome. 18 Premier Rd at 7.30.
- 24 May Tue POLITICAL FILMS meeting at 7.30, 18 Premier Road to plan series of film/discussion meetings for the Building.
- 28 May Sat TEACHING & WOMEN'S STUDIES day school at Adult Education Centre Shakespear Street 10.00 4.00 Fee £1.00

WOMEN'S MEETINGS: 1st & 3rd Mons Women's Aid at the Refuge, Phone 624547.

Tuesdays: Lesbian Social op contact Char 76410. Thursdays: Women's group
at Women's Centre 26 Newcastle Chambers, Angel Row City Centre, 8.00

Contact 76410. Wed 18 May 8.00 at Women's Centre: Action Gp for new Women's Centre. NAC (men & women) Every wed 8.00 at Women's Centre.

*PLACES: ICC 616 Mansfield Rd. The BUILDING Forest Green Cmty, Gregory Bvd.

Over the last six months Tyou DON'T KNOCK IT has

arranged several meetings in co-operation with other groups.

A need for activities initiated outside the 'conventional' left has been responded to, and to my mind some of the discussion has been good. Following the Fakenham Film especially, the discussion was critical yet .constructive, covering subjects like ishting for a sexual identity, pros and cons of intervention, capital's use of self-organisation and workers control (and our use of it), revolutionary organisation and the atmosphere was relaxed. The transfer of the Cart of the State of the

I would like to see this movement towards an Independent or Autonomous Left continued and developed and am interested to hear the views of other sisters and brothers, perhaps as letters to IF YOU DON'T.

ON "IF YOU DON'T"

IF YOU DON'T started in November 19 when the fact that a period of intense class striggle had drawn to a close was still sinking in (ie period middle '60s to 1974). There had been waves of industrial struggle culminating in mass action like the closure of the Saltly Depot or the release of the Pentonville 5; rent strikes and other kinds of working class action from areas (eg over playspace, repairs, clearance and Claimants Unions) had been common; the womens and gay movements had emerged with a lot of energy and challenging ideas; the revolutionary left grew.

However, along with the new Labour Government came the Social Contract and the political classroom of mass struggle was more often closed than open. Within this recent period - social contract, austerity, CRISIS, revival of nationalism and racism etc - there's been much political rethinking, questioning and regrouping; IF YOU DON'T has played a role here as a channel change of ideas, information and for organising action.

What I wonder now is, since it seems very possible that mass struggle is on the cards again, what role should IF YOU DON'T play in the future? Further, how important is it to make definite political choices - plan ahead, edit material, ao good readable layout etc?

Some of the discussions the people involved in producing IF YOU DON'T have had recently are these:

Editing or non-editing Choosing subjects and planning just announcements or articles cartoons, good layout, printing collective decisions or not

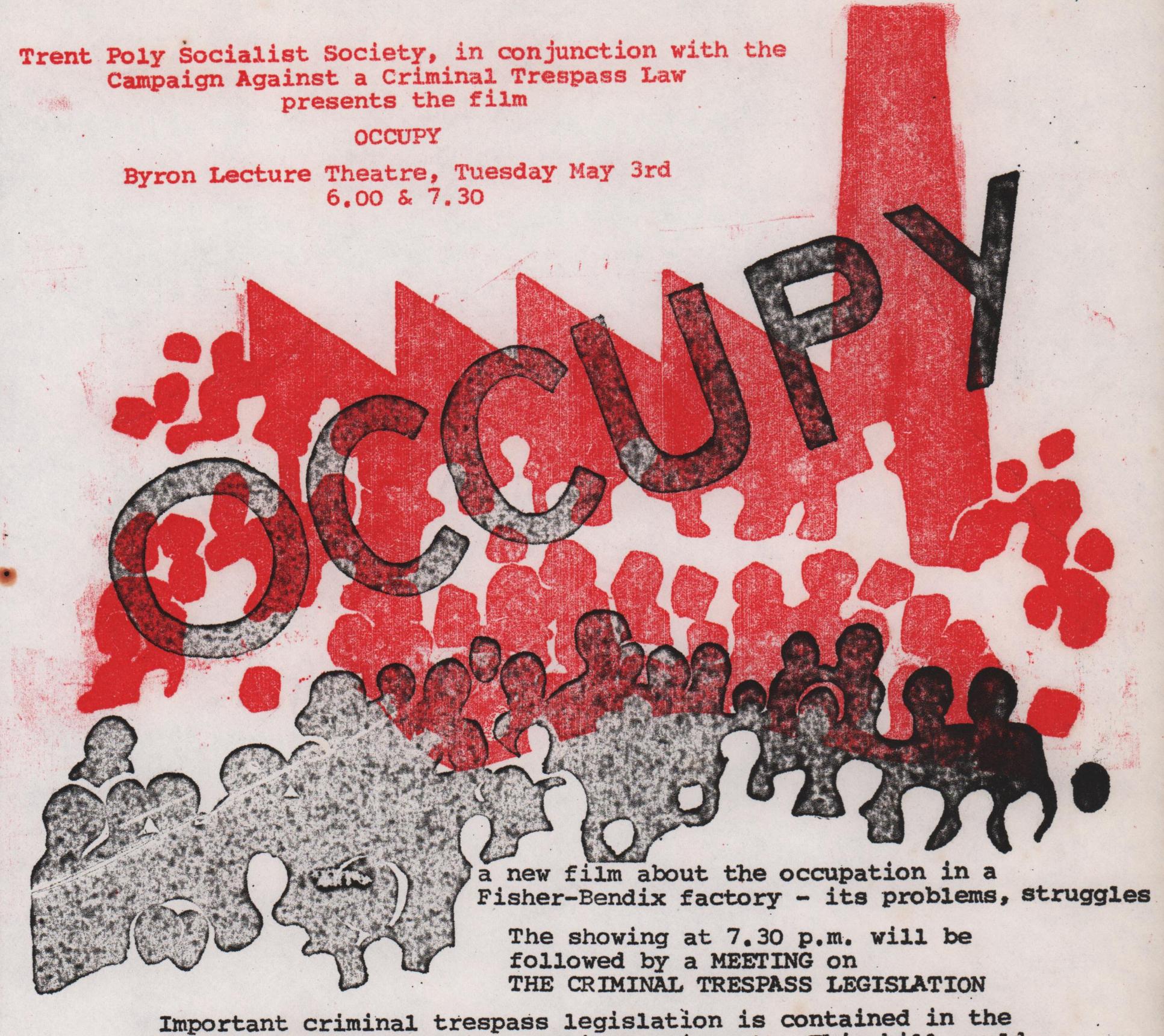
mass distribution or small scale or whatever comes in goes in communism or alternativism or pages and pages of typing

having discussions, to break new ground, sharing in political development or individual articles each having the 'right' to compete with each other

"I think IF YOU DON'T should become less of a outlet for the ideas of the Independent Left and instead, if it's to continue at all, be more concerned with struggles like the one in Hyson Green recently where several women scratched cars of prostitute-seeking kerb crawlers. Being involved in a 'principled' way.

As to how IF YOU DON'T or any of the people who come to the series of joint meetings take part, I don't to make any suggestions here but hope that the meeting discussing the Big Flame manifesto on May 10th at 8.00 at 23, Mansfield Grove, Nottingham will be one time to discuss such things as a group.

in solidarity keith



Important criminal trespass legislation is contained in the Criminal Law Reform Bill new in Parliamnet. This bill would bring all trespass into the sphere of <u>criminal</u> law; and would give the Police powers of entry and arrest (and so dispersal) in any <u>occupation</u>, in factories, colleges, or council offices; <u>pickets</u> on private or state property; and <u>squats</u> in empty houses.

WHY DO THEY WANT IT NOW?

- TO STOP THE FIGHT BACK

This bill is being introduced at a time of massive unemployment, homelessness, falling living standards and savage cuts in public spending. Occupations are a vital weapon in the fight against this - by workers, students, the homeless etc.

For students, occupations are particularly crucial, often being the only way to develop the strength to win our demands.

FILM AND MEETING ON CRIMINAL TRESPASS: 7.30, Byron Lecture Theatre, Tue May 3

Figur the Trespass Bill!

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'FAMILY FIRST' HAVE BEEN TRYING

(WITHOUT SUCCESS) TO GET A 'NO SEX

A NUMBER OF THE TENANTS OF THE RULING CHANGED

estables of a farming with the contract of the experience of the party of the attendent to be the Family First is a registered charity and housing association which owns 19 houses divided into a total of 50 flats, 2 custom built blocks next to its Family Centre which contain another 14 flats (all of these flats being furnished), and attached to the Family Centre is a hostel which houses approx. 6 young women and their babies. Family First includes in its published list of aims and objects the following as regards housing and tenants:-

"... Family First's only long term aim is to own a substantial number of housing units available for rent to meet urgent housing need."

"... Family First should evolve ways of enabling tenants/neighbours/helpers to live full, creative lives and should encourage participation in management of its community work ... "

As it stands now the majority of its tenants are unsupported single parents (mostly women), some disabled and some old people. What it in fact provides for them is temporary furnished accommodation until such time as the local authority re-houses them. In fact, contrary to their glossy brochure which talks always in terms of 'housing' and providing 'homes', they lay considerable stress on their tenants not to in anyway think of their flats as anything other than temporary.

Tenants have to sign a lengthy and fairly restrictive tenancy agreement

which includes the following:"...Family First accomodation is made available for unsupported mothers...Any tenant who has her husband or boyfriend to stay will be assumed to be supported and therefore not eligible for housing with Family First. The accomodation is allocated maximum occupancy by the Local Authority. Tenants must not therefore contravene public health regulations by having people to stay in the accomodation". This ruling is backed up by a letter from one of the Directors:-" To all tenants... It is conditional upon a one-parent family as part of the tenancy undertaking with Family First that if they co-habit, marry or re-marry they find alternative accomodation. ... If a woman seeks a flat because she is a lone mother but with a view to bringing her boyfriend into the household the situation is unrealistic and dishonæst. Family First has never sought to influence its tenants over their private views or mode of life beyond the reasonable limits of expecting tenants not to cause nuisance to neighbours and experting them to play fair in adhering to the terms of tenancy. Abusing these involves deceit not only in relation to us, but also, in some cases, to the DHSS. Usally such a tenant is in receipt of a DHSS allowance and her man is literally being housed and kept by her (or rather the State and us)... The principle remains unchanged whether the tenant's abuse of her tenancy agreement is seen or not seen ... "

The rules on sex for women in the hostel are slightly different to those of the rest of the tenants. For these women the rules are as follows:-

1. They must be in by 10.30 pm in the evening. 2. If they want to be out over night they must give 24 hours notice and state where they will be

3. No men are allowed in the hostel before mid-day or after 10.30 pm. continued.

FAMILY FIRST RULES OK? Continued

At a recent meeting with Family First Directors and tenants a number of women asked for an explanation of this 'no sex' ruling and for a lifting of the rule on overnight guests for this rule applies to all guests whether they be mothers or lovers. The response was as follows:-

If we allowed it there would be vast quantities of men pounding on the doors and hanging up and down stairs disturbing the neighbours and lowering the tone of the nieghbourhood.

If we allowed it the women tenants would get themsekves into domestic/sexual difficulties with as many as may be (and I quote) 7 different men arriving in one week. And the staff of Family First would then have to step in and help them out of their diffaculties.

If we allowed it the tenants would move their lovers in to live, would instantly become supported by them and continue to claim Supplementary Benefit. Family First would then be seen to be aiding and abetting them in this deceixt.

That it was perfectly possible and in fact probably more desirable to have an ongoing relationship without the other person ever having to stay with you.

That Family First have to work hard at re-establishing the public reputations of the women it houses. Were they to allow overnight guests all this work would be instantly undone. Some women would have 2 or 3 men to stay per week and thus ruin the reputation of others.

The protesting tenants were of course silenced by this response, what else could they do? Housing! Associations receive most of their money from the Department of the Environment via the Housing Corporation. The money is in fact re-channeled public money but there is no call on them for public accountability. At the same time they are exempt, along with local authorities. from the Rent Act. Their tenants have virtually no protection within the law against eviction. As a result the women concerned came away from the meeting feeling deeply insulted and powerless. What the Directors of Family First had in fact implied was that their 'no sex' ruling was protective. That without this benificent protection the women would either become whores or hounded by hoards of undesirxable men which they would be incapable of controlling.

What Family First fail to realise is that such attitudes as these which it quite clearly and firmly holds, rather than enabling tenants to live full lives and creative lives in fact encourages the reverse. It singles them out as 'odd and potentially irresponsible people in a very real way and reinforces what is one of the major problems for single parents, that of isolation both from people and neighbourhood. This is the 'social' result of such thinking. For the women as people it can only encourage them to think and believe of themselves as having failed and being in need of parental care and protection.

WOMEN IN CHINA

On the opposite page there is an article by the Nottingham Communist Group which refers to an article that was published in the Nottingham Women's Newsletter in October 1976. This article can be obtained by writing to IF YOU DON'T at 15 Scotholm Avenue, Hyson Green, Nottingham or by telephoning Nottingham 76410.

We hope to have comment dy the author of the original article in the next issue of IF YOU DON'T

The more freedom is gained in the sense of emerging from the original oneness with nature, the more the individual has no choice but to unite with the world in the spontaneity of love and productive work or else to seek a kind of security by such ties with the world as destroy freedom and the integrity of the individual self.

WOMEN IN CHINA

The October 1976 issue of the Nottingham Women's Newsletter contained an article on "Women in China". In the opinion of the members of the Nottingham Communist Group, this article grossly misrepresented the changes in the position of women in Chinese society which have been brought about during this century. We responded by sending a letter pointing out the omissions, distortions, and plain lies to the Newsletter. This was not published and, in fact, was completely ignored. We are grateful to If You Don't--- for allowing space for the publication of this letter.

Dear Sisters,

We in the Nottingham Communist Group would like to comment on the article Women in China", which appeared in your October Newsletter. This article contains much interesting information on women in China but has a curious contradiction running through it. The writer recognises the tremendous progressive changes that Chinese women have gone through during this century. At the same time the writer displays a reluctance to recognise these changes and the leading role of the Communist Party of China in bringing them about. The article is used as an occasion for yet another airing of the myths of Trotskyism

First of all, the writer does not employ a consistent class analysis. In her vivid description of the appalling conditions of women in pre-revolutionary China, she does not make it clear that this was an integral part of the whole feudal social system. As Mao Tse-Tung wrote: "Under feudal domination, marriage is a barbaric and inhuman institution. The oppression and suffering borne by woman is far greater than that of man" The class character of this oppression is underlined by the fact that it was the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi who opposed and crushed the liberal reformers with their ideas on female equality at the end of the nineteenth century. This did not however inhibit her from availing herself of an endless supply of male concubines.

The article has some odd ommissions. The lifelong devotion of Mao Tse-Tung to the cause of women's rights is completely ignored. As a young man he refused to accept the marriage arranged for him by his father. One of his earliest published articles was a passionate protest against the suicide of a young woman in the same position. He wrote" ... of a girl who died a martyr's death for the cause of the freedom to choose her own love ... "Although not yet a fully-convinced Marxist-Ieninist, Mao had the clarity to realise ".. that the family of the parents and the family of the future husband have committed a crime, but the source of this crime lies in society."In I927, in his Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan, Mao enthused on the activities of peasant women: "The political authority of the landlords is the backbone of all the other systems of authority. With that overturned, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband begin to totter""With the rise of the peasant movement, the women in many places have now begun to organise rural women's associations; the opportunity has come for them to lift up their heads, and the authority of the husband is getting shakier every day. In a word, the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system is tottering with the growth of peasants' power"Your writer may be interested to learn that this report was very well received in the "Stalinist" Comintern. But then, presumably the setting up

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of the women's associations was part of the "process of bureaucratisation" which she attacks? The article briefly mentions the Kiangsi Soviet but leaves out a most important proclamation by Mao in 1931, as Chairman of the Chinese Soviet Republic: "The whole feudal system of marriage, including the power of parents to arrange marriages for their children, to exercise compulsion, and all purchase and sale in marriage contracts shall henceforth be abolished"The decree goes on to state: "Although women have obtained freedom from the feudal yoke, they are still labouring under tremendous physical handicaps (for example the binding of feet) and have not obtained complete independence. Therefore on questions concerning divorce, it becomes necessary to protect the interests of women and place the greater part of the obligations and responsibilities entailed by divorce on men"This line was put into practice in the midst of a life or death struggle against the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek armies in which over one million workers and peasants were killed while defending the Kiangsi Soviet. But the author of the article ignores all this. The best she can do is to wheel out Trotskyist renegade Chen Pi-lan(who?) to make a few comments.

Neither does the article tell us anything about the prominent parts taken in the revolution by many women. For example, there was Sung Ching-ling(widow of Sun Yat-sen) who played a key role in dangerous underground work in Shanghai during the nineteen thirties and subsequently became a Vice President of the People's Republic. What about the writer Yang Ho? What about Chiang Ching, who led a women's regiment into battle during the Nanchang Uprising, played an important part in the Cultural Revolution and now serves on the Central Committee of the CPC? What about the Red Women's Detachments, combat troops in the liberation struggle? Etc., etc. Are these cases not proof of the reality of the CPC's commitment to women's rights in actual practice?

The article tells us that: "The CP was ordered to join the KMT, because of the Stalinist theory of two stages-that in a backward country such as China, it is necessary to have a bourgeois revolution. Then when this is stabilised and a mass proletariat exists, people could work for a proletarian revolution. "It is true that the Comintern advised the CPC to Work within the Kuomintang which was at the time opposing feudalism and imperialism from the standpoint of bourgeois democracy and under the leadership of the great Dr Sun Yatsen. The result of this policy was that in a few years the CPC was transformed from an obscure group consisting of a few hundred intelligentsia into a mass movement with tens of thousands of members and millions of supporters organised in trade unions and peasant associations. But what on earth is this "Stalinist theory of two stages"? Stalin outlined his conception of revolution in the modern world in The Foundations of Leninism (1924) where he wrote: ".. the chain of the imperialist front must, as a rule, break where the links are weaker and, at all events, not necessarily where capitalism is more developed, where there is such and such a percentage of peasants, and so on. "He went on to write: ".. the Second International asserted (and continues to assert) that between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution there is a chasm, or at any rate a Chinese Wall, separating one from the other by a more or less protracted interval of time during which the bourgeoisie having come into power, develops capitalism, while the proletariat accumulates srength and prepares for the "decisive struggle" against capitalism."

(3)

Stalin rejected this conception as ".. totally devoid of scientific meaning under the conditions of imperialism"Stalin wrote that: "when imperialism is allying itself with all reactionary forces without exception, down to and including tsarism and serfdom, thus making imperative the coalition of all revolutionary forces, from the proletarian movement of the West to the national liberation movement of the East; when the overthrow of the survivals of the regime of feudal serfdom becomes impossible without a revolutionary struggle against imperialism -- it scarcely needs proof that the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a more or less developed country, must under such circumstances verge upon the proletarian revolution, that the former must pass into the latter. So how does this differ from Trotsky's concept of "permanent revolution"? Stalin pointed out that "... the adherents of 'permanent revolution' did not understand the important role of the peasantry" and that "Lenin proposed that the revolution be crowned with the transfer of power to the proletariat, whereas the adherents of "permanent" revolution wanted to begin at once with the establishment of the power of the proletariat. "This was precisely the error made by the then leaders of the CPC in 1927-8. They attempted urban insurrections against the by then reactionary KMT in Shanghai and Canton. They hoped to achieve proletarian power straight away, but instead met with bloody defeat. Others, such as Mao, Chu Teh, and Chou En-lai, learnt the lessons of this debacle and went on to develop the brilliant strategy of surrounding the towns from the countryside which eventually led to victory. But Trotsky learnt nothing. He completely failed to recognise that the peasantry had of necessity to be the main revolutionary force, under proletarian leadership, simply because of their overwhelming numbers in an underdeveloped country. In 1929 Trotsky was still proclaiming: "The town is the hegemon of modern society and only the town is capable of assuming the role of hegemon in the bourgeois revolution"He also insisted that:"., there is almost no estate of landlords in China." Tens of millions of Chinese peasants could have told him differently. But then Trotsky never had much time for the peasantry. So much for another myth of the Trotskyist school of falsification!

The article complains that after the establishment of the People's Republic (NB not a socialist republic) in 1949, the CPC "...didn't, however, encourage women to attack the family-but tried to set up a new family. "This is really utopian! Is it seriously being suggested that the family as such could have beenbeen abolished at that time? When communism is eventually achieved, a great many years from now, the family as we know it will disappear but in the meantime the problem is one of determining what type of kinship relationships are possible and desirable given present material conditions. Just after the 1917 Revolution in Russia the family was abolished by administrative decree but few people took a blind bit of notice.

The errors of a certain Lin Shao-ch'i are related. This is indeed a breakthrough in Pekinology! It would now appear that Liu Shao-Ch'i and Lin Piao were one and the same person. What a fiend! The struggle within the CPC, which burst out into mass struggle during the Cultural Revolution, was and still is between those elements who want to arrest China's social development at the new democratic stage(the 'capitalist roaders) and those, such as Mao, who want to build a truly socialist society. Women's rights are an integral part of this struggle. The capitalist roaders are quite content with the achievement of bourgeois rights for women. Their opponents want to push on to the stage of socialist rights.

In discussing the present position of Chinese women your writer says: "In determining its policy on birth control the CP hierarchy seems to have completely disregarded as a consideration the right of women to control their own bodies."In the following lines she then explains that there is free abortion on demand in China! Those contradictions! She goes on to complain about the "puritanism of sexual mores in China. Indeed, by Western standards they are but is this not a necessary response to the pre-revolutionary period when Chinese women were mere workhorses and sex objects? Anyway, does not the article confuse promiscuity with sexual freedom? There is much promiscuity in contemporary capitalism but little sexual fulfilment. Surely the flood of pornographic books, magazines and films are ample testimony to the existence of widespread frustration of sexual gratification? And what about Women's Lib? Is this not also an expression of sexual alienation?

On the question of homosexuality let it be noted that this was very widespread among both sexes in pre-revolutionary China, precisely because of the barriers to heterosexual gratification imposed by the feudal-patriarchal family. The rise of new family patterns has led to the decline of homosexuality. Anyway, while we in no way want homosexuals to be persecuted, might it not be the case that homosexuality is a specific feature of class society? We are inclined to agree with Karl Marx who said: "The direct, natural, and necessary relation of person to person is the relation of man to woman. In this natural species-relationship man's relation to nature is immediately his relation to man, just as his relation to man is immediately his relation to nature-his own natural destination. In this relationship, therefore, is sensuously manifested, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which the human essence has become nature to man, or to which nature to him has become the human essence of man. From this relationship one can therefore judge man's whole level of development"In other words, in a society where there is considerable conflict and even rejection between the sexes thisis indicative of our general alienation from ourselves and nature. As Marx said: "In the approach to woman as the spoil and handmaiden of communal lust is expressed the infinite degradation in which man exists for himself."

Among communists it has always been axiomatic that men and women have equal parts to play in the revolutionary movement Indeed, a considerable proportion of the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels is devoted to the position of women under capitalism. One aim of a socialist society is to put an end to antagonistic contradictions between the sexes. But this can only be achieved if we all recognise that all of the particular oppressions of modern society-economic, political, religious, racial, sexual, etc., - are part and parcel of the same capitalist system. As Mao pointed out: Genuine equality between the sexes can only be realised in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole."In struggling against capitalism and for socialism Marxist-Leninists have made many mistakes, have learnt from those mistakes, and achieved some big successes, e.g. China, Albania, N. Korea and Vietnam. The Trotskyists have made nothing but mistakes, have learned nothing from them, and achieved nothing. Sisters, if you would have sexual liberation then join with us in the struggle for human liberation!

NOTTINGHAM COMMUNIST GROUP FLAT2, IOVILLA ROAD, NOTTINGHAM

THE FASCISTS ARE HERE!

It's no good pretending now. Now they are here and they organise themselves under a party- the NATIONAL FRONT. Not that there wasn't fascism before this electioneering. I suppose it was slightly more disguised, if your idea of fascism is something to do with black-shirts. Hitler, an extension of capitalism in a crisis, creation of scape goats, patriotism and rigid rascist party. This sort of thinking is like describing parts of the body with little idea of the way the whole looks like and why the parts relate to each other and react to each other. It fails to explain why people take to it. And only by so doing will we know why it comes and how to get rid of it. It is a plea to be led, usually by a man; it is to obey somehting or somebody outside yourself; it is to deny yourself, ourselves; it is to be hard, rigid and violent; it is to oppress people into rigid roles- women at home giving birth and serving the master of the house, the men out at work loyally and obedient to the production process and its mastersthe boss and capital, and at the same time master in his own home. The children to obey at home, at school and on the street, by father, teacher and police (sorry I don't seem to have room for the social workers, doctors, lawyers, and the reps. of other institutions). Get the picture?

A National Front candidate is standing in Sutton-in-Ashfield this week after having come third in the Stechford by-election. Locally, they are to stand in 3 Nottingham wards in the local elections on May 5th.: Bridge and Trent; Portland & Radford; and Wollaton.

The Nottingham Anti-Fascist Committee has been campaigning against the Front. It will be giving out leaflets in these areas. If you want to help, the address to contact is 126-128, Derby Road, Nottingham.

"If you don't..." is bringing out this week a Special issue on Fascism. If you want copies ring 708302 or try Mushroom on Heathcote St. This 'll cost you.

THEALTERMATIVE TO THE ALTERMATIVE BOWN TO EARTH IS TO OPEN SOON ON MANSFIELD ROAD....

DEATH OF THE STATE?

"More than ever today are happy homes needed. It is my hope that this book (Married Love) may serve the State by adding to their numbers...... The only secure basis for a present day State is the welding of its units in marriage; but there is rottenness and danger at the foundations of the State if many of the marriages are unhappy."

Marie Stopes 1918

alternative socialism

The 2nd. ALTERNATIVE SOCIALISM bulletin is out. It has been put together in Leeds, mainly by a group of women. It tends to be more alternative than socialist and most of its analysis is on the personal as political.

I think the women tend to see it as a growth after their involvement in the Women's Movement.

If you want a copy they are 10p. from me, Manuel or ring 600337, or write direct to Kathleen Watson, 22, Stanmore Rd., Leeds, 4. You got to send 15p., which includes postage if you want it from Kath.

Here's a quote from it:

What is philosophy? Looking for a black cat in a dark room.

What is Marxist philosophy? Looking for a cat in a dark room, but there is no cat.

What is Marxist-Leninist philosophy?
Looking for a black cat in a dark room except there is no cat, but every so often you shout 'I've got it, I've got it'.

RIP OFF The first issue is out NOW: free

It has been put together most nicely (sic) by Paul and John. I suppose it has developed out of not finding satisfaction with "If you don't ... "; it lays quite alot of importance on dope, and its type of humour. But at least its got some humour, if you want it. There's some good things on sexism and women but an abortion article, advocating that the foetus has a right to life gives it a moralistic tone. No one has the right to life, such that you can sit down over a cup of tea or sherry and discuss the merits of the argument. This is moralistic guiltridden middle-class shit. If a woman wants to have a child, great; if a

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woman does not want to have a child, great TOO!

I was thinking that as well as all the other arguments and attitudes for the STRUGGLE For WOMEN TO CHOOSE WHAT TO DO WITH THEIR LIFE, THAT IS HOW TO CONDUCT IT, which John B. outlines in the next article in Rip Off, there is so much here to do with the role of women as SUFFERING FOR OTHERS bit; for the kids and the man; denying one's own choice to fulfill others. Add to this the spices of humility, tenderness, and care and you've got yourself a real 'live' oppressed woman.

It's all that bit, which you probably remember as a child, being told by adults and parents, how 'we did this for you and that for you'. I could almost choke on

regurgitated guilt!

Because this is all so tied up with having safe contraception (or rather perhaps the result of the lack of it) and this having historically been directed as a woman's resposibility mainly, in the next issue I'll probably write a thing about men and contraception. Being gay or having had a vasectomy, as I have, seems to make quite a difference.

spanish women ---Keeping or trying to keep my ear to the ground on Spain; one of the most notable changes there in the past year has been the rise of the women's movement. My mum has just got back and with her friends went on demonstrations, met lots of other women who are struggling to change their lives, shared in the lokking after of kids. She came back really excited after 40 years of oppression. Not that much has changed for women yet. She was on a demo. with many other women outside a court which was passing sentence on a woman for adultery and her lover. They were each given a one year sentence in prison, and her two kids taken from her. They don't touch men for adultery. I've made contacts with people there so I'll have news from there. I could translate if people wanted me to.

you don't need a degree to read the writing on the wall

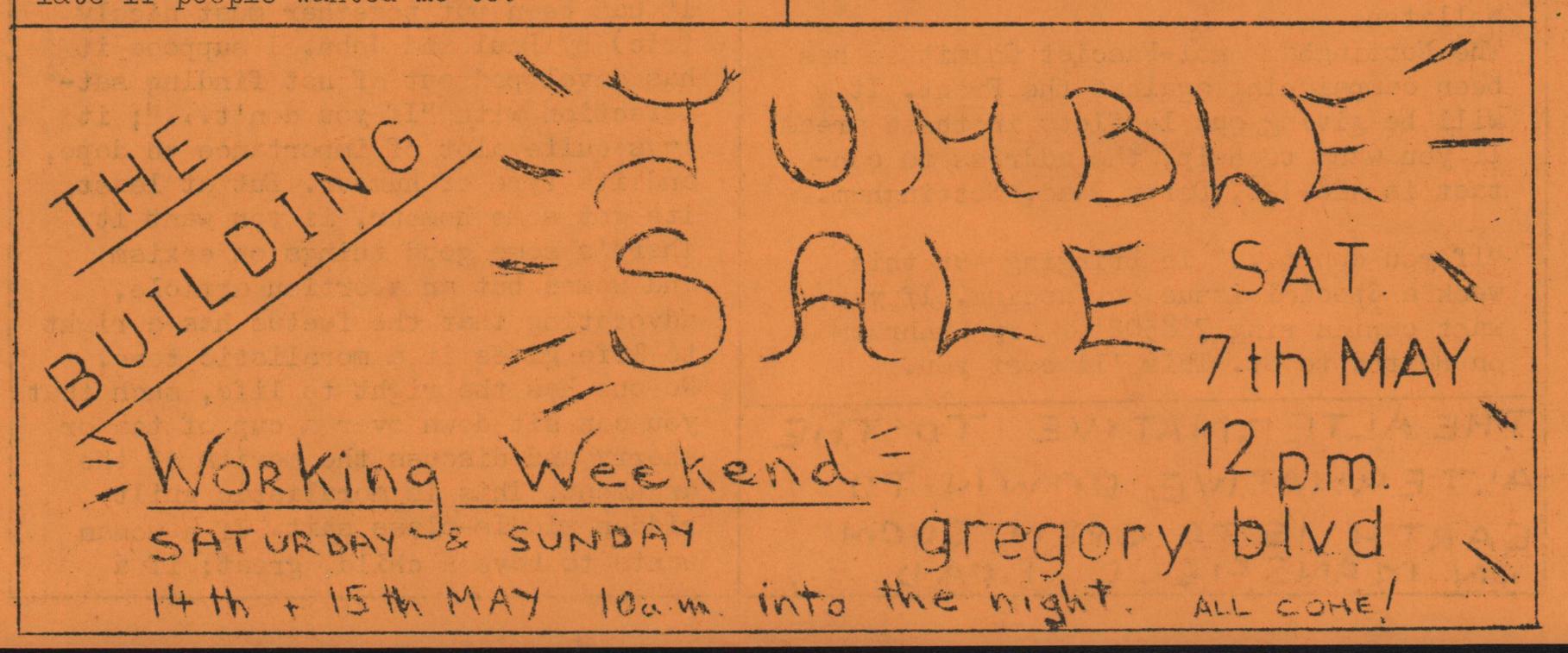
I saw this 9 paged article at Lynda's, 44, Holden St., and is one of the most exciting things I've read for a long time. Lynda is ordering some if you want one. Price 10p. She said they were charging 5p. to working class women at the Leicester Women's Conference. You won't know why till you've read it. Evelyn Farrer says:

"This article is not meant to be an economic class analysis. It was first written for the 1976 Shrew -'Women, Don't Break Down, Break Out'. I withdrew it from that group - I mean group, it was is no sense a collective - because of their classist attitudes. Roll on the day when middle class women break down their classism and break out as our sisters....

It was written primarily, hopefully, for other working class women who think and feel as I do.

It was written secondarilly to confront the middle class women who control this Women's Liberation Movement about their own classism."

Ithelped me clarify alot of what I was feeling but without knowing what it was. "Working class women who come into the women's Liberation movement are expected to adapt to (manale class women). This is especially fierce for working class lesbians. We're already outsiders ... Basically it's all about going to meetings, conferences, social events and all the other paraphernalia of wlm and feeling uncomfortable, uneasy, tense, bored, confused sometimes because we're in a middle class environment. It's about h hearing millions of words flying around our heads and it's not that we don't understand them, it's that they come from a different reality, a middle class women's consciousness,"



THE DE-PULLITUISATION OF THE POLITICAL????? Just before 'if you don't' went out I heard that meetings are being held and contacts extended in Nottingham around the publication named Gyroscope. I've felt excluded for a long time from the theoretical practice of the left, mainly because of my class origins but also because -as a gay person-it took an understanding of feminism to give me a breathing space to question my attitudes'+confidence to change my life. FEMINISM has always been to me a way of relating my expereince of sexual, political and emotional confusion and powerlessness to 'broader' things: my class position, my gender. It's also offered possible ways to help me change them. It is a method, an acitivity, a good feelin I DON'T FEEL OPPRESSED and angry in straight-political situations just because I'm gay, though. Its also because I see no advange in the way many socialist groups take up' sexism, gay workers, abortion etc. as 'single issues'. Of course I feel glad that gay sisters and brothers dont have a heavy time in trade unions, and that womens role in the family is being related to 'more important' issues. At the same time, I can't help feeling that 'feminism'-which developed from our anger, from our expereince of oppression- is being given a role itself in the same old structures. And its being given a back seat. (Unfortunately, the more radical feminist criticism of straightleft 'intervention' attacks individual women more & kken often than aiming to strentghen the wlm , the fight against capital/patriarchy.) The autonomous nature of the struggle of women, blacks and gays against sexism and racism has rarely been understood and learn from by the left. MANY PEOPLE FEEL the need to relate in unhurtful, productive ways to others, to

be able to-choose how we want to live, to be 'sexually self-determined' and so on...that's why many people join womens, socialists and gay groups after all, isn't it?IT'S BECAUSE THE LEFT neglicts peoples insecurities, spontaneity, confusions that makes it 'a man's life in todays revolutionary organisation'. Our frustration when the oppressive characteristics of left groups make it hard to make socialism a conterent expression of revolutionary struggle...well, we get to feel its our own fault after all...we end up feeling guilty, (we have not 'made it politically'), we're scared of losing friendships, of speaking out. The 'struggle to change material and social relations'often degenerates into personal antagonisms, sectarianism, confrontation and conflict...amongst ourselve GYROSCOPE IS AN EXAMPLE of the growth of interest (derived from a collision of feminism, marxism, and ideas about personal liberation) in the 'personal and the political! Despite it whirring away somewhere above my head, I see it as a valid attempt to clarify these questions in a supportive and productive way. I think i it would be a shame if the whole area just became another theoretical battelfie eld(already sections of the left compete for the 'cprrect' analysis of the family, for the 'correct' postion on domestic labour etc.) - and I'd like to see the discussions that have been proposed in Nottingham broadened 1. To make 'gyroscope' less central. 2. To help make everyone feel confident about taking part. 3. To clear up what it is people might be interestep in talking about (I feel for example most interested at the moment in looking into psychoanalysis and feminism), and to help us help each other understand things a bit more (reading groups?discussions?films?) I'D LIKE TO ... support the meetin that people have proposed, but I'm glad Icould say what I felt about it. Ron.

WE'VE BEEN TRYING TO FIND A TITLE FOR THIS THAT DOESN'T USE THE WORD 'CULTURE'.

Several people in Nottingham like making posters. Ohter peple also make films, or have gotten involved in various activities (street theatre, printing, music) both from the confidence that they've found from the womens movementetc.etc.and also as a way to spread news information ideas about socialism to other people. Still, the rumour does persist that its only a few pepple who print all these pamphlets, wand that its not so surprising because 1. theyre a clique and 2. its hard to learn anyway. Some of us who have learnt skills want to find out what other people are doing, what other resources there are in the area, how we can learn together. Sounds very practical doesnt it? But theres also the need, as revolutionaries, to look at how its not only lack of skill that prevents as, prefents everyone, from expressing their ideas about the world. It also depends on how much money you have, how many of you there are. At the same time we want to look into things like popular(?) songs, films(Hollywood or 'socialist') music andso on (the list is endless) and see how they reinforce male, racist, views of the world. And how we can make it clear to each other, to urselves, what we might mean by feminist writing, socialist films, nonracist music etc. Some feel that the emphasis should be more practical (a 'skill' heterosexuality") whilst others feel that theory needs to be sorted out heterosexuality" as a priority. Contact Maggie at 601593/Ron 76410.to arrange meeting.....next2weeks

WHY A CO-OPERATIVE ACTION GROUP?

The Co-operative movement has traditionally played an active role, both in national affairs and on the international scene. Co-operators have campaigned for peace, for cutting the armaments programme and for international solidarity with brothers and sisters in other countries, particularly in the third world.

Holding down prices in wartime, providing credit and material aid for workers on strike and waging campaigns for nursery education and equal rights for women are amongst the many issues on which co-operators have fought, along with other sections of the Labour Movement, right throughout its history.

The Co-operative movement has provided a training ground for working class women who have thus been enabled to take part in the public life of Britain. Racialism and predjudice of any kind is an anathema to the Co-op creed.

At the same time, during the last 20 years there has been a diminishing of social and political activity and a concentration on trade. This is due to, a number of reasons. Firstly the need to counter the growing competition from multiples, whose thrusting drive to expand could force the Co-ops out of business; secondly the technoligical and social changes in society which made Co-operative business more sophisticated, requiring larger societies and the kind of management and expertise not so necessary in the small Co-ops of prewear days; and thirdly the desperate shortage of socially committed activists to provide lay leadership and promote the Co-operative traditions and activities which aim at bringing about social and political change and a better life for all working people in a socialist Britain.

The winning of the trade battle is essential to the working class of Britain. With the Co-ops out of the way and diminishing competition, the few remaining multiples could club together to fix food prices. Socially conscious people should should support the Co-ops.

Co-operatives are also an important form of public ownership which should be expanded into other spheres of the economy lake agriculture, housing and certain industries as an alternative to nationalisation.

However, many people do not recognise the 6o-operatives as an important vehicle for social and democratic advance. Yet, with more involvement of Co-aperative Society members in half-yearly meetings, in Co-operative Auxiliaries, standing for committees, voting in elections, influencing Co-operative policies, helping to organise and promote activities, the movement could be brought back into the arena of political affairs and an all round defence of the interests of the British people. This would reinforce the efforts of the Co-op party which is a very small section of the total movement, and would greatly strengthen the total battle of the British Labour movement for economic, social and political change.

The structure of the Co-operative societies does not allow for the involvement of members in Auxiliaries and in committee work. But general meetings, where all members can come together, only take place at best twice each year. Therefore a number of local members decided to form a Co-operative Action Group, an unofficial self supporting body, where interested people can come together to discuss and learn about Co-operative affairs, win support for the Co-operative idea and promotecontinued on BOOKS page activity.

Our next meeting is on SUNDAY MAY 8th. Anyone interested in joining us or requiring more information should contact Jean Stansfield at: '40 Uppingham Crescent, West Bridgeford Nottingham. Tel:812806

- Books available from MUSHROOM, 10 Heathcote Street, Hockley. Tel 582506 Open daily 10.30 - 6.00 except thursday and sunday.
- NON SEXIST TEACHING MATERIALS & APPROACHES £1 New Childhood Press
 Books, pamphlets, magazines, slides, articles, groups
 Records, film, games, kits, tape, sources... and more.
 This is a very full source and resource book.
- IDAF PUBLICATIONS 40/60p International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. Mushroom now stock a wide range of the IDAF booklets etc which give comprehensive backgrounds and briefings on a wide range of topics connected with reactionary policies in Southern Africa and Rhodesia.
- MIND THAT CHILD 65p Tom Kitwood & Marie Macey. Writers & Readers Co-op
 ' A same and critical look at the basis of recent attacks
 on the work of Britain's primary school teachers.'
- CORONATION CUPS & JAM JARS 95p Ron Barnes. Centerprise Publishing.

 London cab driver Ron Barnes' second book is a portrait

 of an East End family through three generations.
- TO BE A SLAVE Julius Lester, Puffin Children's Books. 'Can you imagine what its like to be a slave? Can you think of yourself as being owned by somebody else, justvas you might own a dog or a bike?' This book is selected extracts from the 1930 US Federal Writers Project verbatim records of interviews with ex slaves which gives a vivid picture of how slaves felt about slavery. (Temp. out of stock at Mushroom)

TAMARISK TREE £1,95 Virago. Dora Russell's autobiography.

GYROSCOPE MEETING SUNDAY 8 MAY 2,30 AT 23 MANSFIEL GROVE, NTTM

Gyroscope is a newsletter/discussion paper arising from a group of people who have been discussing the split in our behaviour and our ideas between what is 'personal' and what is 'political'. Gyroscope puts forward the idea of starting a public journal as a forum for this discussion. Some of us that have been involved would like people interested in this and any related questions to get together to discuss them, so there will be a meeting (as detailed above)

We dont have any idea what common ground there is amongst various people that have seen Gyroscope, and we hope anyone interested in any aspect of the whole area can come. Perhaps then we can sort out whether we can work together on other projects... further meetings/discussions... whatever.. EVERYONE WELCOME

Copies of Gyroscope can be got from the above address. Tel 43081

Why a Co-operative Action Group(Continued). A list of aims has been drawn up. The group is at present meeting monthly, but will eventually meet bimonthly with a policy sub-committee meeting in between. Important issues like improving the national strength of the movement through a single National Federation, the development of the new Midland Co-operative Society and local matters of concern to GNCS members will be discussed at meetings already planned. Policy statements on matters like prices, consumer protection, member and employee involvement, poverty, the social contract etc., will be issued from time to time. We intend to the Co-op view and the Co-op contribution to public affairs.

FASCISTON EXHBITON

QUEENS WALK COMMUNITY CENTRE

Anti Fascist Exhibition All day Mon May 2 & Tue May 3

Public meeting: 7.30 Mon 2 May Fascism today and how to fight it THE BUILDING FOREST GREEN COMMUNITY

Gregory Boulevard (nr library)

Anti fascist exhibition and slides: discussion meeting Monday 9 May at 7.30

TOWARDS A NEW REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST ORGANISATION:

MEETIN TUESDAY 10 MAY 8.00PM 23 MANSFIELD GROVE NOTTINGHAM

To discuss the outline of a proposal to revolutionaries and working class vanguards published in the Big Flame manifesto. Copies phone 789826 or or from Mushroom bookshop.

To quote from the manifesto; "... the intended aim of this manifesto is not to recruit into the Big Flame organisation. It is a manifesto for a new organisation. ... The manifesto is not the completed basis for an already formed organisation. It is a document to set into motion a process of discussion. The manifesto tries to put together many of the things we have learned. It also tries to clarify and systematise the ideas that have developed among sections of the socialist movement trying to break from certain traditional models of organisation and politics. But we are not arrogant enough to believe that we know all the answers.

The suggestion is that two meetings are held - May 10 is the first - firstly discussing these sections: pre and post war capitalism; working class resistance; the composition of the industrial working class; white collar workers; students and youth; autonomous struggles of women; of black people; struggle in personal

The second meeting to discuss: Reformism and Popular Power; Trade Unions; Party and class; International Perspectives.

life.



AT THE BUILDING EVERY FRIDAY 9-12

FOREST GREEN COMMUNITY GREGORY BVD.