

General Secretary Miss Mildred Nevile

CATL (Nottingham)

TA USY OT THOMAS



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the water and the

Dear Commades,

Would you like to join an international study on domination and oppression?

This might seem a strange question! But let me explain why I am writing.

In most countries of the world, the "chiefs" who take decisions don't know what ordinary people want. Nor do they bother to find out. Ordinary people just have to fit in. This is a form of domination. Many, many people are oppressed as a result.

It is widespread. And it doesn't happen only in Russia, Uganda or Chile. We suffer from oppression and domination here too!

So what do we do about it?

Up and down the country people are fighting back, through tenants groups, claimants unions, women's groups, action groups, trades unions and so on. People who feel pushed about or neglected are asserting their right to be heard - and heeded.

Groups like yours around the world are linking up through the study for "Society Overcoming Domination". It is this study project you are invited to join. The purpose? To learn from eachother, not just tactics for getting the Council to do something (for example). But how to understand who is dominating us, how they do it, why they do it. And, how we can best overcome i

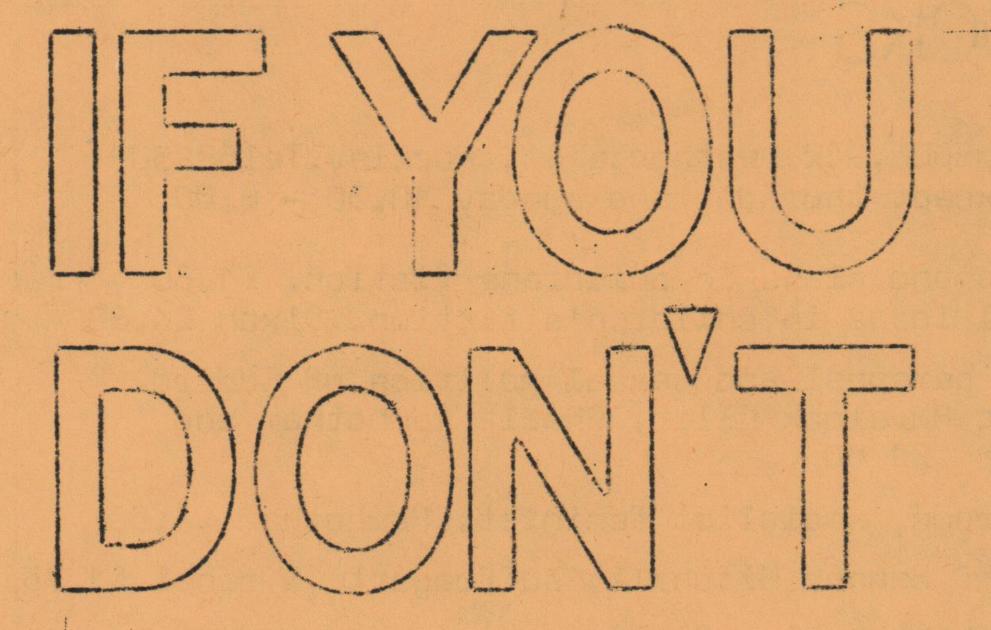
Are you interested in joining the project?

Are you in touch with other groups who might be interested? Do you have a newsletter in which you could tell more people about the project?

If the answer is "Yes", please write to me, or to the secretariat in Paris (see attached paper). You will then receive the Case Studies. These are . written by ordinary people, about their own experiences. The language isn't posh. But they are real. That you do with the case studies is up to you. Perhaps they will help you deepen your understanding of your own situation. Perhaps you will want to write about yourselves?

Anyway, feel free to write and ask for more information. And please tell me if there is anyone else you think I should write to.





IF YOU DON'T is probably at its best as a newsletter/ diary for left Nottingham where a wide range of contacts from a non sectarian base has encouraged a reasonable flow of information and campaign news to be forthcoming. Occasionally good feature articles have apeared but me have not gone out much to seek or write features which which fit particularly with the loose political perspective of the editorial non collective.

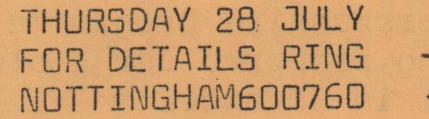
Nor do we readily apply criticism or comment to articles which although include we don't neccessaryly agree with or at least feel that they could be more valid if given some political context. We also feel that we include a number of pieces which are fairly self indulgent, written/ written badly with little or no consideration for the reader, not getting to very many people and often completely out of touch with more than a handful of socialists/communists/liberals/feminists/alternativists.

Those of us who are most involved feel that our energies and resources may not be well directed in publishing the weaker material but nor do we see ourselves as wanting to take control of the features, editing them or commenting etc. On the positive side we would like to build on the strengths of IF YOU DON'T as a newsletter, information source and contact point. As far as features go, we have talked of cutting them out altogether, good or bad, but this barely seems realistic since such a hard line would be diffacult to stick to choosing what went in in a very invidious way. So now we see features as taking a very second place but not being excluded. Against this we hope to improve the newsletter function with emphasis on the diary etc and with reports on campaigns, announcements of forthcoming events and pieces seeking interest/support in new ventures of not more than half a page in length with the purpose being as clear and explicit as possible. This means that we would hope to loose the two sides of rambling around an event but that simple announcements of 'demo on the Forest' in support of this or that would have space to describe their purpose more fully.

From you the contributor we would like any such announcements to be with us 10 days before the end of the month and possibly later by arrangement. Hopefully you will agree with our idea of limiting such announcements to half a page maximum (including layout) and try to fit in with this. Whether you agree or not, it would be nice if you came to the next IF YOU DONT'MEETING atOPM WEDNESDAY 10 AUGUST AT 15 Scotholme Avenue Hyson Green.

Next issue will be for the month of September so please get dates, info etc to us by 20th August if atall possible.

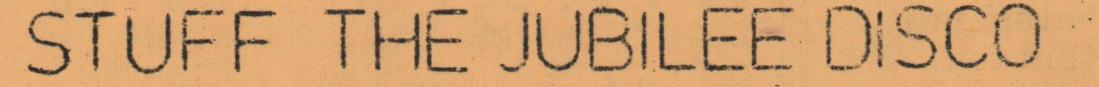
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BOOKS BOOKS BOOKS

Books at MUSHROOM, 10 Heathcote St, Hockley.Tel582506 Open daily except thursday and sunday 10.30 - 6.00

CATCHING THEM YOUNG 1 Sex, race and class in childrens fiction. £1.80 CATCHING THEM YOUNG 2 Political ideas in children's fiction. Dixon £1.80 SOCIALISM AND THE NEW LIFE The personal and sexual politics of Eddard Carpenter and Havelock Ellis. Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks £1.80

A NEW WORLD FOR WOMEN Stella Brown, socialist feminist. Rowbotham £1.50 THE HARD WAY UP Autobiography of Hannah Mitchell, suffragette & rebel £1.75 THE SCIENCE AND POLITICS OF IQ Leon Karin £0.95p

USEFUL TOIL Autobiographies of working people from th 1820s to the 1920s John Burnett £1,00

TWO PAMPHLETS FROM BLACK BEAR: FEMINISM AS ANARCHISM Lynne Farrow 20p ANARCHO FEMINISM: two statements 9p

ZERO No 1 Anarchist/Anarca Feminist monthly - articles on Anarchy in Spain, Marie Louise Bernein, reviews, news etc 20p MOVEMENT AGAINST MONARCHY STICKERS: rot all rulers, God saves the Queen

but he doesnt pay the bills, MAAM crest. 1p each SHREW Issues on work and matriarchy 30p MARX FOR BEGINNERS Back in stock SOUTHERN AFRICA AFTER SOWETO Pluto Press £2.00 SQUATTERS: MYTH AND FACT Self help housing resource library 10p BATTERED WOMEN AND THE NEW LAW Coote/Gill NCCL/Interaction 60p NEW SONGS, NEWTUNES A song book from Hackney & Islington Music Workshop 60p GROWING UP GAY A youth liberation pamphlet from Mochoga 45p

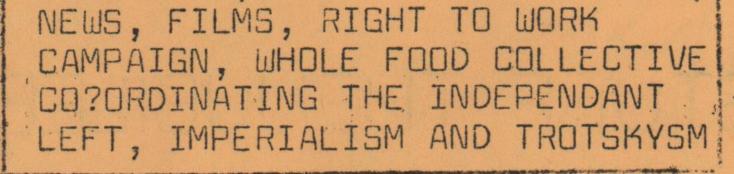
FILMS Good news from the film theatre: From September friday nights at the film theatre are being given over to alternative programming and the first series of films loosely grouped under the title Challenge to Imperialism will probably include: Antonio Das Mortas (Brazil) The Guns (Brazil) Blood of the Condor (Bolivia) Emitai (Senegal) Battle of Chile Ireland behind the Wire Battle of 10 Million (Cuba) Minimata (Japan)

PLUS! In November the Joris Ivens documentary record of present day China 'How Yukong Moved the Mountains'. 12 hours of brilliant film that gives an incredible reality to socialism even if you know that it hasn't been achieved and that what is shown cannot be the whole picture. (Insidiously Utopian- Financial Times)

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Letter to Jane/Vietnam Journey

Comprehensive programme notes are being prepared for distribution well in advance,



SMASHED

During the recent 'Jubilee' holiday Mushroom had its window smashed while National Front stickers were stuck all over that shop and over the Peoples' Centre. A few days later, the latest copy of the NF News and this letter was pushed through Mushroom's letterbox.

"Comrade,

I send to you with thanks for support, propogandawise, the latest NF news. Please note headlines and as you can see your silly childlike insinuations have bettered our course more than I am sure you would have dared to dream. Please print more of your work so we can get more votes.

When will you finally come to your senses and accept as you might have seen on T.V. that the British people love the Queen and its country and I am sure will never accept your ideology. So do this this country a big favour, pack your bags and get back to Moscow.

yours truly

a Nationalist

ps Please print a reply on your window so I can see your silly reply when I come off my shift work at 2.0 clock, you see I am a worker and not a scrounger.

Nationalist

The Nationalist seems to be saying that comment against the National Front has worked in their favour and helped them increase their vote. Of course, the people who work in Mushroom are neither from Moscow nor do deserve the title of scrounger since they run a very important local bookshop. The only scrounging hinted at in the letter is the queen. (No-one 'lives off the state - the state lives off the people).

THREE AGAINST THE STATE

Last Febuary, three people spent an evening talking together Each of them could now go to prison for fourteen years. The three people are those charged under the official secrets act and the story behind their arresta has been briefly told in the last couple of If You Don'ts.

InLondon the Aubrey/Berry/Campbell and the Agee/Hosenball defence campaigns have decided to come together to create a Movement Against State Security. In their first newsletter they are intent on "raising the fundamental question of just whos' 'national security' is endangered". MASA intends to campaign on matters of covert action, secret surveillance, and uneccessary official secrecy by governments and their agencies'.

In Nottingham some people think it is vital to aid the defence campaign of the three facing charges under the Official Secrets Act and to work with MASA to try and prevent the same thing happening to other militants whose investigative

work comes into conflict with notions of state security.

To this end a meeting is being held to discuss what we can do. Everyone is welcome - please remember 3 people face 14 years inside. Meeting: 21st July 7.30 at 49 Constance Street, New Basford If you are interested but can't make it please write or drop in

THE OUROBORUS WHOLEFOOD COLLECTIVE

The Ouroborus Wholefood Collective is made up of seven members; we came together because of our mutual desire to work collectively and shared interest in the production, retailing and preperation of wholefoods. This was a culmination of individual initiatives resulting from the frustration of our existing work situations.

A common ground for us was the fundemental commodity, food: the exploitation which occurs during its production and marketing affects everyone everyday. We want to stimulate our customers to an awareness of present patterns of food production, processing and consumption, and their ultimate results (eg the degradation of the land and the denaturing of food for profit).

We have all had contact with a variety of wholefood shops, and two of us have worked in Down to Earth (Nottm). We found that to work with wholefoods which is generally viewed as an "alternative" does not automatically produce an "alternative" work situation. Without a commitment to collective working, wholefoods are just as liable to be exploited for profit as any other commodity.

Unfortunately, we think this is true of Down to Earth , which, giving the impression of being a community venture, run co-operatively, attracts people who would not otherwise give their support.

In this case, where workers are divorced from decision-making and where private consumption for profit is the goal, a real community base cannot be achieved. Our collective organisation is not limited by these restraints, but requires mutual support between the shop and the community, and direct links with local food producers.

Finally, working collectively brings into question other areas not directly connected with food, this is most apparent in our development towards succesful self-management and a capacity for mutual co-operation, with both concepts challenging the expectations of the hierarchical organisations with whom we have frequent contact.

Post script: - this article is just an introduction which we hope to expand in later issues; when hopefully we'll have more time to do it, and better! We've certainly learned a lot about how to write collectively - give yourself a lot of time.

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OUROBOROS WHOLEFOODS COLLECTIVE 37 MANSFIELD ROAD NOTTINGHAM

WOMEN'S MEETINGS/CONTACTS

Women's Aid/Refuge. Meetings 1st & 3rd mons. Phone 624547 Lesbian Group. Social meeting every Tues. Phone char 76410 Abortion Campaign every wednesday at the Women's Centre Women's Group every thursday at hth Women's Centre 26 Newcastle Chambers, Angel Row. Thurs July 21 Action around childbirth. Thurs July 28 planning for regional Women's Liberation Conference.

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RIGHT TO WORK CAMPAIGN 1977

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There will be an unemployed march to Blackpool TUC

Conference Fri Sept 2 - Tue Sept 6. For further details attend regular meetings every thursday organised by the Right to Work Campaign and the Socialist Workers Party at the International Community Centre, 61b Mansfield Road, Nottingham or contact 15 Cropwell Road, Radcliffe-on-Trent. Phone 600760

For some time now I've been collecting cuttings and reports about this new movement which started around 5 years ago. It has been particularly close to me because the Garibaldi Comprehensive school which I was sacked from, has since my dismissal been arsonised twice. And having known the kids there, it all fits somehow.

NEW SCHOOL BLAZE ARSON?

This cutting from the Evening Post, June 21st. appeared on the front page together with the main feature on "...VIOLENCE FLARES..." at Grunwick, and "Buses: Militant Action Warning". These ocurring together is no coincidence. It is a growing resilience and resistence to being pushed around, a reflection of the worsening economic conditions in Britain. The police suspect an 11 year old lad. Two days before a mobile classroom at Padstow Comprehensive was burnt down. Cost: £10,000. Arson suspected. And there are many examples like these, usually at a far greater cost.

One of the interesting things about this wave is that much of it seems to be happening in Nottingham and the County. I'm not sure why; perhaps the frustration of the moderate East Midlands is getting out now.

Last year over £1m. of schooling was burnt to the ground, most of it arson and rarely have those that done it been caught. At first the schools were predominantly secondary schools, but now it's about half secondary half primary. Those caught are mainly boys, but the proportion of girls is growing each year. I could understand this, because at Garibaldi it. was the girls, from 1st. year to 5th. year who were the greater problem for teachers. Mind you this was a working class area. In the 6th form the girls were very tamed. But young people from middle class families are becoming very prominant now. I'm sure the raising of the school leaving age nearly 4 years ago has much to do with it, and most recently, of course, the prospect of going straight on the dole queue, at 16. The increasing pointlessness of schooling as a fruitful activity seems to be growing, which is what the progressive teaching movement grew to do something about. It's failure is apparent, even though research has found that school vandalism mainly occurs in more formal schools. But it does occur in them alot. They have simply stemmed the onslaught, because the structure of lessons and the curriculum is more game oriented, more likely to hold the attention a bit longer of children. Especially when I think back to when I was a 4th former doing "King Soloman's Mines " for an English lesson. Work is more interesting now but the basic problems are still there. A change of lesson quickly breaks the same teacher directing the information, even though it 's not so obvious . Manipulation is now at it's height. You just have a greater range of approaches now; it surprises me that many libertarians and revolutionaries don't see this and apply an analysis not only to the function of schools but the way they work and children's struggles. It is those that are kept under who will throw off the oppressive and it's agents, like teachers! ARSON IS A WAY!



TO BLAZES WITH SCHOOL

BACK IN THE LATE 1960's and early 1970's we can see a new thinking emerging about kids, parenthood, and especially education (which derives from the Greek "to obey"), that is schooling and schools.

This wave was part of those movements which were occuring all over the world amongst students, workers, neighbourhood groups, in music, etc. I've never really understood why it all happened around 1968, as the 1848 uprisings.

Schooling really got a good looking at because some people, especially post-university students in the arts subjects were becoming aware of the process by which we are socialised into being exploited, insecure, repressed, submissive, etc. One thing that it made me realise was that there was a huge gap between the Marxist analysis of the process of capitalist production and the process by which its values, ideology and thinking is developed in those that are exploited, and by and large accepted. Suddenly, Marx was not around to see the growth of an enormous superstructure in the developed capitalist and 'socialist'societies, which is still growing. As working class resistence in Britain increased in the late 19th century against employers in the form especially of trade unions, and the economy required more and more skilled workers and administrators, the institutions which we now take for granted, even in our analysis, began to surge in numbers and power over peoples lives. These include the government, civil service, schools and further education, social workers, the army, the police, etc. The purpose and role of these institutions was and is to organise and direct people into non-resistence towards and obeyance of those in power and authority, which serves as a front or defence to employers, investors, finance companies, multi-national companies and all those who live off the work of others.

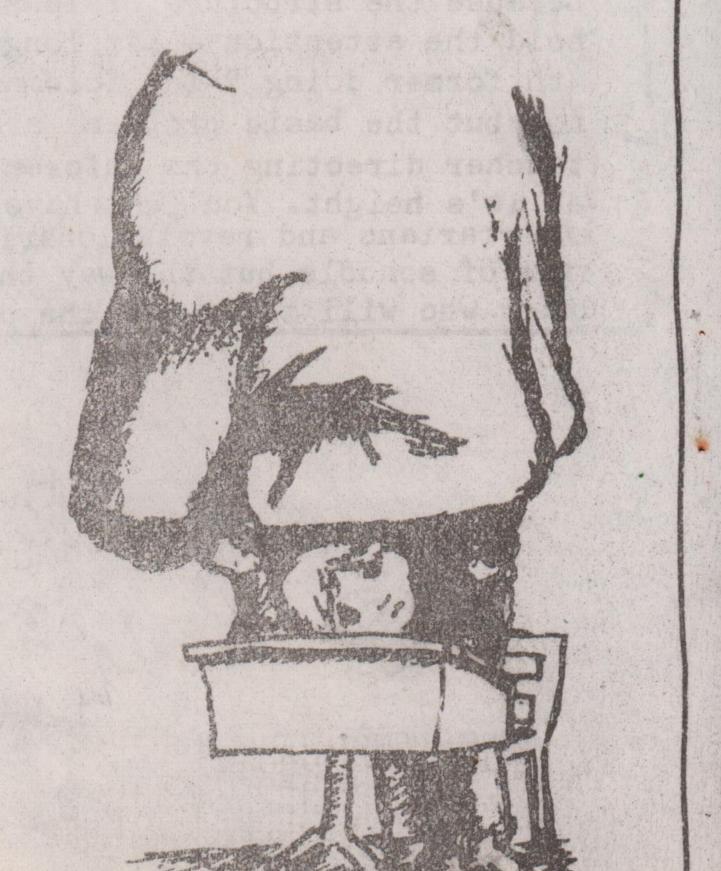
Some of these institutions use direct force, like the army and sometimes the police, and others use more subtle forms of persuasion and socialisation, like the schools, social workers, hospitals, local government, etc. I hope I'm making myself clearthese institutions repress and socialise, and those that work in them do it. Those who try not to get sucked in, leave, get sacked, or attempt to plod along, often doing things they don't agree with; it becomes a job.

And whilst many of us will campaign or support groups of workers, women, blacks, gays, etc., young people in schools are usually ignored now. It seems perhaps that in growing more Marxist and class conscious, we loose sight of the roots of these as they develop in children and their response to it all.

So those in the late 60's who questioned schooling became interested in free schools and other alternative processes. Many of these were in working class areas, but had huge money problems and insufficient commitment, and hindrances from the Dept. of Education and local authorities. Many closed down. A few still carry on, but most today seem to be privileged places for the middle class. By the mid-70's the free school movement was virtually over, even though others carried on somehow. As usual the actions of the children was rarely locked at or supported.

The reason for this is probably that as adults intere sted in kids or schooling we have got too near the appeal of the progressive teacher movement and see things more through their eyes than the kids themselves. We have friends and comrades who are teachers.

AND WHAT ARE THESE YOUNG PEOPLE DOING? WHAT ARE THEY DOING TO RESIST THE MOULDING PROCESS FOR CLASSIFICATION INTO JOBS?



It seems to have varied enormously from daydreaming to

the new wave of

My understanding is that a considerable number of people have developed politically to find themselves and put themselves <u>outside</u> of capitalist development. Being outside of capitalist development includes these things:

no longer expecting satisfaction through work - og loyalty to the firm, promotion

no longer expecting satisfaction through home and family - eg having the biggest colour T.v. on the street; seeking your <u>own</u> future as what your children make of themselves

refusing the union officials or labour party hacks career

having your own little business or your own little house There are many more examples. It means realising there's no future for yourself, your friends or your class in capitalist society.

However, since such political development usually takes place collectively (in a womens' group/movement; as part of a rents or workplace struggle etc) AND THE COLLECTIVE SITUATION EVENTUALLY VANISHES, there ends up being many FISH OUT OF WATER. Isolated feminists, black activists, militants & communists.

CONTINUING THE STRUGGLE

The problem then is how do communists connect with the new situations?

situations of continuous but limited struggle eg in schools the more open struggles like occupations of housing depts the new politically developing people

Being active in your own workplace, its union etc or in your local housing estates and its organisations is very understandable.Even more understandable is gaining support and direction from the womens', gay or black movements. But also, there needs to be more. As to how more general revolutionary organisation is created, I really don't know. It can't be declared.

INFORMAL CONTACT IS INADEQUATE

I do know that the informal contact that exists between activists in the various movements and struggles and groups isn't adequate.

It doesn't face up to conflicts between say factory militants and black militants or feminists&punk rock rebelling youth; these conflicts need to be faced up to, argued out, changes made, real unity forged.

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It doesn't allow collective theoretical growth.

It doesn't allow for any kind of way to get involved with other people's daily struggles (eg black youth getting hassled by the police; wonen being hassled by kerb crawlers, lesbians receiving taunts; the time and motion man breathing down your neck at work, or the foreman; seeing through the lure and the lies of the school cargers officer or the naked authority of the truancy officer; the Social Security trying on loans instead of grants for what you need) It doesn't allow any principled collective way of getting involved/ intervening in mass struggles like Grunwicks or Cuts demos. And as for INTERNATIONALISM - that gets almost ignored.

I also know that the overall and political development of working class struggle can only take place through the connection of all those daily and mass and international struggles. I'm not suggesting any one answer, but I do think a <u>political collective</u> would be part of the answer. I'm not in everyone's situation....however, I'm longing to get together with a lot of other fish, test the water a little way out from where I'm paddling now and swim about a bit.

PRACTICALLY A series of meetings and actions, very practically aimed and deliberately chosen, trying to work with other people might act to bring people politically together.

FISH OUT OF WATER continued

Current ideas include those of us men not already involved offer to help with the WOMEN UNITE AGAINST RAPE flyposting; similarly with Anti Jubilee flyposting. Effecient support for the Grunwicks strikers, both momey and information, support and so on.

However, before any thing else is set up I think there should be a meeting on WOMENS! SEPERATE ORGANISATION AND MIXED (WOMEN AND MEN) ORGANISATION. Such a discussion could also begin to think about black autonomy. Many black people have left Socialist Groups (like the departure of the black caucus from the Socialist Workers Party recently) in the same way that women have left such organisations.

In what ways do women want to work politically : when with men, when not? How do men want to act politically?

Other ideas * Invite a couple of members of Big Flame to come to Nottm because their ideas and ways of organising (eg base groups in working class estates or factories) are certainly worth discussing. Have say a couple of meetings one widely advertised on the BF manifesto, attracting as many people as possible, with speakers etc and a second less formal for those who want to discuss BF at greater length.

* meetings on 'More money and Less Work' (a counter to the Right to Work campaign); supporting the black youths arrested in Vic Centre recently, How to Fight the Cuts? Internationalism.

If there is to be more co-ordinated working together by the 'Independent Left' and moves to form a political collective I think it should start with the meeting suggested above (or something like it) on WOMENS' AND

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25th June 77 Keith Venables

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Big Flame publications:

THE REVOLUTION UNFINISHED - A CRITIQUE OF TROTSKYISM

by Paul Thompson and Guy Lewis 50p

"A major, non-sectarian critique of the dominant revolutionary tendency in Britain today - likely to become a major point of discussion on the left in the coming months"

CRISIS IN EDUCATION

by Big Flame Teachers

30p

"Big Flames analysis of progressivism is one of the best sections of the pamphlet. Progressivism highlights the conflict between education and the demands of the labour market. Right wing attacks on progressivism are 'helped by the fact that progressivism is an easy target. While it does pose important questions and therefore engendours controversy, it does not get to the root of the problem of education, so its critique of traditional methods is not watertight.". "

"We must restore the concept of education as a means of emancipation of the whole of the working class, rather than individual and often illusory attempts to climb the social scale."

"Their analysis is Marxist, concentrating on capitalism's use of 'education' to meet its labour needs, and hardly mentioning power/personal relations in schools. They want to see a campaign. that goes beyond the Cuts to question what education is for"

Extracts from reviews in The Leveller, April ; Labour Leader, March and Peace News February 1977, all quoted on the back cover.

INTERNATIONAL STUDY ... FOR SOCIETY OVERCOMING DOMINATION

The letter reprinted inside front cover was received by the Nottingham CACTL (Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law) group. It appears here because it may prove interesting/useful to tenants groups or other activists. I have mixed feelings about it. The "attached paper" referred to gives the background and aims of the study, commemorating (amongst other things) the 10th anniversary of John XXIII's encyclical "Pacem in Terris". What? Yet the study assumes that "the key to understanding domination is the consciousness of the dominated", which is compatible with the libertarian aim of change from the bottom up or with "the great are only great because we are on our knees . . . If all submissiveness ceased it would be all over with lordship". You can receive case studies without submitting your own, which seems to do away with the fear that it is a CIA plot. But I wonder how many of the studies contain information about domination by the (Catholic) church. If you want any more information please contact "If you don't". If anyone writes to the study please let us know the outcome.

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MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION

The first meeting of the Midlands Anarchist Federation was held at Warwick University in early May, formed by anarchist groups from Birmingham, Warwick University and Leicester. The Federation is seen as being primarily concerned with communication and support between anarchist groups on broad issues (e.g. the Murrays defence aampaign) and more localised matters where extra support is often welcome. One of the aims of the Federation is to encourage the formation of new groups. The Federation will hold regular conferences (at least every 2 months) and produce a newsletter. If anyone is interested in the Federation or in forming some type of discussion on the formation of a group in Nottingham contact Graham via "If you don't". (Maybe a longer bit in the next issue.)

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COMMUNITY ARTS/CRAFTS WORKSHOP

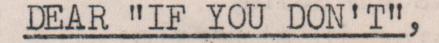
If you are interested in getting involved in/helping set up an Arts/Crafts Workshop, which could cater for whatever interests develop and hopefully extend out into the community in as many ways as possible, please contact

Glenn Broughton, 6 Dovecote Lane, Beeston, Nottingham 250407

All ideas, suggestions, support, premises etc. welcomed.

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I am/was one of those people who was "upset" by Manny's diatribe against anti-abortionists in "If you don't" 17. The longer article in the last issue (18) did nothing to clarify my understanding of his views. Perhaps what is needed is to sit down over a cup of tea and discuss the merits of the argument. Much better than hurling disguised insults in print or setting up Aunt Sallies. The pro-abortionist lobby has done wonders in polarising the "right to choose" arguments so that all anti-abortionists, that is those who think abortion is morally wrong, are the baddies, and proabortionists are the goodies. I'd like to put forward some arguments (admittedly as a man) about abortion, morals and class.

Manny writed that "<u>Any</u> sort of pressure on a woman to give birth is horrendous". I feel the same about any sort of pressure on women to have an abortion. Abortion is a <u>moral</u> issue and any decision by a woman to (or not to) have a child or an abortion should be made with full realisation of the moral arguments involved. Propaganda that seeks to discredit the moral arguments about abortion("an egg is not a chicken") or that pretend that politics is all ("a beautiful tool for capitalism to thrive on") does nothing to help understand life and death which is what I think it is all really about. But let's get it clear: as an anti-abortionistsI am not in favour of the State (or any person) restricting the facilities available for women to have abortions. I am not in favour of any anti-abortion law, but then as an anarchist I am not in favour of any law at all. What I am in favour of is an understanding that people do have different opinions on moral questions and that, no matter how much Marxists try, the anti-abortionist is not necessarily a tool of the governement, of industry too, destined to rule and regulate you.

From what I've written it may be thought that I would support slogan "A Woman's Right to Choose". But no! Using Manny's analysis of class I see the concept of political rights as a middle class concept which is part of a "front, a pacifier, a manipulator, preventing working class growth". A few days ago Lord Hailsham gave a speech in favour of a Bill of Rights: the idea has lafge Tory support. Libertarians have for some time criticised the concept of the "right to work". Most people on the Left know that the right to free speech is a farce and that the right to strike is a privilege that is periodically taken from us when we are naughty. So what price the "right to choose"? Bakunin wrote that "nothing has had a more harmful influence on the workers than has bourgeious political liberty". That needs to be thought about seriously by people who claim the "right" to do anything. Perhaps I should say that I offer critical support to the NAC. I'll support moves to keep open abortion facilities but at the same time remain an anti-abortionist'.

I prefer the slogan "Fight to Live" because that's what it's all about. In this or any other (real or yet to be realised) society, life is a struggle not a right. The price of freedom really is eternal vigilance and appeals for the right to anything merely serve to confuse the difference between moral and political rights. Moral rights may exist but are purely abstract. Political rights do not and can never exist.

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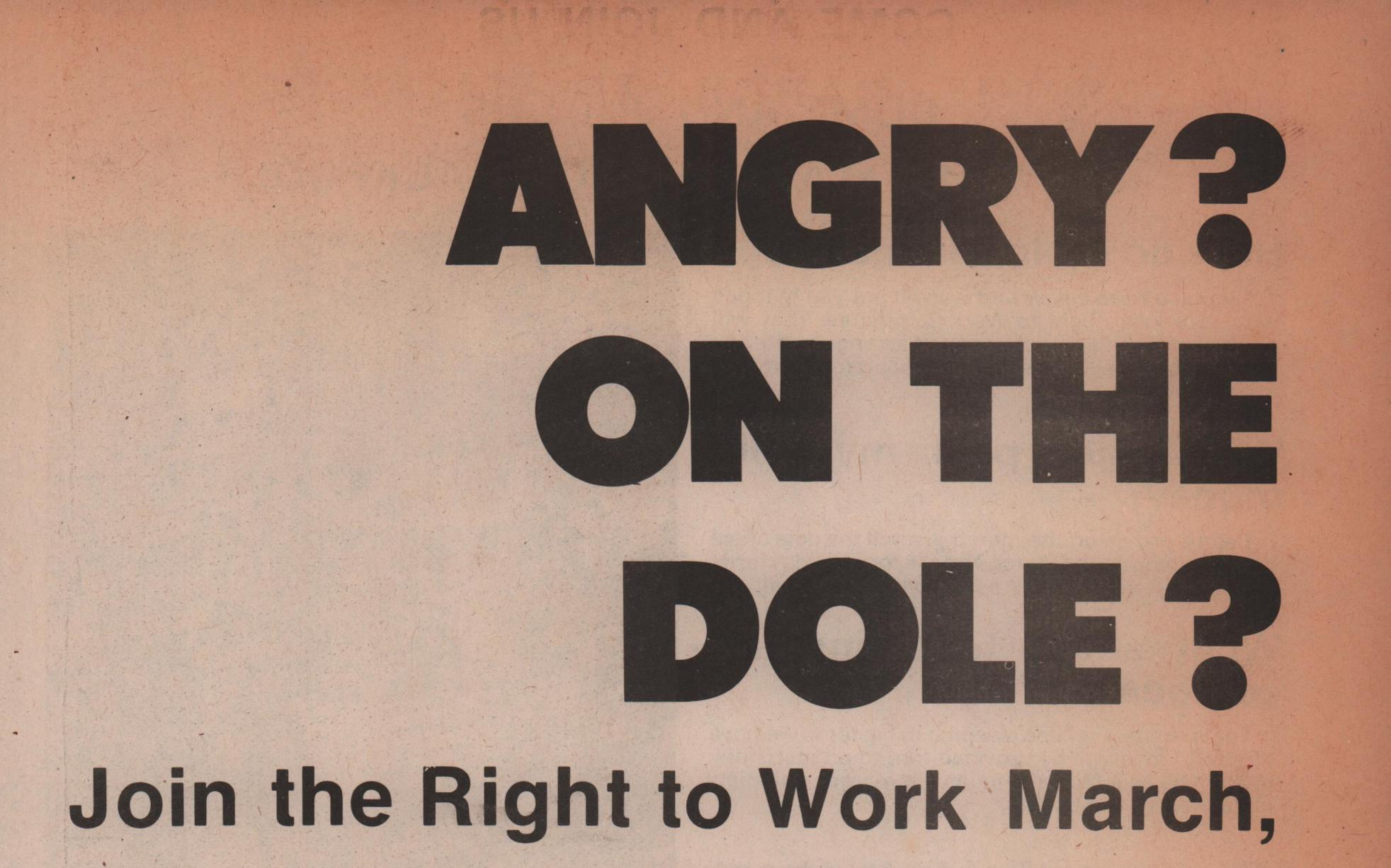
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"Anarchism is not synonymous with irresponsibility and chaos. Indeed, it offers meaningful alternatives to the outdated organisational and policymaking practices of the left. The basic anarchist form of organisation is a small group, volitionally organised and maintained, which must work toward defining the oppression of its members and what form their struggle for liberation must take.

Organising women in the New Left and Marxist left, is viewed as amassing troops for the Revolution. But we affirm that each woman joining in struggle is the Revolution. WE ARE THE REVOLUTION!

The spirit of the women is just too large to be guided and manipudated by a movement. Small groups, acting on their own and deciding upon their own actions are the logical expression of revolutionary women."

Black Rose Anarcho-feminists



Liverpool to Blackpool 2 to 7 September

How long have we got to put up with the dole?

You leave school just to be told, 'No job, no future, hard luck!' They shut down factories and even throw whole towns on the dole. Then they have the cheek to call us scroungers.

The real scroungers have a really good time. You don't see the Queen having to sign on. She lives it up with her jubilee.

The bosses don't worry about how they can afford a night out. Politicians are never short of a few bob. And you never see the Prime Minister queueing to cash his giro.

These are the people who put us on the dole. They're the real scroungers. They're living off our backs.

They say they're very worried about unemploy-

Black and white together we must fight the real scroungers who have got us into this mess.

Trade union leaders are paid to fight for jobs. We are going to march to the Blackpool Trades Union Congress to tell them to pull their fingers out.

Most of them will be meeting for their once yearly binge. They stay in posh hotels, eat expensive dinners, swill drinks with their mates. And they will decide our future.

Most want more of their Social Contract which has left us jobless.

But not all trade unionists are like the leaders of the TUC. Many rank and file trade unionists have been fighting back. The ones fighting the police at Grunwicks are the same people who will fight for our right to work. Some of them will be at the TUC at Blackpool.

Together we can get a real fight for jobs going.

This why the Right to Work Campaign is marching to Blackpool.

ment. But all they offer us are useless job creation schemes that don't solve any problems. Even worse, fascists and the National Front try to blame it all on black people. It takes more guts to fight unemployment than look for scapegoats. Don't listen to the cowards who blame blacks.

COME AND JOIN US ON THE MARCH. Black and white. Men and women. We're in the same boat. Its down to us to stir up a real struggle for the right to work,

MARCH FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK.

COME AND JOIN US ON THE MARCH TO BLACKPOOL.

How do I join the march?

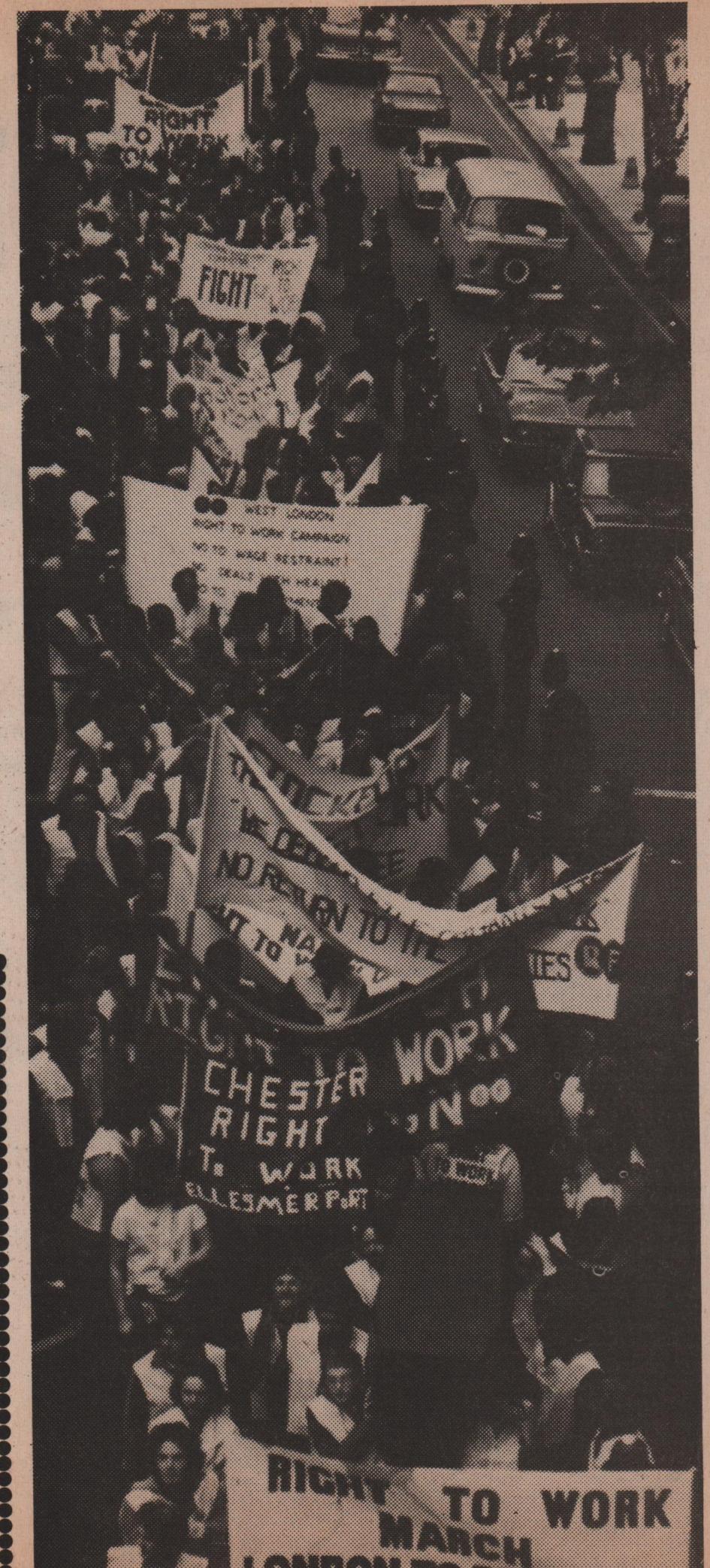
Fill in the form below and we will put you in touch with your local Right to Work Committee. They will give you all the details of transport arrangements and tell you how they will be raising support for the march in your area.

Will I get paid my dole money?

Before you go on the march just tell the dole office you are going on the march and ask for a holiday form. You will get your money paid to you as normal.

What about food and accomodation?

The marchers will be sleeping in big tents we have hired. All food will be provided free to all marchers. We will be collecting the money from trade unionists up and down the country.



What sort of entertainment is laid on?

Big dances and discos are being organised for every town we will be in. Several punk rock, rock and reggae bands have already offered their services. While we are telling them that we've got the right to work we'll make sure we have a good time. It will all be free for the marchers.

Please tick and return to the Right to Work Campaign, Rank and File Centre, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

□ I would like more information about the Right to Work March.

I would like to join the march.

Name

Address



ARTHUR SCARGILL WALKS ON WATER.

On Monday July 11th over 15,000 people gathered near the GRUNWICK FACTORY in North London to demonstrate their support of the 11 month old strike that has been taking place there.

The strike began after a great deal of harassment of the workers at this film processing factory. Accounts can be found in nost left, immigrant and womens' papers. The current Race Today has a special feature on the strike and the recent <u>Samaj an</u> <u>Babylon</u> an interesting interview with Mrs Desai, a leader of the strike committee.

The particular points I want to raise here are about theoriginal aims of the strike and the way the labour movement has taken it up.

The factory employed sweated labour. Mainly <u>immigrants</u>, both asian and W. Indian, and a large proportion of <u>women</u>. In the forefront of the strike committee have been asian women and <u>men</u>. The <u>wages</u> in the factory and the conditions have been exceptionally bad.

After taking the decision to resist the management and to strike the workers joined the union, APEX. The owner of the factory, George Ward, with backing throughout the right-wing of the Tory party and others representing the hard edge of Big Industry, was certainly not going to allow the strikers to get their demands met and neither would he allow a trade union to act for the workers.

From there, 11 months ago, because of the persistence of the

E

MEETING

strikers, a great deal of support has been summoned to the struggle.

The issue has become about whether or not the TRADE UNION will be recognised in Grunwick. This has brought out thousands of trade unionists giving their aid in various ways. BUT THE TRADE UNIONS ARE BOTH THE STRENGTH AND THE WEAKNESS OF WORKING CLASS POWER.

When the Yorkshire Miners welcomed their famous militant leader, Arthur Scargill, to the back gate of Grunwicks during the big picket on Monday they sang 'Arthur Scargill walks on water'. This bit of humour was about the power of the trade union rank and file which has dealt many blows to the system, smashed open the gates of Saltley Depot (in 1972 miners' strike) etc. If it hadn't been for that trade union left we wouldn't have had thousands of people there, neither could we have stopped the bus until mid day from crossing the picket line, nor turned back the police on their horses, nor many times broken through the police lines.

At the ame time, when the leadership of the trade union left asked the pickets to join the diversionary demo a mile from the gates, they complied and followed, leaving enough space for the managements bus to take the strike breakers to work. Perhaps, it's true that the strike committee also wanted everyone to join the Trades Council demo in the distance. However, that strike committee has again and again refused the advice of the trade union movement and its left and instead, stuck out in the struggle, continued mass picketting, asked for support.

The unions and the militant rank and file "orking through those unions will only be able to achieve a certain amount. IT IS

SIGNIGICANT THAT THE STRIKE COMMITTEE IS MADE UP OF ASIANS AND INCLUDES A LARGE PROPORTION OF WOMEN. Being outside the habits and ways of thinking of the labour movement, the trade unions, the labour party, they have been prepared to take strike action and hold out when most of the l-bour movement is still sticking to the SOCIAL CONTRACT. I fell we havetto watch out for the weakness of that trade union movement. keith

PLEASE DONT SELL ME REVOLUTION WHEN ITS FREEDOM THAT I NEED

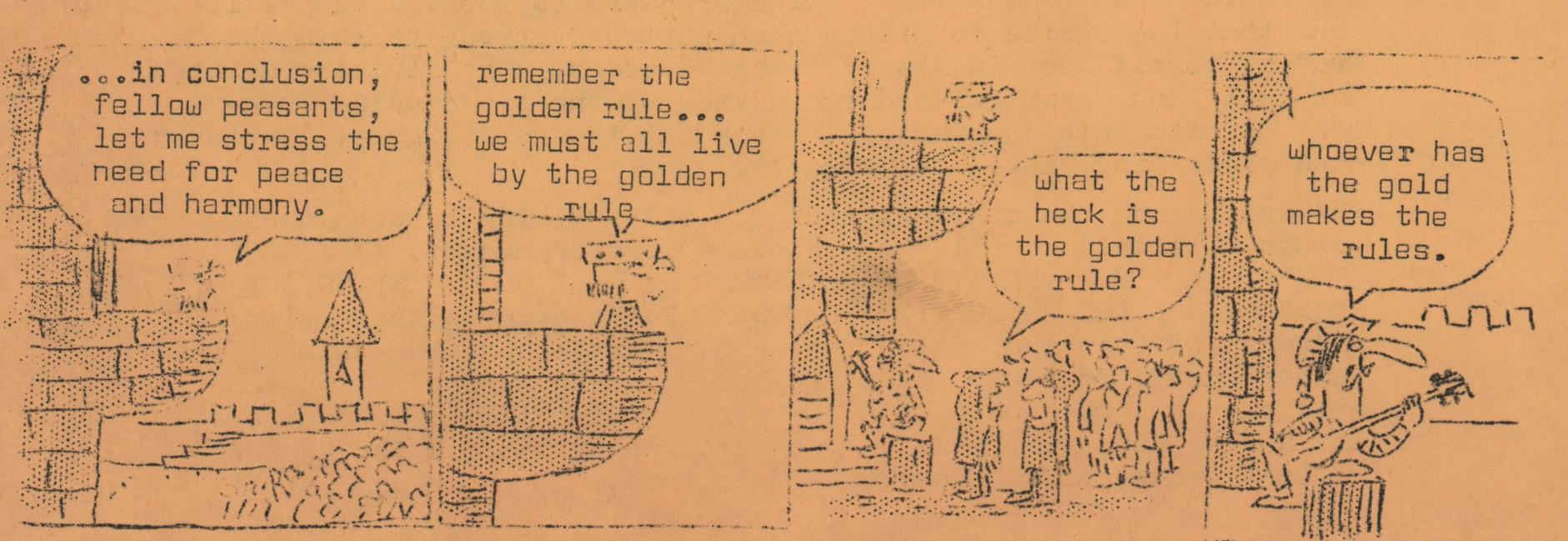
.... As a Summerhillian, I ask A.S, Neill (since he thinks politics is so unimportant), how come there aren't free schools all over the place? As a Bucky Fuller groupie, I ask does he think those who now have power over production are going to simply give it up to the design-scientist? As a hip culturist, I ask how come the sexual revolution ary roles are the same as in the 'old' culture. As a feminist, I ask how come there just aren't many black women in the movement? As a lesbian, I ask how can we label everything that is lousy 'hetrosexual', when others might label it 'white', 'adult' or'upper class' with as much(or as little) justification? As a marxist, I ask how come the 'workers' believe capitalism is working for them - given their aspirations, could it be true? As an anarchist, I ask how come there are so many anarchists who can't deal with the freedom of their own children?

I want to liberate life. I reject the idea that there is one primary exclusive explanation for human unfreedom, out of which all other forms of unfreedom supposedly develop

.... I want control over my life and some open space for change. For me open space and change come from the same place: political awareness. For me, politics is real, it's a necessary guide. It's not a head-trip; it's a feeling in my bones.

Traditional enemies are easy to recognise - they are straightforward about their interests. But what about political people? What about friends who have been into political consciousness for years, but whose politics go out of the window whenever they relate to their own lives? I get mad when two friends (a hetrosexual married couple) go into therapy and all of a sudden become 'equally oppressed', What happened to his power over her? Where did their politics go? Do they think sexual politics is true in general and not true, specifically, for them? I get mad at friends who tell me not to be so uptight, when I know that their looseness really comes from not taking responsibility for their own oppression. I get mad at friends whose political terminology includes 'the politics of everyday life', but whose personal reality is still quarded and full of bullshit. They see the politics of everybody else's everyday life but their own. I get mad at myself when I realize Ive assumed that something should be easy for me(writing this book for instance) when it's hard for most women. It means I'm seeing other women as oppressed victims - but I see myself as somehow impervious to all that. Ah yes, the 'exceptional woman' - I've heard that before.

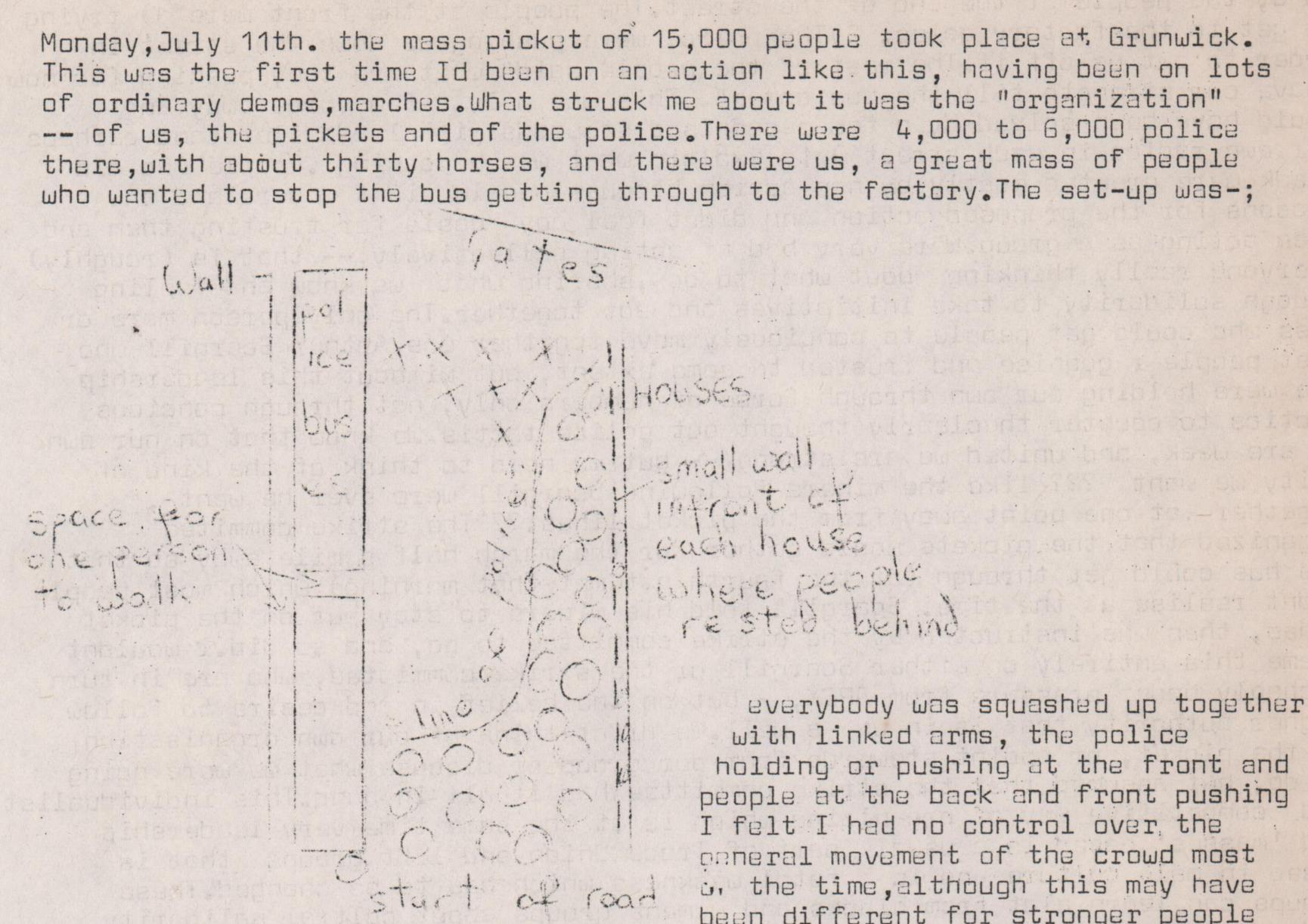
Friends criticize me for letting politics'get in my way'. Well politics is my way Politics has been in the way of my freedom all my life. Politics will be in my way until I'm a free person. (Extracts from Begin at the Start - Times Change Press - By Sue Negrin)



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GRUNWICK



holding or pushing at the front and people at the back and front pushing been different for stronger people

with alot of people they knew beside them. It was a case of keeping upright with my feet on the gruond, peopleresponded instantly when people fell, to ease the crush and pick them up, both police and us.I alternated between being in the struggle: and being chucked out by police or recovering at the side, I was surprised at how unscared Iwas. The police had control of one exit of the tube station that they used to take off arrested people without confrontation-others were placed in th · police vans that took up one pavement so that we could only be on one side of the road. (NO)

Police attack down the street-----

Police had linked arms, with alternate ones with hands clenched together , and held free. 'loose' police hussled people off the side and pushed, shoved, pulled and hit people individually along a corridor of policemen (trying to scare us) and saying- "well, you shouldnt be here, we dont want you to get hurt " then going through a gap in the buses and back down the street. Individuals at the front, where it was roughest, being let out -- you couldnt rejoin the struggle because of the line of police and had to walk back. The organised violence of the police made

alot of people , including me, very angry, not scared. The police are obviously organized in a heirachy, they know each other and they know who to obey, theyve all got radios, and so they know whats happening from one street to another as well as at each end of thier street. Theyre also trained in crowd tactics, which we' re not. There was a great lack of communication, we didnt know much or we didnt know how to talk to

each other about how to move as a crowd to get to where we wanted to be people didnt know what was happening from one end of the street to the other eg a move would start drivng up the street- by the people at the front, but wasnt followed up by the people at the end of the street. The poeple at the front were 1) trying to get to the factory gates. 2) The police were pushing us down the street in order to get us off it. The rest of the people said" what are they pushing for now -save our strength till the bus comes". This was only a few yards away and could have been solved by a few recognised stewards with loudhailers (and perhaps our own radios in each street) to explain what was happening .People who did speak were greeted mostly by non-action because people didnt understand the reasons for the proposed_action and didnt feel any basis for trusting them and then acting as a group. Were very bad at acting collectively, -- that is (roughly) everyone really thinking about what to do , sharing what we know and feeling enuogh solidarity to take initiatives and act together. The only person more or less who could get people to conciously move together was Arthur Scargill who most people regognise and trusted to some extent, but without this leadership we were holding our own through force of numbers only, not through concious tactics to counter theclearly thought out police tactis. We know that on our own we are weak, and united we are strong -- but we need to think of the kind of unity we want ??? like the miners following Scargill were ever he went , together ,at one point away from the picket lines.???The strike commitee organized that the pickets would gather for the march half a mile away so that the bus could get through (at the fourth attempt that morning) which most people didnt realise at the time. Scargill told his miners to stay put on the picket lines, then was instructed by the strike committee to go, and so did. I wouldnt blame this entirely on either Scargill or the strike committee, who are in turn probably under pressure from APEX, - but on the belief in and desire to follow higher authority that is in us swell. We didnt think of our own organisation of the picket, or apoint stewards from our group or discuss what we were going to do, but assumed that the strike committee had it all in hand. This individualistic and competitive way of organizing which is at the same time very leadership and 'masses' based is a usual part of Trade Union and left groups that is based in male culture and is a fatal weakness which has to be changed. These groups can learn alot from blacks and womens groups about cultral solidarity and non-competitive collective action. maggie

CHA.RT COGNITION I am a I am knocking My fist is stuck revolutionary on wood . to my head

I am pulling the I am nervously I am showing you communication cord asking a bus to which hand has the stop sweetie

IMPERIALISM AND TROTSKYISM

The article 'Maoism and Fascism' published by If You Don't criticised a leaflet on 'China and Chile' put out by the Nottingham Communist Group. Rather than deal with these criticisms here the NCG refers readers to our shortly forthcoming pamphlet on the international situation and China's foreign policy. What we will do here is take up a fundamental question raised by the 'Maoism and Fascism' article, the question of imperialism.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF CAPITALISM

The article on 'Maoism and Fascism' states:

"The final refutation of any remaining vestiges of Marxism appear in the statement, "the main contradiction in the world today is between the oppressed nations and the imperialist superpowers." Marx's identification of the interests of capital and labour as the main contradiction in bourgeois societies is "corrected" by these comrades with their superpower "theory"."

The meaning of this statement is very clear. It claims that by identifying the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the Third World and the imperialist superpowers as the main or principal contradiction in the world today Marxist-Leninists depart from the fundamental tenets of Marxism.

Let us note that it was Lenin who first put forward the thesis that it is the contradiction between the oppressed nations and the imperialist countries which is the principal contradiction of the monopoly stage of development of capitalism. It might then be asked: Does Lenin's thesis depart from the fundamental tenets of Marxism? Of course, the answer is: No, it does not. The apparent confusion here arises from the Trotskyists' failure to grasp and apply materialist dialectics to the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in the world today. In particular they ignore, (or more likely are simply unaware), of the distinction between the basic, fundamental contradiction of capitalism which constitutes its very essence and the different principal contradictions deriving from the basic contradiction and apparent at the successive stages of development of capitalism.

The basic contradiction of capitalism is that between the social organisation of production and the private ownership of the means of production and it persists throughout the whole course of development of capitalism, from its beginning until its end. All the other contradictions of capitalist society are determined by this basic contradiction. There are three main concrete manifestations of this basic contradiction: 1. Between the mode of production and the mode of exchange 2. Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie 3. Between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology These contradictions and all the other contradictions of capitalism, (e.g. between town and countryside), are interrelated as parts of the same social totality. They arise out of and are integrally tied to the basic contradiction. We can now see that it is somewhat mislcading to claim, as our Trotskyist polemicist does, that the "main contradiction in bourgeois societies" is the clash "of the interests of capital and labour". The contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie is but one of the three main concrete manifestations of the basic contradiction. These two classes were brought into existence by the emergence of capitalist commodity production and not vice versa.

LENIN'S THEORY OF IMPERIALISM

Capitalist society passes through a number of stages of development. Its course of development is determined by the basic contradiction. The contradiction between the mode of production and the mode of exchange gives rise to the expansive character of the capitalist economy. Capitalism steadily and unavoidably increases its output of commodities and thus has to continually find new markets and sources of raw materials. This has meant that the industrialized capitalist countries have drawn the whole world into the orbit of the capitalist market. And this stage of capitalism, when it breaks out of national boundaries and invades, oppresses and exploits the people of the whole world, was correctly identified by Lenin as the stage of monopoly capitalism, of imperialism. This expansion of capital into the underdeveloped countries prevents, or rather postpones, the internal contradictions of the advanced capitalist countries intensifying to the point where there would be a very severe breakdown of the home economies and a consequent intensification of the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Imporialism prolongs the life of the advanced capitalist societies past the limit that would be imposed if they were unable to expand beyond their home markets.

Given this Leninist analysis, it is easy to see why the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations is the principal contradiction of the monopoly stage of the development of capitalism. Capitalism can only continue to survive by means of imperialist domination and as long as it prevails over the oppressed nations it can contain the antagonistic contradictions within itself, such as that between the working class and the capitalist class. The future existence of capitalism is dependent upon the maintenance of imperialist domination. It follows that as the oppressed peoples of the underdeveloped countries start to resist and fight against imperialism this contradiction intensifies. During the twentieth century there has been a rising tide of national liberation movements throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America. Revolution is the main trend in the underdeveloped countries today. What is more, the degree to which objective conditions favourable to revolution in the advanced capitalist countries develop depends to a considerable extent on the measure of success achieved by the anti-imperialist offensive in the Third World.

It should now be clear even "for the feeble-minded", (to quote our . Trotskyist), that the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations is the principal contradiction in the world today and that it arises directly out of the basic contradiction of capitalism as manifested in the contradiction between the mode of production and the mode of exchange. In Lenin's day there were a number of leading imperialist countries with more or less the same amount of economic and military power. Now two imperialist superpowers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., have emerged as the contenders for world domination. Thus, the principal contradiction in the world today is between the countries of the Third World and U.S. and Soviet imperialism.

LENIMISM AND TROTSLYISM

One point is now clear. Trotskyism's claim of belonging to Lenin's school of revolutionary theory and practice is completely spurious. The Trotskyists reject a central principle of Leninism: the theory of imperialism. China's foreign policy is based on this Leninist perspective. Back in 1963, in the polemic with the Soviet revisionists, the Communist Party of China stated:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

and:

"In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

Yet the Trotskyists continually denounce China while at the same time apologizing for the blatant aggression of Soviet social imperialism; e.g. the invasion of Angola by 2,000 KGB men and 15,000 Cuban troops. Trotskyism may justly be described as counter-revolution in disguise.

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NOTTINGHAM COMMUNIST GROUP c/o Flat 2, 10 Villa Road, Nottingham NG3 4GG.

DIARY DIARY DIARY

Wed

Fri

Tues 19 July TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT public meeting on why 'troops out now' getting British troops out of Ulster. 7.30 at the ICC*

20 July GRUNWICKS metting to discuss further action in and from Nottingham in support of the Grunwick workers strike. 7.30 at Queens Walk Community Centre, Queens Drive, The Meadows. MOVEMENT AGAINST STATE SECURITY 'Three Against the State' Thurs 21 July meeting (see article in this issue) 7.30 at 49 Constance St.

NO PLATFORM FOR THE FASCISTS Anti Fascist Committee 22 July educational meeting around the questions of fighting fascists on the streets and in the halls: Left tactics, do they work, are they the most effective propaganda etc ? (See also The Left and the National Front in If You Don't Pamphlet No 1 Fighting Fascism) Meeting World Affairs Group, 7.30 *166, International Community Centre, 61b Mansfield Road, Nottingham. e hadeun esittud .p.s

:HTYM

: HTYM

Sat 23 July ANTI APARTHEID Mass sale of Anti Apartheid News in the Market Square from 2pm.

25 July Mon to 30 July COMEDIANS is back at the Playhouse. This important and very successful play by Trevor Griffiths is back at the Playhouse for one week only. Among other things ir disturbingly exposes the reactionly nature of supposedly liberal humour and shows it for the thinly disguised racist and

sexist humour that it so often is. Thurs 28 July STUFF THE JUBILEE DISCO for details ring Nottingham 600760 your will it is not considered to

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS There is a heavy, if not obscene, irony about the Gathalic in an international study on domination and oppression (see inside front cover). The Catholic Church has dominated and oppressed the lives of many working men and women, in many countries, for many centuaries. That they now seek a greater understanding of domination and oppression cannot believably be anything but an attempt to strengthen their own position through insights gained by studying detail of late 20th Capitalism or by diverting attention away from their own brand of ideoligical oppression towards the failures of pluralist democracy. More insidious than the direct oppression by the church has been its role as legitimator of secular oppression and capitalist exploitation. Having pre-empted the the position of arbitor of public (and private) morality, the church then at the very best finds it politically expediant to say and do nothing all to often and at the worst to be actually setting examples of oppression such as discrimination against women in the church, slum landlordism etc.

In the late 1930s an Institute for Propaganda Analysis was founded in the USA but (not suprisingly) 'The clergymen were against propaganda analysis as tending to undermine belief and diminish church going'. If and when organised religeon starts to dismantle its power structures and return the property it controls to the people we might believe that its analysis of domination and and oppression was motivated by a desire to help people find their own freedom. Until then, we must mistrust any such initiative as being more realistically a further attempt to keep the reality of domination and oppression hidden from the people lest it were to undermine belief and by aver diminish respect for the ruling class, and their ideoligical legitimators. 111305 EINI BIUN BURB

MEETING PLACE Did you know that there is now available a 120 seat meeting room in the new library in the city centre. Non commercial use rates for hire are: Mon/Fri 1st hour £2.70 with subsequent hours at 80p each. Saturday £3,65 and 80p and Sundays £4.60 and 80p, Booking forms from the library.

tone or follow you in their core

MYTH: Nice girls don't get raped. FACT: Women of all ages, classes, races and lifestyles get raped.

()

- FACT: Rape can involve beating, choking, sexual and mental humiliation, forced oral sex, injury to genitals e.g. bottles pushed up vagina. MYTH: Women enjoy rape!
- MYTH: Rape is an act committed by a man on a woman in a dark alley late at night.
- FACT: Often the man is not a stranger. Almost half of reported rapes occur in the home of the raped

woman or the rapist. (Did you know that if your husband forces you to have sex against your will it is not considered to be rape.)

MYTH: Rapists are in the grip of an uncontrollable sexual urge. FACT: Most rapists are found to have satisfactory sexual relationships elsewhere. Most rapes are planned.

- MYTH: Women make false claims of (77%) being raped.
- FACT: Only 4% of reported rapes are considered to be untrue. Many rapes are never reported.



WHEN WE THINK OF RAPE most of us think of forced sexual intercourse. But women are raped in many other ways every day.

HAVE YOU THOUGHT about men that whistle, rub up against you, make obscene suggest-

DEMONSTRATION SAT 30 JULY

all its forms

WOMEN

ITE AGAII

On monday 4th July six West Indian people were arrested when the police tried out heavy handed tactics in the Tennyson Street area of Nottingham.

For a full and detailed account of this incident see the current (July 16) issue of NOTTINGHAM VOICE.

A defence committee has been formed and a demonstration is being called for Saturday 30th July - details to be announced.

Details later from the Defence Committee c/o 126 Derby Road, The Peoples Centre 33 Mansfield Road, Nottingham Tel 411227. Myshroom Bookshop, Heathcote St.

PLEASE NOTE THIS DATE NOW AND MAKE THIS DEMONSTRATION AN IMPORTANT SHOW OF SOLIDARITY

DEMONSTRATION

SAT 30JULY

ions or follow you in their cars? How do
you feel when men won't leave you alone
in a pub, when all you want is a quiet
drink? And when they have offended you,
are you then afraid to offend them by
telling them to leave you alone?
They call it flattery- We call it VIOLENCE