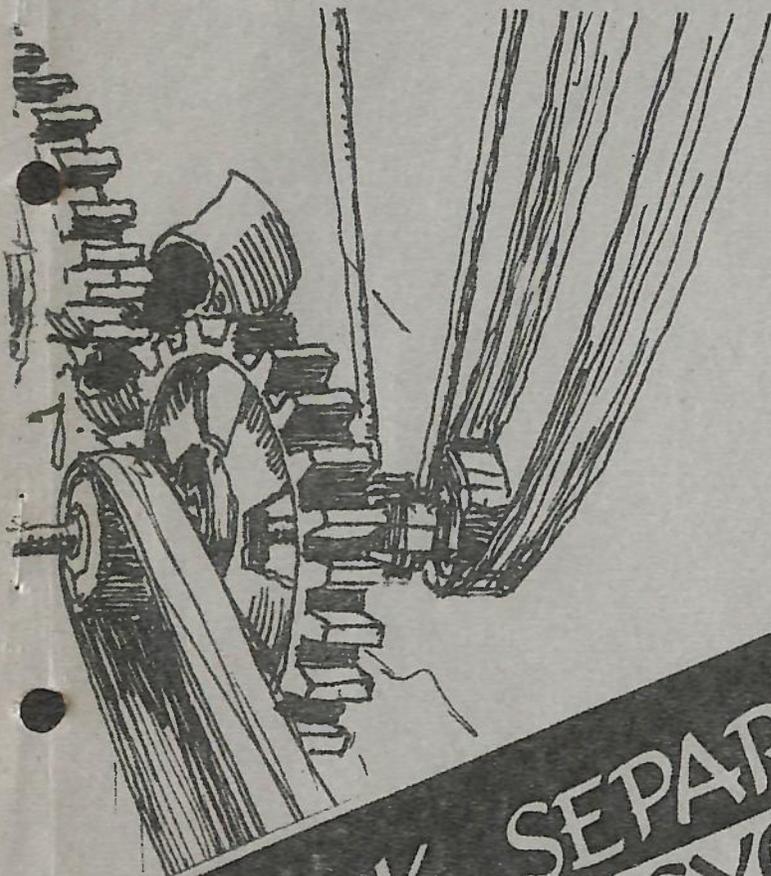


solidarity

FOR WORKERS' POWER

VOLUME 6

NUMBER 7



BLACK SEPARATISM and WHITE SYCOPHANCY

'social responsibility' LTD.?

I.W.C. conference report

T.U. 'left': the end of the road

6^d

BLACK SEPARATISM and WHITE SYCOPHANCY

In vol.VI, no.3 of our paper we published an article on 'Third Worldism or Socialism' in which we stressed that support for the struggle of oppressed people should not necessarily imply support for the political organisations involved in that struggle. What was important was their programme. We strongly criticised some of the more outrageously stalinist statements of the present leaders of the Black Panthers movement. The article generated the combination of misunderstanding and misrepresentation which we have come to expect from many on the left.

We feel it would be interesting to probe deeper into the mechanisms whereby some guilt-laden white radicals uncritically identify with every manifestation of black nationalism - however reactionary. This attitude is part of the general retreat from rationality so prevalent today. In our pamphlet 'The Irrational in Politics' we tried to analyse this phenomenon. The following article - abridged from a text first published in the January 1964 issue of the American journal 'Ergo' (c/o Aileen Cox, 1060 Union St., Brooklyn 25, N.Y.) looks, from a new angle, at the fragility of principles and the success of demagogues.

Why is the world upside-down, inside-out and ass-backwards... Why does revolution end up soft, humanitarianism hard and principles warped... Why, after flirting with a good idea, do people end up lying in the pursuit of truth and fighting dirty for something clean? Why, after a lifetime of fighting hard for black and white unity, do so many black and white American radicals graduate into black separatism?

INTEGRATION OR INGRATIATION

There is a species of white man who is so condescending to the Negro that he endorses anything that any Negro does. He doesn't agree with some Negroes and disagrees with others; he applauds any sign of mental or physical motion exhibited by any Negro.

When a Negro argues for an All-Black Freedom Now Party, he may be motivated by impatience, bitterness, hate, oversimplified attitudes toward attaining identity and dignity - or he may simply be flirting with the Muslims. This, though wrong, may be understandable. A 'liberated' white man should want to fight white supremacy by joining with Negroes in a common fight for common freedom. While doing this, he has to understand the source of the wrong attitudes above, but he does not have to underwrite them!

In the U.S., when a white man endorses an all-black party and its motivations, his position is more than a mistake; it is an example of such a disgusting form of chauvinism that it deserves a new term: ingratiatationism. The white ingratiatationist knows only how to cajole the Negro. He has such a low opinion of the Negro that he can endorse even a bad reaction as a welcome sign of potential advancement. This is the chauvinism of the guilt-ridden white sycophant.

This politically astute, philosophically destitute white chauvinist is really quite condescending toward Negro people. When he discusses white politicians, he differentiates between smart and stupid people, honest and dishonest people, stable and unstable people, reformists and revolutionaries. In discussing Negro politicians, the white sycophant is disdainfully unconcerned with important human differences. In fact he doesn't even see people: he sees only Negroes. He doesn't want to hear what's wrong with a particular viewpoint if that viewpoint is being advocated by a Negro. He reassures himself by quickly referring to his Demagog's Guide - where the first rule reminds him that one doesn't criticize Negroes. This is really selling human beings short. It is a contemptuous attitude because it implies that Negroes are so damn helpless that any sign of life in them is to be appreciated. Truly, to such whites busily dedicated to ingratiatation, all Negroes look alike!

UNITY OR SEPARATISM

We oppose the All-Black Freedom Now Party because it promotes color separatism - inevitably and unavoidably (despite formal reassurances) on the basis of color hate. The inaccurate simplicity of separatism has always been available for the tired and confused freedom fighter. Now its stock has shot up because Muslim success has impressed so many people. In a success-ruptured world, allegedly principled people continue to be seduced by and envious of someone else's unprincipled success.

This color separatism makes a mockery of a million past efforts at black and white unity. How about a hundred years' worth of people and banners all over the world proclaiming 'Black and White Unite!'. How about the people, black and white, who suffered for advancing this slogan 'prematurely'? How about all the people now - with conviction - applauding the separatists who once - with conviction! - made innumerable speeches for unity between black and white? Were they serious then - or now? If they were serious both then and now, then they have to be credited with the singlemindedness of demagogues whose one principle is: say anything! but sell yourself now to this audience!

Unlike separatism, black and white unity is not a simple message; it's a complicated one because there are many factors operating to smash it. When an enlightened but rubbery person gets tired trying to get through

with a complicated message, he can always revert to an ultra-easy one: HATE. But not all demagogues peddle hate so obviously. Realising that it's a lot easier to build on hate than on understanding, they invent rationalisations (e.g. 'they're finding their identity at the moment'). This allows Negroes to hate with honour.

The FNP obscures the real facts of the chronic sell-out of Negro liberation. It correctly points out that the Negro freedom movement has been repeatedly sold out by the white man. White men have oppressed the Negro and have tried to pick and control Negro leaders, but this should not justify the myth that only white leadership runs and sells out the Negro liberation movement. Negro leaders also lead and sell out Negro liberation - even if certain whites help seduce them into sell-out. There will always be someone to induce sell-out. Let no man who betrays the Negro movement (or any other) excuse himself by pointing to his seducer.

Within the Negro movements there is today no real problem of the color of leadership; the white leader is rare. When a Negro leader sells out, the spotlight should not be wasted on the white oppressor. That's too easy. The Negro who sold out should be exposed. How seldom this is done. Too many Negro leaders declaim 'we are sick of white misleadership' - while they avoid insulting themselves or their fellow leaders who sold out. Someone should mar the harmony with a little true dissonance and sing out, 'we are sick of Negro leaders selling out while we chant about getting free of white misleadership'. (Of course, it would have to be someone who isn't too worried about his seat in the choir!) Sell-out is multi-coloured! (And so is the genius of freedom - from Karl Marx to John Brown.)

Color separatism is irrational. It fails to understand or prefers to ignore the real causes of Negro misery. Instead of going into history, economics, etc., it keeps the misery problem a pure problem in color. The more one explains about society the less one has to sell Negroes simplified versions about all white people. The more one explains about oppression's destruction of the Negro's identity as a human being the less one has to demagogically sweet-talk him about his new identity - just when he's identifying incorrectly! Hating the white man is not finding a new identity. The new identity is learning how to fight the real enemy (capitalist society and institutions), not learning how to hate one's potential friends in order to develop one's bravado. The new identity needed by the Negro is the same new identity needed by the whole of humanity: understanding, courage and persistence.

Before the present upsurge in the Negro freedom fight, white radicals worked to involve Negro people in a common fight. Some Negroes were not ready to fight then and failed to enter the arena. Now, ironically, when they are on the move, there are some who try to talk them into finding their 'identity' in separation from all white people. The new identity has to be the real feeling of equality which allows advancing Negroes to

trust and cooperate with advancing whites who agree with them about freedom against all the decadent and exploiting elements in the world. Whenever Negroes do the wrong thing, an apologist, black or white, argues that 'they're finding their identity'. Can't the Negro be allowed a choice of identity?

Color separatism is unprincipled. There is no magic virtue in color. Black is not worse; nor is it better. The important thing in freedom is principle - and principles are colorless. Separatism falls for the white supremacist sucker-bait of separate but equal. When a man despairs of rising above the conditions of his oppression and degradation, he, in a final desperate burst of rationalisation hollers 'that's what I want; segregation from the whites!'. Separatism is the essence of anti-Negro technique, but more basically of anti-human technique.

Oppressed people tend to adopt the techniques of their own victimisation. For example, all through history, Jews have been scapegoats. This led Jews to stick together (hardly through any choice of their own) to embrace their forced segregation and elevate it into a voluntary desire, and subsequently to invent a term of disdain ('goy' - gentile) for anything outside their segregation. The non-Jew who had turned the Jew into a scapegoat had now become (at least in a certain sense) a scapegoat himself.*

The liberated American feels somewhat less than Americanist. He feels some membership in the world. Any resulting loss of identity is a wholesome thing. In the same way, the more the Negro feels himself a dignified man, equal to but not superior to the rest of mankind, the less he feels himself ONLY A NEGRO! The alleged loss of identity is not bad at all: it's exactly what the world needs more of. If there is a loss of identity in the loss of the 'uniquity' of oppression, then there is a compensating gain in identity as a human being.

The pus of smug superiority which oozes out of a 'chosen people's' self-designation is symptomatic of an opposite stigma: segregation as an inferior people. Black separatism is one reaction to the following problem: 'if I have been forced into a segregated, inferior position, I can elect to prove my equality by forcing an unresponsive white mass to live with me or I can by-pass this brain-breaking task by proclaiming my condition to be one of segregated superiority. Then I don't have to convince anyone (except myself - of an illusion)'.

When Negroes, fighting for freedom, rebuff white help (even from those whites who fought for Negro freedom long before the present relativ-

* Solidarity footnote: Zionism - the movement of 'Jewish Power' - has indeed succeeded in establishing a State based on national discrimination between Jews and non-Jews. The consequences of this are only too evident in the Middle East today.

ely respectable chapter*), they're trying to penetrate on the lowest level of understanding. There's one thing they know - that Negroes must hate whites - so, they wonder, why not tap this strong potential and hate safely: hate your friends!

Consider some Negroes who have spent a lot of time fighting for their rights together with white people. When they tell their white friends that they are not wanted in the new party, what are they really thinking? They would certainly feel insulted if they thought their friends were glad to be left out. Why then are they insulting themselves by segregating themselves? This confusion is helped by an abundance of fawning white ingratiationists around Negroes in the freedom movement. The following is typical:

Negro: 'I must learn to hate you, friend'.

White: 'Far be it from me, in my humility, to tell the glorious Negro people what to do. But I must say that you have eloquently hit the nail on the head. I agree with you. May I help you to hate me?'

Negro: 'But I'm not sure that I'm doing the right thing'.

White: 'I agree with your caution and subtle evaluation'.

Negro: 'No, I've decided to hate you. I was wrong to hesitate.'

White: 'I knew that you as a representative of the Negro people would progress in good time to a strong, unequivocal position. Perhaps it was my fault that you hesitated. I apologise.'

Negro: 'White man, would you do me a great favor - which may be the one favor you find really hard to offer? Would you kindly stop licking my arse?'

DEMAGOGY, REASON AND RHETORIC

Separatists use hate, the easiest building material known to demagoguery. The fact that hate offers no stability does not worry them. They are short-term operators, looking for quick success. A radical Negro may spend his whole life trying to educate other Negroes to organise for their freedom - and with little success for a long time. Then comes along a political masseur with a hate massage! He can get through - because there's nothing to understand about hate. You feel it in your bones. The easiest thing in the world to recruit is a superior people - and the bait is hate.

It's worth spending a little time on demagoguery. Most people who try to change the world usually run aground on someone else's demagoguery - or become demagogues themselves. Demagoguery is a get-through-quick technique. Two honest men, one cautious and one militant, tackling the same set of complexities, can both act with responsibility. A minor league demagog, walking into the same scene, puts them both to shame. How? By simplifying

* We mean: once anyone who fought for Negro rights was immediately called a red. He usually was!

the situation. And how does he do that? His trick of clarity is oversimplification. He is interested in locating the most obvious and most primitive reflex in his audience. The difficult fight for equality strains the limits of one's hopes. The retreat into self-isolation, however, is direct and easy. The demagog chooses to operate on the familiar, fertile ground of hate. In the first place, he doesn't believe that freedom is really possible - at least not in the foreseeable future. In the second place, he knows that he's not going to get quick results solving the complexities of freedom. Therefore he concentrates on bitterness which is guaranteed to give him quick results. Hate is a reaction - not a solution. But a reaction is exactly what the demagog wants. It registers well on the scoreboard and the demagog lives by the immediate score - and the roar from the bleachers.

Imagine a demagog offering the irrational but easily digestible:

'We're sick of theories; we don't need a theory to tell us that the white man is our enemy. My aching back tells me that! Why wait for the time to be ripe for the white man to accept us? The time is now ripe to reject the white man. Who needs equality when we already have superiority? What's wrong is that we've been wasting time making sure that the white man understands. All we have to understand is that the white man is a devil, and we are the chosen of Allah. If the white man wanted to understand us, he could have decided somewhere during the last hundred years or so. Let's segregate from him, set up our own nation and rejoice in our superiority.'

The really astute demagog goes a little further:

Long ago, the white man tried to fool us with a separate-but-equal deal. We've been fighting it because some people tell us that separate-but-equal means separate-but-unequal. I will call the white man's bluff and say that I am for the separate-but-equal part, but until now it hasn't been separate enough. Getting the separate part of the idea across is important because as soon as we get that we'll find out that we are separate-and-superior. But it doesn't show until you get away from the white man.'

Contrast this with the principled speaker who tries to educate his audience about the history of its oppression, about the economic reasons behind white supremacy's illusion of superiority. He may warn his people against their own bad habits which may have been induced by the white man but still have to be fought. He may even lecture them about the inevitability of sell-outs, both white and black, noting that white sell-out of the Negro cause becomes impossible on the day that they make it too hot for a Negro leader to sell out. He does not feed on the hate all around him; he analyses it and turns his results constructively toward goals.

Why should demagogues who are so vulgar in their approach hold such attraction even for principled people? How does the man of principle get to experiment with demagoguery? Could it be that he has travelled the lonely road, watching the shallow politicians speed by? Could it be that he has noticed once too often that even in his best moments no one is listening to him whereas the demagogue immediately sucks a crowd into the vacuum left by the inhaling of breath before his first sentence? Has he noticed that when you tell people the truth there are so many complications that the best you can hope for is a little enlightened pessimism, whereas the demagogue, on his worst evening, beset by laryngitis and cramps, can still produce simple, beatific (if empty) hope in an audience? The demagogue's success continually mocks the daily failures of the principled ones. Actually, looked at at short range, it's to be expected that demagoguery should outperform principle. There's incense in the atmosphere of the demagogue. On the other hand, all an audience gets from a principled speaker is a headache. And if you ask 'why do you always give us a headache?' he answers, 'because I give you the truth'.

Beside everything else, the demagogue gets money. The demagogue uses more magic than truth, and that magic can hook a maximum of money in the audience. If people are going to gamble their hard-earned money in politics, they prefer to have magical guarantees - which only the demagogue can give them.

Intelligent people witnessing the powerful responses to crude oversimplifications usually get upset because they realise that they are witnessing a maximum of momentum and a minimum of thinking. Others are simply impressed with the 'success' of such arguments and don't care how the Negroes get organised - as long as they get organised.

We hope that some Negro will finally undertake an assignment more dangerous than a freedom ride or a sit-in. The assignment might be called a sit-out. He will decide that he has the right to recognise one of his brethren as a demagogue. He will decide that if this old slogan of black and white unity means anything, he must openly attack those who are seeking to destroy it. He should know what to expect. The Muslims and the others who have turned Negro freedom into a fetish will give him the works worse than a white devil. Even radical whites will counsel him 'not to antagonise the militant elements of the Negro movement'. Confusion peddlers will misrepresent him saying that he is afraid of the militancy of the Muslims, even though he has attacked the Muslims for being reactionary. And he will find that some of his friends, both white and black, who may really agree with him, will adopt the tactic of avoiding him until the situation cools.

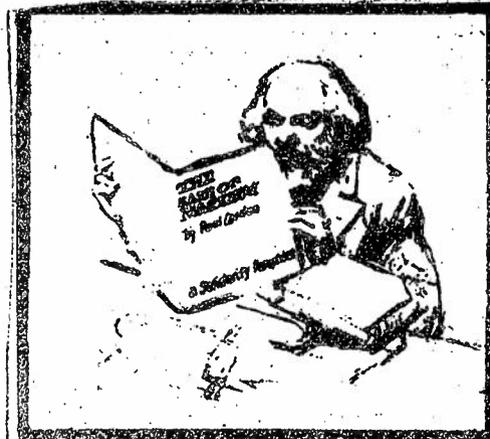
On the other hand, although such conduct is asking for trouble, it has logic on its side and will inevitably encourage others to speak out for black and white unity. Leaders who play it smart with an eye on the box office may or may not earn some short-lived successes; but in the end, those who sabotage black and white unity go down in history as betrayers of oppressed people.

RECENTLY REPRINTED

THE FATE OF MARXISM by Paul Gardan.

Marxism claimed to be more than a theory. It set out to 'change the world'. Can such a theory be dissociated from its historical repercussions?

A Solidarity (Clydeside) pamphlet
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The article opposite follows up the piece in our last issue entitled 'Socially-Responsible Scientists vs. Soldier-Technicians: 1 - 0.' This described the proceedings of the September Conference of the British Association (BA) in Durham, and the Teach-in organised by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS), at which the now famous 'Durham Resolution' was passed.

The article was well received and many people have written to us, willing to help us in this new area of our work. 'Off-prints' of the article in question are available for distribution in Science Faculties, at BSSRS meetings, etc. If there is sufficient demand, off-prints of the present article will also be produced.

'SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY' LTD. ?

The Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS), held on November 14, 1970 in Oxford, proved to be Act II of a drama that had opened with the Durham Teach-in, early in September.

After 7 hours of completely uninhibited discussion, the Teach-in had accepted a resolution calling upon scientists 'not to conceal from the public any information about the general nature of their research and the dangerous uses to which it might be put'. Though many practising scientists had voted for that resolution a minority had tried to prevent a vote being taken. When defeated they had preferred to abstain from voting on the issue itself rather than vote against it. The Teach-in had been sponsored by BSSRS - the resolution itself had not. It was only natural that BSSRS would at some stage have to clarify its own stand on this matter. And so it did.

* * * *

Things had been happening between the Durham Teach-in and the AGM in Oxford. The 'New Scientist', which had hailed the Durham Resolution, came under pressure from scientists opposed to it. J.C. McLauchlan, Chairman of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, wrote that 'the pledge could only antagonise a large body of practicing scientists, and so tend to defeat the objects of the society'. (New Scientist, Sept. 17) He had in mind scientists working under the Official Secrets Act, as well as those who work in 'competitive industry'. On October 22 'New Scientist' had published a long article by Professor Sir Ernst Chain, FRS. Under the title 'Social Responsibility and the Scientists', Ernie had spelled out in clear and unambiguous terms the credo of Establishment scientists (alias 'soldier-technicians'). 'The first responsibility of a scientist is to the nation of which he is a member. It is quite obvious that the very nature of the development of war weapons is such that the results of this research must be kept secret from the enemy. ... This applies to defensive methods as well as to the aggressive methods ... Secrecy is also essential in industrial organisations as these are the producers of wealth for the nation. As long as patents exist ... discoveries of economic importance made in industrial laboratories must be kept secret'.

Ernie then posed the question whether the university scientist should be involved, in times of peace, in secret work directed towards the development of war technology. His answer was 'no'. But '...not because of moral considerations, not because such activities are incompatible with the responsibilities of scientists towards mankind, but simply because in

university surroundings there is not sufficient security to keep important discoveries secret'. To put it bluntly: 'The scientist working in a laboratory concerned with war technology who gives away secrets is a traitor'. (New Scientist, October 22, 1970).

An actual case then cropped up. A Swedish physicist had developed a simple and cheap technique for separating isotopes, which would enable every ordinary physics laboratory to produce quickly large quantities of heavy hydrogen (the essential element of the H-bomb). The Swedish scientist, perturbed by the implications of his discovery, asked an official of the Pugwash Conference for advice. 'His attitude is in accord with the "Durham Resolution" adopted last month', commented 'New Scientist' (October 22). The scientist eventually decided to publicise his invention. The Guardian, commenting on this case on November 17, bemoaned the fact that 'the public is, in the matter of control, largely powerless'. Exactly.

Who then is 'in control'? The Government? Parliament? Some obscure politicians? When it comes to financial and political decisions, perhaps. But not when it comes to the real business of carrying out scientific decisions. At the end of this particular chain of command, there is often a highly skilled and specialised scientist. So skilled, and so specialised, that without his cooperation the decisions often cannot in fact be implemented.

Some of these scientists are intelligent and fully aware of the social implications of their work. Yet even those with purely technical minds - and they constitute the majority - hate to be labelled 'socially-irresponsible' by their neighbours or fellow scientists. They are highly sensitive to such a charge, probably because deep inside they know it to be true. It is precisely pressures of this sort that the BSSRS should be bringing to bear on various 'soldier-technicians' who try to evade their responsibility as scientists.

But to do this the BSSRS would first have to make up its own mind whether it wanted to play such a role, whether it wanted to accept the 'Scientists' Pledge' (of which the Durham Resolution was but one point) - or whether it too would prefer to evade actual, real responsibility and smother it under heaps of words about responsibility in general.

Some alarming signals had been detected in an earlier meeting of BSSRS, held in Imperial College in mid-September. The meeting had concerned itself with how to introduce the theme of 'social responsibility in science' into the curricula of universities and schools. The discussion had centred on teaching techniques, the subject matter of which was never defined. When a speaker was asked from the floor whether he visualised examinations in the subject, he replied: 'Why not?'. Could the speaker visualise a situation wherein someone got an 'A' in such an exam but later behaved in a socially irresponsible way? Reply: 'Why not?' After all we

teach religion in schools yet don't necessarily expect those who study it to become religious'. Not one of the founding members of the BSSRS present in the hall challenged this view. These were ominous signs, foreshadowing the AGM.

* * * *

The AGM itself had three resolutions on its agenda. Two related to the Durham activities, and one to the organisational structure of the BSSRS. The whole meeting was as drab and formalised a ritual of institutionalised democracy as one can imagine. Only the lively chairing by Hilary Rose saved the few under-40s from dozing off.

The meeting started with an audience of about 50. The organisational issue came up for discussion after an hour. The proposed resolution read: 'While recognising the importance of branches having considerable autonomy, the society asserts its belief that its effectiveness is proportional to its unity and that while a federal structure is desirable, the ultimate authority for the aims and policy of the society rests with the National Committee representing the National society'. This typical bureaucratic proposal, which anyone ever involved in direct-action activities could smell a mile off, was taken off the agenda, its proposals to be introduced bit by bit into the organisational rules. BSSRS discovered that, despite its fashionable name, it could not evade the conflict between the autonomy of the base groups (who act upon their own initiative) and the authority of the centre.

The issue became urgent when a conflict of policy emerged between the London group of the founding members and some base-groups. It was amazing how people in the centre, some of whom are fairly experienced in left politics, still believe that they can stem the tide of direct-action of the base groups. As a matter of fact most base groups representatives did not turn up at the AGM. They considered the scene irrelevant. The 'centralising' measures were introduced with hardly a fight. A resolution was then voted upon, which was a veiled reprimand for those who had participated in the Durham events. The veil was so thick that the proposer had explicitly to spell out that the Durham activities 'alienated the goodwill of the public and many scientists'. The motion was carried.

* * * *

The crunch came when the BSSRS itself was confronted with the Durham Resolution, for which several of its leading members had voted a few weeks earlier. Adding insult to injury, the proposer of the resolution had the nerve to quote from the forementioned article by Sir Ernst Chain: 'The responsibility of the scientist is to warn his fellow men who have no scientific or technological knowledge of the dire consequences of modern war weapons, chemical, biological or ballistic explosives, conventional or thermonuclear. But he must do more. He must inform and warn society about the dangers of the pollution of air, soil and water through technological advances ... and altogether keep society constantly informed

about progress in science and technology'. Surely, if Sir Ernst Chain considered it the scientists' responsibility to 'warn' and 'inform' the layman, an organisation called BSSRS could not fail to pass a motion calling upon scientists 'not to conceal' information from the public. But it turned out that things were not so simple.

Professor J. Ziman (Physics, Bristol) stood up. He wanted to know whether the resolution was meant as a policy statement for BSSRS. Or was it a private statement by individual members? If it was meant as a policy statement, then there would first have to be a long, thorough discussion. And there was no place for such a discussion at the AGM. (Rather like the absence of time for fundamentals at meetings of the British Association?) Hilary Rose replied from the chair that while the resolution was being put forward by a group of individual members it was fully in line with the general policy of BSSRS and there was no point in making the distinction. She was immediately contradicted from the floor by her husband, Professor Stephen Rose (Biology, Open University), a co-founder of BSSRS. Professor Rose insisted that BSSRS had never accepted the Durham Resolution as its policy, nor did it intend to. Its aim was to spread the idea of social responsibility, not to define it or implement it within its own ranks.

A vote was taken and the resolution was defeated. Some of those who had voted for the resolution in Durham - among them founding members of BSSRS - voted against it at the AGM in Oxford. It transpired that the BSSRS is not to be confused with a Society of Socially Responsible Scientists. Many of its members, at the Centre at least, have a limited view of the role of their society. The job is apparently to spread the general idea of social responsibility among scientists (while carefully refraining from clarifying its nature) and to keep members at all costs (i.e. not to lose those who signed the Official Secrets Act). It is, indeed, BSSRS Ltd.

Organisations of this sort are by no means unique nowadays. They represent a trend of the established social order to recuperate, neutralise, and absorb those internal social tensions which threaten the smooth functioning of its institutions. Modern industrial society depends on its scientists. Scientists cannot be made to work by coercion. If they start to doubt, opt out, or oppose their assigned role, it becomes imperative to create channels that will provide them with an outlet, without simultaneously endangering the functioning of the system as a whole. BSSRS is such an outlet. It is not a plot. It is an authentic expression of the conflict within some scientists, which is but an internalised version of the social conflict at large. Many members of BSSRS are liberal-minded. Some are marxists, others socialists of various shades. One of them defined his situation in Durham as 'a tragedy; it looked like the generation gap, and I was caught in the middle'. People who define an external issue as 'a tragedy' are merely projecting their own inability to resolve a conflict of loyalties. Tragedy has two elements: an inevitable development towards doom and a permanent struggle to overcome it. For some BSSRS members, having to face the alternatives of loyalty to the Official Secrets Act or loyalty to the 'Scientists' Pledge' is equivalent to doom. Others will welcome it. It will force them to gain insight into themselves and to make a choice.

LETTERS

I read one of your latest pamphlets 'The Irrational in Politics' a few weeks ago and thought it was very good. It has already had a revolutionary effect on my political thinking. This sort of essay inevitably raises questions which most of the Left are unable or unequipped to answer. It seems to introduce a whole new dimension. I am anxious to begin working with the comrades in your movement as soon as I possibly can. I have served my apprenticeship with the trad left for too long...

J. M. R., Hull.

Re your bit on Lenin and sex (in 'The Irrational in Politics'). I think he had rather more pressing things on his mind, you know.

Dave W., London NW1.

Thanks for 'The Irrational in Politics'. It was interesting and balanced and did a good job. But there are some questions which it didn't address itself to and which the libertarian left should be thinking about pretty carefully.

It seems to me that the university situation is such that lessons don't get learned very easily. One generation of students passeth away and lo! a new generation repeateth

the same mistakes! Which is fine provided they learn from making mistakes. But by the time students have come up against the brick-wall of repression it's time for them to be incorporated in isolated jobs in the structure.

All this means that we are liable to see an SDS-type degeneration into (a) terrorism, (b) dogmatism, or (c) mass hysteria - in short the possible beginnings of a fascist-like syndrome, linking up with the widespread irrationalism at large in society.

Could someone please explain to me why working class people vote Conservative?

Letter in 'The Observer', 28.6.70.

It seems to me that now is a good time to try and work out criteria for rational politics - trying to specify which particular factors moved the mass of German students in the 1930's, which elements in Bolshevik/Anarchist/Marxist/ or other ideologies provide bridges across to Fascism (Mussolini was a syndicalist), trying to assess the dangers of taking over American tactics in the British situation, trying to work out in what circumstances we would or

would not shout a speaker down, etc, etc, - the better to be able to:

- (1) stop people from overemphasising certain aspects of revolutionary praxis which taken further in isolation lead nowhere.
- (2) attack and dissociate ourselves from those parts of 'the movement' which have 'fascist' leanings.

What I'm really saying I suppose is that I am with you all the way when you make your ritual swipes at the traditional left, but that the recent past has seen the emergence of a movement which has left the trad left standing (in certain milieux), and which is by no means either egalitarian or libertarian.

Blantyre, 31 October. A white man and his wife have been ordered out of Malawi because the wife wore a mini-skirt.

They are the first to go after a "get dressed or get out" warning on radio, earlier in the week, by the Attorney-General Mr Bryan Roberts. Mini skirts were banned in Malawi three and a half years ago, but the ban was not strictly enforced. Women have also been warned against wearing slacks.

The Observer, 1.11.70.

It is more important to criticise this movement right now than the straight trad left. Whenever you get a society which needs revolution but where revolution is

blocked, it seems a whole load of irrational 'deviations' start to emerge, whose specific character can't be understood in Reichian terms.

Keith P., Stoke-on-Trent.

The author of the article 'The ambiguities of Workers' Control' (Solidarity, vol.6, no.6), pulls a remark of mine out of context in order to berate me.

The quotation is: "Workers' control, like charity, should begin at home. It is no use hoping for workers to control industries if they don't control their own unions."

I wrote this in the journal 'International Socialism' to defend a revolutionary position that was being assailed by Messrs. Ken Coates and Tony Topham. I was endeavouring to point out that the Institute for Workers Control acts as a left cover for union bureaucrats. Its conferences are used by the Scanlons and Jones's to make a few militant speeches, thus acquiring for them benevolent approval from those people who would otherwise be their sternest critics and giving them greater power to sell their unsuspecting membership down the river. Workers are more likely to swallow betrayals by "their" leaders if they are nicely coated with a sugary layer of socialist phrases.

My intention in 'International Socialism' was to challenge these left bureaucrats. I was attempting to expose them. The point I was making was tantamount to this:

"You say you are for workers' control, Messrs. Jones and Scanlon. Good! Then how is it your have taken no steps to introduce it in your own unions? How can you advocate workers' control in industry while opposing its operation in that sphere where you have greatest influence?"

A pissed-off dicky bird recently whispered to us that one Jim Murray, Convenor at Vickers (Newcastle) and Chairman of the local I.S. branch, stood as official Labour Party candidate during the 1970 General Election at Louth (Lincolnshire). Brother Murray apparently stood on a straight Labour Party platform. No action has yet been taken against him by I.S. locally or nationally. All denials will be acknowledged.

It is wrong to infer from this - as your writer A.O. does - that Challinor believes 'first control the unions... and control of the factories will perhaps come later.' Victor Sylvester has a step-by-step approach to dancing; I don't think you can have a similar step-by-step approach to Socialism. Workers themselves will determine, in the course of struggles, their own priorities. There will be leaps and lags, combined and uneven development, a process that will continue until the whole of society succumbs to proletarian power.

R. Challinor, Hindley, Wigan

'The Bolshéviks and Workers Control' is the most valuable document I can remember reading in the last 10 years. It will be a 'must' for all students of Bolshevism from now on, and had 'Solidarity' produced nothing else its existence would have been more than justified.

I enjoyed reading it immensely. Before reading it I had not appreciated so clearly the very fundamentally counter-revolutionary character of Bolshevism from its very inception.

'Marxism', 'Leninism', 'Trotskyism' can never be the same again...

Bob P., Hove.

RUSSIA : 1917-1921?

The 'bureaucratic distortions' had grown enormously and the ruling party itself had become bureaucratized. In the absence of a working class with the strength, cohesion and will to rule, the party had had to substitute for the class and the party apparatus was increasingly substituting for the party membership.

'Socialist Worker', 22.9.70

I am glad of the chance to put steel toe-caps on my anti-Lenin boomer-boots, so enclosed is 6/- for your book on 'the State and Counter-revolution'.

R. P., Oxford.

THE END OF THE ROAD FOR A T.U. 'LEFT'



Mr. Daly, protected from 'his' members by the police, emerges from N.U.M. headquarters in Euston Road, London. (Nov. 12, 1970)

'Forum', October 1957.

The rank and file has merely an occasional contact with the trade union leadership; a few of them with the local trade union committee at monthly branch meetings; or at the colliery when there is a personal or group grievance to be taken up with the manager. Elaborate negotiating machinery was established in 1947 to deal with every kind of dispute or claim. But it has been so over-loaded with cases unresolved at colliery level that men often wait months for a settlement. Where money is involved, a few further weeks, or even months, may pass before the retrospective payment is decided. Patience is exhausted and the result is an unofficial strike. The men are then exhorted to "abide by the machinery", "adhere to the procedure", "carry out union policy". This is known as the "gramophone record" speech and is often cynically received.

Lawrence Daly



April 14, 1965 — THE WEEK

Miners' leaders Join The Week

READERS will have noticed that The Week has two new sponsors: Lawrence Daly, and Eric Varley, MP. Mr. Lawrence Daly recently won the position of General Secretary of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers. He was a miners' agent in Fifeshire and a county councillor.



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Voice Newspapers

October / 1970

Socialists and unionists everywhere must stand by the miners and their left-wing general secretary Lawrence Daly, whose election has done much to make this surge of the new official militancy possible.



'I am for the Police, I am for Law and Order ...'

Mr. L. Daly, on ITV
'Today' programme,
Thursday, Nov. 12, 6 pm.

O U T S H O R T L Y

THESES ON THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

by Cajo Brendel.

A 'demystified' look at Chinese state capitalism.

The answer to mountains of Maoist nonsense.

The pamphlet others should have produced... but didn't.

Produced by SOLIDARITY (Aberdeen), 2/6 (post free) from:

N. Roy, 138 Walker Road, Aberdeen, or

H. Russell, 53A Westmoreland Road, Bromley, Kent.

(Subscribers to 'Solidarity' (North London) will receive this pamphlet as part of their subscription.)



Of course we believe in Women's Liberation.
There are at least 2 women on our Central
Committee of 128, Lin Piao's wife and my own.

UNITY FOR EVER WITH I.W.C.

The annual jamboree of all shades and sects who pay lip-service to 'workers control' was held at Birmingham on October 24/25. Billed as the 'Extraordinary Workers' Control Conference', it turned out, for those who have been to the circus before, to be a rather ordinary, repeat performance. Various ideological brands were on display for the benefit of the proletarian sections of the audience. The Institute for Workers' Control was as usual plugging its uncle-Tom-Cobley-and-all piece: 'the widest possible alliance of all forces on the left', including the trade unions and the Labour Party, to fight the Tory legislation.

This phoney togetherness of trade union leaders and shop stewards, parliamentary parasites and rank and file direct actionists is anything but class struggle. On the one side - the Scanlons, Jack Joneses, Stan Newenses and co., craving for a respectable socialism that we can all agree to, the scholarly persuasion of those who claim to represent the socialist interests of the people. Yet, in a whole series of unofficial strikes, this lot have never failed to act in such a way as to weaken grass-roots initiative.

On the other side, the militant mumblings of a newly-emerging rank and file. At the conference they made their presence felt with some fighting talk about power on the shop floor, and the need to keep it just there, out of the reach of the trade union leaders. One steward from Fords (Dagenham) made his feelings quite clear. The full-time officials on the platform - when not attending workers' control conferences - 'would be spending their time urging unofficial strikers to go back to work'.

The old hacks exchanged rhetoric. Labour Party left-overs pleaded for a return to the fold. The I.W.C. continued to congratulate itself on being able to bring the rag bag together. And we all went home to celebrate the euphoric emptiness of the occasion.

However, if we can slag off the anaemic left consensus and the vanguard boys, we should also take a close butchers at the conspicuous irrelevance of the libertarian movement. In spite of the growing shop-floor resentment at being pushed around by either gaffers or trade union bosses, very few workers are expressing a positive delight in fucking up the system by means of maximum disruption. The rank and file voices are the voices of local militancy rather than international revolution. The alternative politics of directly challenging the system through confrontation, and what's more openly enjoying the whole experience, is for the moment sadly sublimated by a ubiquitous alienation from all politics and

ideologies, an alienation which also separates the political experience from the economic aspects of struggle. The absence of a general politics of liberation leads to a tragic isolation of each episode of direct action.

So whilst we give three cheers for socialism, umpteen millions wait in absurd passivity for the sunshine society to materialise by due process of education, i.e. through propaganda from afar, and through the bullshit-titting pamphlets of I.W.C. - written and read, by and large, by the directors of the I.W.C. itself.

Direct action methods of struggle are the sort of progressive educational experiences that crystallise consciousness. Some academics only conceive of classroom-type education because they themselves have only ever experienced classroom consciousness. (This is why the student movement scares the shit out of socialist academics - it brings the revolution to their own doorstep.)

It should be clear by now that we are really making a hash of things. In spite of all our bloody misery and boredom at work, we still can't put it together to really destroy this vicious and oppressive society. A little strike here and a few tame demands there - little enough for lives brimming with all the bitterness of men forced to vegetate like turnips, machine-minding or mass producing shit for 40 years or more. Our response is pretty much of a damp firework.

Fuck productivity, exports, the 'national interest', green shield stamps and all the rest - I want my freedom and I want it now.

The workers' control movement in this sense does not exist, except as unvoiced and embryonic aspirations on the shop floor. Workers' control is all things to all men: the bosses want it, the unions want it, the academics want it, the groupuscules want it ... it has all the appeal of Lifebuoy soap ('Kill the dirty odours of discontented workers with magic, biological, new, improved WORKERS CONTROL'.)

What we want (and we want it now) is the complete and total takeover of the factories by the workers themselves, and their operation through workers' self-management. The more wild, the more extreme, the more 'lunatic' the actions on the shop-floor, the sooner we'll turn this normal shit-society inside out, and achieve precisely this undreamt of liberation.

Have you (a) made love in your factory? (b) demanded the same wages as your boss? (c) tried a lock-out on the management? (d) given up all interest in producing anything, except a fat wage-packet plus the bit of fun of screwing up the whole social system which exploits and destroys us? If you haven't, there ain't no one going to do it for you. It's time the volcano of bitterness saw some bigger and better eruptions. All power to the people.

Robin Hood.

reviews

CULTURE AND COMMITMENT (a study of the generation gap) by Margaret Mead.
Bodley Head, 22/-.

Within every society throughout the world today (whatever its particular mode of production, property relations, culture or social consciousness) a deep and wide gulf in attitudes to life, society, authority, values, work, morality and politics separates those who grew up after the second World War from their elders.

This applies within such vastly differing contexts as China and the USA, Russia and France, India and Britain, the Arapesh of New Guinea and modern Sweden. This universal discontinuity between the generations in our time results in the young, all over the world, feeling much more in common with each other than with the elders in their own society.

In her latest volume Margaret Mead stresses two points:

1. that this gap exists today within all societies, whatever their specific features;
2. that this phenomenon is not the recurring 'adolescent revolt', but a genuinely new phenomenon without historical precedents.

Margaret Mead relates this phenomenon to the various ways whereby culture is transmitted, between generations, within given societies. Her main analogy is with a first generation born, in a new country, to immigrant parents. In such a social group the knowledge, experience, and authority of the parent generation cannot be transmitted to the young because it is inadequate and obsolete. She argues that the entire parent generation throughout the world today are immigrants into a new era, whereas their children - born into this era - feel at home in it, and generate their own values and culture within it. The parent generation has, in a sense, lost its children, because it is unable to regenerate and reproduce its own system of values and meanings.

Margaret Mead does not provide us with a new interpretation of the human species, as Morgan did a century ago with his concept of the 'tool-making animal'. Nor does she provide any analysis of the features that make our era specifically new. She hints that the new modes of communication - the transistor radio and the television screen - might have something to do with the problem. However, her insistence on the universality of this new phenomenon as well as on its unprecedented nature raises important questions, which are anathema to the ruling classes everywhere, as well as to the traditional revolutionary Left.

The Establishment has to answer the following awkward questions: if the post-war generation does not rebel in order to step into the shoes of its elders, what does it want? And, more ominously, can its aspirations be satisfied without overthrowing the whole existing social order? For the trad Left other questions arise, equally subversive of (its own) established thinking. What happens when a universal social phenomenon cannot be explained, let alone predicted, by changes in the 'mode of production'? Can one still base an entire revolutionary theory and practice on the assumption that changes in the 'mode of production' still provide the main dynamic for social change? What happens to a revolutionary theory after it has proven its inability to predict, recognise, adapt to, or even grasp the significance of such a universal upheaval as the present generational discontinuity? Serious attention should be given to what Mrs Mead has to say. These are real questions which require real answers.

A. O.

PORTUGAL : Capitalist strategy, workers' offensive, and colonial war.

(2/- plus postage, from A. Reay, 4 Lloyd St. South, Manchester 14)

Very little is known in the British left about the situation in Portugal, and that little consists of a few hallowed prejudices, which this pamphlet does much to destroy.

This pamphlet (the third production of the 'Lutte de Classe Internationale' group*) describes a country moving through industrial and political change into the modern, bureaucratic capitalist world, and the response of the growing working class to these developments, a response marked by a high level of militancy and autonomy in struggle. The parts I feel will be of most interest to the British left are those dealing with the question of fascism and colonial war. The authors see the Portuguese left as being unable to respond to a changed situation because their ideas and strategy still remain fixed to the notion of the 'struggle against fascism'. On the question of the wars in Africa, the authors see the nationalist movements being defeated not so much by military force, but by the integration of the colonies into the world market and by the development of their own productive capacities, all of which cuts the feet from under the nationalist movements (whatever their proclaimed intentions). Most socialists are still fighting yesterday's enemies; apart from the valuable information provided on the class struggle in Portugal, this pamphlet does a valuable job in pinpointing the enemies of today, in Portugal as in the rest of the world.

I. M.

* The first two dealt with Belgium and the USA and are available (in French) from Librairie La Vieille Taupe, 1 rue des Fossés St. Jacques, Paris 5ème.

ANNOUNCEMENT TO READERS

We warned readers in our last issue that increasing costs of paper and ink would soon compel us to raise the prices of certain of our pamphlets. Many of these prices have remained unaltered for several years. Several of our pamphlets have recently gone out of print and are currently being reprinted. We are taking advantage of these two facts to re-arrange our whole price structure.

As from the beginning of 1971 the following pamphlets and books will be repriced (and new orders will be charged) as follows: These prices do not include postage.

Modern Capitalism and Revolution	5/- (25 N.P.)
Hungary '56	5/- (25 N.P.)
The Kronstadt Commune	4/- (20 N.P.)
The Workers Opposition	4/- (20 N.P.)
Paris: May 1968	1/6 (7½ N.P.)
Flint sit-down strike	1/6 (7½ N.P.)

The price of 'The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control' (5/-) and 'The Irrational in Politics' (2/-) will not be altered. The cost of other pamphlets is currently under review. Order now if you wish to take advantage of the old prices.

It is possible that in due course further adjustments will be made, so as to include postage costs in the cost of various pamphlets. This would allow reasonable discounts to be granted to bulk order takers and will, we hope, help increase our circulation.

J U S T O U T

SOLIDARITY (NORTH WEST). vol.2, No.1.

Our Manchester comrades have just produced the first issue of an attractive printed paper.

Copies (6d. + postage) from: J. Harris, 96 Doveleys Road, Salford, M6 8OW.

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES MEETING

MANCHESTER 13.11.70

Slowly, sometimes painfully, the movement inches forward to an increasing understanding of itself. Despite hours of all-too-familiar, futile debate, this Conference was a step forward from last year's student conferences. It offered a glimpse of how one day we may be able to get together and still be able to talk with each other. Perhaps we should rate it a good conference because it permitted the consensus of the people who came to be given some specific form, rather than attempting to create a consensus where none existed.

A resolution on organisation, jointly proposed by the groups from Oxford, Sheffield, Bristol, Aston, Nottingham, Sussex (Socialist Club), Birmingham College of Education and Bristol Polytechnic was accepted at the Sunday morning session. It was to set up a national federation of socialist societies in which there would be:

1. Three delegate conferences each year, at the beginning of each term.
2. A new coordinating university to be chosen at each conference, whose duties would be limited to the dissemination of information (report on the conference, address lists, and a weekly broadsheet containing information sent in by the Soc. Socs. Later Aston University Soc. Soc. was chosen to send out the broadsheet, Manchester Univ. and Chelsea to prepare a report on the conference.)
3. Regional groupings as feasible (Manchester and London were suggested).
4. Ad hoc information groups on particular campaigns (e.g., women's liberation, foreign students, schools organising).
5. A £1 per term subscription from each Soc. Soc.
6. An emergency conference at the request of ten Soc. Socs.
7. It was decided that Conference might make recommendations to constituent Soc. Socs., but that these should not be binding.

This resolution outlines how socialist societies in the institutions of higher education can increase their mutual dialogue and collective working.

The other proposals, circulated as documents, came from Chelsea College Soc., Soc. and Sussex University Labour Club. The latter declared: 'If this organisation is to make an impact on the mass of students, it must have as a first priority a concrete programme, capable of mobilising support ... and strong organisation capable of holding the movement together'. And so on - proposing seven-points student charters, eight-point 'socialist programmes for labour', campaigns for the affiliation of the NUS to the TUC and 'for the return of a Labour Government with a socialist programme'. These proposals were overwhelmingly rejected.

Chelsea, after a brief analysis of the current situation in the universities and of the relatively backward level of British capitalism, advocated three resolutions (since 'we don't want this conference to be merely another talking shop'). To make the conference 'political', they urged:

1. Pledges to fight the anti-trade union proposals (some would argue that they were pro-trade unions, anti-rank and file proposals -- V.S.) of the Tory government.
2. Support for the miners and calling for the resignation of Lord Robens.
3. Support for the right of Rudi Dutschke to stay in this country and a call for 'left' Labour MPs to campaign in Parliament on his behalf.

These proposals helped drown the opening Friday night session of the conference in the philosophical paradox 'how can you talk about organisation before talking about politics'. Most people hoped this had died with the Revolutionary Socialist Students Federation (June 1968 - sometime in the first half of 1970. R.I.P.). The next day was spent in small group discussions, first about general questions, then about specific issues (trade union legislation, women's liberation, communications, course criticism, the student movement). It was generally felt that these were very productive. They will undoubtedly become a regular feature of non-sect student conferences.

The Sunday afternoon session brought us back to the good old days. Statements of 'support' around the world ('expose the role of British Imperialism', 'support the Palestine Solidarity Campaign'). Resolutions. Demands that 'NUS should be moved to the left ... and brought into the TUC' (sic).

True, it was not all like that. The women's group made what was more like an announcement than a resolution (though I think it was voted on nevertheless). Soc. Soc. women should set up some sort of coordinating mechanism so they could act as a socialist caucus in the women's liberation movement, which should produce pamphlets on the relation of socialist

societies to women's liberation, the relation of women to socialist societies, arrange meetings on women's liberation, etc. There were even several voices objecting to our self-transformation into a resolution-passing machine!

It is very difficult to escape from the myths that have penetrated deep into our concepts, myths perpetuated both by the official organs of society and by so many of those who see themselves as fighting them. That most of us were much less taken in by these myths before we became 'politically conscious' is another of the contradictions in our political activity. Eventually, reality will bring home to us the falsity of these myths. It would be nicer if we could realise this a bit more quickly.

One fundamental myth is the mistaking of form for content. When people with common interests get together, there is a basis for cooperation. Organisation may help. When these common interests do not exist, or when there is a greater concern with 'winning people over' (i.e., greater concern over differences than over common ground), then no amount of formal structures will make any difference. A group of people at each other's throats will get along no better if they declare themselves to be an organisation.

Compared to the earlier conferences of RSSF, the Manchester Socialist Societies Conference was an improvement. Dave Aron, Pete Cockcroft and Trisha Jaffe deserve thanks for providing a structure in which people could begin to work things out without having to spend a lot of effort battling the conference organisers. Perhaps as more of us become conscious of the dynamics of conferences and the other groups we participate in, we will move rapidly toward getting more done when we're together than when we're apart.

V. S.

The army?
With the people.
The police?
No more police.
The prisons?
Burned.
The power?
US.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Our last issue sold out in 3 weeks (1200 copies). Offprints of the article on 'The ambiguities of Workers' Control' were widely distributed at the I.W.C. Conference in Birmingham and offprints of the article on 'Socially-Responsible Scientists' at the AGM of the BSSRS in Oxford. The number of people prepared to take bulk orders of our paper is slowly increasing and 1400 copies of the present issue are being printed.

We have recently established much closer contact with a whole lot of new friends in the London area. Forty subscribers (until now only names on our wrappers) were invited to a recent meeting, for which a very small room had been booked. To our amazement about 30 people turned up, on a very wet night, to what proved to be one of the best meetings we've held for a long time. Discussions are under way as to how this large fund of good will can contribute to the wider dissemination of Solidarity ideas.

We again appeal to readers to write for us about their struggles at work or elsewhere - wherever people come into conflict with Established Society. We are especially interested in all examples showing how the dominant ideology or relations are being challenged. We badly need this sort of feed-back from readers to maintain the liveliness of our paper.

Reprinting has continued steadily over the past weeks. The first production of Mett's 'Kronstadt Commune' has sold out (1800 copies) and a further 1000 copies have been printed. We seem a long way off from the time, not 10 years ago, when people were asking 'who's Kronstadt?'. The first 2000 copies of 'The Irrational in Politics' have also now all gone and a further 2000 copies are being produced. We wonder how many of our readers can imagine the amount of slave labour involved? Yet it is only by the use of such slave labour that our pamphlets can be produced cheaply and contribute, in some small measure, to the total critique of modern society now so obviously gaining momentum. Elsewhere in this issue readers will find an announcement concerning our proposed new price structure and an appeal for loans for the purchase of plate-making equipment.

An article on the Paris Commune first published in Solidarity (vol.I, no.6) has recently been produced in pamphlet form by the Solidarity Caucus in Philadelphia (c/o B. Perry, 1255 E. Mt. Pleasant Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19150, USA). Copies 1/6 post free can be obtained from us, or - for 25 cents - from the above address. As a further indication of the impact of Solidarity ideas we would like to draw readers' attention to an excellent journal called 'Root and Branch' (c/o Left Mailings, 275 River St., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139, USA), the first issue of which publishes our statement 'As We See It' in full. The statement was also published in issue No.6 of Solidarity (Melbourne), c/o L. Costelloe, 55 Union St., Brighton, Vic., Australia. The message is spreading.

Finally, and nearer home, we hope in the very near future to deal with the whole issue of the Government's new legislation concerning trade unions and 'unofficial' strikes, and to outline a strategy for the rank and file to hit back. Would all those interested in a get-together of libertarian revolutionaries to discuss these matters please contact us?

The last 12 months have witnessed a massive increase in the demand for SOLIDARITY literature, and this in many parts of the world. This in turn has meant that an increasing - and now massive - proportion of our time has had to be devoted to the alienating technical tasks of printing, duplicating and collating (all done by slave labour).

We are now considering going over to other forms of production (such as offset litho, which could be farmed out). We are also contemplating the purchase of our own plate-making equipment. Our resources do not at the moment allow us to carry the full burden of this conversion without help from our readers and supporters. We are therefore again appealing to readers for bread (interest-free loans on a six months basis - we need about £200). This would enable us to make the necessary down payment for equipment.

Those who made us loans for the publication of 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control' have now all been repaid in full, and we intend to take advantage of our current credit worthiness. We appeal for your help in producing a new kind of 'Solidarity'.

LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG...

There has been some interesting spin-off to the sustained and obscene Maoist campaign, aimed at resurrecting the 'great' Stalin. Those with even moderate political memories will recall that the charlatan Lysenko was for a while Stalin's poodle in the realm of the biological sciences - acquiring and maintaining his position through the repeated denunciation and purging of genuine Soviet biologists.

In the maoid journal English Student (vol.2, no.3 - September 1970) the best-forgotten Lysenko is also resurrected and described as 'a distinguished Soviet biologist' who had fought the 'unscientific biological theories' of 'reactionary Mendelian geneticists'. Mendelian genetics (like Newtonian physics) may be inadequate as a basis for modern science, but in their time they were certainly not 'unscientific'. The necessary fight against reactionary biologists is not strengthened but weakened by resort to such absurdities as lionising Lysenko.



'will grow? won't grow?