

SOLIDARITY

PAPER OF THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL GROUP.



CRISIS RACISM HEAT

'TROTOPOLY'

MURRAY'S

MUSIC



DONT LET THE MURRAY'S HANG!

It is surprising and disturbing that the Left has only made a little muted ritual noise about the Murray's case, with a couple of belated articles in Socialist Worker and Red Weekly. There seems to be a leaden inertia even among libertarians, who are content to take bourgeois press reports at face value, rather than to find the real facts out for themselves.

Other things are taken to be more important (what?) As one person in the Midlands Defence group put it, "How can we complain about lack of support from the traditional left groups when we can't even get our own people out."

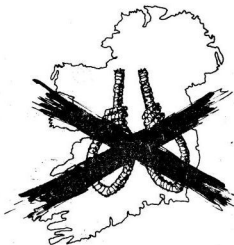
Perhaps this inertia comes from a scepticism of the claim "They wuz framed" that seems to be made every time anyone gets nabbed. I must admit to being sceptical at first, but surely we should be campaigning on the issue of Capital Punishment if nothing else.

And consider these facts

There were no witnesses in the park at the time the policeman was shot on September 11th 1975.

The Murrays were not caught red-handed as many people think, but were picked up ~~several weeks~~ several days later. The Dublin Evening Herald had run the headline "Anarchists shoot Garda" and after subsequent police raids on anarchists and their families and friends the Murrays were arrested. At the Special Criminal Court, a three-day trial with no jury, the only evidence against them were "confessions" extracted under torture and later retracted. Noel Murray claims he has other evidence to present in his defence.

The Murrays withdrawal of their appeal is not an admission of guilt but a protest at the set-up and conduct of the trial.



At present the immediate aims of the Defence Campaign are to stop the hangings and to get a retrial by jury so that evidence can be presented; beyond that to get an independent inquiry into the circumstances of the arrest, sentencing and prison conditions of the Murrays. More generally the campaign is demanding the abolition of capital punishment and the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. It's also proving necessary to emphasise that the Murrays are not members of the I.R.A.

At the time of writing the Murrays are still awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court on their appeal. Hopefully by the time you read this the right decision will have been reached.

member of the Midlands Defence Group
C/o Peace Centre 18 Moor St.
Ringway Birmingham.

other groups can be contacted through the London Defence Group Box 2 Rising Free 142 Drummond St. NW1.

STATE OF SIEGE

I'm walking home at 2a.m. I could be anybody in any city centre, really. A police car pulls up. "Got any drugs on you?" I haven't. "Mind if we look in your bag?" I can't stop them. They have a quick peek. If they were really looking for drugs, they would go through my pockets with a fine-toothed comb. This isn't the point. The drugs laws passed over the last few years allow them to search me on this pretext.

More likely they think I'm flyposting - they can't allow communication between people who can't afford to pay for it. Posters should carry the messages of the bosses - obey, work, consume, die. But I haven't any posters or any glue.

They're bored. Have I a criminal record? No. But it doesn't matter, because now they can find out all about me, regardless of what I have or haven't done. They radio the station, who relay my name and address to the Police National Computer Unit at Hendon via teleprinter. They don't just keep criminal records at Hendon. As a matter of fact, the computer has been designed to handle 40,000,000 files. We're all criminals - didn't you know?

They're supposed to get their information in 90 seconds, but it doesn't arrive. They feel they need to justify themselves. There have been a lot of break-ins in the area recently. (We're in the heart of bed-sit land; there's nothing worth nicking). There's a rapist on the loose. (Described as well over 40 in the press; I'm not 25).

They soften up a bit. Am I married? No. "It gets us all in the end". It's certainly got to them. They discuss the computer, making no attempt to pretend it's just for criminal records. Trouble is, they only use it when they're bored. But at this time in the morning, police all over the country are bored, so the computer gets jammed. Also the existing "non-criminal" records have been copied from the National Vehicle Licensing Centre Computer in Swansea. If you don't have a car, you don't have a file yet; but if you have a car, you won't be stopped on the streets - Catch 22. Never mind. They'll soon get us through the Social Security/DEP computer at Reading, and other government files.

Are the computers taking over? No. But the men who control them are frightened of 40 million of us. Frightened



that their time is running out. They want to know who we are and what we're up to. People who go on demos and petition parliament are photographed, cataloged. MI5 are watching three million left-wing agitators. The government have files on 250,000 drug fiends. They want us to get used to being searched and questioned.

Fifteen minutes have passed, and still the PNCU hasn't answered. The policemen are getting cold. They don't really like the new methods or the old boredom. They give up and drive off.

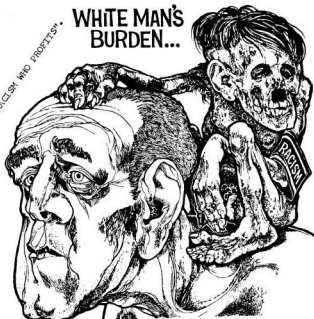
B.H.



RACIST BRITAIN

WHITE MAN'S BURDEN...

A REVIEW OF THE C.I.S. PAMPHLET "RACISM WHO PROFITS?"



"**Racism - Who Profits?**" is a special report produced by Counter Information Services in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations, and costs 45p. It presents a detailed and well-researched account of how business and the state in Britain use racial prejudice and discrimination to divide the working class against itself and compel Asian and black workers to accept worse conditions, longer and more inconvenient hours of work and lower wages than white workers.

The increasingly tough immigration controls which have been imposed by successive governments, both Labour and Conservative, make black and Asian workers in Britain insecure and vulnerable to victimisation and by restricting the entry of dependants, enable British capitalism to profit from the labour of coloured workers while avoiding the cost of providing social services for their families.

Under the 1971 Immigration Act, Commonwealth immigrants are only allowed to enter for one year initially, with a voucher to do a specific job in a specific place. Permission is needed to change jobs in the

first twelve months. Citizenship can only be applied for at the end before this period has expired a person can be deported if the authorities think it "in the public interest".

Only when an immigrant has acquired citizenship do his /her dependants acquire the right to join him/her in Britain. Even then they have to face systematic obstruction by HM immigration officers. They may have to wait up to three years for an interview, and must then produce fifteen to twenty documents. All members of the family are then interviewed separately for up to six hours, and closely questioned about all aspects of their lives. Any discrepancy in their answers can be taken to mean that they are acting under false pretences, so that entry may be refused. If the officers disbelieve a girl who says she is unmarried, they make her undergo an internal examination to test her virginity.

This cruel system, which keeps many families divided for years and years, is the ugly truth concealed behind the politicians' gobbledegook about keeping the number down to maintain good race relations.

Immigration controls are based upon the racist assumption that blacks and Asians are a problem - not human beings for whom the system creates problems. In many areas the police act on this assumption by persistently harrassing racial minorities. Examples of this cited in the report include the violent police raids on the Carib Club, the Mangrove Restaurant, the Metro Youth Club and the Moonshot Club, and the police attack on Chapel town bonfire party. Since the report was written we have seen police provocation leading to extensive street fighting at the Notting Hill Carnival. The worst offenders are the Special Patrol Group, who are not permanently attached to any district and so are even less moved by community feeling than ordinary cops. Trained for 'riot control' (i.e. street fighting), the SPG operate very aggressively, setting up road blocks, searching people in the street, and making far more arrests than the local police.

Systematic discrimination at work means that Asians and blacks get a worse deal in hours, wages and conditions. Almost one third of black workers do shift work, more than twice the proportion of white workers. Yet white workers earn on average more than 9 per cent more than blacks, despite the supposedly higher earnings from shift work. The report describes in detail the situation at Heathrow Airport, where the better paid jobs are held almost entirely by whites, while Asian women work for low wages in cleaning and catering. One example of how discrimination operates is the catering system of BEA Northside. The kitchen staff, almost all of whom are white, are classified as "assistant cooks" and have a starting wage of £40 a week. They pack prepared food on to trays. The Asian women outside the kitchen put the cutlery, plates and napkins on to the same trays. There is no difference in skill, but the Asian women have been regraded from "assistant cook" to "catering attendant" and earn almost £10 a week less.

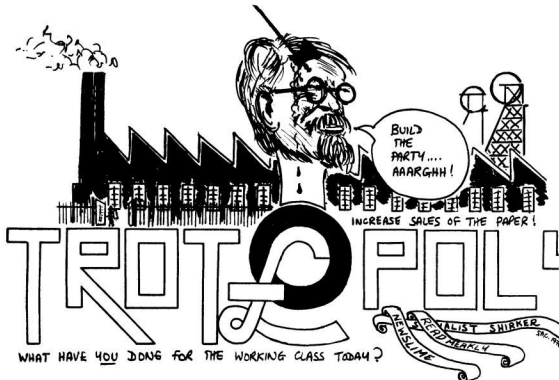
The state and big business make use of racism, but try to contain it within certain limits. Not so the fascist groups like the National Front and the National Party, whose aim is to rise to power on a wave of violence and race hatred. The report describes how the NF's "Honour Guard" - specialists in grievous bodily harm - smash up opponents' meetings and silence hacklers at NF meetings.

It points out how the recent growth of fascism has been powerfully assisted by the hysterical campaign against immigration conducted by the bosses' press, and describes the horrifying escalation of violence against blacks and Asians this summer. The report concludes that it is necessary to take action to smash fascism now, before it is too late.

The report points out that blacks and Asians are now fighting back vigorously against their oppression, giving as examples the strikes against discrimination at Mansfield Hosiery and Imperial Typewriters, and the courageous defence of Manningham against invasion by an NF march under police escort. (Unfortunately it omits to mention how community defence groups have been set up in certain areas to counter racist violence). It concludes by saying that racism is a very real danger to the working class, and by calling for a concerted offensive against it "at all levels, on the shop floor, in union organisations, and in the streets." This final appeal is unfortunate in that it suggests that it is sufficient to combat racism through trade union activity and street marches. What is really needed is a campaign against racism in all aspects of life, in housing, education, the media, etc, as well as in industry. This is my only major criticism of this publication, which makes a valuable contribution to the struggle against racism in Britain.

D.A.






TROTOPOLY RULES O.K.?

1. There are no rules.
2. Comrades may like to follow the following guidelines issued by the central committee of the 4th Inter-galactic.
3. At the start of the game each player forms a branch of a different party and chooses an emblem. The different emblems are:
a hammer,
a sickle,
an ice pick,
a mole,
a clenched fist,
a jack boot,

4. Players begin with £350 and proceed round the board by throwing a dice.
5. When a player lands on a square, s/he makes a contact.
6. When a player spends the requisite amount on papers and pamphlets, the contact is recruited and becomes a member of that players party. The cost of recruiting members is shown on the board (e.g. Student £20, Shop Steward £100) and is known as the value of the member.
7. If a player makes contact with a member of an opponents' party, that player has to buy literature from the member of the other party. The cost of these is one-tenth of the value of the contact.

		UNFORESEEN HISTORICAL INEVITABILITIES		DUPLICATING FACILITIES £50	EMERG DEFEN FUN
FEMINIST £20	UNEMPLOYED TEENAGER £20	?	STUDENT £20	 £50 FACILITIES DUPLICATING	PAY £
FEMINIST £20	UNEMPLOYED TEENAGER £20		STUDENT £20		

8. If a player makes contact with a left-wing printer, that player gets exploited. The cost of exploitation, as is known from the writings of a certain Dr Marx, is one-tenth of the cost of the printer's enterprise.
9. If a player cannot afford to pay the costs of being a revolutionary, s/he slips back into the mass of petit-bourgeois inactivity, and the members of his/her organisation can be recruited by other players.
10. When all the players save one have slipped back into the Morass of P-B I, the remaining player is declared the winner. His/ her organisation is then declared to be a Workers' Party. Its paper becomes a daily. Candidates are put up for Parliament. The way to revolution is clear.
11. At the end of the game, those who consider the whole game boring and irrelevant, are invited to participate in workers' self-management.
12. Solidarity - no rules O.K.?

YOUR GUESSES HAVE MEANT, IF IN DOUBT, THE ANSWER IS 'NO'.

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AGEING EMIGRÉ
INTELLECTUAL
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AGEING EMIGRÉ
INTELLECTUAL
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INTERNAL
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RICH, TRENDY
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UNFORESEEN
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WORKS
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£57 WH

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SENIOR
SHOP STEWARD
£100

Trotopoly:

UNFORESEEN HISTORICAL INEVITABILITIES

During the game certain of these take place. Some of these most frequently encountered are:

1. Your organisation splits - lose your most valued cadre.
2. Maoists invade your meeting and a scuffle breaks out - go back to 'Avanti', do not collect £50 membership dues.
3. You outrage the conscience of the Left - go back 3 spaces.
4. You outrage the conscience of the Left - go forward 3 spaces.
5. Your token Black exposes you as a honky - go back to 'Rich trendy Actress'.
6. Your 'deep entry' into the Labour Party is discovered - abandon the tactic and advance to 'Avanti'.
7. You recruit token woman - go forward to 'Feminist'.
8. Litho breaks down - pay £10.
9. Your paper prints article about what Marx was like in bed - miss two throws.
10. Leading cadre buys obsolete plate-maker - pay £20 and go back to 'Student'.
11. Daily Express exposes front organisation - go forward to 'Works Convenor'.
12. Party leader becomes ill - go forward 6 spaces.
13. Youngish journalist from elite social democratic background joins, proceed to 'Avanti'.
14. Your 'Mods and Rockers unite to kick out the Tories' Campaign disintegrates during pitched battles on Brighton seafront. Go back to 'Unemployed Teenager'.
15. Your 10-foot portrait of Gerry Healy/Tony Cliff/Tariq Ali is discovered to be suffering from Dorian Gray's disease. Pay £10 for refurbishment, and advance to 'Good Cadre Svejk'.

INTERNAL DIRECTIVES.

During the game the central committee of your party issues certain internal directives. Some of the most frequently encountered directives are:

1. Central committee puts £1 levy on each member.
2. Central committee organises jumble sale to pay for newspapers - pay £20 to help with costs.
3. Central committee organises issue of two-colour newspaper - pay £30 and get up tomorrow at 6 a.m. sharp.
4. National conference expels opposition - pay £40 to help the C.C. to reorganise.
5. C.C. member stands for post as Union bureaucrat - pay £50 to help with cost of the campaign.
6. Your party grows stronger by purging itself - pay £80.
7. Your party grows stronger still by purging itself once again - £200.
8. You have not sold your quota of newspapers - pay £500 fine to C.C. and get up sharp at 5 o'clock tomorrow.
9. C.C. puts £500 levy on each member.
10. Pay £1000 for activities which cannot be divulged because of their illegal nature.
11. Pay £4000 for similar reasons.
12. Pay up or else.
13. C.C. members buy expensive cars and declare revolution not attainable at this historical juncture, due to insufficient development of the contradictions.



Solidarity (London) are at the moment undertaking their largest publishing venture, viz.,
PORTUGAL: THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION? by Phil Maller. With an introduction by Maurice Brinton. £2.00
Donations/Loans and Orders urgently needed. 123 Latham Road, London E6.

some thoughts on the current

CRISIS

The current world depression is easily the most serious and protracted since the war. Twenty-five years of unprecedented prosperity, interrupted only by insignificant hiccups in the level of economic activity, have given way to stagnation and decline. Most Marxists have always argued that the economic contradictions of capitalism are in principle insoluble; that the long postwar boom could not be sustained indefinitely; and that the fundamental structural transformation of the world capitalist economy over the last forty years has merely postponed the day of reckoning. Equally consistently, Solidarity has denied that this is so, maintaining that the basic contradictions of modern capitalism lie outside the economy (as narrowly conceived by the Marxists) in the social relationships between order-givers and order-takers in an increasingly bureaucratic society.

Both are wrong. Solidarity's position has been thoroughly undermined - though not entirely destroyed - by the very existence of the present crisis. The Marxists, for their part, have generally failed to realise that this crisis is qualitatively different from any which has gone before, and that the conventional tools of orthodox Marxist analysis are wholly inadequate to deal with it. At the root of both misconceptions is the spurious distinction between the "economic" and "non-economic" spheres of social life.

Before 1939 prices and profits always fell before a slump. The present crisis is the first in the peace-time history of capitalism to be accompanied by rapidly rising prices, and certainly the first ever to bring about increasing profits. Marx neither encountered nor anticipated such a crisis - for him the very idea of a profitable crisis would have been a paradox - and his modern disciples are unable to explain it. The essential feature of the present depression, the feature which makes it historically unique, is this: it has been engineered, more or less consciously, and sustained, quite deliberately, for a specific purpose. Earlier crises just happened; this one has been produced.



The late 1960s and early 1970s saw an abortive but very real challenge to the visibility of Western Capitalism. This challenge was mounted on two levels. In "economic terms" it was represented by increasingly militant wage bargaining, leading to a severe (and well documented) squeeze on profits. The profit rate declined, as it noted, because of a fall in the rate of exploitation, and not, as Marx predicted and most of his followers continue to proclaim, a rising organic composition of capital. On the "non-economic" plane, this period saw a progressive disintegration of authority relations of all types: this has been charted by Solidarity in some detail.

These two challenges were intimately related. The wage militancy of, for example, the British miners, required that they rejected the moral authority of those (employers, union bosses, politicians, etc) who told them their demands were impossible ("the country can't afford it", "you'll put yourself out of a job", etc, etc). And the crisis of values, of legitimacy, of beliefs, was accentuated by the growing evidence that bourgeois society was defenceless against the confident solidarity of the working class.

Hence the need to create enough unemployment to frighten and demoralise the working class, to cajole and bewilder it sufficiently to permit the cuts in real wages (brought about by inflation) required to restore profitability, and to protect the dominance of capitalist ideas, if only



by default. In the absence of any obvious alternative, people in a lifeboat tend to obey the captain, even if they hate his guts, and even at the cost of considerable suffering. In effect what the international ruling class has done over the last three years is to produce a deliberate, carefully controlled partial shipwreck, in which almost no-one drowns, but the lower decks get the fright of their lives. They have been quite honest about this: any child can translate "we must give inflation priority over unemployment" as "we must take back the gains won in the wages struggle, and we will create as much unemployment as is needed to soften up the working class and make this possible".

Up to now this strategy has worked. The slump is serious enough to allow the Social Con-trick (and its less blatant counterparts throughout the world) to succeed, but mild enough to allow profits to rise. Unlike any of the major crises before 1939, this one is at present firmly under control.

If Solidarity was wrong to argue that stable capitalist growth with full employment was possible indefinitely, the Marxists are wrong in believing that Marx's economic writings are relevant to the current crisis. Sustained full employment has proved impossible, but not because of any narrow economic laws of the type laid down in "Capital".



Full employment is no longer viable because of the effect it has had on capitalist society as a whole, in loosening both the material and the ideological chains which bind modern class society together. The contradictions involved are simultaneously "economic" and "non-economic", and they are inseparable.



Where do we go from here? Short of the revolution (which has not been brought forward one single day by the advent of six per cent unemployment) we may well be fated to relive the next ten years over and over again, with successive phases of appeasement of, and aggression against, the working class. Possibly one dose of painful medicine will be sufficient, and (God forbid!) capitalism will revert to the tranquil "end of ideology" era of the 1950's. Perhaps six per cent unemployment will prove inadequate, and the crisis will deepen. It is quite conceivable that the whole thing will after get out of hand, a possibility significantly enhanced by the increasing acceptance in capitalist circles of primitive Friedmanite arguments for a return to laissez-faire. The future is more cloudy than it has been for a very long time, and neither Marx nor Cardan can show us what it holds.





MAKE YOUR OWN MUSIC



I will hazard a guess. There is probably more music being played in Britain today by more people than at any time in our history. How and why this should be is interesting. It all seems to begin with post-war revivalist jazz, an imitative music, often played by musical illiterates with the minimum of technique. Before that if you wanted to learn to play an instrument it usually meant playing the 'classics' on it and having to read music and that scene was overshadowed by genius. There must have been countless people deterred from playing the piano by thinking they would never make it like Moiseiwich. Current pop has its stars and 'geniuses' with the difference that 'technically' many are distinctly crappy. Mick Jagger for instance could be described as a large persona with a small voice, but you don't go to rock for the stylistic virtuosity of grand opera.

Most of the self-made music since the Second World War has either been made by relatively unsophisticated people giving vent to their feelings and thoughts - rock and some folk; or by more sophisticated people imitating less sophisticated people expressing their thoughts and feelings - revivalist jazz and the rest of 'folk'. This scene is usually imitative and some curious phenomena can be observed such as Mr Acker Bilk who emerged in that curious 'trad' boom of the late fifties with its spin-off into skiffle. A burly cider drinking figure playing a castrated version of the music created by New Orleans blacks at the turn of the century whilst clad in a costume vaguely reminiscent of an Edwardian fairground barker, rendered even more depressing by the fact that despite interesting possibilities, the whole thing remained determindly ur.camp.

At the unsophisticated end of the spectrum, rock and roll in the mid-to-late fifties attracted a largely working class audience which had previously been confined to the cattle pen of the palais and who released from their confinement and confronted at first with an emasculated version of black rhythm and blues proceeded to dance in the aisles and rip up the seats of their local Regal or Odeon. Rock and roll went through a heavily imitative phase and it was not until the mid-sixties after the blues, Bob Dylan and sundry strange substances had been absorbed that we had a real breakthrough to originality pioneered by the Beatles and followed by many. Of course the Beatles had always been more raunchy in their approach to women; part of that school which removed the Living Doll from her romanticized pedestal to dump her firmly in the back seat of a banger. But up to the mid-sixties women, if accorded a greater degree of humanity than an animated toy were confined to the essentially passive role of 'babes'. Even today the phenomenon of women's rock bands is almost entirely confined to the States - Fanny, Pertha, and most recently the Runaways. The Sadista Sisters are a refreshing exception and they caused a near riot involving heterosexual machomaniacs during a recent concert in Glasgow.

Underlying all this development has been a process which I will call the shitheap syndrome. That is, innovation has drawn heavily on the least 'acceptable' forms of music deriving from the most 'dispossessed' communities. The whole history of black music in the U.S.A. can be interpreted from this viewpoint, but this is a theme which could only be developed in depth in a future article. I would, at this point, merely draw the

reader's attention to the current status of Reggae and Jamaican music in general, for long despised by the rock, folk and musical officionadoes in general as being the province of blacks, skinheads, and people of dubious musical credentials; now impeccably trendy with everyone jumping on the Rasta bandwagon to quote Max Romeo of some years back. Absorption or recuperation takes place parallel to the recuperation of grass-root movements. The one night standers, roadies, and groupies of yesteryear now constitute an extremely wealthy rock jet-set, severed from their origins in more than one sense by H.M. tax inspectorate. Probably their music will begin to have less and less appeal to the kids who are already exploited by being packed like sardines into vast auditoriums to watch mammoth roadshows of an increasing sameness. The society of the spectacle has once more triumphed over creativity and the kids will have to search their own ranks to spot anything vitally new in music. There are signs that this is already happening. Reggae music has gone through a curious process whereby the sophistication of earlier models which prevailed two or three years ago has been replaced by a return to the 'roots'. With the D.J. dubs and Rasta groups firmly to the fore previously prominent singers, such as Jimmy Cliff, have relaxed into a virtual musical limbo. Trad jazz remains as it has done for some years, largely the province of middle-aged pub audiences throughout the country and the bands that are playing now have been playing the same stuff for ages, relying for their survival upon an apparently inexhaustible public taste for endless repetitions of the banal. On the rock scene, things are as yet difficult to detect, though there seems to be a growing shift of interest



towards younger groups. It is probably too early to say whether punk rock is any more than just a passing fancy for some jaded palates or whether it will have more lasting significance. There are vague indications that the latter may be the case, though at the moment things get so quickly absorbed through the endless search of trendy withits for ethnic virtue that it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish a movement from a trend. Only time will tell and who knows which side time is on.

G.W.



This is the (kamikaze) pilot issue magazine of the Solidarity National Organisation.

Its aims are twofold:-

To introduce the ideas of Solidarity's National Group - the umbrella organisation for both individuals and autonomous groups - to a wider audience than hitherto.

To permit individual members of Solidarity, however isolated, to express their ideas, communicate them to the rest of the group, and receive feedback, either through the magazine or privately.

We welcome your comments and criticisms.

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