

to the prosecutor and, unless absolutely unavoidable, none whatever to the defence. He imposed disciplinary penalties with complete single-mindedness - the imposition of discipline was his miraculous formula. If we had not had him, the whole show would have been much more boring. He was very rigid, tense, and his health did not improve. After the last trial he had to take sick leave. He frequently lost his temper and shouted. Often, we had to shout back - this always helps with such people.

These, then, were the main actors.

We felt like onlookers, and only interfered occasionally when we felt like it. This got to be more frequent as time went on.

One thing is sure, such a show cannot be seen very often, and it could not have been better written even by one of the authors of the "Theatre of the Absurd." We were only rarely co-actors, as it was not our show, but when we realised the opportunity which was being presented to us, we voluntarily took on the role of producer.

Now there remain only two possibilities - conviction, or acquittal. If we are acquitted, and this is most likely, it will be very difficult to explain to the tax payer what the fuss has all been about, or to justify the expense incurred, especially as he was not even permitted to partake in the enjoyment - moreover, the citizen gets very annoyed when these puppet shows have so little effect. If we are convicted, we shall probably get about six months, since it seems normal practice that the penalty demanded by the prosecutor is halved. This however, would be just as absurd.

Text and photo from the German magazine "KONKRET" 7 Oct. 1968

We read, enjoyed, learned from, recommend:-

- HAPT, 144, Thrupp Lane, Thrupp, Stroud, Glos.
- DESPITE EVERYTHING, 1937½, Russell St, Berkeley, California 94703, USA.
- ANARCHOS, P.O. Box 466, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009, USA.
- BLACK AND RED, P.O. Box 973, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49005, USA.

for those who read German:-

DINGE DER ZEIT, c/o A. Müller, Grabenstr. 4, 7313 Reichenbach/Fils, Germany.



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the New Left - H. Marcuse & a Comment -- F. Lohenbill

The following is the complete text of a talk given by Herbert Marcuse at the 20th anniversary program of the Guardian, as taped by Radio Free People and transcribed by the Liberation News Service. Marcuse was introduced by Bernadine Dohrn, Inter-organisational Secretary of SDS who called him, "a writer, philosopher, a man who the New York Times called 'the ideological leader of the New Left.'"

I'm not responsible for what the New York Times calls me. I never claimed to be the ideological leader of the left and I don't think the left needs an ideological leader. And there is one thing the left does not need, and that's another father image, another daddy. And I certainly don't want to be one.

There's one thing, I would like to resume what Carl (Oglesby) just said. We cannot wait and we shall not wait. I certainly cannot wait. And not only because of my age. I don't think we have to wait. And even I, I don't have any choice. Because I literally couldn't stand it any longer if nothing would change. Even I am suffocating.

I want to give you today as realistic a picture of the situation of the left as I can think of. This will require some theoretical reflection for which I do not really apologise, because if the left gets allergic against theoretical consideration, there's something wrong with the left. (Applause).

Let me start by pointing out the two contradictions with which our movement - and I say our - is faced. On the one hand, we all feel, we experience, we have it in our bones, that this society is getting increasingly repressive, destructive, of the human and natural capabilities to be free, to determine one's own life, to shape one's own life without exploiting others.

And we - let us not only mean we here in this room, it means all those who are repressed, who are enslaved by their jobs, by the unnecessary and still so necessary performances that are required from them, by the morality that is required from them, all those who are exploited by the internal and external colonisation policy of this country - this large WE, in bad need of change, but, on the other hand, I think we have to admit that in large part if not the majority of this population does not really feel, is not aware, is not politically conscious of this need for change. This presents, as I can see it, the first great problem of our strategy.

The second great problem for our strategy - we are constantly faced with the demands, "What is the alternative? What can you offer us that is better than what we have?" I do not believe that we can simply brush aside this question by saying, "What is necessary is to destroy; afterwards we will see what comes." We cannot for one very simple reason. Because our goals, our values, our own and new morality, our OWN morality, must be visible already in our actions. The new human beings who we want to help to create - we must already strive to be these human beings right here and now. (Applause).

And that is why we cannot simply brush this question aside. We must be able to show, even in a very small way, the models of what may one day be a human being. But the alternative, precisely in these terms, I still believe the alternative is socialism. But socialism neither of the Stalinist brand nor of the post-Stalinist brand, but that libertarian socialism which has always been the integral concept of socialism, but only too easily repressed and suppressed.

Now, if this is the alternative, how do we transmit it, because people will look around and will say, "Show us, where is this kind of socialism?" We will say, it is perhaps, it is probably going to be built up in Cuba. It is perhaps being built up in China. It is certainly fighting in Vietnam (against) the supermonster. But they will look around and say, "No this isn't socialism. Socialism, as we see it, socialism is what we have in the Soviet Union. Socialism is the invasion of Czechoslovakia." Socialism, in other words, is a crime.

And how can we meet this contradiction? The two contradictions which I just outlined, I think, can be telescoped into one. Radical change without a mass base seems to be unimaginable. But the obtaining of a mass base - at least in this country - and in the foreseeable future - seems to be equally unimaginable. What are we going to do with this contradiction?

The answer seems to be very easy. We have to try to get this support. We have to try to get this mass base. But here we meet the limits of democratic persuasion with which we are confronted today. Why the limits? Because a large, perhaps a decisive, part of the majority, namely the working class, is to a great extent integrated into the system; and on a rather solid material basis, and not only superficially. It is certainly not integrated for ever.

Nothing is for ever in history.

And the contradictions of corporate capitalism are more serious than ever before. But this does not and cannot and should not foster the illusion that such an integration, temporary integration, has indeed taken place, that can be loosened only if the contradictions within the system become more aggravated. They do, we have seen it during the

last years and it is our task - since such a disintegration will never happen automatically - it is our task to work on it.

The second item - why we are here faced with the limits of democratic persuasion - is the mere fact that the left has no adequate access to the media of mass communication.

Today, public opinion is made by the media of mass communication. If you cannot buy the equal and adequate time, if you cannot buy the equal and adequate space, how are you supposed to change public opinion, a public opinion made in this monopolistic way.

The consequence: we are, in this pseudo-democracy, faced with a majority which seems to be self-perpetuating, which seems to reproduce itself as a conservative majority immune against radical change. But the same circumstances that militate against democratic persuasion also militate against the development of a revolutionary centralised mass party, according to the traditional model. You cannot have such a party today, not only because the apparatus of suppression is infinitely more effective and powerful than it ever was before, but even more and perhaps most so, because centralisation today does not seem to be the adequate way of working for change and obtaining change. I will come back to it in a few moments.

Here I want to add one more thing. I said that the contradictions of corporate capitalism today are as serious as ever before, but we have immediately to add that today that the resources of corporate capitalism are equally strong and they are daily strengthened by the cooperation, or shall I say, the collusion, between the United States and the Soviet Union. What we are faced with, and I think this is one of the old-fashioned terms we should save and recapture, is a temporary stabilisation of the capitalist system, a temporary stabilisation, and any period of temporary stabilisation, the task of the left is a task of enlightenment, a task of education, the task of developing a political consciousness.

I would like to discuss under three headings very briefly the target of the strategy of the New Left, the methods and finally, the organisation of the New Left. First, as to the target: we are faced with a novelty in history, namely with the prospect or with the need for radical change, revolution in and against a highly developed technically advanced industrial society, which at the same time is a well-functioning and cohesive society. This historical novelty demands a re-examination of one of our most cherished concepts. I can here of course only give you a kind of catalogue of such re-examination.

First, the notion of the seizure of power. Here, the old model wouldn't do any more. That for example, in a country like the United States, under the leadership of a centralised and authoritarian party, large masses

concentrate on Washington, occupy the Pentagon and set up a new government, seems too unrealistic and utopian picture. (Laughter).

We will see that what we have to envisage is some kind of diffuse and dispersed disintegration of the system, in which interest, emphasis and activity is shifted to local and regional area.

The second concept that should be re-examined is the role of the working class. And here I would like to say a few words to one of the most defamed notions today, namely the concept of the new working class. I know what can be said against it, and what has been said against it. It seems to me that the concept of the new working class simply comprehends and anticipates tendencies that are going on before our own eyes in the material process of production in capitalism, namely that more and more highly qualified salaried employees, technicians, specialists, and so on, occupy a decisive position in the material process of production. And even in orthodox Marxist terms, just in this way became members of the industrial working class. What we see, I submit to you, is an extension of the potential mass base over and beyond the traditional industrial working class to the new working classes that extend the range of the exploited.

Now this extension, which indicates a large but very diffuse and dispersed mass base, changes the relationship between what we may call leading minorities or cadres of the left, politically militant, and the mass. What we can envisage is not, as I said, this large centralised and coordinated movement, but local and regional political action against specific grievances - riots, ghetto rebellions, and so on, that is to say, certainly mass movements which in large part are lacking political consciousness and which will depend more than before on political guidance and direction by militant leading minorities.

A few words on the strategy of the New Left. To the degree to which the pseudo-democratic process, with the semi-monopoly of the conservative mass media, creates and constantly reproduces the same society and a largely immune majority, to that degree must political education and preparation go beyond the traditional liberalistic forms. Political activity and political education must go beyond discussion and writing. The Left must find the adequate means of breaking the conformist and corrupted universe of political language and political behaviour. The Left must try to arouse the consciousness and conscience of the others, and breaking out of the language and behaviour pattern of the corrupt political universe, a pattern which is imposed on all political activity, is an almost super-human task and requires an almost super-human imagination, namely the effort to find a language and to organise actions which are not part and parcel of the familiar political behaviour, can perhaps communicate that what is here at work are human beings with different needs and different goals which are not yet and I hope never will be co-opted.

In terms of the establishment and in terms of the rationality of the establishment, such behaviour would and must appear as foolish, childish and irrational, but that may very well be the token that here is the attempt, and the at least temporarily successful attempt, to go beyond, to break out of the repressive universe of the established political behaviour.

Now, last, to the organisation of the New Left, I already mentioned the obsolescence of traditional forms of organisation, for example, a parliamentary party. No party whatsoever I can envisage today which would not within a very short time fall victim to the general and totalitarian political corruption which characterises the political universe. No political party, but also no revolutionary centralism and no underground - because both are all too easy victims to the intensified and streamlined apparatus of repression.

As against these forms, what seems to be shaping up is an entirely overt organisation diffused, concentrated in small groups and around local activities, small groups which are highly flexible and autonomous.

I want to add one thing here that may almost appear as heretic - no immature unification of strategy. The Left is split! The Left has always been split! Only the Right, which has no ideas to fight for, is united! (Much laughter).

Now the strength of the New Left may well reside in precisely these small contesting and competing groups, active at many points at the same time, a kind of political guerilla force in peace or so-called peace, but, and this is, I think the most important point, small groups concentrated on the level of local activities, thereby foreshadowing what may in all likelihood be the basic organisation of libertarian socialism, namely councils of small manual and intellectual workers, soviets, if one can still use the term and does not think of what actually happened to the soviets, some kind of what I would like to call, and I mean it seriously, organised spontaneity.

Let me say a few words on the alliance which I think should be discussed in the New Left. I would suggest not an alliance even with evil, as Lenin said, because the Devil today has become much too strong. He will eat us up. No alliance with liberals, who have taken over the job of the un-American committee. (Applause). Who have taken over the job of the un-American committee in denouncing the Left, doing the job the committee has not yet done, and I think I don't have to mention names, you know perfectly well. But instead, alliance with all those, whether bourgeois or not, who know that the enemy is on the right, and who have demonstrated this knowledge.

Let me come to the summary of the perspectives for the New Left. I believe, and this is not a confession of faith, I think this is at least

to a great extent based on what you may call an analysis of the facts. I believe that the New Left today is the only hope we have. Its task - to prepare itself and others, not to wait or to prepare today, yesterday and tomorrow, in thought and in action, morally and politically, for the time when the aggravating conflicts of corporate capitalism dissolve its repressive cohesion and open a space where the real work for libertarian socialism can begin. The prospects for the next year, the prospects for the New Left are good if the New Left can only sustain its present activity. There are always periods of regression. No movement can progress at the same pace; sustaining our activity would already be a success.

And, a word on a friend or enemy on the left. Those who denounce especially the young of the New Left - those who fight for the great refusal, those who do not conform to the fetishism and the fetishist concepts of the Old Left and the Old Liberals - those who denounce them as infantile radicals, snobbish intellectuals, and who in denouncing them, invoke Lenin's famous pamphlet; I suggest to you that this is a historical forgery. Lenin struck out against radicals who confronted a strong revolutionary mass party. Such a revolutionary mass party does not exist today. The Communist Party has become and is becoming a party of order; as it itself called itself. In other words the shoe is today on the other foot. In the absence of a revolutionary party, these alleged infantile radicals are, I believe, the weak and confused but true historical heirs of the great socialist tradition.

You all know that their ranks are permeated with agents, with fools, with irresponsibles. But they also contain the human beings, men, women, black and white, who are sufficiently free from the aggressive and repressive inhuman needs and aspirations of the exploitative society, sufficiently free from them, in order to be free for the work of preparing a society without exploitation. I would like to continue working together with them as long as I can.

San Francisco Express Times

* * * * *

In an interview published by the New York Guardian of 9th November 1968, Marcuse said that in view of the events in France he would reassess some of the conclusions drawn in his book "One Dimensional Man." He saw in the French events a turning point, and stated that he is now more optimistic. This optimism is clearly noticeable in the above speech. In contrast to "One Dimensional Man," he now sees "forces of negation" and speaks of a "temporary integration" which can be "loosened" if "the contradictions of the system become more aggravated," which, he assures us, they are becoming, as "we have seen during the last years."

Thus Marcuse now discerns points of support for the transformation of the system which are arising out of the economic contradictions of the system.

In an interview given to the German magazine "Pardon" of 12th December 1968, he foresaw not just a recession but a crisis of the American economy should peace really be made with Vietnam. This is a factor which would doubtlessly contribute considerably towards solving that problem of the American radical movement to which he gives prime importance:- the development of consciousness among the American people.

This leads directly to the problem of the "alternative," as mentioned by Marcuse. We can accept his definition of such an alternative as "libertarian socialism," but fail to see how this socialism is "probably" built up in Cuba and "perhaps" in China and "certainly" fighting in Vietnam. None of these countries bear even a remote resemblance to socialism. They are statistically manipulated societies in the stage of primitive accumulation and in the course of development towards capitalism. What they have achieved in common is that they succeeded in breaking out of the iron grip of imperialism and gaining their national independence, but the imperialists make them pay a heavy price for their attempts to become independent nation states. They have to maintain their efforts against blockades and armed attacks - such conditions do not make for freedom or socialism. It is high time that the New Left ridded itself of the illusions which it inherited from the old left. It is one thing to defend the independence of these countries against interference and violation by the imperialists, but quite another thing to hold them up as models for socialism. These countries live under more or less harsh authoritarian regimes and cannot serve as models, unless we follow the peculiar reasoning of Moravia who, disgusted with the capitalist consumer society, points to China as his ideal "utopia." But what is this utopia according to his book? A uniform, conformist and ascetic society with Maoism as its religion and Mao as its newly enshrined God.

Cuba is more "liberal," but it is authoritarian just the same. Castro is not as remote God-like a figure as Mao, but the reins are nonetheless in his hands and there are no independent organs of the people to keep him in check. The essence is the same: one party, one press and enslavement to the one and only God: Production. It speaks volumes that the foremost economic aim of Cuba is the increase of sugar production to ten million tons for which markets will have to be found, whilst the latest "achievement" for the people is the stringent rationing of sugar. In Cuba, as in all these countries, everyday life is drab and dominated by the morals of frugality which were so characteristic of all capitalist countries in the stage of their primitive accumulation.

If people want to see the "alternative" then let us not put confusion into their heads by pointing to Cuba or China as likely examples for the new way of life. It is far better to tell them that such a new society does not yet exist, but since for the first time in the history of mankind the material and technical preconditions for an immediate transformation of society do exist, we could start to build it here and now. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to try and paint a concrete picture or even to draw up a programme for

the future society and what it ought to look like, for the new society can only be the result of the decisions and actions of the people themselves. A critique of existing conditions should indicate, however, in which direction the change will have to be made, and what new tasks will have to be performed. The problem is not only how to get production priorities right and how to move from a consumers' hell into a sensible society which produces for the needs of the people but also the even graver problem of the threat which arises from the pollution and poisoning of our planet - in other words, how to free production from its inhuman aspects which arise entirely from an obsession with immediate "yields" which are mistakenly equated to productivity, although they undermine the basis for the permanence and duration of the latter. The essence of this mode of production is waste and the plundering of this planet, an aspect in which the so-called socialist countries do not differ from the other capitalist countries - on the contrary, they try to emulate them in it.

In this slavish imitation of capitalist production methods, the true essence of these newly independent countries is revealed. Nationalisation of the means of production is not a panacea, it is an unfortunate necessity for the backward countries in order to start out on an industrial development on their own, which in many ways is an anachronism enforced upon them by the advanced capitalist countries. Nationalisation has nothing to do with socialism - on the contrary it is, as we have seen, the precondition for the development of capitalism today and it would be reactionary to introduce it in the advanced countries.

In the latter, according to Marcuse, the notion of seizure of power "will not do anymore." This insight, long borne out by past history, was one of the main "empirical" outcomes of the May revolution. The task now is not nationalisation and concentration of power into the hands of an omnipotent state, but "diffuse dispersed disintegration of the system." In other words, power will have to be vested in the hands of the self-administering organs of the people. In France it could be seen how the system simply disintegrated from within and would not have been able to maintain itself against the will of the people if in the decisive moment the field had not been left to the politicians. What was missing was an organisation of the people, not a centralised party claiming leadership but an organism closely linked and in constant dialogue with the people, through which the people could express their needs. Consciousness does not fall from the sky, neither is it spontaneously born in the ranks of a messianic layer of society.

This leads to the other question raised by Marcuse: the role of the working class. There is no point in trying to save orthodox Marxism by simply including the white collar workers into the working class, for with the giving up of the conquest of power as an aim, the main political superstructure of Marxism (the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat) falls to the ground. It does not suffice to proceed merely empirically. The general lessons of the French events will have to be drawn. The "ex-

tension of the potential mass basis," the participation of the technicians and the "cadres" and the entry of the students on the political scene, show that it has become an empty phrase to talk about class struggle. Without doubt, this society is a class society, but it is a form of class rule which consistently undermines the basis of all human life, and of course also the individual members of the ruling class. Its abolition is therefore in the interest of the majority of mankind and it is by no means accidental that the children of the ruling class belong to the most vocal opponents of the system.

The task is thus to achieve a general awareness of the danger represented by the putrefaction of the existing system. Indeed this can be best accomplished on the basis of "organised spontaneity" as Marcuse so aptly calls it, for no one individual nor one group will ever be in possession of the "whole" knowledge. The problem does not consist in an artificial kowtowing to the working class - it is not the penny more or less for which action is apparently taken, but to try to discover below these economic demands the real issue, which will invariably reveal itself as a negative aspect of the present mode of rule.

The decisive action is no longer whether there is "exploitation" in the narrow Marxian sense. With the advance of technology, capitalism in the advanced countries has long overcome the crude aspects of exploitation and has put the working classes in this respect on the same level with other layers of society. It is therefore a futile academic exercise if certain so-called progressive sociologists ponder about the problem of whether surplus value is still being produced. The oppressiveness of the system is for the vast majority worse than at any time in its history, progressively destroying all genuine communal existence and transforming everything, even the most elementary necessities of life, into poisonous threats to human life.

In the advanced countries work itself has become an imposition, as a real need for it exists only in a limited sense. This emptiness and futility of the present existence is felt by increasing sections of the population who are longing for liberation from this entanglement in a mesh of false necessities.

The radical students are shaking society out of its inertia. They have created forms of struggle to break the iron ring of conformity. By their militancy and by the successes in their own sphere they have demonstrated that the rulers are vulnerable, a lesson not lost on society as a whole, as is proved by the growing militancy of the masses in various countries.

* * * * *

BE REALISTS - DEMAND THE IMPOSSIBLE:-

Student Slogan - Paris - May 1968.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

Miss Alaska and Miss Alabama riding the "Miss America Merry-Go-Round."



One Saturday morning not long ago, approximately 100 women, more or less loosely affiliated with women's liberation groups in New York City, left Union Square for Atlantic City's Convention Hall and the first major confrontation with the McCall/Red Book/Vogue image of THE AMERICAN WOMAN.

1 ATLANTIC CITY IS A TOWN WITH CLASS - THEY RAISE YOUR MORALS WHILE THEY JUDGE YOUR ASS

Susan Adelman

The leaflet which was distributed prior to and during the demonstration stressed several specific points of irritation:- Miss America seen as a boob without a mind; the more than subtle "racism-with-roses" atmosphere of the pageant - never a black finalist, never a true Miss America - an American Indian; Miss America as a military mascot with the high point of her reign being a trip to Vietnam; the whole image of the "corporate mannequin" whose body is used by Pepsi, Toni, etc., to persuade the customers to buy their products; the glamorisation of mediocrity - all women should aspire to be as bland as Miss America.

When we arrived, Atlantic City's community relations goon squad welcomed us, telling us that they were there to make sure that no one interfered with our civil rights. It was immediately obvious that the city was up-tight. And they were'nt at all relieved to know that our headquarters for the day was a hotel/restaurant in the middle of the black ghetto.

They led us to the area reserved for the demonstration - on the broad walk, but separated from the crowd by a line of police barricades about a 150 yards long.

We formed a picket line and circled, chanting and singing. The placards:- "Did you know that lipsticks can penetrate like bullets?" "All women are beautiful!" "Miss America is alive and angry in Harlem." The up against the wall chants were directed at motherhood, Hugh Hefner, Bert Parks. Others were:- "No more Miss America!" "Young women want good mobs - not old men!" "No more girdles, no more pain, No more trying to hold the fat in vain!" And the songs:-

A pretty girl (to be sung to the song of the same name)

A pretty girl is a commodity
With stock to buy and sell
When the market is high
And you see her pass by
Count up your shares in what she wears
That pays you dividends.

A pretty girl in this society
Is judged by looks alone
What you see on her face
Is often the waste
Of chemicals developed for the war.

We shall not be used

We shall not

We shall not be used

1) Just like a slave, standing on the auction block,
We shall not be used

2) Just like a sheep running in a county fair.

3) Just like a toy selling on a counter.

4) Just like a goddess standing on a pedestal.

WE SHALL NOT BE USED!

More chants:- "No more Miss America no more Playboy Magazine no more instruments of torture to women Freedom now! Freedom now!"

The crowd was hostile - the most hostile many of us had seen. They focused on our "unattractiveness." They told us our demonstration was just "sour grapes:" "she" is beautiful and "they" (read "we") were uglydirtyhairypeepees. "Dirty hippy take a bath Why don't you go buy a bra? Miss America is the most beautiful thing in the world Here she comes again - good old crater face I put on make-up every morning, and I love it Make-up makes me beautiful - but I'm beautiful without it too!"

FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN

The women didn't want to think about themselves and the men didn't want to think about their wives.

LNS (Liberation News Service) spoke with several men who seemed to have a sense of why we were there. One man told me he'd been to a Black Power conference in Philadelphia the week before, was clearly in sympathy with us. Before we spoke with him he turned to the man next to him and said, "these girls are going to have a big effect. You've got to sympathise with them, even if you don't see everything their way."

LNS: You think you understand a little bit about why they're here?

Man: I think they're against the whole concept of Miss America. They think that womanhood has value, and not the kind of value to be commercialised. And respect for the individual, rather than a selection that has no real meaning. That's the way I see it.

LNS: That's what it's supposed to be. And it's supposed to communicate the whole idea of exploitation too, exploitation of these girls by the corporations that run the Pageant. They're used to advertise the products and not seen as anything but "beautiful women."

Man: But that appeals to the average man on the street. He thinks no further than his own little situation, his own condition. He goes to work every day and comes back. And there's no real thought given to a general philosophy. Anything that kinda shakes the boat, shakes him.

LNS: In part, the girls are saying that people don't necessarily think that way on their own. That they're taught to think that way — like by McCall's Magazine and Playboy and all of the other things that exploit this same kind of "beauty" that's chosen here.

Man: Yes, they create standards. And what is necessarily beauty is not necessarily Miss America; because you know, we always have a different opinion — maybe somebody else should have won.

LNS: How do you react to the fact that there has never been a Black finalist in a Miss America Pageant?

Man: I just think that they don't know what beauty is. You should see into something creative as something of beauty because of the way you see it. The Pageant just demands people to look at beauty in the same way. It destroys the whole concept, I think; and I think beauty should be really creative. It should be in the eyes of the individual to use some powers of his own to make some decisions about what he considers beautiful. What's beautiful to you is not beautiful to me ... and that's all right.

* * *

Never having been to a Miss America Contest before, I didn't know what to

expect. The spectacle that evening fulfilled my wildest fantasies (nightmares?) about what Miss America represents and what she really is.

The theme of this year's Pageant was something like, "If you try and work and sing and dance and act beautiful enough for long enough, you may be able to travel the road to your "someday" as Miss America.

The cast of the "someday" skits, which ran throughout the program, showed where the whole thing was at:

One fag dancer

One super-sensational boob-girl

"Little Miss Someday": an eleven year old (maybe she was really a midget) Miss America prototype with makeup, hair in a perfect flip, little silver slippers and, undoubtedly, a size 28 AAA bra!

Bert Parks, who probably has no sexual inclinations whatever — homo, hetero, or auto.

What a shame!

On the first day, there are fifty girls parading up and down the runway, thinking that they may be heading for their "someday." By the third day, there are only 10 girls who still have a chance to reach the end of that road. Half an hour before the pageant ends, that number is cut to five. And finally, one girl has a "someday" and the other four get screwed.

Bert Parks, articulated this point perfectly, as he announced the name of the first runner up. "I want you to know that if, for any reason, Miss America is unable to carry out her functions, the girl who has been chosen as First Runner Up will become Miss America. This little lady is the second most important person here this evening." (!!!)

The false morality of the whole production is something to be marvelled at: The contestants cannot speak to a man unless a hostess is present. No men are allowed in contestants' rooms at any time — that includes fathers, brothers, husbands of hostesses, HAIRDRESSERS (!?). They project at all times the image of the virginal ingenue, lovely and sensual but forbidden. And then they turn around in front of the judges and show those dirty old men and women their lovely firm asses for five full seconds.

The fifteen women who were inside the hall, were seated in the balcony to the right of the stage. No question about the fact that the pigs were expecting something. We recognised two plain-clothes cops from the demonstration in the afternoon; There were several crew-cut young guys who couldn't have been anything else; and five police matrons came and sat one aisle away from the group. As Miss America (last year's — the one everybody's forgotten) was giving her farewell speech, right before she started talking about how wonderful it was for her to visit the boys in Vietnam, a banner was dropped over the railing at the balcony proclaiming "Women's Liberation" and across the hall

we heard the cry, "No more Miss America!" Then the pigs closed in, and the women were "ushered" out.

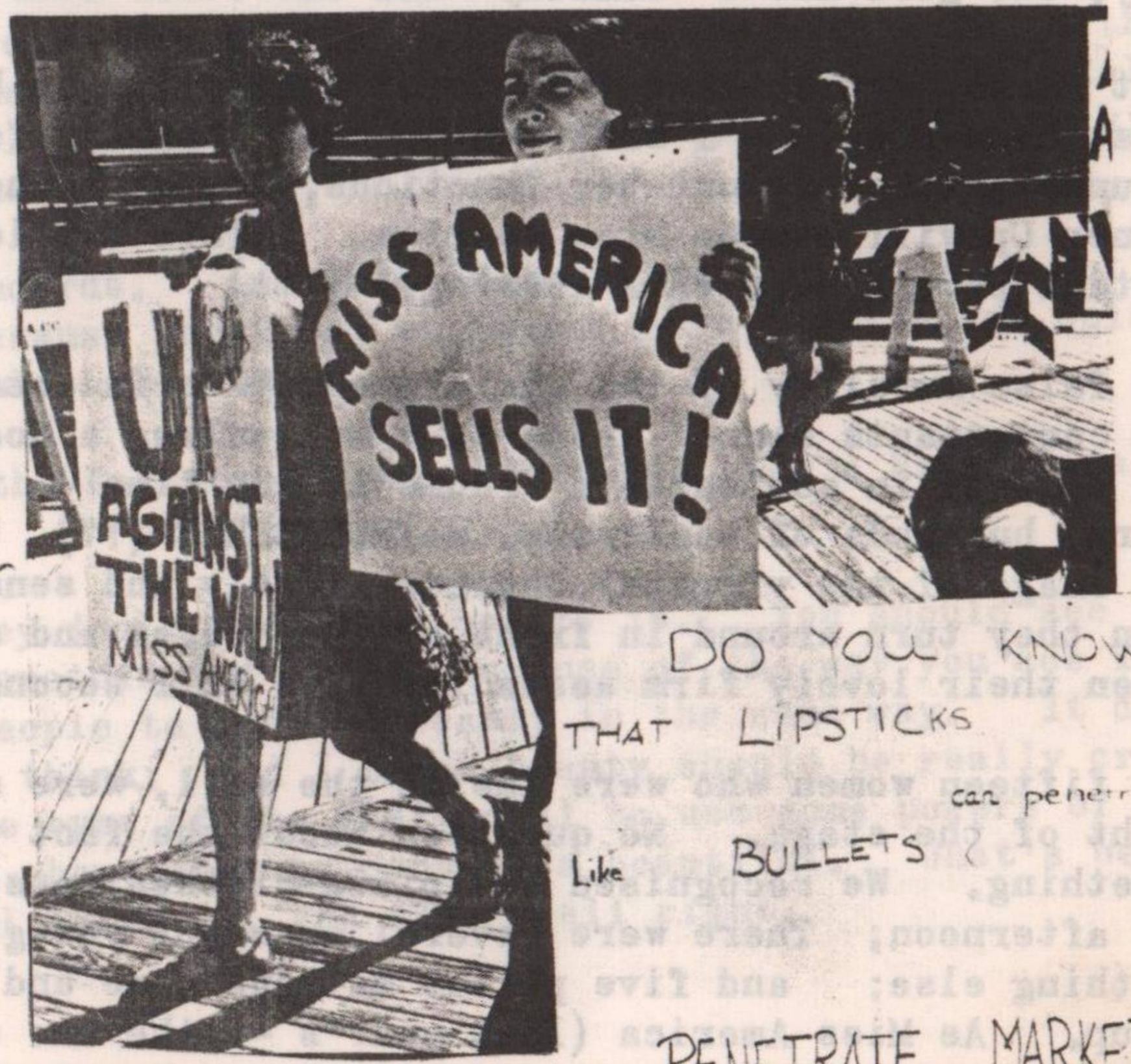
On the floor of the Hall, there was more action. One of the women described her development as a women's liberation guerrilla fighter: "When I was a little girl, my mother used to twist my hair on tight pick sticks and pour stinking smelling stuff over it. This was getting a Toni Home Permanent. Now Toni was also one of the sponsors of the Miss America contest, and I thought it would be especially appropriate to communicate the torturously stinking side of the prettily packaged product (product meaning Toni girl, not just Toni box).

"So I tried to find out what it was that made Toni smell so bad, but of course, the ingredients not being printed on 'the box', I had to rely on my own senses. So I smelled around and found some stuff that smelled as awful as I remembered Toni smelling. I diluted it (it really does stink), put it in an Elmer's glue plastic squirt bottle, and it spilled out on the floor as I walked down the aisle of the Miss America Pageant."

Peggy Dobbins was arrested and charged with "emitting an unpleasant odour." She faces possible indictment by a Grand Jury on September 27, and she could conceivably be sentenced to three years in prison. She plans to plead "not guilty." Two other girls were busted for disorderly conduct. Their bail was set at \$50 each, and they were advised to simply forfeit the bail and forget the whole thing. The women were charged after a sergeant had promised that all three arrested girls would be released without any court action.



MISS AMERICA
IS ALIVE AND ANGRY
IN
HARLEM



DO YOU KNOW
THAT LIPSTICKS
Like BULLETS ^{can penetrate}
PENETRATE MARKETS

2

The following is an interview with Eve Hinderer, a New Yorker active in the Women's Liberation Movement.

Conducted by Doris Fillion and Linda Lanphear

When did you first become interested in Women's Liberation?

Last November I arrived at a regional SDS conference just before the afternoon workshops and I saw a sign that read "Women's Liberation." So I went to that workshop and surprisingly enough, I felt not at all intimidated by the fact that only women were in the room. About 40 or 50 women were there and I opened up fantastically with a torrent of political and psychological viewpoints and became very enthusiastic about the whole thing.

Why do women have to be liberated: What is Women's Liberation?

Well, everyone has to be liberated because no one is free in this society. But women's liberation springs from the fact of women's secondary status to men. It is a recognition that this is a male-dominated society; that this is not natural and not correct; and that women have to liberate themselves from their secondary status.

To some women, "Liberation" comes to mean some sort of so-called "Sexual Freedom" and this usually turns out to mean that, now, we are not subjugated to just one man but to many men. How does this differ from your definition of the sexually liberated woman?

I see a number of dichotomies in the movement and in society as a whole that come from the basic alienation upon which the society functions. The first one is the separation between politics and everyday life. This is obviously a product of alienation for there is no separating the two; you are either honest with yourself or you're neurotic. And there is also a dichotomy between sex, on one hand, and feelings, emotions and personal desires on the other. I don't mean only sensual desires but desires for life as a whole. And increasingly it is becoming harder for me to just take sex as just a sensual experience isolated from everything else. I have my own growth and my own very intimate side of me. The more that I can reveal this to another person, the closer I become and the more involved I become with that person on all levels: on an intellectual level, on an emotional level, and ultimately, if the relationship becomes intimate enough, on a sexual level. And this to me is what sex is all about. I don't mean this in any Puritanical sense at all; it's just a very intimate sharing. With respect to the so-called sexual freedom, I don't think this means the freedom to just sleep with anyone; I think that's sick; it implies a basic lack of a sense of identity and integrity. There is an intimacy that is sacrificed in "sleeping around." The idea is that the only way that I'm ever going to get decent sex will be by my being

more honest with myself and with other people; and it seems that this is something that people have not thought very much about. A lot of what I see, like the sleeping around of the hippies, is a very healthy rebellion against very rigid standards about when sex is good, like after you get a marriage license. This, of course, is obvious bull crap; but in the meanwhile, they haven't been working out something really better and I think that it really has to be. People are discussing this question honestly, however; as in an article from the Notes from the First Year, "Women Rap About Sex". In this article the problem of dealing with one's sexuality is discussed point blank. It's just beautiful. All the humiliations, everything, it's all brought into the open. And so you realise what women go through: they sacrifice themselves all the time. I'm sure that men do too. There is something really compromised in indiscriminate sexual behaviour.

Are there other such hang-ups that women are likely to get caught in?

If you've ever read Frantz Fanon, he describes very beautifully the psychology of oppressed people. When people are not "enlightened," so to speak, they often identify with the oppressor. In many cases this is true of women who, because they are in some ways "privileged" and able to develop themselves more than most women are, tend to withdraw in disgust from anything having to do with women. This is quite simply because they think of women in the same terms that men do; you know, frilly, knitting all the time, not really worth a damn. We've had many women completely shying away from women's groups, saying something like, "Ech, women's groups, who wants to get involved in that?"

Because children are a very important part of the life associated with women, what are your comments about Women's Liberation with respect to children?

Well, there are some very obvious hang-ups that women and parents in general have with their kids. Characteristically, parents in this society are very possessive toward their children because they have no lives of their own; they lead an alienated existence. This is especially true of women, who live vicariously through other people to begin with. Of course, when they have a child, that child becomes just another person to live through; and so women while away their lives waiting for the people in their families to come home so that they can learn what "they" did during the day.

My own outlook boils down to a very anarchistic view of society, a society where everyone lives an autonomous life. This alone is what allows people to relate to each other on a free basis; where you have the absence of any forms of chains or repressive social structures. I think women's liberation brings forth this whole possibility because at the root of many, many things is this basic oppression between men and women. If you can eradicate that, you are going to open an entirely new vista.

It's apparent that, as with any oppressed group, women are pitted against each other. To free women from that so they do not have to look at every other woman as an enemy would seem to be an aspect of Women's Liberation.

This goes back to the very possessive nature of the relationships between men and women. As one woman in my group pointed out, once you get rid of this idea that you possess your husband and he owns you, then it's ridiculous for all of these jealousies to exist because there just is no basis for them. And, again, this aspect of oppressed people being against each other and not recognising the real enemy is another Fanon phenomenon. Of course, the "real enemy" of women would immediately seem to be men but actually the problem is a product of our present social structure.

Since the situation springs from the social structure, do you conceive of certain steps that are necessary to change that social structure? How do you see the process of liberation taking place?

Well, first of all, the country is going to need a revolution for any decent change to take place; that's been obvious to me for a long time. And how this is done is by making people realise that their own lives are suffocating and that they themselves are oppressed. Until you get this across, you are not going to go anywhere in the direction of radical change in this country. With women's liberation it's been very beautiful in this respect because the problem has become obvious within a very short period of time. Women go through all the necessary steps; like becoming angry and then really becoming mobilised and fighting tooth and nail for their liberation. They begin to tackle these problems every day and grow in the consciousness of them. And once they start this, their social and political consciousness keeps growing. For instance, my personal involvement with the women's groups in the last few months has dropped off because I've found that the groups have served an end to their purpose for me. I don't think that I am a liberated woman but I've discussed these issues and I've gone through a lot of anger and emotions about them and now I'm at another stage of growth, so to speak, and the society poses new obstacles for me. This is because I now recognise the more basic causes of social oppression. And that's just what social consciousness is; to realise that real life and growth are both impossible for anyone in this society. And when you realise that there are no alternatives, you realise the need for total social revolution.

What do you mean by "Going Through Stages" in developing a conscious need for Women's Liberation?

For instance, the anger that I went through sprang from a deep-seated resentment of being used by men, which, in turn, resulted from my own lack of identity and the necessity of living through men. When you realise that and become humiliated by such facts, you become very angry. From there it's a gradual process of getting in contact with your own desires, your

own thoughts, and your own feelings and then carrying out on them.

It seems that both men and women have always been victims of social structures that pressure them into living up to a stifling, unnatural image of a human being.

Yes, for example, there is this false dichotomy between male and female characteristics where women are supposed to be passive and uncreative, receptive and also receptacles; and men, on the other hand, are the ones who are creative, spontaneous, aggressive, run their own lives, etc. Upon reflection, however, one realises that every person is an admixture of all these things.

Throughout history, women's lot has been characterised by limited choices: she has always been hemmed in by the social structure and concepts of social norms. For instance, it's entirely in the realm of human experience for any human being, male or female, to wish to have an intimate relationship with another but not wish to make the relationship permanent by marriage. It is considered wrong in this society if a woman should want to ask a man for a sexual relationship; it would be considered that something is wrong with her. These concepts must be changed. Men and women have to start communicating their human desires to one another, being open and free with their minds.

What has the Women's Liberation Movement done?

Many groups have been forming around the country. There are three or four in the Bay Area that I've heard about; there are three in New York and probably one at Columbia University which makes four; there are a few in Chicago also. The nature of the groups is that of an affinity group: people getting together due to a human need that they share, not due to some abstract idea or purpose. They get together on a warm, human level and, in this atmosphere, they can freely discuss their problems and go from there. Then, once individuals start fighting the battle in their everyday lives, the groups serve as a center of reference to which they can return to discuss the losses and the victories. They can regain strength, figure out strategies, and so forth. As I see it, when you have this human contact, then concrete actions can take place.

Is it necessary for a woman to have political awareness before she can understand her own oppression within the system? For instance, is the typical suburban housewife harder to get through to than women who already have a political consciousness?

Through understanding your own oppression, you have a sympathetic attitude towards all of your oppressed brothers and sisters, no matter what colour or nationality they may be. This is because you are able to empathise with their situation and you are therefore in allegiance with them. Now if you can get a suburban housewife to this level, then you've got her. But I have doubts about that, very realistic ones too, because I've tried

to talk with them and, in a short amount of time, it's impossible. You have to shell-shock them. Of course people understand things on differing levels; perhaps the average woman would not understand the oppression of women on a political level but would on an emotional-psychological level. And it would be on this level that they could be reached. They can talk in terms of their daily activities and how they feel about them; on that level they could be brought to understand new things.

Here I would like to bring up a point on which I disagree from most of my sisters. I think that this deeper social consciousness that we have been talking about has to come sooner or later and, therefore, I don't see the women's liberation movement as an end in itself. I don't see a "Women's Column" in the revolution; women are going to be fighting in it but the possibility of there being a women's movement in this isolated sense is something I do not see as being a reality. I would not like to see a women's brigade, a black brigade, or any other brigade. I would like to think that the revolution would be a whole movement. And if it's not, if the thing about comradeship is just a farce, then maybe it hasn't gone far enough. The brigades are what we had before and, as it said in Anarchos, "You have to live the revolution." This is very important to realise. You have to get people together for the cause of humanity. It's taken me a few months to work out the fact that I do have a serious difference with some of my sisters. They are very serious and very militant about women's rights; they see the women's revolution as such and they say that "Women's rights have to be assured within the revolution." Now, basically, I agree with this statement but something bothered me and I finally figured out that I objected to the anti-male attitude that has come to characterise the thinking of many of my sisters. This seemed to be going off in the wrong direction and then suddenly I realised that they kept talking about the rights women would have after the revolution without actually having a revolutionary vision. They couldn't incorporate their problems so as to see a larger liberated society for everyone. All they could talk about was women's rights, especially with respect to menial things like doing the laundry and the dishes. But it occurred to me, once you get rid of these things, what have you got left? They actually haven't worked out their revolution. They're simply negating something and they really haven't carried it any further than that. I want to go beyond the simple "anti" stand; I want to go to something positive.

You know, women seem to become interested in women's liberation almost overnight. What this amounts to is a revolution in perspective, a change from viewing women's problems in an individual, introverted way, thinking that they are only personal problems, and then seeing them as social illnesses. And, of course, this is like suddenly realising that you're not sick after all, that it's society that's sick and you're caught up in it. Such realisation constitutes a release that allows one to develop a larger political perspective.

3

At the delegates conference of the radical German students' organisation in Frankfurt last autumn, the women students bombarded the male students with tomatoes as a protest against the authoritarianism of the revolutionary male students, and in order to make their opinions heard. The German magazine "Konkret" of 7th October 1968, published the following shortened version of a speech by Helke Sander, representative of the "Action Council for the Liberation of Women."

By the present separation between private life and social life, women are persistently thrown back into individual conflicts requiring solution in the private sphere. They are still educated for private life, for the family, which, for its part, is dependent on the conditions of production against which we are struggling. The education for a specific role, the inculcated feeling of inferiority, the contradiction between their own expectations and the demands of society, all generate a constant feeling of guilt for being unable to do justice to the demands put on them, for having to choose between alternatives which in each case involve the renunciation of vital needs.

Most women are not political, because politics has hitherto always been defined one-sidedly, and has never included their needs. They are therefore forced to persist in their appeal to the authority of the Law, as they have not become aware of the fact that the realisation of their demands will break through the boundaries of the system.

The easiest groups to be politicised are educated women with children. They are the most aggressive and are at least vocal. Those women who today are in a position to study, do not owe this so much to the bourgeois movement of emancipation, as to economic necessity, and when they have children, they find themselves thrown back into old behaviour patterns, which, thanks to their emancipation, they had already overcome. Their studies are discontinued or delayed and their intellectual development comes to a standstill or is considerably reduced, a result of the demands of the family. Added to this is the insecurity arising out of the fact that they have not succeeded in resolving the conflict between being a blue-stocking and becoming a housewife, between building up a career, which has itself to be paid for with a considerable loss of happiness, or becoming a woman in the sphere of consumption. In other words, it is especially these more conscious women who have learned through experience that the bourgeois road to emancipation is the wrong one, and who have also learned that they cannot emancipate themselves through the competitive struggle. They have learned that the general principle of productivity has become the decisive factor within existing conditions, and that the road to emancipation is pre-conditioned by the ends which determine it.

These women learn very quickly when they have children that all their privileges are of no use to them, and they are thus the first to be in a position to throw light on this scrap heap of social life, which is synonymous with carrying the class struggle into married life and into existing conditions.

Thus the man finds himself in the objective role of the exploiter or class enemy, which, of course, he does not want subjectively, but which has also been forced upon him by a society based on the productivity principle and which maps out for him the role he has to play. (1)

We cannot solve the problem of the oppression of women individually, and we cannot wait for its solution until after the revolution, as a mere political and economic revolution does not abolish the repression of private life, as is demonstrated in all socialist countries. (2)

(1) The remarks of Engels in this connection still seem specially relevant. (Origin of the Family, Selected Works, Vol II, pg. 211). "In the old communistic households, which embraced numerous couples and their children, the administration of the household, entrusted to the women, was just as much a public, a socially necessary industry, as the providing of food by the men. This situation changed with the patriarchal family, and even more with the monogamian individual family. The administration of the household lost its public character. It was no longer the concern of society. It became a private service. The wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production. Only modern large scale industry again threw open to her . . . the avenue to social production; but in such a way that, when she fulfils her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and cannot earn anything; and when she wishes to take part in public industry and earn her living independently, she is not in a position to fulfil her family duties. What applies to the woman in the factory applies to her in all the professions, including medicine and the law. The modern individual family is based on the open or disguised domestic enslavement of the woman; and modern society is a mass composed solely of individual families as its molecules." To this Marx adds concretely:- (op. cit. pg. 198) "The modern family contains in embryo not only slavery (servitus), but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural services. It contains within itself in miniature all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state".

If the world historic defeat of the female sex constituted the initiation of class society, the liberation of women appears as the ultimate historical necessity for the elimination of class society and the establishment of truly human social relations. (Eds).

(2) We cannot refrain from comment, and it is indeed a great pity that Helke Sander's otherwise excellent and liberatory insights should be marred by so unthinking an error. We must reiterate: these so-called socialist countries are far from being socialist. They are bureaucratic, exploitative, totalitarian regimes and their so-called political-economic revolution merely laid the foundation for the development of capitalism in line with the world-historical tendency of capitalist development towards fascism. A genuine socialist transformation of society, which has yet to be achieved in any country anywhere and towards which the May revolution in France took the first historical step, will by its very nature extend to all spheres of social life.

We struggle for conditions of life which will eliminate competition between man and woman. This is only possible by transformation of the productive relations, and with it of power relations in order to create a truly democratic society.

As women with children display the greatest preparedness for solidarity and are most ready to be politicised, we concentrated our activity on their conflicts. This does not mean that we do not take seriously the conflicts of students without children, nor does it mean that in spite of the characteristics common to all oppressed women, we are not aware of the specific mechanisms of class oppression; it merely means that we want to work as effectively as possible and that we have to create a starting point which will permit us to approach the problem in a systematic and rational way.

As the initial efforts made by us to deal with these conflicts together with the SDS and within the SDS failed, we withdrew and worked on our own.

When we started half a year ago, most comrades made fun of us. Now they reproach us for having withdrawn, they try to prove to us that we have entirely wrong theories, they try to impute to us the opinion that women do not need men for their emancipation and similar idiocies, none of which we have ever maintained. They emphasise that they too are oppressed, which we know in any case. We merely cannot see why we should any longer accept their oppression, with which they in turn oppress us, without defending ourselves against it. It is precisely because we are of the opinion that emancipation is only possible as an overall social emancipation that we are, after all, here. For it must be said at least once that society as a whole consists of more women than men, and it is high time that we raised the claims flowing from this and demanded that these will be considered in future planning. Should the SDS not be able to advance rapidly to this insight, then we shall have to embark on a power struggle, something we would much rather avoid - it would be a waste of energy on our part. For we shall win this struggle - historically right is on our side.

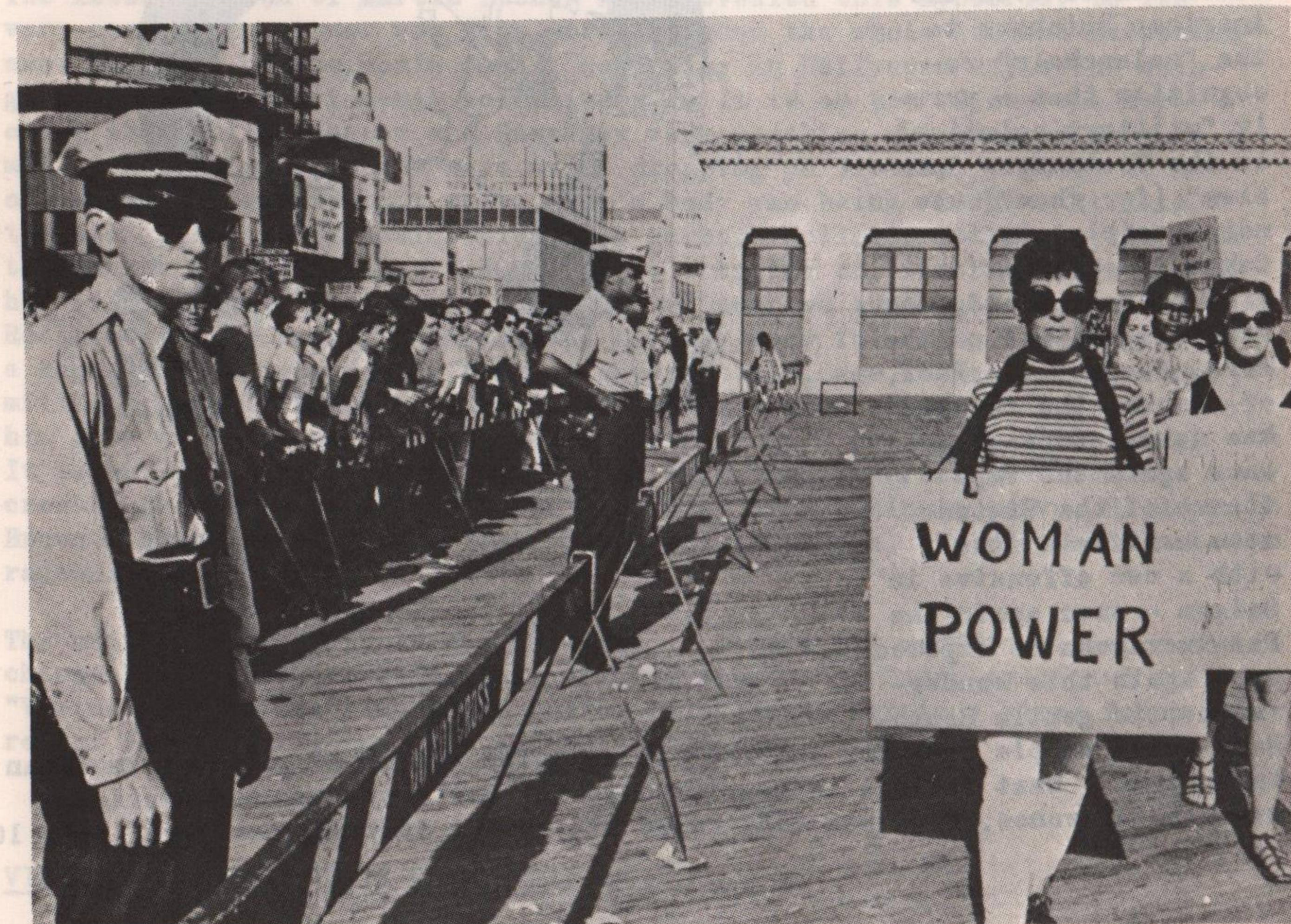
Both the helplessness and the arrogance we have been forced to show here does not give us pleasure.

We are helpless because we feel that we ought to be able to expect from progressive men that they understand the explosive character of our conflicts. Our arrogance is the result of our insight that you are such blockheads that you cannot see that without the least help from you, people to whom you have never given a single thought have suddenly organised themselves, and, moreover, in numbers, which you would take for the beginning of a new dawn if they were workers. (3)

(3) Here again we cannot refrain from adding:- Your precious workers who stood idly by and watched while you were being beaten up by the police during the Easter uprising, who could have achieved with a simple strike of van drivers etc, what you with all your revolutionary fervour, pain, and heroism, and for which you are still being persecuted today, could not achieve, the prevention of the distribution of the Springer newspapers, but who did not lift a finger to help. (Eds)

Comrades! Our meetings are unbearable! You are riddled with inhibitions which you have to release as aggression against comrades who say something stupid or something you know already. These aggressions are only partially the result of insight into the stupidity of the other side. Why don't you at last admit that you are exhausted from the strain of the last year, that you don't know how to bear the stress any longer, that you consume your physical and intellectual energies without getting any pleasure from them. Why don't you discuss before you plan your campaigns, how they can be executed? Why do you all buy Reich? Why do you speak here about class struggle, and at home about orgasm difficulties? Is that not a subject for the SDS?

These repressions we will not tolerate any longer



MATERIAL & DOCUMENTS

and the war drags on

It is now just 1 year since the staggering uprising of the Vietnamese people known as the Tet offensive. It was this offensive which forced even the American butchers to the "melancholy" recognition that a purely "military solution" to the Vietnamese "problem" (for whom?) was not feasible, to the token "de-escalation of the escalation", to the inauguration of the Paris farce. In fact, of course, the carnage has never stopped, and once again the impatience of the Vietnamese manifests itself with a new offensive in Saigon - once again the Pax Americana is exposed - once again this wonderful heroic gentle South-East Asian people dams for the rest of humanity the flood gates of American barbarism. What follows is reprinted in its entirety from the American magazine Anarchos, P.O. Box 466, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009.

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The short article below -- "Vietnam and the White Refrigerator" -- was written immediately after the Tet offensive, weeks before Johnson's speech of March 31st, the assassination of Martin Luther King, and the sweeping black insurrections that followed. The article is a slap at the hypocrisy of white middle-class America. In this respect, absolutely nothing has



happened to question its relevance. The Johnson speech was a shrewd maneuver, clearly intended to arrest the headlong plunge of the United States into an acute social crisis. Whether it leads to negotiations or to a resumption of the war on a still higher scale of military operations alters nothing in the article. White middle-class America for the most part exhibited a shameless indifference to the suffering inflicted on the Vietnamese people by American arms and a disgusting preoccupation with its own media-manufactured appetites, tastes, and concerns. Only the prospect of extended conscription, higher taxes, a call-up of the reserves, and the obvious futility of trying to achieve the subjugation of Vietnam by military means began to shatter this mindless indifference and evoke serious opposition from the great backwash of suburbia.

The assassination of Martin Luther King revealed this hypocrisy to its very core. No sooner was King murdered when the whole liberal Establishment moved in on the man's death, co-opting in Hollywood style the eulogies, mourning and funeral solemnities. It is an act of supreme hypocrisy that while Johnson and Humphrey were mouthing eulogies to King as a man of nonviolence, bombs were still dropping on Vietnam. It is an act of supreme hypocrisy that while King's body was being flown to Atlanta, the strike of the predominantly black garbage collectors that brought him to Memphis in the first place was still dragging on, all but forgotten by his liberal "mourners." It is an act of supreme hypocrisy that while Rockefeller, McCarthy, Kennedy, and Lindsay were following King's body to a segregated cemetery, the body of Bobby Hutton, age 17, a Black Panther militant, was lying on an Oakland slab, the victim of racist cops who shot him down when he emerged with raised hands from a beleaguered building. It is an act of supreme hypocrisy that while the liberal Establishment croaked the refrains of "We Shall Overcome" around King's grave, H. Rapp Brown starved by a protest fast, was still in prison, the victim of outrageously high bail.

The article below is only too relevant. With a few modifications, a few changes in words, the reader has only to substitute "Afro-American" for "Vietnamese" in the lines that follow in order to retain a clear focus on recent events in Vietnam and the United States.

VIETNAM - AND THE WHITE REFRIGERATOR

Right now, in Vietnam, what is at issue is no longer a social or political question, but a biological question -- a question of whether the Vietnamese people will physically survive the attempt of America to "liberate" them. In this horrifying apocalypse, where all the horsemen are white, a beautiful gentle Asian people are being systematically butchered and their land reduced to a desolate cemetery. While white middle-class America wakes up to its favourite crispy breakfast cereal and its inane morning paper, while

it sends its plump, well-groomed kids off to gleaming suburban schools, countless Vietnamese families awaken to a diet of rifle and mortar fire, to high-explosive aerial bombs, to napalm. In the villages of Vietnam, thousands of children are too mutilated, too maimed to walk — much less to attend class for "improving their minds."

While white middle-class America lathers itself with perfumed shaving cream, gargles with its choice mouthwash, smugly pats its plump face with brand-name lotions and deodorizes itself, millions of Vietnamese — their destroyed cities and villages lacking food, potable water, and the most minimal sanitary facilities — are faced with massive epidemics of typhoid fever, cholera, and bubonic plague.

The people of Vietnam do not have to diet on low-calorie biscuits and yogurt to stay thin; they live daily on the edge of starvation. They are not preoccupied with the length and styling of their garments; for them it is a question of finding bandages to cover the gangrenous ooze of wounds inflicted by American napalm and shell fragments. They are not shopping for face creams to pamper flabby, middle-aged skins; they desperately need antibiotic ointments to coat their festering, blackened, incinerated flesh. They are not concerned with occupying a corner of a psychoanalytic couch and coaxing some life out of bored vacuous egos; they are looking for hospital beds in which to rest their shattered bodies.

What is your "dream" white middle-class America? A new dishwashing machine, a sleek Jaguar, a color television set, a hotshot hi-fi ensemble, a motorized lawnmower? In Vietnam it is simply: survival. Survival — and the silence of peace. Do you dare, white middle-class America, to babble about city planning, clean air, more park space while the cities and villages of Vietnam lie in shambles and the air is filled with the stench of decaying bodies? What has replaced your conscience and soul, white middle-class America? A supermarket, with its soothing, piped in music? A discotheque with weary go-go dancers wreathed in synthetic smiles. A topless cafe, where the naked tits of bought girls hang over your martinis? In Vietnam the supermarkets are the garbage dumps of American army camps and the grim children of Saigon have been turned into pimps for their sisters and mothers. It used to be said of the colonized countries that whisky preceded the bible, that dynamite paved the way for the cross. Those were idyllic days compared with the "blessings" you have conferred on southeast Asia today. You have the nerve to talk about "liberating" Vietnam, of "freeing" Saigon from Viet Cong infiltrators. You demoralized and crushed the soul of this Asian city long before your guns and bombs shattered its buildings and huts. In its shanty cheapness and florid vulgarity, in its blackmarket and brothels, in its corrupted, venial officials and sadistic police, in its garish neon lights and squalid, filthy streets, Saigon has become the authentic image of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, shorn of their myths, their false tints, their hypocritical claim to culture and civilisation. You have not merely Americanised this city, white middle-class America; you have shown what

America means, what America is. The only pure and clean thing in Saigon is the armed guerilla lurking behind a window. And that is who you want to drive out of the city — the guerilla whose very presence is a defiant protest against your "blessings" and "contributions."

It's your hypocrisy that rankles the soul, white middle-class America, your stinking pretensions. One can deal with a "radical" rightist, an outspoken fascist openly and cleanly — in a state of mutual hate that evokes respect. But to listen to your demeaning claims to be "liberators," your pap about "negotiations," your queasy moralisms, or more horrifying than all, to suffocate in the atmosphere of your narrow egoism and indifference — this is what aches, what nauseates. "Law-and-order" America, divinely mediocre America, beauty parlor America, tv-soaked America — vapid like the face of a Nixon, phoney like the demeanour of a Johnson, philistine like the soul of a Norman Vincent Peale. And "liberal" America — prudent like the speech of a Eugene McCarthy, treacherous like the opportunism of a Kennedy, vulgar, dense, and self-righteous like the column of Max Lerner.

Take care, white middle-class America — the war is coming home. Your youth — the sweet concern of your baby doctors, your PTA meetings, your recreation directors — may not permit themselves to be hypocritically sacrificed by the thousands to your computerized god of war. Your black house-cleaners and handymen may set your mortgaged little boxes afire. Your stinking cities may burn in the flames of insurrection.

What will you do then, white middle-class America? Try to place your youth in concentration camps? Try to place your conscience behind barbed wire and prison turrets? Try to bomb your own cities? And in the name of "freedom" try to turn America itself into a graveyard of freedom, its sepulcher: a towering white-enamelled refrigerator topped by a grinning skull? Then learn this much from your escapades in Vietnam: what will lie in that cemetery will be the ruins of your own foul and oppressive "civilisation."

— Incontrollado

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for Student Power

The material here presented is reprinted from Confrontation 1. Only the Theses of May, prepared by the same student group who were responsible for the original French material, have been added. These statements were literal translations from handwritten manuscripts transcribed during the heat of the discussions in the now almost legendary Soviet of the Sorbonne of May, 1968. We thus had no opportunity of checking with the authors on obscure points, etc. We also felt it proper to present them in this way rather than to undertake editorial "corrections" at the risk of diluting or distorting the contents. We were convinced that this in no way detracted from the value of these very fine declarations. Their relevance and importance to the student movement cannot be overestimated.



Appeal to the Students - the Thirty Theses

Students! We are adults! We are workers! We are responsible people! Let us explain clearly what we want, and take time to understand it ourselves:-

Thesis 1 - There is no student problem. "The student" is an outdated concept. We are the privileged, not economically, but because we alone have the time and the material and physical possibility of acquiring consciousness of our condition and of the state of society. Let us abolish this privilege by ensuring that everyone becomes privileged.

Thesis 2 - Students, do not let us be differentiated from our teachers and other groups in society. Do not let us be immured in a "student class" with its problems of "economic and social integration." We are workers like the rest. We are an investment, we are social capital. We should be paid like any other worker with a social function, and considered as such. Do not let us be treated as parasites. Refuse to be blue-eyed boys (fils-a-papa), i.e. to be economically dependant, to be minors.

Thesis 3 - Students. We reject the consumers' society. We have everything. It is necessary to consume, but to consume what we have decided to produce.

Thesis 4 - Students. Do not submit to "workerism". The working class as a whole has been swindled just as an attempt is being made to swindle us now. The means of choice were not given to it - that is the education necessary to acquire consciousness.

Thesis 5 - Let us refuse to compromise with the trade union leaders. They have also allowed themselves to be misled and they have betrayed all workers by making them into blind consumers. Nobody has pointed out to them the importance of this commonplace: the worker consumes only what he produces. The 40 hour week was voluntarily rejected by the working class, because consumption was represented to them as a final goal, as an end in itself.

Thesis 6 - The "bourgeoisification" of the working class has been carried out by modern capitalism on a world wide scale. They presented a glossy image of their own privileges as available to all and in this way started the vicious circle of "needs" and "pseudo-needs". They have thus divided the world into two parts - the haves and those capable of becoming haves, and those in the world who are provisionally shut out, the so-called underdeveloped countries. Thus the solidarity of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been achieved against the "lumpen-proletariat" of the third world.

Thesis 7 - Students. We are the lumpen-proletariat of the consumer society

Let us abolish ourselves and with us all "lumpen-proletariat."

Thesis 8 - Students, do not let us give in to the blackmail of apoliticism. Our struggle has always been political and can only be political. Let us reject the sops of understanding, and the paternalism and nonsense which we have been asked for.

Thesis 9 - We must continue to fight for a radical change in society.

Thesis 10 - Students, let us refuse "revolutionism". It is not a question of bringing about just any revolution, for this cannot be brought about. A REVOLUTION IS NOT A LUXURY, NOR AN ART. IT IS A HISTORICAL NECESSITY WHEN ALL OTHER METHODS HAVE FAILED. Revolution is a continuation of talks when these have become impossible.

Thesis 11 - Students, we must make the revolution and it will be hard and long. Do not let us deceive ourselves - the revolution is not just a few more lecture theatres and lecturers. That would not change our situation in society since our condition is only the product of the existing State and of Society as a whole.

Thesis 12 - If our situation leads us to violence, it is society as a whole which is using violence against us because the foundation of society is violence.

Thesis 13 - Students, let us reject a "happiness" which is enforced on everyone. This shameful happiness of overtime, of the disgusting haggling over selling one's labour and of the vital force bargained away for a few toys in black-and-white or in colour which only serve to deprive us of our humanity the more easily.

Thesis 14 - Students, we alone can reject this because we have the privilege of not yet having entered into the vicious circle. You alone can still choose - and do not deceive yourselves - nobody will help you because nobody can. In the past we were merely a small minority of persons destined to be privileged and thus more readily assimilable. We are now a too large a minority for assimilation, but still preserve the old minority status. Such is the contradiction of our position. Such is our revolutionary force. Let us not lose our hold on it by accepting our difficult and gradual integration, and thus prevent our privileges from spreading to the majority.

Thesis 15 - Students, let us rely only on our youth, our immaturity, our absence of responsibility, to obtain for everyone a true choice and ensure that everyone can become an adult, mature, responsible and real human being.

Thesis 16 - Students, do not let us be deceived by the masters of thought. We must re-think for ourselves, for we alone have the means to do it, we alone have the possibility of saying no! Other responsible working people, trade unionists, politicians, civil servants have already said yes! By totally accepting their respective roles, they only quarrel so that they may the better feel their solidarity and not bring into question the rules of

the power game in which they are exhausting themselves.

Thesis 17 - Students, everyone must have rights, not just "roles" - let us be something other than players in a tragi-comedy that is not even a good one.

Thesis 18 - Students, let us accept the means to our ends. If we want a radical change we will not get it by a dialogue because the latter has not existed for a long time. If we want merely an arrangement concerning our future privileges as the governing class, let us continue our "apprenticeship" and have no illusions about the "revolution".

Thesis 19 - Students, we must free our comrades and our professional activities. This is our first aim in the order of priorities but is not the only one nor the most important.

Thesis 20 - Students, let us reject a dialogue which falls on deaf ears but let us reject also a dialogue which uses brutal and traditional force. To lay ourselves open to slaughter would be to start a process in which we would be the losers.

Let us maintain the initiative, do not let us entrench ourselves behind "fixed ideas" or behind barricades. Let us not be on the defensive, let us attack.

Thesis 21 - Students, let us assume our responsibilities towards ourselves and towards others. Let us refuse categorically the ideology of the benefits of progress and all similar farcical pretences. Progress will be what we want it to be. Let us reject the stereotypes of "luxury" and "necessities" imposed on all who are at the same time producers and consumers - but who are yet arbitrarily divided.

Thesis 22 - Let us reject all divisions, consciously or unconsciously maintained, of working class and bourgeoisie, intellectual worker and manual worker. The intellectual worker is quite simply not considered a worker because, once the product of labour had been separated from the labourer and had become dehumanised by the concentration of the means of production and technical progress, it became necessary to limit the conception of work to the only thing which remains, work in the crude state; the use of muscular force and violence. Such is the progress which everyone accepts, except (of course) the lazy and the privileged, and the powerless such as us.

Thesis 23 - Let us also reject the division of science and ideology, the most pernicious of all because we embody it ourselves. This division itself claims to be scientific; that is, the ideology of science, and to the extent that science is the predominant ideology thus appears to be a guarantee against abuses and set-backs.

Thesis 24 - Let us also reject all easy talk, all revolutionary phraseology which is merely an instrument of assimilation and a refusal to formu-

late the problems. Let us ask what revolution we are talking about.

Thesis 25 - Let us refuse to reply when we are asked where we are going.

We are not in power, we do not have to be positive, we do not have to justify our excesses. If we reply this will mean also and above all that we want the means to our ends, i.e. if not power, at least a power from which any kind of violence and oppression will be absent as the basis of its existence, and a means of its survival.

Thesis 26 - Let us not allow our aims to be assimilated as those of the proletariat have been assimilated. We want not only to control the means of production but also those of consumption, and to have a real choice, not a theoretical one.

Thesis 27 - The working class, like the bourgeoisie in its time, has been revolutionary, that is, they negotiated only in the process of transforming society radically. The proletariat has lost this power everywhere in the world. A new governing class has been born, a factual synthesis of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie: this "association of interests" aims at maintaining the ideology of the last century complete as a guarantee of its new privileges.

Thesis 28 - If we are treated as privileged, it is merely to attempt to integrate us into the industrial bureau-technocracy of profitability and progress by deceiving us with the help of economic-scientific imperatives.

The ambiguity of this term appears in its full light. For the proletariat, these privileged persons can only be "petit bourgeois". For the governing class they are merely ungrateful. The starting point is different, the logic is the same.

Thesis 29 - The bourgeois revolution was judicial, the proletarian revolution economic. Ours will be social and cultural so that man can become himself.

Thesis 30 - Let us reject the ideologies and utopias of the complete man which proposes aims and thus ends never reached, and this in the name of the ideology of progress, so as to reject more effectively the possibility of advance.

Students! We are the revolutionary class! We are the carriers of the dominant ideology since our aim is to abolish ourselves as a limited class.
WE WANT ONLY TO BE YOUNG WORKING PEOPLE!

This we can propose to thousands of young intellectual or manual workers so that they can be like us and we like them. Once more, we must abolish all privileges and all hidden programmes and for this we must fight with all our energy and with all means available until victory which can only be provisionally final.

The Critical University

University Reform - Reform of Teaching - Reform of Society -

After the barricades there are no longer any students. There are no teachers and soon there will be no proletarians. We are all workers.

Declaration of the Rights of the Working People

Article 1 - All possessors of knowledge, know-how and culture are requested - as individuals - to return that which has been given to them by society as privileged persons, so that this knowledge shall no longer be, as from today, a new privilege of the governing class. In spite of all good will and messianism this knowledge can in fact only alienate and exploit the whole body of working people.

Article 2 - From today on, education is decreed to be permanent, free, compulsory for all ages.

Article 3 - Every ex-student is compelled to carry out the counterpart of these advantages. Every ex-student is summoned to become an instructor, that is, an "instructed-instructor".

Article 4 - Every ex-instructor is maintained in his functions to which are added those of training and supervising his "new" colleagues.

Article 5 - Every worker, deprived up to now of education, is summoned, whatever his present "cultural level" or his age, to become an instructed person and then an instructor so that he can choose his own destiny.

Article 6 - The 40 hour week is the maximum which will be tolerated from now on. Every hour of overtime at present worked will be transformed and used for education, training, and cultural activities and critical discussions.

These hours of overtime will be paid by the State as an indemnity for the violence done to the working people and this will apply during the transitional period until the "instructed working person" can in turn become an "instructing working person".

Article 7 - Every local educational unit - factory, enterprise, school (ex primary, secondary, higher educational) - shall be governed by the whole body of "instructing-instructed" working people.

Article 8 - An "I.I.P." shall be elected, dismissed, or promoted by his peers, all decisions being taken by a simple majority, the latter having an immediate effect on salaries above the minimum determined in the following article.

Article 9 - Every "I.I.P." shall be paid according to his age and family needs.

Article 10 - No teacher shall be appointed from today - the lack of staff will be definitely overcome by part-time teaching provided by every instructing working person.

Article 11 - No further examinations will be necessary. Supervision of knowledge is continuous because mass instruction replaces instruction by masters on a didactic basis, and this applies at all levels. No further marks, nor inspection are necessary, supervision being continuous from the "bottom to the top."

Article 12 - For each economic, political and cultural unit of production and consumption of goods and cultural material, an elected judicial commission will settle all disputes - this commission itself shall be dismissable by a simple majority vote of no confidence.

Article 13 - All executive procedures can be laid down for any government in power.

Article 14 - This programme is universal and radical.

Article 15 - This programme will ensure that the reform of the University is not a simple re-ordering of the privileges to culture and the advantages "in kind" which stem from them.

* * * * *

NOW AND THEN

"Education is the greatest institution for change - the university has changed very little since the 12th century."

Professor of Political Science, Western Michigan University.

"Another defect I discover is the neglect in vice-chancellors, heads of houses, princes, inspectors, and others, of proper supervision or diligent inquiry into the course of studies, with a view to a thorough reformation of such parts as are ill suited to the age, or of unwise institution. For it is (a) sage maxim, that as respects customs and precedents, we must consider the times in which they took their rise, since much is detracted from their authority if such are found feeble and ignorant. It is, therefore, all the more requisite, since the university statutes were framed in very obscure times, to institute an inquiry into their origin."

Francis Bacon - The Advancement of Learning, Book II, Chapter I.

The Theses of May

Thesis 1 - The May crisis is but the result of the growth of the productive forces of the world and of the necessary adaption of the conditions of production to these forces which are shackled by the former. As the same relations of production, complemented everywhere by relations of distribution which are essentially identical to them, dominate the whole of society, the various classes and social layers are more or less directly defined by the one or the other of these relations according to the position and the situation they occupy. Thus the student and workers sections of the movement form two parts of one and the same whole.

Thesis 2 - The students are a productive force which reproduces itself as such but is hindered in its development by the conditions of production which date back to the beginnings of the bourgeois epoch. An isolated student movement can only result in the replacement of these conditions by modern capitalist conditions, although this movement can only be conceived and understood as revolutionary practice.

Thesis 3 - The students are neither a new class, or a new type of proletarian, still less are they privileged bearers of the socialist revolution. But thus being placed outside all experience as to the relations of distribution which they have no need to challenge, as these enable them to live in the ideological milieu of near abundance, they can merely question their social position, i.e. the relations of production which make their situation unbearable. The absence of any possible quantitative claims leads them inevitably on to the qualitative level, namely that of revolution. Thus the revolt of their victims against the social hierarchy and the ideology brought about by the relations of production which force them more and more into passive self-alienation, has as the main characteristic the rejection of all hierarchy and the rejection of all exterior ideology in practice, during which they overcome alienation.

The student milieu merely materialises in advance social relations which tend to become general.

Thesis 4 - Because of their hierarchical and ideological character all organisational party and trade union forces went bankrupt in the Latin Quarter. This allowed the movement to come into being and develop itself with some kind of Guevarist spontaneity and to oppose its spectacular violence to that of the State which, thrown off balance, revealed its true nature for everybody. As this very movement can only extend itself in a milieu of homogeneous social relations, it can only succeed in transgressing the limits of its sphere of origin to the degree that the social relations of this milieu are already those of a sizeable fraction of the working class, in

particular of a layer of young industrial proletarians who at their age are more sensitively aware of their position in the productive process than other layers.

Thesis 5 - The movement of the working masses, starting on the basis of social relations identical to those of the student milieu, is evolving into another.

From an ideological viewpoint it is clear that for these masses the question is to modify the relations of distribution from which they expect that which the dominating world ideology is promising them, i.e. individual abundance.

They tend to accept this ideology entirely in as far as they consider as their real basis the raising of their standard of living, which is the obligatory accompaniment of the growth of the productive forces - also in the existing totalitarian models of "socialism" which are devoid of any attraction. The movement of these masses is guided by no other aim than their desire to enter into the sphere of abundance.

From an historical viewpoint this movement is progressive even if for the time being it enables the party and trade union bureaucracies, in accordance with their true nature, to base themselves on a massive rear-guard, as sections of the avant-garde, which they have been able to keep in check up to now, are leaving them.

Thesis 6 - The main indication of a generalisation of social relations favourable to the development of an awareness of the real problems, is that everywhere where the local relation of forces was favourable to its revolutionary avant-garde, the latter was able to find without any guidance from outside the organisational forms of struggle and very quickly regrouped the majority of the workers which were joined by important sections of the professional classes, whilst radicalising them to the extreme. When the struggle reached a different level, this autonomous organisation was preserved.

Thesis 7 - The growth of the means of production is the precondition of the slow unmasking of the social relations which generate revolution and hasten simultaneously the end of capitalism and of bureaucracy.

The economy passing through the levels of abundance and scarcity is the mediator, embodying in practice the dialectic which unites the relations of distribution to those of production. This is unavoidable as the relations of capitalist production are increasingly approaching those of socialist production.

Thesis 8 - Any crisis can only be resolved through the ability of capitalism to continue to develop those productive forces which it can contain. As progressively the inability of capitalism in this respect becomes an established fact, the passive general strike, which at the moment benefits

the bureaucracy more than anybody else, gives way to the active strike. Out of the latter emerges naturally the new social organisation. It thus inevitably and rapidly moves towards the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie. In this process of radicalisation the backward layers join those of the avant-garde. The former puts into the service of the most advanced aims the whole violence of which they are the most outstanding bearers.

Therefore the coming socialist revolution will be a revolution by the whole radicalised class and will, for the first time in history, overturn the whole of society; if the bourgeoisie will try to use against it its forces of coercion, an extreme but short lived violence will be the response without interfering, by the centralisation of the struggle, with the new organisational principle; in the case of production in the developed countries, the law of unequal development tends to become obsolete - the intervention of world capitalism would immediately pose the problem of a socialist world revolution which always had as its axis the most advanced countries.

Thesis 9 - By showing their true face at factory level, the trade union bureaucrats reveal their nature in that they tend to put themselves in the place of the bourgeoisie in order to manage capitalism in its stead, by means of similar but rationalised methods; bureaucratic socialism is merely capitalism veiled by an ideology the basis of which is the preservation of the capitalist relations of production, the improvement of the relations in distribution, the negation of the dialectic uniting the two. The real social basis of the bureaucracy as a class are all layers of society who, for various reasons, share in this point of view.

Its historical chance lies in the fact that the growing weakness of the bourgeoisie compels it to relinquish the whole or part of its powers. From this results the fear of the bureaucracy of being overtaken by the development of the forces of production and the growing consciousness which this entails; it therefore has no other choice but to smash the revolution which would sweep it away as well as the relations of production from which it draws its life and historical hope. The trade union and party bureaucracies have become the first lieutenants of the bourgeoisie; they tend, before reaching that stage, to become the worst enemies of the revolutionaries and of the international working class, as they are not a historically necessary formation in the industrialised countries.

Thesis 10 - The tendency towards hierarchical centralisation decreases with the growth of the forces of production and with it the tendency towards spontaneity. The problem of organisation will only disappear with the accession and realisation of true communism.

As class consciousness had never any other basis of realisation than the material conditions i.e. the whole class, the autonomous organisation of the proletariat is the only revolutionary organisational form which this class can give itself. Its essential characteristic is the absence of any institutional or other division into categories. It is ruled by organic centralism, i.e. by

the natural organisation of the practice, evolving from the theory which is its expression and by which is expressed the real meaning of the movement. It is the model of the future society. The Leninist theory and practice are thus historically outdated; they are now only the highest expression of the bureaucratic ideology.

Thesis 11 - The bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy have merely generalised the relations of capitalist production; the task now is to abolish them.

Prepared by the progressive and anarchist group of students of the Centre Censier.

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CONFRONTATION 2 - obtainable from publishers:-

Towards the Democratic Revolution

The Lessons of Sofia

Material and Documents

- Community Research and Action Group
- Biafra - A Leaflet from Switzerland
- America - Letter from Eldridge Cleaver
- No Vote for Peggy Terry

Some Thoughts on Czechoslovakia

Poems from the Vietnamese

The End of the Beginning - France - May, 1968

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The Meaning of Powellism or

The Dirt under the Carpet P.Brass

It created quite a stir when London dockers marched to the Houses of Parliament to demonstrate in favour of Enoch Powell after his Birmingham speech attacking coloured immigrants. Ian Mikardo, "left-wing" Labour M.P. for a dockland constituency, was most put out over "his own" constituents who had sent him to Parliament. He might have pondered what use he had made of his seat - voting in favour of or, at best, when it was sure that the government would have a majority anyway, heroically abstaining from voting for every measure directed against the common people, from raising the discount rate (and thereby mortgage interest) to the deliberate creation of unemployment and the increase in the cost of living combined with the wage freeze. No wonder that the dockers no longer cared for Mikardo.

But why their enthusiasm for Enoch Powell, of all people? - the Conservative who stood so far to the right that he came into conflict with his own party leaders, who openly gloried in demanding the abolition of every social benefit, from the Health Service to rent control? The dockers will tell you: Enoch spoke up for us when everybody else kept silent so as not to disturb the dirt that had been swept under the carpet. The last bit is absolutely right: Sweeping the dirt under the carpet has become the favourite method of government, not merely in this country nor only by the present government. Back in the time when Macmillan (Wilson's model and expert sweeper-under-the-carpet) told us that we never had it so good, we began to suffer from a scarcity of people prepared to do the most dirty and inconvenient jobs - these jobs which, under our enlightened economic system, are also the worst paid ones. Cheap labour was needed - how good to have an empire!

After experiencing for decades the benefits of colonial administration, masses of the empire's population were unemployed and undernourished and keen to emigrate to a strange climate in order to get any job at all. Their import promised to be doubly cheap: They would accept low wages, and their living quarters were no concern of the employers. Had they imported machines, they would have needed factory buildings and maintenance; but human beings have to look after themselves. Another appealing feature of our economic set-up.

And yet another: As profits always come to those already rich, so squalor goes to the places which are already squalid. The stream of immigrants went to the overpopulated slums, and made slum conditions even worse. Not unnaturally the inhabitants felt aggrieved when a host of strangers, unused to the country, poor, and frequently backward in many respects, settled in in their neighbourhood.

Strictly speaking, this discomfort had nothing to do with the colour of the newcomers' skin, but it cannot be denied that there are hearths of colour prejudice spread all over Britain - partly the aftermath of the glorious days of Empire when every white person felt entitled to look down on every-one of a different hue. While at first coloured immigrants had been received in a friendly way, the increase in their numbers and, with it, the aggravation of over-crowding opened the flood gates to racial intolerance. This would have been the moment for socialists to raise their voices to explain that the trouble was not race but public squalor, to demand sufficient decent houses, schools, etc. But that would have meant to stand up against the rabid denigrators of all public expenditure - and the self-styled "left-wingers" prudently avoid that - it was much easier to tell the malcontents that they ought not to indulge in racialism. It does not need much imagination to understand why such exhortations made them even more wild, and more racist. It was this dereliction of their duty by the phoney "socialists" that made the slum dwellers greet Powell as their spokesman.

Such is the pattern of political realities: If the "Left" fails to tell the truth about conditions under capitalism, then fascists will fill the gap and, by unscrupulous deception, deflect the wrath of the disinherited upon any convenient scapegoat - away from the economic system which is the real cause of their misery. Not that Powell can be classed as a fascist - this Conservative MP and company director, is merely one of the super-clever ones who try to use the tendency toward fascism for their own purposes. The result is invariably that fascism uses them, climbs on their shoulders and firmly plants its hobnailed boots in their faces. Peetic justice indeed - but anti-fascists are not advised to wait for it passively, for then they will witness the spectacle from the wrong side of a barbed wire fence.

It is therefore necessary to counter Powell in his attempts to blame the dirt on the coloured people, but not in his refusal to leave it undisturbed under the carpet. Yet that is what practically all the self-styled opponents of Powellism are doing. His party leader, honest Ted Heath, sacked him from the shadow cabinet only to run miserably behind his band wagon. Wilson and Callaghan and the rest of the government pretend to disapprove of Powell's racialism but defaulted on the passports of the Kenya Asians and now are proposing even more inhumane measures to keep those immigrants already in Britain separated from their relatives. (It appears that Heath knew this beforehand and quickly made his Walsall speech in order not to fall behind in this unworthy action of racialism). Michael Foot, that radical left-winger, so fiddled a "point-of-order" question in the House of Commons that he could call Heath and Powell names, a purely verbal attack which cannot make up for active and passive support of all the government's misdeeds: it merely hit the air - no, here we are mistaken; it also hit the headlines, for Mr. Foot.

Headlines were also hit by protesting students trying to stop Powell from addressing meetings at universities. In contrast to Mr. Foot, these students were not publicity seekers who saw to it that they risked nothing; but it has to be admitted that they did not act in the right way: They got their heads broken and Powell, slipping in through a side door got the publicity.

Powell must be attacked not for mentioning the unmentionable but for not mentioning the most important things, those which do not fit into his scheme. We are deeply touched by his feelings for the slum dwellers, particularly those parts of his Birmingham speech in which he complained about the insufficiencies of the national health service. That was really unselfish coming from a man who had just published a book in favour of the total scrapping of the health service. (And with admirable modesty, he did not mention this book with a single word!) As one, who, no doubt has never had to avail himself of the facilities of the health service, his ascribing of its deficiencies to the excessive demands on hospitals, etc, made by the coloured immigrants, when in reality it is only their labour that keeps the hospital service going, could charitably, one might suppose, be ascribed to ignorance, ex-Minister of Health notwithstanding. However, we who know the health service from the receiving end find ourselves in a good position to offer advice on the matter. What must be demanded is that the facilities of the health service are improved and extended so that they can accommodate all those in need of it irrespective of colour. This means a merciless fight against the doctrinaire penny pinchers who blindly attack all public expenditure even for the most vital necessities and who, for instance, bear the real guilt in disasters like the Aberfan landslide. (Can't waste money on removal of slag heaps - we need it for productive enterprises like gaming clubs!)

Of this pernicious all-for-profit, nothing-for-social needs brigade, Powell is the loudest trumpeter, Heath the titular head, Wilson the chief executive and Michael Foot the secret abettor because he misleads its opponents: The whole Establishment is at one when the real question is posed - what they pretend to argue about is merely eyewash. Why, for instance, attack Heath because allegedly he demanded a total stop to immigration in his Walsall speech? Instead he must be attacked for merely talking about it as a blind for the unwary. He is quite prepared to let in "immigrant workers needed in this country on economic grounds," that is to say cheap labour, but wants such Commonwealth immigrants, like aliens, to be dependent all the time upon permits to stay and to work, and in constant fear of losing both if they displease their employers. A few squads of these industrial serfs sent into the London docks, would make the dockers cheer even more for their Enoch (who sat with his party leader on the platform and dutifully applauded).

It is these schemes for obtaining cheap and docile labour which have to be held up to the scorn and the opposition of the British people in general and those living in overcrowded places in particular. Their grievances are real enough - it is completely wrong to prevent their open discussion for fear that this could lead to racialism. Exactly the opposite is true: Racialism thrives on dirt under the carpet - let us take up the whole carpet (not only a well-chosen corner as Powell does!) and clean up the real causes of complaint.

Court Spectacle in Berlin

Fritz Teufel/Rainer Langhans



Last year, Fritz Teufel and Rainer Langhans, members of the Berlin "Kommune 1," were tried for "incitement to arson." Following the big fire in the Brussels department store "Innovation," and faithful to their avowed aim of holding the rulers of society up to ridicule, they published a satirical leaflet based on the rumour (lie) spread by the bourgeois press that the opponents of the war in Vietnam may have been responsible for the fire. As proof of the fact that "there can be no doubt about the seriousness of the call for arson and the endangering of human life which was made in the leaflet," the indictment quotes the following passages:-

"A burning department store full of burning human beings conveys for the first time in a big European capital this crackling Vietnam-feeling (to be with it and to be burning) that we still lack in Berlin. We, who are always ready to learn from any innovation, as long as it remains within proper limits, cannot fail to express our admiration for this audacious and unconventional attitude, which, all human tragedy notwithstanding, and in spite of our sympathy for the survivors, was lying at the base of this incendiarism in Brussels...

.... When are the department stores going to burn in Berlin? When objects were thrown at the facades of houses, when fun was made of representatives, there was always only one way for the Berlin population to participate - namely, by means of the exciting press reports which followed. Now, at last, our Belgian comrades have found the trick of getting the population really involved in the turned-on scene in Vietnam: they set fire to a department store - two hundred self-satisfied citizens finished their lives in a blaze of glory, and Brussels is transformed into Hanoi! There is no longer any need for any of us to shed tears about the poor Vietnamese people whilst reading the newspapers over the breakfast table. Starting today, all one need do is to go into the clothing department of one of the following department stores and discreetly light a cigarette in a dressing cubicle."

The ultra seriousness of the indictment, and the absolute refusal of the court to accept a satire what was quite obviously meant as such, offered the accused ample opportunity for holding the whole legal paraphernalia up to ridicule. In this report we obviously cannot give a full account of the proceedings, but shall attempt to convey in a few characteristic passages the spirit which dominated the trial, a model of liberatory behaviour.

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Chairman (County Court Director) Schwerdtner:- Why precisely did you publish these leaflets which deal with the department store fire in Brussels?

Teufel:- We felt the urge to provoke the moral indignation of those people who are never indignant when they read in their papers at the breakfast table about Vietnam, or about worse things.

Schwerdtner:- Are you then demonstrating against Vietnam?

Teufel:- Not only; we also demonstrate against saturation and self-satisfaction

Schwerdtner:- Who is saturated, then?

Teufel:- It can also be formulated differently. The Germans are a democratic freedom-loving, and industrious little people. They did certainly kill a lot of Jews; but, on the other hand, a lot of Arabs are now being killed with German arms - this is a kind of restitution. It is after all as follows: the more of these black and yellow people over there that kick the bucket, the better for us.

Schwerdtner:- (alarmed) You are not being serious?

(Laughter in the Court room)

Teufel:- Yes - yes - why not?

Schwerdtner:- And why did you write the leaflet?

Teufel:- We wanted to give the public another opportunity of looking with disgust at these confusionists and rabble rousers and to call for the public prosecutor.

Prosecutor Kuntze:- And if somebody had taken it into his head to try out what is written in the leaflet - to light a cigarette in the dressing cubicle of a department store?

Teufel:- I must say that nobody even took it into his head that this could be done - except, of course, the public prosecutor, and he didn't actually do it either - he just wrote an indictment.....

Langhans:- We bought a newspaper in the morning. There were these terrible pictures of the department store fire in Brussels. And then the hints that it could have been arson. And that was how we got the idea. This is the way it usually is - we read or hear something and then we get an idea about it. We asked ourselves - how can this be handled in practice. Then we tried it out.

Schwerdtner:- Tried it out? Setting fire to a department store?

Langhans (ironically):- Of course.....(after a pause) not! But how could the connections be made clear to the public - we then wrote about it and duplicated it.

Schwerdtner:- You wrote: this crackling Vietnam-feeling that we still lack in Berlin - is this not a wish?

Langhans:- Firstly, this is just a statement, and secondly, I don't know if you noticed it, it is a parody on the language of advertisements.

Schwerdtner:- Do you still believe that this was arson in Brussels, or do you think it was an accident?

Langhans:- Our contacts are not yet good enough for me to know about this, and the newspapers don't write about it any more. We have tried to describe these things in the way of fiction - in the form of a persiflage.

Kuntze:- We older people have experienced burning houses.

Langhans:- But you have forgotten it.....

Kuntze:- You declare the leaflets are not meant seriously. Would you please state where the joke begins?

Langhans:- The word joke is not correct, one might say, a black humour.....

Kuntze:- Are you convinced that if in Brussels or Berlin two or three hundred people die - are you seriously really convinced that then something would be changed in Vietnam?

Langhans:- No, but here.

Kuntze:- What?

Langhans:- Just imagine, if people are against the war in Vietnam did react so consequently, then indeed a considerable change would result from it.

Attending Judge:- On more than one occasion you have remarked that you do not think that the forms of protest used hitherto are effective. What is then your idea about more effective forms?

Langhans:- I heard during the break that this remark had been wrongly understood in the sense that such things as in Brussels would be the next step. I don't think this is the case.

Attending Judge:- What then?

Langhans:- The 2nd June, which was a failure, has proved that it cannot be done like this. We of the Commune believe that aggressive tactics, stone-throwing, and shooting as if in a civil war, are not the right way. Instead of this we try to make the authorities, like you for example, look ridiculous, so everyone will disavow their actions. We ourselves try to achieve it through "happenings" in which everybody can participate, a change from the rigid march formations.

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Schwerdtner:- The Criminal Court consulted yesterday at great length and made a resume based on the statements and behaviour of the accused and the hearings of witnesses. It came to the conclusion that the accused should undergo psychiatric examination.

Mahler (lawyer of the accused):- In view of the opinion given by certain experts, I think it is clear that the accused do not show the slightest abnormality which could be relevant from a legal or any other point of view. In my opinion it is not possible to deal in such a manner with the forms of expression in modern art and literature. It cannot be said that surrealism, pop art, and happenings, belong in the sphere of psychiatry. It is however known that on the proclamation that students should be summarily dealt with before the courts, a certain senator stated that they should first undergo psychiatric examination. At the back of this announcement seems to be the intent to defame the rebellious students of Berlin. This movement, however, extends to a group of persons which is far larger than the circle of friends of the accused. It would be a fatal error to imagine that one can deal with this group by questioning their sanity. I am of the opinion that the two accused students show no signs of mental disorder - therefore I have grave misgivings about psychiatric examinations of them. Should they take place I would immediately file a complaint against them. Moreover, I should like to suggest that the decision about this be postponed until the end of the hearings. It should be taken into consideration that witnesses will be heard

who will provide a detailed picture of the political and intellectual background of the accused. After these witnesses have been called, a psychiatric examination will in any case be superfluous.

(The accused Teufel indicates a desire to speak)

Teufel:- I shall agree to undergo the examination, if the members of the court and the public prosecutor are also going to undergo psychiatric examination.

(Frenzied applause by the public)

Schwerdtner:- (Jumping up) Clear the gallery! Everybody out! Adjourn! Adjourn! Adjourn!

(Rushes into the ante-chamber)

Schwerdtner (following the adjournment):- Mr. Teufel, you wanted to make a statement. But I ask you not to repeat your previous performance.

Teufel:- Mr. Langhans would still like to say something.

Langhans:- (ironically) I am not quite clear in how far this is in order, but I should like to join the proposal of my friend Fritz, and to elaborate it as follows: in addition to the psychiatric examination of the accused, the members of the court, and the public prosecutor, these persons should also undergo an intelligence test, the complete results of which will have to be extensively publicised in detail.

(The court rushes out to consider the matter)

Teufel and Langhans:- (shouting after them) Quick! Quick! Quick! Into the parlour.

(The court returns)

Schwerdtner:- We have made our decision and hereby proclaim: On the basis of their essentially abnormal character-structure, especially in their behaviour, their concepts, and their way of life, as exemplified in the accused during trial on July 6th and 7th, 1967, the accused will be examined both psychiatrically and neurologically by Dr. Spenglar, head of the Board of Health of the National Institute for Forensic and Social Medicine in Berlin. The expert has to present to the court an extensive, written, and scientifically based verdict.

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Schwerdtner:- Don't lean against the table while you are speaking!

Langhans:- Why ever not?

Schwerdtner:- Because this could be interpreted as an improper attitude towards the court.

Langhans:- Why could it be interpreted like this?

Schwerdtner:- Because it is customary to stand properly before a court..... But could you describe to us how this happened - did it take one day or several days?

Langhans:- We read the newspapers and discussed it. The fire was on the 22nd May, 1967, the newspapers reported it on the 23rd, and the leaflets bear the date of the 24th.

Schwerdtner:- But what was the purpose of the leaflets? What did you want to achieve with them - an action must have a purpose.

Langhans:- All this is not really very complicated, that is why we were so amused that it was understood in this way. We never dreamt that it could be interpreted as incitement to arson. It is simply absurd. May I ask you how you got the idea at all that this could possibly be an incitement to arson?

Schwerdtner:- (interrupts, annoyed) It is not up to you

Langhans:- (shouts at him) I cannot finish one sentence without being interrupted. Be quiet now until I have finished. (Schwerdtner remains silent). For me it is important to ask you how you could ever get the idea that this leaflet was an incitement to arson - it is really too absurd.

Schwerdtner:- What do you mean by that?

Langhans:- That means, that if people allow themselves to be incited, one can only consider them idiots - and, in view of this, the court makes itself an excellent example.

Tanke:- Improper suggestions are implied in this wording - I propose a disciplinary sentence of one day's imprisonment.

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Teufel:- I should like to ask you to allow me to make a statement about the course of the trial up to now.

Schwerdtner:- We have lost a lot of time already - how long will it take - make it short.

Teufel:- Five minutes, if you would only stop interrupting me. The extraordinary attitude of the authorities must provoke extraordinary defence measures in their victims. We have a chairman who makes use of the whole gamut of authoritarian abuses in court proceedings, and continually resorts to threats and the imposition of disciplinary penalties. I have been told that during my enforced withdrawal from the court, a disciplinary penalty was imposed for the second time - on this occasion against the co-accused Langhans. This is an essential point which you kept from me in your summary of the proceedings. I am informed that the penalty was imposed because Mr. Langhans characterised people who could be incited by the leaflet to fire-raising, as stupid. I can only support this opinion. The attitude of the authorities

that I have described can only lead, on the one hand, to an escalation of the protest of the remaining sections of the public who are present, and, on the other, to a stiffening of the resistance of the political minority in Berlin who are involved. Yesterday, an incendiary bomb exploded in the law courts - I don't know what will happen tomorrow.

Tanke:- Do I understand you to say that the bomb explosion of yesterday is considered by you as the act of a political minority?

Teufel:- It is at least a possibility, and this is the way it has been interpreted by the press.

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Attending Judge:- Did you think you would be understood?

Teufel:- We were convinced that we would encounter a complete lack of understanding, positive misunderstanding and indignation on the part of certain portions of the population of Berlin.

Attending Judge:- Convinced?

Teufel:- Yes, and it didn't surprise us very much that the Berlin Administrators of Law formed a part of this section of the population, which is completely unable to understand the satire and indignation which speaks out of these leaflets. Nevertheless, we were still very astonished and amused by the indictment of the Chief Prosecutor. We saw in it such a magnificent satire on The Law that we reprinted it, as well as the second document of the indictment. I have brought them with me - you can buy them from me for DM 2.... I should like to propose that members of the court, who, due to a certain mental attitude, still misunderstand the leaflets ask me questions.....

Schwerdtner:- When such a leaflet gets into the wrong hands, what then? It can fall into the hands of anyone, into the hands of the youth, or a pyromaniac - there have been people like Van der Lubbe.....

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Schwerdtner:- Mr. Teufel, will you put that newspaper away.

Teufel:- Why shouldn't I read my newspaper? Prosecutor Kuntze even went to sleep during the first trial.

Schwerdtner:- You run the risk of another disciplinary penalty.

Teufel:- I think we had better have a debate about disciplinary penalties.

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Langhans:- It was not made clear whether Dr. Spengler has to be present during the proceedings. Do you think it would be possible for instance to form

an opinion about the chairman, and, if so, with what result?

Tanke:- But this is irrelevant.

Lawyer Mahler:- May I point out that if the witness is present, he is to be regarded as a means of proof and that he can also be heard in relation to other things.

Langhans:- If in the opinion of the court, a psychiatric judgment can be given after a relatively short time, then I should like to ask Dr. Georgi if this is possible, and, if so, with what result, both as regards us and the chairman.

Teufel:- An additional question - Does psychiatry know of an illness which could be described as a pathological tendency to impose disciplinary penalties?

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Schwerdtner:- Questions to Mr. Spengler? Please, Mr. Mahler!

Mahler:- How can you decide whether statements made by the accused are consciously or unconsciously made, intentional or unintentional, if no psychiatric examination has taken place?

Spengler:- But we are all-round medical men.

Mahler:- Do you think that from the facts of the appearance and the clothes alone, that a conclusion indicating a need and a drive towards domination can be drawn with almost certainty - or is there not another interpretation?

Spengler:- I did say that the exterior make-up, the colourful dress, etc, are signs of insecurity. Langhans, for instance, has a thin beard. He compensates for it by his long hair. Had he a strong growth of beard like Mr. Teufel, then he too would have his hair cut shorter. The long hair is without doubt a compensatory factor with him.

Mahler:- A hypothetical case! A young man says to himself - damn it, everything is going all wrong! We must shock people, so that they wake up! And for this reason he starts to wear his hair long and grows a beard - is this possible?

Spengler:- It is striking that these are groups which are composed of personalities who want to show their importance by their exterior appearance. I want to say that protestors are often driven into this kind of striving for recognition. Once they have been driven along this path, an inner need for it is established.

Mahler:- Is it not also possible that these people say to themselves consciously: we have to assume this appearance in order to shock?

Spengler:- To this I must reply that if such a point of view is adopted by a

constitutionally abnormal personality, then there exists a lack of social compliance, a lack of inter-human relations.

Mahler:- Are you not jumping from the geno-type of the Commune to the geno-type of the psychopath? Could one not, for instance, deduce another geno-type - the human being, as described by Marcuse? Marcuse says, for example, that the hope for the humanisation of society is that there are people who withdraw from irrational dependencies, who, in other words, do anything but comply with the bourgeois norm. How, for instance, did you find out that the accused suffer from a lack of inter-human relationships and of social compliance?

Spengler:- By their intellectual and psychological appearance and on the basis of my observations during the main proceedings.

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Spengler:- Further symptoms: Langhans was summoned for an examination and did not come. He did not excuse himself. He was supposed to come at 8 o'clock. At about 12 o'clock he phoned and said he had overslept. I then asked him to come the following morning at 7.45. He replied that he did not get up that early. That is a symptom I also noticed a specific smile which passes between you and Langhans - from a psychiatric point of view this means that you have a desire to exhibit sovereignty - these are established terms in psychiatry.

Teufel:- Do I understand you properly, in the sense that you, perhaps quite correctly, interpret a smile during a court case, which, no doubt, in your opinion, gives more cause for weeping than for smiling, as a sign of an abnormal personality.

Spengler:- These are all symptoms, which a doctor must observe. Often one can only base oneself on the observation of symptoms.

Teufel:- If smiling is, as in our case, a symptom of an abnormal personality, what therapy against smiling do you propose?

Spengler:- Perhaps psycho-therapeutic treatment.

Teufel:- If our anti-authoritarian attitude is characteristic of a constitutionally conditioned abnormality, are then a pro-authoritarian attitude and National Socialism consequences of the sane normality of the German race?

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Mahler:- When Kommune 1 used soap bubbles for the first time in public to ridicule the authorities, this appeared to be absolutely senseless. Now, soap bubbles are used everywhere as a means for ridicule. Don't you think that the methods of the members of the Commune are now confirmed, and do you doubt that they will try to find other methods of holding the authorities up to ridicule?

Spengler:- Nothing will be achieved with such jokes with soap bubbles.

Mahler:- Not physically, perhaps, but psychologically - when, for instance, somebody turns red with rage.

Spengler:- Sure - this effect can be achieved.

Mahler:- But this is precisely the effect which the Kommune 1 intends, and for which it continues rationally to strive.

Spengler:- I never said that everything the Kommune 1 does is caused by a need for domination

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Teufel:- Mr. Spengler, you have become famous through your psychiatric attestation in the trial against the plain-clothes policeman, Kurras, who shot a student. At that time you came to the conclusion that Mr. Kurras, surrounded by real and imaginary attackers, acted under exceptional psychogenic circumstances. I should like to base myself on this. May I ask you whether it is not possible that Rainer Langhans, who feels himself surrounded by policemen, judges, prosecutors, and court ushers, and turns away with a smile of disgust, also finds himself in an exceptional psychogenic state? Or is this smile also the expression of a constitutionally abnormal personality.

Spengler:- There was at that time a situation of panic lasting perhaps one minute or even only thirty seconds.

Teufel:- Do you think that the imposition of disciplinary penalties can be explained on the grounds of the insufficient medical knowledge of the Chairman and of the Court? Mr. Schwerdtner is perhaps not aware that our attitude is the expression of the constitutionally conditioned abnormality of our personality and thus takes refuge in the imposition of disciplinary penalties?

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Concluding speech of Rainer Langhans

I should like to describe the proceedings here, so that the court, as this could be a matter of some interest to it may be able to understand how we, the accused, view the scenes which have been played out. I would like to say at the outset that I don't intend to insult anybody, and ask therefore not to be interrupted.

The whole business leaves me with the impression of a puppet play in which all the various participants act as though they were being controlled at the end of a string. As the show is now almost finished and as there is very little likelihood of a repeat performance, at least with the same cast, in the near future, I would like once more to present the main actors. Here they are:-

frequently, one is first brought into the gigantic well of the court which belongs to another epoch. One can physically feel how this structure was created in order to intimidate the poor buggers who had to appear here. They were supposed to feel very small and insignificant, as if standing in front of God on the day of judgment, and one has to be careful not to take this seriously, but here in the Court Room, even today, one can see that this is the intention. Although, on this occasion, we were in the smaller of the two Court Rooms, this made absolutely no difference.

Just look around: there sit the members of the public, squeezed together in two rows, liberally sprinkled with policemen to keep law and order. The "public", as it is said, is merely tolerated - it is not even allowed to whisper. At the slightest sign of anyone making their presence felt, the police set on them and take care of the culprits. They watch a spectacle which will not spare them either if they dare to interfere.

Then there is the large space in the middle where the accused is cross-examined alone in the wide open spaces. To the right of him is the partitioned portion with the imprisoned public, and in front of them, squeezed together sardine-fashion, the accused and his lawyer. On the other side, also crowded together, the journalists. Then, most impressive of all, the apotheosis - the High Court itself. They are all on a raised platform, and amongst them sits the prosecutor. It is indeed peculiar that he sits at this level, whereas the defence lawyer is at the lower level. The latter must always look up, and, in addition, they have a proper table in front of them, and enough space - the table has a raised edge so that one cannot see what they are doing, and the whole thing is so organised, that one can't see their legs either.

When one therefore sees these people who have achieved this high eminence decked out in their full official robes, with their caps and glasses, and some weighty volumes under their arms, the judge with the golden tresses on his robe, the prosecutor with his silver ones, then one cannot help coming to the conclusion that they are big and important.

However, when one sees them later in the corridor shorn of all this paraphernalia, they really look quite normal. They have laid off their neutral "in-the-name-of-the-people-clothes" and have become "after-work-people" having no connection with the ritual which has just taken place. Nor do they wish to be reminded of it. Mr. Schwerdtner, for instance, who really looks quite impressive in here, was, when I saw him in the corridor, a small man with big ears, and he was very frightened. One feels as though one has somehow been deceived - most disappointing.

The Chairman:- He was clearly predisposed against us although he denied it continually, yet all he had to say sounded like "well, that is enough!" "This is definitely the last question", "what else do you have to say?" "This is once again insolent behaviour towards the court," "I shall take hard measures, as you are well aware" - one recognises the professional army officer, which he was. Many strings were gathered in his hands - he gave every opportunity

First Prosecutor Tanke: A healthy looking and committed man. He asked his questions eagerly and tried to trap people. When he speaks he always looks into the righthand corner of the ceiling over the court room, and puts the points of his fingers together. He had a thankless task, insofar as he had to pursue an accusation which was not his to begin with. It was, as we know, the crowning masterpiece of Chief Prosecutor Kuntze, who was finally got rid of. In the corridor he admitted that he did not believe in our pre-meditation, but here in the court room he had to behave as though he did. This is a most difficult tension to sustain. He therefore became ill on the fifth day. Infectious, as stated by the Honourable Medical Officer, Dr. Spengler. Today he is back and looks pale. He trembles when he speaks, and his speech is somehow confused and unclear. Too much committment is damaging - especially to judicial arguments - probably a result of the infection. In his speech he complained bitterly and at great length about the press and the professors - a kind of educational complex, it would seem. He then advanced all sorts of daring theories to prove that we are a dangerous rabble, but his indictment was obviously not meant seriously. Did he not say himself that our call for arson presupposed that the fire-raising would take place amidst crowds of people, yet he did not accuse us of incitement to murder - that would have been logical and consequent - but probably too consequent for this indictment. Thus it was obviously not meant seriously.

It occurs to me: we are no longer as aggressive as we were at first - we have become rather melancholic during the course of the trial. Do you know why? It is good to have fun, but at a certain point one gets tired. I can imagine far more interesting occupations than sitting here and ridiculing again and again the same people. This has also shown in the way in which our clothes have become simpler. Meanwhile everything here has become absolutely transparent.

The Attending Judge: He too was very eager. To our surprise he sometimes made use of our formulations and even tried to put understanding questions. This came very close to our cause. Unfortunately he sometimes behaved in a very similar manner to the Chairman, and would not let anybody finish what they had to say, but I suppose this is understandable.

Our lawyer, Mahler, unavoidably also became a puppet in the show. He had to make concessions to his status and to many other things which do not count for us - nevertheless, he tried very hard, very often to the limit of judicial procedure, with the consequence that the chairman frequently tried to treat him like he treated us. We were surprised about this, as we did not expect it. Difficulties were put in his way wherever possible. From this point of view, he had the most difficult part - he had two roles to play, which were mutually exclusive.

Now to the central figure in our show - this was obviously The Chairman, County Court Director, Dr. Schwerdtner.

It occurs to me that I have something to say about my general impression of the proceedings here. When one is the accused, as has happened to us quite