

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Copy deadline for next issue (no. 21) is MONDAY, 23 OCTOBER. Please send to Editors, FREEDOM, 84b Whitechapel High Street (Angel Alley), London E. 1.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is Thursday, 26 OCTOBER.

International

New South Wales
Black Ram, PO Box 238, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010

Disintegrator! PO Box 291, Bondi Junction, Sydney, NSW

Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King Street, Newtown, NSW 2042

Sydney Libertarians, PO Box 24, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010

Queensland

Liberarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mt Gravatt, Central 4122

Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay, Queensland

Victoria

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne

South Australia
Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67, North Adelaide, 5006

Western Australia
Freedom Collective, PO Box 14, Mount Hawthorn, 6018

TASMANIA

c/o 34 Kennedy St, Launceston 7250

NEW ZEALAND

PO Box 2052 Auckland
PO Box 22-607 Christchurch
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424 Dunedin

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, BC. Write for information on activities.

USA

Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55407

Missouri: Columbia, MO 65201

New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York, NY 10012

SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, NYC, NY 10012

San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101

Texas: Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035

WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK

Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meilgade 48, 8000 Aarhus

Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd, Bogcafe, Studies-traede 18, 1455 Copenhagen

Christiansia: Write Stot Christiansia, Dronningengade 14, 1420 Copenhagen

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwäbisch Hall

Berlin: Anarkistische Bund, Publishers of 'Anarkistische Texte', c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44

'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (non-violent action) groups throughout FRG, associated WRI. For information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19

Hamburg: Initiative Freie Arbeiter Union (Anarcho-syndicalists). FAU, Repsoldstr. 49, Hochpaterre links, 2000 Hamburg 1.

Ostwestfalen: Anarchistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe (Eastwest-falian anarchist federation). Wolfgang Fabisch, c/o Wohngemeinschaft Schwarzwurzel, Wöhrener Str. 138, 4970 Bad Oeynhausen 2.

FRANCE

Paris: Federation anarchiste française, 3 rue Ternaux, 75011 Paris

ITALY

Roma: Gruppo Hem Day, c/o Giovanni Trapani, via A. Tittoni, 5-00153 Rome

SWEDEN

Frihetlige Forum, Landsvägsgatan 19, 41304 04 GOTEBORG.

Frihetligt Forum, Renstiernasgata 51, 11631 STOCKHOLM.

Revolutiondrona Anarchists Organisation, Box 11075, S-100 61 STOCKHOLM.

Desires

DUBLIN ANARCHIST GROUP writes:

Anarchism has little or no tradition in Ireland. However, since the beginning of this year groups have been formed in Belfast, Dundalk and Dublin. In Dublin we have been active on a number of issues including H-BLOCK, the anti-nuclear campaign and the defence of the IRSP 4. Members are also active in their trade unions, the women's movement and within the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression (TUCAR).

We now hope to open a bookshop and centre before the end of the year. This will cost us £1,300. We have already raised £520 within the group but we need £510 by the end of November. We are asking the international anarchist movement for aid. If you or your organisation can help us, please do so. Please make all monies payable to:

Alan MacSimoin
49a Leinster Road
Rathmines, Dublin 6, IRELAND.

We also wish to receive news from you and/or your organisation. Our group seeks information on the general situation in your country and about anarchist activities.

Yours for libertarian communism
Maeve de Paor

HASTINGS ANARCHIST GROUP (18a Markwick Terrace, St. Leonard on Sea, Sussex) would like to buy, or be given, an electric typewriter, ideally with a long carriage. HAG also have for sale, £75., very good value, a Gestetner electric duplicator.

Press Fund

21 September - 4 October incl.

LEEDS: P. B. £1.00; AUCKLAND, NZ: D. B. £1.50; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. £1.00; JKW £0.10; Proceeds from the Picnic held at St Teresa Park, San Jose, California, USA, organised by Italian comrades, per J. B. £37.50; FINLAND: ANON; £1.00; TWICKENHAM: G. & H. H. £1.00; LONDON SW4: P. N. £0.16; IN SHOP: R. M. £1.00; WHITSTABLE: R. & J. £1.00; CARDIFF: B. J. C. £2.50; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. £1.00; JKW. £0.10.

TOTAL: £ 48.86
Previously acknowledged : £859.75

TOTAL TO DATE : £908.61

Meetings

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, Monday 23 October. Black Jake meeting on the theme "Are we moving towards a police state" with special reference to Persons Unknown case. Bridge Hotel (near High Level Bridge), 8 pm.

LONDON, TODAY, 14 October, Scala cinema, Tottenham St, W.1. Film show, organised by Friends of Astrid Proll, of 'The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum'. (For more details, see news item inside).

Prisoners

Nikos Balis, Korydallos Prison, Ward 7, Cell 31, Korydallos, Piraeus, GREECE. Letters, cards and all reading material welcome.

SCHWAEBISCH HALL: THIRD INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CAMP.

Schwaebisch Hall Info-büro report the holding of their third international anarchist camp in August this year, after an interval of two years. Between 30-40 people attended, mainly from the Anarchist Federation of Baden, which was dissolved in December 1977. The camp was considered a success. It was everybody's concern not to lead theoretical discussions but to spend some nice days together... The camp was also attended by a delegate from AFOL (Anarchist Federation of Ostwestfalen-Lippe). See contact column for addresses.

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anarchist fortnightly Freedom

Abolish Employment!



ANYONE with half an eye can see that the one great contribution that the technological revolution offers us is the abolition of hard labour. Mechanisation has always been attractive for employers because it has enabled them to get more out of their factories with fewer workers. But it should be attractive for workers too, because it enables them to produce more wealth with less effort.

The trouble is, of course, that the wealth then belongs to the employers, as do the machines and, in a very real sense, so do the workers, since they can live only by selling themselves to the employers.

Last week at Blackpool a party that likes to call itself socialist at conferences and democratic at elections managed to talk for a week about most of the things which affect our lives without once questioning the essence of wage slavery - that it means the vast majority can live only by working for a boss. We do not expect the party gathering this week at Brighton to question it either!

Nor does this blindness stop at our two leading capitalist parties. The servile call that went up from the SWP for 'The Right to Work' might have been astonishing except that the authoritarian left no less than the right want to be in the position of power, whereby workers would be controlled by employers (even if the state), the unions and, for good measure, the party as well. Any authority, be it aristocratic or bureaucratic, can maintain power only by exploiting the wealth created by the workers.

The anarchists stand alone in demanding both workers' control in industry and the abolition of the wage system - in a word the end of employment as we know it. Which is why we don't join in the general bleating about irrelevances like 5 per cent or even unemployment. If we did we should be demanding a three-day week as more just than the catch-as-catch-can and differential-squabbling of the unions.

But we want much more than that. We want the workers in control and free. That means the Abolition of Employment!

"Most Definitely Female"

THE conditions to which Iris Mills has now been subjected for four months - with committal proceedings still to come - are a problem of increasing urgency. There has been recent coverage of the problem in extra-anarchist papers like *The Leveller* and *Time Out*, but the campaign for Iris' release on bail or at least transfer to Holloway, is only just beginning to gain momentum.

Why the conditions of Iris in particular? This is not a question which regular readers of this paper will be asking, but its significance could not be better illustrated than by the recent remark of one of the women guards when a visitor protested about a restriction against Iris that did not apply to the Cat A men. "Ah", she triumphantly retorted, "but Iris is most definitely female!"

This somewhat thoughtless admission serves better than the most eloquent treatise on sexual discrimination, and is made more poignant because from a woman. It's no doubt true that the crazy problems facing women prisoners held under high security conditions stem largely from the treacherous logic of state security as a whole and from the fact that they inhabit an emphatically male world unprepared to accommodate them, rather than from a direct conspiracy to break them as women. Yet that one woman can stand there in Brixton and say that about another, shows in a striking way, as nothing else, how far we still have to go in the liberation struggle.

Persons Unknown have now produced a special five-page leaflet on the subject of the prison conditions in 'D' block. It is written in solidarity with Iris' fellow prisoners, Astrid Proll and Khloud al Mugrabi. Available from the support group address at Box 123, Rising Free Bookshop, 182 Upper St., London N.1., it gives detailed information on the 'Category A' security regime and outlines the history of Iris' treatment in Brixton from May this year onwards. It closes with three demands: to end the special segregation of women prisoners in Brixton; to end 'A' categorisation for Iris and to transfer her to Holloway.

An important point made by the leaflet is the way in which, contrary to superficial appearances, conditions have deteriorated for Iris as time goes on, and as other women have arrived. (The same

of course applies to Astrid and Khloud). In a letter to a member of the FREEDOM group and the London support group, Iris writes:

"... As far as being 'à trois' it doesn't really work out like that I fear! We three very dangerous women are not allowed out of our cells together. Don't ask me why when 7 Cat. 'A' men are allowed to associate. They have made up a new set of rules for us. We are all complaining about it.

"I'd like to set one thing straight that was said in FREEDOM 17 about my hours of association. It was that I only had 2½ hours a day with Khloud - that's not so - we had about 2½ hours morning and afternoon plus one hour's exercise a day, so we were unlocked for about six hours a day.

"It seems that I get less association the more people there are! When I was by myself I was unlocked for a further two hours in the evening to watch television, so I was 'out' for about eight hours a day, though it was pretty pointless as I had no-one to talk to.

"When Khloud came they stopped the television - so as I have just explained, we had about six hours a day. Now there is someone else here I've got about three hours! I just hope no-one else comes or they might as well throw away the key.

Gaia

Persons Unknown

THE latest important development in the 'Persons Unknown' case since our last issue is the release on bail of Trevor Dawton. At the time Trevor was 'on the block' with Ronan Bennett after they had protested about Ronan being made to change cells. Trevor is having to stay with his parents outside London and report daily to the police.

A PU report on the twentieth week of remand at Brixton describes events as follows:

As the defendants in the 'conspiracy to cause explosions' case enter their 21st week of detention on remand at Brixton Prison, the harassment that has been a continuing feature of their treatment is being intensified.

"As far as I'm concerned, conditions have got worse. They seem to have taken it into their heads that I have become a dangerous person - I don't know why. I'm really living a Jekyll and Hyde existence. I know I'm a quiet kind of person, yet they treat me like a homicidal maniac. For example, I'm not allowed my knitting or my typewriter in my cell, they said that I might use them against them as dangerous weapons. It's quite ridiculous, I'm only allowed to knit and type in my association period and as that has been cut down so drastically, I have no time hardly to do them. I would still like to try to get to Holloway, I really don't see how I can be any worse off".

An added absurdity is the fact that even within the short association period now allowed, the prisoners are shuffled unpredictably around with each other, two at a time. Under such artificial pressures it is hardly possible to have a decent conversation.

A public meeting on 'The Case of Iris Mills' is being held by Peter Cadogan of South Place Ethical Society at Conway Hall on 24 October (7.00 p.m.) The London support group are planning a public meeting also, at a later date. Details will follow.

CONT. ON Pg. 3



SINCE Astrid Proll's arrest last month she has been held on remand in Brixton awaiting extradition proceedings, under the same Kafka-like conditions as Iris Mills and Khloud al Mugrabi.

The German press lost no time in adopting their British counterparts' epithet, 'Miss Terror', and in seeing her arrest (among several other recent arrests or murders in Germany, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria) as another blow on behalf of 'liberal democracy'. But even the mass media have balked just a tiny bit at presenting Astrid as a psychopathic monster. *The Guardian* has allowed itself a gentle reprimand of British and German newspaper coverage. And the German news magazine, *Der Spiegel*, though very much a government organ these days, has pointed out some potentially embarrassing legal problems in the government's extradition case.

For instance, the charge of 'criminal association' - the blanket accusation in Germany against members or former members of any revolutionary activist group - is not a readily extraditable one between Britain and Germany at the present time. In addition, it seems that at the

time, you bastards!" and they all jumped on him saying 'this'll keep your mouth shut!"

The same week Trevor Dawton and Ronan Bennett were both put 'on the block'. Prison officers attempted yet again to move Ronan from one cell to another. Both he and Trevor, who was present, voiced their protest at this,

as he was just finishing making it habitable. This natural reaction was rewarded with two weeks' isolation and suspension of privileges.

Dafydd Ladd protested to the prison authorities about being refused certain books and magazines. It was finally agreed that he should have them, but an arbitrary ruling was made that he should have only six books at a time in his cell. When he pointed out that every other cell in Brixton contained at least twenty books he was told that in that case all the other prisoners would also be allow-

excellent description of this process can be found in Sebastian Cobler's book, *Law, Order and Politics in West Germany* (Penguin, translated).

It is also necessary for the defence to bear in mind that even if the German authorities promise that Astrid will not be put in solitary or in small-group isolation should she be extradited to the FRG, a) integration is not always by any means what it implies where political prisoners are concerned; and b) the legalisation of total isolation in times of government crisis - 'contact ban law' - can and will override any other considerations. It was during the *Kontaktsperre* and the continuing solitary confinement to which all political prisoners (whatever their current views and beliefs) were submitted, even after the lifting of the ban, that four RAF prisoners were found dead in October and November last year in circumstances which have never been explained or publicly investigated. The Baden-Württemberg parliamentary enquiry into the Stammheim deaths was a whitewash, of course, and the death by hanging of Ingrid Schubert has also left several disturbingly unresolved questions. What is the guarantee that during the next crisis the same kind of tragedies will not be repeated?

However, this is, and must be, a war on two fronts for Astrid's friends, just as for anarchists it is a war against the whole world. *The Guardian* reports that "People who have seen her in the past few days say that she is subject to fits of uncontrollable shaking". (3 October). This kind of thing is not the legacy of Ossendorf prison, Cologne. It is the responsibility of Brixton prison, London. It reflects the constitutional insanity of all prisons, pure and simple. Yet abolition of prison remains - for how much longer? - the brave, quixotic slogan on an anarchist badge ...

Gaia

TODAY, Saturday, 14 October, 3.00 pm, Scala Cinema, Tottenham St., W.1. Film show: 'The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum' from the novel by Heinrich Böll, followed by discussion. Organised by the Friends of Astrid Proll.

ed only six books, and that they would be told that he was responsible. Within a prison community this is a grave threat.

The arbitrary way in which rulings are made and enforced for Category 'A' prisoners is well established. This incident, however, clearly reflects the petty basis to these disturbing rulings. It is understood that Taff (Dafydd) is still suffering because of a serious and long-standing stomach complaint.

The routine violence and institutional harassment exercised by those authorities holding arbitrary power over people held in custody must be challenged. In this case harassment occurs against a background of questionable use of Category 'A' status and an interminable delay in bringing the defendants to committal.

Persons Unknown demands that this victimisation stop immediately.

**LETTER
from
CANBERRA:
A PERSONAL VIEW**

GRASP THE NETTLE!

Writing to ask that "Alternative Canberra" be deleted from the Contact Column, Bob James goes on to explain why:

Dear People at FREEDOM,
... When I started the group, I had little knowledge of anarchism and little experience in practical organisation, let alone struggle. Basically, I was alone and lonely, and vaguely perceived that while others seemed to share groups, clubs, marriages, etc with other people, the contact was minimal and superficial and they may as well have been alone for all the good it did them. So, I advertised for a group of people to work around the idea of "an alternative Canberra."

Canberra, by the way, is regarded as a planned city, but for me, differs from other large urban conglomerations only in that the degree of planning provided by the National Capital Development Commission makes profits for private enterprise more certain. This has been by producing a chocolate-box pretty centre to attract tourists, and by banishing residents to a suburban sprawl which surpasses any other anywhere in length, in emptiness and/or vacuous materialism. The whole plan ensures fortunes to the various elements of the "road lobby", food corporations and land speculators.

I had in mind research into the way in which the city actually worked -- what liaisons existed in the administration, what networks were used by whom and what alternative ways of building and operating a city could be developed by "alternative" people.

The initial group managed only to produce one issue of a directory of "alternative groups and individuals" and to give some degree of encouragement to a just emerging tendency in the area. We heard a few speakers on solar power, domes and the like and kept a newsletter going.

A core group of half a dozen seemed to coalesce out of this broader group, to make it seem possible that a commune could be established -- a commune which would be politically realistic and yet pragmatic, and thus bring to the "alternative movement" much needed hard-headedness. Some land, just a few miles from the city centre, was located and a commitment made, just about the same time Jim Cairns, former Cabinet Minister and just a CIA-bread away from being Prime Minister the previous year, began organising the first Down-To-Earth gathering at the Cotter River Reserve just out of Canberra.

The Alternative Canberra group was centrally involved in the organisation of that gathering (lighting, toilets, site-discussions with the bureaucracy etc) but we pulled out a week before the actual event because of what we (I) saw as a tendency to over-plan and over-direct.

Then, as now, the alternative life-styles movement is primarily political in its thrust, i.e. it is about power over one's own life; and the degree to which the central group prevented participants at the Cotter from participating in problem-solving exercises was the degree to which the gathering as a whole failed to achieve its potential as a learning/living experience.

Anyhow, the group, now 5, moved onto the land and took up apple orcharding, vegetable-growing and poultry-farming, seemingly with enthusiasm. Up at dawn in season to spray the trees with lead arsenate, a chemical demanded by the local authority, clearing debris-covered ground and generally exploring the dozens of areas in which we were almost entirely ignorant.

Integrity

In the beginning we agreed to decision-making by 100 per cent consensus, no total agreement meaning nothing was done in that area unless any individual who acted alone was prepared to accept responsibility for any consequences of such action. This I took to be the core of practical anarchism, the way to balance sensitivity to feelings of others with individual integrity. We also recognised the need to be honest and courageous in personal interaction, in order to work through conflict situations within the group.

It failed immediately, of course, to live up to the ideal, as for example, when one couple brought with them onto the farm a cat and a dog, when previously objections had been raised to pets. I emphasise that the ideal failed, not with the action itself, but because no satisfactory talking through of the conflict occurred, indeed, was attempted. Similar failings of will occurred when objections by other members of the group were put to the only smoker and when a chimney was demolished.

Overall, however, quite a bit of personal development occurred, and the group achieved (?) the reputation of being more serious than most about the task set. I regard this degree of achievement as negligible, however, when seen in the context of what is required.

CONT. ON PAGE 5

Now, as I prepare to make a new start elsewhere I can see that we, as a group, underestimated the difficulties, and overestimated ourselves. I can see that the jump from essentially 9 to 5 work to largely autonomous farmers and propagandists was too great and that, though we tried, our conditioning and/or our natures led us to put more effort and more resources into resolution of problems in areas outside the farm (eg the food co-op we were part of, or the local community radio station on which we worked) than on the farm. And it seems to me to be right here that anarchism, by analogy, is failing, firstly to achieve the rate of societal change that is possible, and secondly, to achieve the kind of change which is possible. Notice I've said what's possible!

Anarchism is not about personal or societal affluence except in regard to its equitable distribution; and barriers put in the way of people participating in its benefits and in decisions about the production and distribution of that affluence. A recent Zero published a statement by the ARM Group, purporting to be libertarian but which was shot through with Marxist-derived correlations between levels of affluence and the capacity of a society to achieve liberation. Anarchism must go beyond the accounting stage of libertarianism represented most clearly on the one hand by the right-wing anarcho-capitalists and on the other by a George Woodcock-style rendering. Anarchism must go beyond the ledger-books and concern for workers' control of production to develop and articulate a set of values based upon an understanding of why we haven't taken control of production and don't look likely or capable.

These values will be based upon an analysis of power.

Anarchism is about power. It opposes hierarchies, whether monopolistic or not, and poses autonomy in their place. But people must live together. There is need therefore to distinguish the positive and negative aspects of the power-relation which exists when any two (or more) people are considered together. The present social structure emphasises the negative, and thus materialism, death and mechanical sex. The alternative, the positive side of power, is the power that attracts, encouraging, blossoming, doesn't repel or attract only to stifle or kill.

And there is no final, ultimate state in which perfect relations between people will have been achieved. But

JAMES KIRKUP, who was born in 1923

has been a prolific writer since 1948, but became really famous in 1976, when his poem "The Love That Dares To Speak Its Name" was published in Gay News and was the object of Mary Whitehouse's blasphemy prosecution. As everyone knows, Gay News was found guilty in 1977 and lost its appeal early in 1978. Its appeal to the House of Lords will be heard in November.

Meanwhile an interview with Kirkup, made by William Bedford while he was Creative Writing Fellow at Sheffield University, has appeared in various forms in New Yorkshire Writing, London Magazine and Gay News. Most of it concerns his views of poetry and religion, but one passage concerns wider issues:

"For me, nothing is barred in poetry, and all is sacred. During 1970 and 1971 I wrote a large number of humorous erotic poems - not obscene - it was a passing phase such as many writers and artists

experience, and a valuable one. I maintain my right, as a poet, to write what I want and as I please. If that makes me in Britain a dissident, then I am one ...

"I reject, as a pacifist anarchist - all good poets are natural anarchists - authority of any kind, be it of the State or the Church. Not for nothing was one of my books entitled Refusal to Conform ... It was because of my absolute refusal to submit my individuality to conscription that I was a conscientious objector in the war - and still am, and always will be, against every kind of violence, both personal and national. I reject the repressive elements in religion and morality. I have a right to live exactly as I please, as long as it hurts no one but myself .."

What was that about poets being the unacknowledged legislators of the world?

Meanwhile, there have been two more minor developments in the saga of Kirkup's poem.

Charles Oxley, the Christian extremist who circulated a collective statement in favour of the blasphemy law a few months ago, and included in it a libellous statement that the poem was being republished by Denis Lemon, editor of Gay News (see FREEDOM, August 19), has now agreed to make a public apology, though the exact wording and circulation of the apology are still being argued between the lawyers. The episode should cost him a few hundred pounds as well as make him look the complete fool he is.

And Nicolas Walter, editor of the New Humanist, who has been republishing the poem, is still being pursued by the authorities. A year ago he was questioned by the police but not prosecuted when he refused to answer any questions (see FREEDOM, October 1 and December 10 1977). On October 3 he was again questioned by two officers from the Obscene Publications Branch of the Metropolitan Police, following further complaints, including one from Oxley himself and another from Norman Knight, an agent provocateur who lives near Oxley in Lancashire and who made a rather crude attempt to get the poem sent to him. Nicolas Walter again refused to answer any questions, and has told the Director of Public Prosecutions that if he is prosecuted he will naturally publicise the details of Knight's provocation.

M.H.

Poets as Legislators

Grasp the nettle!

CONT. FROM PG. 4

common sense will tell us when we're on the right track. Thus, it is the struggle, the tension, the satisfaction of honestly, bravely striving which is the touch-stone of anarchism. I'm not denying peace, harmony, stability. In them there is intense joy made greater by our recognising their fragility.

That is why the farm failed for me, and why anarchism as a movement is finding it very difficult to get beyond the "accounting" stage (Woodcock's "Anarchist Reader") but I hasten to add that Zerg, anarcho-feminism and Open Road are very significant developments.

On the farm there was insufficient commitment to personal change, insufficient regard for discipline in thought, speech and action; a discipline not of conformity to pre-arranged measures, and not the discipline of the aesthetic, but the self-discipline which values the actualisation of one's own potential and sees it as something to be consciously pursued; which sees the group as a supportive place where criticism is regarded positively, and reciprocated, analysed and acted upon, always with the criteria of honesty and tolerance in mind. I'm talking of an intensity which comes from a feeling that one is loved but seen as imperfect;

and loved not to remain as one is, but encouraged to be something more. A better society will be made up of better people, and I make no apologies to anyone for making judgements that so-and-so is not as perfect as she/he could be or that he/she is improving. I do it for myself, and I regard friends as people who are prepared to do it for me, and in conjunction with me, for themselves.

Anarchism is not, and cannot be, tolerant of everything, and the sooner we purge statements like "It is forbidden to forbid", or "Anarchy is complete freedom" the better. I make no apologies for the word "purge".

And I make no apologies for suggesting anarchists pursue, practise and proselytise anarchist values. If we oppose aggressive, competitive, destructive, hierarchical social structures and do no more we are bound to the past and to a reactive political role. Thus, frustration and no future.

The people who are actively involved in building autonomous groupings (schools, families, child-care centres, co-ops etc) will be helped if the values we wish to put in place of those we reject are spelt out continuously, consciously lived and made the basis of group criticism and self-criticism. I know all about the dangers of the loudest, strongest personalities becoming the new dictators, and the dangers of any values becoming solidified and sacred, beyond criticism. At the moment I think the other extreme is more likely, and equally dangerous - most of us, if not all, are afraid to

love, afraid to open up, afraid to express ourselves, to make or receive criticism.

Two examples from the Sydney scene will suffice. There is a food co-op operating from Jura Bookshop which unblushingly buys the chemicalised and monopolised fruit and veg from the wholesale market and congratulates itself, because the supermarket is being avoided. Second, a "men's consciousness raising group" is unable to confront personality conflicts within it, let alone devise supportive and therapeutic situations to make well the people involved.

Whether we believe anarchism is an actualising of a potential already in people, or is something impossible until achieved for all, it is possible to talk sensibly about degrees of anarchist society.

It's a reluctance to grasp the nettle of personal involvement in the construction of a living, breathing anarchist world that makes the philosophy, anarchism, a 20th century irrelevance. Perhaps the philosophy will always be an irrelevance. Perhaps there's no point using the word at all. Perhaps there's no need for an anarchist history or literature or presence in demonstrations etc. But, in any event, I believe constructive, serious solving of actual problems (with fun and with flair quite often) can produce, in our lifetime, something more like an anarchist society if we are but willing to try.

Regards,
Bob James.

10, Beltana Rd.,
Pialligo, ACT, Australia 2609

HAVE THE A.N.L. GOT IT RIGHT?

IT IS GOOD that so many white individuals and groups are now joining the struggle against racism and fascism. At the same time, it is doubtful whether the Anti-Nazi League is capable of translating their enthusiasm into a long-term and effective commitment to combat racism wherever it manifests itself. (The large rallies and 'carnivals' of this summer should not raise false hopes; after all, CND and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign attracted even larger numbers, only to collapse almost overnight). This is because in practice the ANL exhibits a very limited grasp of the true nature and extent of racism in Britain.



They fail to see - or if they do see it, they don't point it out - that the National Front is a symptom, and not the cause, of the racist ideology and practices which characterise every sector of British society today, including the working class. Consequently, the ANL devotes little or no attention to the institutional breeding grounds of fascism and racism: the police, schools, local government - even the trade unions. No-one would wish to deny the valuable support which people in the ANL have given to the Bengali people in East London in their struggle against National Front and police terror. On the whole, however, the ANL has not taken up the issues which affect black people's lives daily. In Brixton, for instance, and in most areas where black people live, it is not the National Front but the police who are the principle, 'legal' and most brutal agents of racism. And not far behind are the many racist officials in Lambeth Council, the Employment Exchange and the Social Services.

It's no wonder, then, that so few black people or independent black organisations are actively involved with the ANL. Hand in hand with the failure of the ANL and the British left in general to understand the roots of racism - especially the effect of imperialism on the consciousness of the British working class - has gone a long-standing chauvinist and arrogant attitude towards the struggles of black people, whether in the Third World or here in Britain. Hiding for many years behind the empty slogan of 'Black and White, Unite and Fight!' they have frequently described the reaction of black people to the racist oppression they suffer in this country as racism in reverse, and the differences between the various national minorities as racist. More recently, as the self-appointed defenders of black people's interests, they feel they have the right to ask black activists, "Where were you lot?" (meaning the black community) whenever they take on the National Front on the streets. Today, the ANL is insulting the intelligence of black people and trivialising the struggles which they have waged continuously (with precious little support from the left) against racism and fascism by jumping on the bandwagon of 'carnival' and reggae music - implying that this is the only way black people can be reached and mobilised politically.

Obviously, it is impossible here to make detailed criticisms of the ANL, or to offer ready-made solutions. The above remarks are intended simply to stimulate discussion within the ANL and all other progressive and democratic groups who are genuinely committed to the struggle against racism. At the same time, we would be glad to discuss the issue with those who feel that the struggle goes beyond the more or less extreme variants of 'Front-bashing' offered by the ANL. The Ad-Hoc Committee was set up after the weekend of the Notting Hill Carnival, when the police not only flexed their para-military muscles at the Carnival itself, but also systematically terrorised and assaulted black youth at a number of tube stations in South London. We believe that, to be fully effective, an anti-racist campaign must be equipped to deal with this and other blatant moves towards fascism, and not simply concentrate on one aspect of the struggle, which is all the National Front represents.

- BRIXTON AD-HOC COMMITTEE
AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION
(2 Talma Road, SW2).

Note: See also 'Racism and Fascism Today - Sorting out the Clichés', in this issue's Review.

A.B.C.

AFTER a hiccup and a victory the ABC trial continues. Following the judge's indignation that comments were made on television, the trial was stopped and a new jury produced. The unfortunate judge was so upset that he developed a stomach complaint and also had to be replaced. The ABC defence committee thoughtfully sent him some flowers.

And the victory? The most serious charge has been dropped. Duncan Campbell was originally charged, under Section 1 of the Official Secrets Act (the bit dealing with foreign spies) with collating information on 'secret' matters. The fact that this was all from open sources was apparently irrelevant, as putting all this stuff in one place represented a threat to the nation's security.

"If I went to the Russian Embassy with the information we discussed they wouldn't even give me the bus fare home". (Duncan Campbell).



However, the State (or 'The Crown' as it is known in these matters) has realised the ludicrousness of their argument, or, more cynically, realised that they weren't going to get away with this one, and the charge has been dropped. That only leaves eight.

Meanwhile, the case rumbles on, with the usual scattering of fatuous judicial comments. (If someone outside made similar remarks, a judge might describe them as 'gratuitous journalistic gossip'). A succession of military figures has been put into the dock, only to refuse to say anything, as it's all secret, don't you know. One wing commander had the perception to agree that the secrecy was 'idiotic'.

But, behind the idiocy we must remember that there is a hard edge. These three people are on trial because they dared to challenge the State's power. If they are convicted it will be a major blow. Obviously, for them. They face many years in prison. Also, for us all! The State will demonstrate its attitude that journalists are here to provide pap entertainment and political 'analysis' is to be merely rabble rousing, and that employees of the State are to keep their mouths shut and do as they are told. These lessons would not be lost.

IN BRIEF:

A NUMBER of people in Hartlepool are upset to find that they have been filmed enjoying a quiet drink. The police had installed a camera 'for the express and sole purpose of detecting illegal trafficking in drugs'.

More bugging. Andrew and Sabina Knight were recently distressed by suspicion that their phone was tapped. This would be serious as Andrew is editor of *The Economist* and therefore in contact with important people. Apparently the Knights do quite well for themselves and manage to employ a cook. While Sabina was discussing a menu with him the line was so bad that she rang off and re-dialed. Only to hear her own conversation repeated back to her! They were hastily assured that they must have had a cross-

ed line with an automatic answering machine. However, the Knights being important people, the post office promised a full enquiry. This helpfulness was tarnished somewhat, as a PO spokesperson said that if any bugging involved was official they wouldn't be able to say so anyway. But now all is cleared up. One James Hazan has been produced out of a top hat in North London. Apparently James has also been having trouble with his phone. So much so that he has taken to recording crossed lines in order to accumulate evidence. Having read about the Knights' troubles, James realised that, in fact, it was his recording that was involved, and that he must have been playing his tapes back, while his phone was off the hook. Nice to have got that one all neatly sorted out.

Useful things have come out of the Hull Prison Riots of 1976. The appeal court has now ruled that the decisions of internal prison disciplinary boards can be challenged by outside courts. It's not often that we see courts as useful things, but this represents the 'first dose of legalism that has been injected

and arrested for forming a 'terrorist' organisation!

Bookshops are terrorised and vandalised by the fascists and the secret police.

Anarchists are framed into 'civil law' accusations, in which the first question of a judge is 'are you an anarchist?' The answer, independent of what one has done (if anything) is the controlling factor for the length of sentence.

Homosexuality is a civil law crime; Greek homosexuals have applied to the Council of Europe in an attempt to publicise the heavy oppression they suffer.

There is little or no chance of forming a support group for, or by anarchists which will not be busted or disrupted by any means by the security forces.

It is anarchists and anarchism itself along with basic human rights that are being drawn into the courts and prisons and forced to go underground, perhaps against their will.

Within the last month alone more than five houses where anarchists live have been raided in a search for 'explosives'; more than six people have been arrested and later released (including two 18-year-olds who were holding a party when raided and arrested for 'terrorist organisation' because anarchist books and magazines were found in the house!) Two anarchists, F. and S. Kyritsis, and N. Papadopoulos, were sentenced to from 3 to 9 years' imprisonment, and a pro-Albanian leftist, Y. Skandalis, to 5 years. And that is the record ONLY for the last month!

From cases published in the British anarchist press, Y. Serifis is still in prison without trial, and N. Balis is currently serving one year for publishing an anti-war issue of the magazine OTAN (see contact column - eds.)

On the other hand, Greek anarchists, partly due to the state terror and suppression, and partly due to other reasons, have not yet managed to get together effectively and somehow react in self-defence to this obscene but real situation. The hope of the movement today, accord-

ing to the prison administration (Howard League for Penal Reform). Previously the internal boards could arbitrarily hand out vast losses of remission, i.e. in practice extended sentences, without the prisoners having the right of legal representation within a heavily weighted procedure. Congratulations to the six prisoners who challenged the system and brought this about. And, in particular, to our comrade, Jake Prescott, still fighting!

'Thirty per cent of Norwegian industry is now state-owned compared with 18 per cent in 1970, it was reported in Oslo yesterday, and share capital held by the state now makes up more than 25 per cent of the country's total share capital'.

Oh, how principled ethical stands can be swayed by partisan feelings! The right wing press has, in print, a strident respect for law and order. This impartial instrument must be applied rigidly, or the end of civilisation as we know it will loom. And what does the *Daily Mail* shriek in its leader today? That the concept of Ian Smith as a traitor is outmoded 'legalistic claptrap'. Ho. hum.

ing to our judgement, lies in the groupings being formed at the 'periphery' of the well known anarchist 'centres'. There lies too the danger of isolation due to lack of contacts and support and breakdown of internal communication lines.

YOU support, OUR support for all of us living abroad is urgently needed. Please do publicise the facts about Greece in your local and national libertarian anarchist papers, write letters of protest to British and Greek papers. Moral support is the first step towards international solidarity. We hope that this conference will mark the starting point.

Fraternally,
LEEDS AUTONOMOUS GROUP.

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- * The Phoenix: Vol. VI nos. 1 & 2. £2.95 (19p). Contains articles by/on Alexander Berkman, Louise Michel, Rosa Luxemburg. (For review see FREEDOM, vol. 39, no. 18).
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- Walt Whitman: Anarchist Calendar 1979. £0.10p (7p).

BOOK OF THE WEEK

NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS

Vernon Richards: *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*
£1.00 (19p). (US. \$2.25c. plus 30c. post). 142pp. Paperback.
A critique of the Labour Party in opposition, 1956-1964, and,
implicitly, in government. The usual terms are available to
the trade on this title.

Anarchist Review

Freedom

RACISM and FASCISM TODAY

*SORTING OUT
THE CLICHÉS*

Over the last couple of years FREEDOM's Review has played a role in introducing to English-speaking anarchists Continental anarchist and libertarian socialist ideas on the development of the technobureaucratic society. A recent exchange of views in FREEDOM on whether the British state shows fascist tendencies (not the same as calling it fascist, which would be grossly simplistic), has stimulated further discussion on modern corporate/technobureaucratic society and its relation to fascism. This analysis by Martin Spence is, we feel, an important contribution to the subject, going on to suggest how anarchists can constructively help in the formation of a street culture resistance. EDS.

WHAT WITH Lewisham and Ladywood, race killings in Southall and the East End, bomb attacks on left wing premises and black premises all over the country, black self-defence, Brick Lane, the rise of the Anti Nazi League - it is clear that the struggle against the National Front and far right is going to be with us for a long time. Consequently, we have to work out exactly what racism and fascism are, since these terms are linked to the NF so frequently. We have to understand whose interests they serve, and thus how to combat them.

The argument advanced here is that the racism and fascism of the NF must be distinguished from the racism and quasi-fascism of the State; that 'classical' fascism performed certain historical tasks which are today performed by other ideologies, making the NF strictly irrelevant as a fascist party; that the NF is very significant and dangerous as a street-level racist party; and that a new opposition is developing, which may act as the bulwark against both the racist right and the State in the years to come.

TWO FORMS OF RACISM

David Edgar (1) has provided us with a useful analysis of the NF's racism, as propounded in their 'theoretical' journals. He demonstrates that they are in the classic Nazi anti-semitic mould, and that their anti-immigration demands mask an underlying conspiracy theory, in which an international cabal of Jews, bankers and bolsheviks is deliberately weakening the 'British race' by encouraging immigration and miscegenation. Blacks are not seen as active malevolent agents themselves, but as the unwitting tools and dupes of far cleverer, occult forces.

It is impossible to say how widely spread this conspiracy theory is in NF circles. Surely the racist thugs who rampage down Brick Lane, or who lie in wait at night for lone blacks, are motivated by something more basic - guts colour prejudice. The NF's central racist demands, opposition to immigration and advocacy of repatriation, reveals the fundamental consciousness which underlies all the theories and qualifications: NF supporters see themselves primarily as being White Britons, with primary loyalties to other White Britons. From this point of view, immigration is a tremendous threat, whether or not it is perceived as a Jewish conspiracy, for immigration undermines the economic, cultural and national integrity of the White British Race.

Election results in the past couple of years have shown that



this racism is capable of evoking a response among sections of the working class and lower middle class. It has populist roots, as we would expect in a country with a long and gloriously bloody imperial history behind it, full of jingoist and racist myths. But the point is that this history is behind us, and the racism which feeds upon it is consequently backward-looking, retrogressive, a literally reactionary phenomenon. The NF's racism is thus different in kind from the racism of the State, which is modern, forward looking and pragmatic.

Modern corporate capitalism does not require vulgar racist myths of the sort which justified the imperialist adventures of 19th century capitalism. What it does require is an easily-manipulable workforce, unable or unwilling to take initiatives on its own behalf, ready to respond to the needs of capital as and when they arise. The State's changing policies on immigration have consistently sought to mould black immigrant populations into such a pliable tool. Immigration was of course actively encouraged in the 1950s, so as to fill low-paid, low-status but vital jobs. What was not intended was the creation of large, increasingly dissatisfied and increasingly militant black populations in Britain, prepared to fight back when hit by economic collapse and rising unemployment. Government policy has sought consistently to replace the settler-immigrant with the migrant worker, therefore (2), by imposing ever stricter limitations on residence. Different classes of British citizen have been created, with different rights.

Migrant workers are ideally suited to the requirements of corporate capital. They provide labour, but need not themselves be provided with the usual level of facilities; they tend to feel chronically insecure, being separated from their families and communities (3), and are unlikely to be militant, as they are only in the host country on sufferance; they can be summoned and dispatched as required, and when they are unemployed the burden of their upkeep falls elsewhere. Some of the most conspicuously wealthy countries in the world have won their riches largely from the misery and toil of migrant workers: South Africa and West Germany are obvious examples. Britain apparently seeks to join that club by the implementation of laws which are clearly racist, differentiating as they do between white and black citizens. But this racism arises not from any crude colour prejudice, but from the higher needs of capital. Meanwhile, the State seeks to 'integrate' those blacks already here, to defuse any possibility of autonomous organisation or militancy.

The recent Tory shift towards repatriation is therefore a sign of the degree to which the Tory leadership is wedded to a totally outmoded view of capitalism. Every step taken by the Tories towards the NF is a step towards political obsolescence and irrelevance. For all its own failings, Labour is the only party which understands how modern capitalism works. (4).

TWO PHASES OF FASCISM

The term 'fascist' is bandied about to such a degree that we are in danger of losing sight of its actual meaning. There is broad agreement on the left as to what fascism actually is: it is usually depicted as a mass movement of despairing and bitter people, petty bourgeois and even working class, which finds allies in big business, and seeks above all to smash the left. In the historic struggle between capital and labour, fascism is seen as a means whereby capital can, in times of crisis, use against the left the left's own weapon of mass mobilisation.

The contradiction within fascism is that it is a mass movement which aims to remove power from the hands of the masses; it is a movement of people seeking and celebrating their own powerlessness. A true understanding of the phenomenon must clearly look beyond social and economic class analysis, and delve into the psychology of the matter. Reich's work here becomes crucial, demonstrating the ways in which certain social structures and institutions generate a psychology admirably suited to respond to fascism. (5).

However, this contradiction still remains. If fascism is a mass movement of people seeking their own powerlessness, then who does wield power when fascism wins political success? Which interests does fascism represent when in power, as distinct to the interests it mobilises when in opposition?

Guerin's classic work (6) demonstrates the social roots of fascism among the lower middle classes, and the ways in which it won sympathy and support from certain sections of big business (especially heavy industry). Many socialists have concluded from this that fascism was essentially the tool of big business, that fascism is effectively the 'last resort' of capitalism, to be used in times of crisis when all else fails. They point to the fact that the first thing the Nazis did when they took power was to smash the German trade unions, setting up a 'National Labour Front' which embraced both employers and workers, which defined employers as 'leaders' and workers as 'followers' within enterprises, and which gave employers total power within their enterprises, subject only to State intervention. This last point needs consideration: 'subject only to State



intervention'. To understand fascism properly, we must look more closely at the relationships between the fascist State and the capitalists.

In both Italy and Germany the fascists came to power with the backing of big business, and for a while they may have appeared to be the pawns of big business. This soon ceased to be the case in both countries. In Italy, State control of the economy was first extended obliquely through subsidies, and then directly. The Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) was established in 1933, as the major instrument of State intervention. Restrictions on the formation of new companies were applied. By 1939, the IRI controlled 80 per cent of Italian shipbuilding, more than 50 per cent of iron and steel, and 29 per cent of the electrical industry. (7).

In Germany, the State took control of financial and credit institutions. Conditions for the very biggest enterprises were made especially comfortable; cartels were encouraged, and existing private companies were even declared to be cartels and given monopoly status. Clearly sections of big business profited from all this - but at a price. From 1936, with the introduction of the Four Year Plans, the needs of industry were increasingly subordinated to the plans of the State for autarchy and militarisation. The major iron and steel companies were made to invest in the unprofitable Hermann Goring Works, which sought to reprocess local low-grade iron ore. As the economy became increasingly dependant on rearment, it was increasingly common for government and Wehrmacht nominees to appear on the boards of companies, and of the 'Industrial Groups' into which companies were organised. The largest enterprises even appointed representatives of the Labour Front and Gestapo. It is quite clear that German economic life came increasingly to be dominated not by considerations of profit, but rather by considerations of 'national interest', as defined by the fascist State. (8).

Changes were also occurring within the capitalist enterprises. The 1937 corporation law effectively deprived shareholders of any say in the running of companies, leaving them only with the power to criticise management and reduce their own dividends! Undistributed profits rose rapidly, and the managerial strata became increasingly autonomous, and closely-linked with their opposite numbers within the State bureaucracies. The same was to be seen in Italy: the only social class to expand between 1921 and 1936 was the middle class salariat.

In class terms, these developments clearly imply a decrease in the power and significance of 'capitalists' in the classic sense - people who personally own and therefore control the means of production. Meanwhile there was an increase in the power and significance of those people occupying central positions within the new bureaucratic corporations, and within the new State bureaucracies; and an increase in the numbers of people working in the peripheral positions within these bureaucracies. Power was coming to rely less on ownership and personal wealth than on technical and bureaucratic expertise. A new ruling class was emerging, with a new power base. We may call it the techno-bureaucratic ruling class.

Fascism was not solely responsible for the emergence of this new class, or for the transformations within capitalism with which it was associated. The decline of 'classical' entrepreneurial capitalism has been going on since the late 19th

century, throughout the industrialised world, and we have seen the steady rise of a corporate form of capitalism dominated by this techno-bureaucratic ruling class. But although fascism was not responsible for these developments, it did accelerate and justify them in certain historical conditions. Fascism can thus be seen as one of a range of ideologies or strategies, which serve to consolidate the underlying trend towards corporate capitalism and a techno-bureaucratic ruling class. Bureaucratic state capitalism (as in the Eastern bloc) is another such strategy; welfare capitalism or social democracy (as in the Western bloc) is yet another.

In discussing fascism we must therefore distinguish between its character as an opposition movement of desperate petty bourgeois and working class origins; and its character as a movement in power, when it serves to facilitate the transformation from classical to corporate capitalism, and the rise of the techno-bureaucratic ruling class.

THE FASCISM OF THE NF AND THE QUASI-FASCISM OF THE STATE

The NF is technically a fascist party. Its policies are very close to those of the German Nazi party, emphasising autocracy, strict control of finance capital (and also of the multinationals), the encouragement of 'productive' capital as opposed to 'parasitic' finance capital, the welding of the State, industry and labour into a single machine serving the 'national interest'; a foreign policy built around common racial and cultural bonds; and of course the expulsion of minority racial groups.

The NF is a Nazi party then, as the Anti Nazi League has made abundantly clear. We must now ask, Is this actually significant? Do the NF's policies, such as national self-sufficiency, or an orientation towards the white Commonwealth, or 'repatriation' of blacks, really represent a viable or attractive option for corporate capitalism? The fascists came to power in Italy and Germany because sections of big business supported them: are there today powerful sections within the ruling class, which is predominantly a pragmatic, techno-bureaucratic ruling class, which are attracted by the visions of Tyndall and Webster, I think not.

Fascism of this classic type is a fossil, a throwback. In modern conditions, fascism would be a severe embarrassment. How can jingoist, racist slogans serve the interests of a form of capitalism which is increasingly international, through multinationals and groupings like the EEC and Comecon? Within individual nations, the techno-bureaucratic class is now established in power, and does not require a fascist mid-wife. The historical tasks performed by fascism in the 1920s and 1930s have been performed, and are being performed, by other ideologies and strategies. Fascism sought to weld State, industry and labour into a single machine - but if social democracy can also achieve this end, by negotiation rather than coercion, then where is the need for fascism? The ascendancy of the techno-bureaucracy is established and is continually strengthened, as dynamic young bureaucrats emerge from college to enter the service of State, industry or unions, all imbued with the same concepts of what is "reasonable" and "in the national interest."

To suggest that the modern State is actually fascist would be absurd - it would be an abuse of the word, an abuse of the sort from which we must escape. The British social-democratic State (or welfare capitalist State, or mixed economy State, whichever you prefer), is not fascist; but we can see that historically, social-democracy acts as a functional equivalent of fascism, serving the same class interests and facilitating the same underlying trends. And just in case we are accused of being objective advocates of third-stage Stalinism, let us reiterate that Stalinist state capitalism is another functional equivalent of fascism.

THE OPPOSITION

If this analysis is valid, then the NF is not a potential governing party, and to this extent its admittedly fascist ideology is not particularly important. This is not to say that the NF is itself insignificant, however; it is highly significant, and dangerous, as a grassroots racist-rightist agitational party, providing an organisational focus and even a veneer of respectability for such tendencies in society. We may be looking forward to many years of violent political conflict in Britain, between racists on the one hand, and blacks and white socialists on the other. A pattern is being set: night-time attacks, knifings, letter bombs, fire bombs. Snippings and shootings have not yet

started, but it may not be long before they do.

Against this possibility the threatened communities must organise. Blacks are already doing this in some areas, arguing that self defence is no offence. But we have seen that, although blacks are the obvious targets for attack, they are not the only ones; left bookshops, offices and homes are also under threat. And beyond these, there are yet wider circles of people who would be threatened by a strong racist-rightist presence on the streets: 'dissident lifestylers', feminists, gays, punks, eccentrics and layabouts of all sorts.

This becomes clear if we look at the people who have in fact been mobilised and energised by ANL carnivals (as opposed to the people who ought in theory to have been mobilised). The people who came out were not the massed organised working class, but a conglomeration of left activists, blacks, freaks, dissident lifestylers, school kids, and so on. What we apparently have here is a community of anti-racists, united only by their rejection of mainstream values and styles - both the old mainstream of the NF, jingoist and racist, and the new mainstream of the techno-bureaucracy, pragmatic and well-groomed. This community doesn't wield massive economic power, it isn't organised around a common platform, but it is obvious that these marginals, these frequently lumpen elements, are central to any anti-racist or anti-rightist struggle.

A strong, street-fighting NF would threaten all these groups, most of whom are as visually identifiable as blacks. It's obvious that these groups are conscious of the threat and are developing a hostility to the right. They too may soon learn that self defence is no offence, and that an injury to one anti-racist is an injury to all.

Long term strategies against the NF and other racist-rightist organisations therefore depend on building a sense of community and solidarity among these groups, so that attacks will always be met by immediate and massive mobilisations, and if necessary by counter attacks. This is not a matter of organising people into formal bodies, and certainly not a matter of recruiting people into parties. We need to build a street culture of resistance, a hydra-headed community of solidarity. This will be far stronger and more resilient than any particular party or faction, though these may play a role within the wider movement.



All this is not to deny that the conventional organised working class has a role - of course it is crucial to any anti-racist strategy that large numbers of working people be involved. As Sparks argues in his pamphlet (9), class struggle is an excellent antidote to the NF, because workers in struggle as workers will simply not be interested in racist ideas: they may at other times sympathise with such ideas, but will find them of no relevance in situations of class confrontation. All this is quite true, and points to the need for class militancy as a response to the crisis and to the racism which it breeds. But Sparks doesn't consider the possibility that other groups, which stand outside conventional class categories, may be just as central to the anti-racist struggle as the organised working class.

What is more, the development of an active resistance to the racists and rightists of the NF lays the foundation of a much wider and longer resistance to the State itself, and to the developing totalitarianism of corporate capitalism. A conscious community of militant dissidents, and an organised working class with growing experience of class militancy and solidarity, would pose tremendous threats to the technobureaucracy and to the pragmatic alliance of State, industry and unions. It would be then that the real struggle would begin, and then that we would have to start learning lessons from Ireland. The struggle against the NF may turn out to be only a dress rehearsal.

OUR CONTRIBUTION

Immediately, what can our contribution, as anarchists, be? I believe we are well placed to make a significant contribution, if we take an honest look at ourselves. As a movement, we are quite well rooted in those marginal communities referred to above - dissident lifestylers, freaks, 'layabouts'. We can therefore help in the construction of that street culture of resistance which provides a crucial element in the long term defence against racism and rightism. It won't be an easy job, certainly far less satisfying and clear cut than simply recruiting members to 'the party'. We won't be ringleaders or organisers, so much as active agents within a process which is hopefully going to be happening anyway, and which maybe is happening now.

Secondly, we ought to keep in contact with the rest of the left, however obnoxious that may be at times. The mass anti-racist movement which we want to see is going to be bigger than the organised left, but the organised left is still going to play an important role within it, (note the influence of the Socialist Workers' Party within the ANL). A lot of the time, organisations like the SWP are going to be using the movement to gain more recruits and power for themselves - we should certainly expose this opportunistic and harmful attitude where it appears.

CITIES OF THE DEAD *Cont'd from p15*

his own house in the region of Helsinki and it would appear to be the only building meant for human habitation. Here are trees and flowers and natural rock formation. Pleasant confusion and gentle disarray and as a leftwing art critic of the national press murmured to me "All the bastards did this, they designed these ghastly concrete living units for the masses no matter what class, then from Frank Lloyd Wright to Aalto they built these lovely little liveable human homes for themselves". And this is a stark and brutal fact of every society whose truth can be tested by the simple observable fact that almost without exception every village that was once the home of country labourers, every small fisherman's village now houses the mobile middle class and we the great and sacred mass are left to live and work in their concrete and brick blocks. I feel that some where there must be a moral but meanwhile it is on to the Rodrigo Moynihan Retrospective Exhibition still within the Royal Academy wine ho.

Moynihan is a tough pleasant man and the vast array of his life's work is impressive on first viewing but it would appear to my jaundiced eye that most of it is imitative of the style of the day and while it is always competent and gives much pleasure in the end it will all just slip down Time's stream to be forgotten. One work stays in my mind and that is his 1938 'still life with meat' but again I am reminded of the raw angry work of Chaim Soutine and Rodrigo Moynihan is never angry

But we ought also to be working alongside other socialists where it is possible and constructive, and a lot of the time it is possible and constructive. There are a lot of good, committed revolutionaries within or close to the organisations of the left, alongside the hacks and megalomaniacs. If we can't bring ourselves to work with them, then we really are an insignificance, the flotsam of history.

In June 1922, bare months before the triumph of fascism in Italy, Malatesta wrote as follows:

"Alone we cannot subdue fascism, even less destroy existing institutions. So either we must unite with those who, though not anarchists, share short term, common objectives with us, or allow that the fascists, with the connivance of the government, should be free to terrorise the country, or that the monarchy should go on ruling undisturbed.

"But in 'revolutionary alliances' one is always 'betrayed'. Possibly one is. But we prefer to run the risk of being betrayed by others, than betray ourselves to the point of extinction through inaction" (10).

I believe that this warning speaks to our condition.

The anarchist movement can play a useful role in the struggle against the racists. We can point out the broad-based nature of the possible anti-racist alliance, provide a libertarian counter-weight to the more manic Leninists, and put new perspective on the whole issue. We seem to be undergoing a minor revival at present, so let's put it to good use.

MARTIN SPENCE
August 1978

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and I thank him for a worthwhile exhibition.

Of the Hayward what can one say for it was publicised that le girls had taken over so they must take the blame. Trivia for the sake of trivia, gimmick for the sake of gimmick. It is all enjoyable but speaking as a tired, sad chauvinist pig I cannot see myself risking anyone's life to save any of the works on display come the third world war. Wendy Taylor halts the Town and his foot sore frau in their tracks with her 'Brick Knot' 213x356x231, like unto a large brick chimney tied into a knot but like cold cast sculpture it is a con job it is not made of brick but merely the surface material used by television set makers and Wendy before you blow your lovely skull it could have been sculptured in living bricks, check any City & Guild Building Department and sadly sadly Eduardo Chillida did this type of sculpture in 1963 using bare metal and it is the pistic sheeting of imitation bricks that make it a gimmick.

Of the Portuguese Art since 1910, again at the RA wine ho, one can only say, with honesty, that it is a collection of trite imitative works of fashionable styles and even by those standards fairly drear but they were painted and exhibited in good faith, but as I creep off to the male dominated Ward's Irish pub in Piccadilly with my head between my legs let me give unstinted praise to the magnificent pen and ink drawing of Deanna Petherbridge. The brilliance of her craftsmanship is a pleasure to the eye and if there nothing else on display within the Hayward Gallery the work of Deanna Petherbridge would make the visit worth while.

ARTHUR MOYSE

WALKING THE TIGHTROPE

An American Anarchist. The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre. Paul Avrich, Princeton University Press. 1978. \$16.50

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE is one of the most unjustly neglected figures of American radicalism. Essayist, poet, translator and orator she played a prominent part in the libertarian movement between 1887 and her death in 1912 at the age of 45.

It is for this reason that I welcome Paul Avrich's well-written and serious biographical study. In it he vividly depicts her struggles to assert herself as a free individual, her relations with comrades and the evolution of her thought. Not only this, but he gives us fascinating sketches of her friends such as Dyer D. Lum, George Brown and Mary Hansen. He also corrects the errors made by Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel in their biographical essays on her.

Voltairine de Cleyre began her public life as a lecturer in the free thought movement. She became interested in anarchism as a result of the Chicago Affair of 1886 and at first championed the ideas of Benjamin Tucker, to whose paper Liberty she contributed. She soon came under the influence of her friend and lover Dyer D. Lum who, like Tucker, was a mutualist, but favoured militant participation in the trade union struggle. Towards the end of her life she began to work closely with the libertarian communists, but refused to commit herself to their ideas, preferring to call herself an "anarchist without adjectives" and adopting a pluralist view of any future "free society". Indeed, Paul Avrich shows conclusively that, despite claims by Rudolf Rocker and Emma Goldman, she did not embrace communism. But I am not convinced that her efforts to maintain a balance between individualism and communism rested on any sure foundation. My own experience is that one eventually has to choose between one or the other.

In this connection Voltairine de Cleyre's attitude towards philosophical egoism is significant. Her mentor Dyer D. Lum believed that "the devotee of a cause is never the devotee of self" and he sneeringly dismissed egoists as "dung-beetles" - "people who think a great deal of their ego and don't care a rap for society". In her obituary essay on him written after his suicide in 1893 she describes his views without any dissent, so one may assume she agreed with them. In her later writings, however, she began to stress the importance of thinking "a great deal" of one's ego. Even in one of her most "Tolstoyan" essays, Crime and Punishment, she wrote "I believe in the individual. I believe that the purpose of life (insofar as we can give it a purpose, and it has none save what we give it) is the assertion and the development of strong, self-centred personality". In Anarchism and Literature, not only does she echo Max Stirner by stating that "none can decide ... for you so



well as you for yourself; for even if you err you learn by it, while if he errs the blame is his, and if he advises well the credit is his, and you are nothing", but she pays tribute to him as "the pride of Young Germany who would have the individual acknowledge nothing, neither science nor logic, nor any other creation of his thought, as having authority over him, its creator".

Nonetheless, despite her recognition of the value of egocentrism, Voltairine de Cleyre remained haunted to the end of her life by a religious concern for the sacredness of principles, the notion that one had to serve a "cause" greater than oneself. Two years before her death she wrote one of her most impressive essays, The Dominant Idea, which shows very clearly the conflicting strains of her thought. She praises the "liberty and pride and strength of the single soul" and "the immortal fire of Individual Will, which is the salvation of the Future". At the same time she holds up for emulation that most obnoxious source of all support for authority, the view that "to conceive a higher thing than oneself and live towards that is the only way of living worthily". Indeed, she concludes her essay by transforming "Individual Will" into her "Dominant Idea" and in this way negates it.

It is not surprising that not long after writing this essay she became possessed by a bleak despair about her life and ideas. Such an attempt to walk the philosophical tightrope between altruism and egoism, the sacred and the profane, could not be kept up for ever. She found emotional refuge from her dilemmas in the shape of the Mexican Revolution which she saw as part of an economic revolution which "at any moment of our lives ... may invade our homes with its stern demand for self-sacrifice and suffering". Abandoning her critical awareness she plunged into a frenzied campaign to rally support for the Mexican revolutionaries whom she idealised in a fashion beyond belief in one so intelligent. She died before she could witness the revolution ending in a mere change of rulers, as is the melancholy habit of such ventures.

I have written enough about Voltairine de Cleyre to demonstrate her ability to provoke and to stimulate more than sixty years after her death. In Paul Avrich she has found an able biographer who has brought her to life once more. Read his book!

S.E. PARKER

WE NEED MORE THEORY!

LEFT WITHOUT MARX

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Dear comrades

I, too, have read *When Prophecy Fails*, and, like Bob Potter, was struck by the similarity between the sect it describes and the various Marxist sects. (FREEDOM, August 23, p. 14). A friend of mine who spent six months in the SWP confirmed the similarity between the processes within such Marxist sects and within Christian sects. In the repeated debates he held with himself at 5.30 am about whether he should get up to sell Socialist Worker or turn over and go back to sleep, he was overcome with a feeling that he knew he'd had before but couldn't remember where. Then it dawned on him. It was when, at the age of 14, he was in an evangelical bible sect and was worrying whether he had been praying enough. The feeling was guilt, and it was the mechanism by which both sects secured the loyalty of their members.

It is a shame, however, that Potter falls into the indiscriminate attack on 'Marxism' so common among anarchists. His interpretation of Marxism as a religion has a lot in it, but it is typical of the anarchist view that presents all Marxism as merely the dogma of an institution based on the 'sacred scriptures' of the prophets. Despite his erstwhile membership of the YCL, I wonder whether he has ever acquainted himself with the contents of these 'scriptures' (few 'Marxists' have) and, if he has, why he does not actually take issue with Marxist theory rather than caricaturing party Marxism.

Anarchism in Britain has always been marked by this indifference to theory, and this is one of the reasons for its lack of influence. Marxism is the most influential tendency in the revolutionary movement and, in comparison, the anarchists seem to have so little to say. Most anarchists cannot effectively criticise Marxism because they do not know much about it.

Potter seems to be ignorant not only of classical Marxism (he says nothing about Marx's ideas) but also of modern Marxism, suggesting it has its be-all and end-all in Trotsky and Mao. But the Marxist method has been far more productive in the analysis of modern capitalist society than anarchism, even in its analysis of that institution of overriding importance for anarchists - the state. In fact, one of the important developments in modern Marxism has been the recognition of the relative autonomy of the state. One would have expected these analyses to have come from the anarchist movement, but the anarchist hostility to theory has ensured this should not be so. Other matters of interest to anarchists - ideology, community politics, personal relations and the position of women - have also received more penetrating analysis from Marxists.

I'll just list a few examples. Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony has done much to undermine the rigid economic determinism that still characterises the more antediluvian Marxism of groups like the SPGB. It stresses the importance of ideological and political struggle and analyses the relative autonomy of ideology and politics in advanced capitalism. Unlike the anarchists, Gramsci sought to understand the relationship of ideology and politics to capitalist hegemony.

Althusser, for all his appalling obscurantism and party orthodoxy, has also taken forward the analysis of the role of ideology in the maintenance of bourgeois society. Poulantzas (unfortunately another obscurantist) has remedied the inadequacy of classical Marxism by analysing the way the bourgeoisie has split into fractions with apparently competing interests held together by the power of the state. Cardan, by no means an orthodox Marxist, has shown, within a broadly Marxist framework, the increased importance of relations of domination and subordination in bureaucratic capitalism. Dunayevskaya has,

against the party Marxists, shown the libertarian potential of Marxist theory. (It was no anarchist, but Marx, who wrote 'The communists are very well aware that egoism is in definite circumstances a necessary form of the self-assertion of individuals.' German Ideology, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 247). Garaudy has, against dogmatic Marxism, argued the importance of ethics, art and subjectivity. Kolakowski, now an ex-Marxist, has demonstrated the compatibility of ethics with historical determinism. Poggi's totally undogmatic Development of the Modern State has recently been published in this country and is worthy of the attention of all libertarians. Closer to home and to the hearts of anarchists, Cynthia Cockburn's *The Local State* analyses the role of local authorities in state domination, a topic hitherto almost untouched. A case study of corporate management and community development in the London Borough of Lambeth, it shows in detail the local state's part in reproducing bourgeois class and authority relations. Christine Delphy's *Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression* and the new journal *m/f* - both the work of Marxist feminists - are quite as valuable as the writings of the anarcha-feminists.

To reject Marxism out of hand puts anarchists in a peculiar position in relation to the socialist movement, for none of Marx's ideas were original. What was original was the combination and development of these ideas. To reject Marxism in toto, as Potter seems to do, is to reject all its component parts and thus many of the ideas of the socialist movement: the materialist analysis of social relations, the historical perspective on political action, the idea of class conflict, the importance of the fact that those who do not own capital can live only by selling themselves to those who do (the idea of labour-power is prefigured in Rossi and Sismondi) and the theory of surplus-value.

Obviously the dogmatic predictions of the WRP (the CP is now more cautious), the defence of orthodoxy, the expulsions, splits and about-turns show the absurdity of party Marxism. Nonetheless, Marxism has strengths that most anarchists ignore at their cost. The materialist conception of history is essential as a method for revolutionaries. Many anarchists lack a historical sense, and the idea that a revolution can occur irrespective of the prevailing economic conditions and class relations is even more absurd than the dogmatic predictions Potter so rightly derides. Many anarchists do not accept that we make history in circumstances not of our own choosing and independent of the will of individuals, nor that ideas are shaped by the way people think, in detachment from practical struggles on a large scale. The Marxist view that revolutionary practice is the coinciding of the changing of material conditions and of self-change seems to me to be more useful than the ideological view of many anarchists that consciousness alone determines material conditions.

Although the prophecies of Capital and several of its specific ideas are false, it remains unsurpassed as an overview of bourgeois property relations, and the anti-Marxist anarchists have yet to produce a theory of capitalist exploitation that betters it.

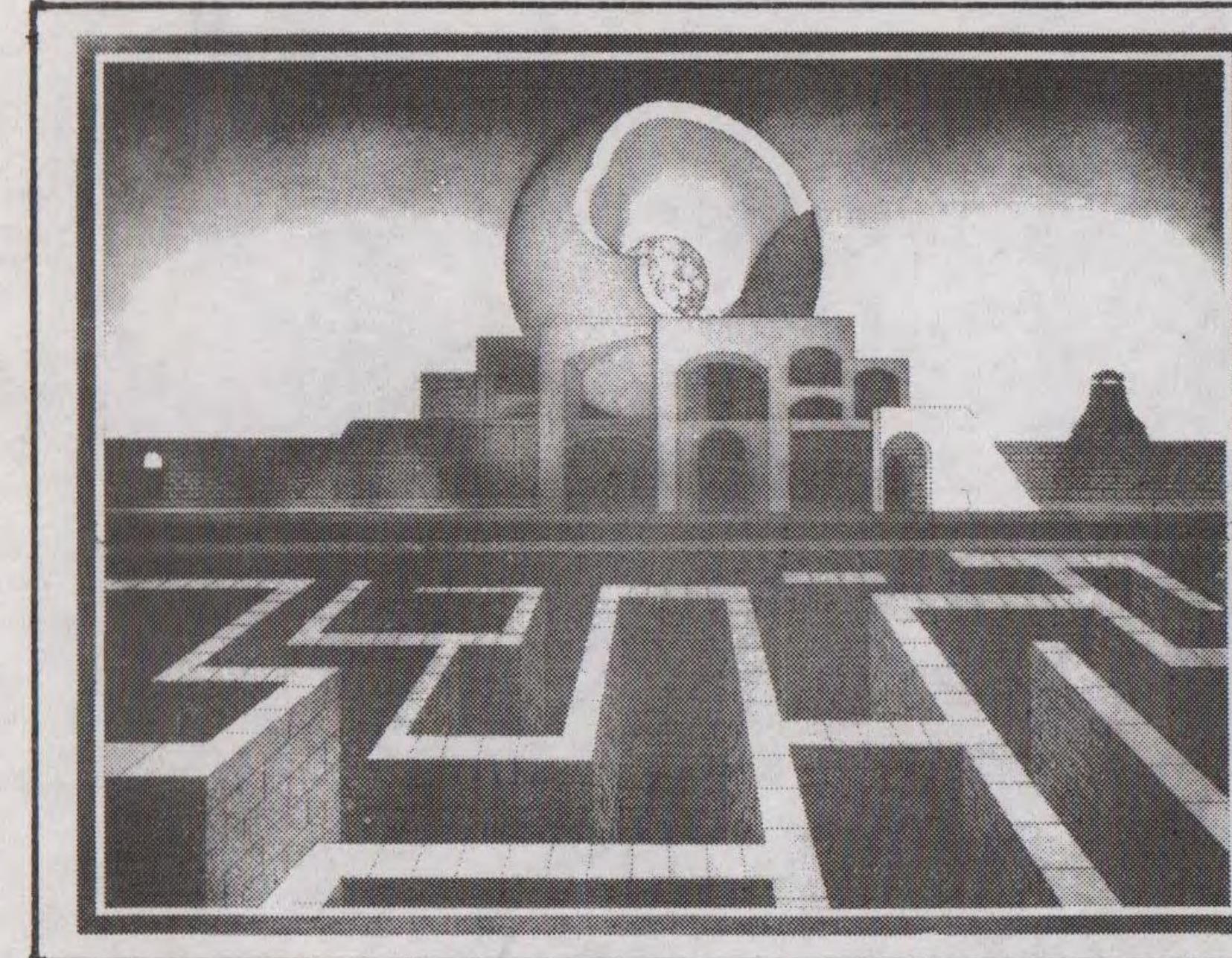
I take issue with Bob Potter not over his desire to criticise Marxism but rather over the indifference to theory that lies behind his article. The libertarian movement is too important to be jeopardised by the philistinism of the traditional anarchists.

Yours sincerely

London E11

Marshall Colman

CITIES OF THE DEAD



BATOLOMEU CID DOS SANTOS, "ATLANTIS" (1972)
from the Portuguese Art exhibition at the Royal Academy.

ALL HUMAN COMMUNICATION is in the dead end no more than a desire to amuse or to be amused. We seek an audience or we wish to be an audience and the most profound of philosophies, the deliberate planned bureaucratic slaughter of millions of men, women and children, Ol' Red Eyes at the Festival Hall, the great State trials, the drag shows and the heart transplant operations are no more than a circus to amuse the Town and his catalogue clutching frau. We are amused because we are not involved in the trivial or terrible tragedies or we are the manipulators of an audience and the demonstration, the pop rock show and those who stand in the State's criminal dock in the fullness of terrible time become no more than a theme for senile babblings as we bore the ticket happy young lions waiting to repeat the acts that were repetitions ten thousand years before Rome was acting out the script for Graves' BBC television soap opera. London as the intellectual and cultural capital of the western world, and let the Neasden intelligentsia throw down the plastic gauntlet if they dare, is in full flower with major art exhibitions filling every wall and cranny of the State galleries until in the end one is forced to say no more to the Press Day wine. Room after room of tinted rhubarb, cut glass and bended iron and plastic and in the end we are left with the happytime trivia of questing but non creative minds. If the wine is free flowing and the company enjoyable one could argue that the work upon the walls is but a minor background to the conversation but when the artist, writer or architect affects our daily living then we are not amused to quote Mrs Thatcher.

Within the Royal Academy there are a number of major exhibitions and the latest to coax Polish George, the Dutchman, Harry and myself to the buffet table is the plans and the architectural models of 'Alvar Aalto (1898 - 1976) The Finnish master of architecture and design. Produced in collaboration with the Scandinavian Bank Limited'. We are all authorities on human habitation because we either live in the State's brick huts or are at the non mercy of some drear landlord and we know we know as every social seminar tells us and every with it rising young architect, designing his first motor way Ham-

burger Heaven, tells us in Times tear out supplement prose that all the huge working class mass living units have been a glorious balls up. And here black upon white, within the Royal Academy is the life work and the style fixer of one man among The Few who helped to design the concrete cross that we the people have to bear every time the lift is out of action or the public transport system fails to transport us to the latest windowless sepulchre that looks so imposing in photographic reproduction, all white and square, in the share holders hand-out.

The western european middle class are a class who accept mobility (carwise ... to ruin a word) as normal to their way of living and they commute over great distances to and from the rat race but the working class are static (and comrade please don't tell me that you know an overtime bod, who works on a factory conveyor belt and has his own road runner). It is the middle class who have taken over the isolated little villages and the small fishing communities and in exchange they have, not unwittingly, given the peasant, the fisherman and the simple honest labourer such as myself a world that they themselves reject. In the corrupt and decayed world of the 1930s Aalto's world of the future was hawked around as the social paradise for the masses from H. G. Wells Shape of Things to Come to Fritz Lang's teutonic expressionistic Metropolis we saw the High Rise flats and the mighty mindless motorways and we are now living in our future. Frank Lloyd Wright threw up his concrete weeds and the world applauded and Le Corbusier aped him making his grand slam with the vast living complex that now lies like unto a stranded liner in the Marseilles area. Built on a scale based upon the human body it was to be a hive for the French working class wherein they would be born, work, eat, shit and die but the French workers to their unidealistic credit never moved in and the tomb, well started up, has now become a State subsidised Marseilles Hilton On The Cheap for the French middle class. Alvar Aalto never had the verve or the world reputation of the Terrible Twins and his architecture was but no more than the cliches demanded by a managerial class.

The huge flat brick walls of Dickens' industrial England, the vast megalomaniac steps and concrete 'open' space where nary a flower is allowed to trespass and a few small trees stand in a single regimented row and like our own State's Hayward Gallery and National Theatre every building ends up looking like a surrealist concrete empty box reflecting nothing of the creative humans within it only a shell for a power station. The work of these men and those who still practice these cliches is that it is the product of men without vision or imagination and alien to the human heart for in all the photographs within the catalogue neither book nor bird, dog or child can be seen. Within this exhibition I would fault the late Aalto on three exhibits. One is Aalto's first major building, his Jyvaskyla workers' club. Described as classical its brute box shape owes more to the German Bauhaus than to the groves of Athens. Supported, in fact or fiction, on Greek doric columns this drear building sports a single large renaissance window which means that the workers of Jyvaskyla were sold the worse of three architectural styles. Two is a plastic chair designed by Aalto again in the fashionable Bauhaus cliche style but when, behind the RA guard's back I tested this chair by sitting on it I found that each time I moved forward to rise the chair tipped up which no kitchen chair or Chippendale 18th century chair ever did for to paraphrase Gert Stein a chair is a chair is a chair not an exercise on a sheet of paper. And my third condemnation of Aalto's work is that in 1934 Aalto built (concluded on page 12.)