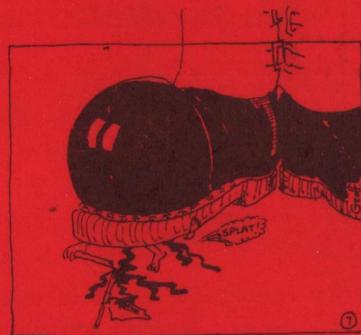
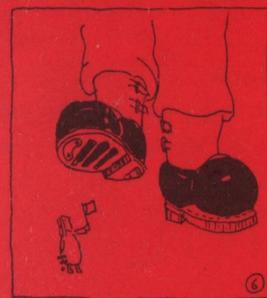
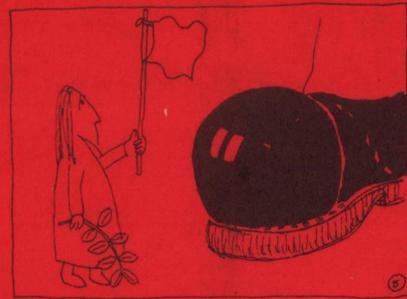
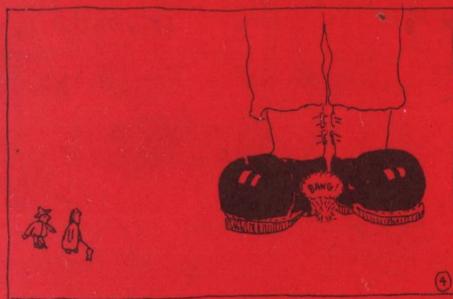
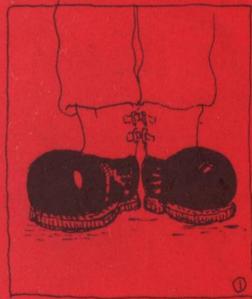


ANARCHY

10p



1906: East-End
Tailors Strike

1916: Easter Rising

1926: General Strike

1936: Spanish
Revolution

1946: Mass Squatting

1956: Hungarian
Insurrection

1966: Barbican Strike

1976: A good year for an Uprising.....

ANARCHY 19

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We would like some articles from you. Possible forthcoming topics for Anarchy are Ireland, Fascism, Mental Health, Portugal, and Anarchy & Organisation, but if there's something else you would like us to print go ahead and write it. We can't use articles that are too long or academic, and we don't usually print poetry. We would like some more feedback and a wider range of contributors.

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We're at 29 Grosvenor Avenue, Islington, London N.5 01-359 4794.

WHICH WAY ANARCHISM?

Foreward

Once again, anarchists stand at the political crossroads. Depending upon which turning one takes, there exist for the movement but two broad alternatives, one of these being the road to ultra individualism, the other journeying towards anarchist organization and, ultimately, workers' power. That the anarchist movement cannot, at this moment in time, afford to be hesitant or indecisive at the crossroads is vital if anarchism is to continue to have any political relevance. Owing to the current political breakdown of both the left and the right, anarchists are right now presented with an opportunity to demonstrate their politics, an opportunity which has not arisen in such an immediate form for many years. As such, it is imperative that we be coherent in our arguments and demands for social revolution and, even more crucially, the strategic means deployed in order to attain that goal.

If anarchism is to offer any viable alternative to other revolutionary socialist programmes, then it is of the utmost importance that its advocates are both theoretically and practically capable of demonstrating the credibility of libertarian organization. A divided and politically incoherent movement (as ours has been in the past, and to a large extent still is) cannot demonstrate this and accordingly anarchism is rendered politically redundant.

The Crossroads



It goes without saying that capitalism and bourgeois democracy are once again at crisis point, with the working class, the elderly, the sick and the unemployed being the prime recipients of the crisis, whilst simultaneously being held responsible for it.

At the very time of writing, the British Labour Government have announced even more cuts in public expenditure in favour of monetary and incentive increases to the private sector. More repressive legislation is to be anticipated in the shape and form of the proposed Criminal Trespass Act - which is specifically levelled at those areas of the community most oppressed by capitalism. Women are still prohibited from choosing whether or not they wish to be exclusively child rearing machines,* and the under eighteens have no "rights" whatsoever. And as if inflicting all this upon British people themselves is not enough, British involvement in Northern Ireland escalates to unprecedented heights.

Many more examples could be cited - but it would be a largely superfluous exercise; suffice to say that the working class - and indeed sections of the middle class - are being attacked like they've never been attacked before.

Anticipating an outcry, the ruling class devise methods to channel potential class protest into harmless dead ends - e.g. the Sex Discrimination Act and workers' "participation" with management. These liberal deals effectively sabotage direct action, thus safeguarding the ruling class and isolating the working class not only from each other but from their real objectives - specifically workers' power.

At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the "revolutionary" left, too, is

*or, if they want children, from freely choosing whether or not to marry. - typist

at crisis point. Split over the very principles of leadership and theory they revere as being the essential precursor to revolutionary activity, they offer no solutions; firstly they are unclear themselves as to how to fight back and organize and secondly, by virtue of their vanguardist/elitist stance they succeed in alienating that very section of the working class they so desperately require in order to effect their version of social revolution.

So where as anarchists do we stand? By reason of the differences within our movement - specifically the tension between those who understand anarchism as a loose set of (apolitical) principles connected with individualism, and those who view anarchism as insolubly linked with class struggle - the broad anarchist movement can hardly step into the political vacuum created by the divided revolutionary left, and demonstrate the validity of our political and organizational perspectives, and their concomitant goal of libertarian communism. We cannot do this as a united movement since the differences between our "individualist"/"liberal" wings and the "revolutionary"/class orientated wings are irreconcilable. Thus, at a point in time like the present, when owing to the wider political climate there might well exist a potential receptiveness to libertarian/anarchist ideas amongst the working class and disenchanted revolutionary socialists, the wider anarchist movement finds itself floundering in a sea of confusion, largely unable to present any coherent alternatives to the authoritarian left, simply because it fails to see the need to politically organize, emphasizing, instead, loose groupings of individuals who "federate" - and only then to facilitate inter-communication.

Furthermore (and regrettably this indictment can be verified) those anarchists who do see the need to unite and

organize are rejected by the mainstream anarchist movement, and invariably written off as anarchists with a small "a" and a susceptibility to "Leninism". Perhaps this accusation would be more tolerable if its proponents were able to offer a coherent alternative to a politically organized anarchist movement - by which is meant an anarchist/libertarian movement capable of confronting capitalism and viable enough to work as a serious alternative to the authoritarian "revolutionary" left. Unfortunately, they do not have, and never have done, hence anarchism has not, in this country, ever gained popular recognition, nor in the absence of a political perspective is it ever likely to.

The critics of anarchist organization advocate the need for the liberation of the individual from the trappings of state and authority. But they do not envisage the dawning of this liberation as being resultant from a concerted, mass working-class movement. Somehow or another (and it is by no means clear how) individual liberty will be attained via self-liberation and self-actualization of each individual's real aspirations. In a post-revolutionary (socialist) society this is a supreme goal. But within the confines of the present pre-revolutionary and capitalist society, such an environment cannot be brought about by those self-same individual aspirations. Attempts to do so have disastrous consequences - mainly as a result of a premature demand for total liberation of the individual. It climaxes not in the direction of popular revolution but winds up instead upon the elitist rocks of ultra-individualism (at worst) and at best - as has happened with the traditional anarchist movement - into a reformist demand not for political revolution as such, but rather for "a-politicization", and a utopian belief in the gradual realization from every individual of the bankruptcy of the state and capitalism, and their spontaneous

awakening to the good sense of an anarchist society.

This latter approach is totally unrealistic; anarchists advocating this are in cloud-cuckoo-land, both predicting and awaiting an event which will never happen - much in the way of the disciples of Jehovah. It is an exercise in futility, and one reason as to why the anarchist movement in Britain has never been taken seriously.

Hence the crossroads: traditional anarchism can only move to individualism, or at best reformism, whereas revolutionary anarchism and its organizational perspective is more realistic in emphasizing the class nature of society and the need to actively fight it as a united, mass libertarian movement.

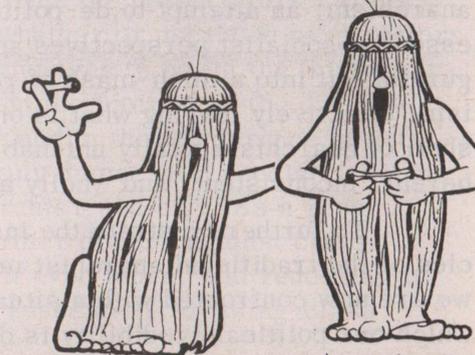
The latter of these two modes of thought is clearly the most plausible, yet it is rejected by the traditional anarchist movement. And it is not rejected simply from disagreement over organizational principles - this argument is often deployed as a red herring, diverting attention from the more fundamental reasons for the divide in our movement. More importantly, anarchism means one thing for the traditional movement but has totally different connotations to those who see no future in traditional anarchism. Perhaps this can be exemplified by a brief examination of four topics that anarchism has traditionally been taken to embrace - possibly to its detriment.

1. Individualism. An undue emphasis has been placed upon individualism within the context of anarchist theory. Indeed, in many respects, individualism runs counter to central anarchist tenets, such as the declaration for direct action, workers' control, street committees etc., all of which implicitly pivot upon the concepts of co-operation and solidarity. Individualism per se is a largely reactionary notion,

involving a rejection of the principles of co-operation, unity and mutual solidarity. It favours instead an isolationist stance, a "why should I concern myself with you?" syndrome. By virtue of its own definition it cannot recognize the central role of the working class in changing the nature of society, if indeed it can even see a need for change.

Self-styled individualists have used anarchism as a prop in the furtherance of their own ideas. Indeed, they have pervaded and infiltrated the movement to such an extent that anarchism is not infrequently associated with that doctrine that espouses unbridled laissez-faire. (Hence, Aleister Crowley's dictum "Do what thou wilt" has been misconstrued as evidence that Crowley was an anarchist!)

By way of contemporary example, nor did the "hippy" movement have anything in common with the anarchist movement although "anarchy" was a much used word at the time. For instance, rock festivals were cited as ongoing examples of "anarchism in action" or "anarchist organization" (e.g. Bill Dwyer and Graham Whiteman et al. writing on the Isle of Wight rock festival - Anarchy No 116 1st series October 1970). But there was no political consciousness as such, and whilst the idea of a few thousand people congregating in one place in order to enjoy themselves is welcome, it is a nonsense to describe it as an attempt at workers power - which is the kernel of anarchist organization.



The fact is that the traditional British anarchist movement embraces a number of ultra-individualists who scorn the idea of political activity and who do not, in any shape or form, recognize the inherent class nature of society and the need for class solidarity. "Individualism" is not a synonym of anarchism - and it can only have relevance (and even then only vaguely) to some far-off social utopia, a dream which is unlikely to materialize.

2. Liberalism. Perhaps this is a result of the academic attention that has been given to anarchism over the years, the previously mentioned attempts to "de-politicize" it, and a subtle compliance with wider societal demands to make anarchism "respectable". Thus we hear mention made of anarchism in a variety of diverse areas ranging from vegetarianism to the CND. The accentuation of anarchism's "relevance" to the pollution/environmental arena, education, art, etc., allows anarchists and British "liberal" newspapers like the Guardian and the Observer to talk of "anarchism" without ever once mentioning class, organization, or social revolution. (It also presumably explains why people are attracted to trad. anarchism because they are "non-political".) This is not suggesting that such considerations are totally irrelevant to anarchism (any more than they are irrelevant to anything else) but they are most certainly not central to anarchist theory and practice. The point to be emphasized here is that there has been an attempted "embourgeoisement" of anarchism; an attempt to de-politicize its essential socialist perspectives and to re-gurgitate it into a mish-mash of reformism, effectively leaving what is only the shell of anarchism totally untenable, incoherent, inconsistent, and wholly apolitical.

To further frustrate the inadequacies of the traditional anarchist movement, we are now confronted with a situation in which our political credibility is demanded

- a situation whereby we are obliged to demonstrate the cogency of our viewpoint. For the most far reaching and highly consequential political developments are occurring not only in Portugal, Africa, Spain, Chile, etc., but also on our very own doorstep, in N. Ireland. Whilst accepting that one dimensional policy is not always a good thing, and that there should be room for discussion, the anarchist movement cannot, in all honesty, lay claim to having a relevant and meaningful perspective on these issues. The "plague on both your houses" attitude, to which so many anarchists subscribe, is hardly constructive, and demonstrates a fundamental lack of understanding, or indifference, to political issues which don't immediately fit in with our demands for a libertarian communist schema.

Other anarchists - in the great liberal tradition - blandly offer "critical" support to "liberation" movements in far-off countries safely out of reach from ourselves (e.g. one anarchist journal offered "critical" support to the Angolan MPLA). Yet when faced with what is (or should be) for British anarchists the even more crucial question of Ireland, the role of the Provisional IRA is dismissed with a cursory mention of the "nationalist" and "reactionary" nature of Republicanism, and the Provisionals condemned accordingly. No attempt is made to place the role of the IRA in perspective, to appraise their merits or demerits within the context of the political situation. (That they are not a popularly backed movement should not lead us into indiscriminate condemnation; they remain the only organization in the absence of any others who could offer realistic protection to the Catholic/Republican "minority" in the event of a concerted, physical attack against them.)

Like it or not, there is an inconsistency here, and a serious inconsistency at that. Now this is not to be construed to the

effect that anarchists should express unqualified solidarity with the IRA, but it does, arguably, indicate that we are making a distinction between the legitimacy on the one hand of self-determination for one nation of people, as against the apparent illegitimacy of self-determination for another.

That the entire concept of "self-determination" is, from an anarchist standpoint, questionable is admitted - but does this justify a reaction to the effect that "as anarchists we don't accept the notion of national self-determination, hence, in the absence of a libertarian communist movement, your problems are of no concern to us"?

3. Pacifism. It is futile to suggest that, as a result of any attempt to take over and dismantle bourgeois society, there would be no resistance - the notion of peaceful revolution is ludicrously naive. The ruling class are hardly likely to be sympathetic to libertarian communism/anarchism/socialism - and will most certainly fight in order to preserve their present advantages over the rest of society. As such, they are un-



likely to be over-concerned by a "revolutionary" movement which declares for the disestablishment of capitalism in favour of communism, yet announces its refusal to back up its declaration by the potential or actual use of physical force. The pacifist notions of non-violent obstruction, boycott, and civil disobedience are admirable in themselves, but come to naught at the moment of revolution. Pacifism as such (and despite the noble aspirations of its proponents) renders the revolutionary movement

non-revolutionary; an anarchist movement unable to effect revolution, or unwilling to physically co-operate in the protection of its interests against those who desire (forcefully and violently) to dismantle it, has little or no hope of survival. Its proclamations for libertarian communism remain forever unrealized.

4. Urban Guerrillaism/"Propaganda by Deed". Injustice is not immediately obvious until one has actually suffered at the hands of it. Being directly on the receiving end of injustice involves one's awareness in the reality of the situation; "rationality" and "objectivity" are impotent when you're being evicted, or being beaten up, or suffering at the hands of reactionary "justice" by virtue of your own political beliefs.

The gut response to injustice is retaliation, and in the absence of a movement capable of "globalizing" all oppressed people's grievances and fighting as a mass movement, then small, oppressed groups, disillusioned with "revolutionary" parties who are in reality against confrontation, declare "war" of their own accord. The commonest form it takes is in the usage of explosive devices and, more recently, hijacking and kidnapping.

The indiscriminate (as opposed to discriminate; there is a difference) use of bombs is at best a tactical mistake and at worst thoroughly counter-productive. Invariably its most immediate and devastating effect is to alienate the mass working-class movement from the perpetrators - irrespective of whether or not those perpetrators believe themselves to be (in the final analysis) acting in the interest of the directly oppressed, and in the furtherance of establishing a truly democratic, socialist/libertarian/anarchist society. As a result, class is further divided against class, weakening it even more, and rendering it even more susceptible to ruling-class attacks.

In its own way the traditional anarchist movement is responsible for the occurrence of "propaganda by deed". Its failure to recognize the need for political organization, its failure to encourage all oppressed classes to link and co-ordinate their struggles into a united movement, and its failure to enjoin (however critically) with other political groupings in agitating for a revolutionary situation - in a word its elitism and consequent liberalism - all this has spelled disillusionment to some, who conclude that the struggle can only be conducted at the level of urban guerrillaism.

But even upon recognition of this, does the traditional anarchist movement then proceed to evaluate the actions of these small groups within the political context from which they emanate? No. In fact it usually declares its non-support for them. If support is offered it is offered begrudgingly within the columns of articles debating (for example) whether the Baader-Meinhoff group is or is not "anarchist".

In this country the wider anarchist movement's position on the Angry Brigade - who were not indiscriminate in their tactics - is hardly admirable. That tactically the AB was perhaps shortsighted is not the question at issue. What is at issue lies in the fact that the Angry Brigade felt they could no longer sit and wait for the anarchist movement and the revolutionary left to galvanize itself into organized action. For better or for worse - and it's easy to be critical after the event - they stepped into the political vacuum in which anarchists and libertarians should have been working towards the building and creation of a mass revolutionary movement. However, despite the fact that its own shortcomings were in the main responsible for the action taken by the AB, the traditional anarchist movement's principal concern was first to dissociate itself from the Angry Brigade; it did not even afford sufficient moral support

during the Angry Brigade trials, being too concerned with its apologist attitude of "this is not the way we anarchists carry on". Perhaps it is not, but it never once attempted to raise the issue of how the anarchist movement should be carrying on.

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In the final analysis, however, neither individualism, liberalism, pacifism, or urban guerrillaism are productive either in themselves or as components of anarchism. They are, in fact, counter-revolutionary, insofar as they either do not acknowledge the need for a mass working-class movement, or as a result of their tactics they effectively split or alienate the working class (and for that matter, potentially revolutionary sections of the middle class). But, in the absence of a united libertarian front, one or any combination of these theories is liable to take hold - very possibly in the guise of anarchism. At the risk of over-emphasis, the effect is two-fold - it renders the movement politically bankrupt, and sabotages the potential for creating a broad libertarian front - the necessary precursor to libertarian communist revolution.

Conclusion

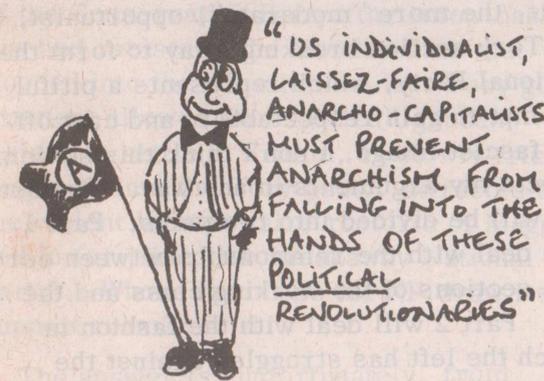
It is this notion of the creation of a revolutionary anarchist front that seems to be the great divide within the movement. One section favours individual autonomy, another favours the active building of a revolutionary anarchist organization, and another prevaricates uncertainly between the two.

The argument against the building of a libertarian front is somewhat weak and unconstructive. It proceeds from the contention that anarchism's primary concern is with the abolition of state and authority. But from here it manifests into an exaggerated abhorrence of all forms of structured organization, even to the extent of decrying

the idea of libertarian (decentralized) organization. This is a somewhat "hysterical" reaction which does anarchism a lot of no good, rendering it ineffective against both capitalism and other revolutionary socialist groups. It also spells the beginnings of apathy and liberalism; apathy because anarchism must to all intents and purposes cease to be active (it also goes some way to explaining why it has become the hobby-horse of certain academics); liberalism, because the movement becomes passive. We wind up not as a class-conscious revolutionary movement but as a cynical and self-righteous collection of individuals convinced of their own apolitical superiority.

It does not stop here, for our moribund traditional anarchist movement is then forced to tolerate the status quo. Bereft of the means to challenge existing society, it becomes obliged to come to terms with it. This is done largely through the academic medium, where quasi-anarchist ideas are vaunted in higher education and in the liberal press.

Such ideas are not immediately accessible to the working class - even if they were they would be of little interest - hence "anarchism" or what, if anything, is left of it, becomes the property of an elite who use it as a vehicle for the propagation of their own, unanarchistic, ideas.



On top of this they then go on to accuse revolutionary anarchists (i.e. organizational anarchists) of Leninist or Trotskyist sympathies, writing them off as having nothing remotely to do with "real" anarchism. (Note how a demand was made for the reformation of the British Anarchist Federation [AFB] as soon as the traditional movement became aware of the favourable response to the organizational perspectives of the Anarchist Workers Association [AWA].)

So, which way anarchism? From a reading of the above, this writer's feelings should be apparent - i.e. the necessity to organize (and to once and for all ditch the traditional anarchist paranoia about 'authoritarian tendencies inherent in group organization') and the need to build a libertarian movement capable of dealing the lethal blow to capitalism.

To talk of individualism and autonomy as a revolutionary force (not to say they should not be respected) is to put the cart before the horse. The enhancement of every individual's capabilities and needs is a paramount concern of revolution. But we must firstly arrive at that revolutionary situation. By sitting on the fence, the traditional anarchist movement allows the authoritarian left, the National Front, and the present British ruling class to manipulate the course of events in the direction most favourable to themselves. If we wish to prevent this, then we must act and make our presence known. And we must do so now - whilst the opportunity remains.

Jerry Cantwell

Postscript: The article necessarily introduced a number of "umbrella" concepts, notably "workers' power" and "working class". These concepts are by no means definitive, and intended only as "working definitions" within the context of the discussion. The Anarchy collective aims at an ongoing analysis of these concepts in future issues.

FASCISM IN BRITAIN TODAY



Introduction

These conclusions and generalisations, arrived at over a considerable period of time, are the results of many long conversations with various individual militants some of whom, in my mind, had progressed beyond the sloganising of the left and had begun to examine more seriously the implication of both present-day fascism and its rival, anti-fascism. As for myself, I have been involved in various anti-fascist activities, so, having read most of the current anti-fascist papers and pamphlets, having attended many meetings, pickets, demonstrations (and incidentally being somewhat pissed-off with the scene) I am not a disinterested observer. Having a keen interest in the subject I think I may be able to make

a small contribution to the re-examination of some of the issues involved. I will attempt to draw conclusions in a context which I think is radically different from the way the subject has been tackled by the left press. I will for the sake of convenience try to deliberately limit my article by concentrating upon the best-known manifestation of fascism in Britain - the National Front. Although the Nat-front has recently split, the more "moderate", opportunist, ex-Tory section breaking away to form the National Party, which represents a pitiful attempt to gain respectability and cast off the fascist image, I don't think this schism affects my arguments in any way. The article will be divided into two parts. Part 1 will deal with the relationship between certain sections of the working class and the NF. Part 2 will deal with the fashion in which the left has struggled against the Front.

Part One The National Front, the working class and the lumpen.

"Working people should demand: - (1) An end to monopoly control and speculation of commodities (2) that the Government freeze all food prices by slashing the outrageous profits of these giant food monopolies (3) a scrapping of the fraudulent 'Price Commission' and the establishment of Government-approved housewives and trade-unionists councils to monitor food price increases in every locality (4) the rigid control of the big banks and slashing of the present exorbitant interest rates."

- Neil Farnell,
National Front
Industrial Organiser

Who supports the National Front?

The type of person who made up the rank-and-file of the fascist movement in the past, the small shopkeeper, the student, the petty clerk, the landlord, with the occasional lumpenproletarian and "hang-'em-flog-'em" military type, although much in evidence at the leadership end of Nat-front, do not necessarily make up the rank-and-file membership or support. The "traditional" supporter of the extreme right wing of the Conservative Party, the union-bashers and racists of the Monday Club that flooded into the NF after the last Tory government allowed the expelled Ugandan Asians to settle in Britain, is slowly trickling back into the Tory party, attracted by the violent laissez-faire rhetoric of Maggie and Jo (or joined the breakaway National Party). Where then does the NF draw its support from?

The answer is, unfortunately, from

certain sections of the working class. The strata of the working class I refer to are the most alienated - super-alienated in fact (although due of course to their super-alienation they are unaware of this); this does not mean they are the most economically oppressed - some of them are though. A large number of them are exploited by their bosses, but are in a strange position in their relation to their bosses and their fellow workers. These people live in working-class areas, their friends, family, relations, environment are almost exclusively working-class, yet incredibly they are almost totally alienated from their class - within the realm of class-consciousness, that is.

Where are they found?

The environment, the relation to the point of production determines for the most part their consciousness. You will find that they usually work in very small, antiquated, un-unionised factories or workshops. Inside these places they stand on opposite ends of the same wavelength. One lot for example, the minority. These lot may have worked in the same establishment for a considerable period, having built themselves up into a slightly superior position (as charge-hands, foremen, or just by the fact they have been there a long time, they receive more pay and get more overtime) they are deeply rooted into their particular job, and they have some sort of incentive, over the other workers. The slightly better-off workers may not like their bosses as persons (who does?) but neither do they have much of a regard for their fellow-workers, many of whom are women and immigrants. On balance, then, it would seem their loyalties are divided evenly, but another factor remains, that of interest. They support their bosses' interest. Examples of this are in their attitude to their bosses, crawling, boot-licking; to their fellow-workers, indifference mingled with a callow viciousness



JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF INSIDIOUS NATIONAL FRONT PROPAGANDA.

which becomes exacerbated if the other workers are immigrants. These characters can never do too much overtime, never make too many racist, sexist remarks; their traits are familiar - nauseating.

Workers of the same mentality on the other end of the wavelength, who make up the majority of this breed are mostly unskilled and disillusioned (with what, they don't know) and let the media, with their mostly backward, conservative, racist ideology, do their thinking for them. They are, most importantly, white. Whenever they start a new job in these places typified by foul working conditions, low pay and long hours, they head straight towards the people they can identify with, the people who express like thoughts, the minority referred to above. (I remember the very first day I started one of these jobs a young person who started with me, in the space of a few minutes, made a remark to me -

"I don't see why they employ them" - referring to black workers. Other workers in these places usually consist of large numbers of super-exploited women and immigrants of both sexes. Of course, to a lesser extent, these other workers may be partly responsible, through their apathy, for the prevailing conditions, but when it comes to the crunch and some of these workers start fighting, say, for a union, the backward workers referred to have a choice. If they take the side of the struggling workers they can no longer be thought of as backward; they should rapidly begin to lose some of their reactionary viewpoints and head towards the camp of the revolutionary working class. If they don't they will regard the struggle as an unwarranted disturbance, stirred up by "outsiders" or "commies" perhaps, a disturbance on the otherwise humdrum existence that prevails.

Same people — some places

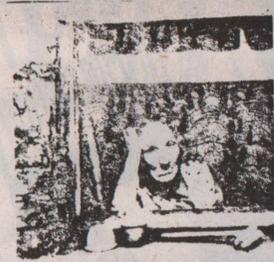
Apart from the small factories mentioned above, even smaller units such as the tiny workshop, the small garage for example, breed reactionary consciousness - why? Well, here the boss and the worker may do the same sort of job, wear the same kind of overalls and mix socially, like for instance go drinking together. In these places it is no exaggeration to say that there is very little chance that class-consciousness will develop at that particular point of production. Wherever class lines are hazy, reactionary consciousness develops. People like for example scrap-metal merchants, costermongers, self-employed tradespeople, mini-cab drivers, totters and their assistants are not well known as revolutionary political militants. It is most important to stress that the working conditions briefly described above are located among the most socially deprived areas. In these areas you will find that for various reasons industry is quitting, moving to more salubrious areas or just closing down because of the



1968: ANTI-IMMIGRATION MARCHERS CLASH WITH POLICE.

economic crisis, leaving only these small un-unionised factories, or service industries. These areas, lacking adequate social amenities at the best of times (cinemas, hospitals, clinics, schools, other social services) experience a deep blow whenever these services decline even in a small way. Also, these areas are ravaged by property speculation and massive council re-development which between them create vast tracts of devastation, ringed by middle-class ghettos that push out the working class, and a broad discontent - which manifests itself sometimes in support for right-wing populists and the National Front.

Why the NF? Because, I think, there is a serious lack of a real mass revolutionary movement. In these decaying areas of our large cities, the traditional working class areas of London is where the NF picks up its main support. The large number of votes picked up by the NF in these areas indicates this. People support the NF because it offers easy solutions to complex problems; this involves turning one section of the working class against the other, appealing to the worst kind of irrationalities (like race) by appealing to people who cannot take any meaningful action for themselves and hence hate people who do (industrial militants, squatters). The Front's simplistic but effective propaganda "House Britons First" "Pensioners before Immigrants" appeals deeply to these people.



**"If only I were
black...."**

**UK National Front
puts Britain FIRST**

MORE HEART-WRENCHING RUBBISH.

Ar example

A good example of this situation can be found in the London Borough of Islington. Islington is one of the deprived areas mentioned above, and here a breakaway group from the Labour Party, a vile group of fuckers, play on the worst fears and irrationalities of the estranged working class. They have a fair amount of support, and have formed a "Young Married Couples Association" which has the aim of housing those "born and bred" in the borough, saying that "outsiders" are jumping the housing queue - the "outsiders" of course being the weakest sections of the working class: unmarried mothers, immigrant workers, most squatters. The YMCA at the Town Hall was reported by the local libertarian community paper the Islington Gutter Press, No. 24. The speakers spewed out all the rubbish you could expect, but this rubbish appeals to the worst kind of irrationality - and it works! The last and worst speaker summed it all up and it's worth reproducing some of his speech in detail...

"Who gets rehoused in this borough? It's the layabouts and rubbish. A third of the last 1300 homeless families we've rehoused haven't lived in the borough for a year. They come in on Monday and get a house by Tuesday. And this rubbish keeps coming in, in, in! Do you get houses? No! But these dirty layabouts, squatters, these weirdoes with their beards and sandals, all lousy

- they get houses. Look at what the council's doing, they put 5 of these squatters, all single, into Essex Houses. And they gave them cookers, carpets, bedding, the lot. And what do you get? Nothing! And look at the 22 flats, Providence Place, which the council's done up. Who got them? Young couples who've lived all their life in Islington? No. They all went to homeless families from outside the borough... (He rants on about the local councillors)... They don't represent you these councillors. They don't care about you... They're just a bunch of airey-fairy queers. They drink their cheese and wine in their nice Barnsbury houses and theologise... (He then screams about some flats under offer)... The only way we'll get 'em is to frighten the council. They need a good

fright. So we've got to crowd the chamber on Nov. 27th. If the squatters can do it, so can we. They're the only people we get in here at meetings. Squatters and layabouts... weirdoes and druggies. It's like a refuse chute in there. And it works for them. These bearded squatters get their flats with beautiful green-tiled bathrooms. It's time we crowded the place out. It's time there was a smell of roses in the council chamber for a change. Who does this council help? There's a building in St Paul's Road. Conditioned air. There's a printing press in there, where they print Gutter Press, all out of ratepayer money, our money, where they tell kids to play truant and to hit cop-

pers...."

According to the Gutter Press there was "Great applause. That was it. The meeting was over. There was no discussion." Here is the type of speech, the type of language that appeals to the super-alienated sections of the working class, the type of thing that unless checked manifests itself in growing support for right-wing populists like the NF. The NF not only offers articulation of these outpourings into a coherent political programme, but can offer an organisation, plus the ability to develop these far beyond back-street public bar mumblings. It is up to revolutionaries to combat this sort of reactionary propaganda; if they don't it could be very costly. Revolutionaries should try to bring the submerged sections of the class into revolution. It's not impossible, and if they don't the NF will.

M.F. Wright

(Part 2 will deal with the left and the National Front.)

CHILDMINDING

I am a university student doing a social work course, which is a cop out for a start, but I don't intend to do any sort of straight social work when I finish. At the moment I'm doing a research project on Childminding for the Social Services as part of my practical work. Childminders are constantly pilloried by the media, the local authorities and the ever intolerant 'public', so I wanted to speak in their defence.

Since doing this work I've found that there are three predominant views of mind-

ing and childminders -:

1. All childminders are mini-capitalists and ogres to boot. (Councillors, magistrates and lady mayoresses comments)
2. Childminders are people we have to do something about and get under control. (Social Workers)
3. Childminders are ignorant but could be helped to improve their lifestyle if taught how. (I can guess by whom.) (Liberal educationalists' viewpoint)

All three views are obviously shit but they are dangerous for the following reasons. The first kind of comment is as harmful as the sensationalist rubbish in the Daily Express. It serves to alienate other people from the minders and stigmatises them in the same way that all grouplike prisoners wives, claimants, single parents, etc. are degraded.

The second comment needs no explanation, and the third view is dangerous because of its liberal front.

The desire to seek out unregistered minders is not a philanthropic gesture on the part of the local authorities. Their fear of unregistered minders lies in the fact that they represent a large area where children are being looked after beyond the control of the state.

Whatever the conditions that prevail amongst unregistered minders, it is not because they as individuals are evil or ignorant, as the media would have us believe, but because they are squashed to the bottom of the scrapheap and are weighed down by the poverty of their lives. There is a great deal of crap talked about the 'cycle of deprivation', but we all know nothing is really done to get rid of it. The increasing numbers of homeless, the gutted houses in inner city areas and the number of kids who leave school illiterate, demonstrate the real concerns of a profit motivated

society.

Childminders exist in the main because women with young children have to go out to work. Most childminders are in the same boat as those women who are working except that they work at home looking after other people's kids. The capitalist system has made looking after kids into an industry. It's a very poor one though, with no solidarity to keep the workers from breaking down completely, the hours are very long, sometimes from 7.00am to 7.00pm, the pay is lousy and you don't have the company of mates or precious tea breaks either. It's little wonder that the end products, our kids, are often so stunted and poorly developed.

As long as work exists the same shitty state of affairs will be with us. No amount of urban aid to help women learn better 'child care skills' will change the situation. The answer is always come the revolution. But at the same time something needs to be done to alleviate the shit that so many of these minders, mothers and children are going through. Communities need to organise their own nurseries which could be run by women who do not wish to or cannot go out to work. If unregistered childminders could organise themselves and break down some of the isolation that surrounds them, then the local authority could be side-stepped and we might gain an inch more control over our lives and that of our children.



STATEMENT OF THE ANARCHY MAGAZINE COLLECTIVE

We live in a class society. The Anarchy collective believe that the only way to achieve a classless, anarchist society is through a revolution both economic and social. To this end we direct our efforts, by bringing out a magazine combining theory, agitation and personal experiences which analyse the present system and ways of living, offer an anarchist alternative and try to suggest a means by which we can individually and collectively fight repression and organise anarchism.

We're not interested in theory for it's own sake, or superficial propaganda without an understanding of issues beyond slogans.

We don't have a fixed line to push, and decide to print articles and letters on a broad range of subjects, from many angles. However, we reject pacifism, marxism, liberalism and individualism as inadequate analyses which tend to weaken anarchist ideas and movements.

Membership of the group is open to anyone who broadly understands our aims, and/or is willing to help in the collective making of the magazine, and articles from anybody are welcomed.

We wish to co-operate and organise more closely with other anarchists in a revolutionary movement, so as to spread anarchist ideas successfully among people until capitalism and the State have been destroyed.

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

John Northey ("The Mafia Killed Carlo Tresca") obviously did not read my article ("Who Killed Carlo Tresca?", Anarchy No. 13) very carefully. He should not believe everything that Lucky Luciano said either.

I did not ask "if Carlo Tresca was assassinated by communists". I merely chronicled much of what has been said "publicly" about Tresca's murder - and asked the question. Having spent months investigating the known evidence, and delving into Tresca's past, and former associates, I infer (and still believe) that Carlo Tresca was assassinated by an NKVD agent. And I am inclined to think that his murder was organised by George Mink, as was Juliet Poyntz's. But I do not rule out the "mob"; I do not deny that either, or both, the Mafia and the Fascists wanted him out of the way. Tresca had many enemies. The Chekists possibly - probably - employed a couple of Mafia "hoods" to do the job.

Luciano says that Tresca got "knocked off in broad daylight". Obviously, Lucky was wrong. Tresca was bumped off at exactly twenty minutes to ten at night, in semi-darkness. Carlo Tresca's long-time friend and comrade, Giuseppe Calabi, was with him as he was gunned down. That's a fact!

Says John Northey: "Perhaps now the Tresca case is closed". And perhaps it ain't. I still ask: "Who killed Carlo Tresca?"

Yours fraternally,
Peter E. Newell

Dear Comrades,

I enclose a cheque for £1-50, please send me the next 10 issues of ANARCHY.

Thank you for publishing the anti-abortion article and letters representing both sides of the argument. The article will have heartened the Christians who read ANARCHY (few as they may be.); what is more, it and the letters will have made it clear that abortion is opposed not only by Christians but by many (if not the majority of) atheists agnostics, and humanists as well. I hope that the debate will continue, for it calls into question our understanding of words such as 'freedom', which are often bandied about unthinkingly.

Incidentally, PEACE NEWS would not publish an anti-abortion article that was sent to them some time ago, even though they occasionally allow anti-abortion letters to appear--it is good to reflect that ANARCHY is more liberal than PN in this respect'.

I hope also that the issue of non-violence will come up again in ANARCHY. Recent issues seem to me to be very violent in tone: I was particularly repelled by the ferocious cartoon on page 2 of No. 18. Is anarchism about a class struggle as some of the more simplistic articles in the magazine seem to suggest, or is it about a re-ordering of society in a much more profound way? Some of your contributors seem almost Marxist in their desire to establish working-class domination.

I know that I am over-simplifying here. It does however seem to me that ANARCHY should devote less time to stirring up class hatred (or any other kind of hatred) and more time to discussing what sort of society we want and how it is to be achieved.

Love and peace,
Revd. A.B. King.

Dear Comrades,

Having just discovered 'Anarchy 18', and slowly developing an anarchist view of society, I feel the need to criticize Martin Wright's article - 'The Working Class and Revolution'.

1) My initial reaction was one of surprise to find an article in an anarchist magazine that was so clearly Marxist in its terms and analysis. This way one is inevitably drawn towards marxist and not anarchist conclusions, as Martin has, with the excessive promotion of the working-class as the only revolutionaries. This in contrast to his hope for a better society with "everybody being truly equal." Where is the anarchist concern for freedom for everyone? (Even Marx saw the bourgeoisie as also being oppressed and alienated, albeit in a different way).

To write off everyone apart from the working-class as revolutionaries is both simplistic and self-alienating. Anarchism is for me a way of living now, not tomorrow, which anyone from any class can adopt. It doesn't matter where you come from, so much as what you're working towards. Wasn't Kropotkin from the aristocracy?

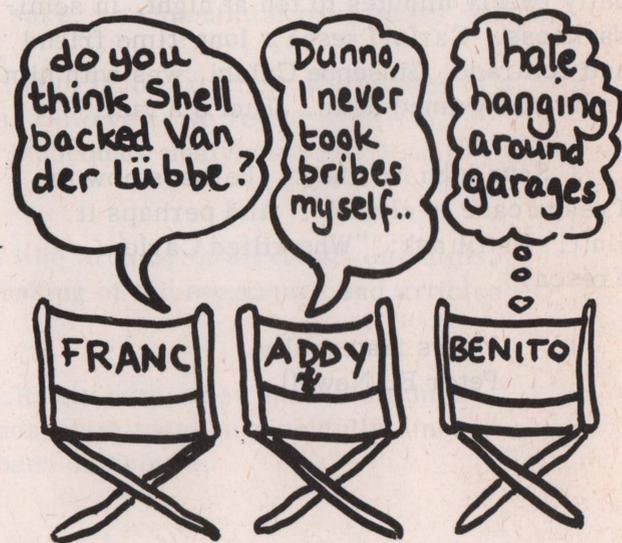
2) Related to this was his condemnation of 'radical feminism'. Apart from not knowing exactly what Martin means by this and other such phrases, I think he underrates the contribution of the women's movement to revolutionary knowledge. I agree that in many instances certain 'radical' groups have diverted energy away from the revolutionary struggle but in the case of the women's movement they have developed an awareness of how capitalism still lurks in the head of most revolutionaries. Feminist 'consciousness-raising' groups which aim at exorcising the capitalist-within-me are appropriate for anarchists as well. Such methods give greater perception of the subtlety of

capitalist ideology, and are an essential tool in breaking down the alienation that exists even between revolutionaries.

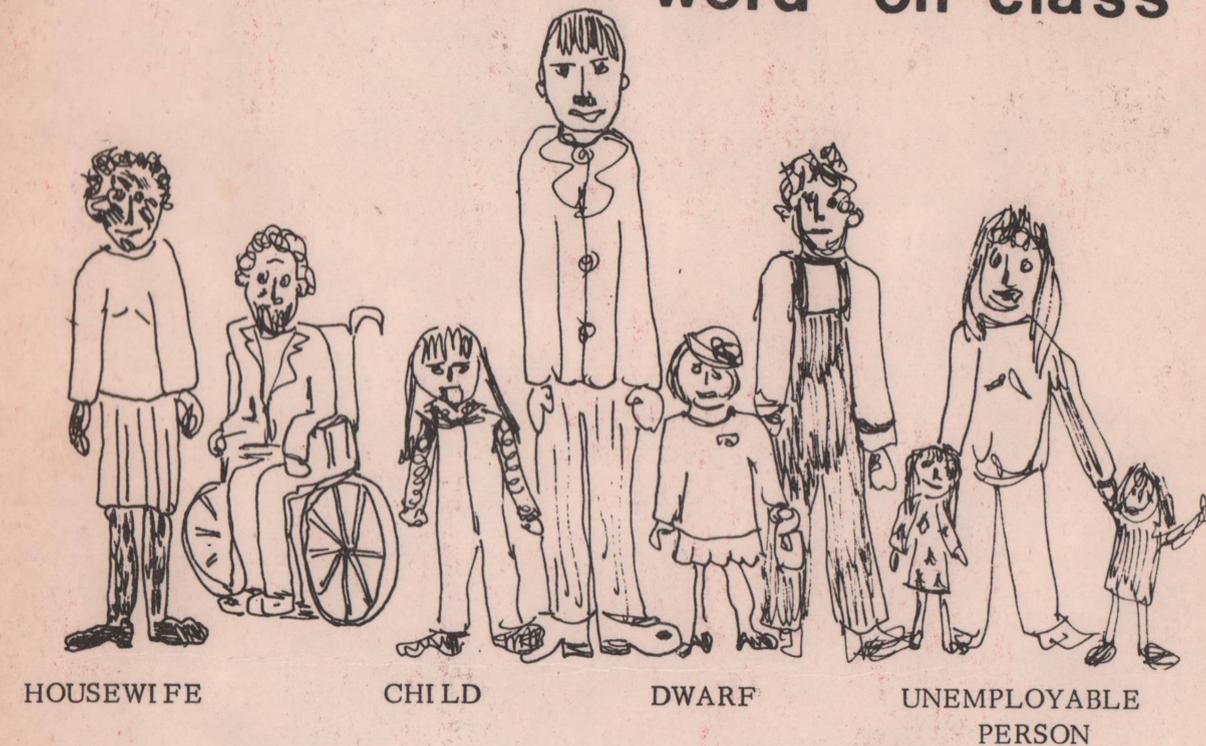
3) Martin also over-generalizes in his condemnation of Trade Unions as being reactionary in outlook and practice. Phil Green supports this attack but at least offers the alternative of rank and file control. I think that some T.U's are capable of swinging towards this and greater political awareness. Some people still identify with T.U's contrary to Phil's statement, and spend a lot of time and energy working for illusory goals. If these people could be educated towards their own real interests, T.U's would be more effective at what they were originally created for. But I do agree that T.U's are only one area for anarchist action; however we shouldn't write them off as being dead, as there may be possibilities for re-direction.

To finish what I want to say, I fully support E. Sivell's admonition to help rather than attack other anarchists in their work. No two anarchists will fully agree with each other, and that's healthy as long as the differences can produce increased understanding and co-operation.

yours,
Bob Shultz.



this is Charlotte's ultimate word on class



DISABLED PERSON GIANT UNEMPLOYED PERSON

What we are governs our disaffection.

We have all some power.

We are none of us "workers".

WE ARE ALL IMPORTANT.

You may categorise us in class terms, but you see us in these terms. So let us fight on these terms and give us the honour under these terms. When we suffer we suffer as persons fitting into this category - when we rebel and fight you negate our fight by putting us into a different category; we become working class heroes not heroes of our real oppressed category.

TRUTH IS - CRY AND WE CRY ALONE
FIGHT AND YOU CHANGE THE RULES.