

COPS AND BOMBERS

ON THURSDAY, March 8, I had a late lunch in a Fleet Street pub, near where I work at the Times office. A few minutes before closing time, at 2.50, there was a tremendous bang which shook the whole building. Some people sitting near me said, "There it is", and went out. (I'm still wondering about that.) I followed them into the street, and saw everyone looking eastwards, in the direction of St. Paul's Cathedral. I ran up Ludgate Hill, and saw howling police cars turning left up Old Bailey (the street which gives its name to the Central Criminal Court at its north end). I turned left into Seacoal Lane, which leads up to the court. On the way I noticed that Seacoal House, the big new office-block on the right, had lost most of its windows, and as I went up the hill the road became covered with glass.

I got to the top of the hill, between Seacoal House and the Old Bailey, by 3.00. Not only Seacoal House, but both the old and the new buildings of the court, and every building in sight, seemed to have lost all their windows, and the glass underfoot was like snow. The George pub, opposite the court, was more seriously damaged. There were pieces of smashed cars in the road, and wrecked cars all over the place. A coach was standing at the top of Seacoal Lane with all its windows broken (I heard later that it had been full of children, who got out and ran down the hill just before the bomb exploded). I saw a few injured people in the open, all being looked after, and I also heard injured people calling out inside the buildings all around. But there was no panic, at least for a time.

No one near me seemed to be sure what had happened, and no one mentioned any attempts to clear the area before the explosion. But soon after I arrived at the scene, a small group of people began to run around, shouting and gesticulating. They turned out to be policemen, mostly in plain clothes, and they seemed to be in a complete panic. Their intention was to clear the area, and their pretext was that there might be more bombs, but their effect was to confuse and annoy everyone, and their purpose is still not clear. They eventually drove us all away from the area, and quickly cordoned off all the roads.

THE PROLOGUE

When I got back to work, the Times office was being emptied because of a further bomb scare. Half an hour later we were allowed into the building, and I went to talk to the people in the newsroom. There I heard the extraordinary story that they had received a warning telephone call before 2.00, giving the locations and numbers of all the cars set to explode in various parts of central London at 3.00. I talked to the reporter who had got to the Old Bailey and had identified the car by 2.10. He was typing out his story with bloodstains on his shirt and scratches on his face and hands, rather like a bad American film about the press. He told me exactly the same as what was printed in the Times the next day -- that the police did not begin to do anything about the bomb for another half an hour after he arrived, and had scarcely begun to

clear the area before the explosion. I heard from the other reporters that in every case they had reached the scene and identified the car before the police, although the news editor had telephoned Scotland Yard immediately after the first warning.

It later became clear that the security authorities had known about the bomb plans the previous day, and that the police had found and dealt with one bomb and had arrested ten people at London Airport during the Thursday morning. And yet so little was done about the Old Bailey bomb that more than a hundred people were hurt, mostly by flying glass, and one person subsequently collapsed and died; as I write, on Monday, there are still a dozen people in hospital. Also as I write, more than four days after the explosion, the ten people are still being held by the police without being charged or brought before a court; so much for our precious civil liberties.

AFTERTHOUGHT

If Belfast really has come to London, it isn't the first time that Irish nationalists have taken their direct action against the British capital. A century ago there were dynamite explosions going on all the time, and in the end people got used to them, rather as they have now in Belfast. No doubt we shall get used to gelignite explosions just as easily if we have to. After all, we got used to the Blitz forty years ago, and the Old Bailey last week looked very much like the Blitz.

But the London bombs may do some good if they show once and for all the uselessness of so-called urban guerrilla warfare -- i.e. terrorism in cities -- as a revolutionary technique. After the explosions, no one said anything about the problem of the Catholics in Ulster or of Ulster in Ireland, or about the correctness of the Provisional IRA or the wickedness of the British government. All I heard was people saying, "It's those fucking Micks", and making other nationalist and even racist remarks of that kind. All the bombs did was to polarise opinion, in so far as there was any opinion to polarise. Far from "tearing off the mask of the state", they simply convinced most ordinary people that nothing is worse than the IRA.

In fact, of course, the IRA, whether Official or Provisional is just another little state, employing the favourite weapon of the state -- indiscriminate violence -- against the ordinary people. No doubt some of the injured were policemen and civil servants, but many were not; and even if they had been anarchist bombs there would have been nothing to rejoice about in hurting a few score innocent individuals. The only likely effect on the general situation will be to give the security authorities more power and then to make the terrorists more desperate. It is easy to start the game of cops and bombers; the trouble is that it is played with people's lives. But of course people don't count when two states begin to fight; that is why bombs have nothing to do with anarchism -- far from destroying the state, they build up another one.

N.W.

DIVIDED THEY FALL

MR. GORMLEY, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, is right when he said at the emergency Trades Union Congress that they would not change the government's policy by "pussy-footing" with a one-day strike and demonstration. Yet this is just what the TUC has voted for. Even this step took the TUC leadership by surprise and the final resolution from the Transport and General Workers Union only "invited" unions to join a one day general strike.

What is so painfully obvious is the divisions there are within the trade unions. It is clear that many of the unions want to sit by and let those who are at present in struggle fight the government on their own. The only assistance they are likely to give is financial.

This state of affairs is no surprise to anarchists. We have no faith in leadership whether it be by politicians or trade union leaders. The simple acts of solidarity on which trade unions grew do not enter the heads of those who visit 10 Downing Street, supposedly on our behalf. For the trade union leaders' art and trade lies in bargaining and getting round a table to do a deal with those in power. The government, having enacted the Industrial Relations Bill, could horse-trade amendments in exchange for a deal with the TUC over wages.

As such the one-day strike could be a harmless way of letting off a head of steam. A one day's strike will not topple the government. However, it will show where power really lies in our society. Those who are at the moment opposing the government's policies stand little chance on their own. Hospital workers, teachers, civil servants, or even the gasmen's present level of action, will not make the government change its course.

SOLIDARITY...with whom?

As trade unionists we talk a lot about solidarity. But so far the so-called militant sections haven't downed a tool to aid some of the lowest paid who are now on strike. Building workers in Southampton held a one day stoppage in support of the hospital workers, but we've heard nothing from the docks or the car industry. However, the present tactic at Ford's Halewood of a work-to-rule is proving very effective and is causing increasing disruption on the line and to profits.

The trade union leaders have become part of our class society (perhaps they always were). They do not stand against the present system of exploitation of man by man but rather they give the impression that workers and employers share common interests. They are quite content to perpetuate the economic system of capitalism and the State that gives it support.

Even the Communist Party which poses as an opponent of the capitalist system is only reformist and would not abolish the economic and power relationships that are part and parcel of the State and the capitalist system.

Georges Seguy, leader of the French Communist union C.G.T. has said: "We think that workers' control is incompatible with the indispensable national organisation of a modern economy, and is utopian from a social point of view."

Anarchists do not think it is utopian for workers to run and control the industries they work in. The present system cares only for profits. We want to see production satisfy the needs of people. We think that a General Strike could be a start of a social revolution.

The General Strike should go beyond economic demands and start to take over, and start making and distributing goods ourselves. It is time that we, the workers, locked out the bosses and sent the politicians packing.

P.T.

Squatters

Aberdeen

LAST MONTH, a group of squatters occupied a flat in Aberdeen, and after several days the police arrested them. The two squatters were fined £3 each. On 1st March eight of us, students and unemployed, occupied another council flat in 400 George Street, Aberdeen. Our case comes up on 16th March as we made no plea.

These flats are only two among the many empty, habitable, flats Aberdeen Corporation owns. Families have been cleared out of them to make way for roads but the houses will remain empty for several years before being knocked down. There are 4,600 families on the Council's waiting list so it ought to be a major scandal, but the Council does nothing except hand out a miserable six or eight of these flats for families. Furthermore, the rate of house-building is too slow to significantly affect the slums of Aberdeen: 1,000 new houses per year boasts the Labour Council - but 350 of these are for tenants removed to make way for roads.

Correspondent

Meanwhile...

"But in Court 10 Judge Mackinnon was still sitting. His woman usher said later: 'Everyone threw themselves to the floor. Then the judge rose to his feet. I shouted "Silence, be upstanding" and ushered the judge from the courtroom'."

Daily Express 9.3.73

Colchester

"WHY WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO THE SQUATTERS". Colchester Liberals and the Essex County Standard's columnist Peter Culver have been jolted by the action of Colchester's anarchist squatters into recognition and publicizing of the housing crisis in Colchester. In the Standard of 9.3.73 Peter Culver comments that "plenty of people have been vaguely troubled by stories of squatters occupying empty houses and the methods - sometimes perilously close to licensed official vandalism - by which they have been evicted", and quotes a local Liberal, Terence Brady that "we should leave the few squatters we have in peace - and be grateful they have brought to light a wider situation we ought all to have realised long ago". Some facts of the situation are that there are 200 homeless families in Colchester, yet the county has accommodation for only 35 from the whole of Essex; and that the Town Council's 1,184-strong waiting list has doubled in the last year, although at least 100 habitable homes rot away waiting for the land beneath them to be developed.

As reported in FREEDOM 24/2/72, Colchester council has handed over to a Christian Action and a student group some of the houses, empty pending road-building, which had been squatted in. Aberdeen (see previous column) might benefit from the wisdom of other authorities' experience.

M.H.

Reviews

STRANGERS AND BROTHERS

THE NEW PROLETARIANS. By Jonathan Power. Community and Race Relations Unit, British Council of Churches, 10 Eaton Gate, London SW1W 9BT, 10p
IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPE. Ed. Nicholas Deakin. Fabian Research, 11 Dartmouth St., London SW1H 9BN, 40p

THE E.E.C. AND THE MIGRATION OF WORKERS. By W.R. Bohning and David Stephen. Runnymede Trust, Stuart House, 1 Tudor St., London EC4T 0AD, 25p (also summary and updating of above from Runnymede, no price given)
IMMIGRATION - A EUROPEAN CHALLENGE. By David Stephen. Runnymede Industrial Unit (no price)

A GROWING AWARENESS of a "problem area" for the enlarged European community is signified by the publication of the above mentioned documents. The best introduction to the subject is Jonathan Power's recent contribution "The New Proletarians". Enlightening are the quotes on the subject from Brandt and Pompidou: "In every way, foreign workers help us to earn our daily bread... foreign workers are in Germany because at home they live in indigent circumstances. Germany needs them urgently. They're dependent on us. But we are even more dependent on them for otherwise they would not be here" (Brandt) and "Immigration is a means of creating a certain easing in the labour market, and of resisting social pressure" (Pompidou).

The extent of immigration is greater than is generally appreciated in the EEC (of the six) with 10 million of an active population of 70 million being immigrant. Unlike British immigration (usually meaning black entrants) the measurement in the old EEC has been less obvious due to colour not always being an element in the process.

As with black labour in Southern Africa the requirement for immigrant labour in the new EEC is simply for cheap labour (as Freedom's Rochdale reports recently emphasised). Without cheap labour Europe's capitalist system would be even worse off than it is. With trade unions, often so uneasy on the questions of race and also having the basic conservatism of those assisting the working of the system, the area is left open to revolutionary socialists and black leaders able and willing to make use of the British system of wage negotiation. Freedom's excellent reports from Leicester over the Asian hosiery strike have shown up these two facets of the situation. It is an area, that of encouraging 'cheap' labour to gain the benefits of all other workers, ripe for development and we would do well to keep our eyes so astutely on the situation as we have until now. There are two areas here, firstly the black/immigrant leaders who are usually aware of the wider implications of their struggle and are appreciative of genuine assistance from others attempting to create a society of justice and equality; secondly the International Socialists and Maoists. Here is where syndicalism has always had a significant voice, the mobilising and strengthening of the most kicked about sections of the community who no official gives a damn about. It is easy to portray the IS as using the immigrant struggle for equal rights as opportunistic, using the plight of others to benefit the growth of their revolutionary party. There is however courage in the stand taken by individuals in IS on this question and the genuine growth of the fascist movement in Britain certainly requires organised opposition. White liberals are unlikely to involve themselves in such a struggle as they are tied up in the 'capitalism can be human' ethos which always nibbles at the edges of problems. New young radicals are much more encouraging in their approach and the linking in fraternal onslaught of black immigrant spokesmen and libertarian radicals is a process likely to be good for both, with a knowledge of power seeking individuals a useful guard.

The Fabian research booklet 'Immigrants in Europe' contains a number of essays containing basic information. Interestingly the most positive contribution comes from America, 'Crackpot realism: an American perspective' by Ira Katz-

nelson. He highlights the difference between British and American attitudes to race and community relations - in the US the race relations bodies are partisan and political, in Britain official government status was given to non-partisan, non-political bodies. The British tried to 'depoliticise race' by creating 'buffers' interposed between the migrants and the political mainstream', in America parallel political institutions were set up 'outside the traditional political areas'. Katznelson thinks the British approach 'will in all likelihood yield to the continuingly bitter and corrosive politics of racial confrontation and despair'.

This is well worth bearing in mind when turning to the Runnymede Trust publications, as it is part of the official race relations establishment financed by capitalists who believe in that capitalism plus humanity ethos of liberals. David Stephen (who made his contribution in France) urges on the Europeans the 'benefits' of Britain's race relations industry. He urges Europeans 'to form associations and societies to study the situation and monitor and study policy... People who can confront complacency with uncomfortable facts, on the one hand; and who, on the other, can provide assistance and advice to the immigrant communities; people who can translate the incoherent voice of the factory floor and the bidonville into a coherent demand for social change'.

No doubt this sounds reasonable enough. But who pays and controls these advice centres and study groups? On what conditions are the bodies set up and how radical can the social changes advocated be? I know, from very bitter experience, that the British race relations industry is only open to one interpretation of community relations - that which will benefit the status quo.

We are in fact talking about capitalism. Shall the question of the new proletariat lead to a demand for an alternative social system or are we to absorb, talk, study, assist our way to fitting the blacks and other immigrants into that mould in society that they are supposed to fit? Are we to encourage revolt or acceptance? And what Established agency can advocate the former?

Lastly, the Runnymede publication with an updating summary on 'The EEC and the Migration of Workers' by Bohning and Stephen presents the basic factual material as regards the Treaty of Rome and immigration regulations. Dull, very very dull, but useful for reference.

J. W.

DON'T LET THEM MANIPULATE YOU!

YOU AS A PRODUCT, How the System Gets into Your System. By Tohu Bohu, Newcastle University SRC, 10p

YOU AS A PRODUCT is a psychological study of how the family and society conditions the individual to conform. It is influenced by Reich and Marcuse, and shows how the old, traditional family is giving way to the new, consumer-oriented family, which appears to be superficially more libertarian but in fact is just as oppressive in a different way.

Modern capitalism can only survive if people continue to buy and buy, and the old work-and-thrift ethic is no longer satisfactory. There is less need for dutiful workers, although people must be induced to continue to work - until they become redundant. What is needed now is people who will consume without limit.

The result is that as the adolescents of today break free from the constrictions of family life they are met by a whole crowd of crafty salesmen, who attempt to induce them to buy records, motor scooters, clothes and cosmetics. The hippy revolution foundered because its hedonistic philosophy had no answer to this. All the same I think it would be a mistake to imagine that modern capitalism has managed to cope with the situation entirely. In fact people still have to work, so the work-ethic has to be retained, people have to be kept submissive so it's no good being too permissive, and while large numbers must consume, equally there must be large numbers of poor who won't be able to.

The resulting confusion is likely to tear society apart. What in fact is happening today is that people are being conditioned in two contradictory ways at the same time. They are being told, "Buy all you want. Don't be worried about ancient sexual taboos. Be fun people. Spend money, enjoy life." At the same time they are being told, "Life is harsh,

Everything must be run on a strict commercial basis. Every enterprise of man must be conducted in such a way as to make a profit, even the Ordnance Survey. Your house may be destroyed for a motorway. Your job may become outdated and disappear. Your savings will be eaten up by inflation. You must not question all this. It is part of the natural order."

Hedonism and submissiveness to a harsh fate are incompatible, and the result of teaching both doctrines together is simply to make people feel that they are entitled, as of right, to an ever rising standard of living, and if they cannot have it they become furious and turn to violence, since they are taught to look upon life as a harsh struggle. The consequence is growing social chaos, ending in disaster.

This book is an attempt to enlighten the reader by showing him how his or her upbringing from earliest childhood has trained him or her to fulfil the social roles an authoritarian, male-dominated society expects. Hopefully the reader will see through the various tricks society plays, and will not be caught either by the old work-ethic or by consumerism. It is rather technical. Many of the people who ought to read it won't, because they will be put off by the psychological jargon. But it is good. Really it brings Reich's Sexual Revolution and Mass Psychology of Fascism up to date. Reich's enemy was the old family, with all its repressiveness. He did not live long enough to see more than the beginning of the new consumer-ethic. And by then in any case his main interest seems to have been flying saucers and orgone energy.

Possibly the only other criticism one can make is that Tohu Bohu, rather like Marcuse, tends to make capitalist society seem very clever in its manipulation of people, so that the reader comes to think, "They are far too clever for me to fight against them." In fact, it is worth mentioning, there is, strictly speaking no such thing as "capitalism" in the sense of an entity that can make plans or outwit people. It is no more than a convenient verbal shorthand. What really exists is a vast confusion, in the midst of which some men and women with a capitalist ideology struggle to impose their ideas on their fellows, sometimes succeeding and sometimes not. They are threatened by their own surviving traditional beliefs, which are incompatible with consumerism, by rebellion from below and by the exhaustion of the world's physical resources, which are finite.

Arthur Wardo

MEANWHILE, AT STRANGWAYS

When we queued up at the reception office of Strangeways Prison, Manchester, last month, the officer asked if we had any false teeth or wooden legs. I was sweating lest I might have need of either before I got out for even as he questioned us one inmate lay in the prison hospital with two fractured ribs, the result of some 'accident' in which several guards had jumped on him.

Strangeways is supposed to be one of the worst prisons in the country, perhaps because the Governor, having had trouble with prison officers at his two previous prisons, tends to let the guards run the show.

This leads to trouble - especially among the longer term men who go to Strangeways while waiting to be allocated to other prisons. Some, who came in with me, were quickly organising a petition and others protested about their treatment by going to the punishment block and refusing to have their hair cut.

Many of the officers are very unhelpful - swearing at the prisoners and refusing to offer information when asked. Some actually go out of their way to antagonise inmates knowing we can't do anything about it.

On Wednesday 21st February the prison authorities feared there might be a sit-in. Over 50 prisoners were reported to be down with food poisoning. Shop '6' was turned over and all the prisoners were searched. At 3.30 p.m. all the prison cleaners were locked up an hour before usual and there was at least one false alarm.

The food is bad, even the prison medical authorities are believed to be worried about the lack of fresh fruit (one apple a week) in the prison diet.

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Most prisoners are locked in their cells from 4.30 p.m. until 8 a.m. The 'tobacco barons' still exist at Strangeways. All the best paid jobs in prison go to the creep and the grass. These with their extra pay can become barons and hand out the tobacco while smoking the interest it brings in.

Some of the people I met during my two week stay should not have been there at all. Some were close to nervous breakdown, like the mentally retarded boy in the cell next door who had already tried suicide once.

Of course the outsider, visiting prison sees nothing of this side of prison life and is taken on a conducted tour in which he sees the inside of a specially prepared cell on 'C' wing, which is decorated and done up for the purpose.

"Rochdale Inmate"
[Reprinted from R A P (Rochdale Alternative Paper) March 1973]

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SAVE THE PARTY — FOR WHAT?

Conference Report

WHO IS MENTALLY HEALTHY?

THE LABOUR PARTY -- come to that all three of the major parties -- emerged bloody and defeated from recent bye-elections. Since then there have been fierce mutterings and accusations of betrayal. Additionally, there has been higher (and lower) Political thinking (see FREEDOM "Elect New Voters" 10/3/73) among which has been discussion of the necessity and possibility of a Third Force (or to put it crudely, Party) in British politics. Such a group would be a centre party, that would it is claimed canalize all 'men of goodwill' from whatever party they are disenchanted with.

It has been pointed out by political commentators that the Labour Party is in fact a party of the Centre. Such a claim has also been made for the Conservative Party with equal truth. Alan Watkins in the New Statesman "Lessons of the Polls" 2/3/73 writes:

Except for a brief period in 1970-72, we have been governed by the same centre party ever since 1951. Naturally the centre changes from time to time. Recognition of East Germany used to be a left-wing cause; it is now firmly in the centre. Floating the pound was formerly regarded as the cry of a few right-wing economists: this too has won a comfortable acceptance, and a very good thing for all of us. Again, whatever Mr. Harold Wilson's government may have been, it was in no sense left-wing. The cause most typical of the centre, the cause of Europe, has triumphed. The centre has won everywhere. The centre has won, but it has not delivered the goods.

It was thought by some that the victory of Dick Taverne (Democratic Labour, pro E.E.C.) at Lincoln would signal an alliance with Roy Jenkins, former Home Secretary and former Chancellor of the Exchequer and pro E.E.C., to set up this third force - or centre party. Now, riding on to the stricken field and

throwing down his gauntlet Roy Jenkins has lisped his opposition to the formation of such a centre party.

He doubts if such a grouping would have any coherent philosophical base. Secondly he believes that the most likely effect of a centre party would be to destroy the prospect of an effective alternative government. Thirdly, says Jenkins, he does not share the desire to push the leftward half of the Labour Party and their supporters out of the mainstream of British politics. "The country today suffers from too much alienation and confrontation." "How much is too much?" Fourthly I cannot be indifferent to the political traditions in which I was brought up and in which I have lived my political life. "I.e. Right-wing Labour - see FREEDOM 18/3/72 "Up Jenkins!"

Then comes the great line. Reverent hush. Massed choirs at the ready. Small string orchestra. Cheer leaders be prepared.

"Politics are not to me a religion, but the Labour Party is and always has been an instinctive part of my life. The most moving speech I ever heard was Hugh Gaitskell saying he would 'fight, fight and fight again to save the party we love.' (I don't know whose italics these were. Can R.J. speak in italics?) "This was," went on Roy Boy, "the right message in 1960, and I believe it is still the right message today." As a matter of fact, what Gaitskell was trying to save was the Bomb from a democratic resolution sponsored by C.N.D. supporters, which resolution was in danger of splitting the party. The one thing which has endangered the Labour Party lately is the swivelling attitude of the Labour Party about the Common Market which Roy Jenkins supports (along with many others who still remain with the Party). In fact, a present-day Gaitskell would finagle (as Gaitskell did on the Bomb) to crush pro-market M.P.s and to manoeuvre and scheme so that

pro-Common Market M.P.s would never lift their heads again.

The second contestant in this joust is Barbara Castle, resuming her old place on the left of the Party; hoping that everybody has forgotten and will forgive her for "In Place of Strife" - her attempt to discipline the trade unions. She said, "Let Mr. Roy Jenkins have the courage and consistency to tell us now whether he was in favour of the Labour Government's abandoning the statutory prices and incomes policy which I tried so faithfully - yes, too faithfully - to operate on his behalf." Mrs. Castle was Secretary for Employment at the time, so her somewhat incoherent attack pinning blame for her own ministerial policies on Mr. Jenkins should mollify her new left-wing allies. When, some months ago, Mrs. Castle retired from the Shadow Cabinet, she made a radio comment that Mr. Wilson had worked so hard for the party that he had even sacrificed his principles. --It could happen to anyone!

The constantly heard plea to save the party is more a reflection of the common political attitude (to quote Pope) being 'willing to wound - and yet afraid to strike'. They wish to save the Party for themselves but they are afraid to destroy the apparatus and lose the party funds - and the solid bloc support of the Trade Unions. At the same time all would wish to keep the enthusiasm and reforming vigour of the left wing which presents such a good image - out of office! A wily politician like Harold Wilson can easily, as he is doing now, play off his right wing against the left wing - and save the party of the first part, Harold Wilson.

All parties when in power are Centre parties. When in opposition they can be as revolutionary (or as reactionary) as their individual components like. Unless Harold Wilson slips or the situation changes dramatically, Roy Jenkins and Barbara Castle - and Eric Heffer - can say what they like; it will make no difference to government, only to votes.

Jack Robinson

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the National Association of Mental Health (held March 1st & 2nd) was seemingly over when a working man rose in the gallery and demanded an enquiry into Broadmoor, where E.C.T. treatment was used. The man, who interrupted Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Social Services, had not written down his question for submission to the conference chairman, Christopher Mayhew, so it was held the question could not be put. The questioner, who I discover from People's News Service is secretary of the Broadmoor Action Committee, ignored this and continued with his speech. He was approached by two stewards who attempted to escort him away as if he were a patient and they two nurses. A group of people in the audience then began to clap so the man asking about E.C.T. at Broadmoor could not be heard. It was a revealing incident as the unsatisfied questioner left with the remark that mental health needed less claptrap and more money. Sir Keith Joseph said nothing.

It was Christopher Mayhew who had begun the conference by announcing that the Council of Management of the NAMH had supported a resolution passed at the World Federation of Mental Health concerning the misuse of psychiatric procedures for political ends in the Soviet Union, yet he obviously saw nothing wrong in ignoring the protest about Broadmoor.

Earlier in the conference a number of contributors had made points of interest. Prof. Kathleen Jones, the historian of mental health, described five bandwagons in the mental health field, two of which interest libertarians: the anti-institutional and the social deviance bandwagons. The latter takes the view that society is sick rather than the patient.

Dr. Peter Draper, from Guys Hospital medical school, commented that patients should have a real say in running hospitals. The opposing views of hierarchic and participatory administration were outlined, with the former being described as "the thinking of a bygone age". Dr. Draper's view was that accountability should be "downwards" rather than "upwards".

Mary Rowe, an ex-patient, gave a sensitive and moving talk. She said professional workers did not know the full reactions of patients, who were afraid or unable to talk back. She felt patients needed more friendliness and fewer pills and that attention to people was more important than attention to files. She advocated the example of a Quaker home where staff eat their meals with patients.

Dr. Peter Sykes, a consultant psychiatrist, distinguished between an asylum as "a total institution" and as "a place of refuge". He felt that many chronically sick people needed "a place of refuge". Community care was being advocated but the community didn't care.

Dr. Anthony Clare, chairman of the Association of Psychiatrists in Training, held that minimum requirements for the number of psychiatrists meant a 50% increase on present levels. He also made the pertinent remark that people were often made ill by situations that should be changed, not adapted to.

This was an entree for Dr. Holman from Glasgow University who spoke of the ten million deprived people in Britain today. They were often victims of despair, stress and depression, symptoms taken to be pathological. The greatest enemy of the poor was a sense of powerlessness and a lowered self-esteem. Solutions to these problems had to attack poverty and there were promising developments with collective action being taken by the deprived themselves - community action groups of all kinds were showing the poor that they could win. This assisted in the reduction of distress.

Sir Keith Joseph saw the task of mental institutions being to fit people back into the community. He wanted however "a network of care" for rehabilitation involving both statutory and voluntary services. It was only feasible to close hospitals when one could rely on a comprehensive supply of replacement services.

Correspondent

FACE OF FASCISM

RAT, MYTH AND MAGIC: A Political Critique of Psychology, by various authors (obtainable from Freedom Press, 24p, postage 4p).

THIS SUPERB COMPILATION is intended for those embarking on the study of academic psychology, but it still has a lot to offer the layman (and if it deters him from the study of this subject after all it will not be wasted effort producing it). I suppose it is understandable that science, since scientists are ordinary human beings, with the same desire to eat, clothe themselves and support their families as the rest of us, should be ready to come to terms with the status quo. What does come as a surprise, at least to the writer of these lines, is the way that modern scientific psychologists are not so much conservative as actively reactionary, propagating a vision of life that is not merely technocratic-totalitarian, this one expects, but is really 'fascist', a word which some of the writers in this publication use, not for abuse but as a literal description.

One thinks of the Fascists and Nazis, the Powellites and the Monday Club, as people who derive their ideas ultimately from the old Romantic Movement, which had its good and bad aspects, as do most wide-ranging, rather vague movements, which embrace a lot of different tendencies. To most of us the word 'fascist' calls up the mental picture of masses of marching men, theories of 'blood and soil', a defence of hierarchy and nationalism, a delight in ancient heroes and their doings, and a pretty frank acceptance of violence and cruelty as inherent in human life, and not bad things at all.

Against such a vision we have the liberal, the democrat, the anarchist, the man of reason, the humanitarian and the believer in moderation and common sense. This is the way we have of looking at the situation, the romantic, instinctive, violent men and women on one side, the sensible chaps (us) on the other, although we may disagree greatly among ourselves. This point of view is engrained. It is as much part of our world-view as the tendency to divide political groups into the Left and the Right, but some are already coming to see this division as out of date, and so, I suspect, is our view of what constitutes 'fascism'.

CONSERVATISM

To begin with, the writers of this book deal with the inadequacies of academic psychology. How useless it is for teachers! The experiments of Piaget seem to have no relevance in a crowded classroom. Women are still treated as inferiors. The idea is that the 'well-adjusted' woman is the one who puts husband and children before career. Freud, surprisingly, is still taken quite seriously, and his patriarchal ideas about women are influential.

Then there are the 'liberals' and 'humanists', who often sound libertarian, but they have a strong tendency to concentrate on the individual and his/her problems, and forget, or play down, the

influence of society. Their slogan might well be 'stone walls do not a prison make, etc.', but in the opinion of every writer in this book they do, and it is surely a fact of common experience. The idea, you see, is to reconcile people to their lot in the world as it is, and steer them away from thoughts of social change. Maybe this is unconscious, and not deliberate, nevertheless what it amounts to is the taming of revolt and the inward-turning of people's minds.

As we advance through the book things get worse and worse. So far we have dealt with conservative attitudes, but with behaviourism, intelligence testing and positivism we enter darker realms. This is the part of the book which astonished me, alarmed me and enlightened me. For the first time I begin to understand the structure of modern thought in regard to the organisation of society, and why Eysenck and others have come to the fore so suddenly, expounding views which I had imagined no longer intellectually respectable.

FASCISM

To be brief, the behaviourists steer clear of all analysis of human motives and concern themselves solely with the way human beings act. They believe that with sufficient pressure you can make people almost anything within their physical and mental capacities. Questions of personal freedom and dignity have no scientific validity. The usefulness of this teaching to a dictator is so obvious it needs no stressing, and indeed 'brain-washing' is nothing else than the application of behaviourist techniques to the breaking down of political prisoners.

Intelligence testing is a technique whereby children are sorted out according to their ability to fit into the form of society that the person who draws up the test in the first place believes in. Those from other cultures, West Indian children perhaps, do less well than British children, and middle class kids do better than those from the working class. This is just too marvellous for words. It helps to give our masters the justification they need for their exploitation.

Finally, positivism. This is what I found more surprising than anything else. Not being an academic philosopher I had a vague idea that logical positivism was concerned with the meaning of words, and that logical positivists tended to say that many of the questions which philosophers have argued about for thousands of years have in fact no meaning at all. They were questions which could not be answered and should therefore be laid aside.

STRANGE MARRIAGE

I understood that logical positivists were rationalists and sceptics, the very antithesis of the 'fascist', with his passionate commitment to the instinctive life, to blood and iron and soil. The key to the riddle lies in the words 'value free'. The ideal of the positivist is to avoid discussions of right and wrong, truth or falsehood. One must see the

world from a position of detachment. All ethics are destroyed at a blow. Maybe Powellites are marching in the streets. Too bad. They are not our style of course. It is however no use discussing whether they are right or wrong, still less (oh, horror of horrors!) going and fighting them, or resisting them non-violently, we must study the way they behave - scientifically of course, and then perhaps write a paper on what we have discovered. The groans from the local concentration camp can be blotted out by turning up the radio or closing the window.

What we have here is not just 'a political critique of psychology' but a blueprint, made it is true by people who are hostile to the thing they describe, of the coming 'fascist' society in North America and Western Europe. As the economic crisis grows, and Europe unites into one big economic unit, the Third World will be more cruelly exploited than ever. The need for scapegoats and cheap labour will make racism more and more respectable. Physical cruelty will increase and violence become more and more a matter of everyday experience.

The scientifically detached researchers will not in fact be able to manage without the help of the romantics, whom they may very well despise, and so the result will be a link up between the 'value free' thinker and the Croatian nationalist, the grey-suited, white-overalled technocrat and the 'blood and soil' man with his club and gun. One of the strangest marriages ever consummated.

JOHN BRENT.

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LETTERS

A HEALTHIER MOVEMENT?

Comrades,

Peter Le Mare's letter started well, with his announcement that, after prolonged and prayerful examination of the AFB, he had failed to detect any signs of life. Active anarchists throughout these islands will murmur a heartfelt 'Amen!'

Unfortunately, Peter ended his letter with the wistful hope that some miracle worker or group of miracle workers might resurrect and breathe life into the corpse. This shows that he has not understood why the AFB (Mark 2) died.

In theory, the AFB was supposed to embrace all anarchists in Britain, from people at one end of the spectrum who totally rejected the idea of libertarian organisation (yet would attend meetings and conferences in order to prevent other people from having the freedom to organise) to people at the other end for whom the word 'organisation' had almost religious significance. In practice, this made it difficult for the anarchist movement to move at all. Anybody who has ever been to an AFB conference will know how intolerant such a gathering could be of those who actually wanted to do something.

There is nothing tragic about the fact that most revolutionary anarchists finally realised that they were not part of the same movement as 'philosophical anarchists'. It was, in fact, a great step forward for the anarchist movement when this happened. As a result, various active libertarian groups which do not call themselves 'anarchist' are now interested in an informal alliance with anarchists which could be broader and more tolerant than the AFB ever was.

Regarding Peter's comments on duplication (or offset-lithocation) of effort - we in ASA have a paper, Black & Red Outlook, which is the only anarchist agitational paper in this country produced under a genuine rotating editorship system and which welcomes the fullest participation of all revolutionary anarchists. We can't duplicate anybody else's function, and nobody duplicates ours. So stop mourning, Peter! The movement has never been healthier!

Faternally,
Dave Coull

Anarcho-communism

Vs. Individualism

Dear Sir,

I would like to take Mr. David Waters to task over his article on, what appeared to be, anarcho communism, although may I say beforehand that I have no idea of the situation in America, neither am I as well acquainted with the ideas of other people as Mr. Waters seems to be, but I am, I think, capable of deducing certain conclusions for myself.

I have always considered economic systems to be as independent of 'libertarian' ideas as they are of the weather, therefore such terms as anarcho-communism, anarcho-capitalism (that's a new one on me) and, taking it to its logical conclusion, anarcho-socialism, anarcho-protectionism or anarcho-free-trade, should be discouraged from use.

I do of course realise that in a communist economy the state takes total control over the economy, thus bringing it within anarchism's terms of reference, but the term anarchist-communist is still a total contradiction. How on earth anyone can believe a communist state is anarchistic is beyond me. Possibly Kropotkin's idea of communism is different from Marx's. If Mr. Waters considers his idea of communism to be feasible outside state control - the only logical way, in my opinion, for an anarchist - then he should not use the term anarchist communist since in this setting, economic philosophies are irrelevant.

No doubt, at this stage, the anarchist-communist might reply by saying: 'Well, I am an anarchist and I believe in some form of communist/mutualist/collecti-

vist economic system.' That being the case, I would reply: 'Then I am an anarchist-bicyclist since I am an anarchist who believes I should use a bicycle instead of a motor car.'

Which brings us to anarcho-syndicalism. This would seem to be a group of anarchists joined together to work for the benefit of the group, or a class. Anybody joining any syndicalist group automatically surrenders his own will for that of the group. That being so, he is then subject to the authority of the group, the decisions of the group and the disciplines of the group. This effect would seem to be 'government' under another name. The group then behaves much like a state, no matter how the group decisions are arrived at. (This group should not, of course, be confused with Stirner's 'Union of Egoists', the individual in this case using the 'group' for his own benefit and discarding it when it no longer benefits him.) Therefore, one cannot be an anarchist and a syndicalist, one can be one or the other.

Which then brings me to my main point. I consider individualism to be the only valid and practical form of anarchism. The exact relationship between anarchism and individualism has puzzled me for some time, and I have heard an American philosopher discussing this subject, although he seemed to be equating individualism with liberalism; maybe then I should use anarcho-individualism or maybe I have got it wrong and should be using the term egoism instead of individualism.

Anyway, it would seem that anarchists oppose the authority of the government, any government, while individualists oppose the authority of the group, whether they are also anarchists would seem to depend on whether it is possible for a government to be anything other than syndicalistic; I'm fucked if I can conceive of an individualist government, so it would seem that individualists are also anarchists.

Egoists are at the same time both individualists and anarchists, since they oppose all authority that is not their own.

I get the impression Mr. Waters is more a communist than an anarchist; I can't for one moment imagine why he is proud to claim that he is not an individualist; as if individualists have betrayed the anarchist cause somewhere along the line. On the contrary, I would submit that the only consistent anarchists are the individualists and egoists.

Yours faithfully,
R. Alldridge
Cardiff.

THINGS ARE TOO BIG

Dear Friends,

I was amazed, though not surprised, to find a regular writer in 'Freedom' (the Anarchist weekly, so it's said) saying that he didn't think anarchism is much use.

John Brent wrote: "I doubt that 'socialism with a human face' or a return to the ideals of the founders of the American state will be of much help in the USA, or any of the other super-states of the world. Or anarchism either, alas."

I suppose I could go on and on about how you don't expect people to write week after week in an "anarchist" paper and then turn round and say: "Of course, ladies and gentlemen, I don't believe a word of it."

I've no doubt there's some clever explanation of what it "really meant" and I'd like to hear what that is. The fact remains that it represents, to me at least, the kind of dishonesty that you normally find in politicians.

Best wishes,
HARRY HARMER
London, S.E.11

SPARE THE FAGGOT ...

THE DISCUSSION CONDUCTED on television by Cliff Michelmore, in the assembly hall of the new St. Torquemada Comprehensive School, Liverpool, last Tuesday, with the title "Thou Shalt Not Suffer A Witch To Live", displayed some really lively modern minds at work. No one who watched this programme can possibly deny that we are better men and women than our ancestors, more enlightened and humane.

The discussion was initiated by a psychiatrist who made the truly astonishing statement that witches were simply mad old women, who merely imagined themselves to possess great powers, or were imagined to possess them by their neighbours. Then we were shown a Witches' Rehabilitation Centre, run by a young hippy, and were treated to shots of crowds of old dears, and some not so old, engaged in crochet work or knitting, or simply watching the telly, Not a broomstick was in sight.

A doctor said that England had done away with the press gang, the slave trade, flogging and similar harsh practices, and it was time to do away with executing witches too. Fortunately the vast majority of the people present at the discussion considered this altogether too reckless. As one clergyman put it, "We are not yet in a state of grace, and the gallows and the stake are very necessary deterrents." A Welshman, possibly a nationalist, pointed out that no witches had ever been executed in Wales, and probably never would be. The inference being that English people were inferior to the Welsh, since they felt the need to retain these barbaric practices. But he was speedily put in his place by the ex-chief constable of the city, who pointed out that in a cosmopolitan area, where many different races gathered, life was much more complicated and cruel than in the remote valleys of the principality.

"I have nothing against the younger generation", said a retired schoolmaster, "the young of today are idealistic to the last degree. They work for Oxfam, the International Voluntary Service and the old age pensioners. Nevertheless they should not have before them the example of a lot of senile delinquents going around cursing people, putting the evil eye on them, raising storms and inflicting foot and mouth disease on the cattle. This sort of thing cannot be tolerated."

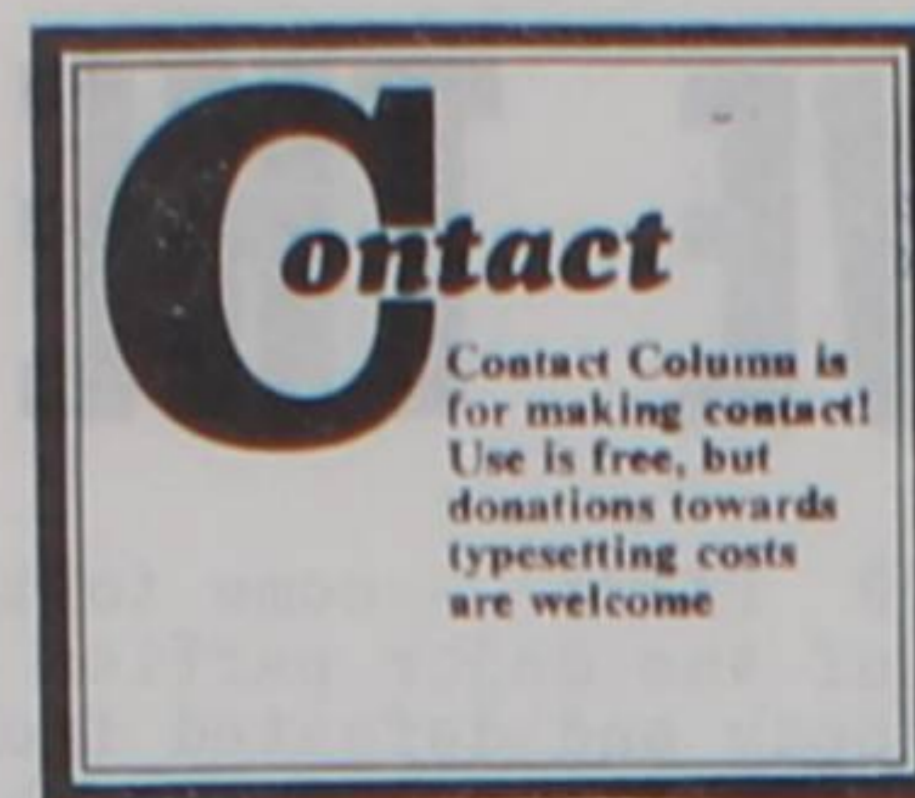
A progressive point of view was put forward by City Councillor Bloogs, who said that he did not think that witches should be tortured and executed, but should be exposed to some sanctions. There is no learning without pain, he claimed, and advocated fifteen years imprisonment and the loss of the right hand.

A number of witches were present, who had been tortured but not condemned to death. One said that without the threat of death hanging over her she would not feel she was a real witch at all. "At least it shows that society takes us seriously", she said. Others said that the threat of death had acted as a deterrent as far as they were concerned. They were now reformed characters, or so they believed.

England is one of the few countries left which still executes witches, though burning them has been given up in favour of hanging, and it looks as if life imprisonment may soon take the place of the gallows. Let us hope that before taking so revolutionary a step the authorities will consider the very serious problem that witchcraft poses in our society, and not be too hasty.

Smog

John Brent replies: Harry Harmer does not complete the quotation, which concludes: "they /the super-states of the world/ will have to swell till they burst, and perhaps something good can be created out of the fragments." If he feels more hopeful I can only congratulate him. I should have thought it would be far more dishonest to write something like this to conclude the article, "But never mind all that, forward comrades! The free society is just around the corner," when one does not believe it is.



THURSDAYS at Freedom Press from 2 p.m. Help fold and despatch FREEDOM

FREESPACE ALTERNATE U is an anarchist-sponsored free alternate school in New York City. You may visit us any weekday evening or on Saturday or Sunday afternoons at 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. tel. no. 228-0322

Teachers wanted for Free Schools. Write to: Tony Brantingham c/o Dwarf News, 14a Hansard Mews, London W14 8BJ

Will all organisations please note there is a new secretary of Harlech Libertarian Group (including ASA and ORA): Bob Long, Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth, N. Wales

LONDON ASA meets every Sunday at 3 p.m. at 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, N. 5. Black & Red Outlook always available; by post 5p + 2½p

NOTTINGHAM: Trent Polytechnic new anarchist group forming. Contact Shirley Moreno and John Hinsley through Fine Art Dept., Dryden Street, Nottingham.

"Schools Anarchy Propagation Action Group" for non-collectivist school anarchy. Contact SAPAG c/o 1 Springbank, Salisbury, Blackburn BB1 9EU

New Earth Group, 112 Thomas Street, Dublin 8. Publishers, bookshop and meetings.

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent

Anarchist woman having deserted capitalist husband desires maintenance from him. Serious suggestions and advice about getting this gratefully received. Box 102

STOP THE FRENCH TESTS. Contact Greenpeace, c/o 176 Finchley Rd., London N.W. 3.

How We Knocked 'Em in the Old Kent Road, a dramatized version of the Briant Colour Print workers' saga. Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays at 7.45 p.m. until March 24. Tickets 40p, Assoc. Membership 50p. Bar. UNITY THEATRE. 1 Goldington Street, London NW1

You as a Product, booklet on the family as key link between individual and social reality. 40pp. 10p + postage from Soc. Society Bookstall, Univ. of Newcastle u. Tyne, or from Freedom Press.

MEETINGS

PSYCHIATRY IS CLASS REPRESSION, the case for a Mental Patients' Union. A meeting of patients and ex-patients at: Paddington Day Hospital, 217 Harrow Road, W.2. Wednesday March 21st at 7.30 p.m. Pamphlet on the same subject 10p + postage from Flat 1, 13 Christchurch Road, London N.8

FINE TUBES STRIKE is still going on. National Day of Picketing at Fine Tubes, Estover, Plymouth on Monday 19th March at 6.30 a.m. Overnight accommodation available. Contact Greg, 17 Gascoyne Place, St. Junes, Plymouth PL4 8DF
CARDIFF: Dwarf Group starting. Contact Ian Matheson, 45 Corporation Rd, Grangetown, Cardiff

WANTED -- GAS STOVE for East End squatters. Contact Freedom Press

NEW YORK LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB Lectures, fortnightly on Thursdays 7 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Centre, 369 8th Ave., corner 29 Street, admission free. April 12 Irving Levitas: Messianism and Anarchism.

SUNDAY 18 MARCH Peace News Benefit Show at Cockpit Theatre, Gateforth Street, Marey Lebone, N.W.8. Featuring legendary Pete Brown, pianist/singer Bill Fay, guitarist John Maslen, and Friends - theatre/music/poetry from Maureen Benjamin, Jeff Cloves, John Siver. Starts 7.30. 30p. Come early.

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