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VOTE FOR SUNSHINE !

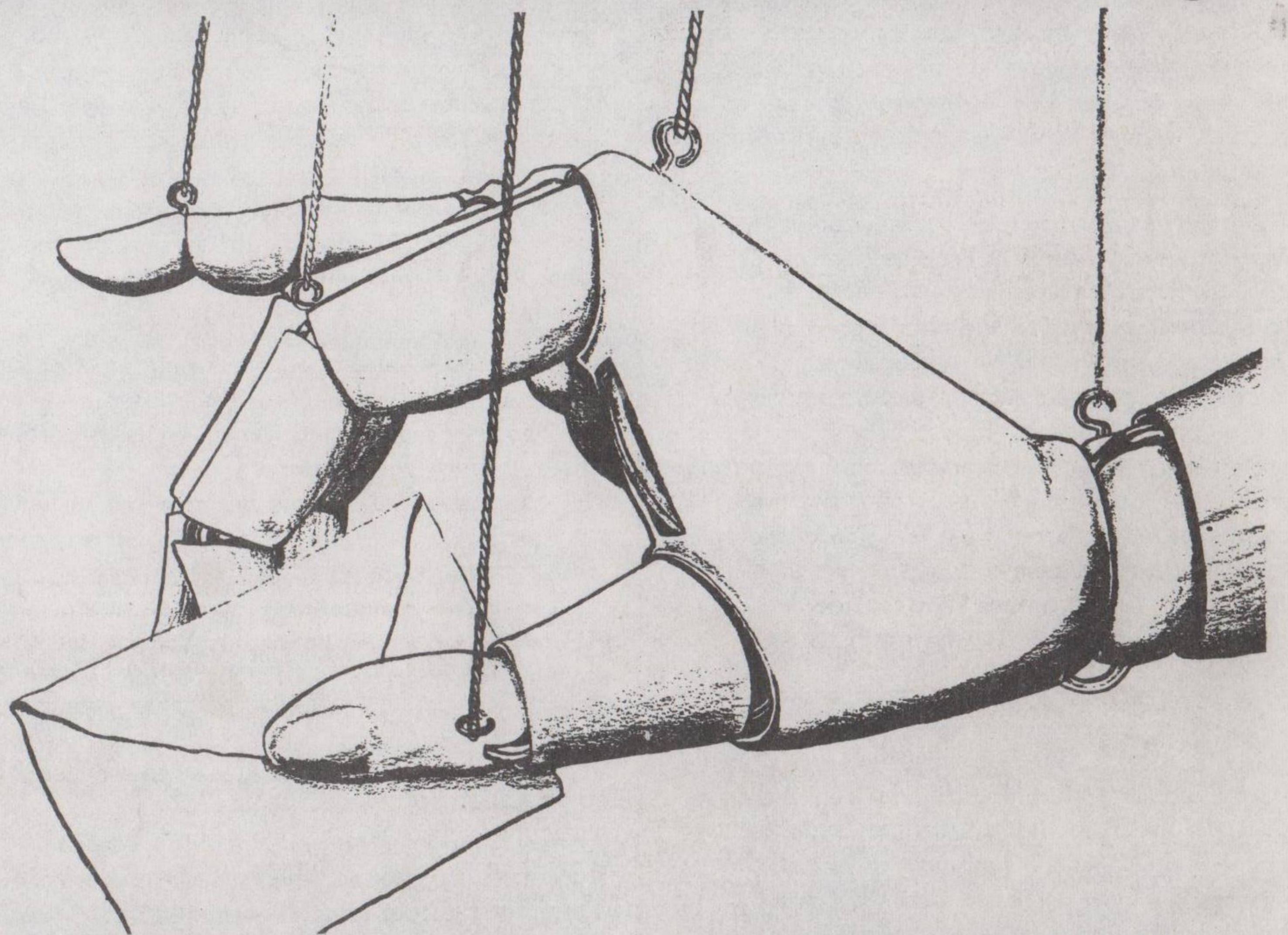
THE SPECTRE of referendum is again haunting Britain. Not only have we the imminence of a referendum on devolution (if that Parliamentary wangle goes on) but Mrs. Thatcher, in an obvious last-minute attempt to bridge the gap in Tory thinking between Sir Keith Joseph and James Prior on trade unionism, told a television interviewer that in the event of 'a confrontation' between the government and the unions the government would "let the people speak. You can do it two ways, either a general election, or you can take a single issue through a referendum".

Either this, as is claimed by Peregrine Worsthorne (in opposing it) is a Macchiavellian scheme to put the unions in the wrong; or as Joe Gormley of the miners' union says, it is 'damn stupid'. One is inclined to side with Mr. Gormley's diagnosis, for in the throes of a television cross-examination by Parliamentary renegade Mr. Brian Walden it is possible that Mrs. Thatcher said, as many will do, the first thing that came into her well-permed head.

However, as many Jungians or Freudians will attest, the first thing that floats up from the unconscious is the real but suppressed thought. Wouldn't it be nice if we had referenda to solve all our problems. If for example we had voted last week whether Victor the giraffe should die or not, the overwhelming public response would have been that he should live. Victor, encouraged no doubt by popular acclaim, and his keepers fortified by public opinion, would no doubt have trebled their efforts to keep him alive.

Similarly if we had had a referendum on the weather this summer the overwhelming majority, despite a cursed minority of farmers, umbrella manufacturers and seaside-cinema proprietors, would have voted for fine weather and our votes ascending to heaven like incense would doubtless have influenced those in authority.

There was an American presidential candidate (who later became President) Calvin Coolidge, who went on the record



in his campaign programme as being 'agin sin'. It is not known whether this right-thinking pronouncement won him the election but, by and large, most people are against sin (subject to their own definition) so Cal was in fact on the side of the majority. Any right-thinking person—and God—is a majority.

In a similar way in the too-late thirties the League of Nations conducted a Peace Ballot in Great Britain which voted in favour of collective action and sanctions against aggressors. The League of Nations blundered on to its doom betrayed by its members who had no intention whatsoever of taking collective action or imposing sanctions against Mussolini, Hitler, or the Japanese rulers. The wishful think of the ballot had little significance except as a heartcry from the liberal minority.

Everyone is agin stikes. Union leaders enter upon them with the greatest reluctance even when necessary. Employers, of course, are supposed inevitably to oppose them and to seek by all means to avoid them. The government—of

whatever party—generally deplures them and seeks by the most complex conciliation machinery to settle them. Or, by means of the military labour at its command, to break them.

The general public (whoever they are) is supposed (*vide* Thatcher) to suffer most from strikes. Incidentally, the proportion of pensioners in the population seems to increase during strikes so that they may be the majority of sufferers. Also, the strikers themselves and their dependents are, by some statistical alchemy, excluded from the figures for the general public—and their sufferings from strikes (witness the 1924-30 miners' strikes) are often greater than those of the consumers.

The simple and brutal fact is that if a strike does not affect the general public there is little point in having it and the mere fact that the absence of the product—e.g. bread—from the market causes hardship is sufficient testimony that the need for the product is substantiated and its production should—in the

(cont over page) →

DISABLING PROFESSIONS

THE MEETING HELD AT THE Conway Hall on 12 September was very interesting to me, particularly as I have always had an inbuilt suspicion of professional advisers of various kinds. I probably inherited this from my maternal grandfather who was for a time a self-employed shoe repairer (such types are often very radical fellows) and who subsequently became a skilled self-taught engineer. In Hoxton where he lived his windows were broken by his patriotic fellow workers for his opposition to the Boer War. However, his opposition did not stop at the more obvious examples of state violence; he also objected to the compulsory treatment of his children in the form of vaccination, believing that the main disease of his class was poverty, the consequence of privilege. Since his time, of course, the power and scope of the professional advisers has been considerably expanded.

The meeting was launching a new book in the Marion Boyars 'Ideas in Progress' series, *Disabling Professions*. Three of the contributors to the book addressed the meeting: Ivan Illich, Jonathan Caplan and Harley Shaiker. In introducing the speakers Marion Boyars put forward these concepts as new ideas. However, there have always been these professional regulators within authoritarian society, as it has never been possible to rule by brute force alone and the main purpose of the professionals at all times has been to ensure that the ideological structure of obedience is maintained.

A DANGEROUS AUTONOMY

Ivan Illich is a charming populariser and as he said, 'If you feel that you think like other people, do beware—you may go to hell.' pointed out how professionalism has proliferated in modern society and that these specialists control the work they do and who shall work,

present market economy—he adequately rewarded. In the same way the market economy ensures that our need for bread cannot be satisfied unless adequate recompense, in the shape of the price mechanism, be paid to the shopkeeper—without arbitration.

In the face of these factors any referendum vote that a strike shall not take place is as realistic as a vote for sunshine, Victor's life, agin sin or for peace. As long as the present system of price mechanism and market economy persists such 'confrontations' on mere cash rewards will persist.

The Trade Union power-structure is happy that this muscle-flexing should go on. Many of the Conservatives would be quite happy to collaborate with the trade unions in putting down unofficial strikes and regulating the unholy relationship between master and man. Even the closed shop would, for some Tories, regulate labour by mak-

claim an autonomy far in excess of any trade union. As their work involves doing things to other people, their legally backed autonomy is exceedingly dangerous. They are in fact an elite with the certificate necessary to join the ruling class. This class over the past thirty years has become very much more powerful, they dominate legislation which one group of them is then paid to interpret. They have a monopoly on diagnosis to find individuals who need correction, professional control of deviants. This monopoly I would have said decreases the layman's tenuous control of political society. Illich just steps back from the logic of his objection to modern society which, followed through, must reject any society that divides into rulers and ruled with inevitably the same growth of hierarchy. The rejection of the state as a basis for a new society is a step that is essential to prevent the growth of a new elite but to do this the questioning of authorities legitimate should be encouraged and authorities illegitimate should be abolished.

The next speaker was lawyer Jonathan Caplan who while finding much of his profession in the field of civil litigation superfluous defends its necessity in the criminal field. Personally I subscribe largely to the belief eloquently put by George Bernard Shaw, that the law defends the thieving of the rich from the thieving of the poor. To me, much of this speaker's argument was superfluous as his is one which together with many other professions new and old would be superfluous in a self governing society.

A DEPOSED ARISTOCRACY

Harley Shaiken, the next speaker, was in Barcelona by chance when several of us were there for the four-day 'Libertarian Days'. He was greatly impressed by the scope of the criticism of modern industrial society by the

ing shop-floor discipline the prerogative of the big unions.

Mrs. Thatcher's despairing cry for a referendum is a quack remedy for the ills of the Tory schizophrenia.

The *Sunday Express* guesses that a referendum will be held on the advisability of restoring capital punishment. This is, like all referenda, a stupid method of arriving at wisdom.

We are harvesting (literally in some cases) the unhappy results of a referendum in favour of staying in the Common Market. If we had voted to stay out, no doubt, all other things being equal, we should be equally unhappy.

Wisdom cannot be arrived at by counting heads. Especially in a brain-washed, propaganda exposed or cynical electorate. Responsibility cannot be suffled off in an expression of mere wishes in a referendum!

JACK ROBINSON.

largely working-class CNT. Here is a movement that is critical of all those aspects of modern industrial society that this meeting of largely middle-class professionals was talking about, and it is a movement that has the awareness and ability to structure a self-governing society and this movement is avowedly anarchist. Harley Shaiken was a car worker in Detroit and he described the journey that that worker has made from craftsman to machine minder. A group of people organised by the capitalists and their professional managers into a situation in which they require a vast battery of psychiatrists, doctors and social workers to deal with the consequences of the alienated existence of the so-called aristocrats of American labour. He recalled the Detroit car worker who went berserk and shot three people in a Detroit factory, including a foreman and supervisor. His defence was that he had been driven temporarily insane by conditions in the factory. The Jury visited the factory and in spite of the fact that Chrysler had tidied up the factory declared that the nature of the work was enough to drive anyone insane and acquitted him. The guy subsequently claimed workmen's compensation and got it.

To quote from Harley Shaiken's contribution ("Craftsman into Baby Sitter") to the book:

As a skilled worker I don't just want to control the present industrial system and the culture it has defecated. I want workers control for a new and better society. It will be a victory for us, as workers, to democratically run industry, but it does not constitute a victory for us as men. It will be a triumph for man when we begin to cultivate new lifestyles based on a complete inversion of our present society. The entire monstrous edifice of relations of the production of goods can't be merely taken over: it was brutally built with the needs of the present owners and managers in mind. We will have to lay new cornerstones and build on new human and humane foundations.

I thoroughly concur with that.

ALAN ALBON.

Disabling Professions, by Ivan Illich, Irving K. Zola, John McKnight, Jonathan Caplan and Harley Shaiken (Marion Boyars, £ 1.95) is available from Freedom Bookshop.

THE ANARCHIST STUDENTS Network has been operating for some months and will be holding a conference on the weekend of 5-6 November, in Exeter. The network aims to act as an information spreading system and to distribute anarchist literature. For details of the conference and to be included in the contacts list (or to receive it) students and student groups should write to: Exeter University Anarchists, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter Devon.

FREEDOM will be available at several Freshers Fairs in the next week or so—for example Reading, Cambridge, Exeter, Newcastle Poly, Central London Poly. Please write to us if the bookstall in your college or university and we will supply on sale or return.

INTERNATIONAL

NOTES

Sweden

THIS SUMMER in Sweden we had our first racial riots in a little town on the outskirts of Stockholm. The gangs of under-privileged youths calling themselves raggare who were held responsible were not entirely to blame. Swedish politicians of all parties have done little to make Stockholm and its surroundings a place to live for their immigrants, but rather a place to exist.

One hopes Sweden won't in time become a camouflaged, latent edition of Germany in the 1930s. A good majority of the population have come to accept a particular form of 'democratic' authoritarianism. The Swedish press did a very bad job in dealing with the reporting of the riots. Apart from a sickly sensationalism, they seemed to present a 'scare' atmosphere. A true picture of frustrations, competition and dangerous latent violence in our society were carefully avoided in analysis. We are only allowed to know what the press wishes us to know, which is a very good reason for distrusting it.

Stockholm H.

A punk rock group, The Stranglers, performing in Sweden also received the attentions of the raggare while on stage in Klippen, near Malmo. The Evening Standard, reporting their battered return to London, described the raggare as 'Swedish motorised teddy boys'. The group's manager was quoted describing them as 'a fascist type movement'. Our correspondent assures us that their motivation is purely violence—"they haven't a political idea in their heads". Eds. 7

I HAVE just seen a copy of FREEDOM (1st September) and I feel the need to endorse your belief in the need for an anti-election campaign and I would suggest that the Midlands conference showed on the surface to have lacked courage and imagination*

It would seem from the Midlands conference decision that anarchists risk remaining a small elitist group and to remain in the eyes of the public a dangerous set of men intent on blowing things up. Surely the elections are one great issue which can be utilised to spread the positive aspects of anarchism, particularly to a British people so obviously fed up with the various governments that have been thrust upon them.

The next elections should serve as a platform for anarchist views. I don't know—a press conference, awkward questions at party meetings, open meetings in opposition to the candidates, and so on. Perhaps we could be joined by other groups such as squatters, Friends of the Earth, if they were interested (I must admit I don't know the position on elections of such groups. In France unfortunately they are being absorbed by the system.)

And perhaps a "Positive no-vote" campaign to encourage people to show that they are not apathetic but bloody angry at the great election con. This could consist of suggesting to people that they spoil their votes in a certain manner or stick on a special sticker. Above all, some imagination and a little energy to bring to people's attention that there is an alternative to so-called parliamentary democracy.

Lyon.

P.J.H.

France

WHO ARE the French ecologists? A few weeks ago they [the Ecology Party] prepared a programme to put before the electors for the legislative elections of 1978. This programme is based on two ruling ideas—self-management and federalism. So we should rejoice at this programme! Unfortunately the ecologists (at least those who drew up the programme) have a very particular conception of self-management. They consider the use of an army to protect the State. In fact we are not really surprised: we knew a long time ago that the ecologists in France in putting forward candidates for the parliamentary and municipal elections approved of the state system. Fortunately this militarist programme has stirred up a lot of objection from militants in the ecology movement. Some propose unilateral disarmament, others the neutrality of the country (in fact, a neutral country needs an army and a police force to defend its neutrality and protect the state).

A point common to all in the ecology movement is self-management; how can the leaders of the ecology group (for it is they who draw up the programmes) reconcile self-management and the army (the ultimate in authority), freedom and State? I think that today has become political; its managers propose for the 1978 elections the most demagogic programme: the ballots of the "good patriots" amongst animal lovers are as good as the ballots of the genuine ecologists. Are we not right to ask ourselves about the possibility of a Brice Lalonde (organiser of the group Amis de la Terre, acceding to the government in 1978?

Paris (Text partly edited)

M.B.

America

IT HAS BEEN said by some that the US people have more right to know than other similarly hoodwinked peoples of the world. It is said that the Freedom of Information Act makes it possible for the US citizen to have access to Government secrets which have been kept from him or her. In Britain the Public Records Office releases a selection of official documents after fifty years, unless 'security'—that magic talisman—deems otherwise; or unless by some strange chance or conventional design some papers are lost.

The American 'right to know' has, it is claimed, reached such embarrassing proportions that it menaces the security of the state (witness Watergate and the Pentagon Papers). However, with that supreme tact and discretion which veils and enhances all actions of our rulers, a decent interval cloaks the official unveiling of officialdom.

In Massachusetts the police have just released 50-year old files on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The years like great black oxen have trod the

world and one may say: it's all old stuff and what's the use of digging it all up again?

However, this is a twice-buried scandal and even the feeble 1927 enquiry is now shown up, by the mere action of releasing the files, for the liberal sham it was. If the Lowell Committee had been as thoroughgoing as it made impersonations of being it would have demanded and had access to these files. Secondly, such was the world-wide public outcry about this case that a supposedly complete record of the trials was printed and published and presented free to leading public libraries throughout the world. Were these to be of use in making judgement or exculpating the U.S. Government they would have been enhanced by the addition of police records.

The widespread use of telephone tapping by the prosecution and police is admitted now. Even Felix Franfurter, who merely wrote a legalistic but nevertheless telling criticism of the case, was honoured with a wire-tap. The continued absence of confessions, accom-

plices and loot remained despite these wire-taps. Neither was the absence of reliable eyewitnesses, unalloyed specialist witnesses or impartial judgements remedied by the surveillance of the police.

Whether the 1,100 pages of documents disclose the missing witnesses, the ignored evidence, the distorted translations one does not yet know. It is believed that the official record of the first trial that found Vanzetti guilty and Sacco innocent had disappeared entirely. Is this now among that which is found?

We shall see. What is certain is that Sacco and Vanzetti were killed by the State of Massachusetts on evidence on which one would not (to quote Vanzetti) hang a dog. Even if the evidence proved them innocent, even two million pages of documents would not bring them to life or wipe out the State's necessary reasons for their killing.

J. R.

Sacco & Vanzetti

Freedom of speech & action

NECROPHILIA

James Kirkup's poem 'The Love That Dares To Speak Its Name', which was found to be a blasphemous libel at the trial of Gay News last July, is still being circulated and is still being pursued by the law. No action has been taken against the several left-wing papers (including FREEDOM) which have reprinted the poem this year as a protest against censorship, but action has been taken against some of the individuals who have distributed copies of the poem by post.

The first was William McIlroy, former National Secretary of the National Secular Society and editor of the Freethinker. When the Gay News case began in December 1976, he sent copies of the poem to a dozen leading Christian advocates of censorship, including Mary Whitehouse, who began the prosecution of Gay News, and Kenneth Kavanagh, the Bedford probation officer who made the original complaint against Gay News. Kavanagh complained to the police, and two officers from the Obscene Publications Squad questioned McIlroy in March 1977. He stated that he had indeed posted the poem as a 'personal protest against censorship', and in July 1977 he was summoned to appear at Highbury Corner Magistrates Court for sending 'an indecent or obscene article through the post', contrary to the Post Office Act of 1953.

The case was adjourned at the first hearing on 2 August, but it was tried on 19 September. Since there was no doubt that the poem is indecent within the very wide legal definition, and since there was no doubt that McIlroy had sent it through the post, he pleaded guilty. As a result, the prosecution case consisted of a very brief statement by a young solicitor from the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and no evidence was called. The defence case consisted of an eloquent speech by David Pingleton, a barrister briefed by Michael Rubinstein, the leading solicitor in the area of libel and censorship, supported by character evidence from two well-known writers, Brigid Brophy and Edward Blisshen. Despite a plea for a conditional discharge, McIlroy was fined £ 50 (half the maximum), plus £ 50 of the prosecution costs and £ 50 of his own costs (he was on legal aid).

Meanwhile, Kavanagh had also complained to the police about Nicolas Walter, managing editor of the Rationalist Press Association and editor of the New Humanist—and a contributor to these columns (though less frequently than we would wish at the present time)—who is believed to have sent several thousand copies of the poem to people who have asked for it, as well as a few to the same leading Christian advocates of censorship. After refusing to speak to policemen who telephoned him or called at his house several times, Nicolas Walter made the following statement to two officers from the Obscene Publications Squad on 22 September:

"I make no comment about the complaint of Mr. K. Kavanagh that I have sent a copy of James Kirkup's poem 'The Love

That Dares To Speak Its Name' through the post, except to point out that, according to his own evidence at the trial of Denis Lemon and Gay News Limited (at the Central Criminal Court on 4 July 1977), Mr. Kavanagh last year sent a copy of the same poem through the post himself. If he is to be allowed to do so, anyone should be allowed to do so; if

anyone is to be prosecuted for doing so, he should be prosecuted for doing so." No doubt further action will be taken in due course. Meanwhile we understand that a copy of the poem will be sent to anyone who still has not read it and who sends a stamped addressed envelope to the Free Speech Movement, 134 Northumberland Road, Harrow, Middlesex. We also understand that the poem will be reprinted in the near future as a leaflet with the names of well over a hundred distinguished people who have agreed to publish it as a further protest against censorship.

M.H.

PICKETING

FOR THE LAST few years the Manchester Show has been picketed with anti-recruitment leaflets exposing the role of the British Army in Northern Ireland, and promoting anti-militarism. People have always been arrested, and the picket disrupted by the police. This year, a picket took place on Friday 23 and Saturday 24 July. On Friday, Keith Hackett was arrested and the picketers prevented from carrying on leafletting under the threat of further arrests under the incitement

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Libel Action in Manchester

Longsight News is a local community paper run by local groups and individuals. It aims to be "a paper where the people of Longsight can get publicity for their case or point of view—things that wouldn't be reported truthfully by the commercial papers because they were too close to the bone or too 'ordinary'." It is now the subject of a libel action. A Defence Group has been formed and issued a statement (August 12):

"A Longsight News contributor is being sued for libel for printing the truth about the way one child was treated by our local policeman (the sort of thing we all know happens in police station everywhere), and using the story to emphasise the illegality of police questioning minors without their parents present."

The story concerns a 14-year old boy who was suspected by the police of breaking a window. An article in Longsight News (June 1975) said that at the police station the boy was questioned, and beaten up by a P.C. Kelly. Eventually he was found not guilty of breaking the window. In fact, the police have no legal right to take anyone under the age of 17 away for questioning without the parents being present. And of course they have no right to beat up anyone at all. Seven months later solicitors acting for the Greater Manchester Police demanded a retraction. Longsight News were not prepared to retract something they were satisfied was true but offered P.C. Kelly space in the paper to present his version of the story. Another threatening legal letter arrived, and was given the same reply. A writ for libel arrived just before Christmas 1976. Longsight News intends to fight the case, in order to achieve adverse publicity about police brutality.

The statement of August 12 says:

"We are not retracting on the truth of the story, and we would like other groups and papers to support us. We feel it is important because so often people have a complaint against police behaviour, but because it is their word against a policeman's they do not stand a chance. Now the new Police Complaint procedure means that individual policemen (like our P.C. Kelly) can bring a court

laws. On Saturday, over 20 people picketed and were not harassed by the police at all. Over 1000 leaflets were handed out and the picket was quite successful.

Keith was charged with a breach of the peace offence to which he pleaded not guilty. An application for fingerprints was reluctantly refused by the magistrates, and the court was made aware that breach of the peace was not really the offence at all. His trial takes place on 30 September in Crown Square Magistrates court.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST Organisation

Manchester anarchists are forming a picket at the court (Crown Square) from 9 am on 30 Sept. Unfortunately we did not receive this notice in time to publicize it. Eds.

action because of the content of a complaint made to the police. We hope that by standing by the truth of our statement, we will decrease the readiness of the Police Federation to finance this type of case.

It is also important for us and for other papers that we do not allow this sort of threat to deter us from printing things that we know to be true, be it about the police, or about any other authority or powerful group.

"The Manchester Law Centre and probation officers in Manchester are already collecting information about police brutality in the area which they hope can be used in a campaign to bring pressure on the police to stop them beating people up. We appeal to anyone who has suffered at the hands of the police and felt unable to do anything about it, to come forward with their experiences." Such information should be sent either to the Law Centre, 595 Stockport Road, Manchester, or to Longsight News Defence Group, c/o 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M.1.

Half Moon

OUR NEIGHBOURS, the Half Moon Theatre, have become involved in a bitter row. Four years ago they were approached by local community groups to bid for the derelict Wilton's Music Hall and to turn it into a community arts and entertainment centre for the East End. Since its closure as a music hall in the 1880's the building has been used as a community centre based on a Methodist mission, then a dance hall and afterwards a warehouse. The G.L.C. bought it, intending to knock it down, but it was saved by pressure from the Music Hall Society in 1966. For some years the GLC has been trying to reopen the building as a theatre. There have been two groups involved; one, the Half Moon, the other the "Wiltons Music Hall Trust". 18 months ago the Labour-controlled GLC gave the Half Moon a year to raise the necessary money for reconstruction. They secured promises of £ 400,000, including a grant of £ 100,000 from the local council (Tower Hamlets). At this stage Taylor Woodrow who are "developing" St. Katherine's Dock three-quarters of a mile away, offered to undertake all the site management and construction involved at cost price.

Now there has been a dramatic about face. The Tories control the GLC. And Taylor Woodrow's chairman has withdrawn support, claiming that the Half Moon group would use the building with a political bias. Which is probably true, after all, that's what they have always done—so why the sudden indignation? The reason is that Taylor Woodrow have their own plans for the theatre. They want to shift it, brick by brick, to form part of their own dock development. Nigel Jones of the Half Moon says, 'We're completely shattered. Four

'When Vivienne Westwood walks through Chelsea wearing one of her own designs she gets noticed. It's not just the straitjacket top and trousers in tartan, complete with bondage straps and buckles. Her bleached hair is styled upright like a soapy shaving brush, her make-up is shocking pink, smeared around the hairline. Dangling from her ears are small silver penises...

"Punks believe in anarchy and that is the thing I want for society. I am not advocating violence but I am demanding freedom. I intend the clothes I design to cause a confrontation. That was why I began making sexual clothing from materials such as leather and rubber; they make people far more aware of their bodies, far more willing to flaunt themselves and produce reactions."

—Fashion designer featured in the Guardian (women's section) 23/9/77. We've seen peculiar usages of the adjective 'anarchist' in the Guardian before. In this instance, with the outfit described above priced at £ 135 no doubt this is a recruit the 'Punks' also can do without.

years' work and £ 11,000 have gone into this project.' In addition for several months Taylor Woodrow has had free access to the group's surveyors' reports, architects' plans and feasibility studies.

The final decision will be taken by November. In the meantime the Half Moon is launching a campaign to "Save Wilton's for the East End". Tower Hamlets Council is 100 per cent behind the Half Moon project. The theatre must be saved for community use and not allowed to fall into the hands of private developers. The group feel that this is "Grand Larceny" and will soon be presenting a play of that title to publicize the case. Their immediate suggestions are:

"WRITE to Herbert H. Sandford, OBE, DFM, Chairman, Central Area Board (Planning), County Hall, SE1 7PB and demand that he ratify the Labour GLC decision.

"CONTRIBUTE to our Fighting Fund. (Our campaign has cost £ 11,00 so far. We must recoup this, and raise enough to survive Arts Council cuts and continue the 'Wilton's for the East End Campaign.

"Sign a Covenant: Run a Benefit.

"PASS RESOLUTIONS and send messages of support from your TU Branch, T.A., theatre or other organisation.

"SEND for Posters, Badges, Stickers.

"KEEP in close touch with us 48 6465 Half Moon Theatre, 27 Alie St., London E1.

"LOBBY your GLC Member.

This is a fight everyone should support. Don't let Docklands be sold down the river.

Opposing them

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on your centre spread with which surely all thoughtful anarchists and libertarians must agree. Perhaps it wouldn't be too tedious to repeat a point I made in FREEDOM some years ago, namely that the word "fascist" used in its original sense is more correctly applied to, say, Michael Foot or Anthony Wedgewood-Benn than to members of the National Front, since the fasces (the bundle of rods for punishment and the axe for execution) was a symbol carried by those in authority. This is not just a semantic quibble, since the use of "fascist" to describe all authoritarians might help us to consider the real differences between them, which perhaps (as has been suggested) are not quite so great as they appear to be when we call one lot fascist and the others socialist or communist.

Yours fraternally,
Somerset, GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

Dear Freedom,

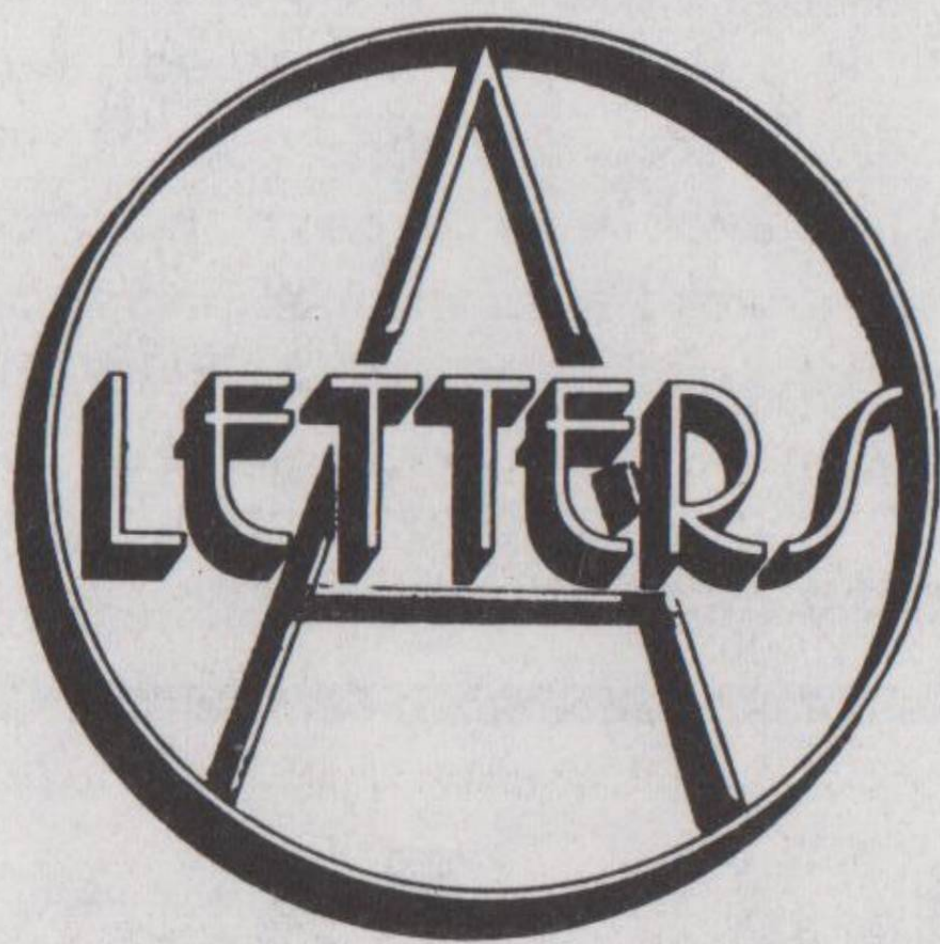
A.K.M.'s letter of 1 Sept. which describes the left's 'hysterical opposition to the National Front' is worth some attention. It is remarkable from an anarchist point of view because it appears to accept the basic NF premise that 'repatriation' of coloured people would be a solution to the housing and employment problems of the white working class. If one pursues the classic Nazi logic, it follows that Jews could be chosen for this privilege, or homosexuals, or Communists, or Anarchists! The National Front leadership isn't totally inept, however, and realises the political climate is presently best suited to attacking Asian and West Indian people. We all know, or at least we ought to, that ultimately 'repatriation' is merely a euphemism for genocide. If we were stupid enough to let them succeed in their first objective, new targets would be sought.

By way of supporting the 'fewer wogs, more jobs and houses' theory, the 'law of supply and demand is disintegrated from the graveyard of bourgeois economics. "I am most awfully sorry you good (white) people but there really is only so much to go round. It's all to do with the law of supply and demand (or if there isn't enough profit in it—get stuffed)." Of all the techniques used to control us by capitalists, divide-and-rule stands supreme. The NF Nazis elevate this principle in a grotesque, sadistic display of human degeneracy.

Immigration is a main theme throughout A.K.M.'s letter and is projected as a 'catastrophe'. On the question of the removal of all immigration controls, A.K.M. states: "For the unskilled working class, black as well as white, this would be a catastrophe [my emphasis—J.A.] reducing them to a soup-kitchen level of existence." Oh really. Why? A.K.M. seems to have been taken in by the NF notion that immigration causes poverty. (Sir) Keith Joseph believes it's the fault of social classes D and E for overbreeding—from his point of view classes beneath contempt. Tut, tut, even the right-wing can't agree!

I assert that capitalists and ruling classes

cause poverty through divisions of power and wealth throughout society—from the unemployed to the skilled and unskilled worker, to the professional classes who are chief executors of ruling class power. This combined with a continuous attempt to channel capital into areas of greater profitability, often in the high technology fields, leads to periods of economic instability which is manifested in higher unemployment through accompanying capital intensification. This is further fuelled by the collapse of small companies unable to compete in these new fields or with the high productivity technology of the multinational companies.



The issue was raised that the left should be "pointing out why our rulers need a large supply of immigrant labour". The ruling class has ditched much immigrant labour now that there is widespread economic recession and many Asians and West Indians now find themselves on the dole. The 1971 Immigration Act severely restricted further immigration, especially from non-white commonwealth countries. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, periods of relatively fast economic expansion, an increased supply of labour was needed. A demand which incidentally couldn't be met from existing labour resources. So, many immigrants were enticed with inflated promises of prosperity. Many were and still are exploited unscrupulously in unorganised factories as a source of cheap labour. Grunwicks is a case in point.

Britain is no longer a panacea of economic wealth, at least not for the working class, and fewer people are wanting to enter this country permanently. There is a net decline of immigration over emigration and has been for some years. I am firmly opposed to immigration controls in this country or any other country because it restricts our ability to move freely where and on what basis we may want to.

The left are lumped with capitalists for wanting to exploit black people both materially and politically. Materially so that the 'bourgeois' left can maintain a higher standard of living and politically so that black people may join a particular left-wing organisation. The latter motive may well be true to some extent but by using that argument the same as easily applies to unemployed sections of the white working class. The former accusation is a little

fanciful because capitalists are notoriously adept at transforming lower labour costs into higher profits.

I find it very difficult to see why A.K.M. is against nationalism with the views he holds but it is nonetheless perhaps a hopeful sign. I think he has a long way to go if he wishes to develop anarchist views. A great deal of critical thought will be needed. In particular he should be aware of irrational and destructive emotional motives, for example racism, in the field of politics and in what way these factors affect political and personal development. I recommend *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* by Wilhelm Reich as a useful book which explains how authoritarian family conditioning aids the development of Fascism. A CIS pamphlet on racism makes good reading as well.

Yours,
Canterbury, JIM ARMSTRONG.

Dear Freedom,

To reply to the criticism expressed (in Vol. 38 no. 18) of my letter in the previous issue.

In the first place No, I don't accept the Front's ideas on immigration. But many people in the worse-off sector of the working class do, and it is important to understand why.

Opposition to the presence of immigrants stems not from racism as such, as leftists seem to imagine, but from the fact that workers have to compete with them for jobs, housing etc. People may adopt racist attitudes but this is as a justification for economic self-interest which is not so respectable in working class circles as it no doubt is among the middle class.

That is why it is pointless to scream about Racism and Fascism.

People doing shit-work for low wages are not interested in a 'revolutionary socialist analysis of the capitalist system' but in quick solutions to their economic problems. This is why many are attracted to the idea of repatriating foreigners whether black or white, and practically none by the idea of lifting immigration controls.

The removal of immigration controls would be a catastrophe for the unskilled working class. In the Third World there are many millions who would be only too glad to come to this country or other advanced industrial nations if there were no restrictions. They cannot be blamed for this of course, half a loaf is better than no bread. But any large-scale influx into a small and already overcrowded island would greatly worsen the housing and employment problems of the indigenous population and this is not scare-mongering, but a fact which should be obvious to an average ten-year-old.

The end result of such an influx would most probably be a large-scale race war which is hardly likely to promote libertarian attitudes in society. Not that the authoritarian left wants any such thing.

The reason the capitalist state has introduced immigration controls of course is not to protect the living standards of the low-paid but because a race war would not be good for profits or political stability.

Certainly racism is used to divide and weaken the working class but it is not the only or even the main cause of division. The most important divisions between workers at the place of work and between those in different industries are income differentials. And it is hardly

(cont page 7.)

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LETTERS

surprising that the Marxist and Trotskyist organisations seem uninterested in combatting this divide-and-rule tactic in view of the largely middle-class backgrounds of their members.

Before leaving the subject of immigration controls, they are not of course 100 per cent effective, any more than any other legislation. There are certain establishments in London that are currently employing workers from the Philippines and elsewhere on little better than subsistence wages. I know this from personal experience. I won't name these places because I don't want to risk anyone's being deported to what could be starvation merely to reinforce a political point, but it indicates to me at least what could happen if immigration were unrestricted.

On the authoritarian left in general I would point out that however good the intentions of rank and file members may be, the results of applying their solutions in practice have usually meant disaster for the working class, and I think it is precisely because the their ideas have attracted the bureaucratic, managerial and technical sectors of the middle class that they are incapable of promoting the interests of the working class even if they wanted to.

Many anarchists and libertarians no doubt are former Marxists and Trotskyists and this could lead them to overrate the importance of the authoritarian left and to argue with them on their own terms.

A genuine anarchistic revolution can only come about if we concern ourselves with applying anarchist principles to the problems of working people. To do this will require a movement composed largely of working people who are the best judges of their own interests. We cannot do this if we waste our limited re-

sources on tactics such as anti-fascist demonstrations which are not based on the ideas and priorities of the working class but on those of a small number of would-be authoritarian bureaucrats.

Yours etc.,
London NW1. A.K.M.

PARTISANS OF FREEDOM

Dear Editors,

George Woodcock appears to be sold on a particularly mechanistic environmentalism in his review "The Other America" (Sept. 17). Chronologically individualism (in some cases more specifically Mutualism) undoubtedly preceded communism in America, but the reverse happened in such countries as France, Italy and Germany (isolated precursors excepted). If being "a large empty land" was the cause of this precedence in America, what caused the reverse procedure in France, Italy and Germany? Were they more populated in the 1870s and 1880s and less populated in the 1890s and 1900s? Of course not!

These facts make nonsense of his assertion that "apparent differences" between anarchists "are due to external conditions to which anarchists have to apply their beliefs rather than deep doctrinal differences".

This environmentalist approach expresses Woodcock's desire to marshall all divergencies under "the one hat" of anarchism as "a single way of life and thought". Such an ideological totalitarianism cannot hide the "deep doctrinal differences" that do exist—especially in the irreconcilability of the individualist and communist approaches to anarchism.

Sincerely,
S. E. PARKER

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FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next issue (No. 20) is MONDAY 10 OCTOBER. No charge is made for use of the Contact Column. All items for insertion, must, however, arrive by the above date—and if possible earlier. Frequently valuable publicity for events has been lost by comrades not taking our fortnightly schedule into account.

NEXT DESPATCHING date is THURSDAY 13 OCTOBER. Come and help from 2pm onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to 8pm for informal get together while folding FREEDOM or despatching.)

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH Mike Sheehan, Neuadd Caerleon, Victoria Tce., Aberystwyth.

BOLTON contact 6 Stockley Ave, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CORBAY Anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants

COVENTRY Write John England, 48 Spencer Ave., Earlsdon, Coventry.

DORKING Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodwyns, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814).

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

EXETER Anarchist Society, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, University of Exeter.

LEAMINGTON & Warwick c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa

LEEDS, Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7

LEICESTER c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester

MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028

NEWCASTLE anarchist group, 91 Beaconsfield St., Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN

OXFORD, Martin Harper, Keble College

PORTSMOUTH. Carolyne Cahm, 2 Chadder-ton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

READING University Anarchists: Contact at Freshers Fair, or write to Anarchist group, Students Union, University of Reading,

ST. ALBANS

No Contact at Present

SHEFFIELD (1) Tikka, 4 Havelock Square.

(2) Anarchists-Libertarians-Situationists Flat 1 1 Victoria Rd., Sheffield S10

STOKE anarchists, 52 Campbell Road, Stoke-on-Trent

THAMES VALLEY, Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd. Maidenhead. (tel. 062 2974)

WESTON-SUPER-MARE. Anyone interested in forming group contact Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Mipton Road, Weston-s.-Mare, Somerset

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist groups Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper TOLLINGTON Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533)

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. (tel. 359 4794—before 8 pm)

Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House, Tulse Hill SW2 (tel. 674 6402)

Clapham, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961)

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd, E.6. (tel. 552 3985)

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E1 (tel. 247 9249)

Hackney Anarchists—contact Dave 249 7042

Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564)

London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St., N.1 (tel. 249 7042)

Love V Power: (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swinton Street, WC1

South London College, Knights Hill, West Norwood (tel. 674 7886)

Zero tel. 555 6287

KENT Anarchist Federation

Canterbury, Steve Dawe, Canterbury Anarchist Group, 12 Claremont Place, Wincheap, Canterbury.

University: Dave Norman, Univ. of Kent Anarchist Group, Keynes College, Univ. of Kent, Canterbury

Sevenoaks: Jim Enderby, 70 Bradbourne Road, Sevenoaks.

MIDLANDS Anarchist Federation: Sec. Louise Crane, 13 Arden Terrace, Braunstone, Leicester (tel. c/o Sid & Pat Leicester 864511)

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation, 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516) (monthly newsletter, meetings)

ANARCHIST Students Network for contacts list & information on next conference write Exeter University Anarchists (see Exeter grp)

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation: Aberdeen: Blake, c/o APP, 167 King St.

Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place Edinburgh: Gibson 7 Union St. (557 1532)

Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow G2 (336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

International

AUSTRALIA

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2809

Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC La Trobe Univ., Bundoora, Vic 3083.

Libertarian Soc. Fed of Aust.: c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073

New South Wales P Stones, P.O. Box 26, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney Fed. of Aust. Anarchists, Box 97, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst 2010

NEW ZEALAND

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International Books, 123 Willis St., Wellington Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin. U.S.A.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842 G.P.O., New York City, N.Y. 10012

S.R.A.F./Freespace Alternate U: 339 Lafayette St., New York City, N.Y. 10012

MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 370, Columbia, MO 65201

EUROPE

Denmark, Anarkist-Synd. Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, DK 1455 Copenhagen

Germany (Anarchist Federation of Baden)

ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabisch Hall, Germany.

Meetings

MANCHESTER Anarchist Film LA CECILIA, Sunday 2 October at 8.30 prompt at '68 Club (in West Indian Sports Club, Westwood St., Moss Side Manchester 14 (non members 35p). Sunday 9 October Club Benefit (non-mem 45p) Sunday 16 October Discussion of Repression in Federal Germany

ANARCHO SYNDICALIST Conference (SWF) Weekend 22/23 October in Manchester. Creche & possible transport from London. Details from Manchester SWF, 109 Oxford Rd., Manchester, M1.

NEWCASTLE u. Tyne October 15-16, conference of British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign, at Cradlewell Books, 235 Jesmond Rd., Newcastle 2. For details, sleeping space, &c. contact Newcastle Anarchists, 91 Beaconsfield St., Newcastle NE4 5JN

LONDON Central London WEA autumn programme: Problems of Modern Africa; Music, right and left; Political Economy of Women, a historical perspective; Social Psychology... Full programme from Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Road, N.1 (SAE please)

LEFT WITHOUT MARX? Part of the cause why libertarians have failed to create a coherent alternative to Marxism is that they have failed to understand it. Libertarians interested in a study group on Marx contact Left Without Marx, 15 Marcham Rd., London E11 3LE

LAND for the PEOPLE every Tuesday at 8a Leighton Cres, London NW5 (Kentish Town) upstairs No. 8 (tel. 267 1184 or 485 3572.)

BIRMINGHAM Lib Soc. meet Suns 8 pm at Fox and Grapes, Freeman St. (Moor St. sta.)

Desires

I'm looking for a room in a shared house, in South London, starting mid-October (man, aged 25). Please contact Freedom, Box M. Somebody required 'to teach thick anarchist Spanish' at weekends, in London. Write Alan Albon c/o Freedom Press

Anarchist Gay Lib Group—to put anarchist ideas ideas across within the gay movement, Anyone interested in forming such a group contact Alan Bray, Flat D, 23 Great James St., London WC1 (tel. 405 8850 Fri. evngs/weekends).

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Literature

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST No. 5 just out. Send Send four 7p stamps to I.W.W. (Midlands), 226 Emscote Road, Warwick.

Contact Column continued on Page 7.

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