

MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS!



WE DEMAND that all readers of FREEDOM tell us their names, addresses, ages, sexual and marital status, jobs, income, shoe size, inside leg measurement and reactions (graded 1-5) to a few key words. To help you provide these facts, we shall send someone round to your home. If you feel uncooperative we shall hire a few heavies to steal some of your possessions. If you are still obstinate, we shall abduct you and hold you for ransom.

Sound familiar? This is the demand that the British state is now making. They call it a Census. They make this demand every ten years. Usually they do a mid-term topping up as well, but this time, with their concern for economy with our money, they shall probably waive this half-time check. So we only have the full Census on April 5th., costing a mere £45 million.

This information is essential or the government will be unable to build houses, schools, hospitals, roads or anything else like that. They are not going to build them anyway, but this misses the point. They need facts in order to plan effectively. A large number of dedicated public employees, statisticians, town and country planning officials, road traffic co-ordinators, economists, sociologists, police, all these people need this information in order to fill in their own forms properly, write reports and make forecasts.

As Britain has become a multi-cultural society it would be valuable to know exactly what kinds of immigrants there are and how many of each. However, this sort of question caused problems last time. Large numbers of people, anarchists, liberals, trouble-makers like that, refused to fill in the forms. Many burned them in public. So, to test the water, a trial census was carried out, last year in the London Borough of Harringey. The locals showed the typical petty-mindedness that might have been expected. Some actually organised a campaign and only 54% of the forms were returned. With these sort of attitudes around, it is no wonder that officials are suspicious of blacks and want to get them pigeon-holed as best as possible. Only then can their problems be identified. However, it has been decided that it is not worth upsetting people, so questions about 'ethnic origins' have been dropped for the main thing.

It is true that the government already has extensive records, Birth Registrations, National Health dossiers, Inland Revenue returns, National Insurance entries, unemployment statistics, Electoral rolls, rates demands, council rents. So they may have heard of you somewhere: There again, there are motor vehicle licenses, TV licenses, market research questionnaires. Some people, a few million, are on Special Branch files. However, this is no reason for not having a Census. Aren't the malcontents

important
message
about the
1981 Census

**census
1981** ☒

always squawking when there is a suggestion that all these should be tidily correlated on one central computer? Well, a full census will remove the need for this!

Census information is, of course, entirely confidential. Stories from last time, like bundles of completed forms being found on rubbish tips or information being sold to commercial interests cannot actually be discounted. However, you can be assured that the same assurances that this will not happen this time will be made with all the official assurance that can be mustered.

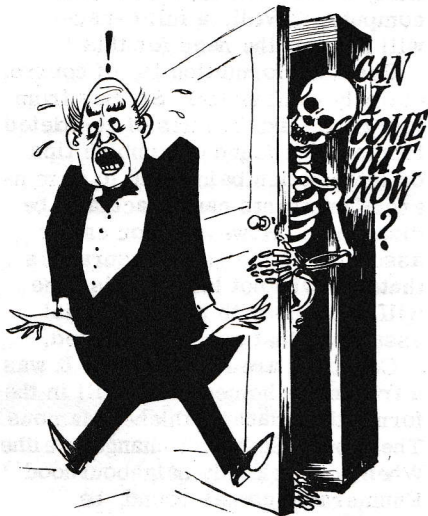
Censuses are nothing new. It was a trip to the home town to fill in the forms that made Bethlehem famous. Their purpose hasn't changed, either. When your friendly neighbourhood Enumerator comes round, be

polite. (Incidentally, they are supposed to be from a different area, so they don't know you, at least in urban areas. Again, we don't want anybody dredging up memories from 1971. We accept that in an undertaking of this size mistakes can happen.) He or she is probably an unemployed person taking the opportunity to earn a few extra pounds. Another useful feature of the census. Then again, it will give a more accurate total of unemployed, rather than just those who sign on. Explain why you object to this prying. Or fill the form with nonsense. Claim five kids. It might convince them that they need to provide more benefits. If you can afford it, ignore the whole thing. Maximum fine £50, unchanged since 1971; so who said the price of everything had gone up? Last time, it seemed that if you lived in a large urban area, it was unlikely to be followed up.

Whatever compromises you have to make with this impertinence, assert that we exist in our own right. We don't need an entry in a bureaucratic ledger to know that we live.

Guilt Edged

THERE is an old and popular motion for debate known wherever people gather for that intellectual exercise. It is: 'That this House would rather be ruled by a rogue than a fool.'



Catanzaro verdict

ELEVEN years after the bomb exploded in the Piazza Fontana, Milan, killing 14 people, the appeal court in Catanzaro has acquitted both anarchists and neo-fascists, as well as the state security agent, Giannettini, of involvement in the massacre. The grounds are 'lack of evidence'. The result is that, at least officially, no-one has been found guilty.

First reactions against the verdict will undoubtedly be ones of anger that Giannettini and the neo-fascists Freda and Ventura (currently being held in custody in Argentina) have been acquitted of this charge. It may be, however, that the evidence presented to the appeal court was indeed insufficient to sentence them to prison, despite the fact that the first court had sentenced them to a term of life imprisonment.

In any case, what should matter to anarchists is not the punishment meted out to those whom the judicial procedures may find guilty, but the fact that 11 years, six separate judicial investigations and five trials later, nothing, but nothing, has been resolved and we are left with the very same questions as before.

As Italian papers are asking, why did Pinelli die? Why were the anarchists so quickly accused, on such flimsy evidence, and so slowly

released? Why has so much information been concealed from the investigations by police and prefects, magistrates and ministers? Why did the secret service men lie and why were witnesses sent abroad? Does the appeal court verdict mean that, despite the enormity of the crime committed and the vast ramifications it has had for the development of terrorism in Italy and, with it, the serious curtailment of civil liberties, nothing more is to be said or done by 'justice' or the state?

In answer we can do little more at present than quote Luciano Lanza, an editor of *A - rivista anarchica*, speaking at Valpreda's most recent press conference in Milan:-

'This is confirmation of the meaning of state justice, and the consequence of the heavy silence which has surrounded the appeal hearing. Centuries seem to have passed since, under pressure from public opinion, Valpreda had to be freed. The political, social and psychological climate has changed. Today's verdict is only apparently absurd.' Thus, the well-founded suspicion remains that the whole terrible and tragic business was fabricated specifically to repress the moves towards greater freedom in Italy, and the civil conflict which alone could give rise to it. G.

Although anarchists have been known to take part in this sort of wit-sharpening, first on one side, then on the other, no anarchists worth their salt could but see either way, propose or oppose, win or lose, the situation prescribed by the result means that the suckers, as usual, get taken for a ride.

It is a pity that the usual procedures for public debate allow of only two choices. It would be interesting to devise a three-dimensional, or four-dimensional form of debate (it could be at least as irritating as three-dimensional chess) and for a start I would like to add one more category of those I would rather be ruled (or, in my case, not ruled) by: to wit - a hypocrite. Add your own *bêtes noires* for fourth-dimensional or more, according to your fancy.

Of course, these categories are not mutually exclusive. A rogue can be a fool; a fool can be a rogue,

and a hypocrite can be either or both and so can the others. If you want to hunt down any of the species and see what cross-fertilisation can do, the House of Commons is as fertile territory as you are likely to find this side of the galaxy.

And one of the finest of the species turned up last week in the shape and form of Mr. Geoffrey Dickens, Tory MP for Huddersfield West, who clearly sees 'Private Eye' as the moral guardian of the country, existing purely to maintain proper rectitude in public places, houses and lavatories and only incidentally provide a tidy income for its owner, Mr Richard Ingrams, who has been fourth form prefect for so long that nobody ever expects him now to be anything else. Not even fifth form prefect.

Reading in Dickie Ingram's school mag that a certain ex-diplomat had been involved in the sort

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Is it all doom and gloom?

THE tragedy of the 'recession' is that as the cuts remove social workers, teachers, medical workers and so on, instead of a concomitant growth in self control, care and community- which is just what Anarchism is about, a sense of anomie and numbness sets in.

The State, having emotionally castrated most people by its 'welfare' system, then leaves them high and dry with all the wrong habits-addictive habits at that. Of course, the other side of the coin, is that the Anarchist movement has signally failed to fill the vacuum. Training in self-actuation, consciousness-raising about dependency on authoritarian States- and all the other aspects of autonomy and Mutual Aid have not diffused into society in any significant way. These remain within our tiny minority.

With unemployment over two million and said to be on the way to three, all those jobs once sported the necessary hardware and capital equipment, much of which could be turned to all sorts of socially useful projects and purposes. But the topsy turvy nonsense of Capitalism means all that can be dumped and the work pushed out to exploit very low cost third world labour. The few rich get richer and more powerful, but the docile unemployed workers and their soon to be unemployed colleagues take little or no direct action. All that factory space and machinery - and not directly taken over!

Yet tens of millions of pounds worth of oil revenue pours into the exchequer. The strong pound and these millions enable the State to decimate the working structure of peoples' lives. This could be a valuable thing if direct action had swept into prominence with the same rapidity as the engineered recession,

but timidity and apathy is often the only reaction.

Unfortunately the nations wealth is sufficient to maintain and actually expand the States executive, in its military and police control forms. Amazingly complex technology is also wedded to this purpose. (What a euphemism 'defence' is...) There is sufficient in the Treasury to earmark £20,000,000,000 for Nuclear Power stations, and we know why Breeder reactors are so keenly sought after. Each job in that field might be capitalised at £50,000 or more and it should be a fertile training ground for secrecy, surveillance and armed control.

Every strengthening or the power at the center is one more opening for psychopathic status and power seekers, who are selected preferentially by our competitive 'representation' system. Alex Comfort's thesis is still so relevant.

I would not think it wildly mismatched to reality in hoping that Libertarian groups and individuals might set up a study course on the history and principals of Libertarian thought in many Adult Education Centres. I have found a great interest- by CND people, peace groups, Ecology people and many others, in a course on radical ideas. Kropotkin, Libertarian Education, Colin Ward's work, the nature of the State etc. can all be covered - with readings, study, case histories and so on. Why not federate your ideas and action in such a programme via this paper?

KEN SMITH

From Tehran

I am sorry for being so late in writing. We had a minor problem here, the house was raided. I am just writing to say that everyone is fine and little seems to move this regime, despite all their stupidities and atrocities. I can only see the gradual and dangerous move towards the Soviet bloc. The communist 'Tudeh' party are increasingly dangerous. They are taking over or should I say have almost taken over the radio and T.V. Some elements in the government have 'Russian tendencies'. This party is working very close to the Falangist line. It is also interesting to know that Khianoori, the General Secretary of Tudeh, is Khomeini's relative. Of course it is the party line that is important.

The Mojehedin are taking Beheshti at the corner by publishing documents

against him. Bani-Sadr's conflict with the reactionaries seems to be just a farce. He is only a pressure valve.

After the hostage-taking, only a war could have assured the health of the state. And after the war...? I think we should be expecting something shortly before the end of the war. In this way they can agitate and mobilise the unconscious masses.

'B'

Tehran

Falangist - in this context reactionary and religious

Mojehedin - 'Islamic Marxists' - now underground.

Beheshti - Secretary of Islamic Republican Party.

WILDCAT

Reagan is right...



... when he says that now his lot is in power, the Ku Klux Klan members are mainstream government supporters.

April Fool.



REPORTS

Oxford Conference

OXFORD anarchists are organising a successor to last year's anarchist conference, and it will take place on a weekend around mid-June. At this stage they need suggestions on all aspects of organisation, format and topics for discussion. Particularly:

- (1) **FORMAT** - Balance between plenaries and workshops. The role of papers for discussion?
- (2) **TOPICS** - Suggestions for workshops - Industry, Violence, Women, Nuclear weapons, Energy, Education, Propaganda, the Recession, Prisons,
- (3) **SUGGESTIONS** about improvements on last year's conference - creche facilities, food, accommodation, etc.

Once Oxford anarchists have received such suggestions they will be able to liaise between groups who have common discussion interests.

Contact: 142 Walton Street, or phone Oxford 54388 (ask for Mike or James).

Co-ops come out

ABOUT 20 cooperatives and collectives, including the Bristol-based Drowned Rat anarchist bookstall, advertised themselves at the South West Co-ops Fair at Bristol's Corn Exchange on 7 February.

The event was organised by an ad hoc group of cooperators in Bristol and included speakers (the predictable Tony Benn, and others), videos, films, creche, theatre, food, exhibitions, stalls, discussions and an amazing evening social to finish. It was the first time that coops had 'come out' in public like this in Bristol and many useful contacts were made by a variety of groups and individuals. Established coops are now beginning to make more and more links with each other, both for interest's sake and to establish viable joint ventures or pressure groups. The public gobbled up a vast amount of basic literature on coops from the information stall.

With this interest the coop sector should continue to grow, but it should make sure that it can defend itself economically and politically when necessary. Proposals are circulating for a national organisation of housing coops with this in mind. Coops in the South West decided at the

fair to try and strengthen the links between them by setting up a quarterly regional newsletter. The contact address for this is: Dings House Oxford Street, Bristol 2 and the cost to subscribers is £2 per year. The small surplus earned by the fair will help to subsidise the first issue of this publication.

DAVE DANN

NB. The film 'La Cecilia' (about the anarchist commune in Brazil, c. 1890) was shown at the fair, and it is excellent.

ALF

TWO Animal Liberation Front activists have been ordered to pay a total of over £1100 by Hove magistrates. The two were caught by police while causing damage to fur shops in Hove. They have both played a very important part in the ALF campaign against the fur trade in Sussex. Local fur traders have lost a great deal of money and customers because of the campaign. A fund has been set up to raise money for the two activists. Please send any donations to:

Hove Defence Fund, 57 Totland Road, Brighton, E. Sussex.

Is het hier oorlog?

FOR several decades there has been in Nijmegen, a city in the east of Holland, the four-day marches. These marches came originally into being only for soldiers. To change the pure military character of the marches, it was decided that citizens could also join in. In 1980 about 18000 people took part, of which 40 per cent were soldiers from different NATO countries such as Great Britain, West Germany, the USA, Canada and Norway, as well as friendly nations like Switzerland.

Despite the fact that citizens now may also take part, the marches are mainly intended as a military show. This is admitted by the army leaders. Everything is done during the marches to make the army seem sympathetic and to disguise its actual functions.

Our action committee was set up in 1978 to expose this army glorification. A number of anti-militarists from Nijmegen are involved in the committee, which is supported by the most important anti-militarist organisations in Holland. The action committee tries to neutralise army propaganda during the marches by distributing information, organising demonstrations, etc.

Since 1979 there also exists the club "Is het hier oorlog?!" ("Is it war here?") By joining the marches, wearing T-shirts inscribed with the words "Is het hier oorlog?!" and by trying to discuss with other participants, we reveal the militarist character of the marches. In 1980

this anti-militarist club had about 20 members and called forth much comment from press and public.

Considering the number of foreign soldiers who take part, this year we are trying to internationalise our resistance to the marches. We have written to anti-militarist organisations in Belgium, West Germany, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Spain and other countries to ask them for cooperation, either by joining in themselves or supporting our activities in other ways. We should also welcome receiving ideas.

This year the marches are taking place from 21-24 July (40 km. each day). We want to complete our preparations by 1 May, so would ask you to respond as soon as possible.

Anti-militarist greetings!

Dity Kamminga, Marienburg 2, 6511 PR Nijmegen, Holland.

Remember Kronstadt

ON MARCH 17th 1921, the Red Army, led by Leon Trotsky, under orders from Lenin, massacred the insurgent revolutionary sailors of Kronstadt naval base.

The sailors, who Trotsky had previously called 'heroes of the revolution', were demanding free soviets and a revitalization of the Russian revolution. Mostly they were Bolsheviks. (Some would have you believe they were all anarchists. This is nothing more or less than wishful thinking.)

On March 17th 1981, Proletarian Offensive made a symbolic retaliation in London by attacking the offices of Aeroflot, the Soviet state airline. 'Remember Kronstadt' was painted on the building and windows were smashed. A communique explaining the action was left in the door.

This action was also a statement about the present as free soviets (workers' councils) are the organizational form with which the proletariat will destroy the Old World and create the new.

PROLETARIAN OFFENSIVE.

Haig?

ON April 9th Haig (who is he?) comes to London to have talks with 'our' great little leaders Thatcher and Carrington. It's a chance of a lifetime to show and let him hear and eventually feel (and indirectly his master coca-cola cowboy Reagan) how angry we are (are we not? or is our anger already buried under apathy) about the policies of Haig, Reagan, Thatcher and Co. There will be a demonstration, beforehand

some inspiring speeches, on the day at 1700 hrs. on April 9th. From Speakers Corner (Hyde Park) passing around the U.S. Embassy, through Oxford St., Regent St., Piccadilly Circus, Trafalgar Sq., Whitehall, Downing St. - we may sit down there, weather permitting, never mind the forces of law-and-disorder. Possibly, hopefully, an all day picket at the U.S. embassy and his hotel and a welcome committee at Heathrow if he comes that way. Remember how many people will be killed by U.S. policies if we do not show these lunatics called politicians that they better stop! Remember the tacit agreement of the possible coup in Spain? The encouragement of the Turkish takeover by the military? The 'curious' visit by S. African Intelligence Officers to the U.S.? The U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the approval of the S. Korean atrocities in Kwangsin and the support of the fascist juntas in South and Central America, in particular El Salvador. Add on top of these dirty things the plight of the American Indians, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and the Black people in the U.S.

Legal or illegal, I don't mind! Bring plenty of big banners and placards.

MICHAEL

KKK

CALVIN 'Tex' Reeves, KKK organiser in Georgia, US of A, has announced the disbanding of three chapters of the Invisible Empire Klan because 'there is no need for the Klan now the Reagan administration has taken over where we're going to leave off'. Reeves expects other groups to follow his lead. Can't say I mind!

German hunger strike

SINCE the beginning of February there have been around 160 prisoners on hunger strike in West Germany at Frankfurt, Pegnitzheim and other prisons. The prisoners are from RAF, June 2nd Movement and the 17 people who occupied the roof of the American embassy in Berlin in June last year in support of the previous RAF hunger strike which was for the same demands.

At the moment some of the prisoners, in particular Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Andreas Vogel and Gudrun Sturmer, are near to death, and are being fed intravenously against their will.

Their condition is a logical consequence of the conditions of total isolation in the high security tract.

Since the beginning of the hunger strike government activity has escalated on every level - a familiar reaction as is well known from 1977 when the Stammheim people were killed.

Shortly before the beginning of this hunger strike three people were imprisoned for holding a banner outlining the demands of the RAF prisoners' previous hunger strike. Now even publicizing RAF demands is a criminal offence!

They were tried at Stammheim high security court. At the trial a further two people were arrested for handing out support leaflets. Later 20 communes were raided and searched and twelve people arrested. Three of them are still being held on charges of advertising a terroristic organization. In all these the police justification for their action has been the first sentence for publicizing RAF demands.

Three days later every RAF prisoner's cell and all their lawyers' offices were searched. The official reason - to break a new information system they suspected had been set up!

At the same time as all this a press campaign has denounced all the support actions as well as the hunger strike. An ex-guerrilla, P. Book has given an interview in *Der Spiegel* denouncing the need to fight or resist the system. And Bommi Baumann has said in an interview with *Stern* how nice his conditions are: 'I am fine, the cells are as good as a hotel room in Afghanistan.'

This is aimed at the rising movement all over Germany amongst squatters and others discouraging resistance such as throwing stones at police and saying that RAF would just kill everyone anyway. It is clear that the aim of these actions is to discourage solidarity amongst those resisting.

During all this the Social Democratic Party has been showing its true face and recent support actions have included firebombing SDP offices and occupations of others. Also a first class train was stopped, the offices of *Der Spiegel* were occupied, molotovs were thrown at a prison and there have been demonstrations in Hamburg and Frankfurt.

Squatters interviewed by the media have insisted on talking about the hunger strike when asked about squatting.

The struggle continues...

DS, C and FRIEND.

A Classic Greywash

I am greatly heartened by Lord Diplock's new report. After ten months of investigating into letter-opening and telephone tapping, he assures us that the laid-down procedures are working well. Security agencies are not hampered by bureaucratic interference and their applications for warrants are naturally 'stated with accuracy and candour'. So there's no difficulty. Intelligence gathering by MI5 and the Special Branch is a 'sensitive' area, so they don't need warrants; a phone call will do.

It's nice to know that the procedures are ticking over well. Lord Diplock must be a busy man, but I wonder if I can ask a favour. If he can spare a bit more of his valuable time, could he have a glance at some other related areas. I'm not criticising his report, you understand. I recognise that it has achieved just what was intended. However, he must have some special qualifications. He has long experience of the judicial system. As a token of recognition of this he has some courts named after him. They are the ones which operate without juries in Northern Ireland. In addition to this experience, he must have made some useful contacts during his new investigation.

What I would like to know is: How much of this surveillance goes on? What kind of people does it survey? I can make a fair guess at this, as Lord Diplock tells us that MI5 taps are 'to gather intelligence about subversive terrorist and espionage activities which are capable of constituting a threat to the peace or safety of the realm.' There must be times when pressing need means that the tap is applied without the red tape. Statements from members of the Post Office Engineering would support this conjecture. So, how much of this is there? And what about the other agencies, which Lord Diplock didn't get round to. Like MI6, CGHQ (the famous 'Sigint') and the American National Security Agency, which runs a monitoring base in Yorkshire.

Lord Diplock is a public spirited person, and his report is extremely valuable. We now know that applications for warrants are made through channels for applications for warrants. I look forward to some further enlightenment from this experienced judicial mind.

D. P.

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A Small Step

Comrades

Nice to see the article from Ann which linked veganism/vegetarianism with anarchism, and prompted me to get off my arse and write a few words in support.

It sometimes amazes me when I see other 'anarchists' and 'revolutionary' SWP-ers etc. talking about oppression in between mouthfuls of steak/chicken pie - as though that particular commodity is somehow unrelated to other struggles, as though the content of the food is somehow unpolitical. The idea is that, come the Revolution, we'll supposedly be on one hand in peaceful harmony whilst on the other happily slaughtering thousands/millions of innocent animals, perpetuating the (unnecessary) 'kill-to-fill' principle.

When mentioning the fact that I didn't eat meat or fish to another 'anarchist' recently his reply was to simply categorise me as a hippy, and leave the topic at that.

Now I know that the majority of us are brought up as carnivores - and indeed it is in the interests of the food companies that we remain so - and before I became a vegetarian (excuse labels) I had stereotyped ideas of what 'they' were, but I now recognise that it doesn't mean necessarily having to take on a 'wierd' set of beliefs (i.e. mystical/occult bullshit).

I hope this letter doesn't come over as being arrogant, and I certainly don't want to be seen to take a 'more-revolutionary-than-thou' stance; it's just that as anarchism is concerned with the negation of power/oppression in all forms, this must include that involving the killing - and what's more, unnecessary killing - of other animals, and the general manner in

which they are treated, i.e. concentration camp 'battery farming'. (OK, even I drink milk, but hopefully at least my being a vegetarian is one small step).

Yours in solidarity

IAN

Proud 'extremist'

Dear Freedom,

Alan Albon (FREEDOM Feb 27) may well be right in saying that 'one often finds very congenial butchers - and uncongenial vegetarians', but this is irrelevant to any argument as to whether or not vegetarianism is a preferable way of life to fleasheating. There are some socialists and even the odd tory that I 'get on' better with than many of the anarchists I know. This doesn't mean that socialism and toryism are preferable philosophies to anarchism.

If there are any 'compassionate' gamekeepers then their compassion has very narrow limits. To kill one sort of animal (many different sorts in fact) so that another may live long enough to be blasted out of the sky is a very dubious virtue. There are indeed 'gamekeepers whose knowledge of wildlife is phenomenal' - this is neither here nor there. No doubt many Auschwitz guards had a phenomenal knowledge of the Jews.

Very few vegetarians agree with the idea of 'fields and fields of corn supported by artificial fertilizers and pesticides'. Most of us want a radical change in agriculture with smaller fields, crop rotation, nat-

ural methods of pest control and the use of organic fertilizer. If animal manure is needed in addition to compost, there is no reason why human animals cannot provide it.

Stopping Red Indians and Eskimos from killing and eating a few wild animals is not a priority for the animal liberation movement. It is better to attack the large areas of technological cruelty, such as vivisection and factory farming, first. From an ethical viewpoint, however, it can be argued that native peoples should eventually be persuaded to give up fleasheating. It is true that killing and eating certain animals is part of these peoples' cultures. It is also true that the cultures of many tribes involve the oppression and exploitation of their womenfolk. Would the Womens Liberation Movement be content that this situation should continue for ever?

It is probably correct to say that the British are slightly more compassionate to animals, on the whole, than people of most other nations. To say that the British care more about animals than children is, however, quite ridiculous. Of course our society leaves a lot to be desired in its treatment of children, but I haven't heard lately of any being vivisected, hunted for sport or killed for the dinner table!

The fact that the cities are full of cats and dogs is another example of human mistreatment of animals. Had these creatures not been subjugated in the first place and had

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of goings-on which are current in a lot of fourth forms, Mr Dickens, trying no doubt to rise to the stature of his Victorian-reforming-novelist-namesake, decided to get his name in the headlines by naming the ex-security risk as a security risk.

And not only that. Mr Dickens wanted to know why the ex-diplomat had not been prosecuted when his name had come up in the trial of Tom O'Carroll, of the Paedophile Information Exchange, O'Carroll had survived a trial in January and had got off, by the jury failing to reach a verdict on him (while acquitting another defendant) and the state had had another go at him, successfully this time, for he got two years imprisonment. For corrupting public morals.

Another charge, of conspiring to publish advertisements allowing readers of the contact sheet he circulated to exchange porno-

graphic literature involving children, was discharged by the court.

Yet, in fact, the 'conspiracy' and the circulation of the information ('contact') sheet, was all that had actually been proved in court, since as in practically every other 'corruption' case, no evidence was brought to show that anybody was corrupted. The fact was that the conspiracy charge was the one they wanted to get him on, and so it worked out.

It's a pity that the silly chap had not just corresponded with himself, too, for there can be little doubt that the social and political status of some of his contacts had helped to draw attention to him. The snob-appeal of an ex-diplomat on the list obviously got the mighty presses of Pressgram, publishers of Private Eye turning on to the case, whereas one of humbler origins, like O'Carroll, himself might not have engaged their lofty attention.

He almost certainly would not have engaged the attention of the indignant

Mr Dickens, either, who used his parliamentary privilege (remember that?) to utter the name of the paedophilic ex-diplomat, attracting the attention of the nation's presshounds right on to himself - and then, being overcome with his own rectitude, blurted out that he, too, had a skeleton in his cupboard: he had left his wife and was living with another woman! How corrupt (and in this case, unsophisticated) can you get!

This idiot announced this to a press meeting on the other matter - and told the pressmen not to say anything, as he hadn't yet told his wife!

We can only conjecture, of course, on what dreadful guilt feelings had prompted his actions - as we can only ever conjecture on what motivates any moral crusading. (What makes Mary Whitehouse run?). What emerged without doubt is that Mr Dickens came out of this ludicrous affair as a fool, and a rogue, and a hypocrite.

Wow! All three of our categories undesirable to be ruled by!

PHILIP SANSOM

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they just been treated as friends rather than 'domesticated' the problem would never have arisen. The problem exists now and the only solution is one which is the lesser of two evils - to give good homes to these animals and to neuter them so that they do not breed more of their kind.

Some animals do eat other animals, but this has no bearing on whether or not people should be fleasheaters. Unlike animals most human beings have the power of reason. We are capable of deciding whether to kill and eat animals or not. There is little doubt that it is possible for people to live without exploiting other sentient creatures for food. If we have a choice between living by killing other animals or living without killing them it seems only right that we should choose the latter.

Anarchism is frequently considered to be 'extremism' by those who agree with the power of the state. Animal liberationists are considered to be 'extreme' in a world where the dominant species has for so long ruthlessly subjugated all the others. I, for one, am proud to be called an 'extremist'.

RONNIE LEE

Bricks

Dear FREEDOM, I would like to make a few points in reply to Chris Tame's letter last issue. I have been into the Alternative Bookshop on a number of occasions and had a number of short discussions about Libertarian Alliance. I have been told such wonderfully astute things as 'nuclear wastes are no more dangerous than coal wastes' and 'no monopoly was ever created by capitalism without interference from the state'. This would be enough for me to agree with FREEDOM's layout artist that 'free market shits' is indeed a lenient phrase to describe their politics.

Added to this there is the fact that for all their anarchist posings they call the State police when they catch shoplifters in their shop. It wouldn't be so bad them believing in property (come to think of it, yes it is) but the hypocritical shits (no apology) should be prepared to defend it themselves.

So one night I happened to be in Covent Garden and I happened to need a piss and through their letterbox seemed as good a place as any. Through their window seemed to be as good a place as any for the brick I found a few yards away. My

note said 'Anarchy not capitalism' mainly in reference to the disgusting Milton Friedman books they sell. I am not and never have been a socialist. As for being an 'ideological comrade' of FREEDOM, I personally don't believe in ideologies - I stopped calling myself an anarchist when I realized that anarchism was one. As for the brick - if I feel like doing it again I will until there are no free market shits and no ideologies.

ANONANIST

Baumann

Dear FREEDOM,

In the article on Bommi Baumann (13.3.81 FREEDOM) a few points are raised that need answering.

D.S. uses the straight press 'Baader-Meinhof RAF'. The RAF does not consist of followers of Andreas Baader or Ulrike Meinhof - to claim so is to degrade the people who fought with them in and out of prison, some who have been murdered in prison, on the streets and in action. To go into the claim of separatist methods would take up too much space, enough to say where's the proof? As for the 2.6 Movement and the RAF being in no way connected D.S. has perverted the truth, last year a statement was issued by the 2.6 Movement announcing their dissolution and the joining of forces with the RAF. Further 2.6 Movement and RAF prisoners have over past years fought consistently together to better the conditions - for the latest example see the same FREEDOM. This is not to say there were/are no disagreements, but it is closer to the truth than D.S.'s frantic attempts to somehow denounce, in a bourgeois fashion, the RAF whilst not actually denouncing the 2.6 Movement but justifying Baumann's leaving the group.

Contrary to D.S.'s assumption Baumann did leave Britain voluntarily; he has stated this in an interview with the magazine 'Stern'. His reason is that he wanted to be able to speak German whilst in prison; I suspect the real reason is that following past examples he knows he will soon be free as long as he did in his book and especially in his recent interview. Going by his book I am glad that such a person as him left the 2.6 Movement, in the forefront was his outright sexism, his lack of critical approach to that alone makes him suspect.

His timely arrest (despite the Fleet St. crap of 'master of disguise' seen in FREEDOM) will enable the West German State to use him as a 'liberal' propaganda exercise, whilst refusing to meet the hunger-strikers' just demands. Guess which one will get publicity.

D.S. there is no need 'to keep a lookout over your shoulder', whilst people like you so uncritically accept someone just because they happened to have fought in an urban guerilla movement, and regurgitate bourgeois concepts of the urban guerilla struggle, the pigs only have to laugh - looking at yourself would be more constructive.

J.R.

(see page 5, German Hunger Strike)

Free Market Shits

FREEDOM,

A few words in reply to Chris R. Tame of the 'Libertarian' Alliance.

It was I and not FREEDOM who compiled the quotations and therefore it is I and not FREEDOM who is responsible for calling you 'free market shits'.

On reflection I think the use of the word 'shits' was unnecessary as the term 'free market' is obviously enough to condemn you by itself. If anyone seeks its monument just look around you. And he has the nerve to call someone 'inhumane'!

If you lot at the 'Libertarian' Alliance had so much as a hint of radical subjectivity in your individualist approach I might, just might, then be a shade sympathetic, but as it stands I mark you unalterably as willing reproducers of the present misery and, as such, as enemies.

Finally, I'd like to ask the FREEDOM collective why you have anything to do with such people as these? Why give over almost a whole column to a letter from one of them? (Which has meant taking up more space with replies such as this.) Those of us who fight class society are given so little social space anywhere (and have to fight to get what we have) that giving such space to obvious perpetrators of class society is seriously questionable. They have their own resources so I 'humbly' suggest that, in future, you treat all their correspondence etc. with the contempt it deserves.

Yours for a classless, stateless, communist society,

HERBERT READER.

Dilemma

Dear Freedom,

In reply to Adrian James' letter (13 March 1981) I would like to say that I share, to some extent, his dilemma. Though an anarchist, I am also involved with such organisations as the Peace Pledge Union, Action Aid and similar pressure groups which advocate positive liaison with companies and MP's to forward their aims.

No doubt there are many other anarchists in a similar position since, by the very nature of our beliefs in the rights of the individual to freedom, well-being and happiness, we are likely to be attracted to those specialist organisations which work towards any or all of those ends. As Adrian James points out, there may appear to be a contradiction in our support for such groups whose most effective gains are often achieved through the aid of the state machinery or big business, when we maintain that these are, in themselves, the very causes of the problems we are fighting.

Nevertheless, I think we must recognise that, in certain areas

eg. arms deals, political prisoners, there are at present very few alternative means of securing effective action. Private individuals and even pressure groups can do little or nothing except through 'official channels'.

In the ideal world, the State and capitalism will be no more and, with their demise, the oppression of individuals and whole communities through famine, tyranny and war, will disappear too. However, until that new era dawns, I believe we must use the practical means available to us to aid those in need and to combat oppressive and militarist policies; providing of course that those means do not in themselves involve causing suffering to others.

I do not think that in accepting the temporary assistance of MP's or company directors in such cases need necessarily imply that either state or capitalism is 'good' in itself or that we even partially approve of their essential nature. Given the political structure of the world today, I think that 'isolation and ineffectiveness' would be the inevitable result of too fastidious an attitude towards associating with the agents of government and industry; after all, if we are going to deny the legitimacy of accepting

state aid to assist others, are we also going to refuse all government derived 'benefits' eg. education grants, family allowances, unemployment benefits etc.?

Surely our fundamental concern is for the happiness and well-being of the individual and we cannot postpone that to some nebulous future in order that we can, with a clear conscience, say we achieved our aims without recourse to any form of State assistance.

What we can and must do is to continue to act whenever and wherever possible to encourage others to see that, in the long run, the only solution to many of the world's problems lies in the abolition of State and Capitalism. As our numbers grow, we may then be able to exert more pressure outside the 'official channels'. The fact that there are so many radical pressure groups now around the world shows that there is an increasing awareness of the shortcomings of present political parties - if this discontent can be channelled towards a recognition of the true nature and rewards of an anarchist society perhaps our dream of effective action by individuals for individuals will not be too far away.

love and solidarity,

PENELOPE CLARKE

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

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hello folks here is the news folks from now on folks there will be a new style contacts page folks no more folks will you see your name in print every other issue folks for from this day forward only new listings folks and alterations folks will be printed every issue folks and a complete listing will appear folks when we feel like it folks or when there's room folks or about every three or four issues folks so let us know if you move or disband or form folks so all those wonderful anarchist folks and punx and skins and hippies (why do you think i carried that joke on so long kids?) can know who, what and where you are mate.

Meetings

Tayside libertarian socialists
public meeting 7pm Thursday 23rd
April Wellgate library conference
room. Theme : NO WORK....

Groups

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Will the real Mussolini....



YEARS ago, writing in Peace News, reporting on the 1959 Labour Conference, I described Shirley Williams as a neo-Tory, (a description which rather annoyed her mother, then the chairman of the Peace News Board, at the time, though Vera Brittain later repeated the description of her daughter). Looking back I can see the description was wrong, inexcusably wrong, 'neo-Tory' nowhere near does justice to the dangers of the lady's views.

The editors of FREEDOM rightly look askance at the promiscuous use of the term fascist to describe our political enemies; it is a term too frequently degraded into a mere term of abuse and deprived of scientific meaning, thrown around by stalinists and their ilk it ceases to mean anything. It will therefore be thought shocking to say that I believe the CSD to be fascist, indeed I believe it to be the first authentic fascist party that Britain has ever had, not excluding Mosley's BUF; and I hope below to prove this.

I may add that I write this fully cognizant that one of the signatories of the CSD advert has frequently had letters published in FREEDOM, and if memory serves me aright one article.

Gramsci defined fascism as the 'authoritarianism of the centre', and elaborated that when there is a political stalemate, the workers are powerful enough to be able to put their parties into power, but not conscious enough to rid themselves of leaders who will betray them, so no advance is made to socialism - then the Right gains power, but because of the economic realities of the society cannot institute the changes that Conservative forces would wish - and so there is a constant swing backwards and forwards, with the Right growing increasingly paranoid about the supposed revolutionary threat from the workers' parties; then a desire for social peace, an end to the class war, arises amongst large sections of the populace.

A centre force arises, determined to impose a class and social peace. Mobilizing against the supposed extremists on both sides it rallies 'moderate' opinion. It is a centre force that can only succeed if it first has large scale support amongst social milieux which have nothing to gain from unbridled capitalism, and indeed has seen or even experienced the dangers thereof; if it can mobilize significant numbers of of proletarian or at least plebian demonstrators ready to have a physical confrontation with the workers' organizations; and if it can count on a significant number of idealistic and self-sacrificing militants who genuinely believe that the workers' parties are misled by authoritarian extremists, agitating

solely for their own gain, people who can be totally blind to the fact that those same workers' parties, whatever they may have promised, have in fact made no advance to socialism when they have had the opportunity.

It will be objected that Bordiga disagreed with Gramsci. That he showed that the fascist parties did not recruit their leading cadres from the centre. That in fact most of their most notable leaders and militants had formerly been members of either extreme Left or extreme Right parties; before they turned to fascism. The objection is well made and must be seriously considered. However it does not alter the fact that the bulk of the mass fascist movements were of the centre described by Gramsci. The ex-members of the extreme parties formed the idealistic element whose presence he insisted was a necessity.

It will be objected too that as yet Shirley Williams has virtually no mass plebian - still less proletarian - following, and that, unless one counts Sue Slipman, she has not recruited any former members of extreme Left or Right parties. That fortunately is so, and while it remains so the CSD is as yet no danger. I fear there is however a reservoir waiting for her use. However I run ahead of the argument and must return to the reservoir.

Let us take the crucial points first. Is the aim of CSD to impose social peace against two alleged extremes? I do not think this point needs expanding, the very repetition of the interminable claims to represent moderate opinion gives the answer. (How long ago is it that the extreme right wing party in the French Parliament was called 'Les Modérés'? - a party which opposed the Gaullists from the right.)

Is the CSD notable for the authoritarianism of its members?

Some people may recall the Draconian legislation against all Irish residents in Britain, introduced to weed out a handful of terrorists.

Some people may recall the various racist immigration acts introduced by Labour.

The architects of these were preeminently the leading members of CSD.

However one need not rest one's case there in view of the fact that CSD members are now screaming so loudly about the authoritarianism of the Left in demanding that M. P. s and the party leader should be elected by those who are expected to be ready to slog their guts out to ensure their continued receipt of over-stuffed wage packets; in view of the suggestions that because they have been outvoted on the NEC and in conference this is a dictatorial usage of power.

It is well to remember that when in 1959 Reg Groves and some other Labour Parliamentary candidates dared to take the socialist professions of their party seriously and say that their aim in the election was to convert people to socialism not to put Gaitskell in power and that therefore, standing in hopeless constituencies, they needed more not less canvassers than candidates in marginal constituencies, Reg was sacked in mid-election to vocal applause from present CSD members.

It is well to remember that when in the early Sixties the Labour Conference voted for quasi-unilateralist motions, the Campaign for SD, the earlier incarnation of the present Council, fought for and won, up and down the country, the expulsion of constituency party members for supporting the official party line; even the most besotted Media propagandists for the CSD make no bones about the fact that the rules of normal political debate, of the party constitution, of decent behaviour, were set at naught in that 'very necessary' campaign.

It is well to remember that when Gaitskell in result was able to reverse the party conference policy, yet more Labour Party activists - including Shirley Williams's aforementioned mother - were forced by the slanders of CSD activists to resign.

However that might be a temporary aberration, but since - by the admission for instance of the writer of a rave biographical essay of William Rodgers in the *Grauniad* the other day - it is admitted by CSD admirers that part of that 1960 campaign was a deliberately false smear campaign against the Left, and since ridiculous allegations about Leftists now appear every day in the Press, emanating from CSD supporters, it is reasonable to suggest that it is their constant behaviour. The CSD repeatedly alleges it has been witch-hunted, though it is hard to imagine that any leftish group could get away with comparable behaviour, even from the present NEC; in fact it has been remarkably mildly treated; the cry persecution was if you remember never far from Hitler's mouth.

This might all be considered a slanted case if it wasn't for the fact that even the best of the CSD signatories indulges in smear techniques, presumably well aware of his acts. I speak of course of FREEDOM's correspondent, David Marquand, who, from the fact that he writes to FREEDOM, presumably has pretensions to be a Libertarian. Some time ago he said in FREEDOM's columns that he first became interested in the plight of dissidents in Russia when he saw a picket at the Soviet Embassy. He was at the time guiding Bukovski round this country, was present several times when Bukovski alleged that the British Left had done nothing about Soviet dissidents, and himself repeated the allegation. He saw one of a series of demonstrations at the Soviet Embassy on the issue, two of which involved police arrests of demonstrators, one inside the embassy; most of the demos were small, one was very large. The common factor of the various demonstrations is that all of them were planned and manned by groups of the Left (most of the demos by the Libertarian and civil disobedient Left, but one by the wider Left including VSC (Vietnam Solidarity) and even the YCL.) Moreover your CSD correspondent repeated the allegation after his factual error had been drawn to his attention.

The Post-Corporate State

Fundamental to fascism is the fact that it represents efficient capitalism against inefficient; that it is prepared to force capital into less profitable but more necessary infrastructure and long term investment, when the capital would prefer to divert into short term but less essential profitable ventures; fascism is not, pace the stalinists, merely unbridled capital-

ism grown more overtly brutal. The owners of more than half of Germany's capital (and not just the Jews) died in the gas chambers. Capitalism as an institution was intent on surviving, and remodelling itself so as to survive, if necessary at the expense of the lives of many individual capitalists, indeed most individual capitalists.

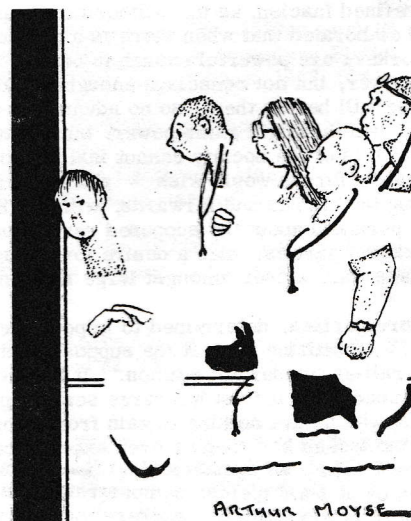
Totally alien to the fundamentals of fascism is the 'asset-stripping on a government level', the quintessential incarnation of the 'get rich quick' traditional capitalist ethic, which forms the ideological basis for the present government. Fascist worship of the strong state is just one aspect of the fact that fascism stands for a form of collectivist capitalism; (collective obviously of the capitalist class as an whole, no doubt with weighted power to the upper echelons when power is taken, but in the formative days considerable care is taken to integrate the lesser capitalists into the decision making structures;) and fascism depends on a readiness to discipline capitalists for their own good.

Traditionally this *dirig iste* element of fascism has manifested itself in the corporate state, and it will be objected that Professor Meade (the CSD's economic adviser) is on record against the corporate state and that indeed 'Corporatism' is a favourite swear-word of Shirley Williams's, frequently - not always unjustly - applied to the Labour Party's policies. (Remember Huey Long - 'When fascism comes to America we'll call it anti-fascism'.) Let us look therefore at the facts of this disclaimer.

The CSD's prime ideological stance is its commitment to the EEC and it is precisely the most objectionable factor in this that they most laud, the large Brussels bureaucracy over which the so-called EEC parliamentarians have even less control than has the Dung House over Whitehall. The ability of this bureaucracy to direct capital investment where it feels, regardless of the wishes of any national or local elected body.

A basic factor of all fascisms is the need for an external enemy, a collective feeling of paranoia, which is the apparent *raison d'etre* for the national reorganization. The EEC similarly has grown out of the collective fear of Communist expansion. (The fact that there is just enough reality to the threat, just enough demonstrable tyranny in stalinist countries, gives verisimilitude to the neo-fascist myth, and makes it the more dangerous.)

However besides the EEC superstructure there are other corporatist elements in the EEC.. It is well known, but not so well emphasized, so that there is insufficient understanding of the implications, that in the former fascist countries, Italy, Germany, Spain, the Labour Code and much of the economic legislation remains unchanged from fascist days. (It is a fact that has been of course misused in argument all too often by the stalinists, and this is in large part the reason that the truths beneath it are not clear; the persistence of fascist



DOCTOR ! I CAN'T FIND MY MIDDLE GROUND !

introduced laws and organizations does not of itself prove the persistence of a complete fascist system - if it did the stalinists in Eastern Europe would need to do more explaining than would the German and Italian 'Democrats'; it does however provide a favourable infra-structure for the later reimposition of fascism and it means that there is obviously no need to enact those particular laws.)

Nowadays the extension of the Labour Code to other countries is just called 'bringing us into line with our Common Market partners'.

France had with De Gaulle no less than three risings of the centre. The Liberation Government coalition was a wide centre and only excluded the former fascists and the honest socialists (the stalinists like the SFIO Right were in the Coalition until '46.) The 1959 Return of De Gaulle, which overthrew the elected Government (a popular front of the Radicals, SFIO, Mitterand's UDSR and the Nouvelle Gauche (PUGS/PSU) was as much aimed against the *Algerie Française* and the 'Modéré' extreme right. Then finally his coup that broke the '68 movement of the Left, was also, at least in theory, aimed at the 'immobilisme' of the establishment - an establishment that was by that time exclusively Gaullist, but which may well have represented the more lethargic and less efficient conservative wing of Gaullism.

Thus, whereas in the Thirties fascist economic and social realignment was only possible if the fascist party had a mass following able to supplement the state's normal powers of enforcement, now the infrastructure pre-exists. Creeping fascism, a phrase much used by Stalinists before the war and McCarthyites after it, then an absolute impossibility, is now possible and signs of it in EEC activities are frequently visible. (No doubt the Little Englandism of many of the EEC opponents equally contained the seeds of incipient fascism.)

However, like everything else, even fascism develops; the Corporate State was (however obnoxious) a viable economic perspective in a day when economic enterprises were usually confined within a single country, where the multinational company was not only very much an exception, but was, where it existed, an agency of imperial power of its home metropolitan country. Multinational corporations have in the interim grown to become the norm of really big business; and grown to develop their corporate self-interest to the point that they no longer have even nominal loyalty to any particular country.

Capitalist businesses have of course always put their own interests first, loyalty to a national entity has never prevented them pursuing a fast buck; but nevertheless in the past they have felt constrained to pretend to consider the public good. Indeed it has been traditional for businesses to spew forth sometimes jingoistic, sometimes maudlin, ultra patriotic verbiage, even when lending aid and comfort to their country's enemies; (as in World War II when ICI was - through intermediaries - sending I G Farben chemicals knowing they were to be used in bombs on Britain.) No doubt some small businesses still so behave - cf for instance the various campaigns for us to 'buy British'; but for the leading multi-nationals such nationalistic talk would bring difficulties, would lose customers in this or that country.

The loyalty of the Big Business multinational combine is to the Big Business multinational combine; economic analyses (notably Maoist) that see everything in terms of economic imperialism; capitalist business is evil because it is capitalist business, not because some prominent managers or share holders may be citizens of this or that imperialist country - they are unlikely to be so self-sacrificingly patriotic that they will put the needs of their country before the needs of their company and its profits. They may well be prepared to finance military adventures by their nation's more slavish puppets; but only where and because their nation's policies reflect their own selfish interests, not vice versa. (Lonhro, for instance, knowing which side its bread was buttered, not merely refused to aid attempts to subvert and by-pass Black African nations' struggles against South African and Rhodesian trade, by Britain; but informed the African states that the attempts were being made. 'Unacceptable face of capitalism' though it was the firm wasn't going to risk alienating its best customers merely for the sake of its home nation.)

The Post-Corporate state form of fascism is designed to accommodate the needs of small multi-nationals. Naturally this faces the fascist with several problems; much of the

nationalistic stance and demagoguery has to be sacrificed to the needs of the Post-Corporate state forms of collectivising capitalism. Indeed how much is yet, fortunately, still unclear; it would be sanguine in the extreme to assume that it will so remain without a lot of effort to prevent it.

Leaders and led.

It will be objected that the CSD as yet has no single *fuehrer*, that its leadership is collective, no adulation of an all wise leader. Yet think about the very basis of its objection to the changes in the structure of the Labour Party. Objection to the right of re-selection of M. P. s. They are frequently to be heard interviewed on the Radio saying that changes will destroy the very basis of democracy, since they will reduce M. P. s to mere delegates from their constituencies, leaving them no powers of decision.

One may perhaps be forgiven for assuming that the readers of FREEDOM will not be tut-tutting and holding their hands high in horror at the idea of M. P. s who are only delegates; but the CSD assumes that all reasonable men agree with Burke to the effect that,

electors are privileged to have M. P. s to think on their behalf and that the M. P. ill-serves his electors if he does not hold to his own judgement rather than their wishes on any vote.

(I forget the exact quote)

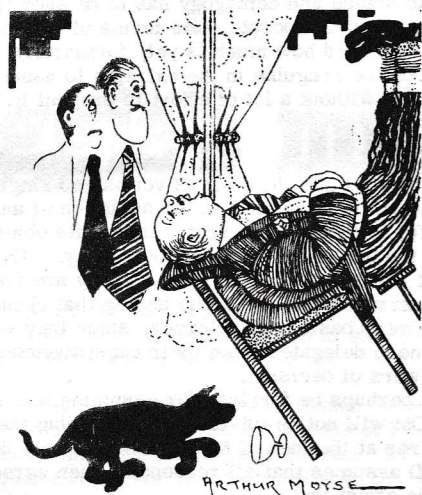
There is little difference in the contempt for the opinions of ordinary people shown by Burke, (especially remembering how limited the franchise was at the time, and that Burke was a vehement opponent of any extension of the suffrage, so that the electors whose views were to count for so little were themselves supposedly the elite minority of the population,) and that inherent in fascism. (Leninism, which displays a pretty thorough-going contempt, nevertheless only approaches this level of elitism in its stalinist deformations.)

Think again of the objections to the revised processes for choosing the Labour Party leaders; the job again was to be confined to the charmed circle of the M. P. s, only when change was inevitable did the CSD spokesmen, remembering that referenda are easier to manipulate than meetings, that anything is - by their standards - better than face to face democracy, suddenly started mouthing slogans about one member one vote. However they then added that Members of Parliament must have a majority in any electoral college, which puts a slightly odd interpretation on what is meant by 'one member one vote'.

Leadership then, by the CSD prescription, is to come from a Leader elected by a small coterie of M. P. s, themselves not subject to re-selection or any such checks by their rank and file; (no doubt they will - at least for a few years while it remains convenient, i.e. until they are in office - object that the M. P. is subject to the normal processes of election; however in that they have evolved this position within the Labour Party over many years, when for the ordinary rank and file Labour canvasser the alternative to working for a quasi-Tory was to allow the real Tory to be elected, the plea is unconvincing.)

Remembering that even Mussolini's fascist party had a Grand Council; and remembering that we are at a very early stage of the CSD's emergence, the lack of the trimmings of the fascist leadership cult, at this stage, is not important. What is important is, is there inherent in the attitudes of CSD the potential of such a cult and are those who rally to CSD the sort of people who are likely to be prepared to subordinate their own critical faculties to the needs of the party?

The support that CSD seems to be getting appears to be a totally uncritical crediting of the (as now, collective) leadership with infallibility, so that support is coming from people whose very life-style conflicts with every single aspect of the CSD leadership's political past and present position, such mental self-abnegation is alarming; obviously only in a few instances will it mature into the sort of unquestioning obedience that a fascist movement imposes on its cadres, but when, as has happened to me twice in the last week, people whose commitment to opposing inequality has been manifested in their own lives as has been - on issues not overtly political - their independence of thought, have talked to me in reverential tones about the new moderate party, assuming because



.....Great! now we've got an active Tory!

they have long seen that all politicians are corrupt these are less so merely because they have stood aside from all normal political battles; then one must fear that the overkill Media advocacy of the new group has succeeded in brain-washing quite unlikely dupes.

The first case, a couple whom I've known slightly for some time, but who came over for the first time with their baby for an evening during the half term; he has the reputation of being the one Children's Officer in East Salop. who really cares about the sufferings of deprived kids, who is prepared to stick his neck out in defence of inadequate parents; they are back to the landers and she rears goats at their cottage by woods between the Wrekin and the Severn; and in other ways their life-style is indicative of the values of what in the Sixties was called the Alternative Society - indeed their back to the landism is of an heroic mould since they took part in the Iron Age village experiment a couple of years back. One would have thought they were instinctive Tolstoians/Thoreauists.

The second case, one of the more politically minded FoE activists, one had assumed Left Labour since he is unilateralist and an articulate exponent of the ills of Thatcherism, whose life-style is again individualist in terms of refusing to conform, tailored to avoid exploiting others and to limit the inevitable compromises with the state and system that all of us have to make to the bare minimum.

If CSD can recruit these, who ought surely to be in our ranks, (oh I know that Shirley Williams since losing her seat has been making approaches to FoE and 'small is beautiful' sounds; did anyone hear her so do in office? does anyone know of any measure she took in office to halt the untrammelled power of business firms to endanger the environment? does anyone know of any reservations she ever expressed in office about the right of business to operate without restrictions on their effects on the countryside? does noone recall her stage whisper to her mother at a meeting in 1961 when Vera had talked of pollution - was it quoting the Silent Spring? - 'that pollution stuff is all pacifist claptrap'), if CSD can recruit these then how much more can it take the general run of the ecology lobby?

I have had reason - as an FoE member - in the past to voice reservations about elements in FoE, let alone some other sectors of the environmentalist movement. One has only to think of the 'Blueprint for Survival' call to halt all immigration and suggestion that immigration is a form of pollution; of the viciously right wing views of the editor of the *Ecologist* magazine; of the para-military uniform and military style banner which an Ecology party member brought to the whales demo; of the racist attacks on the Japanese and the vicious anti-Russianism also manifested on the whales demo; of the

'Survival Party's banner with what looked like a Mosley symbol on its side and a policy statement to match that appeared on an anti-nuclear rally; of the anti-nuclear speakers who seemed unaware that sending men into the bowels of the earth to mine coal also imperils lives and health; of the former Defence Minister wheeled out to speak on the theme 'whales have a right to live', (who presumably didn't extend the same right to men;) of the acceptance by the crowd of his assurance that the armed forces are all admirable because they have given up using whale oil to polish their boots, and are even trying to find a substitute for it for lubricating tanks; of the consequent cheers when immediately thereafter three military planes flew across, (they'd had some sort of tattoo over the Palace,) ecologists cheering the planes, regardless of the fumes they were spewing out, regardless of the unnecessary use of fossil fuels in showing off their flying abilities.

There is plenty in the public face of the ecology movement to give anarchist sympathisers pause for thought; and most anarchists active within FoE will have had other reasons for misgivings about their fellow FoEs. If some of the best FoE members, people whose lifestyle, expressed opinions, and normal activity suggest that but for the word they are instinctive anarchists, are ready to turn in adulation to CSD, one can be assured that there will be many others; that moreover there will be some who will take into CSD the element of open racism that has as yet been missing. ('open', as distinct from pushing through the Immigration Act.) Nor by a long chance is the environmental movement the only such reservoir of potential idealistic support: to name but two there are sections of the nationalist movements that could go that way, and now that China having moved permanently into the Western Camp is nevertheless being spurned by Reagan, how many sometime Maoists - who yesteryear were telling anarchists and others that we are agents of the CIA - are there with no present political moorings looking desperately for a new home? (Preferably not in any of the organisations they denounced as fascist in the sixties.)

(The reservoir is there alright, though for CSD to mature as fascist it must also recruit some of the unthinking thugs now supporting the British Movement. The time to worry seriously will come when CSD begins to boast showing photos of former BM youth working harmoniously with former ANL activists (or perhaps present ones) saying 'working together in unison for moderation.' Then, *mefiez-vous*.

L. O.

PART 2 OF THIS ARTICLE WILL APPEAR IN THE NEXT REVIEW SECTION.

SOME BOOKS RECEIVED

The General Strike of 1926: The Economic, Political and Social Causes, R.A. Florey, John Calder (Publishers) Ltd, hardcover, £11.95.

Anarchism and Marxism, Daniel Guerin, Cienfuegos Press Ltd (pamphlet).

Anarchy, J.R. White, Cienfuegos Press Ltd (pamphlet)

The first Mayday: the Haymarket speeches 1895-1910, Voltaire de Cleyre, (introduction, notes and bibliography by Paul Avrich), Cienfuegos Press Ltd (available from Freedom Bookshop, £1.50 + 19p. post)

The Christie File, Stuart Christie, Cienfuegos Press Ltd, (available from Freedom Bookshop, £5.95 (approx) + 87p post)

In and Against the State, London Edinburgh Weekend Return Group (new expanded edition), Pluto Press, £2.95.

Eco-Socialism in a Nutshell, SERA booklet. Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 50p. (illustrated) (Recycled from *Nuclear Power for Beginners*)

Dialogue with an archist prampusher

ASK a self-confessed archist if she ought to obey the law.

'Yes, of course. Everybody ought to obey the law.'

'What? In all circumstances, and whatever the law might say?'

'I think so, yes. Otherwise there'd be chaos.'

'I notice you always push your pram on the pavement. Do you realize that's illegal? According to UK law, prams should be pushed in the road, like ice-cream barrows and dust-carts.'

'But that's outrageous! Think of the danger to my baby!'

'Nevertheless, that's what the law strictly says. Why don't you comply with it?'

'Look here, if the law tells me to do something stupid, I just won't do it, and neither will any one else. How many women push their prams in the road? The fact is that people use their own intelligence in matters of that kind, whatever the strict letter of the law may be; and it's perfectly right and proper that they should.'

'I see. So you don't, after all, believe that everybody ought to obey the law in all circumstances whatever the law might say?'

'No, I suppose I don't. So what?'

'Well, when do you think people should obey the law?'

'They should obey the law all the time, except when their own intelligence tells them not to.'

'Do you mean to say that people should be free to disobey the law whenever they consider that the law is unintelligent?'

'Apparently that's what I'm saying, yes.'

'But in that case nobody would have to obey the law: if ever you wanted to break a particular law, you could simply say that the law was unintelligent. Are you suggesting that obedience to the law should be voluntary?'

'No, of course I'm not. The law must be enforced.'

'So even stupid laws must be enforced - like the one concerning prams?'

'Stupid laws can't be enforced, because people wouldn't stand for it. Just try and force women to push their prams in the road, and you'd soon see what would happen: there'd be such an outcry as you'd never heard in your life. Anyway, the police would never try to enforce such a law: they're not that daft.'

'Are you saying that the law should always be enforced, except when public opinion regards the law as stupid?'

'Yes, I suppose I am.'

'And everybody ought to obey the law, as long as public opinion agrees with it?'

'That seems fair enough.'

'But suppose public opinion agreed with the law that prams should be pushed in the road: would you obey?'

'Look, public opinion would never agree with such a law, not in a million years.'

'But what would you do if it did?'

'I'm a busy housewife with a family to look after. I don't have time to worry about things that aren't going to happen in a million years.'

'Are you saying that public opinion will never agree with a stupid law?'

'I think that the law, in practice, is only what most people think it ought to be. If it's not, people just ignore it, and nobody with any sense tries to enforce it.'

'So public opinion and the law, in practice, just can't disagree?'

'That's right.'

'I see. You're saying that whatever some dusty old statute may say, the law in practice allows you to push your pram on the pavement, because that's what most people think is right, and public opinion is the law, in practice.'

'You've got it.'

'So when you say that everybody ought to obey the law, what you really mean is that everybody ought to do what most people think is right; and when you say that the law must be enforced, you mean that anybody who doesn't do what most people think is right must be punished. Is that it?'

'Yes, I think so. And if everybody does what most people think is right, that's democracy isn't it?'

'Just a moment. You said earlier that people should obey the law all the time, except when their own intelligence tells them not to.'

'Yes. What about it?'

'Well, you've now said that to obey the law really means to do what most people think is right. So it turns out that you're saying that people should do what most people think is right, except when their own intelligence tells them not to, in which case they must be punished.'

'I think you've misunderstood me.'

'Why do you think that?'

'Because you can't very well say that people should follow their own intelligence, and then turn round and punish them for following it, can you?'

'No, I'm sure you can't. But how have I misunderstood you?'

'I suppose the truth of the matter is that I don't really believe that your own intelligence would ever tell you to do something contrary to what most people think is right.'

'But suppose, just for once, it did?'

'I think this is where democracy comes in. You've got to remember that you're not the only intelligent person. Your intelligence may tell you that everybody else is wrong, but their intelligence tells them that you are wrong. The democratic solution of this problem is that the will of the majority must prevail, and I agree with that.'

'Do you mean that you should always conform to the will of the majority, even if your own intelligence tells you that the majority is wrong?'

'Yes, I suppose that's what I mean.'

'So if the majority decided that you must push your pram in the road, you'd conform, would you?'

'Don't keep coming back to that! You know perfectly well that the majority would never be so idiotic!'

'What it comes to then, is that you don't believe that the majority would ever expect you to do something idiotic. Is that it?'

'Yes, that's it.'

'You have absolute confidence in the intelligence of the majority, then?'

'I suppose so.'

'But if the majority is so marvellously intelligent, how did it ever allow the law to say strictly that you ought to push your pram in the road?'

'I think this discussion is a silly waste of time. Good afternoon.'

FRANCIS ELLINGHAM



'WE'RE ALL GUILTY!'

Maggie's militarism

IT'S NOT just the bomb that Maggie wants. It's not just cruise missiles and Trident and the neutron bomb to stop those hordes of Russian tanks - she wants your bodies too.

As though Vietnam never happened; as though the Suez fiasco was just a bad dream; as though the great days of Empire have never faded, the Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, BF, Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Dr. Ian Paisley permitting) has been making decisions to re-introduce Britain to its historic role as one of the World's great Police Forces.

Now that she has been joined on the world's stage by one whose working life has led him to expect that the US cavalry will always come a-ridin' over the hill to get him out of trouble, we can expect cliff-hanging confrontations, super wide-screen summits; shoot-outs at the Kabul Corral; saloon brawls with spectacular timing; galloping through the Gulf; Yanquis on the trail to San Salvador; The Gun That Won The East; A Good Day At White Rock; plenty of Ghost Riders in the Sky; High Noon as the feature film every weekend- especially that clip where the pacifist Quaker bride shoots her husbands attacker; Soldier Blue, a supreme example of Blue supremacy; Cowboys and Indians all speaking with forked tongues; True Brit, and - Climax of the Season: Maggie Get Your Gun!

This, folks, is goin' to be the scene where the towns folks actually find the courage to defend themselves against the baddies. Courage will be provided by, in the first place, lass-ooing all the likely kids into offering themselves for training at a kinda ranch, where they all get military training...well, er...like sharp shooting at the enemy...and...er...discipline...and...er...doin' as they're told...and...er...obeyin' orders...and...er...fegettin' all that individual freedom shitt...

Then, when we got them all ready an' souped up, they're goin' to become a kinda...wotyer callit...er...Rapid Deployment Force! Yeah, buddy that's really somthin'. This is where the West really brings itself up to date. Yess sirree. Here we goin' to have this special force of deputies...a real posse, you might say, ready to fly away to the farthest corners of the known Western world to defend the American Way of Life. An' yer know what? we goin' ter be situated right on the good ole United Kingdom. Yep, my ole daddy tole me wot a good ole time he had right there in World War II an' 'A'hm lookin' forward to followin' in his footsteps, like sending those well-trained kids off to fight fo' the Western Valloos in any ole place mah President says is right for them to defend our way of life.

Well now, hang on in there, buster, you are just about to say 'what about this chick Maggie and how was she supposed to be kinda...Get Her Gun...?'

Yeah...well...yer right there, mister, we did say that, but you sure gotta realise that, a mans gotta do what a mans gotta do. An' fightin' is a mans work. This here Rapid Deployment Force...well, thats just gotta be done by red-blooded men, if you all will fergive the expression. (Can't help the colour of yer blood, can yer?...no politics intended there, mister...).

Yep, well, simply means, we're goin' to rule the world, just like it used ter be. This here Maggie, she's jest like this here Boadicea...or sumpen!...an' they were some babies. Wooden take no shit from any man, red, white or blue.

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She promised to follow him to the end of the earth.
He promised to organise it!

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So she's goin' to set up this force of young men- and some young women too, yer may be sure, cos this is the age of equality, ain't it?... Course, yer gotta take into account that this means that the little ole UK is goin' to become a prime target for them Red Indian Bombs they've got nowadays... well... stole 'em from us white folk.. din' they? But, gotta face up to it... the little ole UK is already a sittin' target... what with all those little ole missile bases we got planted right there already... just a sort of unsinkable aircraft carrier, they used to say... but wouldn't be to sure 'bout unsinkable, not nowadays... anyways, thats their problem, ain't it?

Like I always say, we all gotta look after ourselves and fight fer whats right.. like what we got... thats whats right, ain't it?... an' this here Maggie - why only the other day, there she was in a good ole Christian Church, defending what was right and what was proper - right up to hilt. 'Thats why I fight 'em' she said, right out, 'cos we got these here Christian Bombs that can only kill the wrong people- bywhich I mean, the right people to be killed, that is, like all them foreigners... thats why I fight 'em she said... 'cos they disagree with me'

Well, cain't disagree with that can yer? Like if yer doo, then this here Maggie's goin' to be acomin' fer yer, tooth an' claw, an' boy, she scares me shitless.'

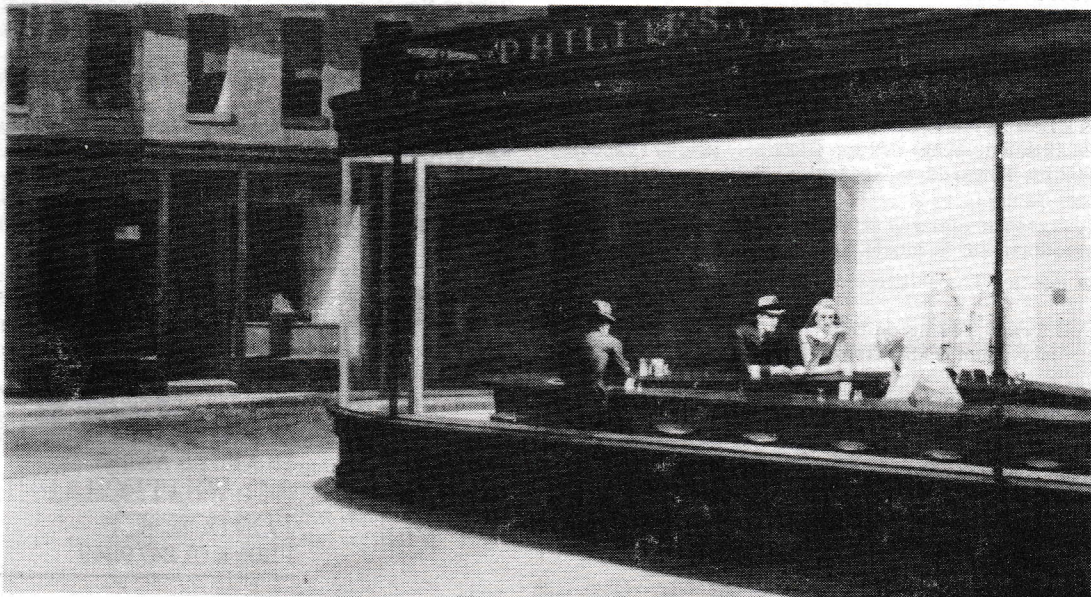
'... and smelling of violets'

IF ONE aspires for the reputation of a man (or woman, Ed.) of sense and sensibility then the simplest, easiest and most logical course of action is to go out into the market place and buy every acknowledged major work of art from over or under the counter. Doctor Armand Hammer is one of the world's Top Brass in that he owns more oil, money, typewriters and/or medicine that certain people we could name. And over the long years he seems to have bought everything from Ruebens to the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 20acre island and he has given them to various authorities because, and let us be cynical, when one kicks off this mortal coil what can one do with Rubens and lots of weighty loads of the worlds masterpieces and a 20 acre island except leave them to ones relations so charity for the mass and take vox populi, vox Dei raucous applause while you can still listen to it without having to swallow tranquilisers. Armand is one of the worlds bright boys, the type who plays chess, the violin or finds ways of making non-paying international phone calls from public phone boxes while slobbs like myself are still trying to work out ways of stealing pub beer glasses without getting caught. While studying for his medical degree he made his first million dollars and in 1921 with six months to kill before practicing as a medical interneer he organised a medical mission to the Soviet Union. It was a time of famine and disease and Armand organised shipments of American grain to help to alleviate the hunger. In return he landed various concessions in the Soviet Union ranging from an asbestos mine in the Urals to owning the first Russian pencil factory. In 1930 Armand returned to America, land of the free and home of the brave, and with him and his brother Victor came lorry loads of art works, object d'art and furnishings many of which came from the Czarist treasure houses. From these small beginnings Armand founded the Hammer Galleries in New York and in 1971 he took over the Knoedler Gallery for which the Russian proletariat must murmur, in Russian, 'so what'.

The Town and his kulture loving frau would state, and I agree with them, that everything that the Doc has done in his full life is legal, fair and above board and I would argue, no state, that to move in and then out of any society taking with one the cultural treasure of a particular people is an immoral act. The Doc has given the cultural wealth of the Russian people to the great Establishment galleries of the western world and let us be brutally honest about this and state that they were the price that a starving people had to pay for bread. We protest and rightly so when the fashionable London auction houses hawk off our own native culture to unnamed unknown overseas syndicates

who bid in millions of dollars, marks or francs but our society has reached that stage when we can be a little ashamed at the looted Eastern treasures within the Victoria and Albert Museum in Kensington Gore, the captured battle flags and the Elgin Marbles within the British Museum. Lord Elgin was right to take these Greek sculptures from the Parthenon in 1811 for this magnificent work carved by the Athenian master craftsmen 2,500 years ago had been left to rot and crumble but common sense and international tourism dictates their preservation and return to Greece and that applies to you Doc my old accumulator. There are those who will say, first placing their emptied wine glass on the ledge of a window from where they can glower down on the statue of the late Sir Joshua Reynolds, why do you attack the Doc and I answer that I do not only that I am taking a high moral attitude. Doc has the wealth and art treasures I have nothing but a natural nobility and by Christ it hurts in these trousers. It is the Honore Daumier exhibition at the Royal Academy and the Doc bought them as the largest Daumier collection in the world in 1976. The Doc now owns 5,000 works by Daumier and he is still rooting out more and more and in sad honesty Doc what you have in the main is ephemeral hack work for here was an artist, and one can only admire and envy him, who had 4,000 lithographs published in *La Caricature* and in *La Charivari* and here is talent that in that final analysis becomes repetative. As an artist Daumier is a major minor artist but his flaw is his observation and delineation of his fellow men and women for he views all his fellow men and women as no more than posing grotesques. Almost without exception. In almost all art what the writer or artist holds to be good is physically beautiful and what is held to be evil is portrayed as physically ugly but in the age of the film and the television we have now come to accept that this is a false assumption but Daumier gazed at his fellow men and women and deluded himself that he saw only a world of fools and human gargoyles and they now mock Daumier in the Doc's collection for this great craftsman must be judged by the people he created. While the Daumier exhibition was at its highest attendance the Everyman cinema in Hampstead gave a brief showing of the films of Jean Vigo. The anarchist son of a militant French anarchist father who was found dead in his prison cell in 1917 Vigo in his short life, he died aged 29 in Paris in 1934, produced four films that are part of the history of the cinema. Best remembered for *Zero de Conduite* of 1933 and *L'Atalante* of 1934 his first film was *A propos de Nice* made in 1930. What I say about Daumier I always felt about *A propos de Nice* for Vigo chose to mock the fashionable wealthy and to do that he chose, without their know-

EDWARD HOPPER : Nighthawks, 1942.



ledge, men and women who were, physically, the subjects of crude humour because of their physical appearance. He did it again in *Zero de Conduite* when authority is physically malformed and if it mean and ugly in the Bulldog Drummond, Sapper, Saint, James Bond escapist books and any of the visual arts from the slobbering gormless worker to the greasy millionaire then I will condemn it in the work of those I admire. But for the Town and his tall blond and godlike frau it is over the river to the Hayward and the National Theatre. Edward Hopper is at the Hayward. Hopper died in 1967 but his work went back to the New York Armoury show of 1913 in that great American watershed exhibition that was condemned among other things for its 'anarchist politics'. As an artist Hopper is just better than third rate but this is no crime comrades for his paintings will stay in the memory when good second rate work is forgotten. In paint he created a poetry of loneliness and isolation. Small town down town America. The lonely individual within a society wherein the cult of the accumulation of wealth and the open manifestation of public applause is held to be the greatest good. Hopper produced the obverse of Rockwell's *Saturday Evening Post* covers of President Reagan's Hollywood dream factory world of small boys with jam jars to hold sticklebacks, gentle white haired old ladies, non-supermarket mum's apple pie, lovely little negro children, manly smiling preachers in white framed small town churches and everlasting peace and love and a firm and non-inflationary dollar. Rockwell was a cover illustrator and Hopper's work never rises above that of the pre-war American pulp magazine covers but in his use of colour in his creation of *chiaro-scuro* he created an acceptable world full of tension full of human fear. He chooses the painted worlds of the surrealist painters Delvaux and de Chirico of dead hard light and creeping coloured shadows. These three produced a world wherein the human is always alien whether they appear within the painting or not and this is shown in Hopper's two best known paintings the 1930 'Early Sunday Morning' with its closed shops and rows of curtained windows, tombs in bright morning sunlight, and the 1942 'Nighthawks' with its empty shadowed streets and three men and a woman within the all-night cafe seeking shelter in its light. Make no rash conclusions comrades for this was not Reagan's Hollywood America but 1930 and 1942 even though in 1981 we can still make common cause with that empty street and all night cafe. Hopper, Daumier, Delvaux and de Chirico are no Leonardos, no Rembrandts and with their early work I doubt if they could have gained entry to St. Martin's school of Art, (thank you for the drinks and that late afternoon party) but like the good comic strip artist they

created their own visual world and they made us question certain values and gave us a little more understanding and tolerance of our fellow men and women and for that we owe the gods that gave them their talents thanks.

Painting of social protest is extremely rare within these islands for it is a subject matter that only the Italian artists appear to have a market for with the wealthy Italian revolutionary chic middle-class slapping down the lire for good solid paintings of the class war and it has been left to Tony Adams and David Redfern to carry the torch. There are many who protest in paint and collage and one honours them but Adams and Redfern are good solid academic painters moving in the field of social protest for which there is very little market in Maggie's world. See Hopper and then seek out Redfern and one must accept that Redfern is the better artist. The same use of light and shade, the same feelings of isolation with the only difference that, unlike the Italian social-realist painter Guttuso, Redfern is more overt in his social protest and while Adams the radical faults the immediate past and Guttuso the wealthy Italian communist deals in revolutionary mythology Redfern relates to 1981 and the mean horrors of racial evils. Hopper was at the Hayward and Redfern hung in that twin tomb called the National Theatre. Hopper is dead and Redfern earns his daily bread shifting the month's genius around within the Serpentine Gallery. There within that fairy land we took the wine and broke the bread and I smiled shyly towards Sue Grayson's back as one moved glass and sausage in hand among the piles of 'Continuous Creation'. It is claimed that it is 'playful, prophetic, paradoxical, fantastic, revelatory,' but unfortunately it is none of these things just that old and ancient gag of moving the junk yard and the rubbish tip into the art gallery. No one can fault the 'artists' great printed list of credits for past works and one applauds their efforts and congratulates the gallery for giving it time and space but it is rubbish, literally, artistically and socially for while the will is there the talent to put any 'message' across is missing. There is the large scale model of Vladimir Talin's 1919 'Monument to the Third International' among the arranged litter all of which, I am told, is a protest against our technological age but as a launderette and supermarket buff I cannot accept it but in any place where one can meet the magnificent legendary Bruce Lacey with Jill Bruce one's day is made even though they have sold me down the river by taking up a good life, even to ploughing up the actual soil, but one must wish them well if only for the effort.

ARTHUR MOYSE

BOOKSHOP NOTES

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- * Murray Bookchin: Towards an Ecological Society. (313pp. ppr) £5.25 (53p)

The Rest

- * Etienne de la Boetie: The Politics of Obedience. (88pp. ppr) £1.80 (24p)

(We can give full Trade Terms on this title).

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- *Nhat Hong. The Anarchist Beast. The Anti-Anarchist Crusade in Periodical Literature. (1884-1906) (72pp. ppr) £0.50 (24p)
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