

Friend of the People

THE sudden crash of Laker Airways was sudden only for the suckers. For more than six months the City was rumbling with rumours that charismatic Freddie was in trouble with mounting debts that receding business gave him no chance to honour. But that did not stop him from continuing to sell tickets right up to the eleventh hour — some travellers completing their payments only the day before they arrived at the airport to find the Laker operation closed down.

Nor did it stop him from borrowing more and more money to try and plug the holes. As in all good capitalist businesses, his whole operation was run on borrowed money — but the rates of exchange were running against him. He was selling seats for cheap £sterling but buying fuel in dear dollars, for example.

When Freddie Laker declared war on the major airlines with his Skytrain service — a method by which he guaranteed full planes by always having a queue of hard-up passengers waiting by his check-in desks — he was in fact no stranger to air transport, having successfully run a freight line almost since the war, when he started up with government surplus planes. But he stepped out of his class when he tackled the long-haul passenger-carrying intercontinental lines. It was precisely on those lines, however, that the biggest chance for a killing seemed to present itself, for prices were fixed by the monopoly that the big boys had worked out for their own protection (competition is for the suckers; monopoly is for the successful!).

And for a time he was undoubtedly highly successful — in terms of the number of passenger-miles achieved at modest cost to the traveller. But he was unable to do more than challenge the national airlines (and in this we must include big Americans like Pan Am, for they get hefty subsidies from the free-enterprise USA treasury) on the most popular routes, like UK-New York or UK-Los Angeles. This meant that he could be countered on those routes by the major operators who could lose money there, while still recovering costs on the routes Laker couldn't cover.

But it was fun while it lasted, wasn't it? Everyone loves a giantkiller, from David beating Goliath to Chelsea beating Liverpool, we all love to see the gallant little guy deliver the comeuppance to the swaggering big bully. Laker seemed to be everywhere. One place he most certainly was, was Buckingham Palace, collecting

*Yes, I really AM
a LAKER fan. A man
who can lose so much public money
and go BANKRUPT
with so much
STYLE and
public acclaim
and personal
WEALTH
is just
the man
for
MY
Britain!
And isn't it
WONDERFUL how the suckers are throwing
so much good money after bad!!
That's MONETARISM for you!
He's the PIRATE spirit — Queen Elizabeth
the first — tobacco and lead in the petrol
— the entrepreneurial thrust and Cruise missiles
And atomic waste [who cares?] as long as they
raise the Mary Rose and remove the Agincourt and Peterloo
and Sidney Street and how we beat them in 1926 and the
Black Hole of Calcutta and the South Sea Bubble and...
... ..*



his knighthood and becoming *Sir Freddie Laker* — presumably for his services to free enterprise and the democratic way of life — and how can the Order of Lenin compare with that!

Nor is that all that *Sir Freddie* collected. He had built up a workforce of 1,700 persons consisting of highly skilled flying personnel, cabin staff, check-in and office staff, with, of course, equally highly skilled maintenance men and women, and many whose livelihood depended on providing all the auxiliary services on which an airline depends. Quite a lot of people.

On top of that — and this is what really matters in a capitalist economy, he had built up debts of around £270 million! And on top of that he had been presented with a donation, subsidy, call it what you will, of £100 million towards the purchase of three Eurobuses — take our word for it, superb, smooth, quiet and roomy — each with seats for 300 passengers for short-haul flights.

The debts came from, of course, investors in *Laker Airways*, and from the banks. We need shed few tears for the latter. For the former, many of them 'small' people with a few pounds to spare, we can only say that we regard them as gamblers and, too bad, they've lost. Most of them will not have lost more than the sad, disappointed holidaymakers who found their tickets useless when they got to *Gatwick* last week.

The astonishing thing is that, when the news broke about *Freddie's* collapse — brought about by his own mismanagement — the public responded by wanting to send him more and more money to bail him out! Promises and guarantees of sums from £5 to £50,000 came flooding in. 'He's a good guy' cried the multitude. 'I am a *Laker fan*' chimed in the Prime Minister. But there seemed that nothing could be done.

Until...until...along came a knight (no, wrong, not yet a knight) in shining armour. *Tiny Rowland*, another capitalist buccaneer, rowed to the rescue of his old freight carrier from the fifties. *Tiny* is now actually pretty big. He is head of a mighty consortium of companies which are into world-wide mining (coal, gold, platinum), hotels, printing and publishing (he owns the *Observer* — so expect little criticism from that direction!) marketing *Rolls Royce* cars and commercial aircraft, department stores (he owns *Harrods*), distillers (like my favourite whisky, *dammit*) and vineyards, prints all our postage stamps and half the world's as well, hotels, textile machinery and...well, property. *Tiny Rowland* is *Lonrho*, with a turnover of £2,500 million pa.

What is *Tiny* going to do? Hopefully, he is going to restart *Laker Airways* under another name: *People's Airways*! At least he will if he can get a license so to do, which is not yet certain. Just where the people come into it is not yet certain either, except of course in actually doing the work — and, perhaps, if the *Laker*

euphoria doesn't wear off — putting up a lot of the money.

Tiny Rowland has been so successful a capitalist that he was once referred to by *Edward Heath* as 'the unacceptable face of capitalism,' — so he *must* have been successful! If anyone can rescue *Laker*, he can.

But, when it comes to it, how much does *Sir Freddie* need rescuing? Like most business men, he was not, after all, gambling with his own money, but with that of the investors and those money-lending concerns which advanced money on lucrative terms — except for that £100 million for the Eurobuses, of course.

We ask the question because in fact *Sir Freddie* has not done too badly in material terms and if he retired now he would be able to manage for the rest of his life. He has personal problems, poor chap, as don't we all — like trouble with his third wife about custody of their daughter, but it really can be said that he knows where his next meal is coming from.

Sir Freddie Laker still drives around in his gold-plated *Rolls Royce*; he owns a

large house and an executive jet; a stud farm near *Epsom* and another farm near *Gatwick*. He has an 85 ton yacht — and his personal holding in *Laker Airways* was described as small! British company and bankruptcy laws ensure that a company can lose everything, but the private wealth of its executives remain untouched.

Preliminary questioning about his ability to start again was said to reveal that *Laker* himself could think of re-investing £5 million in a new company — and, only guessing, we must say we'd be very surprised if this much-travelled gent didn't have one of those numbered accounts in a Swiss bank!

So don't weep too much folks, for this particular folk hero. Like so many 'self-made men', he could now fall back into his nest and find it very well feathered — by other people's money and other people's labour.

1,700 ex-*Laker* employees are on the dole this week, having made this self-made man. Charismatic capitalists will ride to their rescue only if they can be used profitably.

TRANSPORT

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL BY INDIVIDUALISM

SOCIAL humanity is slowly being throttled by an individualism loaded with sectional self-interest that is detrimental to the long term interests of society. Nowhere is it more apparent than in the present controversy about the state of *London Transport*. Whether *London* is a viable entity at its present size is another question, certainly the creation of such large areas of local authority with the merger has not benefitted people generally.

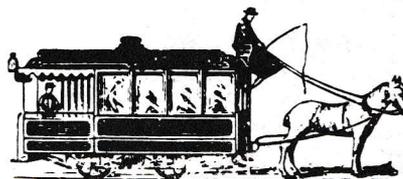
London Transport is another huge public authority with a large and self-perpetuating bureaucracy that will reduce the working staff rather than cut the bureaucracy. The monetarists' attitude to the question is criminally shortsighted. There are so many real costs that they do not take into consideration, people's time waiting for transport, pollution, uneconomic use of fuel, congestion, damage to highways, cost to the people of road accidents with increased motor traffic. The

most shortsighted act of the *London Transport* authority was the phasing out of the tram and trolley bus run by the more efficient, quiet and pollution-free electric motor that outlasts the internal combustion engine by many thousands of miles. No doubt the car and oil lobby had much to do with this decision.

The cost of running transport in *London* has to be subsidised anyway and many cities adopt a flat fare system which is simpler and less costly to operate anyway. In a sensible anarchist society of course only resources and labour power would be a consideration there would be no enormous interest payments to be made. The workers in the present set up have no say in the management. There is no reason why each underground line couldn't be separately organised run by the workers liaising with the travellers. A similar arrangement could be done with the buses. Another group of workers could supply the equipment for all the groups, there could be consultation so that workers are not given unsuitable buses as happened recently when politicians took a decision and so many of the red elephants stand with their engine cowls open.

With a better and efficient transport system *London* could be a better and more economic place to be.

ALAN ALBON



STOP THE INCREASES

FARE FIGHT 1

Events

Every Friday. All London meeting of the Fare Fight Campaign; held in the Small Lecture Theatre, Central London Poly, 125 New Cavendish Street, W1. Meeting begins at 7.00.

Sunday 14th February. Fare Fairs for Women. Aims to bring feminist viewpoint to the campaign. Meeting room, 374, Grays Inn Road.

Monday 15th February. Hackney Fare Fight Campaign will begin their fortnight of activities with a meeting at 7.30 at Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, E8. Speakers: Dave Wetzel (GLC), Terry Allen (TGWU) and Nick Lester (Transport 2000).

Tuesday 16th February. Croydon Fare Fight Campaign. Meeting at 7.30, 3c Cambridge Road, Anerley, SE20 01-659-6485

Thursday 18th February. Hammersmith Labour and Radical Alliance. Meeting at 305 Garratt Lane, SW18 at 7.30. Speakers: Ken Livingstone, Tony Banks, Valerie Wise, Andy Harris, Gladys Dimson.

Friday 19th February. Meeting with Valerie Wise to plan their Can't Pay Won't Pay campaign, at 7.30.

Monday 22nd February. Peckham Labour Party Public Meeting. 7.30 at the Dominican Centre, Rye Lane, SE15.

Tuesday 23rd February. Public meeting at Anson Hall, Anson Road, NW2 at 7.45. Speaker: Ken Livingstone.

Wednesday 24th February. GLC/NALGO meeting.

Thursday 25th February. Surprise performance by Tube Theatre.

Friday 26th February. London Assembly 10 am to 4.30 pm, County Hall. London Assembly is a people's gathering of London Labour and Local groups.

Monday 1st March.

DAY OF ACTION. Fun and games on the Circle line with music, refreshments, etc. Keep the whole day free for an action packed day.

Monday 1st March, CILT meeting at Camden Town Hall, 7.30.

Monday 1st March. Benefit performance at the Criterion Theatre of Can't Pay Won't Pay. Starts at 7.30 pm. Tickets are priced at £4, £6, and £10 and can be obtained from the box office, 01-930-3216.

Wednesday 3rd March. CILT meeting at Camden Town Hall, 7.30. CILT meetings take place on the 1st and 3rd of every month.

Thursday 4th March. Ken Livingstone speaking at a venue to be announced.

Thursday 11th March. GLC Mass Lobby of Parliament. Opening meeting at 2.00 pm will be addressed by Ken Livingstone, followed by a march to Central Hall, Westminster.

Friday 12th March. GLC Women's meeting, County Hall.

Saturday 13th March. Rally in the Car Park, County Hall at 2.00 pm, followed by a People's Festival in the Jubilee Gardens (opposite County Hall).

Sunday 14th March. Fare Fight Jazz Benefit at the 100 Club, Oxford Street.

Sunday 21st March. Fares double etc.

Local groups

New Barnet: Keith Richards	449-6861
Brixton: Dave McKay	274-1353
Carnden: Irene Breughel	267-6109
Central London: Debby Philips	722-6792
Clapham: Mike Reid	720-7002
Croydon: Crystal Palace: Jerzy Wieczorek	659-6485
Dagenham: Glen Patterson	592-9556
Elephant & Castle: Piers Corbyn	701-5697
Hackney/ ASLEF Contact Dave Welsh	806-4365
Highbury: James Swinson	226-2724
Islington: Stanley Mitchell	226-2494
Kilburn: Tal Machover	328-0744
Lambeth: Dave McKay	274-1353
Norbury-LT Contact-Peter Normington	764-9318
Plaistow- Derek Clarke	471-6588
West London: Annie Lord	229-5469
Southwark: Piers Corbyn	701-5697
Witham Forest: Ros Kane	555-5248
Wandsworth: Ernest Rodker	672-9698
Wembley: Alicia Mc E voy	452-3571
Westminster: Andy Gregg	262-7350
Haringey: Janet Wallcraft	444-5896
Lewisham: Simon Goffe	691-2892
Women's Group : Maria Black	274-2499
Transport 2000	278-3825
Socialist Environment & Resources Ass.	439-3749
Campaign to improve LT: (Ted Crook)	262-3441
London Amenity & Transport Assoc.	837-2626
LT Passenger Committee (Services only)	222-8777
GLC. Keep Fares Fair Campaign	633-8444
Hackney Public Transport Action Commis.	
John Sanderson	739-5137
Press Officer : Mark Nicholls	794-7293

From the Fare Fight Campaign, 6 South Molton Street, London W1.

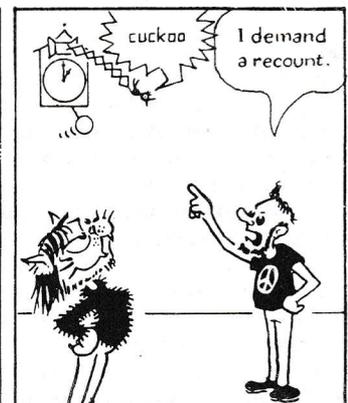
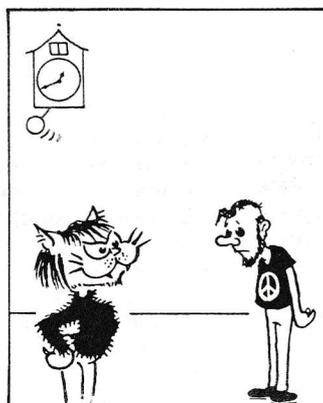
OUR BRAVE POLICE

THE Home Office has proposed that an independent assessor should supervise the investigation of complaints against the police involving serious injury. This may be included in a new police bill which is being drafted for the next session of parliament. Their memorandum to the Select Committee on Home Affairs, points out that 'building on the present system in these ways would contribute a less radical approach than the independent investigation of complaints'. Complaints would first have to be made to the police themselves, but if any serious injury 'in the view of the deputy chief constable could have been caused in the way alleged', it would be referred to the independent assessor. Serious injury is defined as a fracture, damage to internal organs, deep cut or laceration but not bruising or superficial laceration.

Meanwhile the Metropolitan Police have been ordered to pay £2,106 damages to a man whose leg was fractured by a blow from a truncheon. The judge rejected the man's claim that he had been abused and hit by several officers. However, he also rejected the police claim that the leg had been broken in a fall.

Another man, found guilty of possessing a brick as an offensive weapon after the April riots in Brixton, has had his allegations of police assault rejected. He got three months. The judge commented that the defence had 'been conducted in such a way that the trial has taken, in my view, at least twice as long as was necessary or desirable in the interests of justice to anyone.' He congratulated the police unit for its discipline, bravery, devotion to duty and 'the manly restraint displayed by each of them, as evidenced by the relatively minor injuries sustained by the accused.'

All of this sounds nicely ironic with a friend of ours also doing three months, after having his knee systematically smashed for 15 minutes with a fire extinguisher.



Housing in Shambles

SHELTER is one of the two major necessities of human beings. Prior to the second world war most of the housing needs were satisfied by rented accommodation of which local authority housing became a large part. This housing was of course in the poorer areas of cities where the Labour Party was in the majority in the local authority. There was of course council housing elsewhere but the large housing estates were in the cities. The working people were housed prior to the war in cheap privately owned dwellings mostly of a very sub-standard nature. There was an effort to do away with this bad housing and to replace it with council housing of a better standard. In spite of the fact that the speculators had not got their sticky hands on every piece of land and property, and interest rates had not soared to such criminal heights, the more enlightened local authorities were still hampered by a Tory central government.

War and Housing

Both world wars brought an end to house building, they did bring forth regulations that controlled rents, but the second world war brought a subsequent destruction of the housing stock from which we have never recovered together, with other factors which today have conspired to produce the worst housing crisis of our history.

Post War Housing Boom

The success of the Labour Party increased the momentum of local authority building after the war. The returning warriors however in many cases solved the immediate problem by occupying the numerous camps dotted about the country and this was the beginning of the post war squatting movement. The increase in state interference with all aspects of peoples' lives brought a new breed of bureaucrats called planners who, together with the architects thought they knew what was good for people, and produced much of the local authority housing that is so problematic today. Once the wartime shortage of building material was overcome there was a boom in private house building. The growth of state bureaucracy of financial cartels, property speculators brought an enormous growth in the middle class professionals of all sorts. A large proportion of the manufacturing sector of the working class began to have incomes which inspired middle class values. There was home ownership the growth of the building society. This brought about the rise in land values,

the destruction of cheap private sector housing effected by rising interest rates. It was the era of the private speculative builder, and a vast parasitic conglomeration of professionals to be imposed on the relatively simple task of the provision of people with shelter. As in other areas of human activity, initiative and peoples' wishes were ignored, and the less fortunate in society were placed at a disadvantage, while the relatively well off were subsidised by taxation advantages and rented accommodation hit by rising interest rates which was not offset by taxation.

The Financial Advantages of Empty Property

To offset the declining value of money (not that it has ever had any intrinsic value) various financial institutions went into property and the building of vast office blocks, some of which gained in value by remaining empty (the most notorious was Centre Point of occupation fame). Apart from this scores of houses remained empty while the demand for housing remained high, those in need unable to pay the rents and prices that the speculative market imposed.

Self-help

The answer of many people seeing empty houses created by bureaucratic inefficiency and private greed was to squat. Unfortunately given the acquiescence of the majority of those in housing need the movement did not take off on a mass scale needed to change the whole attitude to people's needs. The local authorities had in the meantime purchased numbers of old houses for schemes that did not materialise from owners letting them get into disrepair. Shortlife housing co-operatives were set up and acquired these houses on license from local authorities and with or without small grants made them habitable.

Now

Squatting is now not so widespread; the guardians of property altered the law to make it easier to eject squatters. Squatters who have always contended that the shortlife groups undermined their position are now seeing some councils make an attack on the shortlife housing groups. In addition central government is forcing the councils to put up council house rents so that they have overtaken wages by an astronomical figure. With vast unemployment rent arrears and fuel arrears are reaching new proportions and as DHSS pays the rent the advantage of these policies are hard to see.

The Same Old Mould — The SDP and Housing

In Islington the old Tammany Hall Labour local authority has become SDP, and their disinclination to break the mould is shown by their attitude to housing. They propose to stop giving licences to shortlife housing groups, sell the 700 houses to private speculators in a depressed market, do up about 60, which will hardly scratch the thousands on their waiting lists. If they were really interested in breaking the mould instead of protecting their middle class interests they would encourage self-help in housing bring tenants and those in need into dialogue to reverse a problem that is going to get worse.

Camden Labour Authority

As far as community resources are concerned, Camden have a relatively good record. However, they suffer from their size and bureaucracy. They intend also to take the shortlife housing, however they are proposing to rehabilitate it. Once rehabilitated the rents are likely to carve a large proportion out of the average earner's wage. Here again we have no change in attitudes that have brought society to the state in which it is now.

Housing Groups Unite

Council house tenants should form strong groups to make their environment better, reduce rents and take the manage-



ment out of the authorities' hands, unite with squatters and shortlife groups, end the iniquity of local authority property being sold to private speculators and houses being empty for years and years, and create rational use of housing space and encouragement of communal groups. There are 9000 empty houses in Islington alone, and the longer they are empty, the more that has to be done to them.

There is no housing problem. There is labour and materials. All the problems are artificial.

ALAN ALBON

IN BRIEF

THERE has been a wave of bombings in France, by a group invoking 'Paris, Gdansk, Bakunin, Salvador, Guatemala'. (The 'New Standard' helpfully notes 'Mikhail Bakunin was a 19th century Russian anarchist). Among the targets were two companies with Chilean links and the house used by Ayatollah Khomeini while in exile.

THE West German supreme court is to allow a retrial of Marinus van der Lubbe, who was executed in 1934 for the Reichstag fire.

AN American judge has ruled that Osins, Egyptian god of the dead, was not responsible for a stroke suffered by a policeman guarding treasures from the tomb of Tutankhamun.

MORTON GROVE, Chicago has passed a law forbidding the sale and possession of handguns, the first of its kind in USA. Officials say they expect few, if any, guns to be surrendered.

POLICE in Seoul, South Korea, have carried out a swoop and arrested 11,000 'hoodlums, thieves, robbers, traffic violators and juvenile delinquents'.

THE media continue to give extensive publicity to the cases of Jeanette May and Gabriella Guerin, whose bodies were found recently in Italy. We don't know why.

THE Obscene Publications squad have seized 12,000 copies of a record 'So-What' by the 'Anti-Nowhere League'.

A report from India says that hundreds have been killed, and thousands maimed, in the past few years, trying to collect scrap metal from army firing ranges. The brass from a mortar shell will fetch about 7½ rupees (about 35p). The villagers are said to forage in the middle of burages. The intervals between firing are between 35 and 60 seconds. Dealers make 400% profit on the metal.

THE next edition of the Home Office pamphlet 'Protect and Survive' will extend its advice to cover chemical warfare. Presumably, a wet handkerchief over the mouth. The government's view is that chemical weapons would be used against a specific target, such as an airfield. The risk to civilians would be 'incidental' and 'slight'. Merely regrettable accidents to people who get too close. Rather similar to the risks from nuclear bombs. It is not stated whether this expansion of the

booklet has any connection with our ally, the United States', decision to resume the manufacture of chemical weapons.

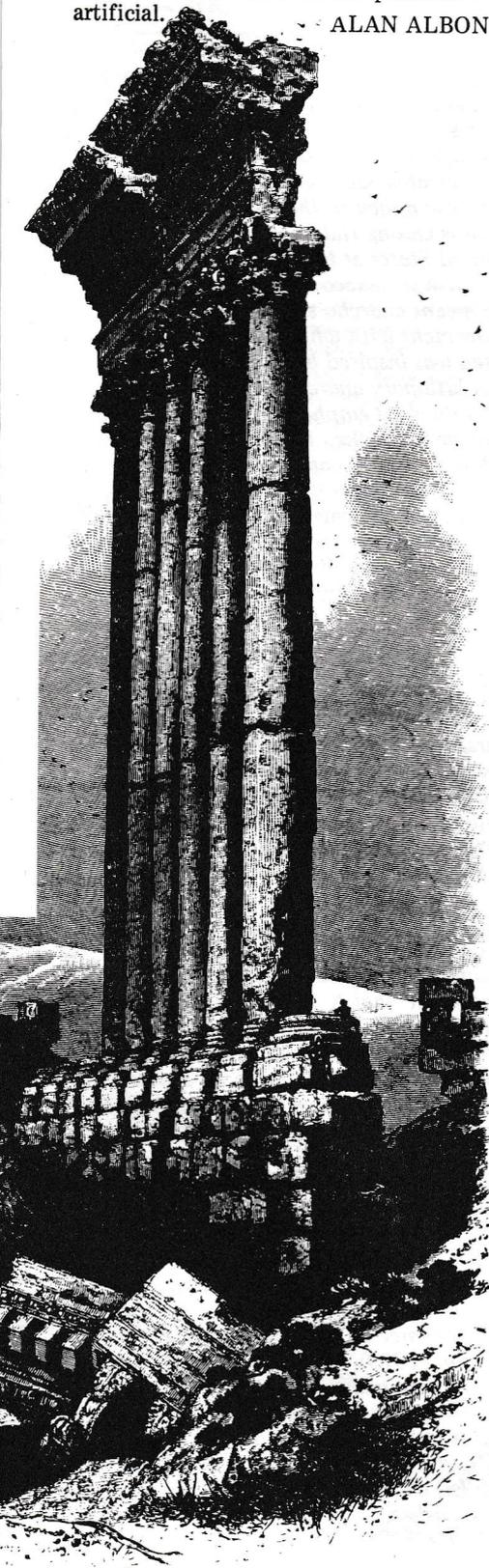
LORD DENNING'S comment after his home had been burgled, by according to his wife 'polite, clean, nice, upright-looking boys', 'This is why I believe that the time has come to restore national service. If such young men are stooping to crime, there is clearly a serious lack of discipline in their lives'.

ACCORDING to last year's census, the population of Inner London has fallen by 18% since 1971 to less than 2½ million. We don't know whether this allows for those who didn't fill in the forms.



LORD DIPLOCK says 'justice in the courts of England is administered in open court to which the public, and press reporters as representatives of the public, have free access and can listen and communicate to others all that was said there by counsel or witness.' He said this in his judgement of a contempt of court case, convicting Harriet Harman of the National Council for Civil Liberties. She had shown documents to a reporter. The contents of these documents had been aired in the court. If he had sat there and written it down that would have been alright. Or he could have bought an official transcript. Lord Diplock dismisses these possibilities as 'hypothetical in the extreme'. His learned colleague, Lord Keith, thinks that reading documents aloud in court presents little problem because the public often does not turn up anyway.

MEDICAL experts have estimated that if USA or USSR carried out a pre-eruptive strike and wiped out the other without receiving a single bomb themselves, then the 'winner' would still suffer millions of deaths from radiation, fall-out etc. Total world deaths could be 47 million. These estimates are given in a new pamphlet ('The Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons' from Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons and Medical Association for the Prevention of War).



LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

1 FOR the Bomb?

Dear FREEDOM,
Could I try and clear up some misunderstandings about my views and attempt a dialogue?

Several people have been made to feel sick which is an emotional and unhelpful response, although understandable. Definitely odd, however is G P's conclusion that a person advocating the Bomb could be a pacifist. I would not deny anyone the right to resist communism — from historical and personal experience, however, I have concluded that red rule would be fatal to active anarchists.

Although the Bomb is a vital factor in maintaining the status quo between the 'Super Powers' Chris Hare is correct in pointing to the wider implications. Steve Dorril is accurate in indicating that there are still wars and that I am talking 'with a corpse in my mouth'.

The problem is that avoiding nuclear war depends on the 'Super Powers' deciding on how the balance of terror should be maintained. Not having control over that process I rely on the evidence of our continued existence that our rulers are not suicidal maniacs. Wars we have, but not nuclear war; the former although horrific are not the destruction of all life.

I worry about having a corpse in my mouth. Vegatarians always tell me I eat corpses whenever I devour meat, but I continue doing so to survive and observe that cabbages, cutlets and carrots are all corpses in any case. Corpses resulting from American policies are the dreadful price of the mess that hierarchic society has landed us in. If it is felt that the true answer to all this — anarchism — is not a realistic possibility at the moment then we are left with the only course of survival being nuclear stalemate and all that goes with it. I do not close my eyes to the position, it is very depressing — but it is life and I value that very highly.

If we could change character structure as easily as Steve Dorril thinks, it would have been done long ago. Reich and Neill assisted with some progress to liberating many infants and children from some of the bonds of childhood, but so many other factors effectively condition people to a fear of freedom. Anarchism in Spain and elsewhere has demonstrated a short term workability although anarchist organisation is clearly prone to oligarchic tendencies even when at its best. Hope remains of the growth of anarchism in a revolutionary situation in the future, but the possibility seems very remote. As it stands, therefore, the balance of terror maintains human survival — which is clearly essential for any anarchist manifestation in the future. Anarchists have asserted that war is the health of the State — if this is the case we need to be sure of keeping the State ill.

J W

2

Dear FREEDOM,

I do not see J W's precarious hedonism (For the Bomb, Letters, Vol 43, No 1) impressing many readers of FREEDOM.

The fact that there has been no nuclear exchange to date has, I think, rather less to do with the deterrent value of a so-called 'balance of terror' than with the fact that both nuclear superpowers have so far been able to preserve a sufficient measure of 'national security' and international flexibility without using them. That neither sees this as necessarily a 'permanent' state of affairs is clearly reflected in the continuing and monumentally expensive efforts of each to achieve a decisive nuclear superiority over the other. Even now (indeed perhaps particularly now) there are those who argue that that superiority has been achieved, albeit perhaps temporarily, by the Soviet Union.

Confidence in the telling influence of a 'balance of terror' also assumes a sense of responsibility and some humility on the part of the guardians of the nuclear arsenals. History offers little comfort here. As far as we know, mankind has never before possessed the means of annihilating itself, but it has developed over the centuries an awesome range of terrible weapons — and has found uses for all of them. I find it hard to believe that one of the two mutually antagonistic nuclear superpowers, each having shown such cynical disregard for human life in any number of international arenas since the ostensible close of the second world war, will not at some time in the future come — perhaps quite suddenly — to the conclusion that it has but one chance, NOW, decisively to overcome the other — and, having done so, will empty its missile silos along with its bureaucratic mind.

I agree with J W that the stateless society may be further away than — or perhaps pointlessly equidistant with — a desolate Earth, but do not see that we can afford to adopt, in the face of such an appalling prospect, an attitude of passive resignation, simply keeping our heads down and making the best of each uncertain moment. In anything but a perfect, unchanging world (a phrase with no meaning for those who accept a view of historical process as flux), to lose interest in the future, other than as a misty repository of 'more propitious days', is in fact to abandon it without lending the act so much as the tenuous dignity of despair.

Canberra

Errata

Black Flag

Dear Friends,

I should like to correct an error in N W's review of Brian Jackson's 'The Black Flag' (FREEDOM, 16th January). N W locates Sacco and Vanzetti in the 'specific milieu of the anarchist syndicalist groups among Italian immigrants in the United States at the time of the First World War.' Sacco and Vanzetti were by no means anarcho syndicalists. The movement with which they were associated was inspired by Luigi Galleani — revolutionary anarchist-communist with an individual emphasis, a 'direct action' movement in the old senses of that term. While in prison Vanzetti wrote for 'L'Adunata dei Refrattari', which had succeeded 'Cronaca Sovversiva' as journal of the movement, a series of six letters in which he sharply criticized syndicalism and trade unionism and affirmed the anarchism of the Galleani tradition. These 'Lettere sul Sindacalismo' were reprinted in pamphlet form in 1957 by Edizione L'Antistato, Cesena', (Italy).

N W's statement that 'there has been a persistent tradition that Sacco was guilty even if Vanzetti was not' is somewhat misleading. Tradition among whom? Not among the Italian-language anarchists or among other U S anarchists of my acquaintance:

A minor point, of which N W could hardly be aware. The phrase 'lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish pedlar' should be stricken from the 'Vanzetti statement' that N W quotes. The statement itself was a journalist's recollection of an interview with Vanzetti; the phrase was the journalist's invention. This would be relatively unimportant except that the phrase, which became the cliché that 'defines' Sacco and Vanzetti, misrepresents, by the image it evokes, the kind of persons that Sacco and Vanzetti were. The phrase has always bothered me — if it was indeed Vanzetti's, I took it to be ironical. The matter is cleared up in a paper that Robert d'Attilio presented to a conference on Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston (1979). Of Vanzetti's eloquence there is abundant other evidence.

As to 'The Black Flag': I haven't seen it but from all accounts it is as bad as N W says; besides everything else, it is riddled with factual error.

Best wishes,
DAVID WIECK

P H

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

INCREASING OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION

THE article in the last issue of FREEDOM has rapidly dated. A third attempt was made to hold the Disciplinary Panel at Sussex University, on Friday 5th Feb, to try the three students accused of planning to disrupt the David Owen show last November.

The three defendants were told to meet at a point about fifty yards from the Administrative Building where the trial was to be held. The building was guarded by police, the first time they have been used to protect the University Kangaroo Court. Apparently the University pays for their presence, hence they can properly be described as a hired gang.

The three defendants were 'kidnapped' by about forty demonstrators, mostly masked to avoid the increasing surveillance on campus. The demonstrators barricaded themselves and the defendants in a student union office. Another vanload of police arrived outside, and soon it was decided to attempt an escape through a back exit of the building, with the defendants, who were then hidden, whilst some of the demonstrators attempted to show a man claiming to be a 'Daily Mail' reporter that he was not welcome.

Later in the day the Administration announced that the trials were taking place

in the defendants' absence. But it appears only one of them has been tried, on the grounds that he had an opportunity to attend, when he was approached by the Registrar on his way to the assigned meeting-place where the demonstration was assembled.

This student, whose only 'crime' was to laugh at, and bow down and worship in jest, the great politician Owen, has been suspended for six weeks. As he is a science finalist, this wrecks the year for him, as fulfilling practicals' requirements is now impossible. Now he has to negotiate an intermission.

In the afternoon of Friday, police were again called to protect a meeting of University Council, which was ratifying a huge package of cuts in employment, courses and services. A large and lively picket fought with the police, who were forced onto the defensive for some time. No arrests were made, but the Administration spies were out again. They are now using cameras, movie-cameras and walkie-talkies in their campaign to pick out dissidents.

Also on Friday afternoon, thirteen students were tried in their absence by the Disciplinary Panel for picketing the second attempt of the Panel to try the

three accused over the Owen meeting and preventing the defendants from attending. The thirteen had written to the panel to say that they didn't recognise its jurisdiction. Students were stunned when they found out that two of these students had been expelled, and another suspended for two terms. It is barely credible that two students are expelled, for taking part in a picket, but it is indicative of the increasing oppression at what was once considered a 'liberal' University. The campaign for re-instatement, and reversal of the suspensions, is beginning, and the Administration may well find that they have now acted beyond the limit of toleration.

The integration of the University with the State has been shown by the increasing repression and the now frequent use of police to protect the Administration. The previous Friday a man had been arrested on a picket of University Court.

We are fighting back. Please support us in our struggle.

Write:-

Sussex A Group
c/o Students Union
Falmer House
University of Sussex
Brighton
East Sussex

Please Help Wade Winton

Dear FREEDOM,

Enclosed is a newspaper cutting from the Worthing Herald. It concerns the case of Wade Winton, who is a member of Worthing Anarchist Group.

As you will see from the cutting he has been fined £155 and he has now learned that he will have to pay £69 legal costs as well. Wade is on supplementary benefit and is skint — so please beg and grovel to your readership to send some cash to help him out. (Wade Winton, 2 Wellesley Ave, Goring-by-Sea, West Sussex)

N B: Rumour has it that Barclays Banks all over Sussex are finding large holes in their windows. What weird phenomenon is it that so strangely attracts bricks to reinforced glass? Anyway, as Christopher Davis said, 'Hurray for Anarchy!'

CHRIS

Worthing



FREEDOM CONTACTS

NATIONAL CONTACTS

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

BARRY

Terry Philips, 16 Robert St, Barry, South Glamorgan.

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Jus' Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedfordshire and isolated Anarchists, write: John, 81 F, Bromham Rd, Bedford MK40 2AH, Beds.

BRIGHTON

Libertarian Socialist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

BRISTOL

L Bedminster, 110 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3.
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchists, c/o 186 East Rd, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury.
Canterbury Anarchist Group, meets every Monday 8 pm, Jolly Sailor, Northgate, Canterbury. Contact address is: Andrew Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd, Canterbury, Kent

CARDIFF

Write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd.

CIRENCESTER AND THE COTSWOLDS

c/o Andrew Wilkie, 7 Sperrington, Cirencester, Glos.

COVENTRY

John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

DUBLIN

Love v Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 South King St, Dublin 2.

EAST ANGLIA

DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EDINBURGH

c/o Box SLF, First of May, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh.

ESSEX

Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Rd, Gay Bowers, Danbury.

EXETER

Anarchist Collective, c/o Community Association, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd.

GLASGOW

Glasgow Anarchist Group, c/o Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Great Western Rd, G12.
Practical Anarchy (Clydeside Paper) out October from Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12.

HASTINGS

Anarchists, 18a Markwick Terrace, Saint Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex. (0424) 434102.

HULL

Hull Anarchist Group
c/o 23 Hutt Street
Spring Bank
Hull
N Humberside

KEELE

Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffordshire.

KEIGHLEY

Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 25L.

LAMPETER

Anarchist Group, c/o Adian James, SDUC, Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.

LIVERPOOL

Anarchist Group, c/o Hywel Ellis, Students Union, Liverpool University.

LEAMINGTON

and Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge, Leeds LS2 3AW

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 7 Highcross St, (tel 21896) and
Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085).

LONDON

Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Ave, N5 (01-359 4794 before 7pm). Meets each Thursday at Little @ Press, C1 Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, Wapping E1. (22a bus or Wapping tube).

Anarcha United Mystics meet each Thursday at 8pm, Halfway House Pub, opposite Camden Town tube.

Autonomy Centre, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, E1.

Freedom Collective, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1. (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, near Whitechapel Art Gallery.

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1, Meet Thursdays 7pm.

Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark St, Kingston upon Thames, (01-549 2564).

London Workers Group, meets Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan Pub, 75 Farringdon Rd, EC1.

Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters Rd, Barnet, Herts.

121 Bookshop and meeting place, 121 Railton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24

Xtra! Structureless Tyranny.

West London Anarchists contact John Sanders, 4 Naylor House, Mozart Estate, W10.

MALVERN

and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcestershire.

MANCHESTER

Chorlton Anarchists, Louise and Larry, 162 Egerton Rd North, Whalley Range, Manchester M16 0DB. Tel: 061 881 9553.

Solidarity and 'Wildcat'
The main local activity of the majority of people who pre-

viously made up the Manchester Solidarity group is now the production, in co-operation with others, of a free bulletin called 'Wildcat'. Both 'Wildcat' and the remaining active members of Manchester Solidarity can be contacted by writing to either 'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN.

NORWICH

Anarchists, Student group and town group and Freewheel Community Bookshop Collective, all c/o Freewheel, 52/54 King St, Norwich. Tel 21209.

NOTTINGHAM

c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, Tel 582506.

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

OXFORD

Anarchist Group and Solidarity, c/o 34 Cowley Rd.

PAISLEY

Anarchist Group are unfortunately contactable through the Students Union, Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrewshire.

PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross.

PORTSMOUTH

area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants, or Duncan Lamb, Nirvana, Chichester Yacht Basin, Birsham, West Sussex.

READING

Reading Anarchist Group, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St, Reading. Meets once a week.

RHONDDA

and MidGlamorgan, Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, MidGlamorgan.

SHEFFIELD

Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square Sheffield S10 2FQ.
Libertarian Society, Post Office Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert, MidGlamorgan, South Wales. Write for anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Treherbert, Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas.

SWANSEA

Black Dragon, Box 5, c/o Neges Bookshop, 31 Alexandra Rd, Swansea SA1 5DQ, W Glamorgan.

SUSSEX

anarchist group, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton.

SWINDON

area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strathmartine Rd, Dundee.

TYNE & WEAR

Direct Action Movement and Anarchist Group, c/o 8 Thomas Street, Ryhope, Sunderland, Tyne & Wear.
Produces local Anarchist paper 'Treasure'.

WAKEFIELD

Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o E Fazackerley, 36 Bowan St Agbrigg, Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

ANY libertarians living in the Ipswich area? Contact Paul Anderson, 53 Dorchester Rd, Ipswich, and maybe we could form a group?

ANARCHISTS in the Potteries area interested in forming a group, contact me on enclosed phone number:-
Loud Collective, 20 Woodland Ave., Wolstanton, Newcastle-Ulyme Staffs. Newc 622089

HILLHEAD @NTI PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN

Hello comrades,
You will no doubt be aware that there will soon be a 'buy' election at Hillhead in Glasgow featuring Woy Jenkins of the social demagogues.

In order to mount as effective an offensive as possible to expose this farce for what it is (and possibly attract some media coverage) we need money, ideas, rotten eggs, etc. Send what you can to:-

H @ P C
BOX 3
GLASGOW BOOKSHOP
COLLECTIVE
488 GREAT WESTERN RD.
GLASGOW

Richmond & Twickenham's other scurrilous Rag 'Fly on the Wall' is building up a radical/labour movement/working-class history of the area. If you can help the project, or wish to take part in this work, then please contact:-
Fly on the Wall
P O Box 41
Richmond
Surrey

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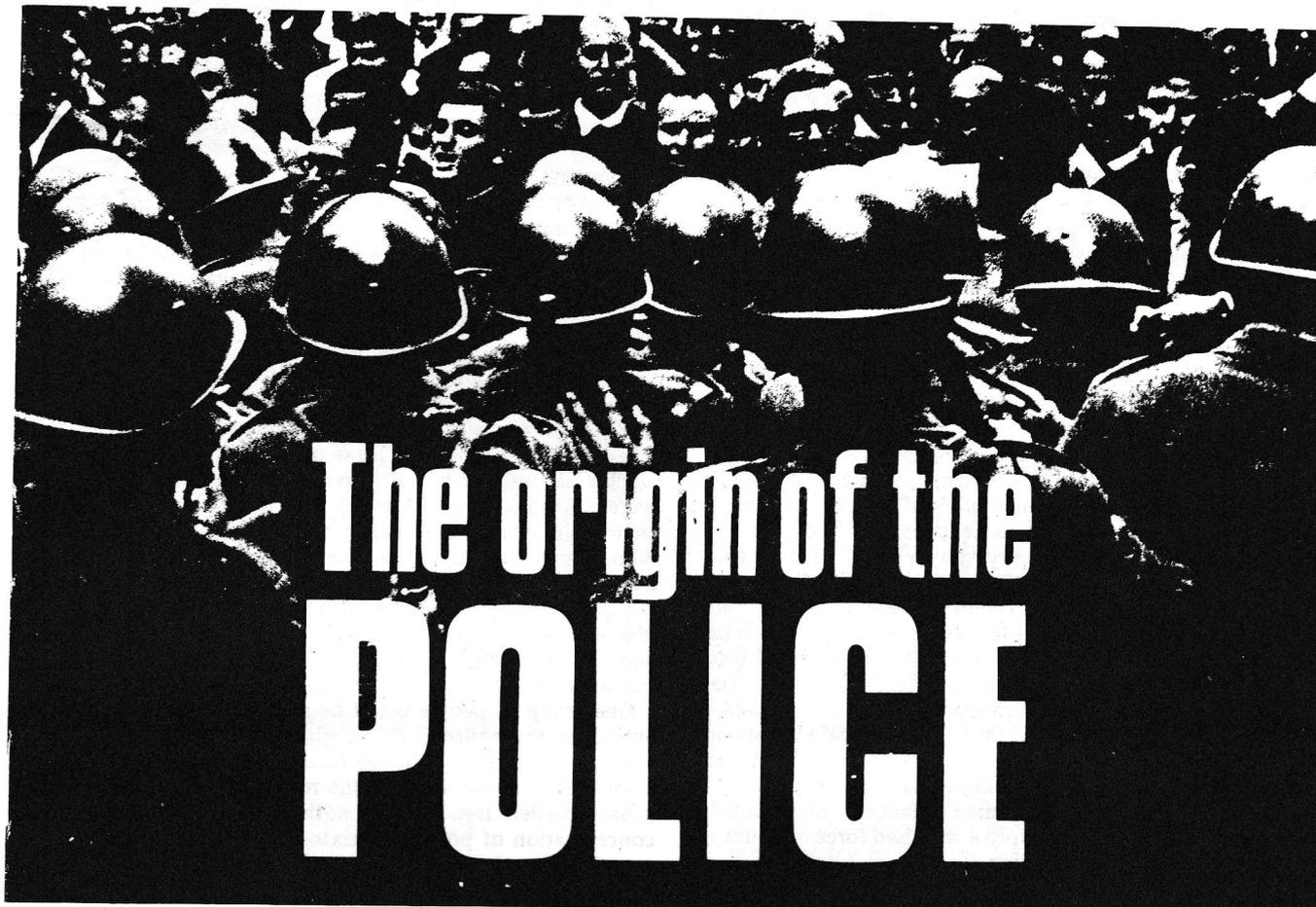
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Anarchist Review

Freedom

20th February 1982 Vol 43 No 3



The origin of the POLICE

ANARCHISM is a theory of social order. Like other perspectives which had their origin in the early nineteenth century anarchism is a child of the industrial revolution, it is also part of the nineteenth century romanticism which was a reaction against the rationalism of the eighteenth century. This was a rationalism which led to the systemisation of the power of the bourgeoisie and culminated in the French Revolution and Napoleon's bourgeois monarchy. Anarchism was no different, in this sense, to Marxism and other socialisms which suggested that the period prior to the industrial revolution was an ideal time. Industrialisation, new sources of power and the factory system were alienating and destructive of persons' sense of creative individuality. Perhaps the difference between anarchism and other isms was the notion of communalist, collectivism in work and living and a return to that idealised notion of pre-industrial life. It is this in essence which is the view of anarchism held by many people particularly on what is often called 'the left'.

Within the context of industrialisation then the police are seen as part of the control apparatuses of capitalism, the bourgeoisie, the modern state and their origin is seen as within the context of the development of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state — their men-at-arms. I do not believe this is what anarchism is all about nor do I see the origin of the police in such simplistic terms. However, let us keep with this for the moment. The Metropolitan Police had its origins in 1829. The time sequence does appear to be about right. This rather simplistic view taken at its face value does appear to have substance.

If one looks at the pre-industrial revolution society then we may see two specific periods. Firstly the feudal society which existed in some form until the early Tudors and secondly the post-feudal period. These can be separated for purposes of convenience. In these periods social order was maintained in two major ways. In the feudal society the will of the landholder and his servants imposed naked force. The Holy Catholic Church maintained the control of persons' minds. In the post-feudal period the development of the early nation state had emasculated local power and imposed the centralist-created rule of law with, in one sense or another, notions of equality before, or in respect of, this law. It was, as both E P Thompson and Douglas Hay have pointed out, the imposition of this criminal law for all that made social control so effective. That the rich could 'buy' better lawyers and get off on a technicality simply proved the legitimacy of the law, for those who could not get off, high or low, were seen as justly guilty. Religion, certainly on the British mainland, had developed the Protestant conscience the notion of the individual as a self-controlling self-disciplining entity. One could argue that in both feudal and pre-industrial societies that the controllers were those who were in command of the situation be they feudal landholders or owners of parliamentary seats. It is not however the time or place to discuss notions of whether there is a ruling class, elite, or some controlling conspiracy. The important factor here however is that there was neither need nor organisation, local or central, to control in a direct sense. Remember too that we are talking about a small

stable population, mainly living on the land in small villages and known to their neighbours.

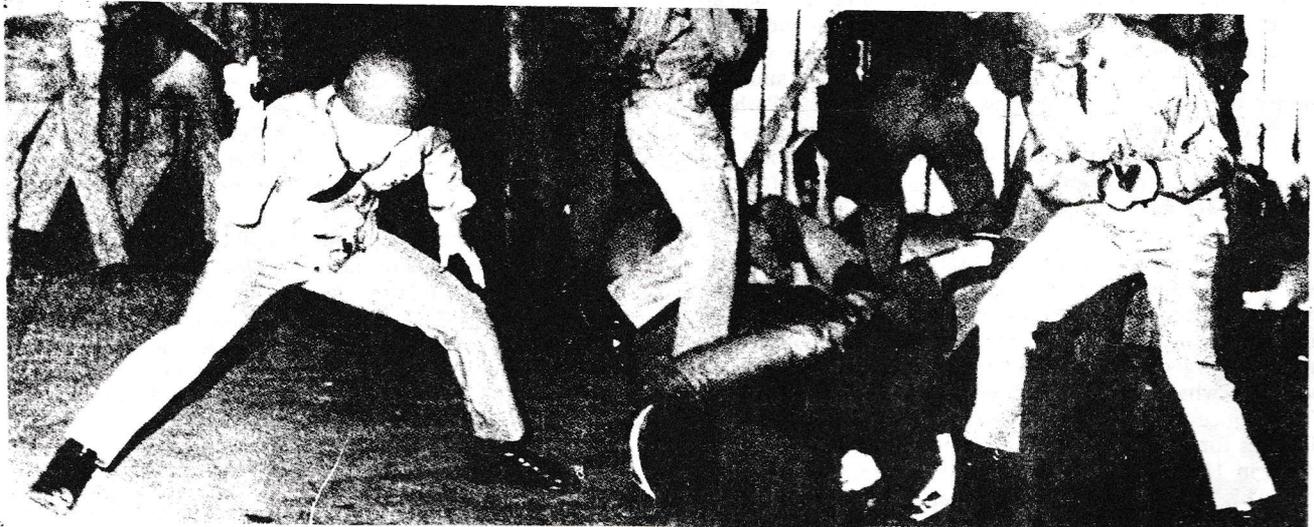
Take industrialisation. An essentially urban society where new or growing towns mushroomed. Few inhabitants may have had anything but recent local roots. The work system was innovatory and perhaps disliked. Landowner power was nil. The factory owner controlled within the factory but it was essentially the control of the purse strings. The bourgeois essentially lacked the control apparatus and ideological control by religion was sparse. If anything, why the Methodist Church was not discouraged, at the time, was that it offered stability even though it did not reflect centralist state power. Measures had been created during the post-feudal periods to control, such as the Vagrancy Laws, the Statute of Artificers and the Act of Settlement but all of these required a stably based home population. The Poor Law could take out of circulation the old, the handicapped, the orphan and the destitute. What was needed was a means of controlling the workforce outside the factory gates, and more often as not also when the workforce was not in employment during recession. Other methods had been tried but proved far from reliable. The army could not usually distinguish friend from foe and could create much ill-will and was only of use in the concentrated mass. The army, a mass firmly under control of the sergeant's pike or the officer's sword and pistol, in which many had been 'pressed' or tricked into service. In single units of two or three men the army was useless except as sentries. The yeomanry, a locally recruited force of cavalry, drawn from the landowning or farming classes, were often wildly undisciplined and likely to over-reaction — the Peterloo Massacre is only one example. Also being up high they were noticable. Hay ricks could be burned and frequently were. The town militia was often composed of the same citizens with whom the militia was in conflict. 'We are your brother workers.' was often the cry from strikers. Special constables, often local tradesmen frequently found their shop ostracised after unpopular acts. The village constables were a joke, usually nothing but elderly and underpaid night watchmen or jailors. The so-called Bow Street Runners were simply a localised force of bounty hunters, figures mainly of fiction.

The police were different. Like the Poor Law, locally controlled, they personified the centre, the state. The police are creatures of industrialisation. They are the controllers and the representation of the state. They function in repression ie. they do things; and in ideology ie. they represent a potential for doing which by their existence socialises the people into rule-following, they do not wear a distinctive black uniform for nothing, have badges which can be seen flashing a quarter of a mile away in sunny weather, and now have lurid technicolour cars for repression but for ideological representation of the state legitimised authority.

The police's effectiveness is by local knowledge and rapid penetration. And although in most Western countries the greatest amount of crime is not street crime, most police activity is street activity. In the United States in 1957, 27.7 billion dollars were under-reported in tax returns of which eleven million dollars were retained by the wealthiest one per cent. In 1965, two hundred and eighty four million dollars worth of goods were stolen in the USA which represents three per cent of the 1957 tax frauds. Fraud squads curiously are usually the smallest units of police. When the Grunwick affair occurred, local people gave up calling for the police. These were far too busy 'doing their real job' breaking strikes. Now why at this time did the police come into being?

According to George Rude the main expression of dissent prior to industrialisation was 'The Mob'. By the mob we do not mean what we mean now, a group of undisciplined hooligans. The Mob at this time meant a concourse of ordinary people. It included local tradesmen, craftsmen and labourers. In fact the common people but not in disorder, simply a group of unorganised opposition with a limited franchise — ie. non-voters, non-participants in local and central affairs but people who felt they had a voice and used it often with good effect. They were the crowd outside. They who broke the Duke of Wellington's windows, at Apsley House and made a presence known; who felt they were not consulted and made sure others knew what was their opinion and were dangerous only to a group or class who wished to dispossess them, or give them only such rights as could be safely afforded. If this group could be stigmatised as 'the dangerous classes' and lumped with criminal elements, then both could be controlled legitimately and the controllers — the police, used interchangeably. A notion of social order was forged.

One group of people could be singled out for special attention by the police — the immigrant. Those who had only recently removed themselves from the country had not yet resocialised themselves into the role of factory worker and urban dweller. It is not for nothing that there is a heavy concentration of police in Brixton and it has, in real terms, very little to do with crime but with resocialisation. It is similar in real terms to the large concentration of police in the past in St Giles or in Whitechapel. The police were and are forging the instrument of the pliant working class. Crime? The police do not really seek to abolish crime. If crime were abolished then there would be no real justification for the police. The Brixtonians (I do not mean 112 Railton Road) are this year's 'dangerous classes' and whilst these are polarised the force can be handy if Dagenham gets out of line. In the past 'the Mob', 'the rabble' followed their only means of protest 'the riots' and so history repeats itself. The average Brixtonian may not be against the sys-



tem, they only want a part of it. The controllers of the system will give them this part when they have been schooled to receive it, but in their own time and at their own place, meanwhile the police are the mediators of this reality.

Society had become an organism, the police are the medics dealing in pathology. They are the guardians of our public health and the harbingers of the liberal democratic state. Meanwhile they can garrison the affected areas until a civil society comes into being. Objections to our system are seen as 'mindless', 'meaningless', and subject to a communications rift. The shop steward on the Television News is apologetic for striking. The complainant is prosecuted for 'wasting police time'. The Mystery plays of feudal society are replaced by the modern morality plays where right triumphs in the end, Z Cars, Dixon of Dock Green, The Gentle Touch (see the feminist influence, women are now being coopted to institutionalise women into the re-socialised role of women as workers). Is this the new reality? But as I said at the beginning I believe this is neither anarchism

nor what is really happening but simply a surface appearance.

When I said anarchism is a theory of social order I was meaning something quite different to normal usages of the term social order. Anarchism is to me not so much a theory of order but a theory of beauty. Central to the heart of anarchist thinking is the notion of asymmetry. If, as I believe, anarchism, in essence, values the individual as against the mass, then the notion of social order I am using is not a man-made notion of social order but a naturalistic notion. The form each individual takes is seen as a free-standing entity which has its own essence. This essence stresses the centrality of the individual as a person against others notion of the mass, and the mass's structure of order. I must stress at this stage I do not see anarchism as a theory of disorder. I see anarchism as a theory of reciprocity, of what one might call concurred order — what Baldelli calls an Ethical Society. Hence I feel the anarchist is a person who is uninterested in creating an ordered universe — a universe of symmetry, that is the balancing of equals. The anarchist is interested in creating a rational universe in which humanity relates its essence to naturalism — to earth, to air, to water and to life's natural process, to a natural beauty.

Other theories of social order have an artificial sense of beauty. Their theories of beauty are related to notions of symmetry. In its essence here we see the underlying logic of Western society — The Greeks, The Romans, The Feudal System, The Church, Capitalism, The State. In Western art symmetry is the fundamental principle. This reaches into all aspects of our/their social being. We have Good and Evil. The system of courts has the adversary system, winners and losers, itself inherent in the notion of capitalism, competition — the whole of the academic study of Economics (of monetarism dare one say it) — this striving for a perfection of its vision, for perfect proportions. Greek art, the mediaeval cathedrals, all are proportionate to a golden mean, symmetrical, a painting, a vase of flowers, all show this notion of balance, of symmetry, of order, a handsome man, a beautiful woman, a melodious song.

In her book 'The Fountainhead', Ayn Rand commences the attack on Western art. The Parthenon was for centuries the most perfect building in the West. Its style followed by Greece, Rome, The Church, and half of Britain's town halls. The Parthenon is a fake. It is a crude copy in stone of a wooden building. Technologically speaking it is passe. A building originally built of wood with the roof supported on tree trunks and the roof beam supported by split logs. This Dovic arch, these columns, were the use of natural materials to build something in a natural form. In stone it becomes a technological anachronism. The glory that was



Greece, the foundationstone of Western civilisation, was a rejection of the natural form of life, a rejection of Dionysius, a rejection of the earth, the air, the water.

What of real life? What of nature? Has any one seen a perfect tree? A straight river? A perfectly rounded lake? A shrub so symmetrical that another shrub is interchangeable — can one say 'That's a model T tulip?' Nature is not like that. Nature is decidedly asymmetrical. Nature is off-balance, imperfect, incomplete, ugly — by some standards, drab, it is the antithesis of ordered civilisation. Yet nature survives. Why then? Well, the critic can say, nature survives because it survives; that is the fittest is the survivor; one is left with what one is left. On the other hand it is a matter of ecology, of getting on with each other. Nature's balance is not the balance of equals but of opposites, not diametrically opposed opposites, but of unevens opposing each other and reaching a symbiosis of concurrence. As a theory of order nature survives by the acceptance of itself. Nature does not try and win. Social order, in the naturalistic terms, survives by the acceptance of itself as itself. This is the essence of anarchism, of finding oneself in terms of nature, with earth and air and water, reciprocity in an ethical universe.

What then has this to do with the origin of the police? It is my contention that the police were created to preserve a notion of art, of beauty, of balance and to imbue the populace with an ideological awareness of the sanctity of this art as visualised by a version of cultural reality called modern society. The battle-lines then between those who live as nature ordains — which I call anarchists — and those

whose theories of social order support social control (ideology), the thoughts (symbols) and nature (materialism). The function of the police is to preserve symmetry. Notions such as the 'rule of law', 'egalitarianism', 'equality', 'democracy', 'liberty', all stem from some notion of a symmetrical universe and the vision of perfection. The whole notion of classes implies a rigidity, a hierarchy, a stable form in balance symmetrical. In feudal times the notion 'feu' a duty, of 'fief' a holding from another implied this hierarchical order; the worker and the boss implies hierarchy. What we must do as anarchists is to take the fight into the cultural form. One cannot get rid of the police by getting rid of the state. One can only get rid of the police by getting rid of the notion of symmetry and in that one must attack the present society's cultural form. Change one's notion of beauty and one changes one's notion of balance. Change one's notion of balance and the perspective changes. The only important perspective then becomes nature, and one has a naturalistic universe. An anarchistic society.

PETER NEVILLE

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 F F Piven *Regulating the Poor* Tavistock 1972

REVOLUTIONARY TERROR

disease or cure?

Review of George Leggett, *The Cheka: Lenin's Political Police*. Oxford University Press, 1981 £22.50 514pp.

THE Viennese ironist Karl Kraus once described psychoanalysis as the disease of which it purports to be the cure. Some of us in the libertarian socialist tradition have long believed this about that fusion of revolutionary theory and practice which is the Marxist tradition. A number of sympathetic critics and supporters have tried to apologise for the individual and organisational methods of the tradition from Marx through Lenin and Stalin to what's happening in China or Vietnam today, by arguing that it's not Marxist revolutionary theory which is the problem. The cause of the creation and maintenance of authoritarian, anti-revolutionary 'communist' or 'State socialist' Worker's States, has been unfortunate deviations from correct theory in practice, due to a varying set of circumstances: material backwardness, the legacy of the struggle for power, the chaos of civil

war, capitalist encirclement and throttling, and, above all, the necessity to defend the Revolution against domestic counter-revolutionary threats — real and potential. These practical contingencies, not inbuilt contradictions in the very Marxian theory of revolutionary social change itself, explain and (so the argument goes) somehow 'justify', the existence of repressive State apparatuses, above all, secret political police forces, exercised against the very workers and peasants in whose name and on whose behalf the Revolution is supposedly being 'made'.

Consider for example Bertrand Russell, in his sympathetic and often insightful account of his visit to the Soviet Union in 1920, *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism: Bolshevism may go under in Russia, but even if it does it will spring up again elsewhere, since it is ideally suited to an industrial population in distress. What is evil in it is mainly due to the fact that it has its origin in distress; the problem is to disentangle the good from the evil, and*

induce the adoption of the good in countries not goaded into ferocity by despair.... In Russia, the methods of the Bolsheviks are probably more or less unavoidable; at any rate, I am not prepared to criticise them in their broad lines. But they are not the methods appropriate to more advanced countries.... (Unwin Books, p 56)

In his prefatory note to the second edition, Russell can still write that 'in all major respects I adhere to the view of Russian Communism which I took in 1920'.

Victor Serge's apology in 1926 for Lenin's ruthless one-party dictatorship and its methods of what Serge calls 'revolutionary repression' — that is, arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and execution without trial by the political police (the Cheka) — is even more explicit. Truth, justice, rights

— above all, ye gods, no Cheka! — no more prisons.... A smooth entry into the free city of communism, the arrival straight after the tempest at the Blessed Isles. What these revolutionaries — our libertarian brothers — prefer to the machine-gun is...garlands of roses, red roses.... Everything we have just said about the machine-gun applies to the State and its apparatus of constraint: prisons, courts, the police, the security services. The revolution does not have a choice of weapons. It amasses on its bloody arena those forged by history, those which have just fallen from the hands of a defeated ruling class....the proletariat and the peasantry require a powerful apparatus of repression. The machine-gun does not disappear, it changes hands.



and freedoms come in Class-garb, in two sizes. There is Revolutionary-class truth, justice, freedom and happiness is defined by the (Communist) Party monopolising and exercising State power on behalf of the People against the Class-Enemy. This is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The People are all and only those who support and obey the Party's dictates and policies; the counter-Revolutionary Enemy all those who don't. The methods and aims of the Revolution as defined by the Party are taken as given; obedience to the Party is 'justified' by the 'fact' that 'it''s leaders possess a correct theoretical understanding of the necessary laws, means and principles of the Revolution. It follows that ruthless 'revolutionary repression' of all class-Enemies is justified — contrary to the libertarian critiques of the counter-revolutionary character and effects of 'revolutionary terror':

No period of transition; no dictatorship of the proletariat ('Down with all dictatorship!); no repression after the workers' victory; no revolutionary tribunals, no Cheka!

(What Everyone Should Know About State Repression, Lond., New Park Publications, 1979, pp58—59)

It's hard to know which is more shocking; that Serge could write this in 1926, after direct experience of 4 years of counter-revolutionary 'revolutionary repression' under Lenin and 2 under Stalin; or that this was the same 'libertarian communist' who so clearly described and denounced — not apologised for — 'revolutionary terror' in later works, such as *From Lenin to Stalin* and *Memoirs of A Revolutionary*. In a sense, this is an irrelevance. What's important is that neither Russell nor Serge at this stage questioned the intrinsically repressive, authoritarian character of Marxian revolutionary theory itself. To stress this fundamental fact is not to deny or downplay the incredibly difficult economic, military and cultural conditions faced by the Bolsheviks, conditions which (as Serge, Russell, Carr, Deutscher and other serious students of the Russian revolution correctly stress), seemed to make 'unavoidable' the methods of 'revolutionary repression'.

It is, however, one of the merits of George Leggett's meticulously researched and documented *The Cheka* that Leggett demonstrates that, in addition to these practical conditions and pressures, authoritarian repression was built into Lenin's conception of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In this sense, the writings of (eg) Lenin and Trotsky are no more nor less than the consistent expression and 'justification' of the Party's practice of revolutionary repression and terror against 'the People' as soon as workers or peasants resisted or opposed Party policy.

(In this perspective it is, I believe, justified and correct to regard Lenin's 'April Theses' and 'State and Revolution' as opportunistic and tactical in status, character and function: the speed with which the Party abolished the Soviets and other organs of genuine economic and political democracy in the name of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, plus the totality of his subsequent writings and practice, is the best proof of this. See, eg., Daniel Guerin's *Anarchism* Monthly Review Press, 1970. Leggett's study, exhaustively quoting Lenin chapter and verse before and after October 1917, speaks for itself on this point.)

*My criticism of Leggett is that he fails adequately to trace the Bolsheviks' theory and practice of State repression and terror back to its roots: the thought and writings of Marx himself. True, some Marxologists (eg. Avineri) have attempted to portray Marx as a peaceful reformist, a non-revolutionary theorist of Social Democracy. Such a radical misrepresentation is possible only if one ignores the fundamental features of Marx's conception of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and its chief underpinnings: revolutionary terror, and the 'principle' that the End justifies the Means. Notwithstanding other apparently more libertarian-democratic formulations in certain of his writings, and for all his speculations concerning the possibility of non-violent social change, the dominant constant in Marx's theory of revolution is class-struggle: the necessity for the 'smashing' by the revolutionary Proletariat of the sustaining institutions of corporate and State capitalist power. Lenin makes this crystal-clear in what — ironically — has come to be regarded as among the most 'libertarian' of his writings, 'The State and Revolution'.

In truth, Marx's conception of the fundamental condition for revolutionary communist change remained that which he and Engels formulated in the aftermath of the crushing of the Paris workers' 'revolution' in June 1848: 'There is only one way to abrogate the deadly agony of the old society: revolutionary terrorism.' Marx's life-long view that revolutionary violence was the necessary mid-wife of communist change by itself does not entail anti-libertarian, anti-democratic State repression. It does so, however, when conjoined with two other constituent features of the theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The first is the necessity for the Proletariat and its revolutionary leadership to conquer State power, in order to abolish it. The second is that the end of the abolition of class domination and the State *requires* — hence justifies — ruthless 'revolutionary repression' of class enemies. *Everything* necessary to realise or defend the Revolution is justified. The 'science' of revolutionary class struggle knows no moral principles. Revolutionary Marxism is an anti-Humanism. There are only class-Friends and Enemies. And who decides whether eg. Proudhon or Bakunin, or any other supposed 'petit-bourgeois' member of the Anarchist tradition is a Friend or an Enemy? Why clearly, the Leadership of the Communist (revolutionary Working Class) Organisation, Party or State in question — in other words, Marx and Engels, Lenin, Trotsky (who quickly forgot his correct 'libertarian' 1904 critique of the authoritarianism built into the Dictatorship of the Proletariat) Stalin, or the leaders of the 'communist' States in China, Vietnam or the USSR today. Even Rosa Luxemburg, for all her critical 'left-communist' opposition to Lenin's more orthodox Marxism, was content to caricature and dismiss Proletarian Dictatorship, as anti-revolutionary 'petit-bourgeois' nonsense.

of the Proletariat) Stalin, or the leaders of the 'communist'

Granted all this, how does a *libertarian* revolutionary socialist address and answer the fundamental problem of revolutionary social change: how to achieve and defend one's libertarian aims (the abolition of the economic and State institutional causes of exploitation, unfreedom and violence) against domestic and foreign counter-revolution, without resorting to means which contradict, undermine and render unrealizable those ends? First, by not making a fetish of (the abstraction) 'the Revolution', to which real, concrete human lives are easily and cheaply subordinated. Second, by rejecting as the untenable, pernicious, counter-revolutionary nonsense it is the pseudo — 'principle' that revolutionary Ends require — hence 'justify' — any Means. Ends and Means are a non-separable unity. Unless one's means can be *shown to be* compatible with the ends of libertarian socialist change, they are *un-justified*. The only solution *in principle* to this means—ends problem is the continuous *practice* of the ends of freedom and democracy.

This applies not merely to the Marxist dogma that the Proletariat (ie. 'it's self-appointed Leadership) must conquer and exercise State power in order to abolish it: (If Marxist's will swallow this in the name of 'the Revolution', they will swallow anything.) It applies, even more particularly, to the creation of a secret political police force to 'defend' 'the Revolution'. (Leggett's arguments that one should call the Cheka a 'political' rather than a 'secret' police force — because it operated 'openly, as is clear from the Cheka's frequent use of the Soviet press', and because its 'main function was a political security one' (ppxiii-xiv) — are unconvincing. As his own study shows, the Cheka's activities *were* essentially secret, subject to no real supervision or control beyond Lenin's close relationship with Cheka-head Dzerzhinsky.)

In fact, in his *Memoirs*, Victor Serge — by this time he had stopped trying to falsify the facts and defend the indefensible — argues (on the basis of his own first-hand experience of Soviet conditions from 1919 to 1936) that 'the formation of the Chekas was one of the gravest and most impermissible errors that the Bolshevik leaders committed in 1918, when plots, blockades, and interventions made them lose their heads.'

All evidence indicated that revolutionary tribunals, functioning in the light of day (without excluding secret sessions in particular cases) and admitting the right of defense, would have attained the same efficiency with far less abuse and depravity. Was it so necessary to revert to the procedures of the Inquisition? (pp 80—81).

While Serge argues that it wasn't. Leggett in his Epilogue argues against Serge that, precisely to the extent that 'revolutionary terror' is central to Leninism, the Chekas *were* necessary (pp 361—2). Leggett is right, but, once again, his analysis is insufficiently radical. For surely the root question which neither Serge nor Leggett address is: what are or should be the Aims of the 'Revolution'? Efficiency or necessity pertain to means. What are the aims of the revolutionary exercise? When examined in this light and from this standpoint, Serge's critical support for revolutionary Marxism (which is what his defense of Leninism with or without the Cheka boils down to) is seen to be part of the problem, no part of its solution. Because of its nonsensical pretensions to being a 'science' of social change in which humans are subordinate to the requirements of the class-struggle or Revolution as defined by its Class/Party self-appointed Leaders, Marxism has built into its heart an anti-libertarian separation between the (justified) means and aims of the revolutionary enterprise. Ostensibly a philosophy of human liberation, in reality Marxist theory and practice has shown itself to be a profoundly authoritarian ideology of power and domination. Any revolution which requires such 'revolutionary terror' for its realisation of defense is rotten to the core.

PAT FLANAGAN.



The riddle of femininity

Review of Joanna Bunker Rohrbaugh, *Women: Psychology's Puzzle*. Abacus 1981 £2.95 505pp.

IN 1933, in his *New Introductory Lectures*, Freud published his final, most complete and mature attempt to understand the complexities of female sexuality. 'When you meet a human being', Freud writes in his essay on "Femininity", 'the first distinction you make is "male or female?" and you are accustomed to make the distinction with unhesitating certainty.' However, Freud insists, we can explain the distinctive differences between men and women neither in terms of *anatomy* nor *social* role-conditioning, as important as both sets of causal factors obviously are. Only a *psychological* approach can in principle suffice to explain the nature and conduct of, and the relations between, the members of each sex. However, Freud dashes our hopes at the outset: 'psychology too is unable to solve the riddle of femininity':

The explanation must no doubt come from elsewhere, and cannot come till we have learnt how in general the differentiation of living organisms into two sexes came about. We know nothing about it, yet the existence of two sexes is a most striking characteristic of organic life which distinguishes it sharply from inanimate nature.... In conformity with its peculiar nature, psycho-analysis does not try to describe what a woman is — that would be a task it could scarcely perform — but sets out enquiring how she comes into being, how a woman develops out of a child with a bisexual disposition.

I mention Freud not because I accept his general basic psycho-analytic categories (the theory of instincts, of the unconscious, of innate bisexuality), still less his account of the 'development' of 'normal' men and women (the theory of the male and female Oedipus complex, castration and penis complexes). I mention him to stress the fact that caution and libertarian tolerance are in order when attempting to tackle questions as difficult and hitherto intractable as the sexual nature of men and women. If our greatest psychologist, after a life-time's labour, can't begin to understand the minds and sexual natures of men and women, a sense of salutary modesty is in order. Fools and dogmatists tend to rush in.....

A fairly reliable test of an author's sensitivity to the complexities of human sexuality is his/her ability to do critical justice to Freud's actual views. Too many 'feminists' are content to caricature Freud, rather than give him the ruthless fair criticism he deserves (in both senses). Joanna Bunker Rohrbaugh is, alas, one of these. The blurb on the back cover of *Women* describes the book as 'the first attempt to assess the scientific basis of the feminist challenge to male psychology's perception of women'. In fact, Rohrbaugh's 'scientific feminism' is enough to give both science and feminism a bad name, if each hasn't one already.

Consider Rohrbaugh's critique of Freud. First, she makes no real attempt to discriminate between the views of Freud, and those who presume to speak and practice in his name (for some critical discussion, see Russell Jacoby's *Social Amnesia*). Second her 'critique' rarely rises above the level of caricature of what Freud actually wrote. True, she rightly

takes him to task for the lack of empirical support for, and the refuting evidence against, his theory of 'envy for the penis' in girls. But this is like shooting a sitting or already dead duck. More seriously, like more than a few other 'feminist' critics, Rohrbaugh attempts to tax Freud for venturing something he doesn't presume to provide: a theory of the sexual nature of women.

Rohrbaugh is content to portray Freud as a biological determinist, misquoting him and attributing to him a proposition he never wrote: that 'anatomy is destiny'. This caricature is all the more ironic, given Freud's categorical insistence that no anatomical (biological) account of the distinctive (psychological) sexual nature of men and women is possible. Or consider her attribution to Freud of the view that the 'truly feminine' is the 'passive' (105), when Freud explicitly rejects the identification of 'masculine' with 'active' and 'feminine' with 'passive', stressing instead 'the influence of social customs, which similarly force women into passive situations'. According to Rohrbaugh, for 'Freudian theory' 'anything longer than it is wide is considered a penis symbol, while anything elliptical or round is considered a womb symbol'. (97) Comment is superfluous.

Having disposed of Freud, Rohrbaugh presents her alternative theoretical standpoint from which to unfold her 'scientific feminist' solution to 'psychology's puzzle': 'social learning theory', which 'views all human behaviour as learned'. (141) 'Social learning theorists believe that 'femininity' is learned in the same way as are all other behaviour and personality characteristics....' (140) From birth, a girl learns to act as a normal female: to be nurturant, passive and dependent. 'Learning extends to physical gender itself; as is clear from studies of hermaphrodites biology is no match for learning even in this area.' (462-3) Male and female sex roles — 'masculinity' and 'femininity' — are a social product of male power. In psychology, as in every other male-dominated sphere of life, men define women as the weaker, inferior sex. It follows that to understand male-female sexual differences is to abolish artificially learned sexist sex roles.

How adequate is all this? It isn't — at all. Consider, first, Rohrbaugh's grandiose-sounding abstraction, 'social learning theory'. This meaningless noise is, in reality just a pretentious name for good old-fashioned untenable Behaviourism, the pseudo-science of human behaviour. It's surely unnecessary in 1981 to demonstrate yet again that, far from explaining the causes of human action in any domain, Behavioural learning theory is in principle incapable of explaining the simplest facts concerning the acquisition of human systems of knowledge and belief about anything. On the contrary, it's simple to demonstrate that all such Behavioural attempts to prove that human knowledge and behaviour is the learned product of social experience, presuppose for their intelligibility precisely the sorts of assumptions concerning naturally innate, biologically given human powers (to acquire and act) that Behavioural learning theory seeks to deny away. (See eg, Chomsky, *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom*, *Reflections on Language*, or the chapter on B F Skinner in *For Reasons of State*.) Rohrbaugh's 'social learning theory' is incapable of recognising, let alone explaining, the essential fact about human behaviour: its undetermined, creative character. If men and women occupy artificial, alienated sex roles in our society, they freely choose to do so. (This is quite consistent with the great variations in the amounts and kinds of freedom enjoyed by different men and women, due to the existing unequal distribution of power and privileges.) Paradoxically, only an approach which seeks the roots of the collaboration of men and women in 'normal' sexist stereotypes in the free exercise of our given, genetically inherited natural powers — above all, our hopes, wishes, fears and desires — is in principle capable of explaining the nature and effects of the prevailing system of warping sex roles. After all, social institutions, norms and power relations are free human creations, which all of us shape or reproduce, whether as dom-

inators, collaborators or victims.

What is it about the nature of men and women which enables and causes them freely to participate in the system of sexist sex-roles conditioning? The only approach to an adequate understanding of the sexual nature of men and women, I believe, is one which starts from this question, and attempts to understand (a) what naturally-given attributes are specific to and distinctive of, men and women; and (b) what naturally-given attributes are common to all human beings, irrespective of sex. Only such a natural, naturalistic, approach to the fused problems of sexuality and sexism can provide the necessary basis for what we need most: a genuine (natural) science of the psychology of human nature, sexuality and power-relations. While Rohrbaugh's empirical chapters (Parts III and IV) on everyday life for women in our sexist culture provide a wealth of valuable raw material, her theoretical framework and approach are best understood as a symptom of the difficulty of the problem.

RUTH FREUND London, December, 1981

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