

sexist. Of course, every case could be looked at according to its merits. On appeal it could get as far as the Home Secretary himself and, given the right class of applicant, no doubt he would show the unstrained quality of his mercy. But he has made quite clear where his prejudices lie by insisting that what he is fighting is the 'abuse' of the bridal path to British nationality.

And one of the guidelines to clarify 'abuse' is whether the potential bride has actually seen her fiancé before--with abuse being proved together with the proof that she hasn't.

But the thing is that, while for white Britishers the idea of marrying someone you haven't seen (except for completely political, economic or legalistic reasons) is unthinkable, for certain kinds of brown Britishers it is a way of life. It is a way of life built upon their religion, their culture and tradition. It is part of a male chauvinist pattern of family life which all anarchists would oppose, together with the divisive religious practices and beliefs which go with it.

But Willie Whitelaw is not opposed to male chauvinism, as the sexist policy we have just described makes clear. Nor is he opposed to religious practices. So his new regulations have nothing to do with liberating Asian girls from the domination of their fathers, nor with encouraging them to make their own choice of partners. On the contrary, Whitelaw has stated that in his view, the family should live where the father is, by which he means that the Asian women should go back to Asia.

And he stated quite openly on TV last week that he saw the purpose of his law to keep out 'the males'. Although incidentally his regulations will prevent entry for old men and women too--the grandfathers and grandmothers who may have nobody left to look after them in their homeland--the real purpose is to keep out the 'breeding males'.

In talking like this about human beings, Whitelaw betrays not only his racism, but his authoritarianism too. And those whose prime concern is either feminism or antiracism should remember that sexism and racism are tools of authority--and as long as you have authority those wielding it will use divisive tools to maintain it.

Nor will they be content to use the 'psychological' tools of sexism and racism and the like. William Whitelaw has inherited the largest prison population this country has ever known, built up patiently by Tory and Labour Governments alike over the past twenty years. And he has now proudly announced an intensification of the punitive element in Britain's penal code (never very enlightened) obviously relishing his own description of harsh discipline for Borstal boys and the biggest prison-building programme for many years.

While recommendations have just appeared that Dartmoor prison should be closed down (a similar official recommendation was made 40 years ago) the Home Office has let it be known that 'in present circumstances' this is not pos-

sible--and has announced that no less than five more prisons are due to be opened in the next three years!

It was thought when Whitelaw was first given the Home Secretary's job that he would prove to be one of the Tory moderates and would have a restraining effect upon our rabidly right-wing Prime Minister. This has proved not to be so, and we can now only conjecture as to whether Whitelaw ever was a 'moderate' anyway or whether he is being dragged to the right by the Iron Maiden herself.

Not that it matters. Scratch a Tory, however moderate, and you find an authoritarian and it is quite clear that Willie's task in the Thatcherite scheme of things is to clear up some of the social mess that she is going to create in the good old Conservative manner: repression.

Maggie Thatcher's one great aim is to bring back radical Toryism of that good old sort--the kind that reigned during the industrial revolution, when bosses were bosses, workers knew their place and you got what you could pay for. You either worked--on conditions laid down by the landowners and the new industrialists--or you went to the workhouse or the prison. Women and children were cheap labour, the latter in plentiful supply thanks to lack of birth control, though early death saved many from the slavery of the pit or the factory--untrammelled by Safety Acts or any such namby-pamby nonsense. Welfare did not exist, and there was nothing to interfere with your sturdy independence but Sweet Charity. Education consisted mostly of being taught the hard way to be obedient and of inculcation of enough rough learning to enable you to be of use to your employer, who was kind enough to offer you work in his factory on his terms, for his profit.

The division between rich and poor was enormous and there was no way the poor could hope to become rich save by crime--hence the massive prison-building programme of the Victorian era. Most of them still exist and are full to overflowing today.

Since this was the hey-day of Empire, there were no black faces to be seen in Britain. The natives were all kept in their proper place--over there. There, the British Tommy did his glorious bit for 'his' country and the image of Queen Victoria made them all--conquerors and conquered alike--work to bring the wealth of the world back to the British ruling class. The Queen was on the throne, God was in his heaven and every body knew their place. Above all--you got got what you could pay for and nothing else. And Britain was Great.

Clearly Maggie wants to see all this all over again. Can it be that, like Martin Luther King, she has been to the mountain top and has had a dream? (For the rest of us, a nightmare?) She is certainly doing her best to take us back to Victorian times, with cuts in every form of social wealth while at the same time putting more money and power in the hands of the rich and more and more

real, brutal power at the disposal of the State.

Cuts in education, but more money for defence. Cuts in social services, but more for the police. Selling of council houses, but more building of prisons. Rigging the tax system to give massive benefits for high salary earners - but higher charges for NHS medical prescriptions and dental treatment, for school meals, for college fees for foreign students, and so on and so on. You know it all.

A famous phrase fits Maggie's vision perfectly: Private affluence and public squalour. And after all the years we have had of social democratic governments since the First World War - including Attlee's after World War 2, which had complete and absolute political mastery - it is proving pathetically easy to bring about.

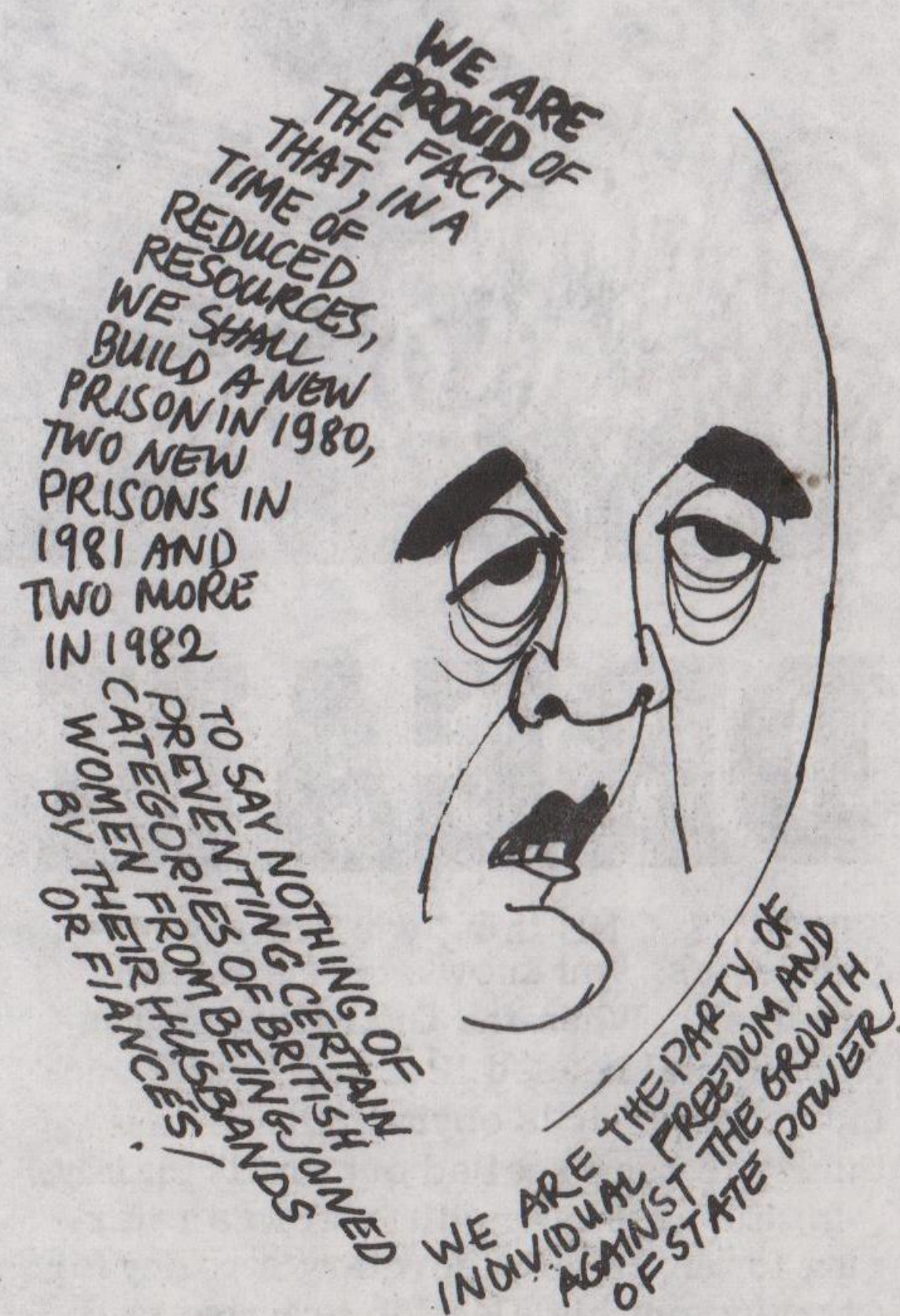
Why? Because at no time has there been a move in this country to take the power out of the hands of the ruling class without creating a new ruling class to take over. All that has happened is that the power of the old ruling landowner class has been balanced with the bureaucratic state and they have merged together into 'the Establishment', with the joint intention of manipulating and dominating the rest of us - the function of all governments, 'Left' or 'Right'.

The only true alternative is the anarchist one - and what is being done about that. Instead of belly-aching about what the state is doing or not doing for us, we should be building our own alternative social structures in the same way as alternative technologies are being explored.

We have seen that it is possible to create free schools, food co-ops, child-minding groups and mutual aid groups of many kinds - all worked voluntarily.

Isn't it time that those who actually do the work anyway started to do it for themselves instead of waiting to be employed by the state?

EDS



NOT THE CHURCH!
NOT THE STATE!
WOMEN MUST DECIDE THEIR FATE!



SUNDAY, 28th October saw me and around 3900 other people meandering around Hyde Park, drawn together to demonstrate against the 'Corrie Bill'. The implications of this bill for women desiring to terminate a pregnancy are far ranging and have been adequately covered by other sections of the media let alone FREEDOM (see previous issue).

The demonstration, march to Trafalgar Square, and speakers, had been organised by the TUC. So, true to form, a raucous male voice shouted out of the tannoy at the teeming hordes, trying to organise us into our predetermined slots and sections. The rag bag of assorted revolutionaries, anarchists and Anthropologists against Corrie were of course relegated to section 7, the back of the march. The TUC as the true defenders of justice, freedom and British capitalism, led by Len Murray, were at the front. Or at least that's how it was supposed to be. However, a group of about 300 feminists discussing this fact decided that women should lead the march, and they moved to the front. For about half an hour, trade union stewards and police tried to persuade them to move back into the march. Len, true to his socialist beliefs, refused to move forward, saying "this march is organised by the TUC and we are not going to tag along behind small groups. Either they can march behind the TUC or by themselves."

The intransigence of Mr. Murray was broken by the defection of some 200 of

his own members who went to march with the women and so, delayed, the march set off, led by women, then a fifty-yard gap, then the rest.

An interesting aside. Getting cold and bored in section 7 waiting for things to move at our end, the talking megaphone soothed our restlessness, saying that the delay was due to the large turnout--no mention of the real cause.

So section 7 wandered around, sat down, got up, got pissed off, and finally with a wave to the others still waiting their turn for the TUC to call them into line, the anarchist contingent (if 50 constitutes a contingent) struck off across the park, jumped the fence, marched on the opposite side of the road for a while and finally ducked into the subway to surface amid the marches. Out came the usual slogans and chants, such memorables as "Corrie withdraw it, as your father should have done" and then, originating from a women's group: "Not the church, not the state. Women must decide their fate". Caught at first unaware, anarchists soon added a bit of bite to it with roars of "burn the churches, fuck the state, women must decide their fate", and soon it was all around us.

We drifted on down Park Lane, around Hyde Park Corner, which has always struck me as a lovely place to sit down on Saturday afternoons, into Piccadilly, the Haymarket and finally to Trafalgar Square. The speakers were the usual bunch of concerned MPs, doctors, and

Big Len Murray. "If I'd known how close to the plinth I'd be I'd have brought the rotten eggs," muttered one comrade, as comrade Len was angrily booed by women's groups and us. Then again there was even a 'renegade' Tory MP on the stage!

As the speeches wound up people were still coming into the Square from Speakers' Corner. Section 7 probably hasn't arrived yet. The organisers thanked us and themselves in mutual masturbation and even the police thanked us for our cooperation and asked us to disperse. All tame and well-ordered and ever so British. The highest tension came when we were asked to fold our flags while walking down the Mall to Victoria station on the way home. "No banners within view of the palace." Ostrich tactics.

And so it was over. The straight press reported it in snippets, the TV misrepresented it, till angry phone calls made it change its story somewhat, and gave the rally which mustered a few hundred people in support of the bill almost as much coverage. The bill will almost definitely become law some time next year.

PS 7.11.79. Corrie has stated that he will accept an amendment to his bill making the time limit for legal abortions 24 weeks. This changes nothing, as the strict restrictions on what conditions qualify for an abortion remain the same.

S.S.

Life in a Bantustan



Resettlement camp near Vryheid, Natal

SOME time ago a group of black and white dignitaries gathered on a dusty field to proclaim the 'independence' of a new nation: Venda, the latest in a series of 'bantustans' constructed by South Africa to disinherit the people of Azania and bring about a new interpretation of economic peonage.

The new 'state' was cast adrift with speeches from Afrikaners, Venda officials and a letter of support from Bishop Muzorewa. What, many ask, will become of the people living in Venda? How will people forcibly uprooted from city townships and moved halfway across a continent fend for themselves in this barren land bordered on the north by 'Rhodesia'?

There is one way to see how, after a couple of generations of migrancy and degradation, the people of Venda may survive in their villages - look to one bantustan which has been in existence since it was created as a cheap labour homeland by the British at the end of the last century. That place is Lesotho.

Lesotho, completely surrounded by South Africa and totally dependent upon remittances sent home by migrant mine workers (more than 50 per cent of the

male adult population) is one of the poorest countries in the United Nations.

But it is much worse than that. The Basotho, increasing their numbers at a rate of more than 2 per cent per year, have been pushed onto barren hillsides crisscrossed by great gulleys caused by soil erosion and affected by seasonal winds which carry top soil away at a rate of 1 per cent per annum. The villages have come to base their survival on the mine wages. There is no hope of agricultural sufficiency. 56 per cent of Basotho households are involved in the migrant economy to the extent that, on average, money sent home accounts for 70 per cent of income.

The price has been high. Family life has been shattered. With men away for periods varying from nine months to five years there is no longer a traditional centre to the otherwise traditional society. Women and children populate the villages at the mercy of food shortages, health deficiencies and isolation.

In a tiny village named Ha Tsilo there has been a terrible beating. It happens often in many villages. A young woman was left with her new husband's parents

while he went off to the mines to make some money to send home for the children she would have. He has returned to hear, from other men, that his wife has been seen with men.

He has beaten her - badly. A wide gash in her head with cuts all over her body. With blood clotting on her scalp she goes to the village court. The elders order her husband to give her 20 cents and a blanket so that she can go to the clinic. He refuses. The gash festers as she walks the ten miles.

Another woman in the same village has not seen her husband for years. She has two children, no income and a small garden. She sets off to find him, although she has never been away from her mountain village. She goes all the way to the Orange Free State mining city of Welkom, a fearful journey through strange and violent scenes. He is living near the mine with another woman and has another family. She makes her way back home, now one of the thousands of 'mine widows'.

"Many women, abandoned by their husbands, are forced to supplement the meagre income they receive from farming. In order to maintain their families they look for work or produce goods to sell. Many, too, look for sexual relations outside marriage: 'My husband left four years ago and has never contacted me since. I am very much worried by the difficulties that I meet in connection with my life as a human being with natural desires. I have a child with a man friend of mine who is caring for me and made himself a man and supported my family'".

The young wife returned to Ha Tsilo, to nothing. The alternative for her was to return to the capital, Maseru, and hang about the railway station where the men come off the trains from the mines.

"When the train arrives in Maseru, one could call it a 'sin-day express' ... Prostitutes, usually in groups, try to pick up victims after they have received their deferred pay in Maseru. Once a man is taken to her home, she asks for 10 Rand (£5.80) to buy food and liquor. She provides him with these in sufficient quantities. When he is drunk she mocks him that he has no money. So he shows her where it's at. She takes the money and kicks him out ... oneman rejected the advances of a prostitute. He was attacked by three of them. Luckily some bystanders came to his rescue."

The villages are empty of young men even when they do not abandon their families.

Hloste is in the northern lowlands of Lesotho. It is a so-called 'rich' area of the nation. There are a number of international agricultural projects. It is the Prime Minister's district.

In the village the harvest was poor - early rains and a shortage of manpower. Towards the end of the winter the cattle were skeletal and the dogs were going hungry. But it is not so bad as other parts of the country. This is a government showplace. Only four children were savaged by dogs - two survived. But there was a funeral every weekend for two and a half months and women and children retired to their huts at dusk in terror while the few men walked about with sticks the size of axe handles. The dogs were in charge.

And a woman farming alone, in a country where she is little more than common chattel, is easy game. "I have problems with work in the fields because there is no one to help me in ploughing. Another problem is theft of cattle, crops or farming implements. Our headman has tried to stop it but it still goes on ... it appears that many men marry for sex only ... the man comes home to make another baby, but the woman carries all the responsibilities."

Responsibility is the Basotho woman's consolation, but it is a bitter consolation fraught with violence.

Basotho society is patriarchal. Village life is totally male dominated. Many restrictive taboos revolve around responsibilities accorded to men - primarily herding cattle and providing income to the family.

The dislocation of this social condition has left women to think and work for themselves. But it has also created a real undertone of violence in the attitudes of men towards women which, in some ways, accounts for the common case of wife battering. This is not eased by the fact that the cattle herding tradition of village society keeps boys from school while girls are free, after their household chores, to attend classes. It has made women the motive force, the one hope, in the struggle for survival and development. They form the basis of agricultural initiative, industrial potential and social revolution. But for the moment they are set against every tradition of Basotho society as well as men scared and brutalised by a migrant labour system.

Today women and their children live in round huts called rondavals. They are made of stone wattle or brick. The hut may have a window. Everyone in the family lives in the one round room with the hearth in the middle. There is no chimney, smoke coats the inside of the thatch roof creating an insulation of sorts. There are chronic occurrences of infants falling into the open central fires.

Grain is stored in the ceiling, attracting rats. The garbage midden is located directly in front of the house.

Infection and disease are communicated, particularly when (as is the condition most of the time) families are chronically malnourished. In the country the infant mortality rate is 106 per 1000. Children under five seldom if ever see a doctor, clinic, or immunisation centre. Medicine is not free in Lesotho.

This situation has taken a while to develop. It is the heritage of a little more than one hundred years as a 'cheap labour' homeland for South African agriculture and industry. In that sense it is the future which has been consigned to Venda

and the other Bantustans by the Afrikaner regime. But the new Bantustans are going to be different in their social mix. They will be made up of peoples driven from their city homes, a people schooled in years of industrial experience and more inclined to take action.

But in the end the fine words of Botha and Muzuewa will not obscure the cold facts. 'Migrant labour ... dominates the life of the Bantustans, both from an economic and from a social point of view. At any one time, almost 35 per cent of employable males theoretically living in the Bantustans are absent, while many others are waiting for job opportunities in the white areas. Over 70 per cent of the economically active population is involved in the migrant labour system. A recent study indicates that it is the strongest and most able men who manage to leave the Bantustans. In Venda, the population between the ages of 30 and 39 is 84 per cent women (who cannot readily find employment outside), and between 40 and 49 it is 75 per cent women'. And so the cycle begins once again. The new 'nation' of Venda is inheritor of the legacy of Lesotho.

BRIAN MURPHY

Note The last quote is taken from 'Divide and Rule, South Africa's Bantustans', by Barbara Rogers, International Defense and Aid Fund, London 1976. The rest of the quotes and interviews in this article are taken from personal statements taken by the author and the publications 'Another Blanket: Report on an Investigation into the Migrant Situation, June 1976', Agency of Industrial Mission, P.O. Box 65 Horison 1730, Transvaal, South Africa; and 'Joint Evaluation of the Needs of Women and Children', Government of Lesotho/UNICEF, Maseru, 1976.



Mother and children in a Bantustan

PERSONS UNKNOWN

BUT ARREST IS LEGAL KIDNAPPING!



THE past fortnight has been given over to the defence, first of Trevor Dawton, then of Iris Mills.

The most serious part of the prosecution case against Trevor is that guns and ammunition, many stolen, were allegedly found in the flat at Tower Hamlets, which he was sharing at the time with co-defendant Vince Stevenson, and that the key to a holdall in which the guns were kept was found in his possession at the time of arrest.

Trevor told the prosecutor, Michael Worsley that his allegations about his involvement in a 'conspiracy' were 'a load of rubbish'. He said, 'I've told you before. I was asked to look after the bags for a couple of days by someone who was getting turned out of his flat. I didn't know what was in them. When I was arrested I was in a state of shock. All I remember was saying that I didn't want to say anything'.

The man said by the defence to have given Trevor the bags is Robert Wolf, alias Gerhard Sollinger, whom he had met at Rising Free bookshop and at an anti-racist demonstration in Lewisham. Trevor denies all knowledge of the robberies, and said that he did not know how his name got onto an insurance document for a car, as the prosecution alleges. He has also categorically denied the suggestion that he joined the Territorial Army as a spy 'to get information, and perhaps equipment'. Trevor maintains that he joined the Territorial Army to try to get some understanding of what made people do it, and some first hand knowledge of authoritarian systems and their effects.

Iris followed Trevor into the witness box. She freely admitted that she had hired a number of cars with a false driving licence - cars the prosecution say were used to commit robberies - but stated that she had done so as a favour to her former husband, Graham Rua. She had done so, with increasing reluctance each time, in the belief that the car hiring was essential to an important building contract deal in which Graham Rua was engaged, but for which he had been unable to obtain a British licence, and which would help him out of financial problems.

Her defence case revealed the key importance of the arrests of Ronan Bennett and herself under the Prevent-

ion of Terrorism Act in '77. Although Ronan had made a successful appeal against deportation from Britain - in itself a rare victory - there could be no guarantee that the police would not try again. Ronan and Iris went to France for a while but had difficulty with the language and returned to England in the hope that the police would by now have abandoned ideas of renewing the vendetta against Ronan which had begun back in Ireland years before. However, it seemed that the police were still in pursuit, using as pretext the fact that, when employed as a medical secretary in Huddersfield Iris had taken some medical cards home to work on and in the event neglected to return them. When she and Ronan realised that the police were not going to leave them alone, ever fearful of a repeat of the traumatic business of the PTA arrests they decided to take the step of changing their identities. This had, of course, necessitated the use of a large number of false documents - passports, birth certificates, driving licences, and so on.

In the circumstances Iris had been understandably unwilling to help hire cars with false papers. But her eventual acceptance had to be seen in terms of her past, long-standing relationship with Graham Rua (which was described in some detail) as well as in light of the fact that he had proved a real friend to Ronan and herself during their detention under the PTA in Huddersfield.

Thus, and admittedly with brevity, the main substance of Iris' defence. But as usual in this trial there have been fleeting glimmers of political reference which, depending on your point of view, and sense of humour, have been either amusing or verging on the outrageous. It is clear, for instance, that judge King-Hamilton likes a bit of 'light relief' from time to time, but only when administered by himself. He explained to Ronan that an earlier expression of surprise on his part that anarchists could play Monopoly was an attempt in that direction. Perhaps the judge's additional expression of surprise that defence witness Albert Meltzer, a veteran anarchist and founder of Black Cross, worked for *The Daily Telegraph* was another effort at a joke or perhaps it was an involuntary cry of indignation. But his attitude was clear

when it came to the turn of others to inject a little humour into the proceedings - especially since it was spiced with a fundamental truth.

When asked her attitude towards kidnapping, Iris said 'I am opposed to it. After all, it's happened to me twice ... when I was arrested in Huddersfield, and again when I was arrested last year'.

The judge was unambiguously shocked. 'Do you call that kidnapping?' he retorted.

'Virtually yes', said Iris.

'Do you not appreciate that that is under the due process of law? Do you seriously equate that with kidnapping?'

'I think it's on the same level', said Iris.

The theme was pursued by Ronan. 'You've equated being arrested with kidnapping ... And the judge has rightly pointed out that arrests are carried out under the due process of law. Were the German Jews rounded up and taken to concentration camps under the due process of law? Do Russian dissidents go to prison under the due process of law?'

'Yes' said Iris.

The judge was no more amused by this - irrefutable - reminder than by Ronan's production in court of the sugar which had earlier starred in police-fed press reports as part of the terrorist evidence against them, but which had been later restored to them without comment. To Ronan's questions Iris replied that the sugar had been used to sweeten his coffee and to make meringues.

The judge became apoplectic.

Iris finished giving evidence this week and has been followed by Vince. In the meantime, in the face of the silence of the rest of the press we cannot let one point go unmentioned. As previously stated, the defendants were returned to prison after the beginning of the trial, largely as a result of the extensive publicity over jury vetting.

The significance of this lies in the effects of disgraceful prison conditions on someone who has daily to face a barrage of hostile questions from people whose profession it is to distort everything possible in the most painstaking way, and with the backing of a good night's sleep in their own beds. Fair trial? The phrase remains as meaningless as ever it was.

BACK TO TORNESS

HANG ON TO YOUR CHAINS!

On Monday 29 October the workers arriving at Torness to continue the construction of the AGR there, found their way in to the site blocked by 20 people and 24 feet of scaffolding. It was erected at dawn by a group of anti-nuclear people from the Severnside area.

Between 7 and 14 people stayed on the scaffolding tower, which was chained to the main gates, until dusk.

When the security guards had conveniently shut the main gate for us they faced the problem of how to get the work-

ers and the delivery vehicles onto the site. By 7.30 am. there was a long queue of worker, cars and delivery vehicles collecting along the access roads by the A.1. As there are two sets of gates with roads leading to them, besides the main gates, the convoy of vehicles soon made its way down to the skateraw entrance, only to find that the locks on these gates were glued up. After about two hours, people at the top of the scaffolding spotted the first vehicles making their way towards the main gates from the sea side of the site. Workers who had waited while the chains were cut from the pedestrian gate at the main entrance were further delayed by two people sitting down in front of it! In general, although the site workers were not pleased to have to wait in the cold, they were not hostile to the action or participants, and many took leaflets or talked to people on the ground.

In addition to delaying the day shift and small delivery lorries for a couple of hours, there were problems in getting lorries over 40 ft onto the site. This was not resolved until about 1 pm. and a couple of low loaders were turned away.

Twenty-four feet up a scaffolding tower right by the main gates is an excellent place from which to take photographs of the site. Anyone who would like any prints (mainly of the concrete fabrication shed and area) contact Bristol Anti-Nuclear Group, 18 Bishop Road, Bristol 7.

In the morning the police informed us that they would take the steps necessary to get us down from the tower, while in the afternoon they gave the impression they would let the elements drive us down. Naturally they were making their preparations. At dusk, around 5 pm., about 30 police converged on the scaffold tower, and a large dumper truck inside the main gates backed towards the tower. This truck had a platform of planks about 12 ft. up. At this point the seven people on the tower were warned to come down, and an oxyacetylene burner was used to cut through the half inch steel chain holding the scaffolding to the fence. Police then climbed up and began to bring people down from the tower. Four people were chained to the scaffolding with quarter inch hardened steel chains and it took



considerable effort with the bolt cutters to cut through this, particularly with someone squirming near the blades.

All the police were quite local, Berwick being the furthest station and they were generally concerned not to hurt the nine people whom they arrested. Once the occupants of the tower had been loaded into the police van it couldn't be driven away until another person who had chained himself to the van had been cut free!

The local publicity gained was quite good, all the Scottish papers covering the event, and local south west papers too. Scottish television and BBC Points West also covered the news, but with only still photographs. The Guardian was the only national daily to report the action. For every event involving direct action at Torness or elsewhere the need for taking security guards and police by surprise, and the need for good publicity have to be weighed up. No media were informed until the tower was erected, consequently no television crews were available; however, the risk of a leak was a serious one.

The action was also partially successful in directly stopping work on the site, though only for a few hours. Further action at Torness based on blockading it must take account of the need to simultaneously cover the three sets of gates (and possibly the old gates about 500 yards west of the main gates).

A few local individuals worked really hard preceding the action and during it, and this was crucial. How are future regular actions going to be organised without draining these people? There could certainly have been more support from anti-nuclear people in the area, but at present they are not geared up to take action at short notice. Once again the balance between secrecy and sufficient person power is delicate.

If 30 people (about the number who participated in the action in any way) can stop Torness for two hours, what could 7000 (the number at the Scottish rally in September) do? I'd like to see it happen.

JULIA HAMMOND

CONTACT

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MANAGING SELF-MANAGEMENT

PRECEDED by a large debate in the libertarian press and smaller meetings within the movement, the international conference of studies on self-management took place in Venice from 28 - 30 September.

The conference was sponsored by the Centre of Libertarian Studies 'G. Pinelli' of Milan and by the international journal of anarchist research Interrogations. About 1000 comrades attended this conference (the third organised by the Centre, following the one on Bakunin in 1976 and a second on the 'new bosses' in 1978). They filled three halls in the Faculty of Architecture, but were linked by a system of closed circuit television.

Most of the participants were, for obvious reasons, Italian comrades, coming from all parts of the peninsula, but many Spanish and French comrades were also present, as were, in lesser numbers, English, Dutch, Swedish, German, Canadian, Australian and Chinese (Hong Kong) comrades. These were able to follow the proceedings of the conference and intervene in the debates thanks to a simultaneous translation in Italian, English, French and Spanish.

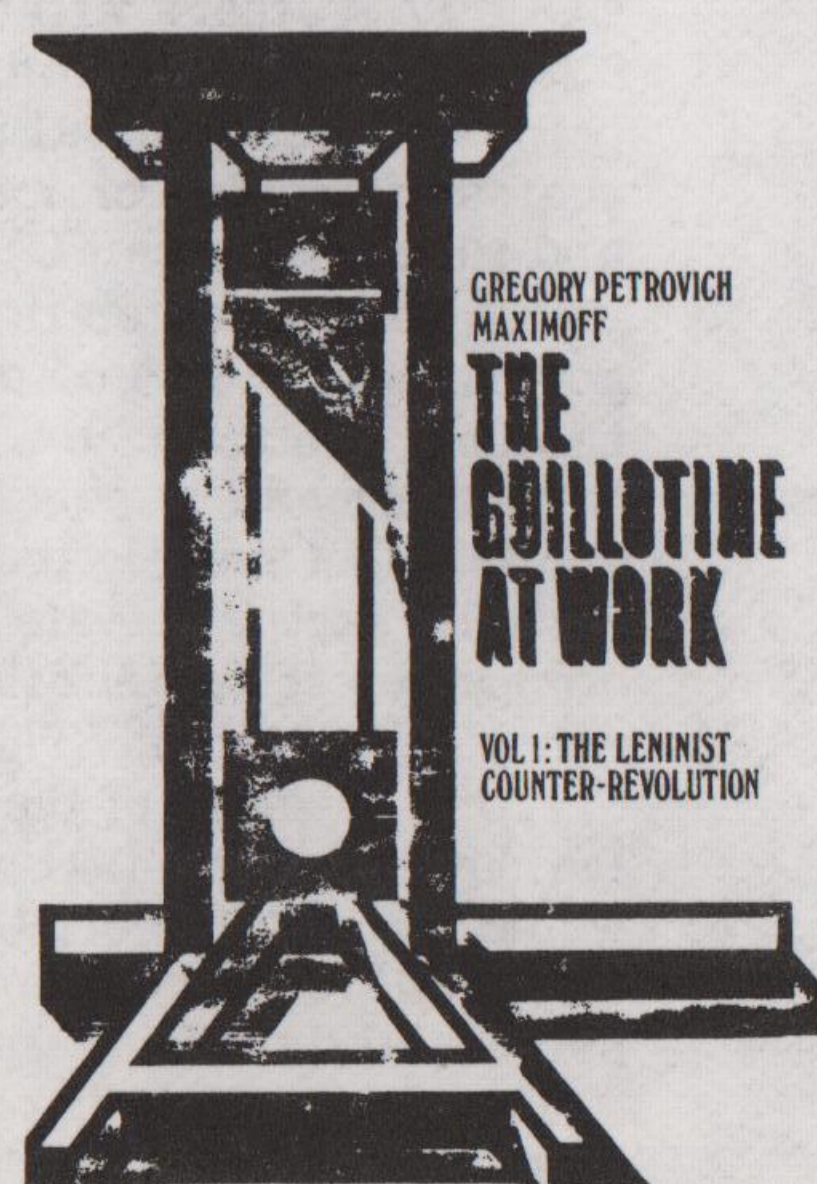
The conference was divided into five sessions, each of which began with a round table discussion of five to eight persons and then opened up into a debate in which anyone who so wished intervened (in all more than 60 people spoke). The

first session ('Reformist utopia or revolutionary strategy') was centred around the strategic and ideological aspects of self-management. The participants in this round table were Nico Berti (Padua), Eduardo Colombo (Paris), Olivier Corpet (Paris), Marianne Enckell (Geneva), Carlos Semprun-Maura (Paris) and Luciano Pellicani (Naples (Naples)).

The second session ('State and anti-state') revolved around institutional themes and in the round table the participants were Amedeo Bertolo (Milan), Franco Crespi (Perugia), Slobodan Drakulic (Rijeka), Jacques Guigou (Grenobles), Piero Flecchia (Turin), Gian Paolo Prandstraller (Bologna).

The third session ('Small is beautiful') dealt mainly with the theme of 'size', but also with questions of technology, ecology and territory. The round table participants were Franco Buncuga (Brescia), Carlo Doglio (Bologna), Leopold Kohr (Salzburg), Antonio Porrello (Bologna), John F. Turner (London). Absent, however, from this round table, was Murray Bookchin, who was recuperating in hospital on the eve of his intended departure for Italy. At the round table of the fourth session, which had as its theme 'Equality and diversity' and which concentrated on the economic aspects of self-management, took part Yvon Bourdet (Paris), Luciano Lanza (Milan), Albert Meister (Paris), Frank Mintz (Paris), Xavier Richet (Paris) and Stephen Schecter (Montreal).

SOME RECENT CIENFUEGOS PUBLICATIONS



At the round table of the fifth session ('Here and now') which focused on the strategic questions at the heart of the self-management project, but viewed from a perspective of immediate social practice (syndicalism, cooperatives, community, daily life etc), the participants were Roberto Ambrosoli (Turin), Luis Andres Edo (Barcelona), Jose Elizalde (Madrid), Akihiro Ishikawa (Tokyo), Ferro Piludu (Rome) and Ruben Prieto (Montevideo/Stockholm). The participants in the round tables, as can be seen, came from diverse geographical localities, but also had different personal experiences and ideological outlooks. (In addition to an anarchist majority there were speakers with a liberal-socialist and Marxist outlook). They included both activists and intellectuals (working in the various social sciences)

THE conference was structured around five topics each, having about six invited speakers. Each 'invitee' was supposed to put their position in 15 minutes. Debate was then 'open' with participants from the floor having a strictly monitored five minutes each. In practice, the guests tended to use the first five minutes complaining about the time limit and telling us how much they'd have to say if they had longer. For those papers given in English, add another five minutes for apologies that they weren't speaking in Italian, and for telling us, raconteur fashion, of their last visit to Venice, etc, from absurdity to nausea.

Did the almost total non-involvement of women in presenting papers and in general debate reflect reticence of those there, the fact that the most interested and committed women seemed to be doing nearly all the routine but highly necessary organisational work, or the fact that Italian women are staying outside the mainstream libertarian movement in favour of anarcho-feminism and the women's movement? Perhaps it was another of those nasty boomerangs that strike us down when we throw 'imported' academics into the ring to do our thinking and theorising for us. That is, we reproduce the traditional male-dominated academic hierarchy almost by necessity within our own institutions and activities.

I should admit certain personal factors that coloured my view of the proceedings. However, they do pertain to general discussion of the conference.

Firstly I missed the Friday proceedings which, according to many reports and the pre-conference published papers, appeared to take the most interesting, analytical and relevant of my particular interests. The two sessions missed were: 'Reformist Utopia or Revolutionary Strategy' and 'State and Anti-State'.

Like most people who are still lucky (?) enough to have a job in Italy, I work Fridays. The placing of two of the most important areas of discussion on a normal workday was, I think, a grave error. With Sunday afternoon free, at least one extra session may have been salvaged for all those (and there were quite a few) who journeyed all Friday night from the length and breadth of Italy to arrive exhausted on Saturday morning. Given the predictable misery of the *Small is Beautiful* debate even more could have been saved.

The second aspect was the fact that being non-Italian and with only a mediocre knowledge of the language, I was less prepared than I otherwise might have been. The organisers did exceptionally well to have all the papers printed prior to the conference in *Rivista Anarchica*, *Volonta*, *Interrogations* and *Autogestione*. Spanish readers had excellent early access to the content through translations in *Bicicletta*. The position was similar for those who read French. Given the highly abbreviated nature of the actual presentations at the conference, such a prior reading would have filled out substantially some very sketchy arguments.

Again to their credit, the organisers did have English translations of biographies and summaries of the 'invitees' papers. Enough to identify speakers and their topics but not much more.

Saturday morning: *Small is Beautiful*.

I had thought that serious, thinking libertarians had resolved this topic into, at minimum, the dictum that 'small might be better but is not in itself enough'. That is, that smallness may provide easier and more convivial access to full participation, it does not guarantee it, nor cause it. Given this assumption of libertarians being on the more sophisticated, political end of the debate, one would have then expected that discussion aimed at extending the meaning of this cliché, of developing some

as well as people active in different movements.

The conference ended with a general assembly of 'evaluation'. Here people expressed not only their opinions about the mistakes and deficiencies of the conference (are they avoidable?), but also a general satisfaction at having been given a major opportunity to deepen their understanding of a central theme for libertarian thought. Last but not least the conference also proved an important occasion for comrades from diverse socio-economic situations and for the most varied tendencies of the anarchist movement to meet and exchange ideas and experiences.

- Centro studi libertari G. Pinelli

new, peculiarly anarchist perspectives would have started at that minimal standpoint.

But no! We had to sit, wriggle and writhe through a re-hash of all the banal stupidities of the SIB prophets. This was especially true of the idiotic vulgarities of Khor. This man ought to see and smell the disgusting pollution caused by eg. small Italian towns and villages. Or perhaps ponder why politics is important and size and energy-use not the main determinants of well being when contemplating the depopulation of Kampuchea.

Doglio grasped the distinction between quality and quantity when discussing lifestyles but completely missed the inseparability of means and ends by putting forward 'love as mutual support' as 'the Anarchist end' and confining self-management to being a means to that end. Is there to be no mutual support in the revolutionary libertarian movement and no self-management in our future utopian society? Perhaps he should have talked of form and content instead. Also, black marks for name dropping.

Buncuja didn't name drop but used his academic planning jargon to mystify what did not seem overall to be remarkable ideas - at least as much as I could penetrate his wordy 'dominion'. However, he did raise one interesting question before having to stop because of time limit: In the cases where self-management developed in a temporary void left by the state, were the subsequent reassertions of statal power a sign of the inability to increase the quality of self-management structures?

Porrello was interesting, although overly descriptive. His conclusions on the Algerian experiences were sound, if unremarkable. He didn't speak anywhere near the topic and would have been better contributing to another session.

Turner, self-admittedly descriptive, said some good things but was again off the topic and unremarkable. Another case of preaching to the converted. Very much a radical paper for a United Nations conference.

The 'open' debate began with a brief manifesto from a FAI (Federazione anarchica italiana) person, on why self-management worked better in Spain. Ho hum. Another participant bitingly pointed out that Italy was presently witnessing the collapse of the 'economies of scale' economy anyhow, and that the present strategy of Italian bosses (state and capital) is to break down large units to better control workers.

There was also criticism of those who, following Schumacher's ideas, were being duped by radical Catholics who used aspects of libertarian thought as part of an anti-communist struggle. Here 'small' meant, the establishment of small communities centred around the church.

Thereupon followed exasperated criticism from some workers who were fed up with the conservative Schumacher-type waffle and irritated by the absence of discussion concerning immediate situations faced by them. How do you deal with structuring self-management in Fiat with problems of anarchist trade unions etc?

A Swedish participant reinforced this desire to face the present reality when discussing the politics of size. For instance, might not certain elements of 'big' society, like communications and data processing, make libertarian communities more possible on the international scale?

Most of the remaining participants reaffirmed that ultimately strategies and societies must be judged on their social worth and not on the size of the units involved. However they all paid lip service to the idea that direct democracy and industrial development are better achieved in smaller societies.

It was thus refreshing when this consensus was strongly

challenged. This participant noted the connection between small communities and the existence of people living as single roles. Role playing and role expectancy meant 'the trap of involvement' and it was this that made small communities conformist and suffocating. It was because of this conformity that so many people found 'small' comforting. The question for him then became - small and role-conformist or large with enough room for multiple and diverse identities. He then characterised self-management as pertaining to the former and anarchism to the latter.

This last polemic is certainly open to debate. It reflects divisions within the libertarian presence in Italy which found echoes throughout the conference proceedings.

The question of roles and diversity seems most important and could have been the link with the next topic if taken up. Indeed, if SIB really warranted a separate section at all, it would have been on the basis of debate between a sophisticated, anarchist 'small' position and such an equally powerful anarchist antagonist... and bugger Schumacher and his sycophants.

On the evidence of the papers presented and summaries of those that didn't front for various reasons, the debate would have been on a higher plane without the 'invitees'. The exception is Bookchin, who, if he'd been able to come, would probably have put the 'small' case well enough.

Certainly with adequate time, the participants might have discussed local or cell organisation within larger social organisms. Thus barrio or block organisation in cities, work groups in factories, local consumer co-ops and the myriad other ways people jointly run aspects of their lives. This could have been contrasted to the advantages of us all rushing into the country to find 'community'; i.e. community already exists in the city. Small is everywhere within the large, albeit at different stages of self-realisation and organisation. Coordination is and would be accomplished by traditional libertarian principles of federation where needed.

Given this potentiality for convivial association within larger social groupings, people's needs for more diverse existences can be more readily achieved in the many small 'communities' which could self-manage the innumerable aspects of city life.

Saturday afternoon: *Equality and Diversity*.

This is obviously a very important topic for anarchist theory and practice and is an area where libertarian ethics appear at their most appealing especially in comparison to the stodge of the traditional left. This session was a marked improvement on the morning's proceedings in the standard of the papers presented. The major failings were those that would be expected to accompany the invitation of a number of left-wing French academic sociologists - a tendency towards over-abstraction and the descent into the murky waters of a jargon useful for debating Althusser et al in their own putrid swamp. This was not aided by the abysmal translation from the French. Richet was interesting but besides being agile of phrase didn't provide anything that most of the 'audience' would have found exception with or in fact have produced themselves.

Lanza, recognising the 'impossibility' of rejecting the role of exchange-value, went on to try to develop a model of the economic organisation of a post-revolutionary society in which money therefore still existed. He attempted to link the positive aspects of planning and the market - equality and dynamism respectively. In doing so he avoided mixing the two forms so as to safeguard against their negative aspects.

His solution is a three-sector society: a communist sector (planned) of basic production; a collective (partially planned) sector for the distribution of goods and services, and an individual (market) sector for small scale production and distribution. Overall interesting but somewhat uncritical. How, for instance, does this model safeguard itself against the social problems of a mixed economy?

The next speaker was more challenging, due to his extreme pessimism. His historical viewpoint saw all self-management experiments as ultimately degrading of internal democracy and freedom, and thus complete failures. The 'iron law of oligarchy' still held true and was effective for cooperatives and collectives - areas previously thought of as excluded. Each new experiment reproduced past power structures even if leaderships arose informally. In the long run the persistence of the ideal could be explained by the symbolic satisfaction it gave to those who delivered that message, and also by its



benefit to social integration through an appearance of a la carte lifestyles available within the system. However, this self-management at the base was never allowed to move up the hierarchy.

A very effective paper and a good starting point for debate on ideas of informal leadership, etc. Due to time constraint this was not really taken up and it was not clear to what extent he had built up this theory on a nebulously broad definition of self-management and thus an uncritical view of the history.

The following, fairly academic paper, made some interesting points in the defence of the view that money could not be abolished. Revolutionary society could break down the social but not the functional division of labour. Thus exchange value and political economy re-emerge at the front of the stage. The problem was one of harmonising money - as perhaps the 'seal of approval for social and individual labour' - with the maintenance of the horizontal social character of self-management. His critique of markets and planning was similar to that of Lanza (standard anarchist stuff), but with no suggestions for the future.

Schecter rounded off the invitees by discussing coordination and freedom under self-management. Computers etc herald the possibility of providing the necessary information for mass participation in a complex society. Parallel to the use of these data and communications systems was the requirement for the massive reduction of time worked - to e.g. two hours per day. This would allow the necessary time and energy for information absorption and participation. He saw those who most readily accepted official societal ideology - self-managed or otherwise - as the most conformist and conservative. (A similar argument to that of Ursula Le Guin in *The Dispossessed*). Schecter's safeguard for diversity was that self-management be a 'space for conflict' rather than harmony.

To my mind a somewhat inadequate response to the important question of revolutionary ossification. How can and will children of the revolution(aries) continue to be vigilantly individual and creative within the collectivity?

Sunday morning: *Here and Now*.

Yes, here and now! Ambrosoli began with great clarity by asking if it was possible to generalise self-management out of a self-management strategy. There was danger in two extreme approaches.

The first sees that the nature of present hierarchical society makes impossible the implementation of fragmented

self-management initiatives. It is worthless expending energy now to be inevitably rebuffed or recuperated by the system. This position places complete faith in an 'after the revolution' generalising of self management.

The weaknesses of this extreme have been evident for a long time except to Marxist-Leninists. It isn't true that partial experiments are only or always supportive of the pluralism myth. Attempts by people to avoid or overcome the system's control over areas of their lives are important learning and psychological experiences for them, make life not the system more bearable and provide useful points of reference and inspiration for others.

The opposite extreme believes in the possibility of a progressive erosion of hierarchical society by the daily application of new 'doses' of self-management. That is, it denies the need for generalised revolution. Placing too much emphasis on these isolated experiments can lead to 'self-management reformism', as all energies are committed to initiatives which are too easily reversed.

Ambrosoli's own position was that only general revolution can generalise the importance of political change. Within this context all the self-management initiatives can finally realise their full meaning as part of a spreading culture.

Edo stressed that autonomy was not isolation or separatism but under self-management was dependent on mutual aid. Such organisation was only compatible with free agreement and not with majority vote. Two well made if not new points, and again possible starting points for a discussion, but unnecessary outside open debate.

Elizalde noted how the term 'self management' was currently losing its precise political meaning and value in Spain. A similar situation was glaringly apparent at the conference too, as the term was used to describe everything from workers' participation, through worker control tactics to what anarchists have generally understood by the term in the past. Elizalde was interesting on the changing economic and political situation on Spain - but it was nothing that could not have been presented, if needed, in open debate.

Ferraro spoke too fast for adequate translation but seemed to be relevant mainly to the current Italian situation.

Ishikawa revived thoughts of the 'small is beautiful' farce. What was a self-acclaimed (twice or was it three times?) 'non-anarchist empirical sociologist' doing at this conference? Delivering a standard liberal bourgeois academic industrial relations/industrial psychology paper on workers' control, participation and integration.

The fault lies with the organisers that precious time, energy and interest were thus wasted. Certainly they knew what they were getting in advance. For instance, in describing the second type of 'self-management' (sob ...) of enterprises in Japan, he blandly states:-

"Small or medium-sized enterprises where the capitalists have given self-management rights to their workers because of efficient personnel management" (synopsis in the Conference Dossier).

It was ludicrous at an anarchist conference to talk uncritically of worker participation and organisational development "under the leadership of foremen, middle-management, etc", "objectively" contributing to higher productivity whilst "subjectively, many workers are satisfied in their works through the activities". A worthy paper for an academic management conference attended by 'enlightened' new bosses. No wonder the natives were getting very restless indeed.

Piludu was optimistic about self-management's potential given its intense activity in the sphere of culture. Again this could have well arisen in general debate if needed.

Open debate ranged in content from the seemingly predictable personal experiences of Italian activists in struggle to Spanish CNT militants delivering hard class analysis. There was a great deal of very heated debate on the form and content of the conference along lines already mentioned.

Problems, Summary and Proposals

Many of the papers were descriptive or plain wishy washy. It was not clear whether the lack of analysis or of coherent theorising was the fault of the format or of the papers. Both reflect on the organisers' critical abilities.

Certainly as most of the papers weren't discussed in the following 'open' debates, there appeared to be a sense of futil-

ity in these people continuing as they had. The fact that most of the 'audience' debated the topics in terms of the generality of the area - although not necessarily in a generalised way - speaks volumes for the ability of rank and file libertarians to understand and debate the concepts without 'experts' providing the launching pad.

As they had prior knowledge of the format, attempts by many invitees to impart description rather than argument left me most doubtful as to whether some of them had anything special to say at all which would have justified their pre-eminence and near monopoly of speaking rights. If they have interesting or new data, these can be and are easily communicated through journals and magazines and needn't take up valuable discussion time.

The use of guest speakers and the attempts to ensure a truly 'international conference' meant that for most of those who attended through desire, the conference fell far short of expectations. True, the arrangements for translation and information were excellent as were the pre-conference organisation and publicity. Outstanding in fact.

The centralising necessity of translation and the structuring of the whole conference around set topics and 'invitees' inhibited any chance of real exchange developing organically over the three days. For the very few non-'Latin' participants there was no real possibility for interchange (even with translator facilities) given the monopolistic structure of each session. So it was mainly a matter of quickly stating a position with no chance of reply. This level of communication is also easily afforded via publication.

This would have left the speakers of Latin based languages - mainly Italians. For them a far more effective conference would have been one in which they could have discussed current theory in the light of activity (and vice versa) in a much more flexible and needs-centred manner.

If keynote speakers are really considered necessary, they could be drastically reduced in number to those with something really new, important or provocative to say. Perhaps one for each session. Given the non-necessity of a topic like 'Small is Beautiful' and the applicability of 'Here and Now' to open debate, this would have left three topics with a possible guest speaker. All are sufficiently important and 'meaty' to provide strong discussion, given the chance.

These very few 'invitees' (not necessarily anarchists) should then be allowed the necessary time to develop and support their arguments - say 3/4 - 1 hour. The rest of the 3 1/2 hour session could be thrown open to debate. In these large sessions it would be possible to provide full translator services.

Also I suggest a podium of some sort (no --- GASP!) for whoever is speaking at the time. It doesn't have to be high, enough so that one can see the speaker's face. It's very disconcerting to be part of a debate in which you can't see the speakers. Equality is better served by providing free and equal access to all than by submerging their physical presences into the mass.

All those who this time gave descriptive, repetitive or quite unremarkable papers could then intervene in the general cut and thrust of debate on the same level as the other participants. This would place participants in a far less passive position, ensure greater flow and development of ideas and certainly raise the standard of debate. People could still publish their ideas ahead of the conference as a way of setting a more informed and critical climate for discussion.

Additionally some attempts should be made to set aside time and places for workshops - pre-arranged or arising from needs originating in the ongoing conference. There could be a board with times and places marked and topics left vacant for participants to fill in. People could thus more actively take part in areas of special interest to them. Real sharing of experiences could then go on in more convivial surroundings, and relieve the major fora of much of the discussion of purely personal experiences. It would also provide an alternative to those who prefer to discuss more immediate or local topics rather than general theory and strategy. Of course problems of providing translation would arise but it is at this point that the organisers could well leave behind their well-intentioned attempts at providing full 'international conference' facilities.

PIETRO CIOB

DRACULA ON MY MIND

THE side lights on my car stopped working yesterday. I was going to tea with a friend. As it got dark, I said, I'm sorry, I have to leave. She said, Who are you, Cinderella? I said I felt more like Dracula in phase-reversal - I have to do my dirty work in the light.

I can't get away from the Count and his horrible friends. I seethe with legends. Coffins creak open, dawn is the enemy, wooden stakes are driven into the heart, silver bullets are fashioned from melted doubloons. In my dreams, even my two false teeth appear to me in the Dracula position. Fee-fifo-fum, I smell the blood of an Englishwoman. Anyone for blood samples? Strictly NHS.

I'm sorry that the present flood of Dracula reincarnations springs from abroad, like Murnau's classic and often frightening German silent film of 1921, *Nosferatu*. We have Hammer horror films to remind us that Bram Stoker's novel reworking of legends is one of the great creations of 19th century England, along with Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Conan Doyle's *Sherlock Holmes*. Movie moguls may peruse Edgar Allan Poe's short stories, but you won't catch them glancing at Bram Stoker's *Lair of the White Worm*, or *Lady of the Shroud*, or *Jewel of the Seven Stars*. What's special about Dracula?

Not Bram Stoker's sluggish style, which in Dracula is by no means as execrable as Dennis Wheatley's always is. Stoker's other writings, however, are worthless. In addition they feature an evil woman. I am not forgetting Catherine the Great and Lucrezia Borgia, but history has accustomed us to evil male leaders not evil female leaders - with the cartoon exceptions of various wicked fairies like the witches in *Snow White* and the Wizard of Oz. The villainesses of the fairly few American films noirs of the 1940s and 50s come closer to showing the lure of instinctual life than anything I can think of, except Dracula.

For nothing could be more universal and popular than the dream of a tall dark stranger, of noble birth, who visits bored and frustrated young women at night, and bites them in that delightfully erogenous zone on the side of the neck. With grim (and currently fashionable) symbolism, the young women only become truly alive when they are dead. As some people would put it, they exchange death-in-life for life-in-death. Christian morality has prevented people from portraying the tall dark stranger as in any way admirable. Until Freud, the life of the instincts was considered wholly evil.

I'd have thought this simple social psychology was basic to any new rendering of such a rich melodramatic pulp. Oh no! Herzog's *Nosferatu* the Vampyr offers us the fatuous sight of an angst-ridden Count Dracula surrounded by pretty camerawork. The poor noble fellow! My neck bleeds for him - I don't think. What preoccupies me in history and fiction and actuality is not so much the executioner, but his victims. Despite the pretties, Herzog's film is too static and unimaginative a copy of Murnau's original to interest me. I can only see laboratory tags in its crowds of sanitised white rats: these are not carriers of the Plague, and instruments of the Devil.



Helen Chandler and Bela Lugosi - the 1931 'Dracula'

Love at First Bite is very much more fun, and I like its ending. It is full of jokes. Nothing in this campy-scampy is as thrilling as the serious exclamation of Murnau's *Nosferatu* when he sees a medallion portrait of Harker's wife: "What a lovely neck!" Maybe that is because the type of half-comic New Yorker heroine is to me so unattractive, all beach tan and disco make-up. You could peel her character away as a layer of Spanish tan falls in a grey English winter. Yet Count Dracula is crazy about her! So is her tedious New York-Jewish psychiatrist lover, and so alas are many movegoers, mainly American, perhaps.

Much better overall was the English TV version a year ago, directed by Philip Saville, starring Louis Jourdan as a handsome Dracula. Now and then it came near to giving the fantasy flesh as well as blood, in its breakfast scenes stultified and deadening, written by a master of terse or non-existent dialogue with long experience of writing Z-Cars scripts. It well showed the nice respectable American fiancée in a formal marriage, evidently less attractive than the tall dark stranger. Her limited choice was correct: the Devil rather than Christianity, instinct rather than intellect, sensuality rather than puritanism, excitement rather than boredom, death rather than slavery.

JULIUS

LAISSEZ-FAIRE LIBERTARIANISM

LAISSEZ-FAIRE writers have long endeavoured to establish a connection between what is variously called 'free enterprise capitalism', 'libertarianism', 'unhampered capitalism', 'free market capitalism' etc. and the ideas of the 19th century American individualist anarchists, Josiah Warren, Stephen Pearl Andrews, John J. Ingalls, Ezra Heywood, Lysander Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker, claiming that they too share individualist anarchist ideas on the State, sovereignty of the individual, anti-collectivism, decentralisation, free competition, the free market etc.

Among the better known works are Murray Rothbard (*Power and the Market: Man-Economy and the State*), Alfred Jay Nock (*Our Enemy the State, and On Doing the Right Thing*), Frederick A. Hayek (*The Road to Serfdom*), Lysander Spooner (*An Essay on Trial by Jury* and numerous articles), Benjamin Tucker (*Instead of a Book* - a collection of articles from his journal *Liberty*) herein identified by the name of the author.

Rothbard acknowledged that he "... owes a great intellectual debt to the ... theorists who saw so deeply into the nature of the State ... who began to demonstrate how a totally free, stateless market might operate successfully, particularly ... Gustave de Molinari and Benjamin R. Tucker ..."

Jerome Tuccille pays tribute to "... the fine old 19th century American Anarchists for their dedication to individualism and a truly competitive Free Market economy ... *Radical Libertarianism* p. 25 - Tuccille's emphasis).

In the 1960s, Rothbard, Tuccille and others called for an alliance between their Radical Libertarian Alliance and the 'Left Wing anarchists'.

Like Tucker, the capitalist laissez faire individualists rejected the idea of economic equality. It would have to be imposed and hence meant a return to authority. Communal ownership also meant coercion:-

"... products can be rightfully possessed only by individuals and voluntary associations. The community, if anything, is a compulsory association and can never possess anything except by the thief's title ..." (quoted, James J. Martin, *Men Against the State*, p. 229).

It was for this reason that the anarcho-individualists attacked the doctrines of anarcho-collectivists and anarcho-communists like Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta and others, insisting that they were not at all anarchists, but actually communists.

All anarchists, despite their differences, will gladly endorse the laissez-fairest Alfred J. Nock's severe castigation of the state:

"... the state claims and exercises the monopoly of crime ... it forbids private murder, but itself organises murder on a colossal scale. It punishes private theft, but itself lays unscrupulous hands on anything it wants, whether property of citizen or alien ..." (*On Doing the Right Thing*).

There is, indeed, a superficial resemblance between the ideas of the anarcho-individualists and the laissez-faire champions of capitalism. And it is this resemblance which fosters the misleading impression that there is a close connection between them. Martin remarks that "... no other radical group denounced ... laissez-faire capitalism more than the spokesman for individualist-anarchism ..." (p. 7).

John J. Ingalls describes laissez-faire as "... a system of capitalism dependent wholly upon laws and customs established and maintained to thwart equal opportunity and to prevent freedom of competition and exchange ..." (quoted, Martin, p. 150). Benjamin Tucker attacked the essential principle of

laissez-faire:-

"... there are three forms of usury: interest on money, rent on land and homes, and profit in exchange. Whoever is in receipt of these is a usurer ..." (quoted, Martin, p. 205). The anarcho-individualist Ezra Heywood was more explicit:-

"... occupancy and use are the only real title to ownership. No one is entitled to charge more for goods and services than cost of production. (For example) the owner of a house has no right to collect rent once a building has paid for itself ... extinction of interest, rent, dividends and profit, abolition of railway, telegraphic, banking ... and other corporations charging more than actual cost for values furnished (commodities and services) and repudiation of all interests on debts ..." (quoted, Martin, p. 118).

The economic alternatives to statism and capitalism of the American anarcho-individualists - long since outdated - but deemed suitable for a working population consisting primarily of small and medium-sized farmers, shopkeepers, factory workers and craftsmen, were based on free, unrestricted competition in an absolutely free market, free mutual banking and free exchange.

Since everyone is entitled to the fruit of his/her labour, which varies according to individual differences and capacities, equality of income is impossible. But there must be EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

Everyone would have the equal opportunity to compete in the free market and have equal access to raw materials and tools of production because the system of free, mutual banks would extend credit to all honest, deserving people without interest, at cost of administration (about $\frac{3}{4}\%$). Competition would be close or sharp enough, writes Martin, to reduce the price of goods and services to the approximate effort or cost of labour necessary for their production. Implementation of such ideas (despite our serious reservations) definitively repudiating and undermining the basic principle of laissez-faire writers themselves:-

Ludwig von Mises states flatly that "... free market competition cannot survive. abolition of capitalism ... (p. 134) ... people who question the honesty of profits made by others are envious. They hate to admit that they too, could earn profits if they had displayed the same judgement ... that the successful business displays ... (p. 122). The elimination of profit would transform society into a senseless jumble and would create poverty for all ..." (p. 149).

Laissez-fairist Hayek insists that "... the system of private property is the most important guarantee of freedom not only for those who own property but scarcely less than for those who do not ..." (p. 102-103). (In spite of the admission that) "... under the regime of freedom there will always exist inequalities which will appear (?) unjust to those who suffer from them ... (in spite of the) probability that a man who starts poor will reach great wealth is much smaller than for a man who inherits property ... (in spite of the admission that) ... several hardships having no moral justification are inseparable from the competitive system ..." (p. 106, 122) the downtrodden masses will still relish the dubious freedom imposed upon them by their masters!

The following collection of quotes from Rothbard's book, meant to expound the virtues of capitalism, actually constitutes a most severe indictment of his system:-

"... capitalist production is the only method by which poverty can be eliminated ..." (164)

"... the goal of equality of opportunity is unrealisable

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and absurd ..." (163)

"... the greater a man's income, the greater his service to others ..." (166)

"... in the free market capitalist society the worker is not guaranteed that he will be able to make a living in any work he wants to pursue ..." (nor is he free to do so under modern totalitarian serfdom). (191)

"... The economist who calls for egalitarian measures is no longer strictly an economist ... (he must be) ethically neutral ..." (191)

"... asking for higher wages leads to permanent mass unemployment ... by enforcing restrictive production rules, unions reduce general productivity and hence standards of living ... unions should allow individual workers voluntarily to accept work rules laid down by the enterprises (bosses) in the use of their property ..." (43)

"... any proclaimed defence against economic power makes no sense at all. (For example Ford Motor Company owns all the jobs) and no one can have any natural right to a Ford job ... those who lament the plight of the auto worker who cannot obtain a job with Ford do not seem to realise that before Ford and without Ford, there would be no job to be obtained at all ... Labour is a commodity. The worker has the right to sell and employer an equal right to buy. The employer exchanges money for labour power under freedom of exchange ..." (170-171).

Rothbard disagrees with Walter Lippman and other champions of the 'free market' that corporations like Standard Oil, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors - including conglomerates - are virtual monopolies. "... corporations are not at all monopolistic privileges. They are free associations of individuals pooling their capital ..." (p. 59). He ignores the obvious fact that they 'pool their capital' to organise a trust and monopolise the market for the corporation's products or services.

In arguing against the conservationists, Rothbard justifies the criminal depletion and destruction of natural resources on the grounds that they should be exploited to the full and abandoned when no longer profitable and technology opens up new fields for exploitation. Thus, the brutal destruction of of American forests is justified because clearing land for crop production is more profitable (see p. 25).

"... child labor laws amount to compulsory unemployment ... it (sic) removes a part of the labor force from competition in the labor market ... the income of families with children is lowered and childless families gain at the expense of families with children ..." (p. 41, 42)

"... government subsidisation of poverty (unemployment insurance, welfare for the indigent and dependent children, the aged, the infirm etc) increases poverty and encourages beneficiaries to multiply their offspring ..." (p. 196)

Our critique by no means implies endorsement of state welfare legislation. The government does not merit praise because it was COMPELLED to enact child labor laws and other welfare measures - a fact which Rothbard ignores. We criticise him and others because they will go to any length, however reprehensible, to whitewash the atrocities of capitalism; condemn the state and exonerate capitalism, its partner in crime.

Although nominally against increasing the power and prerogatives of the state in economic and political affairs, the

laissezfaireists realized that the system of unhampered exploitation must be protected. They therefore maintained that the state should be primarily a police organization to protect property, enforce contracts, crush rebellions of the exploited and provide defence against foreign rivals:

"... the early theoretician of laissez-faire, Adam Smith, confirmed that '... civil government /the state/ insofar as it is instituted for security of property, is, in reality, instituted for defense of the rich against the poor, for those who have some property against those who have none...' (quoted Leo Huberman, *The Truth About Socialism*, p. 100)

William Hanson, an anarcho-individualist associate of Tucker: "... take away the protective power of the state, and the defenders of vested interests and rights would no longer have the power to enforce their unrighteous claims..." (quoted, Martin, p. 246)

Adam Smith also recommended state intervention in other areas: "... the state should provide services, which though in the highest degree advantageous to the great society, are, however, of such a nature, that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual or small number of individuals ..." (quoted, Hayek, p. 39)

Hayek too, concedes the necessity for state intervention in certain matters which affect social welfare such as signposts on certain roads and roads themselves which cannot be paid for by the individual user... certain harmful methods of farming, or smoke and noise from factories etc..." (p. 39)

The state would control weights and measures; prevent fraud and deception; prevent violence by strike pickets; within unspecified areas "provide a certain amount of insurance against accidents etc..." Hayek makes the surprising statement that "... the case for the state's helping to organise a comprehensive system of social insurance is very strong..." (p. 21) - differing in this important respect, from Rothbard.

Rothbard would do away with the state. BUT "an act of fraud would be punishable in the COURTS under LIBERTARIAN LAW /i.e./ the LEGAL CODE of the free society which would prohibit all invasions of persons and protect property... the collapse of a building /for example/ killing several persons... is to send the owner of the building to jail for manslaughter. /after a trial in the LIBERTARIAN COURT/... there will also be just a few APPEAL COURT SYSTEMS whose decisions will be BINDING... some cutoff point at which judicial procedures stop and punishment against convicted criminals begins..." (p. 5.) (My emphasis and parentheses - SD)

Rothbard realizes that laissezfaireists who would limit government to defend property rights "... are trapped in an insoluble contradiction..." (p. 6). But he does not realize that he himself is caught in the same traps. He would not abolish, but merely transfer the repressive powers of the state by paying private armies, police forces, and juridical companies to protect the exploiting capitalists against their rebellious victims. This, in spite of his admission that "... one or more of the private agencies may turn its coercive power to criminal uses... that a purely market society would fall prey to organized criminality..." In view of this situation Rothbard admits the possibility "... for the state to be reestablished..." (pp. 5, 6).

The assumption that laissez-faire "libertarians" are "right wing anarchists" is a widespread illusion. A reading of laissez-faire literature demonstrates that the libertarian phraseology actually camouflages a most anti-humanistic, reactionary doctrine repugnant to all lovers of freedom.

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