

LABOUR PAINS

THE first resignation of a real grass-roots Labour Party Member of Parliament has again brought bubbling to the surface the seething undercurrents within the Labour Party.

Mr Robert Mellish has been a member of the party since 1927 — 55 years. And for nearly 37 of those years he has been a Member of Parliament for a dockland constituency in South-East London — Bermondsey.

A great contribution of service to the working class, you might think — if you think that the Labour Party operates in the interest of the working class, which we don't.

In his time Bob Mellish has never achieved highest office in the party but in the various Labour Governments that have ruled us during the years he has been a faithful party hack — and he did reach the dizzying heights of becoming Chief Whip (that's the man who rounds up members to vote in the House whenever there is a 'vital' vote) from 1969 to 1976, and he chaired the London Labour Party for 21 years.

Being a faithful party hack, he built up a faithful party constituency who voted for him by the tens of thousands, election after election. He had one of the 20 or so safest seats in the country, clocking up a majority of over 38% at the last election.

Being such an enormous Labour majority and thus looking such a safe Labour seat, Bermondsey has been a prime target for the 'Militant' tendency, who must also have been taking into account the fact that Mellish is getting to retiring age — and the tiring age, too. This tends to make people complacent and to think that their positions are unassailable, after such a record of service, but the younger Militants are impatient and the faithful but dull Mellish no longer satisfies them as their Parliamentary representative.

Besides which, they were moving into the Labour Party in order to take it over, and it was the safe seats with massive majorities that seemed to offer the best chances.

Labour's last annual conference established the procedure for making every MP re-present himself as a candidate for every election — a blow for such as Mellish, who had just been automatically accepted time after time. Short of coming

IT'S ALL VERY WELL FOR YOU BOB! BUT IF I RESIGNED, WHO WOULD GIVE ME A JOB



out as a gay, being found in bed with Margaret Thatcher or uncovered as a supporter of some Northern football club, it was unthinkable that Bermondsey would even think of another candidate — until the Militant Mafia (as Mellish now calls them) moved in.

Operating the now properly constitutional procedure, the Constituency Labour Party elected young Mr Peter Tatchell as their favoured candidate for the next election — only to be roundly condemned by the party leader Michael Foot (who has, in his day, spoken alongside anarchists on public platforms) following a speech by Tatchell in which he pledged his faith in parliamentary democracy but did not rule out extra-parliamentary methods in the struggle against capitalism in general and the Conservatives in particular.

By the use of purely Parliamentary methods (like the Central Committee having the right to squash any rebellious local parties) the Party managed to hold back Tatchell's nomination — until, still fuming about the mafia in the local party, Mellish came out in support of three local candidates in a local council election who had themselves fallen foul of the same

mafia and were now standing as 'Independents' — Mellish apparently believing that these ex-Labour members would serve the local people, and incidentally, the real Labour party, better than the new boys.

As it transpired, the Independents were successful, presumably because they had a record of work in the local community whereas the new 'Militant' candidates did not — to say nothing of the campaigns in the media against the Militant Tendency and all its devil work. But Mellish's support for Independents instead of for the official Labour candidates, was enough to get him into constitutional hot water from which even his friends in Westminster could not save him, the National Executive Committee now having to allow a fresh selection conference in Bermondsey for their favourite candidate in the next General Election. And no prizes are offered for guessing who that might be, Tatchell having won last time by 59 votes to 7.

So Mellish has decided to chuck it in, fed up with all the backstairs politicking with which he is not at all suited to compete and which no doubt hurts him deeply, faithful servant of the party that he is.

So, in the interests of all the 'decent people of Bermondsey' he has resigned from the Labour Party, saying that it is no longer the party that he joined all those years ago. He is going to continue sitting in Parliament as an Independent until the local party has chosen their new official candidate, when he will resign and fight a by-election to give all those decent people of Bermondsey a chance to put down the new man and send good ole Bob back to Parliament with flying colours.

Which of course they may, for oddly enough he might be supported not only by the out-manoeuvred Right and Centre in the local party, but also by some young leftists (supposedly of the decent Tribune tendency) who actually called on Michael Foot to boot out young Tatchell when he was first chosen — threatening to raise hell themselves if he didn't — so he did. It all depends on whether party faithfuls who hate the Militants will support the man who they know or the party they used to think they knew . . . to say nothing of being influenced by the furious campaign of hatred that the media will mount

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against Tatchell, though strictly speaking that ought to rally them to his side. Either way, it will be amusing to watch.

Of rather more fundamental interest, however, is Mellish's remark about the Labour Party not being the party that he joined all those years ago. Well, of course it isn't; it wasn't then the party it was when it was first founded 20 years before that. And Bob Mellish is not the same today as when he first joined.

Below we reproduce a quote from *The Observer* showing what Labour leaders were saying fifty years ago, when the party had already lived through its ditching of its internationalism and anti-militarism during the First World War and its collaboration with the Tories in Ramsey MacDonald's coalition 'National' Government in 1929.

Sir Stafford Cripps went on to serve in Churchill's wartime coalition Government (with its governmental conscription for industry as well as for the Forces) and in 1942 went to India to talk the (then neutral) Congress Party of Gandhi and Pandit Nehru & Co, into collaboration with the British in return for independence after the war. The pacifist Indian leaders maintained official neutrality, but allowed British troops to travel through India to get at the Japanese in Burma . . . while after the war, Attlee's government had to be forcefully nudged by massive riots and demonstrations before they would fulfil Churchill's reluctant bargain.

The Labour Party probably never was the party Mellish thought he joined in 1927. It has changed over the years so that Cripps' statement below is today unthinkable as cabinet policy. It is certainly much nearer to what the Militants are saying today — and that's enough to scare Mellish away.

The party has changed and Mellish has changed and the fact that the Militants are trying to change it again means nothing — for they too will change once they tread the corridors of power. They would not be playing the power games they are now if it was not power they were after.

Truly, the more it changes, the more it remains the same . . .

PS

TO BE GOVERNED

'To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.'

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

IN BRIEF

The Observer continues to startle us by occasionally publishing a perceptive article. From this week's (Aug 1st)

So, in recent months, the hidden attitudes of many people in authority towards the media have been exposed. They think the public should be told as little as possible. They don't object to deception on matters both large and small. They dislike reporters. And they prefer that ruling circles should be left to run the State without being bothered by troublesome disclosures and unpleasant truths.

In fact, some of them don't really care much for democracy either.

A Pershing II nuclear missile has exploded in a test flight from Cape Canaveral. No one was hurt. The Pentagon has issued several denials of reported problems with the missile. The estimated cost of developing it has more than doubled in the past 18 months to more than \$ 2 billion. The Pershing II is due to start service in Western Europe next year.

A draft new constitution for Turkey has been produced. Its overall effect is concentrate power in the President. He will be elected by parliament, not by the electorate. MPs must have more than eight years education. They would not be allowed to change parties. The post of prime minister would be downgraded and the senate abolished. Trade unions would be banned from political activity, including affiliation with political parties. Workers would have the right to strike and employers to lock out.

THERE is diplomatic ferment in the Far East over the rewriting of Japanese school textbooks. An official protest has been lodged by China and there has been a special meeting of the South Korean Cabinet. The complaint is that the new versions 'sanitise' Japan's war record. For example, 'military aggression' has been changed to 'advance'. North and South Korea, in a rare frenzy of agreement, object to 'deportation of Koreans for forced labour' becoming 'implementation of the National Mobilisation Law'.

THE government of Pakistan has banned all reporting of political news in the press. No newspaper will be able to quote by name any politician or political party.

FERDINAND Mount, general pundit, has had the unusual honour of being co-opted as a non-voting member of all cabinet committees. His special brief is to 'restore moral values to Britain'.

Fifty years ago

THE OBSERVER

Sunday 7 February 1932

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, MP, told a meeting in support of the Labour Party's crusade to obtain a million members yesterday that the first lesson of the recent election defeat was that the real issue was now between reactionary capitalism and Socialism. The second was that it was impossible to have a slow and gradual transition. On gaining power, they must be prepared to end the power of the House of Lords, nationalise the land, break down the capitalist control over money, and the stranglehold of private ownership, and place industry under social control.

Police News

WE would like to congratulate the officers of 'Operation Countryman' for finally managing to prove some allegations against London police. This is not meant facetiously, we know how difficult the job is. We remember when Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary attempted an investigation in the 60's, he resigned in frustration, seriously damaging his pension rights. His comment on the Metropolitan CID was that members were either corrupt, turned a blind eye to corruption or were so lacking in professional competence that they did not see corruption around them. When pressed he amended this to: they're all either bent, blind or stupid. It

seems that if people would realise that the police are simply another collection of people, with superior opportunities for improving their standard of living, then there would be less need to develop apoplexy, ulcers and similarly distressing complaints at regular intervals.

Meanwhile, the police force has its other side, the force itself. The current Chief Inspector of Constabulary, Sir James Crane, has just published his annual report. He confidently asserts that Britain does not need a special paramilitary force such as those used by foreigners. This seems like solid good sense. After all, such a force would cost money, far better to specially train the one we already have (and look at the trouble the Guardia Civil caused in Spain). Such training is reported from Greenwich. The Metropolitan Police are using a piece of derelict land near the river for riot control training. The local council

were not told of the land's new use until the time limit for objections intervened.

It would be unrealistic not to carry out such preparations. As Sir James says in his report, it would be 'foolish and self-defeating to deny that specific problems exist between the police and some ethnic minority communities.' It is unfortunate that the media insist on reporting minor incidents such as in Toxteth last week. This only helps to build an atmosphere of expectation of urban disturbances this summer. The police themselves report that such an atmosphere, together with the resulting tension, is causing them worry in Brixton. They are reluctantly being forced to use heavy tactics, swamping and so on. Typically, locals claim that it is the other way round. We regret that the current distrust of the police, due to a few rotten apples, gives credence to such maliciousness.

'NERO'

WE are a collective who are doing 'NERO', a city fanzine, based in Milan, from a squat (squatted for seven years).

We present an anarchist point of view on the events which happen in our city and near it; facts that media don't report, maintaining people in ignorance, workers who live to pay and die remote controlled.

We believe that an autonomous information work is necessary to attack the institutes, politics, power.

As you have interest to establish an exchange contact with us, concerning the materials that we and you both are producing, we ask you to send your mail to the following address:

Paola Tose - Via A Mantegna, 5 - 20154 Milano - Italia

as we have difficulties to receive the mail in our squat.

We are pleased to inform you that we are now trying to organize an international meeting, in Milan, with all the European movements and realities expressing themselves in the last three or four years on matters like: anti-nuclear campaign, squat-

ted houses, unemployment, economical crisis; as you could understand we have interest in contacting libertarian/anarchist groups, who with their works create antagonism to the power.

Please inform us on your availability on this project, if you agree with the matter exposed, which practical details (where to sleep, to eat, etc) we can discuss all together by phone or by letter as you prefer.

We hope to organize this meeting around the beginning of November 1982. At this moment we are discussing with some groups in Milan, all the above problems.

We don't want written efforts or a boring assembly; we propose to use the materials produced by the people who take part in the meeting, eg: video-tapes, films, pictures, slides, live actions of musical and theatre groups (since now we have two amplification systems and one place for the live activity).

Written materials (as magazines, leaflets, film comments) would be better sent to us, to permit a translation in Italian and English to help the people understand.

We would like to know your relevant comments and proposal soon.

Anarchist wishes.

NERO Via Correggio, 18-20149 Milano

Work it Out

WITH astonishing inventiveness the government has reinvented the concept of worksharing. If jobs were split, the unemployment figures would drop sharply, large numbers of people would collect minimal wages and therefore not be a burden on the state. Indeed, they would pay National Insurance. And think of the benefits to their self respect. It's so breathtakingly simple. It is particularly attractive in a week when the Department of Employment itself has realised that large numbers

of unemployed get no benefit from the 'Welfare State' and so don't bother to sign on. According to the Department's own estimate, there are 750,000 of them.

The Danish government is also trying to be imaginative. Their Finance Minister suggests that the work week should be cut and that the workers should absorb the resulting pay loss. The labour movement is said to be 'shocked'.

Back at home, the Confederation of British Industry has a suggestion. No pay rises, indefinitely. The old style bloated plutocrat has disappeared, so there is, generously, no suggestion of any cuts.

The only possible comment is the old favourite; well they would, wouldn't they.

WILDCAT



Victory! Oppressors routed

CASE 1

WE are happy to report that an attempt to harass a member of the FREEDOM Collective by the lackeys of the British State Machine has collapsed. Comrade David Peers was summonsed because he refused to acknowledge their right to pry into his life. Rather than submit to this impertinence he braved financial levies and incarceration.

Less dramatically, he didn't fill in a Census form. Due to his innate retiring nature he considers that statement to be sufficient. However, others feel that a more detailed account will show up the incompetence of the repression apparatus and so give encouragement to others.

The original form arrived in April. It was followed up by a worried volunteer, who was distressed that her hundred per cent return was threatened. A couple of weeks later an official from the Office of Censuses and Surveys and a witness arrived. He pointed out that failure to fill in the form carried a £50 fine and asked for an explanation. When it got to the point about them already having all this information, he said that they invited the completion of the form anyway. It was pointed out that they didn't 'invite' it, they demanded it with threats. He leapt to his feet, proclaiming 'If that's going to be your attitude....' and stormed out.

In August a duplicate form arrived together with a letter 'if you could see your way clear....' (sic)

No more was heard, and the incident assumed over, until mid-June. Then, a summons, dated September, and referring to the original, April form arrived. Apparently, such summons must be 'laid' within six months, then they can serve them when they get round to it.

Bromley Magistrates Court, July 6th, a procession of the usual Road Traffic offences, petty burglaries and, more entertaining, 'taking away a JCB for their own use', there might be a lesson here for anti-nuclear campaigners. Then, as cases built up and time dragged on, another court was opened. Two worried magistrates and an irritated clerk of the court. The census official could not be found. 'No case to answer' was the cry. It was necessary to tread a delicate line between maximum disruption and getting out of the place before the official turned up. A mention of costs was, informally, discouraged and in the interests of the above equilibrium, not pressed. Our comrade strode forth into the sunshine, deprived of the chance to make a defiant speech and refuse to pay the fine.

MASSIVE VICTORY AGAINST STATE OPPRESSION!!!

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE FREED!!!

TECHNO-BUREAUCRACY CONFOUNDED!!!

Except for the case below, everybody else we know had no follow up. The entire thing was, obviously, extremely haphazard, making nonsense of their statistics any way.

CASE 2

NW refused to complete the Census form, giving back a blank form to the Enumerator and refusing to discuss the matter with the Assistant who called later, and he completed the form which was posted in August with only the most meaningless and/or misleading answers. In September he received a summons, with his name and address given wrongly and several essential details written illegibly, to appear on 3 November. When the case wasn't reached, it was adjourned and he was asked what date would be convenient for it to be heard. He suggested 15 December, but he heard nothing more, so he wrote to ask what had happened. On 21 December he was told that the case had been heard in his absence, and that he had been fined the maximum £50 with £50 costs. After a series of increasingly intemperate telephone calls, he was told by the Clerk that the decision would be rescinded under Section 142 of the Magistrates Courts Act of 1980. After a series of increasingly intemperate letters, he was told by the Clerk that he had been 'the victim of a series of errors' and was offered apologies.

On 6 January he received a further summons, with all details correct and legible, to appear at Harrow Magistrates Court again on 23 March. The hearing turned into a further series of errors. The

charge was that he had failed to complete a Census form in August, but the prosecution case was entirely concerned with events in April. The prosecuting solicitor read in open court extracts from forms completed by members of his family in April and from the form partly completed by him in August, despite the statement on the form that 'Your replies will be treated in STRICT CONFIDENCE' and despite his frequent angry protests. There were three prosecution witnesses — Census Enumerator, the Assistant Census Officer and the Census Officer from the Harrow area who had handled the April form — but no witnesses from the central Census office which had handled the August form.

At the end of the prosecution case, no evidence had been given about the events which were the subject of the charge, so NW submitted that he had no case to answer. This was rejected. The defence case consisted of a protest against the general way the Census was conducted and the particular way this case had been conducted. He was then immediately convicted.

Before sentence was passed, the prosecuting solicitor applied for the maximum fine of £50 again and for double costs of £100, but NW replied that he himself ought to have costs of £100 for the trouble he had been caused by the inefficiency of the prosecution and the court, and only a nominal fine. The chairman of the magistrates smiled for the first time, the magistrates retired for another twenty minutes, and returned to fine him only £25 with no costs. Considering that he had won some kind of immoral victory, NW paid with much amusement, which wasn't shared by either the prosecuting solicitor or the witnesses. He tells us that he has never yet completed a Census form properly and will never do so, and that he considers £25 to be a good price for causing so much trouble to lawyers and bureaucrats. On to 1991!

Has anyone anything to report?

Belgian Resistance

'It is not the guns, nor the atomic bomb that generate and bear power. Power results from the meekness of people, because they accept obedience. The mighty know the possible power of disobedience. When they sent me to prison it was not to make me believe in their system, but to compel my submission, or at least a compromise.' This was said by Martin Van Kerrebroeck at his trial in Belgium for having totally refused all forms of military service. He

also refused to do the alternative civil service. The judge was furious because at a press conference, Martin had said that he feared that he was about to be arrested at any time. This was 'an anxiety neurosis about society'. A number of expert witnesses were present to say that 'democracy' implied the right of conscientious objection. However, most were not allowed to speak, as the Public Prosecutor said, 'If democracy has to be respected in the first

TO ALL ANARCHISTS

CURRENTLY, the strength of the state as strong as ever. The recent debacle in the Falklands proves that the existing dominant groups have unscrupulous methods of preserving their domination and distracting attention away from the major issues such as mass unemployment. The task of all anarchists is to formulate a clearer and coherent strategy in order to counter the more 'silent' repressive mechanisms of the state apparatus. The state is number one enemy, which uses pseudo-paternalistic strangulation or more blatant forms to oppress its subjects. Anarchism has to get to grips with modern capitalist society if it is to fulfil Bakunin's creative urge ie, destroy the state and its government. Tactics must be developed within the anarchist movement, perhaps the main assumptions of traditional anarchism have to be altered to fit different circumstances. Unless it is changed it will become purely a utopian irrelevancy.

Anarchism offers some hope to the millions without work and who live in a state of subjugation, and the more pernicious inequities of the neo-capitalist society — Thatcherism.

The main obstacle is the ideological insularity of the bourgeois state which pervades all facets of everyday life. The BBC and 'establishment' papers are determined to uphold the status quo, they do so very effectively. The media helps to create a repressive social reality and contains everything in a 'consensus'. The workers have accepted the advantages and 'rules' of the Welfare state, if they ever really had a revolutionary consciousness (which is doubtful) they have now been successfully integrated into Capitalist society. This essentially Marcusean argument seems to hold true — the workers are an integral part of the socio-economic framework thus explaining why a third of them voted Tory in 1979.

Perhaps the effects of the new uncaring middle-class in the form of escalating unemployment and stagnant, even declining living standards will knock the workers

out of this rut. Anarchism must step in and provide a viable alternative; the Marxist alternative which centres around class struggle has been eroded by the 'affluent' society and embourgeoisement process. Recently, fear has played its part in controlling the workers ie, redundancy etc. The Labour movement is weak and disunited. Anarchists could provide a coordinating force, this is now required.

Anarchists need more contact with those it intends to liberate. Its ideas must be spread around and not confined to avant-garde magazines to be purchased in exclusive London bookshops. Still, anarchism is connected with the loony fringe and in most people's minds is synonymous with chaotic upheaval. These attitudes must be changed if anarchism is to be successful. The catalysts for an anarchist inspired revolution will have to come from outside the workers' ranks as they are no longer agents for possible change unless they are going to be guided and instructed by anarchists.

Unfortunately this line of argument presents problems, and I don't want to patronise the workers too much, by advocating Terrorism as a way of implementing anarchism. The creation of general unrest might be a better solution. The forces of reaction which are already strong and intransigent in this country are further helped by the threat of revolution. Anarchists can be dealt with by the usual channels of 'law and order'. Society can be shown with the aid of the media, as being under attack from undemocratic and illegal forces. Invariably, this strengthens the demand for an increase in police (the guardians of property for the bourgeoisie) and adequate measures to deal with 'non-conforming' elements.

So how can anarchism reach fruition without being effectively pushed into a cul-de-sac? Perhaps by enlarging its readership and appeal as a convincing and realistic political theory and by a more modern interpretation of anarchism in difficult conditions? A radical political movement such

place, then one should contest a seat in Parliament'. Martin got four months imprisonment.

There have been several trials of objectors in Belgium. Koen Nijssen got two months in prison, which doesn't sound too bad. However, the judge-advocate said that he would get a new call-up after his release, and so on until he has served twice the usual sentence. Koen had made a special point that the army is not only kept for use against a foreign power. 'Who is actually this so-called enemy of 'our' state. More and more, this enemy seems to consist of our own people.' After the second session of the trial, a few members of On-

kruit 'borrowed' some files about conscientious objectors from the office of the district-superintendent. These provided evidence that the establishment uses the 'military' power to make order and discipline dominate. A typical case is the file of Peter van Houtte. He got into trouble, and the district superintendent advised the minister to re-examine his case because of a 'character disorder'. Some months later Peter spread some anti-military posters in Louvain. He was immediately called for a new medical examination. (The file that Onkruit composed about this can be obtained from PO Box 62,300 Louvain)

LUC VANHEERENTALS

as anarchism is conceivable if its arguments are developed so as to encompass a larger and potentially better informed audience. They need to be shown the alternative. Revolutionary movements must have a secure political base from which to even hope for change.

Anarchists have to create the right atmosphere and motivate the numerous discontented, they have to prepare the stage for organised action.

MARK EREIRA

IN BRIEF

POLICE have seized a number of books about illegal drugs in raids on wholesale distributors and bookshops. They seem to be testing the possibility of prosecuting under the Obscene Publications Act, that is, that the books are 'likely to deprave and corrupt'. Books seized include guides to growing, general surveys and Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers comics.

MISS Universe contestants have voted to say who they think is 'the greatest person in the world today'. Winners are, in order, the Pope, Mother Theresa, Ronald Reagan and 'My Mother'.

THE right wing Spanish newspaper El Alcazar is claiming that money raised among its readers for Lt-Col Tejero has not reached him due to interference from military authorities. The money was to help pay for damage caused during the attempted coup led by him last year. This damage is estimated at £4,500. The blocked cheque is for £80,000.

GENERAL Guido Vidoso Calderon, Bolivia's ninth military president, has pledged to hand over rule to a democratically elected government within 12 months.

MARGARET Thatcher, in a speech to the Townswomen's Guild, has praised the virtues of family life. The Permissive Society has done nothing to benefit women, most of whom know that a successful society founded on dignity, reticence (sic) and discipline. She also feels that 'Too much money can create problems as well as solve them.' It would appear that she has put these beliefs into practice, as her government has done what it can to protect people from such problems.

THE Swiss bank, Credit Suisse, has calculated that the prices of gold and wheat have remained comparable for three-and-a-half centuries. It still costs about 0.01 ounces of gold to buy a bushel of wheat, as it did in 1621.

SALVADOR Dali is to receive the title of Marquis of Dali of Pubol from the king of Spain.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

SABOTAGE
MEMENTOES

Dear FREEDOM,

Everyone will be aware of the numerous Falklands war mementoes, books and magazines that have been produced and are now in our shops. I suggest a simple way of showing active opposition to the murderous Falklands affair, keeping the issue controversial and thus preventing the state from getting away with things totally unchallenged is to mess up these publications. Insert anti militarist leaflets in with these books on shop shelves or tear and dog-ear them while pretending to look through them or mess up the displays. If you've got a bit more courage remove them completely, burn them, pile them up and cover them with blood, recycle the paper, the possibilities are endless.

Go down to your local newsagent or bookshop and do it now.

Yours,

ERIK

Phantom of the Opera

GROWING BANDS

Dear FREEDOM,

Just a short letter saying that you have ignored a major group of people who are anarchically minded. Punks.

Everybody's heard of Crass and so on, so why don't you do an article or something concerning the large amount of anarchist punks? There are loads of us and we are all fairly young, so when we grow up we could possibly be in your position!!

I HATE MY MUM,
PAT RIOTER

CHANGE OF PLEA

Dear Fellows,

As I am one of the very small part of the Oxford 48, namely the Juvenile section, I thought I would give a warning to all the other persons whose cases come up in the future.

I went to Juvenile court yesterday on the thought that it would soon be all over. I had eventually decided to plead 'guilty' because then there would be no more hassle. I was wrong.

After various formalities, the copper who arrested me stood up to give his evidence. This is what he said 'I saw — running down Oxford St with other demonstrators who were all shouting and screaming. — was on the outside of pavement. He then knocked down someone into the road. When I eventually arrested him he was jumping up and down on a car bonnet screaming 'ANARCHY, ANARCHY!'

When I heard him say this I just burst out laughing. That was the biggest load of cobblers that I had ever heard in my life

In fact, I was arrested in that small car park area where a load of us got trapped and caught by two SPG vans. Do any of the people who were arrested there remember me jumping up and down on a car bonnet?

Anyway, it turns out, that I now have to plead 'not guilty' because I disagreed with the accusations, I have to go back to court sometime in October. I have now got a solicitor, and if I am found not guilty then I'm going to try as hard as I can to nail that bloody pig.

Cheers

PAT DIDNT REALLY RIOT

DRESSING DOWN

Dear FREEDOM,

Richard Cross at the 'Beyond the Bullshit' conference seems to be writing about me and some of my friends, who he don't seem to like because of the way we dress. He has a go at those women who choose to wear what they like and crime of the century, even make-up. Since when has there been an 'anarchist uniform'? What is it duffle coats or black cloaks or jeans or what?

The idea about smashing up Macdonalds has nothing to do with 'their mass trade in dead animals'. It was suggested amongst a load of other things that could be done, and despite this mass gathering of the supposed committed, none of which were. It came up in fact after someone suggested smashing up sex shops and seemed just as relevant. Both trade on the unreal and the plastic life.

I say that if Richard Cross thinks that we were all role playing he should have said so then and there not hidden behind the letters page in FREEDOM. Just because I don't fit his ideas of how an anarchist should behave or what he should say I don't think that makes what I say less valid, in fact that's why I came to anarchist ideas in the first place. Does he think that 'come the revolution' we are all going to act, look, think, speak alike? If so I think he's in the wrong movement.

yours for unclosed minds,
MARK HARRISON

ISMazing

Dear FREEDOM,

I felt that I ought to comment on your editorial 'Loyalty to What' (10 July issue). Although I could see the message behind it, what surprised me was the apparent attack on Syndicalism. Now I always thought that Anarchism and Syndicalism (of the Anarcho variety) developed arm in arm. One condemning the other seems a bit like the Spartacists attacking Trotskyism. (Its count the isms time again folks!)

As the One Big Union is mentioned I reply that although the Industrial Workers of the World does not term itself a Syndicalist organisation, direct action is its

policy. However it doesn't seek a social revolution by general strike. It's slogan is 'Building a new society in the shell of the old'. You can take that as you will.

The Direct Action Movement Is Syndicalist. It is also the largest libertarian workers organisation in the country and is supported by many Anarchists (as FREEDOM itself shows). Both groups are opposed to political parties and are anti-hierarchical so I cannot see how they can be described as 'authoritarian institutions'.

Although it might be nice to live in the Society that the last paragraph of the editorial suggests, I think it naive to expect such a change at present. The State isn't going to suddenly see the light. No. At the moment the new society we hope for may have to be fought for not thought for.

Perhaps the unifying of all workers as envisioned in anarcho-syndicalism may be the answer.

Salud,
AMES

IMPRIMATUR

Dear FREEDOM,

Surely the situation has reached crisis point? It is disgusting that the unemployed are expected to 'live' on the state benefit. No more than the most meagre subsistence can be maintained. We are expected to spend at least 11 years in an education system (which is, by nature, oppressive) to face a grim future at the end of it. We are trapped, because the alternative to employment is so unfavourable.

It seems the only answer is direct action, now!

Anarchy and liberty,
MARK BRILL

PS: Ideally I would like to see this in print. I am tired of being treated like a shit by the state, just because I am unemployed, please at least send me some sort of constructive reply.

BEYOND
COMPREHENSION

Comrades—

What sort of pretentious fucking nerd is the 'itinerant Italian' who wrote the article on 'Torture in Italy' (FREEDOM, 10 July)? I was fascinated to read about the 'profound and widely articulating restructuration' of contemporary capitalism in Italy, which apparently translated itself into a model traversing all the different spheres of time and space within the relationship between capital and work'. All crap.

When I read one of the New Left crowd, I know before I start that it's going to involve banging my head against a brick wall—but at least it usually means something (if you're prepared to spend long enough leafing through your Dictionary of Modern Thought...), and they also

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

usually manage to get in the obligatory apology for being a totally incomprehensible bourgeois academic.

'...the repressive apparatus of the state (police and carabinieri)... Maybe our comrade ought to widen her/his definition to include social roles/education (the separating off of intellectual elites—with their connivance—by many means, including language)/etc etc.

I don't usually expect stuff like this in FREEDOM.
'XMAZ, Co'

mentioned by Cloves, NW—surely the critic par excellence—fears words that speak directly, not with an academic pun-dity.

No better example could be found of the blindness of self-appointed literary 'experts' than the remark by NW of Traven: 'His work is readable and is widely read, but not for literary reasons.' How far apart are those who make their living from other people's work and those who know how to communicate to the hearts and minds of loving people!
JW

anarchist.

The conference is meant to be not a commemoration, but rather a verification of the up-to-dateness of Malatesta thought and a reevaluation of his historical role within the Italian and international workers movement.

The conference shall be held in Milan, September 24th — 26th, and a French-Italian translation is foreseen only for Saturday 25th.

Hoping to meet some of you at the conference, we greet you fraternally.

for the libertarian studies center

ROSELLE DILEO

convegno di studi su e malatesta milano

24-26 settembre 1982

segreteria:

centro studi libertari

v.le monza 255

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FEARFUL PUNDIT

FREEDOM,

As one who has been honoured by being severely criticised by NW in the past, can I say how over-joyed I was to read NW's criticism of B Traven. With Steinbeck, Traven is a great writer of what Jeff Cloves admires in Adrian Mitchell—'populist communication'. Like the critic of Mitchell

MILAN CONFERENCE

Dear Comrades,

We bring to your attention details of the conference of studies on Errico Malatesta, organised by our center in the 50th anniversary of the death of the great Italian

INTERNATIONAL

ON the 29th, 30th and 31st of May 1982, the Anarchist Federation held its 37th Congress, in LE HAVRE.

It was the second congress organized for 10 years by the local group 'Jules Durand'. 260 delegates participated in the works which dealt with various points:

- Establishment of the development of the geographical implantation of the FA on the national plan.
- Increasing of means expressions defined at the last congress in Neuilly sur Marne: progression of 'Le Monde Libertaire' to the next stage which is to twelve pages, considerable impact of 'Radio Libertaire', first federal radio emitting in FM (89,5 MHz) on Paris and its region.
- The creating of 'Radio Libertaire' in September 1981 would have permitted to broadcast to tens of thousands of daily listeners the proposals of the anarchists for their society scheme.
- Considering the impact created by 'R L', the members of the congress have been interested in the development of federal radios in province for the coming year.

After having worked on the internal structures of the organization and taking stock of campaigns led since the last congress, the members of the congress have analysed the result of one year from the socialist administration.

Confirming a motion from the last congress where it was underlined that the socialist state wouldn't be able to 'change the life', because the interest of the middle class and those of the working-class can't both be satisfied, once more our organization establishes the giving up of all the electoralist promises, whether on the 35 hours, the nuclear power, the reforms of army or on the individual liberties.

Besides, as we had anticipated it, the socialist and the communist power gives more and more importance to the state in the society by its politic of nationalization, integration of the groups of affiliated trade-unions, and by its view of an 'unified public service' for school.

The participation of the workers and of the trade-unions to the administration of firms doesn't tend at all to the self-management but on the opposite to the neo-corporatism in which the workers actually participate in their own exploitation. The left in power hasn't changed the exploitation of man by man.

The FAF will continue to lead its traditional campaigns against the army, the monopoly of the air waves and the subordination of the trade-unions to the parties and to the state and will peculiarly centre its campaigns against the municipal elections, by advancing its actual proposals of anarchist functioning of the town-ship for a libertarian and a federalist society.

The congress couldn't have been concluded without approaching the international situation of destabilization of the

nations by the states as much in the west as in the east: Poland, Salvador, Malouines, Argentina and Great Britain, etc.

There again, the states become discredited in their willingness to organize the world and make us run an enormous risk by the disorder they enjoin us.

FRENCH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

LIBERTARIAN LIBRARIES

THE CDA (Centro di Documentazione Anarchica), which used to be based in Turin, was transferred to Rome in July 1981. Now, after overcoming various problems of reorganisation, its activity has restarted. The Centre has, thanks to material offered by the Via dei Campani anarchist group, a rich file of books, magazines and Italian and foreign documents about the anarchist movement and the main contributions of the revolutionary Left. The CDA also carries out a correspondence library service for national and foreign publications. This will be completed as soon as possible by the opening of a bookshop, Utopia 4. A bulletin about the activity of the Centre will begin soon.

SERVICE d'Action Civique has been banned in France as an organisation 'liable to provoke violence or racial discrimination'. SAC was founded 24 years ago as a bodyguard for Gaullists. In 1968 it reached a peak of 20,000 members. It now has 5,000 fully active members and many reservists. The organisations's members have been implicated in a large number of robberies, forgeries and murders.

A free library has been opened in Karlsruhe. This replaces a collection of literature and the newspaper, der schwarze gockler, which unfortunately no longer exists. The new library will be open between 17.00 and 22.00 hours and at weekends (exact times not yet clear). Anybody producing anarchist papers and pamphlets are asked to provide copies, free. The books will be lent out and the papers will be kept for reading inside the rooms.

FREEDOM CONTACTS

international

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AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY

Research and Resources Centre for Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-Styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham, ACT 2602.

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Tel: 02-516 4416.

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Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.

Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay.

VICTORIA

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRG, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083.

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.

Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victoria, 3057.

Chummy Fleming Bookshop, 26 Regent Arcade, 210 Toorak Rd, South Yarra (Libertarian Workers shop).

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Freedom Collective and Libertarian Research Centre can be reached through PO Box 203, Fremantle.

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Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424, Dunedin.

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SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, New York City, NY 10012.

New England Anarchist Conference
c/o 212 N Champlain,
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OREGON

Portland Anarchist Centre, 313 East Burnside, Portland, Oregon 97205. USA.

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FEMINISM



Margaret Thatcher

The matriarchy's miscarriage

HERBERT Marcuse, in his last television interview, said that he saw the Women's Liberation Movement today as a very strong radical potential. "All domination," he continued, "in recorded history has been patriarchal domination, so if we should live to see not only equality of women before the law but the deployment of what may be called specifically feminine qualities throughout society — for example, non-violence, emotional capacity, receptivity — this would indeed be, or could be, the very antithesis of male domination with its violent and brutal character".

In recalling this statement three simple facts immediately occurred to me which I must put down forthwith. These are firstly, the first woman Member of Parliament, Lady Astor,

was a Tory; the first woman Prime Minister is a Tory; and Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst, who led the Women's Suffragette movement, at the end of the campaign, finally but unsuccessfully, contested a parliamentary seat also and almost inevitably, it would seem, as a Tory. Of course, I suppose you will tell me that this is not fair; that although this activity may be described as feminism — and feminism advance indeed it indicates — it certainly is the opposite from Women's Liberation, Marcuse, had he lived a little longer might have changed his mind about all domination being entirely patriarchal. I think that there is little doubt that the members of the present Tory Cabinet would have been glad to help him so to do.

Marcuse, however, would not have changed his mind

because he was talking about a concept that was beyond the conceptual horizon of his interviewer who happened to be Brian Magee, whose political vision is now embodied in the confines of the SDP. The performances of the ladies I have mentioned, feminine though they may be designated, still remain a patriarchal mimicry and the whole story illustrates vividly how difficult it is to understand what is meant if we, like Marcuse, try to deal in a politicised and mentally circumscribed world with the idea of a qualitatively different society. And Women's Liberation in the full understanding of its meaning is fundamental to such a change.

Perhaps it may be said that there is a hint of flippancy in my heading – the miscarriage of the matriarchy – and maybe an alternative heading might have been more suitable: viz – 'The male chauvenist pig'. There is a little sting of wit also in this latter epithet but this, which has now become a cliché and lost its bite, nevertheless expresses aptly the feelings of the bright-eyed rising generations in this comparatively affluent society who see feminism in terms of the present breaking down of all taboos and with them, maybe naively, women's liberation and the emergence of the path to freedom. Emancipation indeed – let us open all the doors and run bare-foot through the dewy grass towards the dawn of the new day, if only that stupid, hapless and sometimes lovable male would open his eyes and wake up and cease his unimaginative affinity with that tedious routine which paralyses his dull gaze within the limited and dismal orbit of his self-conditioned drudgery. Unfortunately for some in our Thatcher-imaged society it is the wrong doors which are more easily opened; but while the expression 'male chauvenist pig' may contain the reflection of the superficial and the passively content, it also reveals a streak of nastiness, the product of the poisonous and perverted root of our polluted society which can actively develop to emerge as hatred and revenge: and the unthinking male is seen, not as a blinded captive within his acceptable prison, but as a vicious oppressor. Indeed, even in that role, he is still a victim, a psychological case.

Of course, it would appear that for me to define the feminine reaction to the male relationship as a streak of nastiness is to produce the suspicion that I am another of those dominant males being condescendingly patronising. Am I suggesting that women should not resist? Or, to put it another way, if the word feminism means anything at all in terms of liberation, am I asking them to concede the fact that the fight against capitalism comes first and that any attempt by the woman to assert her rights is selfish, short-sighted and sheer perversity? Far from it.

In this connection and looking back to the time before the present feminist upsurge began I can think of many well-known and popular working class leaders, magnificent advocates for the cause of 'freedom' who have been regarded as heroes in the eyes of the people but who, within the confines of their own homes, have discarded all thought of domestic democracy and have been tyrants of the worst sort. Their wives, obediently accepting their subordinate roles, could, had they revolted, have presented an admiring public with a different image which might (I must emphasise the word might) have torn the mask from the face of the much-worshipped idol. But this was never possible because it was inconceivable. The wife would not be believed. In that situation, rights did not exist. The whole structure of the system was quite blind to her department.

Nevertheless, the success, or perhaps I ought better to describe it as the path to glory of the great man's fight for 'freedom' would not have been possible had it not been for the sacrifice of a passive and long-suffering wife. The significant fact is that had he been much more democratic domestically, he would not have been able to become the great man and the world would have been the worse off. That is what the world would have said. But this points up the question as to what is wrong with the world. We have only to look at our democracy which starts at the top, to begin to understand that the world is upside-down.

It is not to be wondered at that the housewife could lose her contentment, become dissatisfied and begin to think of herself as a mere domestic slave. "Freedom?" she might say.

"What is this freedom out there? Does life exist only outside these four walls? What am I in this society – a mere nothing?" And if she is capable and intelligent and able to recognise what she sees when she casts a quizzical eye on both sides of the fence, a privilege which only she possesses, and understands the two-faced hypocrisy of a husband who, away from the platform and bright lights, is revealed as a pretentious sham

and a blundering and incompetent manager. Confused indeed she might be when it is clear that the whole world thinks that the creation of a home and the bringing up of children is just so much trivia. The assumption is that the essential and vital concerns of life in this class-ridden society are carried out in the higher levels of society, outside the home, by those very select and gifted males, the hunters who now carry out their pursuits in directors' board rooms, in financial manipulations, in the manoeuvrings of war, along the red carpets of publicity and in the ostentatious flaunting of the emperor's clothes – although she alone knows what the emperor looks like without those clothes. He is not like Hans Anderson's emperor who walked before the genuflecting sycophants of his court and listened to their mealy-mouthed praise of his beautiful new clothes as he stood before them displaying himself in a state of total nakedness. That fairy-tale emperor was not hood-winked. The fairy-tale itself has taken over and our real life performer undoubtedly is. It is not an accident that President Reagan was trained as an actor. He demonstrates the capacity for self-deception as a means to constitute the whole purpose in life, the modern Hans Anderson's emperor with the wrong side out.

But here is the crux of the matter. Just how much is our modern-day housewife in our media-dominated atmosphere similarly hoodwinked? Not only hoodwinked but envious and jealous of the fame and publicity? And it is here that we can begin to enquire into the reasons why this unsatisfactory world is like it is. Because, if she is hoodwinked, then whatever the self-satisfied and dominant male may think in his well-cushioned and patriarchal empire, the tragedy that undermines his complacency like a seething volcano beneath its foundations, is that the whole human race is thereby similarly hoodwinked and the truth and reality of life is buried deep beneath an artificial and attractively decorated camouflage of fakery, sham, pretence and hypocrisy. Tragedy is too hackneyed a word to describe the extent of this falsification; especially is this so in this run-away world where power is a mask to be worshipped and the shallow and ostentatious demands of the show-biz Punch and Judies are carried out with nuclear toys as playthings.

It is becoming more and more obvious to those who are awake and not beguiled entirely by the hullabaloo of political squabblers, the mewling cries of power-seekers or all the other carefully devised media-diversions, that the major problem of our time is that of survival before the threat of the approaching danger of the nuclear holocaust. As each day goes by the preparation continues. The hapless drift proceeds inexorably and the whole of life on earth is sucked along with a flood tide which moves only because the vast mass of the human population are vacantly using their paddles to propel it along. Why are we so helpless? Just as helpless it would seem, or even more helpless, in spite of our accumulated knowledge, as were the very primitive societies which existed before what Gordon Childe described as the Urban Revolution. They also had a survival problem; but their was the fear of the unknowable in an unpredictable natural environment. Nevertheless they were bound together by moral and spiritual ties which, expressed in what we now regard as myths, produced in their minds an awareness of a non-material world. The simple and almost unheeded beginnings of technology which carried them along served the necessary and useful purpose of survival. And in the centre of this picture, the axis on which life revolved, was the mother.

Compared with that situation we now find ourselves in a completely upside-down world. Technology, proceeding steadily underground, emerged eventually after the Protestant revolution with a free rein, and has now taken the bit between its teeth and has become uncontrollable. It is no

longer aimed at usefulness. It is produced entirely for profit and its main function now is to lead us to disaster. In this divided world where it has now usurped the place of the toiling hands of the wage-slave, the unemployed clamour for work. And the only work that can be found is to produce more of the means to destroy ourselves.

Gone too is the moral order signified as the totem and culture of the tribe. Instead it is the material THINGS which have taken over and the only relationship which they demand is calculated in cash, not forgetting an artificial morality based on – and enforced by – law which puts property before people.

The ancient Greeks, who for a brief period of time, contrived to split open the dark cloak of human repression before it closed again, believed that above them, on the top of Mount Olympus there lived another world of the immortals. These were not authoritative rulers, rather they were the preservers of their culture and all those values that make it possible for humans to develop themselves to discover that there is a different day which will dawn and a new light will shine. Nowadays we have lost that also. There is nothing on the top of Mount Olympus. It is just a void. The human brain is a piece of machinery. Where once there was a mind there is now a vacuum. They are trying to manufacture a computer which will do the work that the brain does and they think it possible. In fact it will hardly be necessary if they can turn us all into robots instead: and this is the end product of an established patriarchal world and sadly we must regard it.

When love and human feelings are forgotten and have become atrophied and relationships between people are to be worked out in tangible, weighable, measurable and calculable quantities we can say that the male has taken over and the hunting predator now hunts for the sake of hunting and takes joy in destruction because the purpose and meaning of his hunt has become a secondary and contemptible duty carried out by the women and the word woman itself becomes synonymous with vassalage.

'Science,' said J G Crowther in his book *The Social Relations of Science*, 'is the system of behaviour by which man acquires mastery of his environment.' There is no doubt that he has been very successful. So successful indeed that Jacob Bronowski was asking to what purpose should science be put, because science and the scientist have become the servants of the power hunting predators whose only purpose is to dominate and rule.

Once upon a time when the primitive man, the hunter, was the supporter and protector of the family his was the secondary role. Nevertheless, however, it was a necessary and co-operative role. He was not degraded thereby. The significant difference was that he was expendable. If he was killed there would be other men to take his place. If it should happen that there was only one man left to propagate the race, as long as there were plenty of women the tribe would survive. But looking at the problem from the other angle, if there were plenty of men and only one woman the tribe would perish. I remember a rat-catcher explaining to me that the way to get rid of rats was to kill only the females. If the males were caught, he said, let them go free. They would destroy themselves more effectively than any effort he could make. That, at least, is one aspect of B F Skinner and Eysenck and their concept of Behaviourism in which I can agree that rats can be compared to humans. It also serves to illustrate what happens to a completely patriarchal society.

But, you will say, without these fighting masculine qualities there would have been many a tribe which would have been wiped out; and of course, it needs to be emphasised that armaments, whether tooth and claw or club, spear and bow and arrow have indeed served a useful purpose in human survival. It is a different tale to be told, however, now that we have come to this period of nuclear weapons and the missiles of modern war. We have now conquered nature and the material world is ours to manipulate as we wish; we are no longer a struggling small tribe in a hostile environment.

The fact is that the petrified minds of our rigid rulers, governed by tradition and immovable in their maintenance of privilege, are still continuing their belligerent activities with the same blind animal instincts of predecessors who go back much further than our tribal ancestors. One might say that the only mental activity undertaken by Toryism (and there are Tories of this kind in every political party) is the putting up of barriers to prevent change and the aggressive use of force against those who would promote it. Our only enemies are the products of the minds of the mentally disturbed. And they are not confined to one department only.

I must quote here a relevant letter I received from a friendly zoologist who replied to a comment I had made comparing our civilization with that of an ants' nest: 'Our society is developing more, I think, in the direction of termite states. Their buildings made from a kind of cement even are comparable to our high-rising edifices. They have soldiers guarding the state, which are armoured with such enormous heads and fangs that they cannot eat by themselves anymore and have to be fed by the worker termites. The queen stores sperms in her body for use later and we are starting now a similar project storing them in deep freeze.' 'I might add,' she goes on to say, 'that evolutionary speaking, the termites are a most primitive species of insects – the similarity is frightening.'

Is this then the end of the road to which the concentration on so-called 'science' in its materialist purpose in keeping its eyes firmly fixed to the ground, has at last brought us? Is there no vision of human possibilities other than this blind and shuffling procession towards the turning of the whole world into one huge termites' nest? From where will come



Mrs Pankhurst

the next set of enemies that our embattled patriarchal defenders must invent? From outer space? 'Science' of that kind is quite capable of conjuring up its own mythology. Mrs Thatcher has a science degree.

It must be remembered, however, that even the termites nest is a home, a matriarchal state whose purpose is survival. Patriarchy has turned this upside down while still retaining its technical stock in trade. In this situation survival is no longer important and home is a word which has changed its meaning. It has become down-graded and its place has been usurped by different loyalties. The tribe and the clan have been replaced by the corporation and the junta.

The miracle of our day is that, in spite of all the influences to the contrary, the qualities that are the hopeful gifts of the matriarchy have not been completely crushed. The mother, the bearer and creator of Eros himself is the one who really understands the meaning of survival, a word which for her can transcend the meagre crumbs of existence scattered along the downward path towards the bottomless pit of the economy's final disaster. Man cannot live on bread alone and it is in her loving arms that the visions of an alternative society can arise.

The matriarchy is not dead. Indeed it is impossible to imagine how that could in any way be credible. Frustrated though she may be and subjected to a pressure probably greater than any in all history, her methods of reassertion, not surprisingly, can take on a very distorted image.

There was a time when the home could have been the source from which a different and more hopeful future might have developed. The old reactionary cry that the woman's place is in the home did not completely defeat her. It was possible when the man came home from work for the door to be shut against the outside world in all its falsity and the family within to enjoy a much more honest and human set of values. Children were brought up in an atmosphere of co-operation without the clash of individual envious struggles for power. Except for a means of contact with the outside world money did not enter into domestic relationships. I remember this among miners' families where the man came home and handed over his wage packet to the mother. The matriarchy was re-established.

This situation is now destroyed. The external world with its patriarchal values can no longer be excluded. The media intrudes and interferes; children are given payment for going errands. They are given prizes at school and the mother attends the Parent-Teacher association to ensure that Johnnie and Mary shall be well and truly conditioned into the system so that they will conform and be 'successful'. Or, tragically, now that she finds her position in the home reduced from that of the hub of domestic life and the realisation that she exists as a mere dependant, she revolts: and the result of this is that the security and safety of the home disappears. It ceases to be a home and becomes a mere trading office, a cook-house or a sleeping place: a place to get out of because life is on the stage of the external world and not only does the home become a cultureless replica of a house furnisher's advertisement but it reflects the mental vacuum which produces the unfulfilled and mirage-seeking psychosis in the housewife who clamours for women's liberation in the false belief that the man, in this comparatively affluent and permissive society, is free. The morality of patriarchal domination is inconceivable without its retroaction in submission. But the once submissive housewife is now impelled to reverse the roles. And the significance of this in our society is that she has the power and has always had the power, to ensure that the next generation is made by her.

The British Empire was made by unhappy little boys who were torn away from their class-intoxicated mothers and toughened and brutalised in our public schools. We now in a period where the mother has rejected the home to go forth into that patriarchal man's world to earn money and we have the latch-key children, the vandals and the skin-

heads and the muggers and the battered babies and as Erin Pizzey asserts not only battered wives but battered husbands.

Such is the product of patriarchal domination. And even though I suggest that the matriarchy may have been re-established in the tiny domestic way of life, the housewife in supporting her husband under those conditions was helping, willy-nilly, to maintain the structure of this objectionable, iniquitous and acquisitive system in operation. The matriarchy was not dead but it went underground. It served to keep alive in the children an understanding of what Herbert Marcuse meant by 'a qualitatively different society as the very antithesis of male domination with its violent and brutal character.'

Without this understanding the emergence on to the universal scene of the matriarchy with its modern face of feminism will lead us back into the camp of the age-old oppressors. It is the story of the trade-union movement: the rise of the Labour Party and the hopes and aspirations produced by the revolutions of the past. The word Socialism has now no meaning other than the Labour Party in office. The Wilsons, Healeys, Chapples, Foots have demonstrated the truth of Wordsworth's quotation: 'A primrose by the rivers brim,/ A simple primrose was to him,/ And it was nothing more.'

Emerge, however, she must. But she must carry with her the torch which will light the way to a completely different society in which the word domination has been completely eliminated from the language and where, hand in hand with the male, full co-operation will at last be understood.

THEO YEATS



FEMINISM

Institutions and political relevance

'...if you place women in the positions of prominence and power traditionally held by men, it is not the position that changes, it is the women.' (Billie-Jean King).

At last the anarchist point of view has been expressed, but not by a so-called anarchist. Anarchists have spent so long pussy-footing around the guilt-tripping trendy politics of the left that we are now anarchists in name only – and that makes us an institution. Until we realise that it is *not* the role of an anarchist to be a capitalist in a socialist society or a socialist in a capitalist country, but to oppose *all* institutions whether opposed to or supportive of the state itself, we blacken (sic) the name of anarchy.

In this article I am using feminism as a specific example of institutionalised 'oppositional' politics, which is to be generalised to *all* forms. It is merely a starting point which, by taking specific examples, can revive in us our personal goal of being non-susceptible to institutional pressure, and the wider goal of removing institutional pressure from all. But until we take a moment to investigate these pressures on ourselves and others, and their effects, we cannot, in an age where most are trying to individuate themselves by taking on some generic name or other (eg 'anarchist') ever even hope to get across anarchist principles to those who call themselves anarchists.

Starting point: women are oppressed. Yes. All people in an institutionalised society are oppressed. Women are specially oppressed. No. All people in an institutionalised society are oppressed. Part of this oppression depends on setting one person off against another, one group against another. Any group or individual who wishes to maintain this separation is not opposed to institutions, but rather acts as state police. To say 'I have my own special oppression, which I share with this particular group and no others can understand it' is the basis of all oppression. If one *understands* oppression, then one can understand any particular oppression that another suffers, as we all share the fact of being oppressed. To take a stand on individualised oppression is to deliberately limit one's empathy for all others, and to understand any form of 'political struggle' as fighting for oneself alone, rather than as against oppression. The only true revolutionary is black, female, handicapped, homosexual, working-class, single parent *OR* anyone that wants to fight against institutional oppression.

Starting point: most positions of government are held by men. Yes. It is easy to count. This society is a patriarchy. No. All those in positions of government are merely agents of the state. So are all those who do not take up a struggle against institutions. If women were fighting to take *control* rather than *position* then they could use their present role of child-rearers to rear children without controlling and directing them to the persona required by institutions, so that the next generation would be one non-subject to state control, and the state would collapse.

Starting point: women are raped by men. Yes. Read all about it in *The Sun*. This is the only form of rape. No. Rape is the invasion of one person by another by means of superior force, physical or psychological. A form of sexual rape not in *The Sun* – 'I can give you a more politically relevant sexual experience than that, dearie'. A flagrant abuse of others in more than just sexual terms. Consider someone, brought up in a culture, which then, for one reason or another, has its value destroyed for them. Just the material for imposing some other culture on them. To impose any culture on anyone is rape, and someone who has just lost the value of one is in a position where virtually anyone else can hold power (force) over them. To use another's suffered abuse to abuse them further is sickening. This is what we attack the West for in the differently developed world.

We did it first. We were here first. The claim that is the basis of the power of governments (especially dictators), proprietarians, and the 'women of Greenham Common'. But 'oh! yes' we cry, 'women's right to organise'. Yes, to organise, dictate, control because they were there first. I read an article about it being democratic (*City Limits*), yes, as democratic as this country, where we've all forgotten to question. If anarchists are no longer questioning and rejecting this kind of behaviour, then I am a man with no name.

But maybe the question has floated across one or two with the immediate suppression by other questions 'can I say this and keep my friends?', 'will I still be as trendy?', 'should men be allowed to say anything about women?'. Rule number 1 for all anarchists(????): everything *must* be questioned, whatever the consequences, compromise with institutions gives more power to them. Counter-rule number 1 from all institutions: come on, feel guilty, you want to be trendy, have lots of friends, be respected by others. The word 'Satan' is derived from 'state' – be a devil!

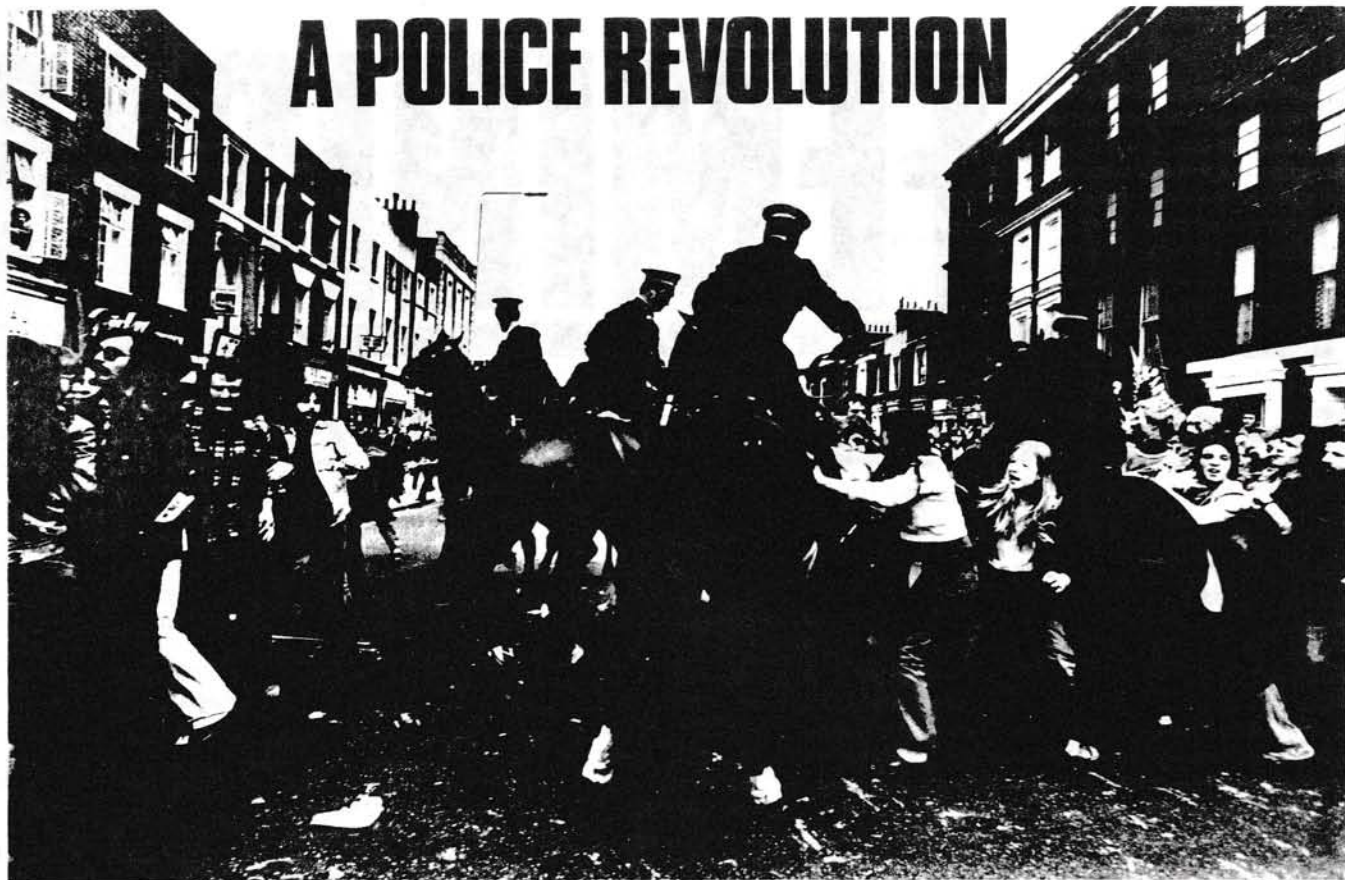
There is only one way out of oppression. That is to fight all forms of oppression both within and outside of yourself and to stand up at all times in all circumstances for this fight (if anarchists want a demonstration of anarchist principles – one of which is not 'I am more important because I've got myself arrested' – then why not an occupation of the Greenham camp – now on non-council property?). An apparent alternative is to say 'I suffer so much because I am oppressed, so if I establish myself in particular aspects of my oppression, and do lots and lots to make me feel as if I really am suffering from it, then I can blame lots of other people and everything will seem a lot better'. The oppressed oppress. The circle is complete. Everybody suffers and the state smiles.

The Falklands madness is over. The feminist madness, the socialist (parties) madness, the anarchist madness have the same source but are perennial. No-one can be truly free until all people are free. Think about this. Hard. All rules collapse at the sight of it.

No-one can be truly free until all people are free.

ANDY

A POLICE REVOLUTION



Mike Abrahams

Community Versus Crime by Colin Moore & John Brown. Bedford Square Press/National Council for Voluntary Organisations, 1981.

THIS book was written by the serving police officer, Chief Superintendent Colin Moore, who commanded the Crime Prevention Support Unit of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary under John Alderson's Chief Constablenesship. In part it is based upon an MSc Thesis taken at Cranfield Institute of Technology under the direction of John Brown, Head of the Social Policy Department. The forward is by John Silkin QC, a former Attorney General, so supposedly it represents, in part, an accepted establishment view.

The viewpoint it expresses is what is known in Sociology as Positivist. The term is derived from the founder of Sociology one Auguste Comte who noting how the physical scientists were examining and categorising the natural world by using scientific (and experimental) methods, suggested there was no reason why man could not use some of the same techniques (and develop new methods) in examining the activities of people in society. One might say here that anthropologists examined primitive technological man. Social Scientists generally looked at people of a more sophisticated technology – which we can call civilised man. Comte called this science of man a positive science. Hence researchers and writers using methods akin to Comte's suggested methods are called positivists. Comte wanted to include all the Social Sciences under the name Sociology but as many of these already existed Economics, Politics, etc they disclaimed this and Sociology basically became the study of civilised man except those areas which had already been cornered by other Social scientists.

Positivist social research basically categorises things as facts, adds them all up in tabular form (statistics) and then plays about with them (analysis) and from these says the facts prove the theories which the positivists propound. The trouble is, as many later sociologists have pointed out, your basic theory causes you to only look for certain facts or stress as important certain aspects so many facts are left out,

not categorised correctly, and the analysis is a bit sloppy so the results tend to prove what you want to prove. In any case science cannot always enable us to examine all the facts because thoughts, motivations, unrecorded happenings and the like are not analysable. When sociologists today look at work merely using or appearing to use only what they call positivist methods they shudder and mutter 'It is not real sociology', forgetting perhaps the debt we actually owe to Comte for getting us started. The problem here is that many fringe disciplines, Social Policy and Administration is a prime example, tend to alight on Positivism and say 'It looks just as good as real science' so burrow away into their facts and produce sociological-seeming studies and than appear quite surprised when members of the Sociological fraternity raise their hands in horror.

The reason for this explanation is that I am a sociologist examining another positivist study and when I see all this spuriously assembled material by a 'copper' and a Social Policist I want to cringe in horror. It is however because this book is important, will have an influence, and needs to be examined critically that I bring it to your attention.

The book, which is critical of much modern police work, is no real revolutionary text. Its view of man in society (and no doubt women) is conservative. It takes the existing economic and social formations as read. Society is unproblematic (there is nothing really wrong with society). What is necessary is to eradicate deviance and everything in the garden will be lovely. To do this it is necessary to do some social engineering, some tinkering with problematic situations (and people) to bring a return to consensus (a normal – really super-normal – state of affairs). No attempt is made in this book to question the nature of the state, capitalism, bureaucratisation or social and economic inequalities, it is, as if, these do not exist or if they do they are not part of the problem or certainly do not cause the problems which exist in society. The problems appear to be people problems caused by people. People are out of line, they are sick, the problem is to cure a sick people problem. The problem so defined is pathological, the solution too must be a pathological solution.

It is worthwhile mentioning here that there has, in the last decade and a half been a wealth of literature published attacking this positivist view of man in society and its pathological solution. Attention has been directed towards inequality, for example, and some of this literature is mentioned in the bibliography. One wonders why because clearly none of it has been absorbed? It is as if the writers were not seriously concerned with the problems of society but the problems of policing. It is here that the crux of Alderson's new approach founders.

Alderson's 'softly, softly' approach is not a new libertarianism. It smells strongly of corporatism. It appears to be a deliberate attempt to integrate the policeman as a crucial anchor point in the team of social workers, medical personal and local support which represents a kind of 'helping world'. I can see the reason for socialist John Silkin's support. Alderson's policeman is a return to the community bobby, the 'Dixon of Dock Green' image. The local beat copper who knows everyone and knows everything. This kind of policing might well make council flats 'work' and 'could' eradicate vandalism. 'Big brother is watching you', constantly. Big brother knows all. Big brother is PC Dixon. If anyone is 'harmed' (curiously we see all 'crime' being reduced to neighbourhood crime) then the beat copper jumps in. One forgets that the parish constable was appointed not by the parish but by the squire and did the squire's bidding — super-gamekeeper — not the labourer's bidding. And certainly not the labourer's wife's bidding. The beat copper is not a return to a community spirit. 'Mutual Aid' is not one of the references quoted in this book.

The policemen (or at least the senior policemen) want to see themselves as Plato's guardians. Deviation from the norms of society is a sickness for curing; heresy must be cut out and eradicated. We live in a society of consensus so political deviation from a party system, and even deviation within a party, and any deviant from the smooth running of society must be dealt with swiftly. This corporatism strongly smacks of neo-fascism, if you want a convenient label to hang on it.

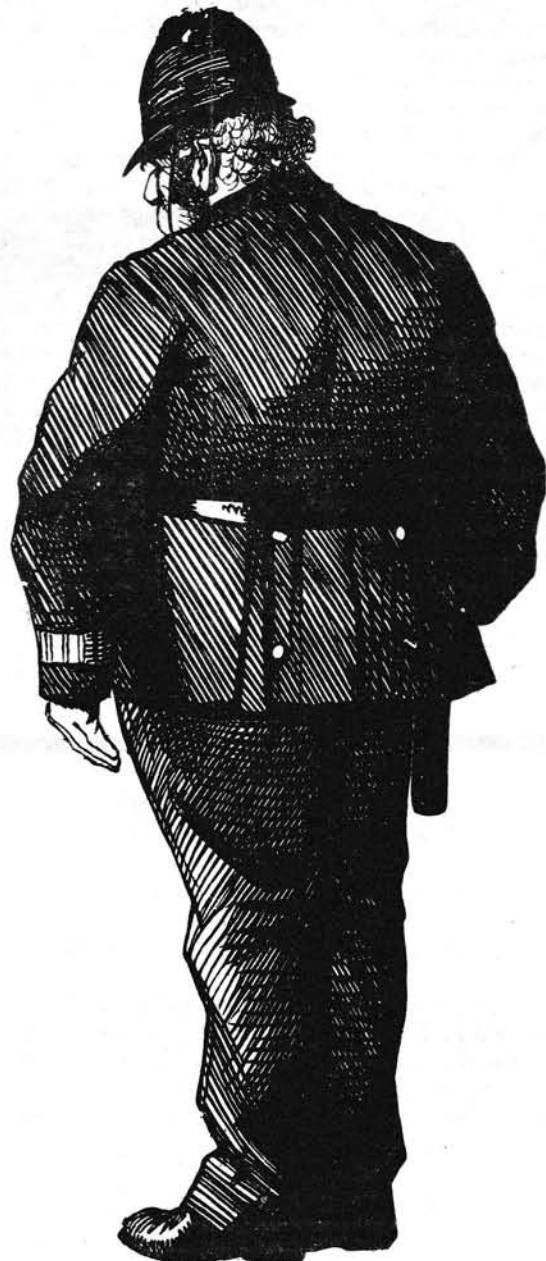
Compare Alderson's approach with his near-namesake Anderton (Greater Manchester). He of the mailed fist in the mailed glove. Authoritarian? Perhaps. Neanderthal? Possibly. Fascist? I doubt it. To call anyone you dislike or fear a fascist is to subtly alter the meaning of the word to the point where its use as an accurate means of description is pointless. He is simply a tough conservative 'copper' but he is certainly not after your soul. Anderton's policing is not a type I would want to meet in a frontal assault and if one of his landrovers was driving down the pavement I would jump in the nearest doorway. This kind of policing I can understand. This is the Cromwellian approach. Alderson's is of the Inquisition. This is much more dangerous and ideologically unacceptable.

I think it was Robert Mark who started this debate. Prior to that time 'coppers' like the military and the civil service felt they had to keep their private views to themselves. Police forces are larger now. Their operations are frequently run on a management team principle. The local, known to all the lads and knowing all of them by name, chief constable, is a thing of the past. What is necessary is policy and with policy you need a basic philosophy and in the case of social control a strong moral philosophy covering not just what the 'copper' does but how the man or woman on the beat or in the panda sees himself or herself and if you have to present this as a training ideology than you have to express a view of society itself which sees how people fit in and what the policeman's role is in the society. This is the danger of Alderson's policy. It is not just a question of the copper on the beat holding the line. It is the notion of the copper as ringmaster.

Hitler got into power on a democratic vote. Cromwell was chosen Lord Protector by Parliament. People when visualising coup d'etats look at the military and guerilla groups. Until Falklands action the military were cheerfully ignored. We still may ignore these in the future. The Greek Colonels included Military Police and Counter-espionage. A Guardia

Civil commander tried to take over the Spanish Parliament. The ex-head of Russia's KGB may be its next ruler. The British senior policemen are beginning to have ideological meets. This could be the prelude of a police takeover. Why, for instance, no coppers in the House of Lords? They may feel they have something to gripe about. Alderson becomes a university don. Gone are the days when the Chief Constable was a retired army colonel. The new professionals may want an avenue of preferment and if they feel society is wavering may just decide — always in the interests of the people, always this, it may be their duty to take us over fully. 1984 was a police state. A state governed by police?

PETER NEVILLE



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