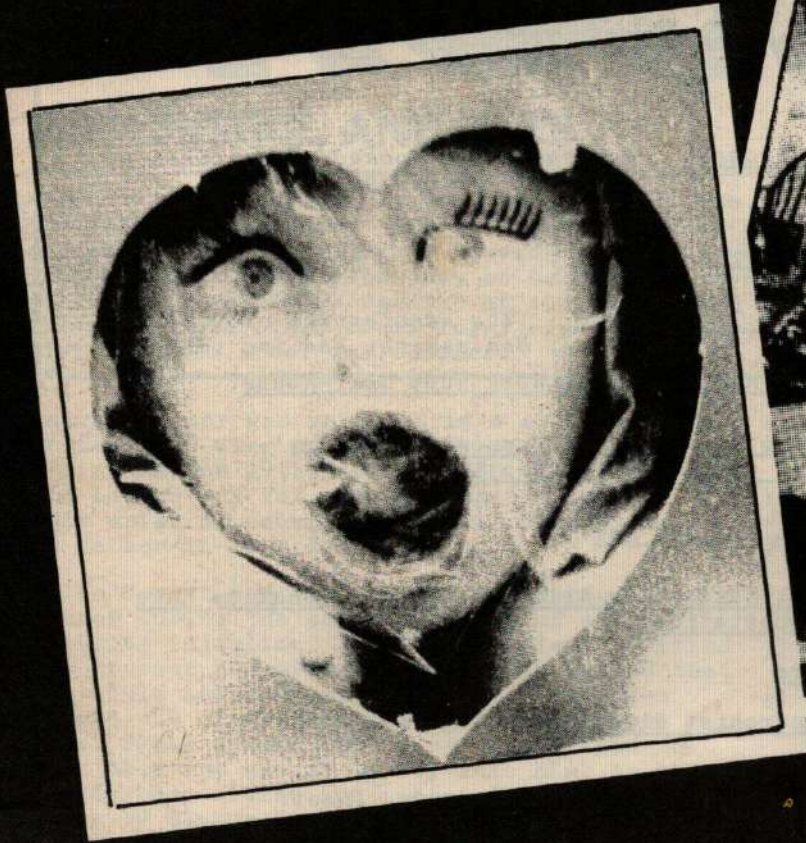


Anarchy 50p



"The problems that you
suffer from/are problems
that you make
The shit we have to climb
through/is the shit we
choose to take"

POISON GIRLS, CRASS QUESTIONED

ANARCHY

Box A, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E17QX, England Issue 34



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ANARCHY is a spasmodic journal of anarchist ideas and activity. It comes out every so often.

With this issue the price goes up to 50p. This is the first price rise since 1979. Subscriptions go up to cover postage (about 17p. percopy) which for some reason we never charged for. This is why we are now broke.

Send articles, pictures and other stuff for the magazine.

If you want to help produce Anarchy and you live in the London area, please write. Changes in the collective are expected again soon.

Back Cover Photos: Barry Prosser. Inset: Smith (left), Price (Centre) and Jackson (right) leave Leicester Crown Court after the last acquittal.



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BARRY PROSSER

THEIR JUSTICE, AND OURS

Prison Officer Melvyn Jackson, 33--the only man in Britain ever charged three times with murdering the same man--was once more set free on March 19th. this year. He and two other screws, Eric Smith (33) and Howard Price (25) were found 'not guilty' of murdering Barry Prosser in his cell. The jury at Leicester Crown Court had taken more than nine hours to reach their unanimous verdict at the end of the three-week trial, during which the three screws had exercised their legal right not to go into the witness box. They maintained their silence after the verdict.

Barry Prosser was murdered in a strip-cell in a hospital wing of Winson Green prison, Birmingham, on 19th. August 1980. He was being held in custody for medical reports for the great crime of causing 'criminal damage' to his father-in-laws door handle.

Twelve Screws had been called to "subdue" Prosser during the administration of a tranquillising injection. The Screws later testified that Prosser had offered no resistance and that they could not understand why they had been dragged out of the canteen on a wild-goose-chase. Small wonder that Prosser declined to offer them any excuse to lay into him: he had already been kicked and beaten in a savage attack by Senior Hospital Officer Jackson and Smith and Price. When the 'heavy mob' was brought in to him he was already dying from the injuries inflicted on him in that earlier attack. Medical experts later testified at the inquest that his body was covered from head to foot in bruises, and that death was due to a blow to the stomach, probably caused by someone dropping onto him with their knees as he lay naked on the mattress in his cell, causing his oesophagus to burst. They all agreed that the injuries could not be self-inflicted.

A charge of murder was brought against Jackson. But, on 9 February 1981, after a five day committal hearing, a stipendiary magistrate found no case to answer.

Then two months later came a new development when a 'trusty' prisoner, Patrick Galvin, told an inquest jury that he had seen Jackson, Price, and Smith emerge flushed from Prosser's cell as if they had been exerting themselves and had heard one of them remark "he was a fucker to put down." He was told later by Screws "keep your mouth shut and you could go home in a year." All the prisoners in that area of the Winson Green were dispersed to other prisons. Galvin was transferred to Shrewsbury. When asked why he had not given this evidence to the police, he jumped to his feet and shouted, "because I'm afraid for my life in these nicks!". The

Birmingham City Coroner, Dr. Richard Smith, said that there were five unanswered questions:

- 1) No record of force being used in the hospital occurrence book.
- 2) No initials of prison officials had been recorded in the wing occurrence book and there was nothing to indicate that anything unusual had happened.
- 3) Hospital Officers Eric Smith and Howard Price had apparently soiled their clothes.
- 4) Price had a fresh injury on his neck when he had apparently only given an injection to an unrestrained prisoner.
- 5) No one at the prison seemed to know about the injuries until the autopsy.

The Coroner's jury returned a verdict of "UNLAWFUL KILLING". There had clearly been a deadly attack upon Prosser. The only people with access to him were the Screws on the hospital wing. Jackson was again charged with murder, this time with Smith and Price.

But on 30 September last year, following a week-long committal hearing, Birmingham's new stipendiary magistrate, Fredrick Hatchard, dismissed the charges saying there was 'insufficient evidence' and set the Screws free again. The following day a spokesman for the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) told the press: "As far as we are concerned the matter is closed." (→)

THIS GRAND SERIES
COMPLETE EACH WEEK.

Strange Cases

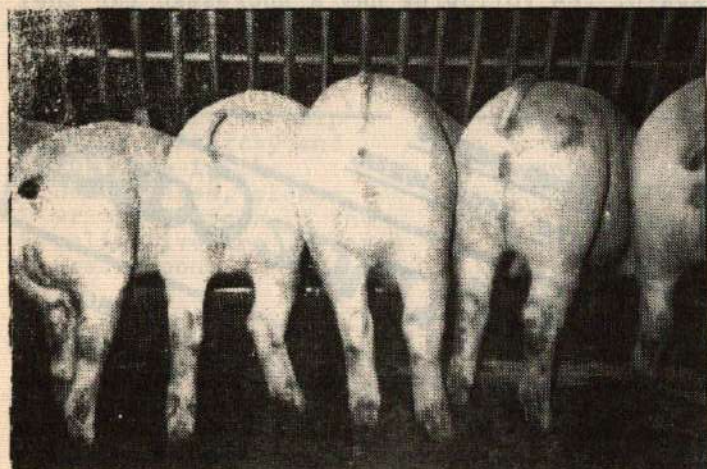
QUEER, TRUE TALES FROM
A SOLICITOR'S NOTEBOOK.

The white-wash verdict was anticipated by a prisoner in Winson Green. On 27 September Michael Waite (24), serving life for armed robbery, jumped two Screws and climbed up onto the prison roof in protest at Prosser's murder. Prisoners in Long Lartin top-security prison also refused prison labour and went on hunger strike in protest when they learned that the Screws had been set free.

It looked as if the case was over until Barry Prosser's widow, Dorothy, announced her intention to try to bring a private prosecution against her husbands' killers. Faced with this, and the widespread public support for Dorothy Prosser and anger at the obvious injustice of "British justice", the DPP took the unusual step on 21 October of applying for a "Voluntary Bill of Indictment" against the three Screws - effectively bypassing the committal stage, and resulting in the last trial from which the Screws once again walked free despite a second prisoner, Clive Dickens, coming forward to give evidence against them. Dickens said that the Screws had wanted to stop Prosser singing. He heard Prosser groan, "Aah you bastards", after the first attack and then the Screws returned in largenumbers. The acquittal of Jackson, Smith and Price this time was due mostly to the trial judge's summing-up to the jury, in which he made it plain that the ONLY verdict they could return was 'not guilty'. To find them guilty of murder, he told them, it would have to be proved without doubt that the defendants had INTENDED to kill Prosser. To find them guilty of manslaughter, it must have been proved that they were the only ones who had actually killed Prosser, again beyond all doubt. If any doubt did exist on either of these two points, their only course of action must be to find the defendants 'not guilty'. Even so, after such clear direction from the judge on what they should say, the jury still took over nine hours to reach a decision, showing that a strong element of doubt as to the Screws' innocence existed in their minds.

This time, protests inside Long Lartin at the verdict were stifled by the "ghosting" (sudden transfer without warning) of George Tomkins and another prisoner who were thought to be organising a demonstration of some sort. George is now in Dartmoor, denied badly needed medical treatment for a serious skin disease.

Price and Smith were quietly transferred to other jails by the Home Office. Jackson, a married man with a nine year old daughter, refused to be moved. At the time of writing (May '82) he is still at his family home at



Stourport-on-Severn, on paid leave, despite having been told by the Home Office that he has transferred to a prison near London. He wants to return, as all criminals are said to do, to the scene of the crime: Winson Green, and his old job. If he is allowed to do so it will be as a conquering hero to his fellow Screws, who now look upon the latest verdict as giving them a license to kill. Already one prisoner in a long term prison returned to his cell in the punishment block recently to find that the Screws had added a new piece of graffiti to the wall: "WE GOT PROSSER - YOU'RE NEXT!"

None of this sad story should surprise anyone with first-hand experience of being on the receiving end of "British justice". That justice is, rather CLASS justice. Real justice can only exist among equals. And within a capitalist society it is money, and the influence and authority which money commands, that count. The courts and the prison system exist, not as might be supposed, to protect the ordinary people of Britain from criminals and foreign devils, but (with the police and army) to protect the power and interests of a ruling class and defend the system of privilege which screws down the very same people in whose name it lays claim to legitimacy. The state is violence raised to a level of an institution, wielded as a weapon in the class struggle, with us as the target. To expect the state to willingly work against itself by punishing those of its agents who have been a little too zealous in their work would be naive. It is the natural 'knee-jerk' reaction of the state to look after its own. It thrives on the myth of 'equality before the law', whilst perpetuating a system which ensures that society remains founded upon inequality. It speaks of 'justice' but demands merely OBEDIENCE to law and authority. Despite the oft repeated calls of the package-deal left for "accountability" of the state machine, no amount of tinkering with its separate parts will stop repression and injustice nor protect other prisoners from meeting the same sad fate as Barry Prosser. It is the thing itself - the state - which is the problem, not who controls it. THEIR "British justice" is OUR oppression.

This is not to overlook the fact that most people still retain some vestige of belief in the possibility of REAL justice being dispensed within the state's politically biased system of legalised violence. It is only natural that Dorothy Prosser, denied the right of personal revenge, which the law says is illegal, should call on the courts to inflict their brand of 'legal' revenge on her behalf. A wrong has been done. Her husband has been brutally murdered, and his killers go unpunished. If "British justice" is so determined not to deliver the goods, who does that leave to turn to?

If the violence committed against us (inside and outside of prison) all the time by the state is to stop, then those who dish it out must be made to account for their actions. We cannot expect to go against the system and win playing by their rules, except by happy accident. What a bourgeois court decides, and the 'legality' it upholds, are only of tactical interest to anyone who has seen through the myth of "British justice". But with that realisation must come a practical alternative to reliance on the strong arm of the law. We have to start distinguishing between THEIR justice and OURS.

-Rocinante-

For those who don't know, Crass is a punk group, although they don't think they are. Their music is anti-war, anti-consumerism, anti-religion, anti-patriarchy, anti-state. They sell their records cheaply. They have used their time and money, like other anarchist bands, for the benefit of political projects, like the 'Persons Unknown' defence campaign and the Autonomy Centre, an anarchist club in East London which closed last winter.

Like Poison Girls, Crass calls itself anarchist, besides a lot of other things, but like Poison Girls they are defensive about what they mean by the word.

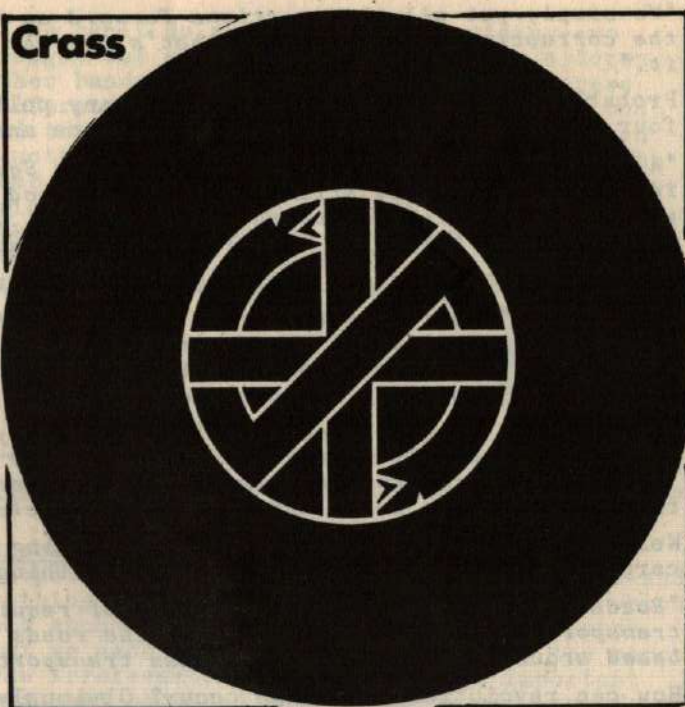
Four of us from the Anarchy collective talked to members of the group one sunny May afternoon, at their farmhouse in rural Essex, to try and find out more about the Crass Ideal, their attitude to anarchism in the past, and their hopes for a better future. The politics of Crass are gradualist, ecologist, pacifist and pro-feminist. They derive more from the libertarianism of the late sixties than from the proletarian violence of the eighties.

It is easy to talk about the contradictions and compromises which Crass make--the aggression of the act, the pacifism of the message; their willingness to use high-tech propaganda; their enthusiasm for efficient business practice. These have been dealt with in many interviews. More important are the ideas Crass have helped make popular, and their effect.

Much anarchist propaganda aims at showing people how paralysed they are by the system they live under, how little it offers them. Crass, by contrast, try to draw peoples' attention towards the areas of freedom they still have, no matter how bad their objective situation. According to the Crass message, it is this autonomy of feeling, thought and action which forms the only basis for change. The emphasis is therefore on individual responsibility: no matter how the system treats you, your response to it, either acceptance or rejection, is a matter of personal choice. This is an inspiration lacking from most modern revolutionary politics.

My own view is that the Crass message refuses to be objective, either about the possibilities of change, or about the group's own efforts to promote change. The 'songs' present us with subjects like war, poverty and alienation, but always as separate fragments. They appeal to our indignation, but not to our understanding. They try to present us with our common degradation, then refuse to admit the need for a collective strategy.

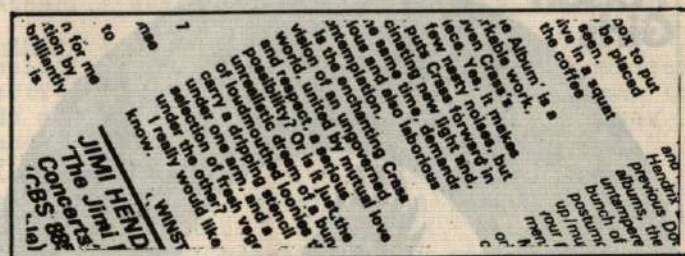
Crass have thrown out what they see as the false determinism of politics. They have also thrown out the revolutionary struggles of the



past, denying not only the need to know about and learn from them, but also the need for class consciousness and solidarity. They point out the need for subjective, individual change to the exclusion of all else. They say that their only intention is to cause people to question things, but their inevitable role as teachers is never acknowledged, let alone the curriculum.

In those very pleasant surroundings, on that warm summer's afternoon, it did seem to me that they had got something worth having for themselves. To say that everyone could create the lifestyle of their choice, through a pure effort of consciousness and will, seemed in retrospect to be not so much a message of hope as a statement of personal satisfaction. It is a statement I resent. S.W.

The following was written by another member of the Anarchy collective.



"Rock and roll is the spearhead of our attack because its so effective and so much fun. We have developed high-energy guerilla bands who are infiltrating the popular culture and destroying millions of minds in the process."

CND and Crass? Well, almost. White Panthers and MC5.

So it's nothing new, that music has been used as a platform for revolutionary ideas.

"The MC5 are totally committed to the revolution...with our music and our economic genius we plunder the unsuspecting straight world for money and the means to carry out our program and revolutionise its children at the same time."

Crass though aren't into peddling revolutions.

/ continues over

"We simply put all the questions forward so that people find their own way of dealing with the corruption of society (if that's the way they see it), then it's up to them to deal with it."

Probably, Crass have done as much as any political group to popularise anarchy in the last four years. Their politics are more peace and love than street riots.

"A food co-op originally set up in Tolmer Square in '73 have moved to a big modern warehouse in Wood Green...they still supply cheap food and attempt to buy their food from sources which ain't exploiting third world workers...I don't think they've bent their principles...that place is helping a lot of groups and individuals like us to live more cheaply."

Co-ops and communes are their ideal...whether you're at the cheap end of the labour market or not.



"Gentle Ghost started in the hippie era...where people sort of said, I can do plumbing, I can do carpentry or whatever...and a register of people who could do various jobs was built up...these people could go out and creatively start something...share the results of their labour."

"Like, if you work 24 hours a day, seven days a week you might be saving someone else 12 hours, and so then it is really worth it...hopefully when you are too tired someone else will take over and say, 'well, you've been working for a long time and saved me hours and hours--or whatever--now you can use my time.'"

Well OK, on small-scale things like plumbing (perhaps we should all be plumbers or carpenters) but what about larger-scale things--roads?

"Roads are sort of way up in the set of requirements--who needs them?...there's so much transportation--we don't need all the roads we've got but business does...with small co-ops based around small groups then mass transportation ceases to have any relevance."

How can revolutionary change occur? Obviously not from street fighting.

"I don't think Brixton was an example of practical anarchy...I don't see it as a model for the people's uprising--who wants to see 17 year old boys with bullet holes in their stomach? It was more an example of people being pissed off being told to buy Seiko watches and not being able to afford them."

Was Brixton really "pathetic, horrific... a glorified demonstration of misguided street-fighting ideology"?

If we don't threaten the ruling class we may get our change... "there's probably lots of land in this area you could grow food on...which would make the landowners land redundant because you no longer need that owner...that's the way to do it--you don't do it by threatening the landowner to give you some...you dispossess them slowly."



If we ignore the ruling class it may ignore us. Crass on Spain 1936:

"It's not certain that when Franco assumed control he would have suppressed all the collectives...it's a hypothetical view and it's quite possible he wouldn't (equally well, it's a bit irrelevant.) Those people might have found some way of operating around it, if they had just done it quietly."

So now we know--we have to be quiet and also slow. "You can't stop nature and if we're a part of nature you can't stop us either...grass is easy to break yet it will push through anything." //

Poison Girls



Poison Girls and Crass played together until last year. The similarity between the ideas of the two bands is clear, but their music is quite different. This interview is condensed from several hours conversation between Rik, Steve and members of the group.

Steve: What does it mean, when you call yourselves Anarchists?

Vi: Well, it means that I don't like calling myself anything. Most of the time that doesn't seem helpful. But where we're talking about Government, I say I'm an Anarchist.

Richard: The 'Chaos, Destroy' aspect of Anarchy I don't think has anything to do with what we're doing. It's a really difficult question to answer unless we're sure that you mean the same thing by it as me. Because there's no point in saying that I'm an anarchist if to you that means I go around blowing up bridges and, you know, shitting in buses...

Rik: Well, what do you think of as Anarchy?

Richard: Ah, now you're changing the question.

Vi: In a conversation where we're talking about government--who you'd vote for, or what-

ever--I'm not interested in that sort of government or this sort of issue, so in those sort of contexts I'd say I'm an Anarchist, it's a short way of saying 'Don't bother me with all that rubbish, I'm not interested in choosing between equally stupid solutions'. Other times, it's more relevant for me to talk about, err, feminism, particularly in the Anarchist movement...right?

Richard: I think we've always claimed that 'Anarchy is personal', I don't think there's any mileage left in the 'Fuck the System' sort of Anarchy, however relevant that might be, like 'yes, that would be a really good thing to do, blah blah blah'. We've always talked about how we have to change ourselves to get to that position, that actually you're not going to bring down governments, you're not gonna get rid of bombs, all we can hope to do is change the way we think and the way the people we talk to think.

Rik: Do you think you can change things like political thinking just by getting to people on a personal level and hoping it spreads?

Richard: You can't do it any other way. We're not gonna change the world, you know, but who is? We get letters from people saying 'since listening to your record I help my mum with the washing up'. In terms of revolution that's really insignificant, but actually for that person it's an important step.

Rik: There's a bit of a difference between adopting an Anarchist lifestyle for yourself, because after you've done that...

Richard: What's an Anarchist lifestyle?

Rik: Co-operation, mutual aid, and not accepting barriers. But when you act as an Anarchist with other people, that's another step, it's like coming up against a brick wall. In the next election everyone's going to vote, and it seems rather removed from helping mum with the washing up.

Vi: Well that's the connection with the washing up. Anyone who's never done the washing up or cooked for themselves is automatically gonna be looking for someone else to do it for them--and I mean the dirty work is much bigger than that, it's everywhere. Actually, governments are the biggest red herring in the whole thing, I mean they're a fucking nuisance, but if you get rid of them then we're still left with how do we actually feed ourselves, who's gonna do...you know... Anybody can sit down in a small room with a few others trying to work out the mass solution of the world, it's kind of insane, I've done it for years and I still get trapped and coned into trying to do it. I mentioned the word feminism at the beginning--I don't suppose anyone knows what that means and nobody's going to ask, it's a lot more comfortable to talk about Anarchism. It's a particularly male characteristic to sit down on your arse in a comfortable armchair and try to sort out the right way to solve the nature of the universe, and ignore what's going on downstairs in the kitchen or the kitchens of Africa...

...you've got to get the humility to realise you're not Big White Boss or Teacher or Philosopher, or if you are you're just wasting everyone's time. The problem is how to communicate with individual people in a way that avoids all that crap, how to think as a blade of grass if you like, and not some fancy God on high. I've learnt most of that by talking to women who are isolated anyway, who don't have those illusions of grandeur, although when they do they're just as bad as the men...

...We can't do anything about anything--we brought out a compilation album with a dozen other bands, WARGASM, and there was a press conference and everyone wants to ban the bomb and this, that and the other, blah blah blah --nothing's going to change about banning the bomb. The only way to think about the Big Organisations is how to withdraw support from them, and that doesn't mean learning to think like them...end of speech !..



Steve: Do you think demonstrations are a waste of time then ?

Richard: There was a quarter of a million people at the CND demonstration in October and nothing happened. We did that whole tour which was supposed to be a build-up to that march, but we made it very clear we thought the march was irrelevant, and what was more important was what happened when those people went back home to Hartlepool or wherever, and what do they do then ?

Rik: At the last CND rally there was a section of the crowd that called themselves Anarchists, and there were loads of people from Leeds and Hull, they came down and handed out a leaflet called 'Silly Walks, No Thanks'... I thought that kind of communication of people from different parts of the country was quite useful.

Richard: I don't think demonstrations work, I went through all that in the Vietnam War demonstrations. Huge number of those, and still the Vietnam War only stopped coz the opium was affecting the Americans !!

Rik: It seems rather negative to withdraw support from organisations like CND.

Richard: CND isn't doing anything. It just goes round in groups talking about policy of how to get committees organised or organised committees to get committees organised to organise a mandate for a representative to go and talk to a committee about something or other, I mean that's a bag of shit really.

Lance: I think there's going to be a big split in CND between the traditional committee activists and marchers, and people who want to do more direct action. That's happening now and I know where my money will be...

Vi: ...what money?

Rik: If CND does split, it'll weaken whatever say it has got...

Richard: ...it hasn't got any say.

Rik: The Peace Camp at Greenham Common is a good idea, I wish I could go up there, you know, they said it's only women.

Vi: Well they've been thrown off the site anyway, but there are six other camps I think and some of them are mixed so there's plenty of places to go. Ultimately, yes, they're up against the law...the law of Property.

Rik: What do you feel about punks?

Richard: Well it's a fantastic movement, it made a fantastic difference to what was going on in 1977, '76. We were working in Brighton then and getting together as a band, and opened a rehearsal room, and so it evolved

in Brighton, which was full of places for entertainment but nowhere for young people, nowhere to rehearse or play, it was all sewn up. Punk blew all that open again.

Rik: Punk got lumped in with Anarchy after a while and became a 'Smash Hit Kill' and 'I don't care' kind of thing--do you think it gave Anarchy that kind of image?

Vi: Punk was the first manifestation of any kind of energy to do with taking risks since the early hippies when it was actually a risk to walk down the street with long hair, and that became decadent and compromised and a fashion, and to some extent that happened to punk as well...Punk is not completely over because I think the impulse to take those sort of risks and blow open in that sort of way is always with us, it just goes underground for a while.

Rik: You did an interview in a magazine produced by Xntrix called Realities of Society, where you said it was punk that made it possible for you to go on stage as a band--why didn't you do it before then?

Vi: We were...Richard: But in a different form.

Vi: When we opened the rehearsal room, it was with punks who were expressing the same sort of need. It's one thing to be an isolated group and another to be part of a 'real push' in a town, which is what happened in Brighton.

Richard: I don't know where that pressure came from, but it definitely was different... it all started to happen again, you know, everyone could be in a band again.

Rik: Forming a band has become an accepted way of rebelling against the system--you get all these bands saying 'don't accept dole money, because it's sponging off the system.'

Vi: But another way of looking at it is that it's people taking over the system--at least you can hear people saying things that connect with what I feel and what you feel.

Steve: Do you think that it still acts as a threat to society? Don't you think it's become ignored?



Vi: Well it's going to take more than just singing, in the same way it takes more than demonstrations. Whatever you do in your everyday life, it's the way you move out from it as much as possible.

Richard: The most important thing about what happened was that people got together to do things. In a band there's an artistic side and a creative side and a work side and an organisation side to it, which means that people have to work together. It's different from being at work in a factory or friends at school.

Rik: Don't you think it could do with another progression from that?

Vi: We're not there yet, obviously.

Lance: Most people spend most of their time doing work which isn't to their benefit, apart from indirectly getting paid for it. So what I'm looking for, all the time, is people to work with, using our energies for ourselves. That's the basic point in it.

Rik: But if you're not in a band, there's no money coming in and the system says you've got to have money to survive, so you've obviously got to take the dole or work.

Vi: I don't think being in a band means you've got money coming in.

Rik: Well obviously not...If a record of yours started to creep up the charts, would you do things like Top of the Pops to promote it?

Vi: If we could do it on terms that felt comfortable and appropriate for us, but that's the issue isn't it? It might prove to be impossible, but there's no point trying to avoid the possibility.

Rik: Don't you feel that's too much of a compromise? Look what happened to Stiff Little Fingers. I thought they would have been the last band to go soft and mushy. Their latest single tries to sort of cover up what they've said before, keep it on the level of a sort of love song, whereas before they were very aggressive and Anarchistic really.

Vi: Don't you think it's possible to want to be Anarchistic and write a love song?

Rik: Yes, but they've avoided the issue in doing that song.

Vi: The stance that you've got to be hard and tough all the time is awful. The tenderness in people shouldn't be repressed any more than anything else, but that isn't 'going soft'. When we started, and still now to audiences who prefer something hard and aggressive, we have a policy to confront them with their own tenderness if you like, and it's always been a risk.

Lance: We're always in danger of being prisoners of other people's expectations--do we identify ourselves clearly as a punk band or not, are we Anarchists or not...I just get a bit fed up coz it seems unless you've got a sort of barrier or word around you, then you don't trust yourselves or other people to go outside that barrier, see what I mean? We've been accused of all sorts of things when we do, like 'look they're selling out' or we're start-

ing to produce shit. We've always got to battle with those expectations...

Steve: Do you think Anarchy is doing alright underground, or would you like to see it coming out more face-to-face with society? It's very unknown.

Richard: I think there's a difference between unknown and underground. The institutionalised Anarchy is very overground, it has newspapers, addresses you can write to. I think the reason it's in such a mess--it seems to be in such a mess--is because it's not very glamorous.

Vi: For me the Anarchistic energy or impulse is the extent to which I'm disobedient or don't give a toss what other people think. You've got to be really careful about it, or you'll get a backlash--the law of Property and the people that defend it. The status quo is going to defend itself against you. I don't see any point in heroics, which means you're going to end up in jail or getting beaten up by the police, or if the ultimate backlash is going to set the whole thing back for about 10 years before anyone dares put their nose outside the front door again, like in France in '68. We've got to be...er...fairly cautious and cunning and intelligent.

Rik: You mean chiselling away from the inside.

Vi: It's a bit of both. It's not just the wild impulse of frustration, saying 'This is shit', it's also the wisdom of an integrated personality developing and learning how to achieve change that will stay. It's a long-term thing. Part of what's important about what we're doing is that we're still doing it at 40-plus, I mean I was selling Freedom when I was 15, and the fact that I'm still around and doing it with other people indicates that you can survive and grow and take on more and more as you get older, which is an important message for young people who tend to think if they haven't done it by the time they're 25 that's it.

Richard: It comes down again to whether we're being set up as leaders or gurus of some sort. One of the things we have to say is there isn't any salvation in organisations. That's part of Anarchy isn't it?

Vi: We need our organisation for ourselves. I'm not against organisation. We need it for what we're doing, but we're not selling our organisation, we're selling--er--a product, what we produce and that's different.

Lance: Vi said she was selling Freedom when she was 15, it made me think of the way things come in vogue--like one of our songs says 'Anarchy is this years thing', and that was really last year. Business is business and if Anarchy is a saleable product, then someone will sell it, Malcolm McLaren and EMI sold it, and lots of other bands are selling Anarchism, vegetarianism, pacifism, you name it, if there's a few records to be sold in it then they'll do it. And if anyone thinks they can make some headway with us then somebody'll come sniffing around.



Rik: Would you take a big contract from someone like EMI if they found you were marketable?

Richard: This ties in with what we're trying to do with our next record, although it isn't to do with EMI. We're changing what we're doing from a very raw sound to a smoother sound, but maintaining lyrics which actually mean something, and seeing if that will change the quality, or number of people that listen to what we're doing.

Vi: That's not the way I perceive it...I've never particularly wanted to work with a very raw sound, I much prefer to work with more sensitive equipment and get a sound that is more listenable to. I don't think there's any point in alienating people with the sound of distress, I mean so many young punk bands are working in a situation where they can only below and scream, and you can romanticise it and say 'that's the pain of the people', but fucking hell it's mostly because their P.A. is bloody lousy.

Rik: Do you think you'll ever find a middle ground?

Vi: I don't really know what middle ground is. It sounds a bit deathly. Different songs require different treatment, and I want us to work right across the field, depending what the material's about.

(Conversation goes on to 'ethnic' styles, musical imperialism, clothes, discussion of places like Last Resort, etc., then gets back to politics, in particular the politics of control)...

Richard: ...They can stop you demonstrating in the street, they know how to control populations & how much resentment to allow, they know it's important that there's some sort of anti-government activity for the government to work properly. I think the CND demonstrations are actually playing into their hands, because they allow a lot of feeling to be focussed and got out of the way, all at once. I think the way people live is different. There's pressure to control the way you live, but you can actually get round that...



Vi: The sort of things that really control the way you live are things like how many kids you've got, & whether you actually want them. Ultimately it comes down to the personal, issues you don't vote on--whether she's got birth control, whether she's got the sort of relationship with her partner that gives her enough self-respect to be able to say 'I do want a child' or 'I don't want a child', we can feed another mouth or we can't.

Richard: I think that's seen as a side-issue to the...er...Real Revolution. Actually it's far more important to change the way that you live than to change the government (sic).

Vi: And somehow, you know, at the other end of all that tangle of what constitutes everyday life, is the fact that war has got a definite connection with economics on that sort of level, down to forced sterilisation of women in black countries, the distribution of bad food-stuffs, all those things are out of our control, & should be what we're concerned with, much more than the other issue.

Rik: How can we deal with that though?

Richard: Between ourselves to start off with. Real government isn't laws or anything, it's just roles, the way I'm expected to respond to certain things.

Rik: Yes, but there's a vast difference between that and stopping mass sterilisation in other countries. They're not doing that to you, you're not reaching the people they do it to.

Vi: The people that do it are people here, the people with the economic muscle to make those sort of decisions politically. What I would like to do if I had fantasy power for a few minutes is to tell those people who send out poison food to babies etcetera, to stop poking their fingers and, er, metaphoric phalluses in other peoples business, to actually learn how to grow their own food, understand a bit about the balance of resources themselves. I mean that's a fantasy and a joke, because, you know, I can't and they won't. But who actually gave them that power? Was it all the passive wives at home? Then the passive wives of those bully-boys should stop being passive, withdraw consent from them, in bed and in the living-room...I mean it's Cloud Cuckoo Land to talk like that, but I don't think we should fall into the patterns of false thinking that we're trying to get rid of.

Steve: Are you happy with what you're doing? Do you feel you've achieved anything?

Lance: I think we've achieved a fantastic amount, yes, I'm happy about that, & I'm pleased with what we're doing at the moment.

Rik: Do you think you'll continue with the total change of direction?

Richard: I think we have done, like this track with an orchestra, I think what happened then was that we could have said 'Alright then, we're just going to establish

ourselves as a nice little punk band', or we were going to go forward from that position, without losing touch with that energy we started with. The song's a statement, and the idea to use a classical orchestra & proper acoustic instruments was to try & subvert the very straight authority which classical music actually has. I think we've opened up to say, we're not going to be limited to one form.

(Discussion goes on to writing letters to magazines, agony aunts etc, then returns to...)

Lance: ...at a certain point we decided to move nearer London. We were quite a big fish in a small pond at that time. We moved to Epping & rented this house that was going to be knocked down, & Crass happened to be living three miles away, they were just starting up their band. We did a gig in Epping, then someone asked us if we wanted to play together, and we did. We decided to do it on a permanent footing. (Poison Girls parted with Crass in May 1981). We found we knew what each other was on about. We decided to do gigs and alternative venues together and start a new approach to gigging. If you go out on your own you have to play with a support band, which quite often compromises you severely, and you're just another band to be competed against. Playing together meant getting rid of all that stuff.

Steve: Have you ever had a big female following?

Lance: We haven't had, but it was quite evident on the last tour we were getting one. They were coming in groups.

Rik: In the same age group?

Lance: Yes--I mean older people don't come to gigs very much, they might go to see Ry Cooder or Talking Heads. We don't seem to make much contact with our own generation musically, their taste is much more sophisticated. I would have said there were more pleasant-sounding bands than us.

Rik: Yeah, but not saying the same things.

Lance: No, we'll have to wait and see, won't we. We've used a commercial producer. We said to him we wanted him to tell us how to make a commercial sound. But what's happened is he's been subverted by us. He keeps saying how we're so different to work with & he likes the food here & all sorts of things like we'll have to meet his wife because she'd be interested in what we're saying, & he's sort of saying we've made him question his life, you know. He's actually changed his own standards so he's included more of what we're doing than he would normally contemplate.

Rik: Do you find that the people you work with take a lot of notice of what you're saying, or just pass you by?

Lance: Well, if they pass us by I wouldn't know, would I? One of the session musicians, a sax player, has given us his services for nothing because he likes what we're doing, & normally he wouldn't move out of the house without a contract. We had fourteen people in the choir, half of them wouldn't think about singing at all, and everyone was as high as a



STRENGTH THROUGH Oi?

As Simon Frith rightly points out (*Dancing in the Streets*, reprinted in *Anarchy* 33), the attempts of the trendy left to cash in on the 'Youth Culture' boom of the past six or seven years, have--apart from a brief period in 1978--been totally fucked, due, as he also points out, to their failure to understand that a large sector of young people see no mileage in the lefty, workerist trip. After all, why should they? Are their parents getting anywhere after years of continuous employment? On the whole most young people see the whole leftist scene as something definitely unwholesome, and a pain in the arse.

However, he missed several important points, firstly the extent to which "rebellious" youth "culture" has become a highly profitable commodity. Today's youth scene is a positive boon for some of the most established pillars of society. Gone are the days of the punk/skin/ed simplicity in the 'scene'. Now an enormous parthenon of cults exist and are promoted as hip commodity, we now have nouveau beatniks, redskins, nazi skins, mods, free-formists, new romanticists, '40s romanticists, oi punk, skunks, and many, many more incredibly pseudo cliques, at least we would if we believed the hip music and fashion press (ownwd, usually, by huge publishing corporations like IPC.) The truth is that these 'cults' are created, in a set of fictitious reports, in the minds of journalists working for such papers and mags, at the rate of about one a month, appearing first as a series of subtle hints in the gossip pages etc., and within a few weeks you can find full-page spreads on the latest hype, complete with bands of confused youngsters, bribed into co-operating with whatever piece of journalese fantasy the reporter has in mind. Papers like *Sounds* and *New Musical Express* hold a huge amount of sway with many young people, and can create a myth, wring every last drop of consumer potential out of it, and then discredit it so that the very mention of 'last years thing' is greeted with hoots of laughter by those 'with their finger on the pulse of the street' all in a couple of months.

The value of this packaged, throw-away consumer capitalism is obvious to the ailing music/fashion promoter. However, it has a far more sinister side.

For the last couple of years, *Sounds* especially has been linking politics with the music/fashion hype. Their early attempts at this were somewhat laughable, once they ran a series of adverts claiming that they were the 'best red music paper', a somewhat dubious claim from a journal owned by Sir James Goldsmith, even if being lefty were something to shout about. However, their recent expeditions into the realm of political pop has been more polished and professional. Last year, for example, the cult of Oi reached its peak, started by one particular writer, a few of his mates, and a couple of bands who at the time barely existed. It developed into

a movement with a considerable youth following, extolling the 'virtues' of traditional male working class authoritarian socialism, and from this base developed into a remarkable and blatant platform for outright fascists. Soon interviews with 'bands' appeared that were little more than an excuse for fairly prominent British Movement organisers to spout their views, in a subtly altered way. A photo of one of them with a guitar and a crop was all that was needed to add a facade of authenticity to the proceedings.

A compilation album of bands appeared, entitled 'Strength through Oi', its cover featuring a skinhead making a threatening gesture, who turned out to be the North Kent organiser for the British Movement, with sleeve notes like 'the British flag is our flag, not the bosses, we must fight for it back', further hints on a thinly-veiled uniform were given, and the whole thing had an air of 'revolutionary' brownshirt-style Nazism. This odious trend reached its peak with the infamous gig at the Hamborough Tavern in Southall and the subsequent riot.

This proved to be the downfall of the cult, soon the *Mail* and programmes like *Nationwide*--in their search for sensation--blew the whole thing into the open. Presumably someone from IPC gave the *Sounds* staff a quiet talking-to, you know, 'a jokes a joke, but fuck, a carnival...', that sort of thing, and the tone of the articles was gradually decreased until articles started appearing saying how much



they loved blacks, etc, in a slimy attempt to get themselves off the hook. However, to retain its 'street credibility' and huge circulation, the paper needed to retain its 'radical' image, a new ideology to be plundered, and now it looks like they've found it. Anarchism! The same writers who a year ago were on the Strength Through Labour trip can now be seen writing about 'statists and stalinists'. There is a regular column headed TOTAL CHAOS, a whole new set of young punk bands are plugged, you can find Oi written Oi, the well-known anarchist band Crass appear as a full-colour centre spread to pin on your wall, Donny Osmond style (I do not mean to question Crass's integrity, I believe the whole thing was done without their knowledge).

Some people, mainly young punks think this is a good thing as it helps to get the message across, gives a platform to people who otherwise would not be heard.

I can't see it. I doubt these writers actually believe what they write any more than they actually believed in the fascist kick of the previous year. As I said to keep their image and sales they must appear radical, recognising that there is a large anarchist current among the young (which typically went unmentioned in Frith's synopsis). They decided to exploit it to--indirectly--support the status quo. We have the humiliating spectacle of Anarchism being devalued into a hip commodity, with even some well-intentioned but none the less naive anarchists helping in the process.

No doubt when they've flogged the life out of it they'll look elsewhere for their street chic, and to use anarchist influences will be as scorned as it is now to mention last year's pseudo-fascism.

By then the damage will have been done and another batch of manipulated kids will have been turned to nihilistic cynicism, their ideals devalued and rendered harmless. This attitude is prevalent with many of last years victims.

I appeal to anyone who might give credence to these pseudos--don't, we should express our anarchism autonomously, ourselves, not with the aid of some multi-national publishing house out to sell us cheap thrills.

Other organs of the hip commodity display the same devaluing effect. NME, for example, trying to be more liberal and informed than its rival, while giving lip-service to single-issue topics like legalising dope, CND, Scrap SUS, etc, generally reaches the safe and all-too predictable view that "things might not be all that good, but they could be a lot worse". Far from being the radical, almost revolutionary voice of the streets the Left seem to see it as, 'Youth Culture' (a misnomer, because most of it comes down from the proprietors to the kids, rather than from the kids themselves) tends to be reactionary and manipulative, consumer capitalism out to get 'em early, and cut down their innate rebellion, a sick con, which performs the tasks of a) raking in the akers and b) putting the boot into genuine, autonomous, seditious culture.

But what of real culture, from the young? Literally hundreds of home-produced magazines and leaflets abound, real 'alternative' press in action. As many produce their own tapes, records, badges, clothes, some even do their own radio stations, videos with looted gear.

The young squat, steal electricity and gas, deal and hassle, riot, write, get bikes and cars together, do food co-ops, all this and more--not the mimic-crap you read about in the journals of hip capitalism, the huge record and promotion companies, and in the lefty press, who seem to think all young proles should be bolt-upright and bourgeois-honest, as well as patriarchal and workerist.

Simon Frith's article, obsessed with a delusion of left/right polarity, missed out on a huge, autonomous and in many cases genuinely anarchist culture. He also failed to see the extent to which the youth industry tries to devalue this culture. Unsigned.

Poison Girls continued

kite when we finished it.

Rik: Do any of you get treated as famous?

Donny/Lance: No, not really.

Rik: Do you do a lot of interviews with people like us?

Lance: It comes and goes, really. At one time there were lots and lots.

Rik: Do the big music papers ever approach you for an interview?

Lance: Yes.

Rik: And you don't give them?

Lance: Yes.

Rik: Would you like to do community TV?

Lance: Not really, I find it very pedestrian.

The Oxford Road Show was our first tangle with TV.. They said we were going to get 7 minutes and we got 3. I wouldn't do that again, next time its got to be a whole half hour on us or nothing. She was a very nice lady, said she was a feminist and cut out all the stuff Vi said about feminism, but our record sales increased by 100%.

Rik: Do you get a lot of personal feedback?

Lance: Not so far. But I can't keep up with it as it is, our mail is always a month or two behind.

Rik: It seems a bit one-sided.

Lance: Well, we're four people in touch with fifteen thousand, there's no correlation between that, we couldn't cope with 15,000 people giving us feedback. The best sort of feedback is people coming and saying they want to work with us, do the lighting or show a film or something, or they'll arrange some gigs for us, that sort of practical help is the best.

Rik: Would you be interested in playing in Orpington.....

(Conversation continues in the kitchen over lunch. End of Interview.)



Is Self-Management at Work just Self-Abuse ?

The idea of workers self-management (as distinct from the revolutionary idea of generalised self-management) has been taken up in recent years, not just by some sections of the Labour Party, but also by industrialists and governments in different parts of the world. It is seen as a way of increasing production, cutting down on strikes, and it is sold to workers as a 'democratic' reform.

For us to pursue this narrow version of self-management would be self-defeat. It is not a question of wanting *more say* in our jobs. It is a question of the *meaning* of work itself. From this point of view, there is little to choose between the different versions of workers self-management, whether it's Mass Assemblies, Workers Councils or Co-ops.

Unless we are talking about Newton's Laws (Work is measured by the amount of force required to move an object of a certain mass a certain distance), the term 'Work' is not a fixed or universal condition. What we mean when we use the word depends on the mode of production of the society we live in. Under capitalism, which is a totalitarian economic system, everything which we make for sale, as well as everything we do--paid or unpaid--to keep the system going, is capitalist work and obeys the general rules of capitalist production, even when we are not working under a foreman and nobody appears to be profiting from it directly. However we arrange the details of our working lives, we are always dependent on selling our labour, we are not in overall control of what we make, we have to accept capitalist division of labour. In short, we are always *workers*, entitled to live only because we can sell ourselves. Until, that is, we have overthrown capitalist relations of production.

There are therefore only three ways to approach work. Suffer it, fight it or avoid it. Work is a form of discipline which only the bourgeois can avoid. Of course people find ways of breaking the rules (all rules are made to be broken) -- but the only way we will ever free ourselves from this discipline is by removing our rulers and bosses, and by making self-management general and universal. Otherwise known as revolution. Until such time as our right to live well is not tied to our duty to work hard, until such time as 'wages' and 'prices' are a thing of the past, we will not be able to say that we have made any fundamental changes to the regime of work.

Co-ops can be a way of suffering work with as little brain-damage as possible (like dropping out of a job altogether, or sabotaging the production line.) But what you gain on the swings you lose on the roundabout. This improvement in working conditions usually means low wages. Co-ops usually set up in corners of the economy which don't pay large profits. Broadly speaking, the reason why the ordinary entrepreneur ignores this sector of the market is the reason why co-ops pay slave wages. However, it is a sacrifice some people--especially those without other mouths to feed--are willing to make.

Co-ops sometimes exist to serve the revolutionary movement, either because capitalist firms will not take revolutionary custom or because

their prices are too high for us to pay. These co-ops are usually concerned with producing, distributing or selling propaganda in one form or another. The work in such collectives is always badly paid or not paid at all, for obvious reasons.

These co-ops are not ideological, however. They may be dedicated to spreading ideas, but they do not aim to promote themselves on the basis of their virtuous working-methods. Neither do they advertise the *moral* superiority of what they make (as in *hand weaving, wholefood* or the *independent record* label.) They often have to subsidise the products they like by taking on 'straight' work, but they do not think in terms of replacing the capitalist businesses. Such co-ops do not therefore justify their existence with ideological labels like 'Workers Control'.

Apart from the Bennite workers' co-ops and the revolutionary collectives, however, there is a political current which talks about setting up co-ops as a *radical strategy* in itself. This is crazy. Small co-ops, without capital, do not have the smallest chance of causing capitalist enterprise to wither away. At most they can undercut a few labour-intensive businesses, like small building firms, bakeries, that sort of thing. But even for that achievement they would pay, sacrificing their own low incomes and other peoples' livelihoods. The only capitalist businesses with which co-ops might be able to compete, would be the very ones where day-to-day working conditions are best.

It is their very labour-intensiveness which limits co-ops, both in their ability to compete with capitalism and in their appeal as the productive base of a Utopia. Technology -- the application of industrial science -- might one day enable us to free ourselves from back-breaking, dangerous and repetitive work. Without a highly-developed technology, we will never be free from waged labour of one sort or another. However capitalism has shaped industrial science to the ends of exploitation, class domination and destruction, industrial science is what will enable us to end competition and personal accumulation for once and all. But the ideology of small-scale, co-operative labour is anti-technology, implicitly and often quite openly.

The proposals for 'industrial democracy' contained in the Alternative Economic Strategy, are meant to encourage workers to give up wage rises in return for allowing their 'representatives' to participate in the business of day-to-day exploitation. Before the AES there was the Bullock Report and the Meriden Motorcycle co-op, and other complete disasters sponsored by Tony Benn. Now, the trendy Left in London are actually paying people to set up their own sweat-shops. This is what has become of the industrial libertarianism of the late sixties, when people said that co-ops would be a catalyst in the popular consciousness, leading workers away from alienation, poverty and ill-health.

Small co-ops are sometimes a good way to get things done, sometimes the only way. But they are not the answer to wage-labour. //

REFORM, OR COUNTER-REVOLUTION ?

In recent months there has been renewed speculation about the imminent demise of the Labour Party. Whatever the reasons advanced - Foot's charismatic leadership, the challenge of an even more mediocre centrist leadership in the SDP, the right wing victory over the left, or the failure of the right wing to defeat the left etc, etc, - Labour seems to have become an outside chance as an election winner. Doubts even extend to the viability of Labourism as a candidate for future government at all, as the working class vote shrinks, and the collapse of the Left's "Forward March" (which peaked with Benn's defeat in the deputy leadership elections), and of the evangelical force of born again labourism among the scattered tribes of leftism, seems to destroy its most likely chance of renewal.

It might be argued that all this has reduced the famous Alternative Economic Strategy (AES), to the status of a historical footnote. By such an argument "What if the AES had been applied?" should join such idle questions as "What if Lenin hadn't died?" or "What if Tariq Ali really existed?" To believe this would be a mistake. As ideology the AES is being applied right now, just as in the same terms Lenin casts as long a shadow as he ever did. As for Tariq Ali - well two out of three isn't bad.

It's certainly too early to write Labour off as an electoral force. After all, one strategy on it's 'hard' left anticipates a second even third term of opposition, against the Tories or a centrist coalition, in the process destroying the current leadership allowing time for a credible left leadership to replace it, and for the build up of social and economic conditions desperate enough to stir that popular discontent, in face of which a (by current standards extremist) left alternative strategy will become politically acceptable. Of course this is all far too risky for the majority of Labour politicians, who are interested in the rewards of power right now. But even laying aside the pipe dreams of these 'hard' and 'soft' demagogues as a lot of (crystal) balls, there seems no especial reason why Labour shouldn't take its turn as government in the future. Though of course anything is possible from a party which can elect a compost heap as its leader.

If we are right in arguing that the AES is still a threat to the working class, it's necessary to understand that this threat has two separate thrusts, taking two quite different forms. As a 'real' strategy to be pursued by a future government, it only exists now as a gang war, conducted through competitions in econometric fortune-telling and draft manifestoes, to decide which gang of Labour racketeers will elect the 'Capo Of Capos' and determine the code of the Family. More important today is its role as an ideological justification for 'Socialism'--the intellectual blueprints for consolidating the new 'electoral base' Labour needs to develop in the ambiguities and dissatisfaction of Welfare State functionaries (the 'new' left) and among the mass of increasingly deskilled and powerless workers.

Electoral Base

All political parties, SDP included, depend on building an electoral base of hardcore support, on various social strata and localised interest groups, from which to make a bid for the largely negative 'floating vote' (the

majority of which only votes against an existing government rather than for an alternative.) Traditionally Labour has represented the interests of Industrial as opposed to Financial capital. As capital has become more monolithic--breeding Multinational Monopoly on the one hand, and the need for increasing State intervention to underwrite the system on the other--Labour has become the representative of national and nationalised industry (instead of Monopoly Capital), of the State planning 'infrastructure' (roads, urban development, 'manpower services' including education and health, Technological research etc. etc.) rather than of the buccaneering Entrepreneurial Capital (dominated by the investment power of the financial institutions) which will spearhead any genuine future economic boom--however unlikely that seems at the moment.

The conflict between these different interests is quite real, one of those famous contradictions capitalism cannot overcome. So "The demand of capital is not simply to find leaders or a majority but also to find an opposition--to provide itself with a focus for its own uncertainties, and set them on display"...Hence the need for political "bipolarisation--the alternation of two parties whose action is quasi-identical, but supposed to represent different solutions...it makes for more effective government than the centrist game." (Guerre Sociale--The Question of the State). With the collapse of the "two party" consensus politics of the fifties and sixties, along with the end of the post-war economic boom, the need now for Labour and Tories is to recreate this bipolarity, a need that's more urgent with the emergence of centrist political forces (the potential coalition of Labour right, SDP/Libs, and Tory wets.) Labour needs a new radical image to oppose to Thatcherite Tory radicalism.

The Labour strategy must take account of the special interests of its electoral base--this is complicated by the need to recreate this base. Traditionally the base was composed of The 'Labour Movement' and lower and middle-level State functionaries of one kind or another. It is the spectacular rise of the latter that provides the forces of the 'new

'left'. The incorporation of the post-68 'Alternative socialwork' left (self-help/housing/co-op/counselling groups) into the lower levels of the 'Local State' has brought this stratum, still on its long march through the institutions, to the slopes of 'real' municipal and national power (the Ken Livingstone effect.)

It is the 'Labour Movement' component which is in decline. 'Movement' was in one sense always a misnomer--the strength of the organised Labour movement lay in those sectors of the working class 'fixed' by trade or occupation (broadly speaking, Craft Unionism) and those skilled and semi-skilled and casual workers 'fixed' by their concentration in the new working class ghettos (around the docks, for example, or in single-industry towns.) The traditional working class is itself changing--caught between capitalist restructuring (Industrial and Urban) but equally changed by its relative increase in material welfare (particularly since the war). This and Labour's own accession to being a 'natural party of government' has undercut any interest workers had in supporting it. Labour presides as firmly as the Tories over the barriers to further material gains (most visibly through wage controls and taxes, but more generally as the 'visible' face of 'the system'.) In material terms Labour are unable to offer anything more than the Tories--they are only redistributing shares in 'the cake'--in favour of public sector employees for example, as well as by taxing everybody equally heavily, rich as well as poor. Reflecting this much-lamented decline in its 'working class' base, different sections of the party have different ideas on what to do. For the right it is the pursuit of the interests of the relatively more affluent sectors of the working class, in competition with the centrist parties. Thus someone like Bob Mellish, now become chairman of the Dockland Development Corporation, can see this capitalist urban development as the logical extension of Labour municipal development plans in the past, and can talk about building homes for "young married couples". Clearly invoking the stereotype of the 'Decent' working class family man. (It's still not fashionable in leftist circles to point out how this stereotype is as reactionary as its counterpart, the tory blue-rinsed housewife and mother. Both backbones of one of the most reactionary capitalist institutions, the 'Strong Family'). On the basis of this stereotype was constructed the edifice of the Welfare State (family allowances, pension and social security rights tied to the 'family wage', council house policies favouring the 'nuclear family' etc.)

The Labour left, itself a product of the changes in the 'class composition' since the war, can at least see the folly in pursuing this mirage. Quite apart from the immense hatred of Labour urban management that has built up in the inner city communities that have been devastated by it, the changes in capitalism since the war have precisely broken down the central position of the nuclear family. The post-war boom saw large sectors of the working class recruited into the workforce, most notably women and young people. This not only provided these sectors with relative financial autonomy from the 'family wage'--thus eroding the economic importance of the family--but allowed the development of Youth and Womens cultures,

which not only developed the awareness of these sectors discovered about their roles in a system not geared to their participation, but also allowed the development of these areas as distinct markets for selling commodities (take only the fashion markets for example). The left has thus sought to develop a new community in these sectors (not merely women and youth, but black and Asian communities, and among the new layers of the 'reserve army' created by unemployment.)

In the short run, Labour hopes of electoral victory lie in retaining some hold on its disappearing traditional vote, while developing its 'oppositional' stance in these new 'disadvantaged' working class strata. Hence Foot's juggling act between left and right. Hence also the centrality of the attack on unemployment as an election issue. Hence all the ideological apparatus of the AES and talk of a more Just society and work for all.

Alternative Strategy

In the light of this background, let's look at the AES. I talked above about two different forms of the AES, as ideology and as 'real' government strategy. The best place to start is with the former. A typical example is the book 'The Road from Thatcherism' by Communist Party hack Sam Aaronovitch. Starting from the premise that "as things are now and are likely to be for a considerable time, to have a job, and to earn one's keep, to establish one's worth among workmates, to acquire and use skills and abilities, to advance in one's work, is important for self-esteem and sense of purpose" (so speaks a 'principle lecturer in Economics at the Polytechnic of the South Bank'!), the AES is designed to repair the damage to Industry caused by Thatcherism, and get everyone back to work. Just what we want, right? But this is just the start--the aim is to move from a system based on increased accumulation by a small sector of capitalists to a "system based on satisfying peoples needs." Workers will 'control' their own work, and have the opportunity to develop themselves with the additional resources produced by expansion. "Why should we want the output of goods and services to grow at a faster rate in Britain than in the past? Because there is much unsatisfied need for both goods and services and because new needs are always arising, especially if more and more people are given the chance to develop their abilities." (So speaks a 'communist'). Of course we'll need (centrally planned) effort put into energy conservation and new renewable forms of energy



so as not to eat up non-renewable resources; and the use of social policy and directed investment to prevent pollution and so on... that's enough of that. What it all boils down to is obvious; the further development of capitalism, but on an equitable and socially conscious basis, thus encouraging the participation by all that is vital if it's to be possible. And at this point floods in all the leftist newspeak--'accountability', 'democracy', 'control', 'planning', 'social responsibility' etc. etc. Thus the AES will attack the 'waste of human and material resources which takes place through mass unemployment and underused capacity--to use and develop them to meet the needs of people', its aim to 'increase popular involvement in all areas of life, including the control of the national economy, shifting power away from big business' and 'to attack poverty and class inequalities as well as discrimination based on sex and colour'.



Sounds pretty hot stuff eh? Well what does the AES actually propose to achieve all of this? We now turn to the other face of the AES as 'real' government strategy. And here we run up against an immediate difficulty--there is no such thing as the AES. It is merely the term applied to a number of packages and policies (with broadly the same features, but differences according to which section of the party is speaking). Since "no such definitive policy package exists" (Micheal Meacher) it's possible for every section of the 'broad church' of Labour to have its own flavour of AES. Here at any rate is a typical policy package, designed for mass public consumption:

- *expansion of the economy to raise output, restore full employment and bring about higher standards all round;

- *large increases in public spending to re-activate the economy, provide jobs both directly and indirectly, and to restore public services;

- *exchange controls to stop the city and international finance from undermining the strategy through a 'flight from sterling' and financial crisis;

- *import controls to prevent an immediate trade deficit and to allow time for Britain to plan its trade in negotiation with the rest of the world;

- *public powers over the investment policies of the pension funds and other semi-socialised wealth in the hands of the City institutions until such time as they can be taken into common ownership; and

- *industrial regeneration through expansion of the economy and publicity (sic) directed investment; an extension of common ownership of large companies; and compulsory planning agreements, negotiated between the government, large companies and their workers, to bring

about investment production and employment powers in the public interest.

(Manifesto: A Radical strategy for Britain's Future, Pan Books.)

A lot of this will be (all too) familiar to workers as the sort of crap the Callaghan government came to power on. Equally obviously, it is 'a return to the Keynesian policies on which our post-war recovery was founded.' Now obviously there's an enormous gap between this set of policies and the ambitions outlined in the 'ideological' strategy. Of course 'the strategy would not work miracles. It would not eliminate inflation, make industries efficient overnight or abolish low-paid boring work. But it would create employment, fund social investment, and open up the way for a longer-term development of our economy through common ownership. It could also provide the base for building a more open and diverse society with a wider range of individual and social choice than we have had in the trap of an unplanned international market.' (Manifesto.) Ah I see--it's only going to provide the 'basis' for a more equitable capitalism. The gap between the ambition and actual measures isn't surprising then. Indeed, it's the basis for the new consensus on the Left (inside and outside the Labour Party) which is developing the ideological AES. It's the difference between a Labour Party which has little to offer and so promises a lot, and a 'broad left' which has nothing to offer and so has learnt to speak in a reasonable and realistic tone in order to be listened to. I'll return to the left later. Does the strategy lead to socialism then? Not even its supporters would claim this--indeed for some it is an advantage. Because it's not full-blooded socialism it 'could gain the support of millions who do not think of themselves as socialist'--but of course 'the AES certainly represents a challenge to the power of private capital and therefore contributes to a strategy for socialism' (Geoff Hodgson).

'Real' Strategy

I stated above that as real strategy the AES exists as a gang war between different power groups within the party. The term 'real' here shouldn't mislead--the results of this strategy won't automatically be applied by a Labour government. The actual strategy of a Labour government next time has already been stitched up between the current leadership and the TUC. The only open question is the fate of the current leadership. Someone may well kick Foot's walking-stick away from under him--but the left will only have been able to discredit him. Short of a dramatic turn of events there's no possibility of them selecting his replacement in the near future.

The new accord between the current leadership and the TUC was laid down last July in a document from the TUC/LP liaison committee called 'economic issues facing the next Labour Government'. This sets the real terms for government policy, whoever draws up the manifesto. (And Benn seems to have conceded defeat on this as well, recently leaking a draft document in order to force Foot to reject it publically, thus enabling Benn to argue that the leadership are ignoring conference decisions etc. etc.)

The new accord is exactly like previous TUC/LP agreements such as the Social Contract

with which the Callaghan government was able to impose actual cuts in living standards. Even the language is the same--here is the tentative agreement on a wages policy "To meet the challenge which will be posed by the operation of effective price controls negotiations within both private and public enterprises, including nationalised industries, should take into account the need to secure efficiency in the use of resources and have regard to the impact of settlements on prices." The idea is that an annual assessment be made of prospects for growth of the economy, 'involving such key issues as the use of resources between personal consumption, public and private investment, public services and the balance of trade.' The assessment words the standard left demand to trade 'living' standards for participation by our representatives in the system which determines them. Meacher continues "realistically a money sacrifice would, no doubt, still require a specifically monetary compensation. This could be either government repayment, after say 3 to 5 years, of a proportion of workers income tax as index-linked savings according to the degree of pay restraint, or better still, once planning agreements were in place, a right to share in the firm's capital appreciation tomorrow to match pay restraint today."

In other words workers should invest their labour power and current so-called living standards into future capitalist recovery, and the hope of a slightly improved standard of alienated life in the future. If you believe that presumably you'll not only vote for Benn, but you still hang stockings up at Christmas. This of course isn't the end of the good news --devaluation will increase the price of imported goods, and Meacher's policy means no domestic reflation for 18 months 'lest the export drive is deflected into satisfying home demand.' Once the maximum number of jobs have been created by the export drive then 'modest' reflation can take place via government investments accompanied by import controls --in other words, the introduction of the AES proper. 18 months working our arses off for nothing. In reality of course it will almost certainly take a Labour government a couple of years to impose wage restraint after an initial round of high wage claims. And at least that long to establish the sort of participation in planning that will be needed to police it at local level. The Cambridge Economic Policy Group--instrumental in developing the AES and much respected in socialist economic circles--has become increasingly gloomy about the ability of the AES to reduce unemployment below two million in the lifetime of a single government (the Labour Party promise to reduce it below a million on the basis of a less radical package than Meacher's). Still, given that the AES is likely to fail in its attempts to speedily set capitalism on its feet, Meacher still exposes the reality of it for workers. (All the quotes are from an article entitled Models not Rhetoric in the New Statesman 14/8/81). In May this year he made it even clearer that "the anti-inflation thrust of the alternative policy involves the proviso that the growth of earnings will not exceed the movement of the retail price index by more than 1 to 3 per cent. It

cannot be stressed too strongly however that this is not a traditional incomes policy when the latter has always involved hitherto a cut in wages, and that is not planned here." Presumably, this is not a traditional incomes policy in the sense that it's intended to last for more than a year or two before breaking down. (Quoted from a Guardian article.)



The truth behind the AES becomes clearly visible. It's the programme of a section of the bourgeoisie for shifting the balance of power in their direction. To implement such a strategy would require the co-operation of workers--thus rhetorical inducements are held out: an 'end' to unemployment, a rise in the value of welfare state benefits (lucky us!) and in the future the opportunity to develop ourselves with the opportunity to purchase more commodities and more alienated leisure. Of course three or four years of austerity measures before any tangible gains are seen, will be necessary as a result of the 'depth of the crisis' that 'Thatcherism' and or the 'world economic crisis' have brought us to. There will however be an immediate reduction in unemployment--not among workers however but among the new generation of planners and policy-makers who will staff the new corporatist institutions the AES calls for. Not that material gain is the sole aim. The opportunity to participate in running capitalism will be payment enough for many. It's been the dream of a section of the meritocracy ever since the experience of government regulation and state direction in the last war.

The chances of seeing the AES applied recede with Labours electoral prospects. Workers thus face not only a further attack on their living standards, such as they are, but equally the use of the AES as an ideological barrier to effective opposition.

Clearly, only autonomous working class action will resist this attack. But equally clearly, beyond such temporary gains, none of these problems can be solved within capitalism, whatever schemes for remodelling it are put forward. The AES has nothing to offer workers and if they don't want to be crushed by the impending corporatist barbarism, alternative economic strategy must be kicked off the agenda and autonomous revolutionary strategy put on it.

D.T.

This article first appeared in London Workers Bulletin. A second article, completing this look at the AES by examining its other face as ideology within the new left consensus, will shortly be published in the Bulletin, obtainable from London Workers Group. Write to: LWG, c/o 11, Leyden Street, London E1 (The bulletin is free, but a contribution towards the costs would go down well.)

NATIONALISM & WAR

Extracts from a section of Herman Gorter's Imperialism, World War and Social Democracy, 1915

The following was written soon after the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914.

Gorter attempts to explain the power of nationalism in the working class, and its origins in the misery of everyday life. He writes: "A class which for twenty years has been taught to trust the bourgeoisie can no longer combat it." Seventy years later there are still grounds for pessimism. The British government was able to mobilise nationalist feeling in support of its military adventure in the South Atlantic, without even having to promise reforms in return.

"The nationalism of the proletarian is quite different in nature from that of the bourgeois. For the bourgeois, the nation is the politico-economic organisation the unity and strength of which enable him to make his capital productive both at home and abroad. At home, the nation governs the workers in his interest: abroad, it defends his interests by force of arms and for his sake extends its influence.

This is the basis of bourgeois nationalism, which is thus highly active in character, just as the bourgeois' capital is.

The worker, on the other hand, has no capital, he only receives wages. His nationalism is therefore passive, just as to receive wages is passive.

But the great majority of workers nevertheless live by the national capital.

The national capital is indeed their enemy, but it is an enemy that they live by, an enemy which feeds them. Thus, although the worker is only passively nationalistic, he is nationalistic and cannot help being nationalistic so long as he is not a real socialist.

Because the nation, the nation's capital, is the foundation of his existence.

And therefore, so long as he is not a socialist, he cannot help believing that the interest of the national capital is his own and that he must defend it against enemies, because the welfare of this capital is also his own welfare.

The worker's nationalism consists of a series of generally primitive feelings and instincts which are related to the drive for self-preservation and structured around it. In the first place, the instinct to preserve his existence by working, by his wages. And connected with this, the sentiments attaching to his home, to the parental house, to his family, to tradition, to custom, to comradeship, to the immediate locality, to his people, to his party--and the instinct to preserve all

these, which all relate directly to the ego, and which are thus intimately bound up with the drive for self-preservation. Almost moribund in day-to-day life, the threat or semblance of danger arouses them with elemental force, precisely because of this connection with the drive for self-preservation. And they flare up in a fire of passion, of hatred towards the enemy, of fanatical love for one's country, when the drive for self-preservation allies itself with the social instincts of attachment to and unity with one's peers--in this case, one's fellow-countrymen, those who are of the same class and nation. It takes a high degree of awareness for this instinct, these sentiments, to be overcome at a given moment, always, and for the class struggle not to be abandoned on behalf of the nation.

And so the worker must know that under capitalism, nationalism is now doing him a great deal of harm, far more harm than the advantages it confers. He must know what the harm is, and what the advantages. He must have weighed them against each other. And this process of thought, this knowledge, must be of such a kind, must have penetrated his consciousness so completely, that it not only overcomes the instincts of nationalism, but takes their place. This is a task which is extraordinarily difficult and which demands a very long time.

For it demands a high degree of knowledge and understanding of imperialism in the working class, in the individual worker. Capital confronts the worker in his place of work, in his trade association, in the state. It is thus a national phenomenon. Imperialism confronts him through the foreign policy of the state, in high finance, in the capitalist syndicate, in the international trust, in world politics. It requires a great deal of understanding if the worker is always, constantly, to grasp the connection of every issue in the struggle, both trade-union and political, with world politics, with international imperialism.

The worker must therefore know that imperialism governs the whole of politics, and how: that it threatens the working class with ruin and fragmentation by causing endless wars, that defensive wars can no longer be waged under imperialism, and last and most important, that imperialism--and here it so nearly coincides with nationalism as to fuse with it--unites all national capitalists against the world proletariat, which must be united against them. And that the struggle

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14P THE PAPER THAT SUPPORTS OUR BOYS

against imperialism is therefore the struggle for socialism.

The worker must know all this. And not with hollow words and phrases, with a hollow, superficial, fleeting understanding, but with profound, complete knowledge--the concept must have entered his very bones.

This too is a long and weary task. The demystification of imperialism and the corresponding eradication of nationalism is a mighty step up, a tremendous increase in the consciousness and thus in the development of the militant proletariat.

The new propaganda necessary to achieve this in this new phase of capitalism is one of the loftiest, finest and most fruitful tasks which can be performed in the service of the proletariat.

Against nationalism, against imperialism, for socialism.

The proletariat had never done any of this before. It had always taken action on the national scale, never before on the international scale.

And it had never before taken action against international imperialism.

There were of course groups and individuals among the workers of every country, and especially in Germany, who had overcome national instincts through knowledge and insight.

Social democracy had of course eradicated these instincts from certain hearts. And these groups and individuals would gladly have fought against war with all their might. But in the first place these groups and individuals were, in our estimation, very few in number. Even in Germany. In England they were hardly to be found.* Similarly in France.

The First International was a federation of trade unions and progressive and socialist groups. Which brilliantly expressed the thoughts and feelings of the most developed, most militant groups in the working class, particularly in the sphere of foreign policy, of European political issues; which for the first time in the history of the world and to the amazement and terror of the bourgeoisie, supported each other on an international scale; which, for the first time in the history of the world, wove a bond around the entire proletariat; which openly declared communism as their goal; which were a shining light for the workers and the first great challenge to the bourgeoisie ...

After 1872 this International collapsed through internal fragmentation, long before it could do anything more as a whole, as an entity. It was still too weak for practical, international struggle; the time was not yet ripe for this. It had merely sown the seed in different countries ...

Workers' politics were carried on with one great theoretical goal--revolution. Thus it was in many countries of Europe; in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Spain, Italy.



We could call this the period of revolution in theory and practice.

The numbers taking part were still few. But it was during this period that the most was achieved in the most countries. Even in terms of reforms. The assault was so wild and so furious, the amazement and terror of the ruling class so great, that they conceded some reforms. The best reforms in suffrage and social legislation date from this period in many countries. But this International in its turn, these national parties, concerned themselves only with national issues, with short-term, minor objectives...

Nothing ever happened within the national parties to pose the question--capitalism or socialism; reform or revolution.

This state of affairs lasted for years.

So revolution became theory and reform became practice.

And nothing happened in that period to demand internationalism on the part of the national parties. In deeds. To demand that they cast their nationalism aside.

And so, despite all the theory, despite all the finest and most sincere propaganda, despite all the fine words, the International became a complex of parties striving for improvements, striving for themselves, on a national scale.

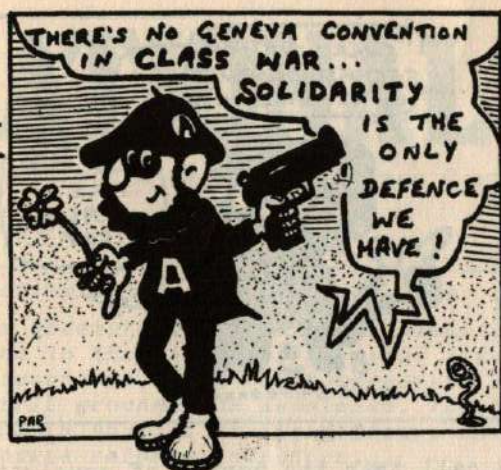
But only action demonstrates the truth of a theory or slogan.

The great mass of the international party was composed of men who desired improvements in living conditions for themselves, for those in the same trade as themselves, for their class comrades, for their fellow countrymen. No more than that. International socialism was only a grand slogan. Their internationalism had no practical aspect...

A new period succeeded the period of revolution in theory and practice in the European countries with which we are concerned.

Attracted by the success of the workers parties, the great masses of workers thirsting for reforms were drawn in... The great majority of them were only concerned, could only be concerned, with everyday issues, work, bread, little gains. The masses were drawn in. The struggle had also become easier. The workers parties and at last secured recognition. Governments and capitalists had ceded a little ground, had made concessions here and there.

* The reasons for the opposition of the Independent Labour Party in England to the war are of a petty-bourgeois nature. They are little-Englanders. They believe that England has enough colonies.



The great national masses were drawn in, thirsting for reforms. Solely for reforms. And this great number began to make its influence felt.

With such great numbers, power could be gained. With so many votes, seats in parliament. The quality of the voters now mattered less.

Among these masses, in the national trade unions and the national parties, reform became everything.

An improved standard of living the goal. Theory, the revolutionary theory, went by the board. And with it the entire International. Such things became just noise and hollow words...

This is how the masses evolved.

Then there arose another kind of leader...

Philanthropists, moralists, well-educated bourgeois, the unscrupulous, those who deceived the masses. Many with good intentions and weak minds, who knew nothing of socialism and its theory. People who deceived themselves, career politicians, who made socialism their business, their source of profit, their means of subsistence.

And moved by philanthropic motives, bourgeois ethics, great learning, stupidity, ignorance, lack of character and scruple, or common sense, they all embraced revisionism.

Revolution was something evil or impossible or too distant: reform possible and immediate and good and advantageous. But the workers were so weak, so uncomprehending, their vote in parlia-

ment and the municipal councils too small. So compromises with the bourgeoisie had to be made! ...

And so it came about that the theory, the revolution, became more and more a thing of the intellect, which the best comrades now and then thought of as something fine and great, a thing of the heart, which now and then beat faster for it--but everyday reality, what was always present, what the masses continually thought of, day and night, became practice--reform, in other words...

The centre of gravity thus shifted from the masses to the leaders. A worker-bureaucracy formed.

And bureaucracy is conservative from the outset...

This is the second phase of the socialist movement, which follows the first phase of revolution in theory and practice. It could be called the period of reform in theory and practice.* ...

This mighty class was tamed by a few ambitious, weak-minded and ignorant leaders. It fell victim to its own lack of understanding and servile mentality.

Something which has already happened a thousand times in the past happened again: the masses were fooled into becoming the servants of their rulers...

There are reformists who go so far as to say they are in favour of capitalist expansion, in favour of colonies and spheres of influence, in favour of colonial policies. They are concerned only with temporary expedients: with capitalism. Colonialist policies, nationalistic colonialism, imperialism in other words, and hence in its turn imperialist war can, as we have shown, bring the nation, the national bourgeoisie, enormous profits from the expansion of capital which it generates. It generates new capital investment, stimulates industry, increases wealth. It improves trade, transport, in short the whole economic life of the nation, to an extraordinary degree. Of course, if the proletariat goes along with it, it also means a decline in the class-consciousness of the masses, and thus, in the long run, the defeat of the proletariat; for the proletariat it means stern oppression, taxes and militarism, war and division; but this does not alter the reformists.

/continued p.28

* As we have already said, it was during this phase, coinciding approximately with the rise of imperialism, that the least reforms occurred, at least in the powerful imperialist countries, i.e. in Germany, France, Holland, Belgium: England, as we shall see, forms an exception. Although significant improvements in legislation were achieved during revolutionary periods, they now occurred only rarely.

Holland is a good example of this. The first tide of revolution brought a significant improvement in electoral law. The propagation of revolution in theory and practice secured the accident insurance legislation which guarantees workers invalided by their work 70% of their wages without any contributions on their part. In the period of reform, the poor--not the workers, but the poor--obtained the promise of two guilders a week, provided that they are poor and behave themselves well and that the parish recognises this. A form of Poor Relief, in other words. From rights to alms, this is what the shift from revolution to reform means...

It might be asked: how is it that reformism flourishes under imperialism when imperialism in fact renders reform impossible?

The answer is this: as far as the reformists are concerned, socialism and the workers' movement consists solely in the struggle for reforms. They cannot imagine any other workers' movement. The less reforms are achieved, the more they must conjure up fake reforms, the more reforms they must drum up and fight for. Otherwise their whole existence, together with the workers' movement as they conceive it, would be pointless, would be nothing.

And all the more under imperialism. precisely because it renders reform impossible.

Report

MANCHESTER: ASIANS RESIST IMMIGRATION LAWS AND DEPORTATIONS

In the local Asian womens' refuge at the moment, 5 of the six women staying there have some problem with the immigration laws. As a result some are not receiving Social Security. If they are facing deportation or removal, the DHSS won't pay. These black women are being starved out of the country through the co-operation of the DHSS and Home Office. It is not by chance that these women are receiving undue attention from the state: the machinery of the Immigration Laws reveals a lot about the British state.

The immigration laws are blatantly racist. They are barbed-wire security for the white racism of Britain. A Home Office spokesman admitted in 1980 that "it is the essence of the immigration Act that people will be discriminated against on the grounds of race or nationality, and it is the function of certain officials to ensure that the discrimination is effective" (Guardian 3.10.80)

The laws are also blatantly sexist, and patriarchal. It is nearly impossible for black men to enter Britain now. Black men are seen as a threat to white mens' jobs; black women are seen as dependants, and so they can enter as fiancées. If their dependancy is broken, for instance by walking out on a violent marriage in the first year, they are liable to be deported. If their husband is found to be an illegal entrant, then the dependant wife is called illegal too.

The Home Office works very efficiently with other departments of the state (DHSS, local government, NHS, Education) to gather information on dependant black immigrants who 'make recourse to public funds'. This close liaison is backed up by police harrassment, passport checks, night-time raids and 'fishing expeditions' at workplaces.

Mrs. Khan, an Asian woman living in Longsight, Manchester has experienced the racism and sexism of the laws, the links between different state departments, as well as police harrassment.

She arrived in 1979 to marry Shankat Khan. She had two children, now aged 18 months and 8 months. The children are British citizens because they were born here. She wants them to be brought up and go to school here. Last November, a removal order arrived for her husband. He was discovered to be an illegal entrant by the Home Office (he came here aged 13 on someone else's passport.) He didn't even know you had to apply for an 'amnesty' given to illegal immigrants in 1973. As an illegal entrant he has no right of appeal in one of the Home Office's immigration courts. Mrs Khan had no knowledge of her husband's immigration status until the removal order arrived. But she has been issued with a removal order too, because she failed to tell the immigration officers on her entry of this fact she did not know. The two children are to be given tickets to Pakistan. This is a free gift from the Home Office, who can't technically remove British citizens who are the children of illegal immigrants until the new Nationality law takes

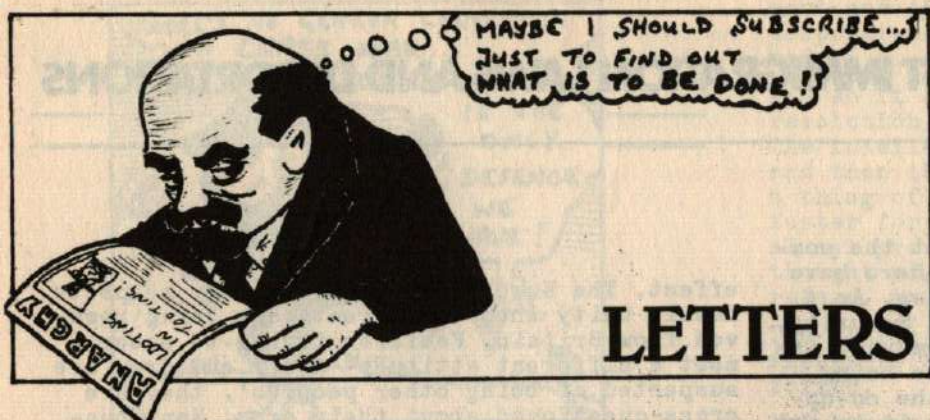
effect. The Home Office conveniently respects family unity when the parents are being removed from Britain. Families trying to enter meet a different attitude--their children are suspected of being other peoples', they are cross-questioned about their ages. Many hundreds of families are divided, half of them getting in, children being kept out.

Now Mrs Khan has been refused social security and her child benefit has been cut. Her husband went underground in February and she has had no financial support from him. Recently the police have started to call round her house every few days, asking her questions, making sure she hasn't gone to ground. The combined effect of these attacks on Mrs. Khan are depression and isolation. She is unable to attend meetings of the defence campaign for cultural reasons. But she hasn't given in.

Defence campaigns around people threatened with deportation have usually concentrated on the plight of an individual. By starting from personal accounts, campaigns can shock people into realising the extent of Home Office power. It can equally well shock white people into pity, especially when the media take up the 'Deserted Wife and Abandoned Child' angle. Pity has a long tradition in English liberal thought, starting with the Anti-Slave Trade League. It is a dangerous, near-racist sentiment, though white guilt-money has financed many campaigns.

Recently, groups of people threatened by the immigration laws have organised together in joint campaigns. The Filipino women managed to show that 'entry by deception' and 'failing to reveal a material fact' had greatly widened the state's definition of an illegal immigrant. A group of 20 Asians from Oldham, all trying to re-unite their families separated by the immigration laws, have combined to send independent investigators to Bangladesh. These investigators have brought back interviews and film to use as evidence in the appeal courts. More importantly, word is getting round in Oldham that anyone can resist the immigration laws. More black people are joining in. It's likely that before long in some areas there will be automatic community resistance to attacks from the Home Office in the same way that racist attacks are resisted. Everything about the immigration laws tends towards secrecy and the isolation of individuals. Once that secrecy--and sometimes shame--is overcome, the state will really be threatened.

The arrest of the Bradford 12 last summer on charges of conspiracy is a reminder of the fear in the state of this growing resistance to all forms of racist attack. The state strikes back most ferociously when its own belly is exposed. The UBYL organised against deportations very successfully. Despite the arrests this organisation against the state is springing up in any places. A generalised campaign against immigration laws is growing, rooted in many individual experiences. //



LETTERS

Dear Anarchy, The only recent debate in the Anarchy letters pages has been about feminism & anti-sexism. A lot of energy is going into refuting feminism.

All this effort is being wasted so that people can stay exactly where they are. No wonder so many women have bowed out of the 'debate' in favour of more positive outlets for their energy. Even if they can't change their minds, why don't they put some of this effort into other arguments, e.g. pacifism v violence? I think the bitterness of the anti-feminists gives us a clue.

Feminism requires that both men and women undertake a painful examination of how each of us participates in oppression. Many anarchists seem to have a great deal invested in not changing their own consciousness or behaviour, instead claiming to be helpless in the face of a monolithic State.

The argument appears to be between those who think we can change a bit now, and those who resort to a materialistic fatalism. This is a smokescreen. What is really at stake is not tactics, or philosophy, but a deep emotional resistance to change, and an unwillingness to go through self-examination. To do this without guilt or egocentricity (they are really two sides of the same thing), and to do

it impartially, takes courage and commitment. If revolutionaries are not prepared to change or be open to new ideas and the experience of others, who is going to be open to ours? If we don't understand the ways in which we perpetuate our own and other peoples oppression, how can we feel solidarity or expect it in return?

People refuse to change in two ways. Either they feel persecuted and guilty, or they ignore the challenge. The first means giving up all responsibility by becoming a martyr. The second means saying (in the case of feminism) 'I'm not sexist/I treat men and women the same'.

Ignoring the power of conditioning does not make it go away. Similarly, revelling in it is equally just giving in. Anarchists do change the way they live in spite of the system. Too often, they only change in the ways that suit them.

Being willing to learn, change the way we live, and to keep on doing this, is the way we make revolution on a larger scale a real possibility. This is the challenge of feminism, to try & link the personal and the political in a positive way--understanding and increasing the possibilities of what can be changed now, and how much we are in control

This is not to ignore the external pressures--feminism has always tried to link self-oppression with State oppression, and understood that we must work on both.

It seems to me that this is the connection a lot of anarchists refuse to make. Instead, they spend time and energy locked into a defensive helplessness or a token acceptance. Plato Beans.

Greece: state on the attack

Anarchy friends:

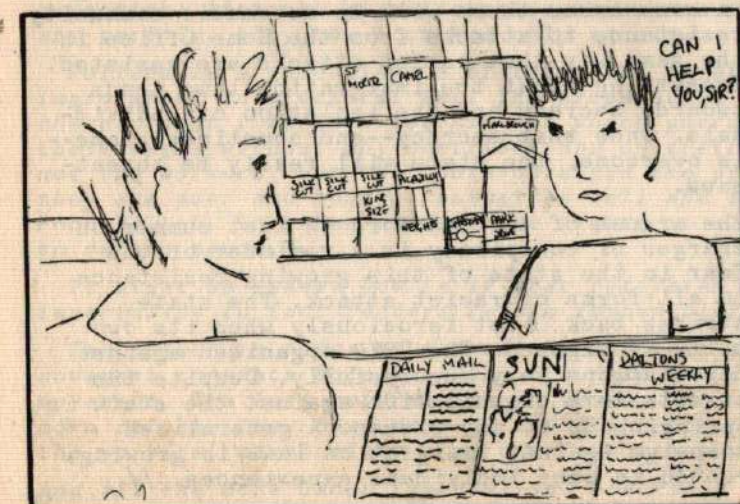
There is a movement in Greece which has, as a central idea, the downfall of this kind of world, of the daily repression: which shouts for life, and not survival; for freedom and not slavery; which refuses to accept the cemetery silence of our world; and which receives, every day, bloodthirsty attacks from the state.

Four months ago, as an expression of our desire for life and freedom, we occupied some old houses, deserted for many years (I emphasise that some of us had nowhere to live.)

We wanted to make these houses centres of life, small 'free places'. The four of them were in Athens (Exarhia, New Heraklion, Patisia, Egaleo) and one in Thessaloniki.

Three months passed and everything seemed to be fine. No violence, no police.

But one afternoon last month, at the same time at the three houses, the state showed its true face once more. Specially trained units of the Greek police broke into, hit and arrested everyone found in the three houses (the fourth, Egaleo, was



completely destroyed by Communist workers under the shadow of a large police force, a week before the attack at the other three houses.)

After this, the movement took to the streets again, playing the "run after me" game with the police pigs, or the "destroy a police car" game.

Since then, a number of facts show what's going on in Greece under the social-fascistic government of Papandreou.

1. Th. Pisimisis is imprisoned for 17 months, Nick Malis for 9. Both were hit and arrested at the house of Exarhia.

2. The 'court' decides that I. Bouketsidis will go to prison for 13 months, because at a demonstration he was shouting "The police sell the Heroin" and "Close the Dachau of Kerkira" (prison).

3. In Pireus 9 young men are arrested on an anti-state demonstration. A 'court' will decide their fate in some days.

4. In Heraklion, Crete, 5 young men were imprisoned for 23 months for doing anti-state graffiti.

5. In Pireus again, 7 persons were arrested on an anti-state demonstration and were imprisoned for 13-15 months.

6. In a few days 11 young men arrested at the house of New Heraklion will go on trial.

All these facts are proofs of the daily repression, and many, many others are distorted by the radio, press, TV. The State Killer controls everything.

But not for long. The revolutionary movement is getting bigger all over the world.

In Zurich, Berlin, Amsterdam, Warsaw, Athens everywhere.

Shoot a Pig--Save a Life.

Yours for Revolt, Nick

"We live in a miserable world. Capitalism gives us all we need but deprives us of life. None of you, none of us, is happy. Me and my comrades, we hate this world of misery and estrangement, and we pursue its downfall..." (From Th. Pisimisis defence at the trial of the house of Exarhia)

Liar !

Dear Anarchy, I don't know who wrote that crap in A33 about 'Masculinity the Basis of all Authority' but it certainly wasn't me and I disassociate myself from it. Here's a cartoon of what I think. Yours, Malcolm Stroud

LOOK AT THIS, MARK - A NEW IDEOLOGY ! IT'S GREAT, IT MAKES YOU FEEL REALLY GUILTY!



Debate of the Decade, part 17: 'The Longest Headline'

Dear Comrades,

...Malcolm Stroud, I think, represents an example of that type of male who, having been continually told that his sex is bigoted, violent, egocentric etc. etc. has over-reacted to the criticisms.

His letter sounds rather self-conscious--a deliberate attempt to appear non-sexist and thereby win favour among women. I agree it is vital for men to look a little more critically at their attitudes to women, but I would say it

is better first to look at one's own shortcomings--not to women generally but in regard to those women one meets regularly...

Malcolm Stroud, on the other hand, launches into a generalised attack on his own sex, and in such strong terms that I suspect his letter may just be an elaborate excuse for not altering his own behaviour. A feminist friend of mine once said that she resented my struggle to use non-sexist terms even more, perhaps,

than she resented my sexism. I wonder if other women feel the same way.

How about a plug for "Me Myself I", the paper for Individualists and Apprentice Terrorists ? 10p. monthly + stamp from 13, Carleton St. Morecambe,, Lancs LA4 4NX.

Anyway, thanks for a good Anarchy. The focus on unemployment as an everyday issue helps us keep our feet on the ground.

Yours and Mine, Cliff M Poxon



MY STATIST NAME
AND ADDRESS IS :-

MY ALTERNATIVE
NAME AND ADDRESS
IS :-

ALTERNATIVE PERSON ZEND
ALTERNATIVE COUNCIL HOUSE
ALTERNATIVE KNOWLE
ALTERNATIVE URBAN MOUTH
ALTERNATIVE BRITAIN
0/0/0

23/3/82

Dearty beloved 'Anarchy' Mag.

This is not a letter but an article in the form of a letter, sent through the statist Postal service for publication in the alternative 'Anarchy' pages.

THE PERFECT ANARCHIST

I am the perfect anarchist: I don't believe in the system or in the state. I believe everybody should be equal, free and happy and I don't see why children should be made to eat the whites of their eggs if they don't want to. That point brings me to the subject of vegetarianism - I am a vegan and don't eat any animal products whatsoever (a sincere animal liberationist). Even if I cut my finger, I resist the temptation to lick it. Also, if I sniff and cough up phlegme, I must spit it out, wherever I am, as I mustn't swallow it - no, not me, I don't consume any animal products. Killing and eating animals is wrong in my book - even if people are hungry, they must not eat meat because it would make them psychopathic killers. That point brings me to the point of pacifism. I am opposed to all forms of violence and killing, and I am a member of the C.N.D. because I don't want the world to be blown up. If I was with the person (bad grammar is freedom) who was going to blow up the world, I wouldn't dream of hitting him over the head with a blunt instrument to stop him... um... er... or her... from pressing the button. I would ask him/her if s/he and have a sit-in, during which time I would ask him/her if s/he ~~could think~~ could think of doing something more constructive, like distributing health foods (except honey). Thinking over the point about the button presser being male or female brings me to the point of Women's Liberation and sexism. I am definite about it not being a woman who would press the button as a woman would be incapable of doing, or even thinking, such a thing - sorry women! You see - I'm an anti-sexist and never have a sexist thought and that is why I would also celibate. I couldn't have sex in any way, because that would involve sexist thoughts... I mean, I would have to think about women... you know... like that... No, don't think it! Also I couldn't be gay either because that would be just as bad, thinking about all those poor oppressed gays in a sexual way, also, because I'm not gay. I would just be using them for my own selfish desires. Masturbation is also out because that would involve sexist fantasies - sexism and sexuality are one and the same thing you see. I was thinking of having a sex-change and going to live in the 3rd World, but I've decided that would be patronising and I'm not patriarchal - I've



ME

ANY LIKENESS
TO MARK
IS PURELY
COINCIDENTAL
(OR JESUS)
AND MOSES

P.T.O.

deconditioned myself. Obviously - I'm also an anti-racist and realize that when people (men) from other races do wicked things it is because of the colour of their skin.... er... um... no... I mean, it's because of their background.... er... no, I'm getting all wrong: If I were bashed on the back, til I was senseless, by a non-white, it would be because of white imperialism and I wouldn't resist because I'm a privileged white. Not that I would resist or native the colour of their skin nor sex, nor class or if they were ugly, had spots, long hair, short hair green hair, punk or whatever because I'm without prejudice and I've got no ego - here comes the twist - I don't exist! I AM JOHN GUILT. Another gem from ZENO III STOICISM DIES
Real Name and address withheld by request

THE FUNKY FREEDOM SONG BY P.J. PROUDHON

You can knock me down
Tread on my face
Slender my name all over the place
Do anything that you want to do
Property is Theft so you can have my shoes
Oh Persons
Property gives me the blues

One - take my money
Two - take my horse
Three - take my ego
Cos I wanna be a mouse*
Oh Persons
Please take my sweet shoes

* Reference from some obscure and forgotten philosophy which asks: Are you a man or a mouse?

who keeps on ripping his pants.
ZENO III don't listen to music because it's all part of the spectacle and because it's too pleasurable. He would listen to CRASS but they tell him to pay no more than £3.00 for their albums and the shops sell them for £5.00.

P.S. Could you answer these questions?
Do the last few frames in the 'Anarchy' cartoon refer to man the species or man the sex? I'm having problems with reality. Did Bakunin devote a lot of his writings to Women's Liberation? Is anarchism a contradiction in that it believes in dominion over women? Were and one, Louise Michelle, Emma Goldman, Voltairine De Cleyre and Iris Mills etc. really men in drag? Is freedom something to do with solipsism i.e. Think about it and we get it?

IS Newspeak in force yet? Also doublethink. Thought crime and what year is it?

P.P.S. Should I read Philip K. Dick because I have the feeling there's something sexually obscene about his name?

Elaine has lost 5 pounds or two bags of white sugar

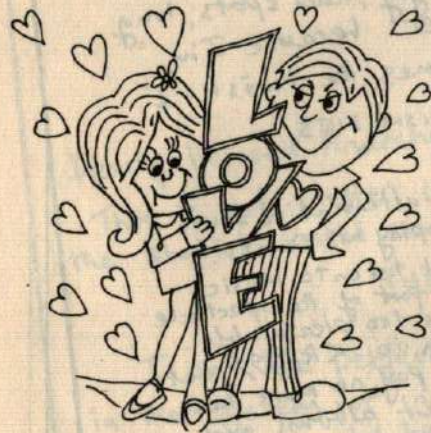


THE DOCTOR IN THIS CARTOON IS FEMALE.

TUNE IN NEXT WEEK TO FIND OUT WHAT THE C.N.D. REALLY IS
MEANWHILE HERE'S A CLUE: IS THE SYMBOL THIS WAY ☺ OR THIS WAY ☹?

Prize Letter

Hello just though I would write to tell you I think that the last cover for Anarchy was shit. Anarchy is already misunderstood without anarchist papers leaving themselves open to misinterpretation. I hope



Dear Anarchy,
I saw your letter from Malcolm Stroud and feel its time I said something, only I have forgotten what I was going to say. Anyway, to my amazement a leading feminist who has also written on the subject turned round to me and told me I am one. now this knocked me back, as I thought feminists was against my whole way of life.

I, when in the mood, wear make-up and sexy clothes, deliberately to entice unfortunate (they THINK they are fortunate for a while) males into my lair. I love getting married, I've done it four times as I like being the centre of attraction at the wedding party. I don't like being married though, it's like I like horses but would not want one in the house. Will someone please tell me what a feminist is as how on earth can I be classified as one? Maybe all female anarchists must be feminists too. Is it to do with equal rights and freedom for all oppressed groups? Why don't we speak of Maleists to describe the male who is fast becoming the new oppressed? Can't we come up with a word to describe minority groups like my ex-husbands who are sick of the titles I have for them at present.

If to liberate ourselves we emasculate men then we are the losers. Let them keep their pride and their illusions, we want to climb up beside not

the cover was meant to show that anarchism is within the individual, and without a change in personal attitudes nothing will change, but I'm not sure. All the anarchists I know who have read it have been 'disturbed' by it. If you must put in 'dubious' stuff don't stick it on the cover.

As for the letter 'Why this Movement is Fucked', I think

bring them down to us. I love men, I love the smell, the feel of muscles under my hand when I feel a dishy stranger on a crowded bus. I adore the way a speculating look from potential new prey can make my nipples tingle with anticipation. Its stupid to suggest that a male could ever use sex to dominate though, the boot is on the other foot, I shamelessly wiggle my arse enticingly under the nose of a horrid old boy who I specially need a favour from in a minute. It saves me no end of red tape and is a short cut that Adam and Eve must have been aware of.

Any woman who is aware enough of all these things, and uses them to her advantage, doesn't need liberating, she is already free. Our little sisters who are happy being dominated by their 'very own' pet male don't want to be free. If you force them to be you are replacing the old oppression with a new. For every European woman who is sweating in the kitchen for some lazy macho male, there is a henpecked male somewhere hiding in the kitchen from a lady spider like me.

If a whole generation brought their kids up never to hurt anyone, never tell a girl a promise you may not keep, there would not be any battle of the sexes. A man who would not hurt a girl's feelings would not be capable of saying 'shut up and get in the kitchen'. No good looking around for a minority group to take the blame. If the world is foul and fucked-up we should each take responsibility for our own ancestors and each do all she/he can to make the next generation nicer, more aware, less fucking suicidal. I ain't got no more paper.

Keep socking it to them through your excellent communications system, 'Anarchy' magazine.

Ride the Wind,

Plum

Leytonstone, London E11

I agree with the opinion of the writer, but 'what they need is a good fuck' is a crazy conclusion.

All in all I think your paper could do with some major improvements before I would recommend anyone to read it, let alone sell it.

Love and solidarity, malc.

The letter 'Why this Movement is Fucked' was a joke. Perhaps it's time to clear up a few other 'misunderstandings' arising from satirical articles in Anarchy.

Issue 32. The article 'What's there to Discuss', written in the persona of a prison officer (a member of the Red Screw Collective and the Federation of Anarchist Prison Officers, just to make the joke obvious) was a sarcastic parody of the arguments of the article on feminism preceding it (entitled Notes for Discussion).

Issue 33. We published one of the many outraged letters protesting at our decision to allow a platform for the views of a prison officer. The reply was supposed to be so over the top that no-one could get it wrong. But we underestimated some peoples' powers of credulity (talk about humourless feminists? My God you should take a look at some of the letters we haven't printed.)

Also in issue 33: one of the articles not only contained numerous misprints, we also managed to miss out whole paragraphs laying out the pages. So we did a humorous errata slip. Again, in order to make the jest quite plain, we asked for readers' comments on our plan to 'completely randomise punctuation and spelling' in the future.

This idea received an unfavourable response from comrades on the other side of the Atlantic. Does this say something about the British sense of humour?

We had hoped to avoid tedious explanations of this sort, but we can avoid it no longer. In future when we print a joke, we will put it in a box with 'JOKE' at the top.

Singed -- The Editors.

Dance Evolution

In most human societies, past and present, dance is an essential part of the fabric of the community. It is only in the highly-industrialised societies that dance has lost this meaning and has become a marginalised, unimportant activity. I want to work--with others--to bring dance back into the centre of our lives.

For many years I was terrified of dance. Nowadays dance is at the centre of my life. I feel very isolated and want to make contact with like-minded people.

Dance at parties and bops has the most inflexible rules and typically has a sexual purpose. By a 'sexual purpose' I do not mean the physical and emotional enjoyment of dance. I mean a purpose subservient to a patriarchal, alienated sexuality.

The revolution I see myself as part of is concerned with building a world in which all people, black and white, women and men, young and old, with physical disabilities and able-bodied, can freely and publicly enjoy being creative. This involves working on many levels and in many places.

Misha Wolf, 12 Terrapin Rd,
London SW 17

The Natural Dance Association
is at 14 Peto Place, London NW1

'Breakout'

Hello Kids,

In January this year I took over Breakout as the other interested parties were either in nick or dashing off to other parts of the country. I get 20 or 30 copies a month printed free of charge by a decent social worker on his photocopier at work.

This is enough for the insiders I personally am in contact with, especially as they get well passed round the prisons, one copy suffices for the whole of E Wing Long Lartin. The paper is, since the new censoring rules made it possible to send it into prisons openly, what it claims to be. "The paper for insiders". However if outsiders want to read it, let me know and I print a few from various photostat machines around the town... We've still got copies of "Women in Prison" and "Hidden Voices" (prisoners' poetry) for sale, and the "Defendants Handbook". P&P cost to anarchists, £1 to pigs. Breakout! the paper for insiders is free to prisoners, 50p to bums and £1 to pigs.

A Category A Irish prisoner whose name I saw in your magazine last year, Peter Toal, wrote to me this morning...he says Cat A people never get parole. Now republicans are automatically Cat A the minute

they are sentenced, I wonder if the judges know the harsh sentences they hand out to people who are daft enough to be born with a brother who was daft enough to get seen reading An Phoblacht?

What about Donna Fox? 2000 days in segregation. At the moment they are especially cross with her, and as it is hard to inflict extra punishment on someone who is already receiving every punishment they could think of, some bright spark came up with the brilliant idea of confiscating her radio and all her newspapers...You'll be glad to hear that George Tomkins case has now been accepted by them, he is slowly being eaten alive by psoriasis, a skin disease that needs sunlight more than any other disease known to man. Fresh air, daylight and WARMTH are the only known antidotes. So they keep him banged up in a dark segregation cell to discourage him from being a nuisance.

Democracy may be a bloody shambles but so far its the best of all the heretofore-practised systems. So until there is no system and we are all free, I'll drink to democracy where one judge can decide we all walk to work because we can't afford the fares. Where a judge can lock a jewel like JS up for years and years for stealing and let a murderer go free, THREE times that murderous screw walked out of court a free man. Love and Rage

Annie Breakout!/56 Dames Rd.
Forest Gate/London E10

Anarchist Pacifism and Antimilitarism

I have noticed a point made by people interested in nuclear disarmament. They say 'ordinary' people in both East and West want nuclear weapons. Perhaps that is debatable, but the following part of the point makes sense to me. This is that 'ordinary' people have been given no say in questions of so-called defence. We have to take weapons systems or leave them, we are told. From this it would appear that we the governed, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, have more in common than our own governments. It would appear that political establishments have much in common despite differences in political systems, which are used as the justification for the new cold war. The fact is that the nuclear arms race does appear to have its own momentum, which keeps it going despite changes of government, and makes it common to countries which have widely different ideologies.

The question that follows from that is, why is this momentum supplied and where does it come from? I think it is supplied by a

multitude of people from many walks of life, from Presidents to workers in arms industries. In the west the arms race is the source of →



their livelihood and profit in a society where money is a sign of success. Something which is true everywhere is that the arms race is a source of personal esteem and pride which they are trained to measure by competition. For example, military people want to have the latest technology before other countries and perhaps even before their own armed forces.

Technology plays a large part in determining military strategy. From this it could be argued that the American change of strategy from 'deterrence' to 'first strike capability' and 'limited nuclear war' is not a change to better warfare but largely a response to the new technology available. Later, perhaps, a justification is made to the population that national policy is the determining factor, whereas while strategy can indicate areas of research, technology frequently forces the pace of strategic and policy changes. Incidentally, 50% in Britain and over 60% in the USA of scientists work on military projects.

Politicians, including socialist politicians, who gain power must accept the need and even the advantage of the centralised state in which power is in reality held by a few, despite talk of democracy. For example the decision about Cruise Missiles was taken without even a debate in the House of Commons.

In short the public are not informed, let alone given the chance to influence a decision of this type. It illustrates how little democracy is involved in our right to vote.

The arms race is a logical product of the existence of the centralised, hierarchical state. Although 'ordinary' people do not want a nuclear war, they support or acquiesce in attitudes and relationships which have led to the threat of nuclear war. So to free the world from nuclear weapons involves not just pressing for disarmament but working to change the structure of society in many aspects of the relationships between people and between countries.

Decentralisation and increased self-reliance are essential steps towards taking control of our own lives and dismantling the war machine. This means depriving the Military of its power and to disarm is therefore (and not just in Great Britain but everywhere) a revolutionary act.

I think that to defend the achievements mentioned revolutionaries should not use a method which would put those achievements at risk.



People cannot depend on military methods of defence since this would lead to the militarisation of the revolution and put their objectives at risk. Also I believe that it would probably be impossible for any society to perform the greatest constructive task of liberating society and at the same time make the effort and sacrifice necessitated by modern warfare. I think this was the experience of the Spanish Anarchists in 1936-38.

To conclude I think we must build up a nonviolent movement to tackle militarism in society.
D. Dare



Educate, subjugate

It is not difficult to see the education in this country for what it is, a means of social control. It may have the side effect of imparting a limited amount of knowledge into those who are subjected to it but this is not its primary function.

If one wishes to gain a position of importance in this society one must conform to the education system. From a negative point of view, if one does not conform to the education system one is likely to be crushed by the dole and factory systems. Education consists of presenting what is usually interesting information in the most boring possible manner. This has two major effects. In order to learn one must be subservient and it discourages the individual from acquiring knowledge on his own.

The examination system makes the individual who wishes to do well to spend long periods memorizing long tracts that are of no use except in passing examinations. Examinations also encourage competition, the ugly ideal on which our society is based. For one individual to do well requires that others should fail. In fact our education system is designed more for failure than for success. For each individual who goes to university many others go straight from school into factories or onto the dole. What is more, the success of these people in examinations, that do little more than measure a combination of conformity and exam technique, is used as a justification of their right to exploit others.

Charlotte Corday.

Bible study

The society in which we live is based on Christian principles, and so to understand our society and what is wrong with it one must study the Bible. Our society is based upon selfishness and it is not difficult to trace that selfishness back to the selfish God it is supposed to obey. An example of this is to be found in Revelations 4:11 -- "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

Man was created to serve God, but Man was created in the image of God and therefore all creatures were made to serve Man, as was woman. It is this selfish and arrogant idea that Man is superior to other animals, and that they are here to serve Man, that leads to vivisection and the mass slaughter of animals for food consumption and use as clothing material etc. Tolerance of one form of exploitation leads to tolerance of others and with the example of a selfish God it's not long before man starts exploiting man. To purge exploitation from our society we have to purge the proud and arrogant Judeo-Christian belief that animals were created to serve us from ourselves. Admittedly, meat-eating existed prior to Judaism but the current acceptance of this repulsive and exploitative habit is undoubtedly rooted in Christian belief. Building a better world will inevitably be achieved in stages but eventually that better world must include an end to all forms of exploitation. Vegetarianism is a major step that the individual can take against the exploitation of animals.

Charlotte Corday.

Nationalism and War ... continued

So long as capital is growing and flourishing... But imperialism means nationalism.

From the reformists; from the Social-Democrats; from the national social-democratic parties; from the International itself, the workers accepted the imperialism that crept ever nearer, that threatened them with war, death, defeat and division, that was to murder, destroy and infinitely weaker them as individuals and as a class--this imperialism, these colonialist policies, which, by fostering militarism and a probably endless succession of wars, was to take away all reforms for the present and for years to come.

Workers who desire only immediate advantages must agree to colonialist policies, and so agree to imperialism and nationalism. For it is these that promise immediate advantages...

It was thus reformism which caused the workers, already too concerned with minor issues, to become even more attached to the latter.

It was thus reformism, the pursuit of minor reforms, that caused the workers, already so nationalistic, to become even more nationalistic.

It is what caused the workers to give in to colonialist policies, even as imperialism crept nearer.

It is what caused the workers' attention to be diverted as imperialism crept nearer, so that they remained unaware of it.

It is thus, through reformism, that the international leadership of the International in every country and the workers themselves--whatever their self-conceptions, whatever their protests--became in reality nationalists, imperialists, and even, with the threat of war, chauvinists.

The reformists, reformism, together with ignorance, are to blame for the proletariat's surrender to imperialism, to world war, to its own downfall. For its failure to defend itself and strengthen itself by resisting, and instead welcoming its own epeebement with joy and even enthusiasm.

They went for reforms alone, and it was precisely because they no longer sought revolution that they brought weakness, downfall and division upon themselves...

The revisionists had promised reforms for the present. Reform came; death. The revisionists promised the workers democracy; equality was to come. It came, in the equality of death: for capitalists and workers are truly equal in death. The revisionists promised universal suffrage if the workers would only trust the liberals. The liberals granted the workers suffrage: in death! The dead, the thousands of dead workers, raised their voices in protest.

The revisionists promised class reconciliation, if only the socialists would follow their tactics. War unites all classes in death.

Revisionism had also promised the reconciliation of humanity and disarmament! The peoples of the earth face each other in lines thousands of kilometers long, bristling with weapons and dripping blood...

The revisionists promised reforms for the future: after this war there is the threat of new war, new arms races. And hence disruption and downfall. And hence no reform.

A class which has for twenty years been taught to trust the bourgeoisie can no longer combat it...

...the reformists do not merely share with the capitalists and with the workers' ignorance the blame for our present impotence, confusion, cowardice, for the proletariat's current nationalism, chauvinism and imperialism, for the present misery, fragmentation, weakness, they also share the blame, the responsibility, the guilt, for everything that will come after the war--weakness that will last for years, misery, the impossibility of reform, the necessity of beginning the struggle for revolution anew with a very weakened and perhaps demoralised proletariat.

If only the waste and destruction and misery and all the consequences of this war meant that the working population would be purged of the reformists and all their kind!"

THE ANARCHIST DLTN'S WKLY FIGHT BACK WHERE YOU SEE THIS SIGN

ANARCHISTS GROUPS U.K.

- ABERDEEN** Libertarians c/o 163 King Street Tel 0224 29669
- ABERYSTWYTH** D. Fletcher, 59 Cambrian Street, or c/o M. Sheehan, 2, South Road
- BARNSELY** contact B. Cobble, 6 The Shambles
Barnsley Way Out Club, Bird Lane, Horland
- BARRY** contact Terry Phillips, 16 Robert Street, Barry, S. Glamorgan
- BATLEY** contact G. Buckle, 52 Laurel Drive, Willow Estate, Batley, West Yorkshire
- BEDFORDSHIRE** Write to John, 81F Bromham Road, Bedford MK40 2AH
- BELFAST** Anarchist Collective, c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1. See also 'Publications'
- BIRMINGHAM** D.A.M. Group & Antimilitarist Group, all c/o 18 Moore St, Ringway, Birmingham 4
- BRIGHTON** Libertarian Socialist Group, also Sussex @s, c/o Falmer House, Univ. of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton
- BRISTOL** @s, 110 Greville Road, Bristol 3
Libertarian Society, c/o Students Union, Queens Road, Br. 8
Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6
- CAMBRIDGE** @s, Box A, 41 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge (Papers - 'No Choice')
- CANTERBURY** Alternative Research Group, Students Union, Univ. of Kent. @ Group: contact A. Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd.
- CARDIFF** @s write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road.
- CIRENCESTER & COTSWOLDS** c/o Andrew Wilkie, 7 Sperrinote, Cirencester, Gloucestershire
- CLYDESIDE** @s contact J. Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, G45 (see also 'Glasgow')
- CUMBRIA** @s 12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith
- DONCASTER** see 'South Yorkshire'
- DUBLIN** A.B.C. Collective, 7 Marlborough Street, Dublin 1
Love V. Power, Whelan's Dance Studio, 51 S. King St, Dublin 2
- EAST ANGLIA** Libertarians & D.A.M. c/o M. Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex
- EDINBURGH** @s meet Tuesdays 7-30 p.m. at 1st of May Bookshop, Address: Box 1921, 1st of May, 43 Candlemaker Row, Ed.
- EXETER** @ Collective, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter
- GATESHEAD** see 'Tyne & Wear'
- GLASGOW** @s c/o Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Great Western Road, G12 (see Papers - 'Practical Anarchy')
- GREENWICH & BEXLEY** @s/Syndicalists: contact J. Ryan, 47 Binsley Walk, London SE2
- HASTINGS** @s, 18A Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea, East Sussex Tel. 0424 434102 (Paper - 'Poison PEN')
- HUDDERSFIELD** @ Group, Poly Students Union, Huddersfield Tel 0484 38156.
- HULL** @s & Direct Action Movement c/o 23 Hull St, Hull HU3 1QL
- LEAMINGTON & WARWICK** @s c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington
- KEELE** @s c/o Students Union, Keele Univ., Staffordshire.
- KEIGHLEY** @s c/o S. Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire, BD 21 2SL
- KINGSTON** @s, 13 Denmark Road, Tel 01-549-2564 (See 'Surrey')
- LEEDS** @s Box R.U., 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2
- LAMPETER** @s c/o A. James, SDUC, Lampeter, Dyfed SA48 7ED
- LEICESTER** @s c/o Blackthorn Books, 70 High Street, Leicester.
- LIVERPOOL** @s, c/o Students Union, Liverpool University

- LONDON** ANARCHY Collective, Box A, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 (Contact Address only)
Anarcho-United-Mysics meet Thursdays 8PM, Halfway House Pub, opposite Camden underground
'A' Distribution Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1
Black Flag (not the same as the paper) - c/o 109 Foulton Rd, Stoke Newington, N16 7NR
London Workers Group, c/o 11 Leyden St, E1. Meet Tuesdays 8.15 PM, Metropolitan Pub, Junction Farringdon Rd / Clerkenwell Rd., EC1 (Farringdon underground)
Middlesex Poly @s, c/o Students Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters Rd, Barnet.
South London: @s, D.A.M. Group & 121 Bookshop - 121 Raiton Rd, Brixton, SE 24. Tel. 01-733-2383 for opening times. Sunday lunchtime discussion meetings every week.
Xtra / Structureless Tyranny, Box BCM 1T, London WC13XX
Freedom Collective & Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1. Tel 01-247-9249

- MALVERN & WORCESTER** area contact J. Spence, Birchwood Hall, Shorridge, Malvern, Worcestershire.
- MANCHESTER** 'Wildcat', also D.A.M., 164-166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester 14
@s c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, M1.
- MORECAMBE & LANCASTER** @s c/o 13 Carleton St, Morecambe, Lancs LA4 4 NX
- NEWCASTLE** see 'Tyne & Wear'
- NORWICH** @s c/o Freewheel Community Books, 56 St Benedicts Street, Norwich, Norfolk.
- NOTTINGHAM** @s c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, NG - Tel NG 582506
- OLDHAM** @s 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth
- OXFORD** @s & Solidarity 39, Cowley Rd, Oxford
- PAISLEY** @s c/o Students Union, Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrewshire.
- PORTSMOUTH** @s c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterloo-ville, Hants or Duncan Lamb, 'Nirvana', Chichester Yacht Basin, Bisham, West Sussex
- PLYMOUTH** Black Star Group, 115 St. Pancras Ave, Pennycross
- READING** @s, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading. Weekly meetings.
- RHONDDA & MIDGLAMORGAN** contact Henning Andersen, c/o 'Smith's Arms', Treherbert, Midglamorgan
- SHEFFIELD** @s c/o 4 Havelock Square, Libertarian Society, P.O. Box 168, Sheffield 1
- SCOTLAND** Local contacts via J. Cowan, 3R 17 Cheviot Crescent, Fintry, Dundee DD4 9QJ.
- SOUTH YORKSHIRE** D. Petruska, 92 Wood Lane, Chapellhorpe
M. Astell, 1 Chapel Hill, Market Place, Askern
- SWANSEA** @s c/o Negroes Bookshop, 31 Alexandra Road.
- SUNDERLAND** see 'Tyne & Wear'
- SURREY** Tel. 01-399-3197
- SUTTON-IN-ASHFIELD** D.A.M., 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire.
- TAYSIDE** @s, 3L 188 Strathmartine Road, Dundee.
- TORBAY** @s, Thistledown, Milton Street, Brixham, Devon TQ5 0AZ
- TYNE & WEAR** D.A.M., c/o 29 Canon Cockin St, Hendon, Sunderland SR 2 8PH
Blackstar Collective c/o 8 Thomas St, Ryhope, Sunderland SR2 0RF
Newcastle Anarchist Youth Group, 2 Priory Court, High St, Gateshead NE8 3JL

WEST SUSSEX @s c/o 17 Ashurst Close, Goring-By-Sea, West-Sussex BN12 4SP (See also 'Brighton')

WAKEFIELD @ Peace Group c/o D.E. Fazackerley, 36 Bowman Street, Agbrigg, Wakefield, W. Yorkshire.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS International anarchist prisoners support group. Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT (D.A.M.) Box 20, 164-166 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 (Local addresses above)

NORTH EAST ANARCHIST FEDERATION c/o Hull Group

SOLIDARITY c/o 123 Latham Rd. London E6.

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ANARCHIST WORKER Paper of the Anarchist Workers Alliance, from A. Macsimon, 49A Leister Rd, Dublin 6, Eire.

BLACK FLAG 'Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross'. Also Cienfuegos Press, Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney.

BREAKOUT 'The paper for insiders', for all those on the wrong side of the law. Free to prisoners, 50p to bums, £1.00 to pigs. 56 Dames Road, Forest Gate, London E7. 01-555-0289

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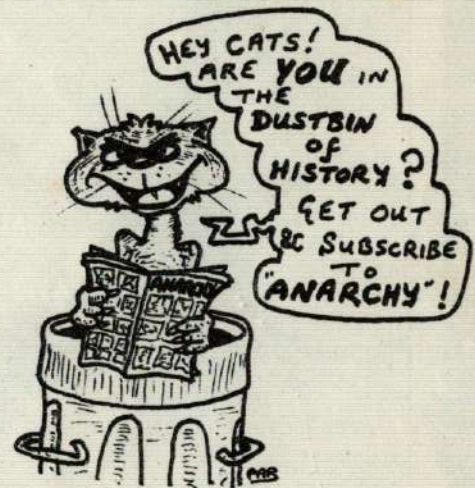
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