

WILDCAT

No2 October 1974 15p

News, reviews, notes, argument plus WILDCAT Information and a special supplement

GHOSTED MEMOIRS OF BUSTED DRUG TEG

Read how ex-Detective Chief Inspector Victor Kelaher, London's top drugs detective, recruited informers and used them ruthlessly in his determined attempt to stamp out the wicked weed.
See page 3.



We can reveal that the Prime Minister 'Harold Heath' and his reputed rival 'Ted Wilson' are in fact one and the same person!

WE PROBE SECRET TRANSPLANT HORROR



TO COUNTER STATE TERROR

I wish to protest at the item 'The dangers of armed struggle'.

You do nothing to indicate the circumstances of the 2 June affair. These are that the revolutionary and Anarchist movement in West Germany is the object of a sustained vicious and murderous campaign by the State, which having contained the parliamentary opposition by the customary means has set about its activist opponents with equally time-honoured methods, to wit: raids on homes by hundreds of armed police, armed and destructive searches, sexual humiliations, planted and perjured evidence, prison psychiatry, beatings, torture, jailings etc and last but not least plain straightforward assassinations of rebels real or merely suspected. All the means, in short, available to the modern democratic State to terrorise its subjects, and in particular the youth who identify with the rebels, into conformity – first passive and then active.

To maintain an activist revolt under such conditions requires a high degree of courage, conviction and intelligence and commands the respect and support of all. When such activists kill a State spy this is not merely an attempt to protect their movement and remain at large (or indeed alive) but also to lighten the burden of State terror which falls upon the shoulders not only of the rebels but of all the oppressed – in Western Germany, in the EEC, in the world – and is therefore perfectly consistent with their social ideals; while one must, according to libertarian, autonomist principles, respect their judgement as to the necessity of the actual deed.

Rather, it is those who paternalistically denounce the deed from the comparatively safe positions of overseas solidarity committees and industrial militancy (both of which are regular covers for active support of the status quo: see Trotskyist politics almost anywhere today) whom you should advise your readers to be 'careful' of.

Mark Hendy
Devon

THE REAL ROLE?

Welcome to WILDCAT and many thanks for 'plugging' *Minus One*.

Two brief comments:

1) Your remarks on *Radical Philosophy* 8 are puzzling. Are you approving of the 'attack' made by the mystagogues and mystifiers, the

hocus-pocus merchants of occultism, on the 'scientific world-view'? Whatever the faults of the latter, its value as an annihilator of religious authority and superstition should not be forgotten. Nothing would be gained and much would be lost if it were replaced by the vagaries of a Maharishi or the trickeries of a Uri Geller.

I was interested by Philip Sansom's memories of 1945, but disappointed by his apparent refusal to consider what happened to the 'revolutionary' potential of the 'working class' and 'returning warriors' of that now distant time. Why is it that 'our rulers' always see the threat of 'social revolution' so clearly, but the ruled don't? Could it be that though the ruled groan, complain, protest and even 'upheave' from time to time they just aren't interested in the same things that Philip Sansom and his comrades were interested in and for which they went to prison?

Which leads to the question of whether, in fact, the real role of anarchists is resistance to the encroachments of authority, rather than futile attempts to change 'society' into utopia... but I'll leave it at that, for the present.

S E Parker
Editor *Minus One*
London W2

COPE AND SCOPE

Thanks for the WILDCAT, find enclosed the latest *Copeman*.

If I may pass comment on the Mental Health section on your information pages. I feel you shouldn't have included the National Association for Mental Health or if you did include them also include some words on them. Under the influence of some of its more radical members like its new Director, Tony Smythe, NAMH is beginning to try and become a bit like the Mental Health equivalent of Shelter, which would be progress but hardly revolutionary. NAMH is very tied to fairly conventional liberal approaches to mental health – see *Out of Mind* a book written by Martin Ennals – Smythe's predecessor. But however radical NAMH becomes at its centre, with its plush Harley Street offices, it depends for its support on its local groups which are strongest in middle class suburban areas and virtually non-existent or weak in Inner London working class ghettos that breed mental distress. These local groups the backbone of NAMH, run after care hostels and group homes etc but rarely question what is going on in bins (hospitals).

COPE is concerned about preventing the need for people to go into bins and providing the means whereby people don't have to go into a bin when they or the group around them freaks out.

That's my COPE bit over with. I'll give you some feedback on WILDCAT. I'm really pleased by it – it should have been brought out years ago! I have some concern though that you might fall into one of two traps that most libertarian papers fall into, both being products of a lack of praxis if you'll excuse a touch of Marxism. One way is never to really lay down some sort of position however vague like *Inside Story* which was libertarian by default. The other is to become somewhat sectarian and be theoretically obsessed. An example of this I think is your review 'The Individualist Marxist'. Let's have some articles on Women's Lib, Men's Lib, Gay Lib, Sexual Politics in general, anti-psychiatry, ecology as well as economic issues, from a sound libertarian perspective.

Anyway keep it going.
In Struggle,
Bill West
COPE, London W 10

TAKING AIM

You asked for comments etc on WILDCAT and I find myself in a difficult position. I've found in the past that when you're starting off a paper you take aim for the first one and frequently miss by a mile. The second you get a little closer to what you want and so on. So it all depends what you're aiming at, which we can't really discover until a few more issues have come and gone (not to mention the target moving and complicating things!). If you're after an attractive looking, monthly propaganda magazine then No 1 is fine. If it's a newspaper then you've missed. When we're indulging in self-criticism of *The Other Paper* a common complaint is that it was written from the armchair. And this is the impression I have here – all taken from newspaper cuttings, letters, pamphlets, documents – no juicy hitherto unreported quotes etc.

I know it's impossible to produce a *Daily Mirror* out of something that only comes out monthly, but it is possible to strive for some kind of amalgam of 'magazine' and 'hot news'. And that's the sort of paper I find most interesting.

Having said all that, I now realise I haven't mentioned how much I liked WILDCAT No 1. It was well

and lively produced and the supplement provided interesting information. I feel in the above I've been a typical reviewer – stating what I like to see most and then commenting as to whether WILDCAT fulfills my dreams. Repeating myself for the nth time – as a magazine it's a hit, as a newspaper it's got potential. At least from its appearance you looked as if you enjoyed producing it – probably the most important factor of all.

Gordon Wilson
The Other Paper, Leeds 6.

'SOELEDY NEEDED'

Last night we received issue No 1 of WILDCAT from a visitor to Amsterdam. We would like to congratulate you on producing a magazine which is sorely needed. It is indeed first class – positive, forthright, and fearless in its views and approach.

I am enclosing some material about George Lennox in Chelmsford Prison. Could you publish something about him in your next issue? The George Lennox Story written by me has been published in Ireland and America but not in Britain. The *New Statesman* has published an article on George; but it is too soft in its approach to do any good. What is needed is a good hard-hitting article; and anything that you do or say it is all right by us.

Could you also publicise *Hapotec*? It is essential that we build up this libertarian vehicle of struggle into something that Establishments and ruling classes everywhere will have reason to fear.
Michael Tobin
Hapotec, Amsterdam.
Editors' Note:
HAPOTOC stands for 'Help A Prisoner & Outlaw Torture Organising Committee' which is self-explanatory. Support and interest please to Hapotec, Amsterdam, P O Box 10638, Netherlands. We expect to carry a story on George Lennox (a soldier who protested against Army torture techniques in Aden and has been victimised for it) in our next issue.

UTOPIANISM WANTED?

I like the overall look of No 1; also like the substantial items, with the exception of the 'Burton in Boulogne' report, which seems to stand isolated and unrelated to its libertarian context.

As for getting anarchist/libertarian ideas across to a new audience, I'm not at all sure a reader who knew

nothing about anarchism would learn very much about alternative ways of living. I agree WILDCAT must be rooted in the present situation, but I should like an ounce of Utopianism.
Mike Bloom
Abingdon, Oxon.

ALTERNATIVE LIBRARY

Thanks for WILDCAT No 1. This issue had valuable material on British Army Resistance (one of our topics) and this will be duly classified so that library users may retrieve and borrow. I hope this free library may be put on your free subscription list for future issues.

I hope we may be of use to you; I enclose a recent notice on our new bibliog service. Other subjects that might be of particular interest to you are: Bq: Ecological Nonviolent Action, Bs: Tenant & Claimant Action, Ds: Pacifists in Prison, Eb: British Army Resistance, Ff: Sexual Liberation, Fi: Industrial Action, Li: Workers' Control, Mt: Anarchism, and the dozen headings under O. Oz: ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY. I hope soon to send you our new Guide/ Index, which should clarify all this. Let me know if there's a particular subject-bibliog that you'd like to borrow and I'll type it out if not already done.
Yours in fellowship,
David Hoggett
Librarian,
Commonweal Collection,
112 Winchcombe Street,
Cheltenham, Glos.

SECOND THOUGHTS

Laurens Otter is not happy about his own review (WILDCAT No 1) of Raya Dunayevskaya's book *Philosophy and Revolution*. He asks us to note that he wrote the review in haste, cutting down from notes he had previously made. On reflection he feels that he cut out too much of the praise to leave a predominantly critical review when he thought he was writing a predominantly favourable one. This does not mean that he thinks any of the individual criticisms invalid. One thing that was invalid, however, was the address of Bob Potter, from whom the book can be obtained. He writes: 'The only real complaint I have against Laurens Otter's review is that he's got my address wrong, and that the price is £1.75 post free.'
Bob Potter lives at 98 Addison Road, Hove, Sussex BN3 17R.

'We're from the BBC'



During a recent squat in Brixton two men who at first described themselves as 'neighbours' started to argue with the squatters, saying they had no right to be there. Gradually, the comments became insults, it was clear that the men were determined to provoke a confrontation and were certainly not 'neighbours' (uniformed police were in attendance). Asked if they were themselves policemen the two smiled and said no, they worked for the BBC. When the squatters demanded to see their press cards, the two men claimed to have left them at home.

The man on the left (see picture) told the photographer that he had worked for 'Man Alive' three months before, and that the other man had just come back from Greece. They refused to give their names. Finally they drove off in a green Mini, registration XHR 948K.

When the squatters wrote to BBC

Television, they were told by the Assistant Head of Secretariat: 'The photograph... has been seen by the Editor, 'Man Alive' and by senior television and radio news staff, none of whom recognise either of the men in it. It seems clear, therefore, that the claims they made were false. It is, of course, always possible that one or the other of them worked for some part of the BBC in a freelance capacity at some time in the past, but even this seems highly unlikely. Indeed, it is surely improbable that people behaving as you describe these two men behaving would want to disclose their identity or their place of work. No doubt the BBC provided an easy 'cover' because it comprises so many different programmes and departments that it would be hard for anyone immediately to disprove their claim to be associated with one or other of them.'

See STOP PRESS. (PNS)

Prison notes

Screws injured seven prisoners while attacking a sit-down demonstration in Wandsworth Prison on 11 September. One man had his nose broken.

The demonstration took place in one of the prison workshops in protest against a work speed-up: the prisoners stopped work and sat down. Then a screw announced that, if they had not moved in five minutes, the warders would come into the workshop and pull them out. Frankie Fraser, as spokesman, made a speech emphasising that the protest was completely peaceful. Shortly afterwards about 50 screws, armed with batons, attacked the 35 protesters.

Frankie Fraser has been sentenced to 56 days solitary with 320 days loss of remission. A 'tightening-up' of discipline has also been reported in this, the most savage jail in the country.

Meanwhile, in Wormwood Scrubs 200 prisoners have signed a petition demanding an independent inquiry into the death of Stephen Smith, found hanged in his cell at the beginning of August. The petition was released as a leaflet distributed outside the prison last month.

The prisoners congratulate the jury at Smith's inquest who unanimously returned an open verdict. They say: 'It is clear that an open verdict was only reached because prisoners were prepared to break the rules of censorship and because prison officers at considerable risk to themselves were willing to breach the Official Secrets Act, in order to call attention to events taking place behind the prison walls.' Smith had been badly beaten by screws shortly before he was found dead.

WILDCAT benefit



A very successful first benefit party was held by the Wildcat Association on 31 August at the Art Meeting Place in Covent Garden. Not only our own natural libertarian bonhomie, but the free-flowing wine helped to create instant comradeship among all.

The entertainments, greatly appreciated, included an impressive exhibition of advanced musicianship by Lindsay Cooper, progressive bassoonist, Fred Frith, guitarist (on loan from Henry Cow) and Clive Bell on flute. Not everyone understood what they were doing, but those who did said it was marvellous. They were followed by The General Will, a travelling theatre group who laid on a continuous eighty minutes of send-ups, satire, sketches and songs of social significance that had the audience roaring for more. A great show.

From the beginning of the evening, Pete's Disco kept the spirit moving, with a short spell from well-known

DJ Charlie Gillett after the cabaret, playing his own choice of rock records. All the above performers gave their services entirely free of charge and many thanks are due to them for making the evening such a success. Geoffrey Barfoot, who writes the Country column, had made some mugs and a plate specially for the occasion: the mugs were sold and the plate raffled.

We were asked at the end if we could not run a WILDCAT party every month! Since, however, we have our hands full at the moment getting the paper out every month, we think we should stick to our original programme of a party every three months – to coincide with our quarterly WILDCAT Association meetings. Unless, of course, some more comrades will form an entertainment committee...? Offers invited!

Detective Chief Inspector Kelaher, head of the Drugs Squad, having survived one trial for conspiracy to pervert the course of justice and three internal police inquiries, finally 'retired' early on medical grounds. Our police correspondent reports on his recent activities. **'HOW I DID IT'**

Victor Kelaher has been taking a trip — if that's the word — down memory lane, accompanied by a ghost writer. The result of their labours has been circulating round various publishers for some time now but, for one reason and another, has not managed to find any takers as far as we know. One reason is that there seem to be a number of references to 'entertainment personalities' and others which could be seen as libellous. A further reason is that Kelaher's manuscript makes some of the publishers feel sick.

All this is rather a pity: why should it only be publishers who get the chance to see how tough their stomachs are? It is in this democratic spirit that we offer to a wider public some of this truly sickening man's reminiscences and observations. But we also offer them because they give a most useful insight into the mind and methods of the forces of law and order. As libertarians we should have no illusions: in order for a police state to exist in England's green and pleasant land it would not be necessary to re-staff the police force. A police state would merely require the unleashing of tendencies that already exist within the force.

The main areas of interest are two. One is the apparent psychological structure of a successful cop; the other is the cheerfully brutal forthrightness of his description of how informers are recruited and, once recruited, how they stay recruited.

My rapid rise

Of his career in the police force Kelaher says: 'I had come onto the (Flying) Squad as a Detective Constable in 1959 and by the time I left it in 1968 I was a Detective Inspector. That's a rapid rise by police standards. There were a lot of bodles to fight by at every step on the ladder. . . . They've abolished the "second" and "first" class distinction for sergeants now, otherwise, when I was promoted to Detective Chief Inspector and joined the Drugs Squad in 1968, I'd have been the youngest DCI in police history.'

A lot of my success had to do with my interest in drugs.

It did indeed. Kelaher started his anti-dope career busting dope-smoking parties. These were just smoking sessions set up by small-time dealers and there weren't any big-time dealers then. Going to an old-fashioned smoking party was like going to the pub for your pint, he says. . . . We busted hundreds of these places.

Through the growing number of informers he was able to recruit. Kelaher began to move into bigger operations which matched the growing use of cannabis. And the jail sentences that were handed out to the people who were making his rapidly advancing career possible were now a matter of years rather than months. He later moved into other areas — acid, heroin — but it remains quite clear that his rise in the police force was based on busting cannabis dealers.

Now, to those of us who use it, this king of dope — cannabis — is a nice friendly high. It isn't the answer to the world's problems but it isn't one of the problems either. It is particularly offensive if someone should make a career out of sending people to jail for it. But one could understand someone who embarked on such a career if he had a religious horror of dope, if he thought that it was undermining the moral fibre of the youth of today or whatever. But that's not our Victor Kelaher.

Legalise cannabis

Drugs do have this side effect of making the university class of people into criminals. With cannabis I personally think the problem could and should be solved by legalising it. I base my views on the evidence I heard over the years at Home Office conferences and committees. . . . I listened to the testimony put forward by medical experts on both sides and so far as I am concerned, there is no evidence that medically stands up that cannabis is dangerous.

So all those miserable months and years people spent in jail for selling it were viciously pointless, weren't they, Kelaher? But does little Victor ever consider that his whole career might have been based on unnecessary suffering and the exploitation of Establishment paranoia? Never! He sleeps sound because he did his duty.

However his self-righteousness seems to allow him to be refreshingly straightforward about the use of informers. He first became aware of their fundamental importance when he was in the Flying Squad.

Unlike the regular CID who are

assigned to a particular London division and expected to react to all the burglaries and more important 999 calls in their 'patch' the Flying Squad had no set duties to perform — we made our own work (sic!). We were supposed to sniff out major crime and top villains. Necessarily this meant developing and using informants, those fringe villains who keep one foot in the underworld and one foot inside the law.

The informant is a little understood element in police work, but he's a most important tool to any undercover man and particularly vital to the Flying Squad. There's always an element of danger in dealing with individuals of this type and the police have very strict rules about how far an officer can go with an informant in being involved in committing crimes.

I disagree at times with these rules — as did every operational detective — but I adhered to them like everybody else (sic again!). A few detectives did overstep the line, however, and gradually the Flying Squad lost its shining image until today it's almost a dirty word in "liberal" circles.

A real shame

His first informer was a girl called Audrey. She was the youngest of three people pulled in for robbing a gas meter. I had her spotted from the start, says Kelaher. I began the process as soon as I got her back to the station and separated from her 'friends'.

I had to nick you but I don't have to see you go down', I told her casually.

'What do you mean?' She was young enough to be nervous.

'You'll get bird for this', I told her. 'Holloway is no place for a girl like you. It's a real shame. Wish I could help.'

'I'll bet you do. I'll be alright. I haven't done anything.'

'But your friends have, Audrey. That's enough.'

She looked at me and grinned. 'How old do you think I am?'

'About 19.'

'Well you're wrong. You're two years out.'

She'd given me the lever I was looking for. A little checking and I confirmed she'd been only 14½ when she got that first conviction for soliciting. She'd fooled the officers who'd nicked her, the magistrate, everybody, into thinking she was 17. There was nothing I could do about it now, but she didn't know that.

'Nobody likes being made a fool of, Audrey. You'll go down for sure', I told her. 'I'm the only one who can do anything for you. Why don't you do yourself a favour and help me a bit in return?'

Then it all came out. She suffered from claustrophobia, she said, couldn't stand being locked up, even overnight. By the time the case came to trial, she'd agreed to work for me and stayed with me for seven years.

The relationship seemed to be a fairly happy one, as Kelaher tells it. Audrey got small favours — not being held overnight when she jumped probation, which happened several times — while Kelaher got a lot of information. One supposes it was as happy as any relationship could be that was based on threats, lies and inducements. Kelaher spells it out: informers are informers overwhelmingly because the cops have threatened them into it. He tells how he recruited another one.

Out of his class

I'll never forget the well-dressed, highly presentable Englishman we found when we raided one smoker. He was obviously way out of his class and when we got everybody back to the station he explained that he was a male model and could be charged in a false name to avoid publicity?

'Don't ask me', I said. 'It's up to you, isn't it? I've got to have your name and address. If you name's Joe Bloggs, that's your business.'

The case went through with him being charged under a false name. One good turn deserves another so, after it was all over, I chatted him, took him for a drink and asked him to work for me. He said he would. A couple of weeks passed and he'd given me a tickle or two, but nothing really worthwhile, when I spotted him coming out of another smoker I was keeping observation on. That was enough for me. We tailed him off for a few streets, then intercepted him. His face showed what he was thinking when he saw me step out of the car. 'You stupid fucker', I lammed into

him. 'You think you can play me for a mug? What kind of cunt do you think I am? Don't you know better than to try and have one over the law? I'll really drop one on you this time. I've been watching you, I know every move you fucking make, chummy, and I've had it up to here.' I really cursed him out. By the time I was finished he was convinced I had him dead to rights and his only hope was to work for me — and to do a good job this time. I had him over a barrel, which is what you've got to do with most informers. And he started to come across. It wasn't long before I realised he moved in top class criminal circles. And of course that justifies everything.

Kelaher is of the opinion that villains didn't really mind having informers scattered among them. They see it as a professional risk that there's no

point in getting upset about. For Kelaher the whole business is something of a game. He quite obviously respects the real professional villain. As he says in another context, 'People think that policemen hate villains but in practice you can't afford to moralise. He admires the cleverness of a villain who hides out until the smoke clears over a robbery and then turns up at the police station voluntarily with a lawyer so that he can't be 'verballed'. He is indignant that the Sunday Times should get upset about the following incident.

Fronted by his brief

'Kelaher came up and announced that he proposed to arrest — on an extradition warrant to stand trial in

America on a drug trafficking conspiracy charge. When — his counsel objected that there was no extradition for conspiracy, Kelaher replied: "I don't care what you think. That's what I'm going to do. If you want to be difficult, I can have him charged with possession of LSD in London in 1969." Half an hour later after — had talked at Cannon Row police station with Kelaher and two other members of the Drugs Squad, he was set free.'

There is nothing sinister or extraordinary about this — was fronted by his own brief (lawyer) who was obviously going to say what he could to stop me picking up his client. Equally, I was going to say what I pleased in reply to justify my nicking him. The truth was, I wanted him in custody while I checked the position out with the BNDD (the American Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs) and the Americans to see if there was anything else we could put him up for. There wasn't so he was released.

All this is directly relevant to people in political circles. It means what anybody with any sense or experience knows already namely that all the 'your policemen are wonderful, take it through the proper channels' stuff is bullshit for the media. The police will disregard all the rules for the 'fair treatment' of prisoners to the extent that they can get away with it. Lies, threats, inducements and blackmail these are the standard weapons of law enforcement. Kelaher at least is honest enough to admit it.

Not too many

As a final threat here are Kelaher's observations on phone tapping:

1966 was the last time that any official figures were released on phone tapping — to a chorus of parliamentary criticism. The Special Branch tapped 12,000 phones that year — and that excludes phones tapped by the Secret Services, the Foreign Office and the Customs. 12,000 may seem an awful lot, but it included approximately 70 phones a day in London — 70 phones out of the thousands of criminal activities that are planned and executed in the capital. The intercept centre, which at that time

was situated near Chelsea barracks,

has only

around 30 lines,

plus a couple they

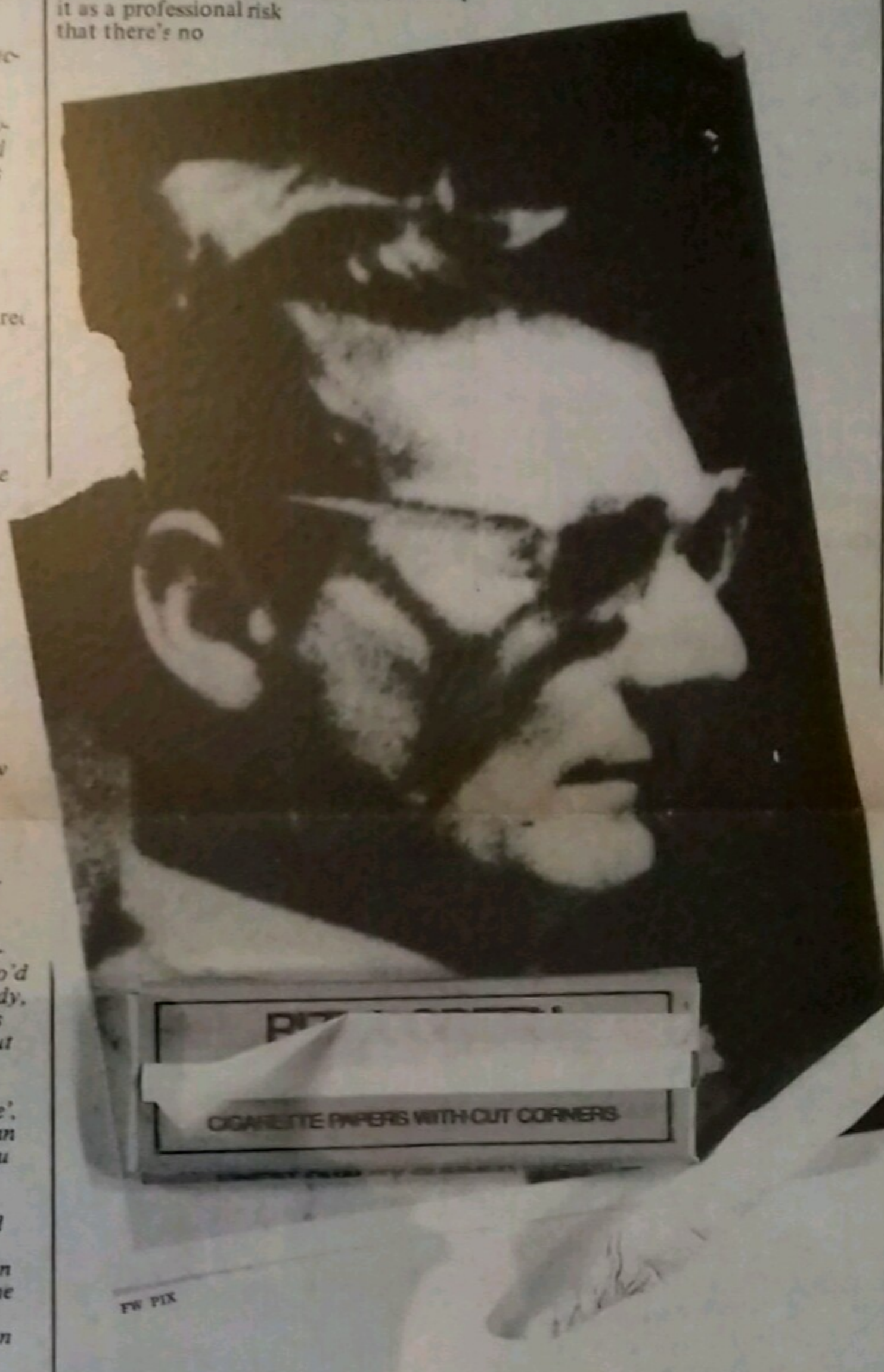
put on quick in the

case of a murder or

something like that.

It can take a month to get an intercept put through and you can't begin the procedure for approval until there is a space at the centre. You can imagine how long it can take us sometimes. When we do hear

we can have a line, a written report has to go up from a Detective Inspector or Chief Inspector to the DCS to the Commander to the Asst Commissioner to the Home Office and be approved at every level — and in the end by the Home Secretary in person. I don't think 12,000 phones is too many. He doesn't think 12,000 is too many.



Free the press

The National Union of Journalists, which has recently begun to look very like a trade union, now finds itself discussing the basic question of the freedom of the press. David May, co-editor of Time Out, will appear at the Old Bailey this month charged with 'dishonestly handling stolen property' — the property in question being a document taken from the kidnapped Spanish banker (see 'Still inside'). Paul Foot, editor of Socialist Worker, is to be called before the High Court for 'contempt of court', ie, for naming alleged blackmail victims, Lord Belper and Michael Morris, in the Janie Jones trial, contrary to the judge's order.

The London Central and Magazine branches of the NUJ called a joint public meeting on 30 September to discuss support for the two. The branches say in a joint leaflet that they are 'concerned at the grave nature of the cases and their implied threat to all journalists'.

The most disturbing aspect of the Foot case, they say, is that, by bringing the prosecution Attorney-General Sir Silkin is attempting retrospectively to interpret the law to suggest that the judge could legally ban naming the witnesses. It is curious that the judge's request that the two witnesses be given anonymity

was made at the start of the first Janie Jones trial (for alleged prostitution) and not at the start of the second trial (for alleged blackmail). Unlike blackmail cases, there is no precedent for such a ban on names in a prostitution case.

Members of six branches have sent a letter to the NUJ paper the Journalist mentioning the police raids on WILDCAT and Peace News under the Incitement to Disaffection Act and calling on the union to support the NCCL campaign to repeal the Act and free Pat Arrowsmith.

Following the intimidation, harassment and assault of several photographers by the police during the National Front demonstration on 7 September, a meeting of about 30 journalists set up an action committee to press for an NUJ commission of inquiry into police and state interference in the media. There will be a picket outside the Home Office from 12 noon to 2pm on Tuesday, 15 October. Journalists will be invited to bring along their Metropolitan Police passes (used to 'license' journalists) and burn them.

Other issues under discussion include the harassment of Socialist Worker sellers and the reported circulation of Magazine Branch documents to the police.

Corby secret police

'The "ordinary" police take advantage of their routine enquiries in order to collect political information for the Special Branch. In July 1974 the Drugs Squad raided the home of a man who was active as a flying picket during the building workers' strike. Although they only had a warrant to search for cannabis they used this as an excuse to make a search for political literature. The man involved was away from home and his wife was hardly in a position to resist.'

'During the search they found a copy of WILDCAT (then an information bulletin) and they took this away quite illegally in order to photocopy the contents. . . . The police returned several times during the next few days and interrogated the man's wife alone about her and her husband's political views, the Corby Rent Action Campaign of 1970, and their connection with the anarchist movement in Corby. The final visit was by Corby's chief of CID.'

(From a report by Corby Anarchists)

Statement by Pat Arrowsmith for the NCCL Meeting on September 3rd calling for her release

I should like to express my gratitude to the NCCL for organising this meeting calling for the abolition of the Incitement to Disaffection Act and my release. The fact that I have "sprung" myself from prison and am at the moment at liberty (in hiding) in no way alters the basic situation. Unless and until I am officially freed by the government, the campaign for my release will need to go on.

On Sunday August 25 I escaped from Askham Grange prison, Yorkshire. Throughout my sentence I have regarded it as my duty if possible to escape. I do not consider I should have been charged with any offence in the first place, much less actually sentenced

to 18 months imprisonment by an obviously politically biased judge. The Incitement to Disaffection Act itself is a highly undemocratic item of legislation which seriously infringes both the right to free expression by ordinary citizens and the right of soldiers to be treated as normal rational human beings entitled to read political statements and receive factual information. That this ill-conceived, antiquated, rusty Act was used to get me out of the way for a year or so is surely an indication of the government's increasing anxiety over demands for the removal of British troops from N. Ireland. Being myself firmly convinced of the vital urgency of Britain's withdrawal from Ireland, I have, for several years now, been deeply involved in a number of campaigns to achieve this end. This no doubt, is largely why I got an 18 month sentence.

From the outset of this case, I have, as a pacifist believer in non-violent resistance, attempted to act in accordance with Gandhian principles of persistent non-violent non-cooperation. When ordered by the police to stop delivering the soldiers' leaflet at Warminster base, I declined to do so hence was charged with an offence under the Public Order Act. When required to appear in court last January to answer the charge, also to be charged with Incitement to Disaffection, I decided it was clearly my business not to co-operate. I skipped bail and went to Dublin. While "on the run", I continued to engage in activity over Ireland, including addressing meetings in Dublin and London and giving out the leaflet to soldiers again. There was a warrant out for my arrest and I was apprehended 2 months later. When the police escorted

me from London to Warminster, I once or twice tried to escape. At Waterloo Station, they had to carry me on to the train calling out: "British troops out of Ireland. I'm being arrested for handing out leaflets" to the station crowds. I did the same thing as they escorted me off Salisbury station. Outside the station there were some soldiers, so I called out: "Refuse to serve in N. Ireland. Desert now."

In prison, I insisted that I was a political prisoner and demanded political status - the right not to work. This was refused; the authorities denied that I was a political prisoner. I went on strike, and was punished accordingly. I also claimed the right, as a political prisoner, not to have to share a cell and not to have to undergo the standard psychiatric assessment tests which the authorities tried to impose on me. I requested transfer to an

open prison as I knew it would be much easier to escape from there than from Holloway. Eventually, about a month ago, my request was granted. Without having to give any undertaking not to abscond, I was transferred to Askham Grange, where I remained for 10 days, working out how best to escape.

I shall not, of course, be truly at liberty until the government officially frees me. Demands for my release should therefore continue and increase, strengthened by the action I have now myself taken.

Above all, the campaign to free Ireland must go on and gather momentum, until the government no longer finds it necessary to send war resisters to prison for opposing the presence of an army of occupation in England's oldest colony.

Right on - Pat Arrowsmith

Free Pat Arrowsmith

Just over a week before the NCCL meeting on 3 September to demand her release, Pat Arrowsmith walked out of Askham Grange open prison. She did not appear at that meeting but sent a statement which we publish above. We talked to Pat between the NCCL meeting and her dramatic appearance at the Anti-National Front Rally in Hyde Park on 7 September. Here is an abbreviated account of what she said.

I decided long before the NCCL meeting that I would escape. I felt guilty for not having tried to escape on my previous visits to prison - eg, when I was gardening at Holloway outside the walls.

It was my duty as a political prisoner to try and get out of prison, to seek an opportunity to escape. It was further non-violent non-cooperation.

At first in Holloway I was refused a transfer to Askham Grange because of my refusal to cooperate with their psychiatric tests: I wrote some choice little poetic items instead. Then I went on strike - refused to work - as a political prisoner and because of mail censorship.

So I was causing them quite a bit of trouble, and one day the governor said to me: "Pat, why don't you go to open prison?"

It was a minor sacrifice of principle to work for a couple of weeks to get my transfer. Having arrived at Askham Grange, I decided to relate my departure to the NCCL meeting. I escaped a week before the meeting and tried to meet people, suss people out, from different contexts - AIL, TOM, BWNIC.

A trade unionist on the committee organising the anti-fascist rally on 7 September persuaded me not to turn up at the NCCL meeting - which was mainly about my own position - but to speak at the rally instead. I would be able to make some remarks about Ireland in a bigger and more significant context than the NCCL meeting.

I agree in general with the argument that counter-demonstrations against the National Front help them, but I would go to this rally anyway if I were not on the run; given the thousands there I think I would. The demonstration, as well as being against the NF, is also against the creeping fascism of government policy towards Ireland.

To go abroad now only makes sense in terms of going into hiding for the rest of my life. It has never been my intention to do that.

I've had various offers of television and other interviews but that would be total folly: I couldn't be sure I

wouldn't be gassed up.

I know there are some political activists - eg, Americans in Amnesty - who feel very strongly that there shouldn't be any distinction between political and other prisoners. It's difficult to oppose the argument. But this country is so fucking smug: it's important to establish that we bloody well do have political prisoners. When it suits the prison they say: "We have no political prisoners" - then on something like mail they say they have to refer to the Home Office about me: suddenly I'm a special Home Office case.

But I also don't see why I should cooperate: I don't intend to share a cell if I can avoid it. I don't want to do prison work - I'd rather get on with my own.

About the NCCL meeting on 3 September the less said the better: there were only about 50 people present in the Conway Hall and, in spite of some spirited speeches (including one by Philip

Sansom of WILDCAT), the event was a failure, because of inadequate organisation and publicity by the NCCL - and a general failure among the libertarian left to take the issue seriously. Perhaps some stayed away through confusion caused by Pat's escape, but surely the possibility of her appearance at the meeting would have been likely to increase attendance.

Hyde Park on 7 September was of course a different story: here there were plenty of people, massed to listen to the predominantly Communist Party speeches of the anti-fascist rally. Pat made contact with her trade-union friend - only to find that he had been unable to persuade the organising committee to let her speak. Their explanation was that, if she spoke, the police would seize on the opportunity to break up the meeting.

The only hope from Pat's point of view was the IMG, who were planning to try and

keep the crowds in Hyde Park when the official rally ended; and then to hold a meeting of their own. Pat was told through an intermediary that, 'if the political battle with the CP was won', she could speak. So it turned out. She was the first speaker from the IMG platform, surrounded by several lines of crash-helmeted stewards.

Desert now

Pat began by saying that, as a member of the TGWU, she had moved resolutions on Ireland. She ended with a direct appeal: 'If there are any members of Her Majesty's armed forces present I would invite them to desert now.'

Almost immediately she came down from the platform, there was a police charge - about 50 men diving in towards the platform - but the stewards managed to protect her from arrest, though two other people were taken. Surprisingly, the police then withdrew.

They picked her up later that evening from the Peace News flat at 5 Caledonian Road, N1. Pat, when interviewed her, had been uncertain what to do after her speech if she was not arrested. 'I rather hope', she had said, 'they'll not do what they did when I broke bail - leave me for a day or so and then pick me up when there's no one around.'

Sanctuary

Her decision to 'seek sanctuary' first at the NCCL (where she was refused entry) and then at Peace News was the result of this worry: having decided not to go into hiding permanently, she knew that eventually she was going to be arrested again; she wanted to make sure that she would be arrested on her own terms, as it were.

Hence 'sanctuary' and the phone calls to the media who of course informed the police - as well as giving Pat maximum publicity.

Pat is back in Holloway and has lost 28 days remission for her escape. When she appeared before the visiting magistrates she pleaded not guilty to escaping on the grounds that she should never have been imprisoned in the first place.

Clearly, some other prisoners agree: one of Pat's

fellow-prisoners has collected 23 signatures for a petition saying so, and has chalked up 'Free Pat Arrowsmith' in various places round the prison.

Meanwhile the NCCL campaign to free Pat and repeal the Act continues: the plan for an advertisement in the Times has been abandoned since not enough money was raised; instead, there's to be a letter to the Times in late October; the NCCL is trying to get its affiliated student unions and trade unions to take up the issue; at least one branch of the NUJ will discuss a resolution this month. The NCCL worker coordinating the campaign told WILDCAT: 'Our objective is that the new Home Secretary, whoever he is, should be deluged by letters and resolutions.'

Police raids

The campaign should have received a shot in the arm by the well-publicised police raids on a number of peace activists early on the morning of Tuesday, 10 September, with warrants under the Incitement to Disaffection Act. The WILDCAT offices, which are temporarily at 5 Caledonian Road, N1, were included in the searches: one copy of the paper and four copies of the 'Give this to a soldier' supplement were taken, presumably to see whether a prosecution under the Act would stand up.

But it is hard to believe that the Special Branch had not examined the first issue of WILDCAT before the raid, particularly since one member of the police raiding party seemed familiar with us. He said of one member of the WILDCAT group: 'He's a bit of a rascal, isn't he?' To which the Housmans representative, who was escorting the search party, - quick as a flash - replied: 'There's two sides to that: he might think you were a bit of a rascal breaking into his office.'

Another raid

Another well-known English pacifist received a visit from Special Branch officers last month. Michael Randle, prominent member of the War Resisters International who was one of the pioneers of direct action against nuclear weapons, was tracked down in a farmhouse where he was staying. For some time he was asked questions which appeared to be designed to prove his involvement with the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign. He was asked: 'Do you know Pat Arrowsmith? Do you know Wendy Butlin?' He has in fact known me for about 15 years and Pat for even longer!

Most of the subsequent questions about leaflets and leafleting he responded to with 'no comment'. Michael formed the opinion that the SB officers were trying to get him to say enough for them to get a search warrant under the Incitement to Disaffection Act for his home in Bradford.

Michael is not on police records for leafleting soldiers as were the individuals who were raided the previous week.

Wendy Butlin

Continent

A new literary magazine called 'Continent' is to be published soon, at first in German and Russian, then in seven languages including English. It will publish material from Russian authors in exile - like Solzhenitsyn - and, says editor Vladimir Maximov, it will be 'political' as well as 'literary'.



Wildcat 'inside story' is a four-page supplement to the paper. It is produced in consultation with libertarian groups and individuals and available to them at cost price for distribution with their own papers and other material (£2 a 100 from: Wildcat, Box 999, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1). We are planning supplements on transport, squatting and abortion: please send us suggestions for the future.

The central myth of democracy is that voting gives you a say in the way you live. It does no such thing. When you vote, you yield to government the right to say how you should be allowed to live. That's all—and even that is qualified by what the government itself is allowed to do by the real rulers of the country.

For our real rulers are not the talking heads which appear on our goggleboxes, incessantly during elections and occasionally in-between. Our real rulers sit in the boardrooms of the City of London and walk the corridors of power in Whitehall and they never put up for election. They are the financiers and the bureaucrats: those who control money and those who control people.

It is their interests which are being served when the politicians say this election is about inflation and law-and-order.

But because the politicians are the salesmen for the system, they have to package their product with eye-catching, vote-catching gimmicks—tuppence off your soap powder, tuppence on your pension—and like the salesmen on your doorstep, conning you into buying something you don't want, persuade you to sign your life away for their profit.

Between the three main parties the differences are minimal. The mean, money-mad Tories want you to pay your rent to a private landlord and make profit for a private employer; the power-hungry Labourites want you to pay your rent to the council and make a profit for the state. The power-starved Liberals, offer you a bit of this and a bit of that and pretend it's going to make a difference, while they all pinch gimmicks from each other. Even Tories now talk about profit-sharing for workers!

Money and Power—that's the name of their game. As long as the money system works they can manipulate us all. They exploit

us as producers and they exploit us as consumers. They profit from our labour, when we create all the wealth, and they profit again when they sell us back what we have produced. We are bought and sold like cattle; employed and dumped when it suits them. The law of supply and demand, applied to people and to bars of soap.

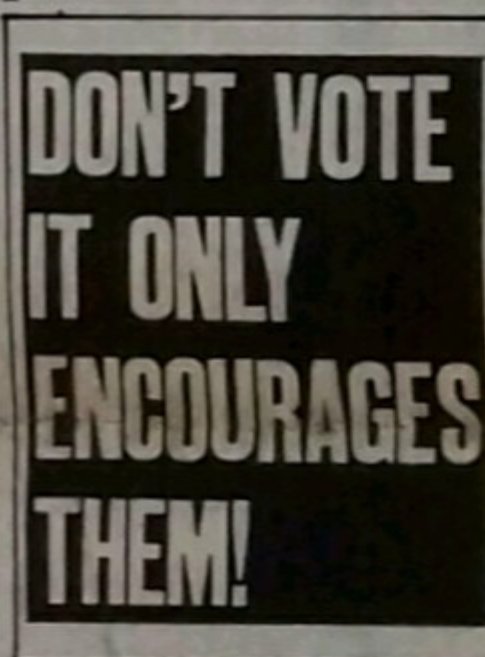
When their money system falters, they fall back on law-and-order. By the great con-game of legality we are made to believe that the law is sacrosanct—but laws are only the rules of the game that they make up as they go along. They change them here, they strengthen them there and teach us to believe that in some mysterious way this grisly body of restrictive sanctions is there to defend our freedom!

It is not. It is there as the first line of defence of their power. Behind the laws—all passed by 'our' representatives in Parliament—stand the police with horses and batons; the courts and prisons; and the army, with the final defence of law-and-order: the gun.

This is what it is all about. Power over you. This applies just as much to the fringe parties of the Right or Left as to the parties of the centre. In some ways more, for both the fascists and the Bolsheviks are dedicated to the idea of totalitarian dictatorship. From different starting points, they end up with the same thing.

But don't they all? When the voting system falters, the 'democrats' come up with schemes for coalition—a 'National Government'—thus making even the choice of the salesman's face meaningless.

But we don't have to play their game. There are alternatives. We're finding ways of organising our own lives to meet our needs and establish our own responsibility. First step is to withhold support for our own humiliation. Don't merely omit to vote:



REFUSE TO VOTE-

ORGANISE!

In the end, though, since governments don't depend on the popular vote as long as they have the real power, it doesn't matter much if you vote or not. What matters is to challenge that power.

Why not take direct action? Instead of trusting the politicians' promises for 'a better tomorrow' why not take action yourself to make sure you get a better today?

Take housing. Every government promises to house the homeless, build more houses, help us to buy our own home, etc, etc. Yet we have more homeless than ever before, fewer houses are being built, and more are standing empty, awaiting demolition under 'redevelopment' schemes.

But squatters are making sure that thousands of empty houses are at least used instead of being left to rot. They take direct action and organise to solve their problems. If you haven't got somewhere reasonable to live, why not contact your local squatters group? Or maybe you have somewhere to live, but find the rent or the mortgage zooming upwards all the time? Why not organise with your local tenants' or residents' association to start a strike against the increases?

Everybody is entitled to somewhere to live: houses and flats should belong to those who live in them. Organise in your community to take them over.

Just as important as where you live is where you work. Who do you work for? Who runs your factory or office? Who decides how much you are paid—or what you work at? Can your workplace be closed overnight if it is 'not profitable'—or if the government says so?

The factories and offices have been built by the workers and

production is maintained by the workers. They should be controlled by the workers. Why wait until the boss has made things a mess before taking over? Many work-ins in the past few years (Briant Colour Printers; Triumph Motorcycles) have shown how organised workers can assert their right to control their jobs.

Why shouldn't the workers run the factories, the offices, the transport system—everything? Since we already do the work, we must surely run them better than the bosses or the bureaucrats!

The more people organise to use direct action, the more effective it will be. Trades unions, tenants' associations, consumer groups, claimants' unions, all show that the people can organise to get what they want—and with compassion for the sick, the old and the needy. But these are all defensive. It is time we took the offensive and organised to overthrow capitalism and the state system altogether and replaced it with a society based on real freedom.

This will mean challenging the state's own defence system: the police and the forces. We must oppose these institutions—and the private armies of retired militarists—and all the creepy apparatus of the secret police. We must investigate the Special Branch, just as they investigate us; we must ask soldiers to think about what they are doing (in Northern Ireland, for instance) and help them when their thought leads to action; we must even, difficult as this may be to stomach, fraternise with policemen and servicemen as individuals, while totally opposing their institutions.

The institutions of authority exist to defend the ruling class; we must organise our own means of defence. All politicians seek to become the ruling class; we must organise to frustrate them!

ORGANISE TO TAKE OVER!



ORGANISE!

- take over your workplace
- occupy empty property
- support rent and mortgage strikes
- fight price rises with boycotts
- investigate the Special Branch
 - publish official secrets
- encourage soldiers to desert
- get people out of prison

Professional politicians are not the only people who try to exploit elections. Wynford Hicks looks at the election and the Left.

Without illusions?

For decades now every section of the British Left which proclaims itself Marxist has been in favour of some sort of support for the Labour Party at election time. Even now most groups cling to this line, each adding their own tortuous interpretation.

So today we have 'Marxists' talking of 'Voting Labour without Illusions' when voting Labour is in itself the biggest illusion of them all. We hear slogans like 'Make the Left MPs fight', when they have already demonstrated a thousand times that they will not, cannot, fight because they are simply the miserable tail of flag-end reformism.

We are told to vote Labour to keep out the Tories whereas politically the Labour Party is just as much an instrument of the ruling class as the Tories have ever been.

Quite a good opening, that. In fact, since I cunningly left out the quotation marks, I bet you thought I'd written those first three paragraphs myself.

Not, however, so. On the principle, why rewrite something which has already been clearly expressed, I took the opening passage from an excellent article on the Labour Party by Robin Blackburn in the Red Mole of 15 April, 1970.

Unfortunately, the International Marxist Group, of which Blackburn is a member, has not heeded his words. Consider this passage from the Red Weekly (the Mole's successor) of 8 February, 1974:

"The IMG is in favour of people voting Labour. . . . But no confidence whatsoever can be placed in the Labour traitors. We say 'Vote Labour—But rely on your own struggles'."

What's that you say? 'Voting Labour without Illusions?' Exactly.

And in the months of Labour government which have followed the February election the IMG have learned nothing. Here are their 'two essential themes and slogans. The first is "Prepare for the coming confrontation" and "Vote Labour but only rely on your own struggles". The second is "For a Labour Government responsible to the organisations of the working class and not to Parliament."

Earlier in the same Red Weekly article (12 September) Alan Jones writes: 'It is clear that if Labour is elected it will have to carry out vicious attacks on the working class which there is no possibility whatever of the working class accepting passively'.

In other words, as they used to say in the 1960s, 'Vote for George Brown until we tell you to shoot him', or 'A vote for the Labour Party is a vote for Revolution really' etc, etc.

Unity on the Left

I have concentrated on the IMG, but Robin Blackburn's remarks apply equally to the rest of the Left: for example, the Communist Party, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the International Socialists. In fact you could say that they apply with even greater force to IS since, almost alone on the Left, they do not put up their own candidates. The IS often appear to be more social-democrat than Trotskyist, more the descendants of the Tribune group than the Bolsheviks. Their support for the Labour Party is the most emphatic of all.

The CP, WRP and IMG all put up candidates in the last election (see table below), but told their supporters—and anyone else who

would listen—to vote Labour where they had no candidate. The WRP made this fine-sounding promise to promote unity on the Left:

"Throughout the course of this election the WRP will fight for maximum unity with the Labour Party, the Communist Party and other groups for the defence of basic democratic rights against the threat of Bonapartist dictatorship and the growth of fascism" (WRP manifesto, February 1974).

What the WRP meant by 'maximum unity' was not only to oppose the Labour Party (hardly surprising) but also to put up candidates against the CP, the IMG and the Marxist-Leninists (Maoists).

Having put up candidates last time round, the IMG proceeded to try and put into effect the 'maximum unity' the WRP had called for by proposing a 'united front of the revolutionary left'. The Red Weekly article already quoted reports: 'Unfortunately, despite our efforts after the election neither the IS nor the WRP would agree to this'.

With admirable logic, consistency and magnanimity the IMG 'will still call for a vote for any organisation of the left, for example the WRP, which puts up candidates'.

The reason the IMG is not itself running candidates is: 'Given our limited resources we were faced with the choice of producing a 12 page paper or running candidates in the election'. Again, with admirable logic, the IMG chose the paper.

ICRA tactics

But, having made this decision—and having issued their clarion-call to the Left to support Left candidates—you would have expected the IMG to support the Irish Civil Rights Association candidates standing for 'Withdrawal of British troops from Ireland' and 'Self-determination for Ireland'. Particularly since, of all British Left organisations, the IMG has been most vociferous in its support for the IRA.

Not, however, so. For the ICRA tactics are, it seems, to stand in Labour marginals and to call for abstention where they have no candidate (ie, to use the electoral system as if they meant it). Which threatens the IMG strategy of support for Labour. For once, the IMG cannot support both the IRA and the Labour Party.

YL acrobatics

But the contradictions of the Trotskyists are as nothing compared with the acrobatics of the Young Liberals. Whereas the Trots at election time return to their spiritual home by asking people to vote, the YLs have never even severed the umbilical cord: they remain firmly tied to the Old Liberals.

If the election results in a stalemate, you can expect to see Jeremy Thorpe in the Cabinet—and outraged protests from YLs: they have already suffered one big defeat in failing to commit the party to opposing coalition on principle (but why did they think the party conference decision was so important: what about all those Labour conference decisions which the leadership ignored?). Isn't it time the YLs decided to adopt community politics and direct action unequivocally—or owned up to manipulating the voters as their elders do?

Women's 'rights'

There remain the various unclassified fringe candidates to consider.

At Sutton and Cheam there is a 'women's rights' candidate, Dr Una Kroll. Once again I cannot improve on the points made by an IMG member (Dodie Weppier) in a letter to the Guardian:

"The candidate: a family doctor and ordained deaconess, whose only apparent connection with the women's movement is that she is a campaigner for the ordination of women. The Church, which has long extolled the virtues of the family and the subordination of women to men within it, can of course be expected to play a leading role in the struggle against women's oppression."

'Anarchist' candidate

More serious is the report that an 'anarchist' Sid Rawle is to stand as a candidate. There used to be a phenomenon known as the 'Easter anarchist' who would appear religiously at the climax of the Aldermaston March for the inevitable punch-up—and then vanish for a year. Now, it seems, we have his dialectical antithesis, the 'anarchist between elections' (discussed elsewhere in this issue of WILDCAT).

I have not mentioned the nationalists and the Right: their use of electoral politics is self-evident. As the IS pamphlet on the



National Front puts it, 'Parliament for them is a tactic. It helps keep them respectable and gains publicity' (which is a fair summation of the Left's attitude, too). But Enoch Powell deserves a line or two.

The Orange Card

Since 1911, when Randolph Churchill tried to cheat in the game of Westminster Politics by playing the Orange Card, Northern Ireland has been the graveyard of ambition for Westminster politicians. That Enoch Powell, so well versed in the game, should risk what may be his last card with the Northern Ireland Loyalists is initially surprising.

Powell's translation to Ulster politics is however understandable if one considers the issues that

dominate his career: immigration, the Common Market and Northern Ireland. Through them runs the thread of sovereignty and national identity—Britain's identity to be preserved from dilution by immigrants and her sovereignty to be maintained in the face of European and terrorists.

To Powell, the present conflict in Northern Ireland is the outcome of two irreconcilable constitutional aims: the unification of Ireland and the maintenance of the British connection. He dismisses any attempt to bridge this gap and argues that the majority of the Northern Ireland population has shown itself in favour of remaining within the UK. The minority should either recognise this fact or go.

It is hardly surprising that the version of Ulster according to Enoch should be welcomed by Harry West, the compromise leader of the United Ulster Unionist Coalition. However, reaction to Powell's adoption by the other two main Loyalist leaders—William Craig of the Vanguard Unionists and Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionists—is not quite so enthusiastic. Both have long coveted the Loyalist leadership, which is why the hardly charismatic West now occupies the leader's hot seat.

"Please God, may it turn out to be the Ace of Trumps and not the Two" wrote Randolph Churchill when he decided to exploit the Loyalist cause for the survival of the Tory Party. Churchill's card turned out to be a Two and the Tory Party lost. So did Churchill.

However, a defeat for the Tories in this election could help Enoch Powell achieve what Churchill failed to do. It is hardly a secret that Powell's ambition is to lead the Tory Party to victory.

What they did last time

The table clearly shows that in February 1974 the National Front beat other right-wing and fascist candidates in every case but one—and beat the Communist Party every time. Similarly, the CP beat the Trotskyists, whenever there was a straight fight. The Workers Revolutionary Party (or rather its star candidate, Vanessa Redgrave) beat the International Marxist Group at Newham, North-East, and the Marxist-Leninists at Lambeth, Central. (Those whose sympathies go the other way may care to consider whether putting up a joke candidate in the first place can do anybody any good—except the state, which collects the lost deposits.)

The NF won 13 out of 14 contested joke elections; the CP only four out of nine. Moreover the CP's performance this year was worse than in 1970 in almost every seat where direct comparison is possible: out of 11 seats the CP did worse in nine, about the same in one, and better only at Pontypool (1970, 435 votes, 1.1%; 1974, 498 votes, 1.2%).

But at least the CP has one proud boast: glamour-boy Jimmy Reid in Dunbartonshire, Central, achieved the astounding feat—for a joke candidate—of saving his deposit with 14.6%. Needless to say, all 43 other CP candidates lost.

What's more very few of the

their deposits, while the NF lost 54 out of 54 and 'others' lost the grand total of 131. At £150 a time, this adds up to £6,450 for the CP and £8,100 for the NF.

Lt Cdr Boaks achieved the (so far as we know) unprecedented distinction of recording simultaneously the lowest and the third lowest vote totals—35 in Cities of London and Westminster, South, and 45 in Streatham. His Westminster votes cost him more than £4 each.

Others whose votes cost them more than £1 a time were: the Independent at Bath (118); the Democratic Capitalist (44, just pipping Boaks for second place) and the Independent Conservative (134) at Westminster; the WRP at Dunbartonshire, Central (52); the Royal Republican at Ealing, North (53); the Independent at Enfield, Edmonton (98); the IMG at Glasgow, Queen's Park (50); the Marxist-Leninist at Lambeth, Central (107); the Technical Consultant at Petersfield (101); the Social Credit candidate at Rugby (106 votes, 0.2%—one of the few joke candidates who had stood in the same seat in 1970 when he did very much better: 254 votes, 0.5%); the Independent (114) and the Independent Conservative (102) at Scarborough.

What's more very few of the

joke candidates polled even half the necessary percentage (12½%) to retain their deposits. Those who did include the NF at West Bromwich, East (7.6%) and West (7.8%); Leicester, East (7.4%) and Newham, South (6.5%)—at the May by-election this almost doubled to 11.51%, but the NF still lost £150; Independent Liberals in various seats; and one ex-Labour MP, M. K. Macmillan who polled 6.8% at Western Isles, standing as a United Labour Party candidate.

Other exotics excluded from this statistical table are: the Digger candidate at Cambridge, 368 (0.6%); the Sikh Anti-Helmet at Southall, 310 (0.6%); the National Coalition at Surrey, North-West, 463 (0.8%) (incidentally, when the media and the Grocer jumped about after the election saying: 'The nation's demanded a coalition', it's curious nobody remembered the verdict on a national coalition emphatically delivered by the voters of Surrey, North-West); the Wessex Regionalist, A. Tynne, Viscount Weymouth (Eton and Christ Church) at Westbury 521 (0.8%); and the Cornish Nationalist at Truro, 890 (1.4%).

If you think the last two are extra funny, remember the Scottish Nationalists and Plaid Cymru were joke candidates once.

In compiling the results table below we have taken all those constituencies with at least two joke candidates, adding only Merton, Wimbledon, to commemorate the indefatigable Lt Cdr W.G. Boaks who stood simultaneously in no fewer than three seats.

How they ran in '74

Bath
Independent Conservative 204 (0.4%)
Independent 118 (0.3%)
Bournemouth, East
National Front 875 (2.0%)
Anti-EEC 834 (1.9%)
Bradford, West
Anti-Immigration 1,164 (2.4%)
Independent Democratic Alliance 200 (0.4%)
Brent, South
National Front 1,852 (4.3%)
Communist Party 360 (0.9%)
Bristol, South East
National Front 757 (1.8%)
Social Democrat 688 (1.2%)
Cities of London and Westminster, South
Independent Conservative 134 (0.4%)
Democratic Capitalist 44 (0.1%)
Independent (Boaks) 35 (0.1%)
Coventry, North East
People 1,332 (2.8%)
Communist Party 838 (1.7%)
Dunbartonshire, Central
National Front 5,828 (14.6%)
Workers Revolutionary Party 22 (0.1%)
Enfield, Edmonton
National Front 1,760 (3.8%)
Independent 90 (0.2%)

Eton and Slough
National Front 1,341 (3.0%)
Independent Conservative 244 (0.7%)
Eye
People 395 (0.7%)
Independent Democratic Alliance 280 (0.4%)
Glasgow, Queen's Park
Communist Party 372 (1.2%)
Greenwich, West
International Marxist Group 90 (0.8%)
Greenwich, West
National Front 1,086 (2.8%)
Exports 191 (0.5%)
Hackney, North and Stoke Newington
National Front 1,226 (3.7%)
Communist Party 332 (1.0%)
Haringey, Tottenham
National Front 1,876 (4.1%)
National Front 1,276 (4.1%)
Social Democrat 783 (2.4%)
Independent Conservative 274 (0.8%)
Harrigate
National Front 1,486 (3.2%)
Democratic Christian 479 (1.7%)
Huddersfield, East
National Front 790 (1.9%)
Communist Party 240 (0.6%)
Islington, North
National Front 470 (3.2%)
Labour and Democratic 270 (0.2%)

Islington, South and Finsbury
Communist Party 482 (1.5%)
Independent Liberal 283 (0.9%)
Lambeth, Central
Workers Revolutionary Party 320 (1.2%)
Marxist-Leninist 307 (0.9%)
Lambeth, Streatham
National Front 887 (2.5%)
Independent (Boaks) 40 (0.1%)
Lancaster
Independent Liberal 631 (1.3%)
Independent 140 (0.4%)
Leeds, East
Independent 289 (0.5%)
John Hamilton New Freedom Party 700 (0.5%)
Macclesfield, Oldham
National Front 341 (1.7%)
Communist Party 212 (0.6%)
Merton, South
Communist Party 286 (0.5%)
Workers Revolutionary Party 260 (0.6%)
Merton, Wimbledon
Independent (Boaks) 140 (0.4%)
Newham, East
Workers Revolutionary Party 780 (2.7%)
Independent Marxist Group 322 (0.4%)
Scarborough
Independent 114 (0.2%)
Independent Conservative 102 (0.2%)
Sheffield, North-East
National Front 1,340 (3.2%)
Scottish Nationalist 521 (0.4%)

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Thanks to all those who supplied the following:

INFORMATION

Corrections

Peace Centre
18 Moor Street, Ringway
Birmingham 4, 021-643 0996
Action Backed Inquiry into
Property Speculation
220 Camden High Street, London
NW1
East Oxford Advertiser Books
34 Cowley Road
Oxford IX4 1HZ
Gingerbread
9 Poland Street
London W1V 3DG; 01-734 9014
Pregnancy Advisory Service
40 Margaret Street
London W1; 409 0281/4
Special service for women coming
from abroad to seek an abortion:
27 Fitzroy Square
London W1; 01-387 3057/8
Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance
21 Roundwood Way
Banstead Surrey

Additions

Millenium Print Services
9 Sefton Drive
Liverpool 8; 051-733 2635
Proletaria Bookshop at 289 Station
Road, Dunscoft, Doncaster, is closing
owing to financial problems.
Gay Community Centre
78 Raiton Road, London SE24

Lewisham Women's Aid
5a Nelson Road
Greenwich
London SE10
01-858 0997

Where to buy WILDCAT

LONDON
Centro Iberico
83a Haverstock Hill, NW3
Housmans
5 Caledonian Road, N1
Compendium
240 Camden High Street, NW1
Camden Community Law Centre
146 Kentish Town Road, NW1
Librairie Parisienne
48 Old Compton Street, W1
Angel Bookshop
102 Islington High Street, N1
Centerprise
136 Kingsland High Street, E8
Village Books
7 Shrubbery Road, SW16
Moonfleet
39 Clapham Park Road, SW4
People's Aid and Action Centre
8 Falcon Road, SW11
Rising Free
197 Kings Cross Road, WC1
The Artful Dodger (Ricky Santi)
61 Amwell Street EC1
Freedom Bookshop
84b Whitechapel High Street, E1
Up Against the Law
66 York Way, N1
Red Books
97 Caledonian Road, N1

OUTSIDE LONDON
The Other Branch
7 Regent Place
Leamington Spa, Warwicks
East Oxford Advertiser
34 Cowley Road, Oxford
Grass Roots
178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13
Peace Centre
18 Moor Street, Ringway
Birmingham 4.
Public House
21 Little Preston Street
Brighton, Sussex
632 Bookshop
632 Bristol Road, Selly Oak
Birmingham 29
Symposium
12 Market Street
Brighton, Sussex
News from Nowhere
9 Sefton Drive
Liverpool 8
One O Eight Bookshop
108 Salisbury Road, Cathays
Cardiff, South Wales
Partisan Books
34 Dallow Road
Luton, Beds

Lavells
21 South End Road, NW3
Regent
73 Parkway, NW1
Hills
13 Goodge Street, W1
R Bloom
56 Red Lion Street, WC1
Mandarin Books
3 New College Parade, Finchley
Road, NW3
Grassroots Storefront
61 Golborne Road, W10
News Supermarket
216 Portobello Road, W11
News Time
6 Pembridge Road, W11
NSS
214 Earls Court Road, SW3
Colletts
66 Charing Cross Road, WC2
Grays Inn Newsagents
50 Theobalds Road, WC1
J Grace & Sons
172 Fleet Street, EC4
Huggett
246 Morning Lane, E9
Griffiths
230 Graham Road, E8

South Wales Workers Bookshop
104 Gabalfa Ave
Gabalfa, Cardiff
Print Workshop
28 Cooke Street
Belfast 7
B H Blackwell
Hythe Bridge Street
Oxford
Shirley at Delta
Greyfriars Market
14 Forest Road
Edinburgh
Mushroom
261 Arkwright Street
Nottingham
Book People
53 St Marys Road
Southampton
Books
84 Woodhouse Lane
Leeds 2

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WILDCAT.
MEN'S CONFERENCE: there will be
a men's group conference in London
in October. Saturday 19 – Sunday
20 October is the provisional date.
Further information can be obtained
from: c/o 46 Agnecourt Road,
London NW3 (sae please).

SOLIDARITY PAMPHLETS
(Obtainable – postage extra –
from 123 Latham Rd, London E6).
THE IRRATIONAL IN POLITICS
by Maurice Brinton. How society con-
ditions its slaves to accept their slavery.
Sexual repression and authoritar-
ian conditioning – in both Eastern
and Western contexts. 15p.
THE CRISIS OF MODERN SOCIETY
by Paul Cardan. The interlocking
crises in work, politics, values, edu-
cation, the family, and relations be-
tween the sexes. 10p.
REDEFINING REVOLUTION by
Paul Cardan. A new look at contem-
porary society and the struggles
within it. To remain revolutionaries
... or to remain marxists? 15p.
SOLIDARITY (Vol 7 No 2) This back
issue, a few copies of which are still
available, contains a synopsis and
review of Reich's 'What is class con-
sciousness?'. Do parades, uniforms
and military music change the devel-
opment of a critical consciousness?
Will the Right always be better than
the Left at the game of pageantry,
creating myths and mobilising people
around them?

Anarchist

GROUPS/MEETINGS
Aberystwyth
Anarchists meet at the Skinners
Arms every Thursday at 8 pm.
Blackburn
Letters only to: Keith Sowerby,
150 Shorrocks Lane.
Corby
Anarchists meet at 7 Cresswell
Walk on the first Friday of the
month at 7.30 pm. Phone Corby
66781 for details of other
activities.
Leamington
Anarchists meet on Thursday at
8 pm. Details from: Roger
Grenville, Flat 3, 7 Bertie Terrace.
Leicester
Anarchist/Free Press meetings
every Thursday at 8 pm either
at Black Flag Bookshop, 1
Wilne Street, or in University
Union Building (Percy Gee).
ORA group meets every Tuesday:
check at bookshop for venue.
London: Centro Iberico
83a Haverstock Hill, London
NW3. Meetings, etc, on Saturday
and Sunday evenings as adver-
tised. Tubes: Chalk Farm or
Belsize Park.
London: Hyde Park Forum
At Speakers Corner from 1 pm on
alternate Sundays. Speakers,
listeners, hecklers welcome.
London: The One Tun
Some London anarchists meet
socially at Finch's The One Tun,
Goodge Street, London W1 on
Sunday at 7.30 pm. Don't ask at
the bar.
London: Women's Anarchist
Group
Meets on Monday. Phone 883
2457 for details.
Oxford
Details from: Uhuru, 35-37
Cowley Road, Oxford.

Anarchists between elections

Many people whom one tends to re-
gard as comrades go through an irra-
tional phase during election time.
The manipulation of the masses
becomes a mere spectacle to them.
The crowds at Trafalgar Square, the
acres of newsprint, the insistent
images on the television screen, the
conversations with 'unformed'
acquaintances (unformed, that is,
about one's secret anarchism) turn
many comrades into election fodder.
Worse, some of them dirty our
linen by standing as candidates in
this shame-faced contest for the votes
of the manipulated population.
The cost of the £150 deposit does
not deter them. They add their false
voices to the confusion like criminals

in a masked ball and thus trample not
only their reason but ours into the
dirt.
By their manifestoes you can judge
them. They proffer panaceas with
as much skill as any practised politi-
cian: how they would solve this prob-
lem and that in an anarchistic way.
One such worthy has even complained
in an electoral address for a council
election that his ideas (his, you see)
were adopted by the council from his
previous manifesto.
Unfortunately, these comrade can-
didates having lost their deposits, will
be back in our ranks – until the next
election!
John Rety



From Class War Comix No 1 'New Times': available from Epic Productions,
76 Peckham Road, London SE5, price 25p + 5p postage.

Still inside

Three of the 11 libertarians arrested
last May after the kidnapping of a
Spanish banker are still in prison:
Octavio Alberola Surinach, Prison
des Hommes, 1 Avenue de la Division
Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, France;
Ariane Gransac-Sadori and Jean Helen
Weir both in Prison des Femmes,
Fleury Merogis, 2 Avenue des peu-
pliers, 91700 St Genevieve des Bois,
France. They are still awaiting trial,
as are the other eight who have bail.
Letters to the three in prison serve
two purposes: as well as raising the
morale of the prisoners, they remind
the authorities that they are not alone.

Guinea pigs bite back

The Law Commission's proposed
Criminal Trespass Law would make it
a criminal offence both for an owner
to force entry into occupied property
and for anybody to remain on some-
one else's property after being asked
to leave. Squatters are likely guinea-
pigs for the new law if it comes into
force (early 1975 is possible), but it
is also designed for use against work-
ers and students in occupation,
pickets on company property,
claimants – or anyone else – taking
part in an occupation of an office or
town hall; various other people –
gypsies, rambles, those who com-
plain in shops and restaurants, even

legal tenants – are threatened.
The Campaign Against the Criminal
Trespass Law has been started to try
and stop these proposals being made
law. At a meeting in London on 18
September a committee was set up
to work on a leaflet and plan demon-
strations and other actions. A public
meeting was planned for 29 Septem-
ber to broaden the base of the cam-
paign. Information from: CACTL,
119 Raiton Road, London SE24.
Meanwhile, the Islington branch of
NALGO, which includes bailiffs, are
considering banning all evictions
where houses are not due for demo-
lition or immediate use.

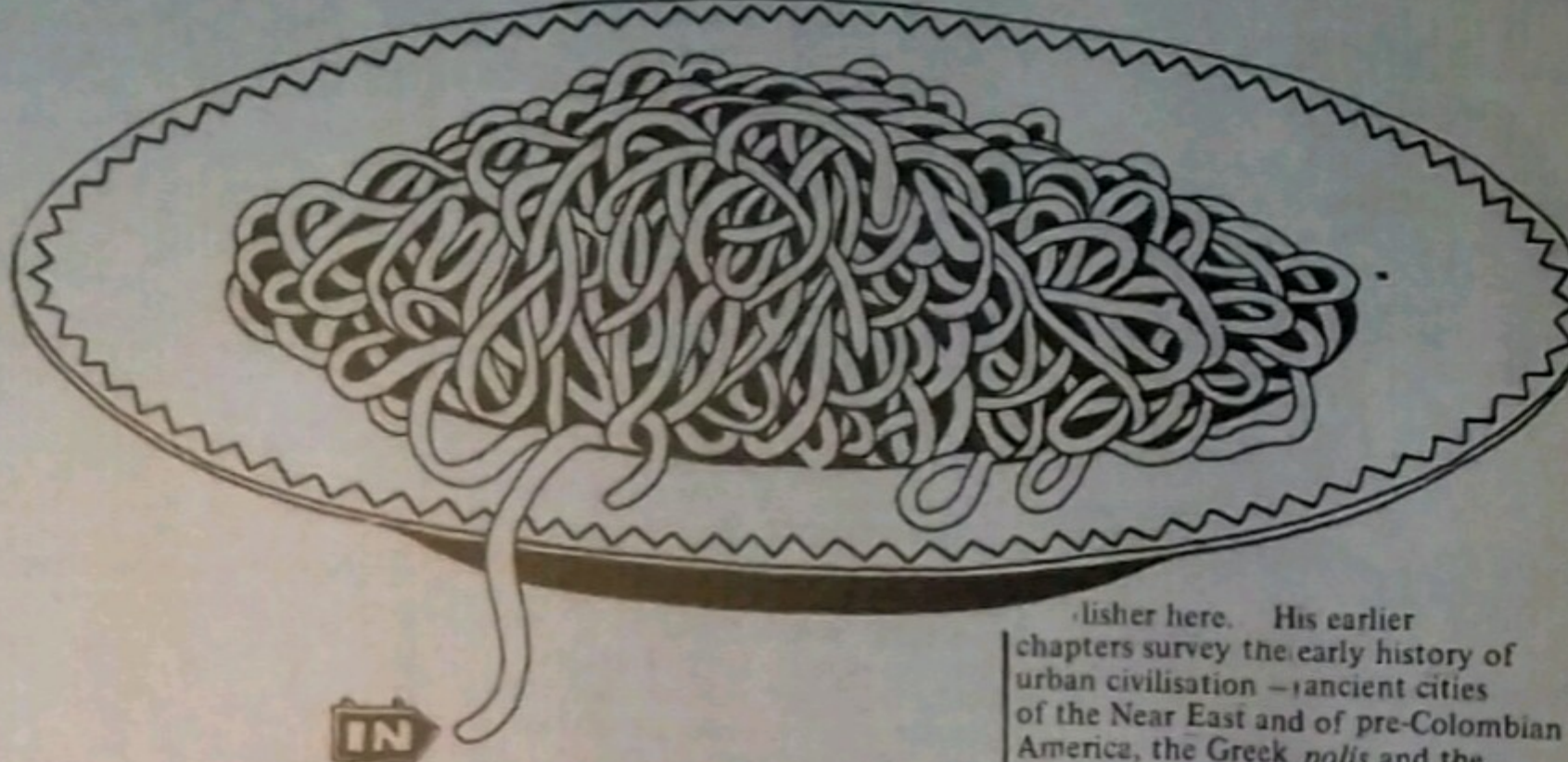
Windsor

After the police had smashed the
Windsor Free Festival on 29 August,
they piled up and set fire to any prop-
erty left behind by those they had
arrested or hustled out. Tents, cloth-
ing, rucksacks, food – all were burnt.
This is what the field, which had been
a scene of peace and freedom the day
before, looked like after law-and-order
had been established. On the Sunday
after the bust, a protest meeting was
held in Hyde Park, supported by hun-
dreds of people, who pledged them-
selves to hold another Free Festival
next year.
The first issue of a new underground
paper MAYA – Windsor Free Nation
News (BCM – Free Festival, London
WC1V 6XX; telephone: 01-485 2387)
was 'born in love and anger at being
fucked over at our annual gathering'.
Copies cost 5p, but the publishers say
all this goes to the seller. To produce
a second issue, they need £500.
Witnesses of police brutality at
Windsor are asked to get in touch with
Release, 1 Elgin Avenue, London W9
(01-289 1123).



Jon Gower Davies: *The Evangelistic Bureaucrat* (Tavistock paperback £1.50)
 Thomas L Blair: *The International Urban Crisis* (Hart-Davis, MacGibbon £3.95, Paladin paperback 60p)
 Murray Bookchin: *The Limits of the City* (Harper Colophon Books \$2.75)

Planning declared bankrupt



The ideology of the town-planning movement derives from two great late Victorians who would never have qualified for membership of the Royal Town Planning Institute. Patrick Geddes was a botanist, Ebenezer Howard was a stenographer who spent years inventing a shorthand typewriter. Both saw planning as a popular social movement rather than a branch of municipal bureaucracy; both were friends of the anarchist Peter Kropotkin and were influenced by his decentralist ideas.

But inevitably, as planning evolved as a professional rather than a social activity, and since land and property remained in the hands of private or institutional speculators – or, if publicly owned, was certainly not controlled by the people who lived and worked in it – we should not be surprised by the conclusion of Jon Gower Davies: 'Planning in our society... is in essence the attempt to inject a radical technology into a conservative and highly inegalitarian economy. The impact of planning on this society is rather like that of the educational system on the same society: it is least onerous and most advantageous to those who are already well off or powerful, and it is most onerous and least advantageous to those who are relatively powerless or relatively poor. Planning is, in its effect on the socio-economic structure, a highly regressive form of indirect taxation.'

The greater part of his book is a detailed and damning account of the way Newcastle Corporation handled the rehabilitation and proposed redevelopment of a rundown downtown area of the city. The exercise made everything worse for everyone, and his book shows why. His general comments are sometimes very acute, like the one I have quoted. Sometimes they are very wide of the mark, for he shoots at every target in sight. The tone is nihilistic rather than anarchistic, which is a little odd, since he is a Labour councillor.

Revolution needed

Thomas Blair is an American sociologist who is head of the department of social and environmental planning at the Polytechnic of Central London. He gives a rapid and skilful account of the variety of crises which afflict the world's great cities, and some of the suggested solutions. He is too wise to imagine, like our simple-minded planners, that there are physical or technical solutions to problems which are essentially those of poverty rather than of the environment. He remarks that 'the heavy

emphasis on technological and manipulative solutions indicates a frightening inability among professionals and politicians to deal with critical issues, or even to fully comprehend what they are doing. Under these conditions, it is hopeless to propose solutions to the crisis of cities without instituting fundamental changes in the structure of public decision-making, especially metropolitan government, planning, participation.'

Blair declares that 'nothing short of social revolution will be necessary to change the course of future urban history' because 'neither the urban explosion, central area decay and suburban sprawl, congestion, pollution, nor any of the urban social problems... can find its causes or its cures in the city'. They are not local nor are they confined to cities: 'The ills of the urban crisis are, in fact, all interconnected with our life-styles, work habits, activities, and forms of social organisation and settlement. They reveal permanent flaws in modern urban society.'

What kind of change do we need then? As Blair puts it, 'On the local level there must be renewed positive action for democratic popular control and management of urban affairs. People must decide to stop revolving around technocratic authoritarian centres and seek new political and cultural directions. A new movement for a responsible technology must be created which unites many diverse sections of the public and professions, and moves planning towards the liberation of individuals and communities.'

Like the rest of us, Blair has to take refuge in rhetorical truisms when it comes to prescribing positive action. In Winifrid Holtby's novel *South Riding* a disillusioned Labour councillor remarks: 'We start by demanding a revolution and end up

grateful for a new sewage works.' With the radical ideologists of planning it's the other way round. They start by advocating some technological innovation and end by demanding revolution. Since this is not on the agenda for the mass of their fellow-citizens, they have to be satisfied ('until we have succeeded in raising the general level of consciousness') with little local exercises in community action. Consequently in the spite of devastating demolitions of the pretensions of planning policy, e.g. Robert Goodman's *After the Planners* (Penguin 75p) or Malcolm MacEwen's *Crisis in Architecture* (RIBA Publications £2.50), the remedies do not match up with the diagnoses. This is not the fault of the authors: We are just groping for an alternative theory of urbanism.

One important first step towards an anarchist urban theory was Richard Sennett's *The Uses of Disorder* (Penguin 60p). Another is Murray Bookchin's book *The Limits of the City*. His *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* was recently published in Britain by Wildwood House, and I hope this new work finds a pub-

lisher here. His earlier chapters survey the early history of urban civilisation – ancient cities of the Near East and of pre-Columbian America, the Greek polis and the commune in the Middle Ages. His chapter on the rise of the bourgeois city shows how, with the spread of capitalist manufacture 'a new basic for city life developed in the urban centres of the industrialised western world, changing qualitatively all pre-existing social and economic relations within the towns and between town and country.'

The cities of the modern world, he declares, are breaking down under sheer excess of size and growth. 'They are disintegrating administratively, institutionally, and logistically, they are increasingly unable to provide the minimal services for human habitation, personal safety, and the means for transporting people and goods... Even where cities have some semblance of formal democracy, 'almost every civic problem is resolved not by action that goes to its social roots, but by legislation that further restricts the rights of the citizen as an autonomous being and enhances the power of super-individual agencies.'

Nor can the professionals help: 'Rarely could city planning transcend the destructive social conditions to which it was a response. To the degree that it turned in upon itself as a

specialised profession – the activity of architects, engineers and sociologists – it too fell within the narrow division of labour of the very society it was meant to control. Not surprisingly, some of the most humanistic notions of urbanism come from amateurs who retain contact with the authentic experiences of people and the mundane agonies of metropolitan life.'

The particular bunch of amateurs who, for Murray Bookchin, point the way are the young members of the counter-culture: 'Much has been written about the retreat of dropout youth to rural communes. Far less known is the extent to which ecologically-minded counter-cultural youth began to subject city planning to a devastating review, often advancing alternative proposals to dehumanising urban 'revitalisation' and 'rehabilitation' projects...'

For the countercultural planners, the point of departure for any design was not 'the pleasing object' or the 'efficiency' with which it expedited traffic, communications, and economic activities. Rather, these new planners concerned themselves primarily with the relationship of design to the fostering of personal intimacy, many-sided social relationships, nonhierarchical modes of organisation, communistic living arrangements, and material independence from the market economy. Design, here, took its point of departure not from abstract concepts of space or a functional endeavour to improve the status quo but from an explicit critique of the status quo and a conception of the free human relationships that were to replace it. The design elements of a plan followed from radically new social alternatives. The attempt was made to replace hierarchical space by liberated space.'

They were, in fact, rediscovering the polis, reinventing the commune. Now Murray knows that the counter-cultural movement has subsided from its high point of the 1960s, and he inveighs against crude political rhetoric which was the next fashion. 'Far more than the flowers of the mid-sixties, the angry clenched fists of the late sixties were irrelevant in trying to reach an increasingly alarmed and uncomprehending public.' But he insists that certain demands and issues raised by the counter-culture are imperishable. The call for 'new, decentralised communities based on an ecological outlook that unites the most advanced features of urban and rural life' is not going to die out again because of the harsh fact that 'few choices are left today for the existing society'.

Colin Ward

Foundation Course

Paul Cardan's *Modern Capitalism and Revolution* (Solidarity, Paperback, 50p) is the second edition of the most ambitious work by the chief theorist of the Socialisme ou Barbarie group in France, who is also the chief theoretical influence over the Solidarity group in Britain. He is now well known across the Channel – his writings are currently being collected in a twelve-volume paperback edition under his real name, Cornelius Castoriadis – but still little known here.

His thought consists of a struggle first within and then with Marxism to re-establish a genuine revolutionary theory. In the process he has moved in a libertarian direction away not only from Stalin and Trotsky but also from Lenin and even Marx, approaching but never reaching anarchism, and remaining imprisoned within the old categories of Marxist polemic. The preoccupation is with bureaucratic society rather than capitalist economies, but

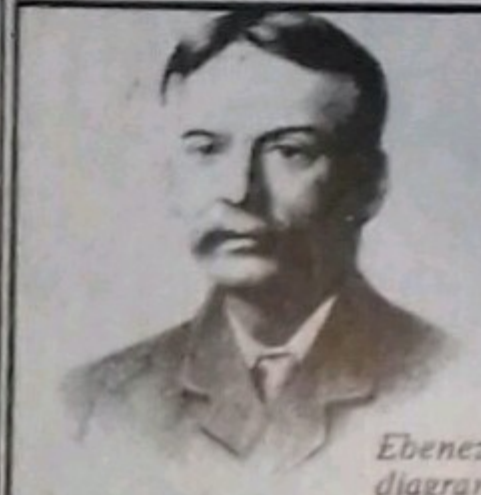
the obsession with working-class activity (or inactivity) makes the whole project seem curiously old-fashioned. *Modern Capitalism and Revolution* is as it were the mini-Capital of Cardan, an attempt to lay the foundations of the entire theory. It was originally written in 1959 and published in France in 1960-61, first appearing in Britain in 1965 in a translation revised in close consultation with the author. This second edition has a new introduction considering the thesis in the light of developments during the fifteen years since it was written. Like all Cardan's work this is directed at Marxists and ex-Marxists; libertarians who are not and never have been Marxists are more likely to wonder what all the fuss is about. However, this is the most serious discussion of the basic ideas of the Solidarity group and is worth reading if only for that reason.

Nicolas Walter

Prophetic realism

Peter Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* (Allen & Unwin, £3.95, paperback £1.95) is a new edition of the anarchist classic of practical economics, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1898). It has been skilfully revised by Colin Ward, the former editor of *Anarchy* and author of *Anarchy in Action* (1973), who has retained the main arguments but replaced much of the obsolete statistical material with commentaries giving more recent supporting material instead. Ward describes the book as 'a great prophetic work of the nineteenth century whose hour has yet to come'. It is strikingly up-to-date in its advocacy of decentralised small-scale industry and intensive small-scale agriculture, with the maximum integration of the two, and its attack on both economic and educational specialisation. On the other hand it is strikingly out-of-date in its assumption that what is technically possible and socially desirable will necessarily happen. During the twentieth century the situation it describes has become much more serious and the solution it proposes has become much more urgent. Many people have said the same as Kropotkin since he wrote, but this most concrete of all his books is still valuable. Anarchism is not a utopian vision of the future but a realistic vision of the present.

Nicolas Walter



Ebenezer Howard, left, and one of his diagrams for a new kind of planning.



School book

What School Is For (Methuen, paperback, 65p) is, alternatively, interesting and baffling; stimulating and frustrating; lucid and confused. Its authors, according to the blurb, are 'both experienced teachers'; according to the *Guardian*, which published an extract from the book, 'Gabriel Chanan is the senior editor of the National Foundation for Educational Research, and Linda Gilchrist is an ex-teacher.'

They make many good points at the expense of various orthodoxies: eg on cultural deprivation – 'a very dubious concept, implying that culture is a commodity like bricks and mortar, not the way in which a community interprets and values its experiences'; and on teacher-training: 'A training which does not prepare teachers for the incoherence of the average secondary school as a learning environment is something of an evasion.' It's worth reading the book for flashes like these.

But, as a whole, *What School Is For* is disappointing. One feels that, when they leave the classroom, the authors are soon out of their depth.

To take two examples: the authors contrive to dismiss 'deschooling'

without even a passing reference to the libertarian critique of Paul Goodman; when they come to pop music, they seem quite unaware of the vigour of American country, blues and R & B lyrics: they refer to the 'marked improvement in the quality of pop music in the past decade' (meaning the words). Tell that to Chuck Berry.

Although the authors appear to be suspicious of anything done, said or written before 1965, the book is littered with footnotes referring to books and articles published in the last few years. One refers to Murray Bookchin's essay, 'Listen Marxist!' – probably the best-known anarchist essay of the last decade – which is included in his *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1974). But the authors do not say so, and their reference is, in any case, very difficult to understand.

The authors attack both the trendy 'deschoolers' and the dour marxists, but they fail to say clearly what kind of society they would like to see. It's not surprising then that they fail to say 'what school is for', though they give us a few glimpses.

Wynford Hicks

Waste of life

Rod Caird's *A Good and Useful Life* (Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, £3.50) is yet another prison book, taking its title from Rule 1 of the Prison Rules: 'The purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life.' Caird was one of the Cambridge students arrested at the Garden House demon-



stration in February 1970 and got the longest prison sentence of 18 months. His book is a badly constructed and badly written mixture of a personal account of his year in Wormwood Scrubs and Coldingley Industrial Prison and of a general attack on the present prison system.

His background made him an untypical prisoner, coming from a Scottish middle-class family and being a young left-wing intellectual. Unfortunately he has failed to overcome such disadvantages, and his book contains neither a detailed description of his own experience nor a convincing analysis of the institution he experienced. The most valuable part of the book is the impression it gives of Coldingley, which represents current thinking about rehabilitating suitable prisoners through industrial work in a closed prison. It is in fact a labour camp, its obviously bad aspects being a parody of capitalist society and its ostensibly good aspects being a parody of the welfare state. Like all prisons, its main effect is to create a bad and useless life, to which it adds the paraphernalia of modern technology.

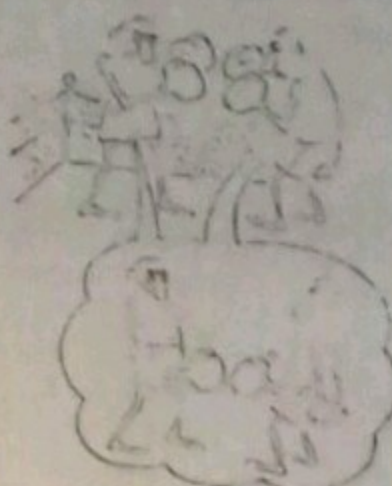
Nicolas Walter

We asked a member of Solidarity to give his personal views as to why the leaflet reproduced below was distributed.

Why?

WHY ARE YOU MARCHING?

Do you think the country is going to the dogs? Too many blacks blighting our schools? Too many Jews in high places? Too many long-haired student layabouts poisoning off our taxes? Too many reds under too many beds?



Do you think the working class is threatened? Too many blimps with too many blueprints? Too many fascists showing their fangs? Too much harassment of pickets, pop festivals, blacks, and all those who won't conform?

DO YOU THINK too many politicians have broken too many promises? DO YOU THINK 'somebody ought to do something' about all the things that bug you? DO YOU THINK 'this country' (or 'the working class') needs a stiff dose of 'better leadership'? (that of your own organisation, perhaps?)

Does the chanting and marching with hundreds of others give you a sense of power, of being a person who matters, which you never enjoy in your everyday life - and which modern society denies you?

With the raising of arms or the waving of banners help you overcome your political impotence?

Do you crave leadership because, from the cradle on, parents, teachers, employers have stopped you thinking for yourself and finding your own solutions to your own needs? The power of leaders feeds on the longing to be led.



Shouting slogans isn't much use. Slogans are no substitute for thinking about real problems. IF WE WANT THINGS TO CHANGE, we must start thinking and acting on our own behalf. We must get rid of the self-appointed leaders, the little Hitlers and the little Stalins, the mini-Maos and the mini-Mosleys (and the big ones too!). Such leaders have never helped anyone but themselves.

Come Monday morning, what are we going to do about the boss, the foreman, the landlord, the Town Hall... and the General Secretary? Come tonight, what do we do about loneliness, frustration, insecurity - and a society that denies us a full and satisfying life?

If we know what our real needs are, we can start here and now to fulfil them. When all decision-making is in our own hands no one will be able to take us for a ride.

On Saturday, 7 September, the National Front marched through the streets of London. The North London District Committee of the AUEW called a counter-demonstration at Speakers' Corner which was supported by the Communist Party, the National Union of Students, IS, the IMG and a number of other groups. The enclosed leaflet was produced by Solidarity (London). Our aim was to distribute it to the rank and file of both demonstrations. We were exploring the basis of a libertarian alternative both to right wing authoritarianism... and to the standard left response to such a threat. We prefer to describe today's reality as a 'resurgence of right-wing authoritarianism' rather than to speak of 'fascism'. 'Fascism' isn't just a term of abuse, to label anything you don't like. It implies a specific philosophy and a specific form of social organisation. It arose in a specific context which bears little relation to what is seen today.

The exercise for a number of reasons, proved only partially successful. Our attempt to break new ground gave rise to much misunderstanding (some genuine, some deliberate). Perhaps the following comments will help clarify our objectives.

In the last few months right-wing ideas have been more openly discussed and have become more 'respectable' than at any time since the war. A number of new extraparlimentary organisations ('Unison', 'Great Britain 75') have come (or been forced) out into the open. Existing organisations (such as the National Front) have felt emboldened. They have begun to assert their presence on a national scale. How should the left react to all this?

The classical answer of all the Leninist organisations (Trotskyists, Maoists, etc.) and of some anarchists is that all 'fascist manifestations' must be smashed, physically if necessary, before they destroy the 'autonomous organisations of the working class'. Coming from the Leninists, this takes the biscuit. (How many 'autonomous organisations of the working class' were left in Russia, say when Lenin died, in 1924?) The practical implications of such an outlook are more-over quite clear. One does not seek to get at the confused and frustrated rank-and-file youth of the 'fascist' organisations, misguided by the anti-capitalist rhetoric of their leaders. One goes out for a punch-up. In our opinion this just isn't good enough.

Since we first started to publish Solidarity our emphasis has been that revolutionaries should 'neither laugh nor weep but seek to understand'. What is the real significance of the authoritarian resurgence? Why is that particular message falling on fertile soil? Why do people, insecure and frustrated in present-day society, fed up with the corruption and double-talk of its Conservative and Labour establishments (yet unable to break free of traditional concepts) turn to right-wing groups rather than to the revolutionary left? To what specific and general social stresses is all this a response? Why could groups like the National Front today poll, in any given constituency, as many working class votes as the Communist Party, IMG, WRP, and sundry 'Marxist-Leninists' put together?

To this kind of question one meets two types of response. Some pretend that the fact doesn't exist. Or that it is irrelevant. Or that it is a diversion. Others seek seriously to grapple with the problem, however much of a challenge that may pose to established thinking... including their own.

In our leaflet we tried to start such a discussion. Are the basic desires and aspirations of the ordinary individual for happiness and a full life in deep harmony with an objective such as the libertarian reconstruction of society? Have they been distorted and repressed by all sorts of conditioning? If so, the problem is how to reach those aspirations. How do we make the revolutionary 'ideal' less remote, less abstract? How do we start a new kind of politics, which one might define as the fulfilment, starting here and now, of people's own independent lives? If the left could do this, could a mass basis for right-wing authoritarianism ever develop? The authoritarian left cannot unleash this torrent. It is frightened of it. It shares many of the postulates and beliefs (and much of the character structure) of those it is struggling against. And, because of this, its only method of 'fighting fascism' is by a physical confrontation on the streets.

In *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* Reich pointed out that ideology was at times a powerful material force. The appeal of authoritarian ideas, in time of social crisis, could not be understood unless one grasped the character structure of the masses in a class-dominated society. We believe that the under-

standing of that character structure and the systematic undermining of all that contributes to it - are important tasks for all genuine revolutionaries. But this is only possible if the revolutionaries start by purging themselves of many bourgeois beliefs, attitudes and practices about the role of parents, of the family, of teachers, about traditional sexual morality, etc.

A libertarian approach to the whole subject might start by exploring some new areas. How does sexual repression (among other factors) create individuals who are adjusted to the authoritarian order, who will submit to it in spite of all misery and degradation? How does such a repression aid political reaction by creating passive and unpolitical individuals? How does it engender a need actively to support the authoritarian order? How are deprivations and frustrations converted into aspirations of a semi-religious type? What is the role of symbolism and ritual in all this (marches, banners, bands, slogan-shouting)? How do certain irrational beliefs, once anchored into the thinking of the masses, become material forces of history? How does 'collective subjectivity' become an objective reality? Is all this of relevance - or not - to an understanding of what is taking place around us? Have we the time to understand? Can we afford not to? To say that only the socialist revolution will abolish the threat of fascism is correct but abstract. To call for 'smashing the fascists' without understanding the nature of the soil on which such poisonous seeds can flourish is very short-sighted.

Three main criticisms have been made of our leaflet and we would like to conclude by dealing with them. The first is that its contents (and in particular Wolinski's cartoons) came as too much of a surprise to those who had yet to grasp the main ideas of Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, of his *What Is Class Consciousness?*... or even of our own pamphlet *The Irrational In Politics*. Were we preaching to the converted, rather than seeking to explain a new dimension of political understanding to a new layer of political activists? The point is well taken. But the message is a hard one to convey in a few sentences. We will try to do better.

The second criticism is that the leaflet did not stress our belief in the right of self-defence, in the face of authoritarian attack. This was a serious omission. For the record: we hold that all democratic organisations have the right to self-defence against persecution and attack from either the right... or the left. Our position on this is unequivocal: the working class was right to defend itself (weapons in hands) against Mussolini, Hitler and Franco... as it was to defend itself against the Leninists at Kronstadt, and the latter-day Stalinists in Budapest and Gdansk.

The final criticism is that we didn't outline our own alternative of how to 'fight the fascists'. All we can say is that those who argue in this way don't seem to have grasped the main message of the leaflet. The fault is ours - not theirs.

Maurice Brinton

See SMALL ADS



No GNUs is good GNUs



It is amusing to see how at the first whiff of power the Liberals are reeling about as though they have been at the bottle for years. It's heady stuff this power wine, enough to blow out of Jeremy's mind the fact that the Liberal revival owes its strength to the Young Liberals and the return to grass-roots politics which made many people think that politicians are interested in them.

The Young Liberals have appealed to the idealism of thousands of young and not-so-young who have been sickened by the political games of the Conservative and Labour parties and looked for a practical way out through the parliamentary process. Ironically, the YLs have in fact gathered their main support from young idealists through the skilful use of non-parliamentary tactics - the public burning of Census papers in Trafalgar Square in 1971, the Stop the Seventies Tour - while party tactics in putting up local 'characters' like Big Cyril Smith in Rochdale have tied in with the 'community politics' line, captured the local imagination and paid off. It is not surprising, given the pre-

vailing political climate, that the Liberal Party has gathered support. Nor, for anarchists or libertarians who really watch the politicians is it surprising that the Parliamentary Liberal Party is now telling the rank-and-file that when it comes to power they had better do as they are told.

Having sincerely thought (or so we assume) that the Liberal Party was going to offer an alternative to Labour and Tory, the YLs, who showed the anarchists a thing or two about direct action demonstrations, and the local party workers in the provinces, who wore themselves out to get the popular vote, now see their leader so intoxicated with the balance of power that he wants to drink deep of the real thing.

Alas, poor suckers, you should have known him better. Don't you know that for your actual professional politician ideals are simply the means to an end? That every MP dreams of becoming Prime Minister? And if, for Jeremy Thorpe, the dream has the nightmare quality of having to balance Wilson and Heath in a coalition - he'll have a go.

All this would be funny if it did not have such sinister undertones. It

is from the Liberal leadership that the idea of GNU originated - from this small clique of politically motivated men, supposedly devoted to the freedom of the individual, has emerged this concept of coalition which would effectively knock out the Opposition in Parliament and pave the way for the one-party Government: the Government of National Unity.

This coalition of the party of big business, the Tories, with the party of the trade-union bureaucrats, Labour, with the party of the petit bourgeoisie, Liberal, would lay the foundations of the corporate state in Britain, which could always find valid reasons for its own continuance.

That it could lard this with concepts like 'workers participation', now embraced by Lib-Lab and Tories alike, only makes it more persuasive - and more sinister.

We ask the militants of the 'extreme Left', who have done so much in the past few months to publicise the National Front as the spearhead of fascism, to consider this point: that the foundations of a 1984 fascist-type dictatorship can very easily be laid by democratic parliamentary parties

in 1974 - and that by playing the parliamentary game with their joke candidates they are diverting the workers from where their strength really lies - in direct action at the point of production.

And we ask the Young Liberals whether they cannot now see where their support of a bourgeois party now leads? Will not the GNU demand the filling-in of census forms and the selling of arms to South Africa - all in the national interest?

The British road to fascism will have no need of the National Front: they can be squashed like cockroaches any time the Special Branch so decrees. Like Enoch Powell, they are

an embarrassment to the Establishment, for they state in such crude terms what can be done so subtly and constitutionally and better by our traditional ruling class, the deception and the subjugation of the people.

It is ironic that it is the Liberals, as easily corrupted by the sweet smell of success as anybody else, who should be setting up the pawns for the endgame of the democratic process. How long before they are telling us that our individual liberties are guaranteed by the Government of National Unity? How long before the banners go up: 'Slavery is Freedom - Vote GNU? On, Big Brother, on to 1984!'

Philip Sammon



Red diary

The second *Big Red Diary* (Pluto Press, 75p) is the same size and price as the first (which is now being offered for sale at 35p), but the editorial information has been revised and redesigned, and the calendar entries, instead of covering the history of mass resistance to authority over the past few centuries, cover only the year 1945, many of the events noted and statements quoted are apt, but the coverage is again rather thin — there is no mention, for example, of the Anarchist Disaffection Trial described in the first issue of WILDCAT.



Research 1

An insight into the way *The Angry Brigade* (see WILDCAT 1) was 'researched' is provided by the Living Theatre collective who report that in the spring of 1972 the author, Alan Burns, came to see them with a bizarre proposal. It was that he should live in their commune while they, as actors, should pretend to be members of the Angry Brigade. Since they are pacifists, this would indeed have been a demanding assignment. 'When we invited him to come and perform in the street theatre outside Vauxhalls, he cleared off and was never seen again', said a member of the collective. They never seriously considered the idea although later they did work with the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Committee.

2

A recent issue of *Freedom* (21 September) included an article on the International Socialists with various membership figures taken from their internal bulletin. The figure of almost 2,000 white collar workers — given in both the bulletin and the article — is wrong: the correct figure is 1,126. The IS member responsible for the error is getting tired of acknowledging it. By comparison, IS now have 1,155 manual workers and 591 students out of a total of 3,310.

STOP PRESS
NON HAILLY'S SQUATTING
TACTICS SUPPLEMENT HELD OVER
UNTIL WILDCAT 3.
'WE'RE FROM THE BBC' -
BRIXTON POLICE NOW
ADMIT THE TWO MEN ARE CID.

Why another?

The first issue of *Radical Education* (15p, 68 Goldhurst Terrace, London NW6) reports that people have asked them: 'Why produce another magazine? ... In what way do you disagree with, say, *Teaching London Kids*, *Hard Cheese*, *Rank and File*, *Forum* or *Libertarian Education*?' The answer, it seems, is that 'the left hand doesn't know what the ultra-left hand is doing', there is 'a quite unnecessary sectarianism ... Our criteria for publishing articles, comments, announcements, advertisements and any other contributions will, providing they come from the broad radical movement, be whether the contribution is interesting, jargon free and comprehensible to the non specialist, supplies new information or adds to the debate.'

The editors particularly invite 'contributions of a practical down to earth type which can actually help radical teachers (our italics) in their day to day work'. The first issue includes articles on sexism in education, the labour college movement, school democracy in Finland, the politics of being taught to read and write. Number 2 (copy date for contributions: 5 October) will include a report of the school student strikes in Madrid and Barcelona last July following the garrotting of anarchist Salvador Puig Antich.

Indexed

The current issue of *Index*, the quarterly survey of world censorship, contains a lead article by Larry Grant, former legal officer of the National Council for Civil Liberties, attacking the Incitement to Disaffection Act, with special reference to the Pat Arrowsmith case. The article is followed by the text of the BWNIC leaflet for which Pat was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. It will be interesting to see whether she is followed to jail by the *Index* editor Michael Scammell or the distinguished intellectuals of the Writers and Scholars International which publishes the paper.

SDLP notes

GERRY FITT, leader of the Party, continually declares that he has 'no time for the men of violence'. Gerry, however, felt the personal need to employ IRA man John Kelly as an unofficial bodyguard in 1970. Kelly was later involved in the celebrated Arms Trial.

AUSTIN CURRIE: Candidate for Fermanagh. Before the Sunningdale Agreement would advocate drinking the rent money and generally promoted the rent and rates strike. At a Belfast meeting he declared: 'Brian Faulkner can kiss my arse.'

Arse-kissing or not, Currie was made Minister for Housing in the Faulkner coalition and promptly slapped a 25p surcharge on those who wouldn't pay their rent.

IVAN COOPER: In February of 1972, Cooper offered the officials gelignite so that they might join in the bombing campaign to bring down Stormont. He offered to meet them in a pub in Letterkenny, Donegal. A few days later Cooper's car was blown up. 'A dastardly attempt on his life,' he told the press.

NCCL meeting

The Executive Committee of the National Council for Civil Liberties has at last been forced by the membership to call a Special General Meeting 'to consider and resolve upon its conduct of the Council's affairs including particularly the dismissal of the Council's General Secretary and upon the future (sic) and future conduct of the Council'. The meeting which comes more than four months after Martin Loney was sacked, will be at Conway Hall all day on Saturday, 19 October, and attendance will cost 50p per individual member or delegate of affiliated organisations.

At the same time the Executive Committee has advertised for a new General Secretary. Applicants might be wise to wait until after the meeting to find out what kind of job it will be, or indeed whether there will be a job at all.

Offensive ads

As reported in *Socialist Worker*, IPC recently refused to take the Labour Party's proposed £20,000 advertising campaign on equal rights for women in their four major women's weeklies. As Mr E G Court of IPC wrote to the Labour Party Publicity Department, 'Our readers do not expect to see this kind of advertisement in the present editorial context.'

A journalist working for one of the magazines in question put the grounds for refusal another way: 'Our readers can't tell the difference between advertising and editorial anyway, however big we print the word "advertisement". We can't risk them taking such an advertisement as our editorial view as it would no doubt offend some readers. We don't accept nudes in toiletry advertisements for the same reason.'

A few months ago, the Tory Party also booked space, but later cancelled it. If both they and the Liberal Party as well as Labour had taken space, the balancing out of views would certainly have put a different light on the decision.

Irish laboratory

Neither Catholics or Protestants can be convinced that the presence of the British army in Northern Ireland is benign, to put it mildly, yet the army stays, supposedly to protect the two sides from each other. Its presence makes more sense, however, if viewed as a rehearsal for an extension of its activities to Britain. The new technology of repression — lessons from Ireland, a recent British Society for Social Responsibility in Science pamphlet, (9 Poland Street, London W1, 35p) examines the theory and weaponry of counter-insurrection currently on trial in the Irish laboratory. There are sections on riot control, internment, intelligence, interrogation, the role of the Welfare State and the likely form these exercises in repression will take in the future — in Britain. If you haven't yet read it, you should.

Worker's control on the land

Glancing idly through one of those expensive coffee table books the other day, my attention was held by a photograph of a group of farm workers at the turn of the century. What astonished me was the number of them. There were fifteen. A similar photograph nowadays would show perhaps the farmer, his wife and one hand, while in the background would be tractors, combines, elevators and other examples of sophisticated hardware. I did know a man who ran a 250 acre farm on his own — apart from some casual help when he harvested his feed crop. Of course he kept only beef cattle. He didn't even keep chickens or a house cow — his wife used tinned milk — and, in addition to the usual machinery, he had an overhead track in his yard for carrying bales and sacks.

His was an extreme case, but it does illustrate a general trend — the continuing reduction of the labour force. As well as the modern combine that charges through a field of wheat like some terrifying engine of war, spewing out sacks of ready threshed grain, there are many machines designed to dispense with the rows of labourers who used to be seen spread over the countryside at harvest time — potato lifting ploughs, pea picking machines, hedge layers. As for muck-spreading time — if you're out for a country walk and see a tractor towing a thing that looks like a cylinder on wheels, keep well clear or you may find yourself literally in the shit. It's probably spraying out wet dung.

Not only is all this mechanisation reducing the labour force, it's also changing its nature. The contemporary farm hand has to be a cross between a bio-chemist and an engineer. You can still see the occasional bucolic wobbling home on a rickety bicycle at the end of the day. He's probably a cowhand whose lifetime of experience has taught him how to keep a milking herd happy. On the other hand you may see what I saw when I was talking to a farmer in his yard recently. A young fellow with a beard and long hair got into a sports car and drove off. 'That's

Andy,' said the farmer, 'our new hand. Damn good bloke he is too.' What are the prospects for workers' control in this situation? Well it seems to me that the exercise of control would be a lot simpler than in a large factory employing several thousand workers. In fact I don't see why a workers' take over in agriculture couldn't be accomplished with the minimum disruption. On the other hand, organising for a take over would be extremely difficult. The National Union of Agricultural Workers finds it difficult enough protecting their members' interests within the system. The impossibility of taking effective action in support of wage claims has meant that agricultural workers are way down near the bottom of the wage table. How would you organise a strike of farm hands? Apart from the fact that the workers are scattered so thinly over the ground, many of them work alongside their boss and form a personal relationship with him.

Agriculture however, like the rest of our society, is in a state of flux. There is no doubt that livestock farmers have been badly hit by the enormous increases in the price of cattle food. Added to that, the stupid over-emphasis on beef production has meant a fall in the price of beef cattle. Farmers are going bankrupt and selling up. In our area at least you can see auction notices stuck up advertising farms over a wide area of countryside. No ordinary working farmer can afford to buy one of these farms. They will go to syndicates and the big companies. This means of course an increasing change in the relationship between worker and boss. Farmer Giles becomes Mr Smith, the manager, and the real boss is tucked away somewhere in the city.

I can't forecast what effect these changes are likely to have on the organisation of agriculture, but it certainly becomes possible that they will bring a changing attitude to control. Who knows, we may yet see an end to the mad system in which production of the primary necessity of life depends on the vagaries of private profit.
 Geoffrey Barfoot

Burnt fingers

The latest issue of *Libertarian Education* has as its theme sex, sex roles and education. The LE collective inadvertently underlines the magnitude of the problems in that field by reprinting an article from *Fire*, a now defunct paper. Entitled 'Butch or bitch?' and written by a woman (under pressure to write something perhaps?) the article begins: 'The question of Women's Liberation tends to be left to the professional Women's Libbers'. It ends: 'We must not depend on Germaine Greer and Selma James to do things for us ... In the final analysis nobody can do anything for you — only you can. Let's talk, read, write, fuck, think more.'

Strange and sad, then, that between these two quotes large chunks of Sheila Rowbotham's *Women's Liberation and the New Politics* are written in, NOT quoted. Stranger still that nobody at *Libertarian Education* seems to have noticed

No doubt

The NCCL's latest pamphlet, *Whose conspiracy?* (186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, 50p) is a solid presentation of the facts of this recently revived legal dragnet. What the conspiracy laws do is to reverse the famed 'reasonable doubt' in English law. A reasonable chance of intention to commit an 'undesirable' deed is itself a crime — conspiracy, maximum sentence: life imprisonment. No one can afford to ignore the implications of such a law; it's such a convenient way of putting away anyone the establishment finds undesirable that we may be sure it won't be done away with in a hurry. Who needs martial law when this one's already on the books?

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