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1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

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Anarcho-Stalinism

BLACK FLAG BULLSHIT AND POLICE SPIES

THE following has appeared in *Black Flag* (no 149, 11 February 1986).

A NOD AND A WINK

For some ironic reason, the 'mole' at Freedom Press, Tony Jones — unmasked as a police agent in *City Limits* and *Black Flag* — will speak in the lecture series given at the Mary Ward Centre, Queens Square, London WC1 on February 21st 1985, at 8pm. He is speaking on *Anarchism, the Individual and the Law*. (!)

Without descending into ritual



exchanges of insults, we feel that false statements which are printed should be corrected. Whether or not he is a mole, Tony Jones is not and never has been a member of *Freedom*, Freedom Press or any associated group. So far as we know, he has never even been in the building. His only known links with the anarchist movement have been as a legal adviser to 121 Railton Road, and as an attender and occasional speaker at the open meetings at the Mary Ward Centre; these meetings have never been any part of *Freedom*.

less than half price. For each lot of five copies mailed to one address for six months, we charge £10! This means you can sell *Freedom* for only 50p and make a profit towards your own local paper.

New Starvation Subs

While the Low Income Sub already includes two FREE *Freedom*s (post free), we have introduced a £4.95 Starvation Sub for Sup. Ben. claimants.

Have you paid for '86?

The 'Raiders' who stole our payments-due system (August '85), left us with a £1,700 debt to our printers. We have also had to pay out £1,200 for an IBM type-setter.

The extra £3,000 we have to raise, plus the 25% increase in size, is responsible for the 'temporary' high price of *Freedom*. Please help us by paying your subscriptions promptly, especially those 50 or so who 'got away with it' in '85. We gained about 120 new subs last year so we can afford to lose selfish ones!

If you're totally broke, write us a letter or make an offer . . . *Freedom* is traditionally understanding to regular subscribers who are temporarily broke.

Stu

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JANUARY TOTAL £270.35

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Finland PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

ACCORDING to the Finnish law it is the duty of every male citizen to carry out his civil duty by doing military service of 8-11 months in the 'defence' force of this independent state. In special cases a citizen can choose to do social service of 12 months in a hospital, children's home or other public institution, but to be allowed to choose he has to prove the accuracy of his religious or ethical conviction in front of a special examination board of five members (three army officers, one psychologist, one peace movement activist). In case the citizen's conviction does not seem accurate enough to the board if the citizen does not want to do social service either, he will be sentenced to prison for nine months. The process with all the applications, examinations and trials takes years. The only ways to avoid the whole fuss is to be homosexual, alcoholic or to have serious mental problems — and all this has to be proved also, of course.

Since 1985, the parliament has been working on changing the law. The examination board will be removed, but — as a punishment for the 'cowards and betrayers of the fatherland' — the social service will be lengthened to 16 months and bound more or less to military purposes; rescue operations and civil defence. The organisation of social service men and the whole peace movement are strongly criticising both the old and the new law, but nothing seemed to happen in this promised land of social democratic consensus until the 'neutral' and oh so 'peaceful' state showed a new aspect of its hypocrisy.

The latest example of how the police state works is the case of Lassi Kurittu, 30 year old assisting teacher of mathematics at the University of Jyväskylä, central Finland. The process of his draft resistance started in April 1982 as he applied for social service because of his pacifist conviction. The examination board did not accept his application and ordered him to go into the army. Kurittu appealed to the Ministry of Justice, which changed the decision; he was supposed to serve in the army without arms. He refused again and was sentenced to prison for nine months. The new appeal he made was rejected. Finally the examination board had to question him once more in January 1985, but using the change in the law which was already going on as an excuse, the board decided to reject the application again. On 4th February, Lassi Kurittu

was carried from his home to prison (he refused to go himself).

The brand new prisoner of conscience immediately started a hunger strike which he has said he will continue until he is released. Already earlier — as he knew he would find himself in jail one of those days — he wrote a letter to the prison welfare authorities in which he clearly explained that according to his opinion he has done nothing against the law and therefore refuses co-operation with the authorities. A few days ago a friend of the prisoner got a letter from him and found out that he still is determined in his struggle and is not by any means going to give up.

Also another draft resister, Tapio Puhakka, is at the moment in jail for the same reasons. There are many others who do not want their names in public. The number of social resisters — people who refuse both military and social service — is a state secret. There are probably dozens of them.

The case of Lassi Kurittu has attracted surprising notice all over the country and also abroad. There have been several demonstrations and other support actions. Appeals of pardon have been sent to the President of the republic, Amnesty International has paid attention to the case. The only possibility of getting Lassi Kurittu out of prison is a pardon signed by President Mauno Koivisto who, according to the constitution, has the right of pardon. The will or unwill of the social-democrat President, who at the same time automatically is Director General of the Army, is a big question mark. Many hundreds of people have signed appeals, social service men are striking (which will cause so many trials the courts will have to work day and night to take them all up), support hunger strikes are going on, etc. The media can not avoid telling about it any more. (Somehow it is a sensation in this country 'where nothing ever happens'.) The cases of Lassi Kurittu, Tapio Puhakka and others are serious infringements of human rights. Even the President should realise this and sign a general amnesty for draft resisters — if not out of pure humaneness, at least because it certainly is not such good PR for this country.

In case somebody wants to support Kurittu and other Finnish prisoners of conscience in their struggle for human rights, you can write appeals to:

Tasavallan President Mauno Koivisto,
Presidentin Kanslia,
Helsinki, Finland,
and support mail to:
Lassi Kurittu,
PL 181,
13101 Hameenlinna,
Finland.
Thanks for your interest, **TV**
Jyväskylä, Finland

IN BRIEF

An order recommending that all permanent immigrants to the USA be tested for exposure to AIDS virus has been issued. Meanwhile, in Sydney, Australia, a thief carried out a successful robbery by rushing into a shop waving a hypodermic syringe, shouting 'I've got AIDS. Open the till or I'll stick this into you'.

There are around 35,000 complaints against the police each year. About half of these are then withdrawn. A study suggests that around one third of these are, in fact, substantially valid. About 8% of the total are eventually officially substantiated. The reasons for the withdrawals are various, and generally unflattering to the police, eg, fear of reprisals.

Twenty of the 100 special constables at West Bromwich have resigned on having been told to attend a law course in their own time.

Merseyside police are to halve the number of officers trained to carry weapons. The emphasis will be on a smaller elite, with high levels of training.

Meanwhile, Derbyshire police are stepping up their preparedness. They are to spend £36,000 on protective clothing. At the moment, they rely on cricket boxes, shin pads and helmets.

There are still conflicting rumours that the Metropolitan Police are to disband the SPG. Presumably, they feel that the average bobby on the beat has now reached a suitable standard of aggression. They are also considering training women for riot control.

The strike record last year is described as the 'best' for fifty years, according to the figures issued by the Department of Employment. The provisional number of industrial disputes was 813, amounting to 6.3 million working days lost through stoppages. This compares with 1,221 disputes taking 27.1 million days in 1984. The average figure between 1975 and 1984 was 11.1 million days lost.

An unknown culprit slipped a ten-second tape of explicit sex into the Afrikaans evening news on television in Johannesburg. The man was black and the woman white. Several employees were fired. The South African Broadcasting Corporation says that they had 'many' phone calls asking for more.

Women have voted for the first time in Lichtenstein. A conservative coalition, containing one woman, was elected.

DP

March AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

IN the words of the CAPR handout, the March Against Police Repression was 'not a protest' but a demonstration of rights. The idea being that, as we marched and chanted our way round London E9, we show that together we are strong and that 'they cannot take our rights from us'.....Hmm!.....Can't they?....

Saturday 25th January was a sunny if chilly day. Whatever it achieved, the march would at least be an empowering statement of our anger and defiance. In the event, all I felt was a little silly, marching only inches away from increasingly irritable police, chanting "Kill the Bill". I wasn't sure who the march was for. The police know how angry we are and reacted eventually with all the violence we expected of them. We taunted them with chants about Harry Roberts, they responded by dragging us off into vans by our hair, and then we got outraged about what bullies they are. But bullying is what they're there for, we know that already. Of course they're violent and sadistic — why provoke them into proving it?

We stopped at Dalston Lane and Stoke Newington police stations and verbally 'showed them our anger'. But they already know! Was it maybe to stir ourselves into a revolutionary frenzy and wait for someone to launch the first brick? Why be so stupid? Is rioting really so glorious?

Was the display, half hearted as it was, for the public then? They just seemed bemused by banners for everything from RCG to Gay and Lesbian groups, and wondered what on earth the march was about. The only communication we really had with them was via leaflets, although the police stopped most being distributed.

If the public heard the slogans about Cheri Groce and Liddle Towers they might have got an inkling of what we were about. Then again, they might also have heard some idiots shouting "Jump" at a heckler in a third storey window. No, we didn't exactly make it clear who's side we were on, only whose side we weren't. What exactly does a slogan like "Kill the Bill" mean to someone shopping in Stoke Newington anyway?

So what is the Campaign Against Police Repression actually about? It does not concentrate on police reform. At the original meeting to organise the march, people clearly wanted a broad based

campaign against, and in defiance of, the police. How do you end police repression without ending the police (as they are, by definition, repressive). Marching and provoking them will not finish them, only lead us into confrontations we cannot win.

They weren't quaking with fear at the sight of us. Yelling at them is a waste of energy and we weren't strong enough to fight them openly, even if that would help. But we can expose them. The value of the march against them is not to 'take them on', but to confront the public with police atrocities and ask of them that they oppose the State and learn to see it for what it is.

Being a small campaign we can do no more at present than serve to educate people about the police. So, as anarchists, we work to spread the anti-state ideas and promote libertarian thinking, thereby growing as a movement that is conscious of itself, its aims and its limitations. To try and fight them now, on the streets, is counter productive as it weakens us and wears us out. I am only glad that on 25th January, the fervour for smashing up police stations that there was at the first CAPR meeting didn't re-emerge. It would have given them the opportunity to wipe the floor with us, and if that happens too many times a campaign can simply burn itself out. Not to mention the horrific machismo involved in choosing to fight the police.

But if the value of the campaign is to educate people about the police, rather than reform or fight them, did it do that either? I don't think so. Partly because we remained locked behind police lines, but also because of the aggression we gave off as a crowd, keeping our ranks closed, we left the public confused and rather concerned. Most of the leaflets being given out were vague and uninformative anyway, unless you already lived in and understood the goals and language of our racial ghetto.

We should have more foresight next time, especially after the Public Order Bill is law, not to appear as mean and noisy as possible. We have to make it clear who we are and what we are saying, and drop this 'if you're not for us you're against us' attitude. The campaign needs to address itself more broadly to people, gaining energy and numbers, not yelling at the police 'brick wall'.

Laura Biding

WANTED: Bound copies of *Anarchy* magazine up to 1967. 17 Pitcullen Terrace, Perth.

BIRMINGHAM 8 ACQUITTED

ON Tuesday 3rd December the trial started at Birmingham Crown Court of eight anarchists who had been charged with going equipped to cause criminal damage and conspiracy with persons unknown to commit a public nuisance in the City of Birmingham. After 2½ days of prosecution evidence, which was based almost entirely on prejudice, suspicion and frame-up, the judge dismissed the charges without even waiting to hear the defence's evidence.

This acquittal left the Birmingham police looking very foolish indeed, especially after all the time and effort they had put into the case — there were about 20 police witnesses! It was certainly a victory (in that eight people were acquitted despite the police really trying to get them), but it should not fool us into thinking that the 'justice' system is unbiased.

It is undeniably part of the State, and thus it must uphold the power of the ruling class. To expect 'justice' from such an institution is simply crazy. But this institution has to try to preserve its facade of "all equal in front of the law" — due to this reason, the Birmingham Eight were acquitted, as were many of the miners charged with riot. So while we still have the space given to us by such liberal facades (and that space is being undermined pretty quickly by the State), we should use them to the maximum effect: ie, get organised now to spread the resistance and escalate the struggle against the State and capitalism.

One of the Birmingham 8

PAUL ROGERS

PAUL Rodgers of Bedford Anarchist Collective has been jailed for a month after his mock assassination attempt on the mayor last May.

He dressed in a combat jacket and 'fired' a toy sub-machine gun. He was found guilty of carrying an imitation firearm with intent to commit an offence. Four charges of common assault were dropped on the direction of the judge.

This judge, Keith Devlin, maintains standards of judicial pomposity: "Every week on television we see the bloody result of terror and political extremism and the cost in terms of human misery and loss of life. Yet you thought out this plan to stage a mock assassination.

"It is difficult to imagine a more mischievous or irresponsible thing to do — or one that shows a greater indifference to the peace of mind of your fellow citizens."

UK Reports

Reading Anarchist Depot

AFTER the success of our summer Free Festival to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of Reading Anarchists, we decided to make a positive statement to 'stuff Christmas' and celebrate the Winter Solstice in a similar way. At this time of the year it needed to be under cover and the site we chose was a disused bus depot awaiting demolition. The event was to be called Abiezer Coppe's Solstice Celebration, named after the seventeenth century Ranter who came to Reading just after the Civil War and conducted himself like a one man 'Bash the Rich' rally.

Our posters and publicity announced that the celebration would be in an old cinema at the other end of town, which gave us a chance to establish ourselves in the old bus depot before we broke the news of the real venue. The old bus depot was in a really bad state and it was not possible to use the site as widely and creatively as we would have wished. The offices were turned into living quarters and the main garage, a building

like an enormous aircraft hangar, was cleared to become the main arena for the bands. A stage was erected and the walls were redecorated with graffiti and anarchist murals. We brought in generators, lights and space heaters and a friendly plumber came in and reconnected the water supply.

This was not the most successful of the three squats we organised in 1985; the building needed more work to put it right than we first imagined, and lack of preparation in some areas brought problems later on site. But the atmosphere on the night of the Solstice was tremendous as five or six hundred people danced and played until 4am.

On the last day of 1985 we read in the local paper (and two days later in *The Times*) that we were to be investigated by Special Branch because of the 'Molotov Cocktail' cartoon strip which appeared in the local fortnightly 'alternative' paper *Red Rag*. (The *Rag* was started by, and is still run by, anarchists. But it serves as a

radical access paper for Reading.) The cartoon in question was the one produced by the CIA for circulation in Nicaragua and reprinted in the *New Statesman*. The police said it was 'deplorable', the local MP was 'appalled' and the editor of the *New Statesman* called us 'unethical'. The local newspaper tried to drum up support for a boycott by shops which stock *Red Rag* and the police tried to persuade shopkeepers to take the 'Molotov' issue off display. We were worried about the many outlets we have in Asian shops, as these were particularly vulnerable to this kind of harassment. As it happens they told police and the press to get stuffed. Many have stocked the *Rag* for the past six years and they carried on stocking it. Only one outlet has refused to take the *Rag* as a result of this item — a white, middle-class health food shop. The local paper ran its 'boycott' story based on interviews with two newsagents who did not, and never have, stocked *Red Rag*.

Most recently, residents in the area around the old bus depot we used for our Solstice festival, have complained about the dangerous and unsightly state of the building. The local paper tried to pin the 'mess' on us as a result of the squat. But the local residents didn't have any complaints about us — we, it was pointed out, were the only people in two years who had cleaned up and used the place!

John Doe

MIDLANDS

ANARCHIST

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Projects

ANARCHIST VIDEO GROUP

FREEDOM is 100. A miracle, if one believed in them, but what of the future? When Kropotkin started the *Freedom Press* there were two ways of communicating; you either spoke to people face to face, or you read. In the situation of a century ago, starting an anarchist press and producing a paper was at the forefront of technology; it was a bold and revolutionary step.

After a hundred years of printed propaganda, how do we propose to celebrate and go into the next hundred? It has been suggested that perhaps we could produce a few anthologies, and possibly update some of the standard works. Now while this is all very desirable, comrades, it is hardly an imaginative leap into the future. Will it consolidate or spread anarchy to a significant audience? (Audience? Yes, everyone is in the audience until you persuade them to join the act or create one of their own.)

Today we live in a global electronic village. The wiring job is almost complete; video, in its various forms, is *the* means of mass communication. Every day the world has a quarter million more people and a

quarter million more television sets. Satellites make broadcasting to any part of the globe possible, and equipment (costing about the same as a decent printing press) enables you, with a little practical ingenuity, to spread the electronic word and image.

I believe we should be thinking about using all this technology to spread the ideas of anarchy to the world. Now would seem to be the time to do it.

Among the *Freedom* collective this suggestion has, I must admit, had a less than enthusiastic response. Perhaps we should think about what we are trying to do. Spreading anarchy as a philosophy which embodies a sustainable and desirable way of life requires that we change present cultural patterns. There will always be the need to do this by all means of communication, but do we really stand any chance if we ignore the biggest single communication development of our lifetime?

While the printed word will always have some effect, I believe its impact will diminish. We may find that literacy was a transient phase in human development, one that is coming to an end. Increasing numbers of people survive in the most advanced societies without its benefits, and this is a trend which is likely to increase. This leaves us with the choice of either following behind as an elite minority, or getting ahead in the culture, and changing it by means appropriate to the culture. In every town there are ten video shops for every bookshop, and probably hundreds for every good book-

shop. In many parts of the world books have been skipped; people go from the bush to the box.

I don't have all the answers to the technical problems. But I am interested in exploring the possibility of anarchist video. As a first step can I ask you to make contact if you are also interested? If we can form a group around the idea, the next step would be to pool knowledge, solve the problem, use the *Freedom* anniversary to raise some money, and make it happen.

If you are interested write to Colin,
c/o *Freedom*.

Colin Johnson

London Anarchist Forum

March 14 Colin Ward
Anarchism and the Informal Economy

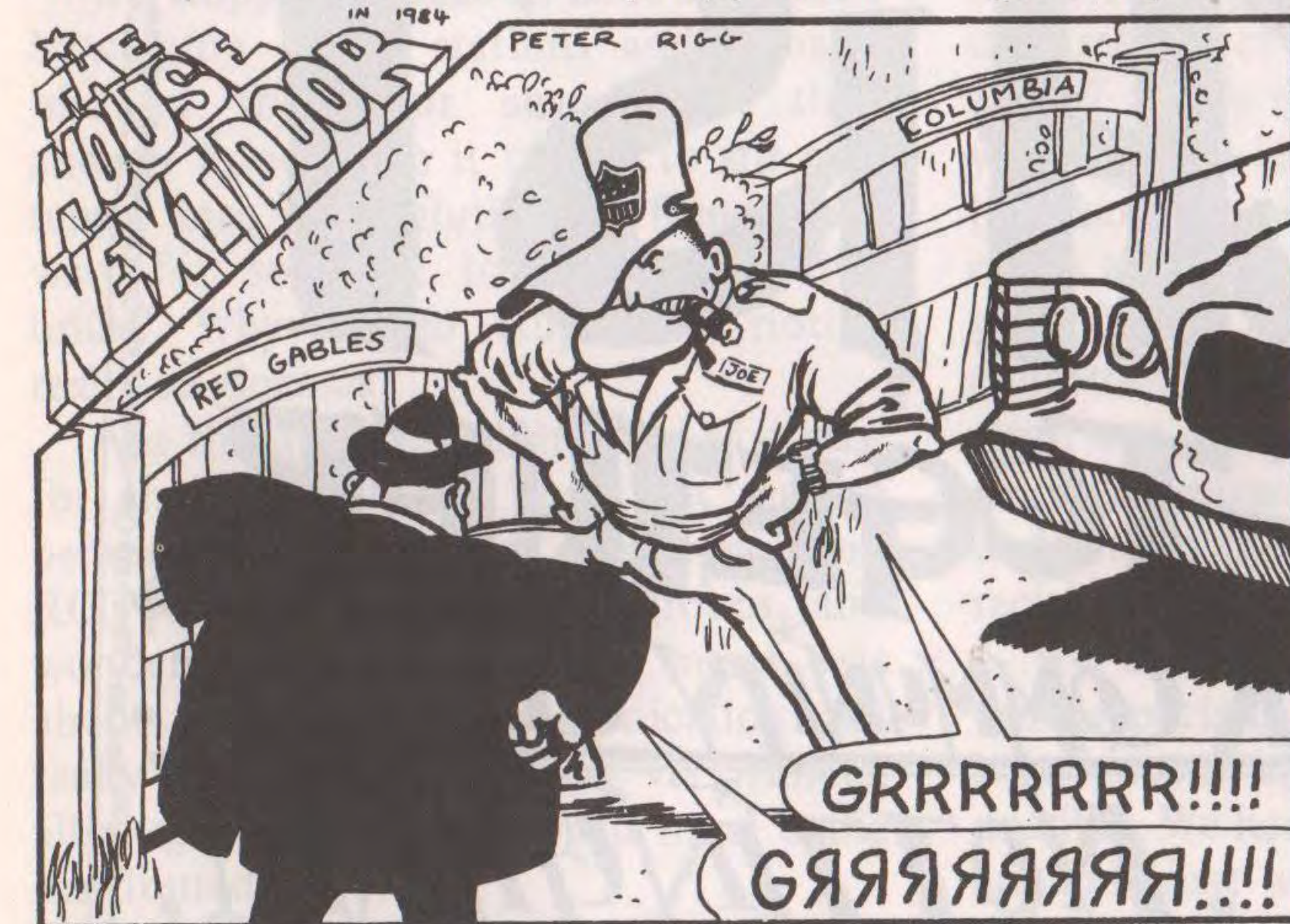
April 18 Andy Brown
What Libertarian Socialism Is

April 25 Mia Moseley
Anarchism: theory and practice

**May 9 Chris Draper
Libertarian Education**

Fridays at 8.00 pm
Mary Ward Centre
42 Queen Square, London WC1

Charlie



Tolerance

IDEOLOGY
THE REAL
ENEMY

THE READERS of *Freedom* are most likely to know that anarchism is a world view that is opposed to the domination of the State, the capitalist system and authoritarianism generally. You would think that this was enough of a 'program' for people to unite around, but no, instead you frequently have a great number of groups and individuals, quarrelling with each other. These disputes are always about security issues and never have anything to do with the main issues, the emphasis is always on what divides rather than what unites. The problem is one of *ideology*, of having a *partial* aspect of the truth and trying to make it the whole truth, ie *my* view of anarchy is the only one worth having!

Is it not strange, people insisting on imposing their form of anarchism on others? What a contradiction! Anarchy cannot be imposed. People will come to libertarian views from many different backgrounds and suggest many different means towards the goal. I don't see how any group that has sacred texts, an *index prohibitori* and indulges in slander about others it *believes* to have different views is really acting in an anarchist fashion. 'Real' anarchists must be ideological and all people who subscribe to what is *essentially* anarchist should be seen as comrades, and disagreements over emphasis or favourite authors, or whatever secondary matter, should be settled through friendly debate. Theory must take precedence over ideology.

Here are a number of dogmas that should be discarded as a means towards building a larger and more effective movement.

1 Pacifist anarchists are really liberals
and a negative, middle class element
within anarchism. What is important
here is not the pacifist anarchist's non-
violent dogma, but rather their posi-
tion on the state and capitalism, the
broader unifying issue.

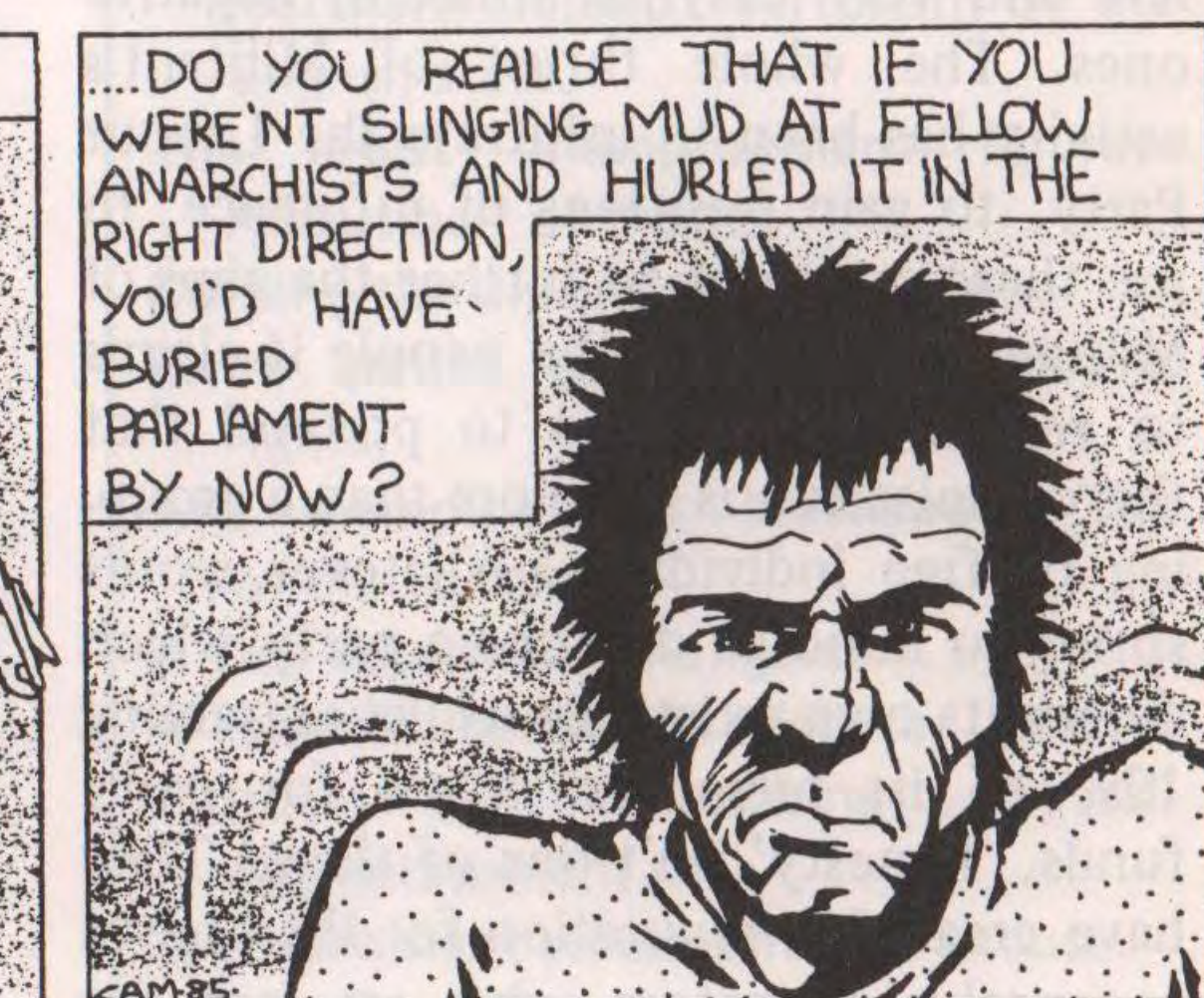
2 Counterculturals, punks and marginals are not truly anarchists, only workers are. This view again ignores the essentials and dwells on the superficial, furthermore it ignores the fact that people have to struggle *where*

they are and that the attempt to build alternatives is an important aspect of anarchism.

3 Syndicalists are not really anarchists because they base themselves upon the working class, which is part of the system and if the workers had self management little would change. It's odd that during two decades of working class revolt there should be people who hold such a view. Besides who really knows what the workers would do if they had control of the factories? To suppose that you know already is arrogant and elitist. This view also ignores the dynamic nature of the revolutionary process, furthermore if it isn't the great bulk of the population that makes the changes who will, some middle class vanguard?

4 Religious anarchism is a contradiction in terms. This view is based upon Bakunin's criticism of the primitive Dictator on a cloud God being the ultimate master. Only problem is religious anarchists don't subscribe to this view of the deity, rather seeing anarchy as the way of god (or goddess). A major reason for the failure of the Mexican revolution was the anti-religious dogma; the syndicalist workers sided with the liberals against the peasant anarchist Zapatistas because they mistook the campesinos religiosity for political reaction.

5 The Marx-Bakunin debate. How much longer must their silly ego battle wreck the potential unity of all libertarian socialists? How much longer will anarchists dogmatically refuse to learn anything from Marx and



engage in the most childish Marx-bashing? Any attempt at objective research shows that Marx was not the authoritarian state socialist that Bakunin made out and that what he was really describing was German Social Democracy over which Marx had minimal influence. The 'Marxism' that we anarchists abhor is in fact an ideology compounded from the writings of La Salle, Kautsky and Lenin, whose ideas have little in common with the author of *Capital*. The anti-Marx dogma also ignores the contributions of those who are both Marxist and libertarian such as Anton Pannëkoek and Joseph Dietzgen, not to mention the fact that the syndicalist movements of the US and Canada were largely the work of libertarian Marxists and not Bakuninists.

6 People who are less militant or who have made compromises that we don't like are not anarchists. Here we have the sad spectacle of the 2 CNT's, the expulsion of the Swedish SAC for handling unemployment insurance, etc. Let's face it, everyone compromises, if you don't you'd be in jail. There are no pure tactics, but obviously there are compromises and compromises. The 'revolutionary' CNT *joining the government* in 1937 is not the same league as the 'reformist' SAC getting dole for its members. We may disagree with what others do, but we have to face the fact that there are going to be a broad range of approaches and that browbeating and name-calling only make the situation worse. Only practice will show which action is correct for these times.

If we could overcome these superficial and divisive disputes and dwell upon the essential, think of the impact that we might have! Ordinary folks hate quibbling and blather, seeing it as a lack of seriousness. We don't need a collection of tiny sects but a broad anti-authoritarian movement that can unite all the discontented. Such a movement could begin to break the hegemony of statism and lay the groundwork for a free society.

Lawrence Gambone

Lawrence Gambone

Trotskyism

TELLING LIES FOR SOCIALISM

ONE of the main factors in the rotten state of British politics today is the appalling nature of so much of what is currently going on in the British left under the direct influence of the Trotskyists. Their record stinks when it is considered independently of the rhetoric which they use to justify themselves.

At the worst extreme there is the Workers' Revolutionary Party which has split so often that it's a miracle it survives at all. For years, whenever the least opposition to Gerry Healy was voiced, the opponents were expelled and those who were expelled were often physically attacked as well. The only serious industrial grouping they had, around Alan Thorne in Oxford's Cowley Plant, was thrown out over a tiny difference of line. Those who remained in the WRP, like Cliff Slaughter and Michael Banda, joined in a chorus of abuse of Thorne and covered up Healy's weaknesses. Now it is even being suggested, by long-standing party hacks who ought to be in the know, that the WRP wrote favourable articles on various obnoxious Middle European regimes which enabled them to shoot opponents returning from Britain, and that Healy himself indulged in various acts of sexual exploitation of young female comrades. The suggestions sound very plausible, but what we are also asked to believe is that Banda and Slaughter, etc, knew all about these goings on and kept their mouths shut for years out of party loyalty — an astonishing confession.

The Militant 'tendency', by comparison, seems more reputable, but it is very hard to think of any positive contribution which Militant has made to the British left and very easy to think of negative ones. The whole thrust of Militant's activity has been to infiltrate the Labour Party, to gain positions of influence, to use these positions to further the aims of Militant rather than the people it claims to represent, and then to pretend that the organisation is no more than a grouping of free individuals. Whatever words spring to mind to describe a party which denies its own existence whilst extracting 12% of its members' wages for party funds, 'honesty' isn't one of them! They have created a reputation for themselves as sneaky operators who are out for public office and who pump local govern-

ment money into their own friends' projects. Derek Hatton is the sort of person who can engineer a well-paid job for himself which he doesn't have to turn up at because he's come to an understanding with his comrades that it's in the public interest to pay him a local government salary to be a professional politician. Militant preferred to move one of their members down from Brent to represent the Liverpool black community rather than risk placing power in the hands of a local figure who just might possess an independent spirit.

Militant are, of course, not the only group suffering from enteritis. The International Marxist Group, after years of claiming principled opposition to the reformists, appeared en masse in the Labour Party and pretended that they too had ceased to exist — they just happened to make the same decision to join the same Party at the same time and keep in contact for old time's sake! However, not all Trotskyist groups have caught the bug. The Socialist Workers' Party remains, to its credit, honestly outside an organisation whose ideals it does not share.

The SWP has, though, quite enough faults of its own. Being a Marxist Party, it believes in democratic centralism, and a lot of people have joined the organisation hoping to make use of this democracy. However, once they join they are faced with a list of things which they are not allowed to do. They are not allowed to criticise any SWP policies to non-members, so that the organisation speaks in public with one mind. They are allowed to form short-lived factions to argue for changes in policy at the national conference, but they must disband if they are defeated and not persist with 'damaging splits'. They were asked to participate in Rank and File organisations in unions regardless of local conditions — and were then asked to disband them all, regardless of success, thus dedicating people to years of furious activism and then admitting it was all a waste of time. They discover that certain work, such as support for a strike, comes first and that other work, such as fighting on women's issues, comes second, and that the Party will decide which is the priority. The result is a history of people entering the party with the best of

intentions and then leaving either over some minor disagreement over the correct line or because they are fed up with being bossed about by some arrogant local leader.

This brings me on to the worst product of the Trotskyist groups — members who cannot leave because they see their own lives as inextricably linked with that of the Party. This phenomenon can be observed in fringe religious groups as well as in political parties and essentially it consists of using groups as a prop for insecurity and isolation. The organisation provides an identity for individuals who are not sure of their own value as human beings, it gives them a sense of belonging, it provides them with a set of simplified explanations which make a complicated world capable of understanding and it gives the individual a 'home for the soul'. This set of emotional supports can be immensely powerful and give great comfort but it is also massively destructive of the individual's own personality. People become fearful of betraying the group by stepping out of line and cannot face the cold world outside its protection. The individual gains status by having proved loyalty over a number of years and is both keen to demonstrate this status to new recruits and afraid of losing it by speaking of something unpleasant about the group. In extreme cases the individual becomes incapable of expressing an opinion on any subject without first checking that it fits in with the party line.

Faced with the cloned mind and the ritual chanting of the Spartacists, or the frantic paper-selling of some other Trots, most ordinary people's reaction is quite a sensible one. They don't want anything to do with it and they sure as hell don't want to live in a world run by such people.

However, it's not enough to just knock others. We need to continue the work of constructing alternatives. I propose that the way forward is to stick by a few simple organisational guidelines:

1. Say what you honestly think, not what some theory says you ought to think. If the evidence of your eyes contradicts your theory (and I include anarchist theory under this), ditch the theory, don't go blind.
2. Don't join organisations whose ideals you don't share simply because they are bigger than you. Campaign openly and honestly whenever you can and if you can't form your own organisations and have to join someone else's (eg a union at work), don't try to take it over unless the majority agree with you and you want to help. Argue for your ideas instead.
3. Never ask for something you don't really want in order to take 'workers' through the experience. Campaign for things which are worth winning (and preferably which may be won soon).

YOU ANARCHISTS ARE SO TIRESOME. RATHER THAN ANSWERING YOUR ARGUMENTS AGAINST STATE SOCIALISM, WE LEFTIST INTELLECTUALS PREFER TO SIMPLY ADOPT A SMUG FACIAL EXPRESSION IMPLYING THAT WE KNOW SOMETHING THAT YOU DON'T.



I JUST HOPE THE BLUFF IS NEVER CALLED.

4. If you are in an organisation, don't be scared to disagree with each other in public and to accept varieties of opinions. You don't have to have a split every time you disagree over what's happening in Nicaragua.

5. Respect the rights of minorities. Listen to what others have to say and try to avoid imposing the majority will on them until there's no alternative.

6. Participate in campaigns and actions when you want to, not when others make you feel guilty. This will lower your political activity in the short term but enable you to be active for much longer and to be more effective (you will sound like you mean what you say not like you would rather be at home).

7. Accept that no one organisation has a monopoly on the truth. Just because other people belong to other organisations or tendencies doesn't make everything they say wrong.

8. Trust people who are putting forward sensible ideas now (they are the only leaders we need). Never trust anyone calling themselves a leader and thus assuming the right to have all their ideas treated as if they were all good ones.

If all these guidelines were stuck to by all the people currently arguing for socialism, there is no doubt that the socialist movement would temporarily shrink in effectiveness. It would control fewer councils, hand out less patronage, manipulate fewer front organisations, and sell a lot fewer papers. It would also cease to drive away in disillusion thousands of recruits a year and provide the basis for a libertarian socialist movement which could be trusted. We might then stand some realistic chance of helping to promote revolutionary consciousness. Some people might call this a dangerously anarchistic point of view; but then again, I can think of worse things to be accused of!

A K Brown

Free Puff

PLEASE can you put something in *Freedom* to let people know about the cafe we have opened at The Blue House, 2 - 4 Homerton Street, Hackney, London E9. Open 1:00 to 5:00, Tues, Wed, Thurs. Very cheap vegetarian food, needs more people to eat it. Also an art exhibition, contributions welcome. Parties every other Friday evening from 1:00pm. Come and see. Thanks,

Pinkie

STATE EUPHEMISMS



- A more pragmatic government:** Even fewer moral principles than the last regime.
- Not an iron fist policy:** A covert iron fist policy.
- Wage restraint:** The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.
- Government economic policy:** The means for fulfilling the above.
- Hawks and Doves:** Homicidal maniacs of varying degrees of blatantness.
- The Free World:** Those exploited by capitalists rather than communists.
- Denationalisation:** A sneaky way of replenishing government coffers and doing their propertied friends a favour at the same time.
- Recession:** An excuse for government incompetence.
- Industrial recovery:** A lesser form of recession.
- Nationalist:** Imperialist.
- N.A.T.O. member:** U.S. satellite.
- Nuclear power station:** Bomb factory.
- Military manoeuvres (especially off the coast of Libya):** Armed provocation.
- Dogmatic:** An obsessive ideologist.
- Reaganomics:** Increased poverty and unemployment for the poor.
- A government forecast of increased prosperity:** Upper-middle-class tory voters can buy bigger cars.
- Nuclear deterrent:** Suicidal revenge.
- A democratically elected leader:** Someone who less than 30% of the population voted for, and only then because most of them didn't like the other parties.
- A misunderstanding between secretaries of state:** A web of lies.
- The Labour Party:** The alternative Conservative Party.
- The S.D.P.-Liberal Alliance:** Ditto.
- An independent judge:** A paid state official.
- An internal police enquiry:** A white-wash.
- An effective policy against terrorism in Northern Ireland:** Terrorism by the English state.
- The latest unemployment figures:** About half of them.
- Curbing the unions:** Bashing them.
- Extra police powers:** Fewer public rights.
- An unemployment blackspot:** The whole country.
- A free country:** An oligarchy.
- A crucial commons debate:** Several hours of joke-cracking and self-aggrandisement.
- A government statement:** An excuse.

Johnny Yen

Theory GODWIN AND ANARCHISM

WILLIAM GODWIN is well known as an early theorist of anarchism in this country. He was born in 1756 into a family of Calvinist ministers, whose example he followed until he lost first his vocation and then his faith. After failing as a preacher and also as a teacher, he became a professional writer. As well as producing all sorts of hackwork, he wrote in the interest of the radical Whigs, but in the 1790s he reacted to the French Revolution by going beyond mere radicalism or liberalism in his two best-known books, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) and *Things as They Are, or The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794), a theoretical and a fictional assault on all established power, which were very widely read for some time (*Political Justice* went into three editions in five years, and *Caleb Williams* went into five editions in 37 years). He also achieved recognition for his very effective defence of civil liberties during the treason trials of 1794 and his less effective critique of Malthus's theory of population in 1801 and 1820. He married the well-known writer Mary Wollstonecraft in 1797, but she died a few months later after giving birth to their daughter Mary (who eventually eloped with Shelley and wrote *Frankenstein*).

Godwin was briefly famous and influential, but he quickly went into a long decline. Although he continued to produce novels and essays, as well as more hackwork, he fell into increasing obscurity and poverty. His second marriage was unhappy, and his publishing and bookselling business was unsuccessful. At the very end of his life, following the Reform Bill of 1832, he was given a government sinecure by his old Whig friends. (Ironically, he was officially in charge of the fire precautions at the Houses of Parliament when they were burnt down in 1834!) He died peacefully, exactly 150 years ago, on 7 April 1836.

'Political Justice'

Godwin's main political work was *Political Justice*, although there are many significant passages in various novels and collections of essays, and it has been found

important by generations of readers. William Hazlitt said in the best single thing ever written about Godwin, the essay in *The Spirit of the Age* (1825):

The author of *Political Justice* and of *Caleb Williams* can never die; his name is an abstraction in letters; his works are standard in the history of intellect No work in our time gave such a blow to the philosophical mind of the country as the celebrated *Enquiry Concerning Justice* Truth, moral truth, it was supposed, had here taken up its abode; and these were the oracles of thought.

Like the less profound but more penetrating writings of his friend Thomas Paine, it is seldom described in textbooks or discussed by students, but it has had a life of its own, and its author has never been forgotten.

Godwin planned a fourth edition of *Political Justice* in 1832, during a later period of revolution and reform, but could find no publisher. However, in 1842, at the peak of the Chartist movement, the leading socialist and secularist publisher James Watson produced a new edition which went on selling until the 1870s and which found favour among political and religious radicals. And in 1876 C. Kegan Paul produced a detailed biography. But Godwin lost favour just at the time of the rise of the socialist and anarchist movements, during the 1880s, and he has had little direct influence on the left for more than a century.

Nevertheless books on his life and work and new editions of his great book have continued to appear. The section on property from *Political Justice* was published in 1890. In 1926 a new biography and an abridged edition of *Political Justice* appeared. In 1946, just after the Second World War, two important books appeared — a major edition by F.E.L. Priestley of *Political Justice*, giving the text of the third edition with variants from the first two editions and containing a long introduction and notes; and George Woodcock's *William Godwin*, a short sympathetic biography with detailed accounts of *Political Justice* and Godwin's

anarchism. (Woodcock had previously edited a pamphlet, *Selections from Political Justice*, published by Freedom Press in 1943.) Since then there have been other editions of *Political Justice* — an abridged edition by K. Codell Carter in 1971 and a complete edition by Isaac Kramnick in the Pelican Classics in 1976 — and several books on Godwin — including a new study of his anarchism by John Clark in 1977 and a new biography by Don Locke in 1980.

New books

The two most recent books have been produced by Peter Marshall — *William Godwin* (Yale University Press, 1984, £15.95) and *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin* (Freedom Press, 1986, paperback £3.50). The former is the longest biography for a century (twice as long as Woodcock's) and the most useful single book on the subject still available. The latter is a short anthology of relevant extracts arranged thematically — similar to the anthologies of Kropotkin in 1942, Bakunin in 1953, Malatesta in 1965, and Proudhon in 1969 (the first and third published by Freedom Press).

The biography is scholarly but readable, sympathetic but not uncritical. Marshall concentrates on the intellectual and political rather than the emotional and personal side of Godwin, and takes him seriously for his own sake rather than as the subject for a thesis. He doesn't add much new information, but he has picked up a great deal of material and put it together in an accessible and attractive way. In a sensible and satisfying conclusion he describes Godwin as in general 'an authentic human being, a truly creative writer, and one of the great humanists in the Western tradition', and in particular as 'the first great theoretical exponent of anarchism and a major political thinker'.

The anthology illustrates this latter aspect of Godwin. It contains nearly 200 passages, well over half from *Political Justice* (all but two from the third edition of 1798), arranged in sections — the 'Summary of Principles' reproduced from the original (with an unfortunate confusion of pages), and then 'Human Nature', 'Ethics', 'Politics', 'Economics', 'Education', and 'Free Society'. Most of the passages included deserve their place and there are few serious omissions (though I miss some of the good bits of the first edition which were later discarded); the arrangement and transcription are generally well done (though I notice a few small slips). There are also a preface, a 40-page introduction, clear reference notes, and a basic bibliography. The result is an excellent little guide to Godwin — as Marshall puts it, 'not intended . . . as a substitute but as an arrow to the works themselves'.

Rediscovery

There are no major mistakes or misunderstandings in the editorial material, but one minor error which is worth pursuing is the account of Godwin's reappearance in the consciousness of the anarchist movement. Marshall says that Godwin 'was virtually lost to the main international anarchist tradition in the nineteenth century' and that 'it was Kropotkin who rediscovered Godwin for the anarchist movement in our century'. He repeats the common claim that Proudhon mentioned Godwin only once as a communist; but in fact there is an intriguing passage in the *Carnets* (Notebooks) for July 1850, in which Proudhon in prison reflected how his ideas had been anticipated by earlier writers:

If the propositions are taken separately, only a very small number of them, perhaps none, will be found which really belong to me; what constitutes my personal work is linking them, is the combined effect. *Prop. is theft!* how many writers said it before me! — None that I know affirmed it as the conclusion of an economic demonstration. — *Anarchy!* (cf. Godwin). — No one to my knowledge tried to prove the matter

This wasn't published until 1968, and it seems unlikely that Proudhon actually read Godwin (who did try to prove the matter), but he clearly recognised his significance, and he can hardly have been alone.

Later the Austrian academic writer Anton Menger produced *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour* (published in German in 1886), a history of socialism which noted that Godwin had anticipated 'all the ideas of recent socialism and anarchism' and that he had adopted 'the position of modern anarchists', although his 'anarchical ideas had no direct influence on socialism'. The English translation (published in 1899) contained a long introduction by the British academic writer H.S. Foxwell, similarly noting that Godwin's theory was 'a combination of the purest communism with the most anarchic individualism' and amounted to 'an anarchical communism'. (Marshall refers to this book in his biography, but seems to have missed its relevance.)

When the essay on property was published in 1890, the editor Henry Salt, a well-known campaigner and writer on the left, also noted Godwin's 'anarchist principles'. At the same time Max Nettlau, then an active anarchist and later the first and greatest historian of anarchism, recognised Godwin's position in his first historical publication, *The Historical Development of Anarchism* (published in German in 1890), and in his *Bibliography of Anarchy* (published in French in 1897) — describing *Political Justice* in



the former as 'an unsurpassable, through-and-through anarchist book' and in the latter as 'the first strictly anarchist book'. And when Paul Eltzbacher, the German academic writer, produced his widely read study *Anarchism* (published in German in 1900 and soon translated into several languages), he discussed Godwin as one of the seven main exponents of anarchism. (Marshall also refers to the last two books, but again seems to have missed their relevance.)

It might easily be objected that these various acknowledgements of Godwin's position may not have been known to ordinary anarchists. But it should be noted that Salt's edition was reviewed in *Freedom* in January 1891, with the anonymous comment that 'Godwin was the first Englishman who declared himself an anarchist'; in fact he wasn't, of course, but the comment does show that his significance was recognised in the anarchist movement much earlier than is realised by Marshall or indeed most other writers on the subject. (I owe this and some of the other references to Heiner Becker.)

Kropotkin, far from leading the way in the anarchist rediscovery of anarchism, merely followed it, not mentioning Godwin until the first version of *Modern Science and Anarchism* (published in Russian in 1901), when he described Godwin as 'the first theorist of stateless socialism, that is, anarchism'. Again, it seems unlikely that Kropotkin actually read Godwin (he probably got it all from Nettlau), but he clearly recognised his significance, and when he emphasised it in his article on 'Anarchism' in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910), it was established once and for all.

Philosophy and poetry

Godwin is certainly well worth reading, whatever your political views, but the question remains of how far he really is an anarchist. Of course he never called himself one — nor did anyone else until Proudhon claimed the word in *What is Property?* in 1840. At the end of his life he explained his position as follows: 'In principle and theory I am avowedly a republican, but in practice a Whig.' But he took republicanism to its logical conclusion, wanting political and economic power to be devolved until it disappeared. He saw 'anarchy' as a period of crisis and chaos which could lead either on to liberty or back to tyranny. Whatever his

theory, in practice he was at most what was later called a libertarian (though not a 'Libertarian', since even if he would have accepted a 'minimal state' he still rejected private property).

Nevertheless his theory did amount to what was later called anarchism; he argued for a rational combination of extreme individualism and extreme communism, involving the deliberate abolition of both authority and property. But at the same time he argued against the emotional 'tumult and violence', which he considered would prevent such a conclusion but which most subsequent anarchists have considered would produce it. Thus he favoured free thought and free expression, but not free action or free life. He was a libertarian of ideas, but not of deeds. He opposed revolution, and also rebellion and often even reform. As his former comrade John Thelwall complained in 1796, as the upheaval prompted by the French Revolution subsided, the paradox of Godwin's position was that

it should at once recommend the most extensive plan of freedom and innovation ever discussed by any writer in the English language, and reprobate every measure from which even the most moderate reform can rationally be expected.

Godwin was above all, as Marshall says, 'the most profound exponent of philosophical anarchism' — anarchism in the head — and in the end his influence has always been intellectual rather than truly political. Perhaps the best form Godwinism has taken has been in poetry or near-poetry — Shelley's *Queen Mab*, *Laon and Cythna*, and *Prometheus Unbound* (a marvellous quotation from the latter appears in Marshall's anthology, as in Woodcock's biography), John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Oscar Wilde's *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, William Morris's *A Dream of John Ball* and *News from Nowhere*, Edward Carpenter's *Non-Governmental Society* and Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England*, and such later writers as Herbert Read and Alex Comfort.

The point is that anarchism is indeed a beautiful dream, but not therefore just an impossible utopia. It is a perfectly good answer to most political questions; the final — and fundamental — question is whether people really want it. This was Godwin's problem nearly two centuries ago; it is still our problem today. NW

Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, edited by Isaac Kramnick and published by Penguin Books, £4.95. *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin*, edited by Peter Marshall and published by Freedom Press, £3.50. Both available from Freedom Bookshop (add 10% for postage).

Language

WHO FEELS IT, KNOWS IT — AND NAMES IT

MEANWHILE, back in Handsworth, the workers' struggle continues, and here on paper, another white middle class intellectual voices an opinion. The thing about riots, however, is that the people involved in them are neither workers nor intellectuals, but rioters. Suddenly a new word has to be created. The categories of the left which see rebellion in isolated terms of unemployment, lack of investment, etc, and those of the right, which refuse to see beyond words like criminals and hooligans, are obviously inadequate. Although a riot can be interpreted as class struggle or hooliganism, its strength is that in spite of the establishment's inevitable lack of understanding, it has set its own terms from the very beginning.

People of all sorts are potential rioters and revolutionaries, but most civil disorder in Britain receives its impetus from young blacks. United to some extent by the Rastafarian movement, they are successful in creating the revolutionary moment most of us dream of. So what is it that enables or forces them to act and leaves so many of us waiting for the opportunity?

For a start it is undeniable that black people in Britain are more oppressed than the rest of us, but this in itself is insufficient a reason because the whole point of oppression is to keep people down, and fortunately it isn't working that well. What prevents oppression from reaching that degree of thoroughness is the moment when people realize their situation. As consciousness and awareness of it grow, rebellion against it becomes inevitable. But as we all know, awareness is not enough on its own, for often all we have is awareness of a vacuum, a gap in the established consciousness for our own emotions and experiences. Only when these gaps have been filled through the naming of our experiences and the development of a genuine and appropriate consciousness, will there be action.

Words invoke tremendous powers and give existence to ideas and experiences which are meaningless without them. What the languages of people struggling against the system — especially blacks and women — have in common is their success in creating words for experiences for which the language of the establishment has no

name. The particular experiences of being hassled by the police one day, intimidated in the dole office the next and running out of money the day after remain isolated and distinct, as do all the people who suffer similarly all over the world, until united by a word. The experience is there, but it is sealed out by language until named by those who feel it. The establishment will insist it doesn't exist. But when someone says to you, this is oppression, half the battle is won if you recognise the word and claim it for your own.

Even 'oppression' hasn't really worked. The experience of blacks in Handsworth is one of Downpression. Now there's a revolutionary word — it's like oppression, but it says perfectly what it is to be sat upon for centuries. Downpressed. Downpressed people Uprise much more forcefully than oppressed ones. Take the white-racist-militarist-technologically-exploitative state too. Babylon. It's hard to hold all the bad things about the West in your head with a petrol bomb in your hand, but when you're throwing one at Babylon, no problem.

Words like these — to name a few I've heard on the lips of Britain's reggae artists — create revolutions. Imagine trying to explain Revolution as we understand it if the word wasn't there. Moreover, imagine trying to have one — there would be nothing to have! Consciousness raising groups have allowed women to explore the ways in which language legitimises and perpetuates oppression. Wimmin have emerged strengthened in their recognition of the Phallocracy; the Sisterhood exists, as international and historical in meaning as the unity of black people, where before there was isolation, self-denigration and individual struggle. Although the naming of the Patriarchy or of Babylon is not enough, once we recognise their existence they have to be attacked. It is impossible to understand such injustice and live within it without compromise, and ours is an age in which compromise is no longer a valid alternative.

The political power behind language is immense and we have to recognise that the whole framework is shaped to enforce and reinforce established ideology. Words have been monopolised by the establishment — indeed, they have

always been the province of the white man — and are distorted or destroyed in its attempt to rid our new communities of meaning. Look what has happened to the word 'drug' for example. Merely by its use in the media it has united cannabis and heroin, utterly distorting actual differences and creating vast misunderstandings in the process. How can a press which doesn't even notice the joke when it writes about Douglas Hurd being stoned ever hope to communicate the circumstances it is describing?! The revolutionary circumstances are here right now; deprivation, the seeds of fascism, the destruction of the environment, the colonization of space, censorship, police oppression, the nuclear state etc etc. Our horror at what is happening is in danger of petrifying us and rendering us speechless, and we will only be able to act in a meaningful way when we realize our power in our own terms and with our own words.

When words are used in a revolutionary way they will lead to revolution. When people realize steak is meat and meat is the death of a living thing, they stop eating meat. When the cries of the natural world are heard and safeguarded by Greens, Green becomes a potent political force. We have to reclaim words from the establishment rather than allowing them to be used against us. Greenham, the very word, means something terrifying and negative to some, positive and revolutionary to others, and symbolises the security of the nation to still more. Its physical future — and ours — depends on which meaning prevails. Rastafarians are responsible for the riots in Handsworth because they have created a culture which, in naming its experiences itself, is revolutionary.

Unless the anarchist movement can spontaneously generate a language to which people will respond because it is their language and has come from them, it will be ineffective in itself and will have to be content to see the women's movement and others who have appropriated language for themselves forging the new society. Well maybe we should all go our own ways and fight our own battles. But we do need a broad anarchist label to unite within, and we desperately need the development of an anarchic consciousness in order to do so. We've been saying 'Fuck the system' and using its words to do so for too long. Words are the most wonderful and powerful symbols in our culture and we must not ignore their exploitation, nor let it become an intellectual problem. Words are ours — and who are we?

Sadie Plant

Sexuality FANTASIES OF FREEDOM

IN the wake of the present discussion in *Freedom* about pornography it might be worth casting a critical eye over the concept of sexual repression which underlies much of the argument.

Particularly since the 1960's radicals have drawn on the ideas of Wilhelm Reich concerning the relationship between sex and liberation. The most common proposal has been that in addition to the transformation of economic relations in society a successful revolution must involve lifting social constraints on 'natural' sexual activity. These constraints are seen as operating via the nuclear family, and originating from the economic needs of patriarchal capitalism. Thus the nuclear family is the agent of the state — suppressing sexuality and producing personality-types suited to capitalist exploitation.

Reichian Sex-Pol.

But whatever his merits as a social critic Reich's theories are actually pretty hopeless. They consist largely of logical absurdities in a totally inadequate methodology (In *Psychoanalysis & Feminism* Juliet Mitchell provides an effective demolition of his theories, but one which fully appreciates the value of many of his observations and insights). From the start Reich attempted to incorporate psychoanalytic concepts into his social theories. In practice he managed to save only the jargon, abandoning for the most part the *psychological* meanings. For example for 'sexuality' Reich substituted 'genital sexuality'. But he equated this with 'instincts' of genital sexuality which he supposed were present in the child from the beginning (even in the womb). Whereas the whole point of psychoanalysis has always been that *whatever* may be instinctive the *psychological* development of the individual is crucial. For Reich though straightforward *biological* instincts are confronted with suppression from parents, society etc — external forces only. Personality or character is formed from this conflict without psychological mediation.

Similarly, character was equated with the Oedipus complex which in

turn was a direct reflection of the structure of the nuclear family and indeed of the authoritarian state. The whole tenor of the psychoanalytic approach is lost, what the individual psyche *brings to* experience is no longer crucial. Sexual repression for Reich (and to a lesser extent for the 'neofreudians' — Erich Fromm, Karen Horney etc) is basically *behavioural conditioning*, where rewards and punishments determine the expression in behaviour of sexual instincts. But as Freud realised, and as over half a century of psychoanalysis since Freud stresses, repression originates from the child's (and adult's) idiosyncratic psychological treatment of experience. Experience *doesn't* just mean the parents' prohibitions and strictures, because the child perceives these in the context of her relationships with the parents. Experience also includes the unconscious and conscious conflicts, fears, fantasies and anxieties about those relationships, about sexual feelings and the body in general. To reduce all of this to instincts versus culture gives a picture as banal as those painted by behaviourists of human society and potential.



The Suppression of Sexual Psychology

What has happened is that popular and psychoanalytic meanings of 'repression' are used interchangeably when they are in fact distinct. 'Social repression' (perhaps best called 'suppression') may influence 'psychological repression', but by no means in any simple or direct fashion. This ruins the current version of Reichian sex-politics, which requires them to be the same. The misunderstanding also allows other confusions to flourish. The rise of openly restrictive and interventionist social policy concerning

sexuality is described as sexual repression. It is then assumed to be identical to the psychological sense of repression, when it could hardly be more different. Several recent expositions of the development of the family and *discourse* on sexuality make this point very clearly (eg Michel Foucault [1981] *The History of Sexuality*; Christopher Lasch [1977] *Haven in a Heartless World*; Jacques Donzelot [1979] *The Policing of Families*). The growing crescendo in the 19th century urging the suppression of childhood sexuality is complemented by the modern trend of monitoring and talking about sex instead of doing it. Neither of these have ever had the effect of *suppressing sex as such*. If this is hard to accept remember that the borrowing of psychoanalytic terms was due to the realisation that the *psychological* importance of sexuality was more important for social analysis than the mechanics of bodies interacting. Sexuality is (at least) as psychological as it is physical-behavioural. Sexual emotion and desire are not *abolished* by psychological repression — they are channeled, distorted and diverted away from what is conventionally seen as 'normal' sexuality when expressed in behaviour. Social repression directly influences actual sexual activity by making individuals more secretive, for example. Social and psychological repression of sexuality interact in very complex ways. So the invasion of the state, welfare, scientists and experts into personal life has no *direct* relevance to psychological repression. Reich, Marcuse, Norman Brown and others *thought* they were integrating psychoanalytic notions of repression into their political and social theory. All too often they were either simplifying them beyond usefulness or smuggling in conditioning under the guise of psychological jargon dressed up with marxist ideology.

If social and psychological repression are so distinct it follows that lifting the former will *not* provide sexual emancipation. As in the sixties it may be possible for people to delude themselves that they are now sexually 'free' — the main freedom achieved was the improved access of deluded radical men to uneasy radical women.

Of course it will be necessary to break social suppression of sex in many areas, maybe all, I'm not sure. But to believe that to do so would on its own produce natural human sexuality is just as naive as ignoring the personal dimension altogether, and relying on economic change alone to achieve a 'real' revolution.

Tom Jennings
Newcastle upon Tyne



Exasperating

I'D like to say a few words in reply to Stiv Bator's letter in *Freedom* (January).

I find it hard to share Bator's opinions. Firstly, is *Class War* really a 'mass circulation' paper? I thought this phrase meant sales in millions, not a few thousand. What is *Class War*'s 'enormous impact'? Apart from a few trashed cars and some shock-horror headlines, precious little. They certainly don't get the *Sun* running articles showing the positive nature of anarchism! Secondly, is 'revolutionary syndicalism' really the 'tried and tested' form of anarchism which will lead us to the millennium? I wonder why we aren't walking around in the post-revolutionary utopia now! Or perhaps syndicalism has some draw-backs after all.

I believe the real progress will only come when anarchists accept that anarchism has been in the past, and is likely to remain in the future, a *minority viewpoint*. Rather than attempt getting into the headlines in such a negative manner, which may get you on the 6 o'clock news but doesn't convince anybody, we should address our efforts at those most likely to be sympathetic to our view, be they in the unions, in the Labour Party or whatever. More important still, when we make our propaganda we must base our arguments on firm foundations. These are not lacking; Colin Ward's *Anarchy* magazine and writers such as Murray Bookchin, provide a modern and well-argued vision of anarchism. More contributions at this level are what is needed. Merely throwing bricks through windows, glueing locks, trashing cars, no matter how deserving the victims, only gets the sort of knee-jerk response that precludes any dialogue, discussion or argument. Too many anarchists are being heavily fined and even imprisoned as a result of 'actions' of at best dubious value to the propagation of anarchism. I think clarity of thought and argument are just as important as *relevant* action. Things might go better for the movement if we thought a little more before we acted. We may have rather longer to ponder our errors in less comfortable circumstances if we do not.

Jonathan Simcock
Bedford

Common Sense

STIV Bator's letter in the January issue contained a lot of common sense. With regard to the filming of delegate conferences, modern technology (anathema, I know, to some anarchists) makes it possible for them to be shown live on giant video screens to every community involved. Computer networks would mean that decisions could be taken on the issues immediately by the assembled community, and then relayed back. A conference involving every single person in a society is possible given the technology, with nil chance of a 'sell-out'. (See Solidarity pamphlet *Workers' Councils and the Economics of a Self-Managed Society*). A delegate could be contacted by telephone during the conference and told to make any points he had neglected to. This, together with free access to all forms of media, would ensure total democracy.

As far as Berni's bit about 'heartless thugs' goes, I have to at least partially agree. The realisation that an effective revolution will probably involve violence does not mean we have to revel in it. Our line should be: as little violence as possible, as much as is necessary. However, I fail to understand how Berni can have respect for a deceased racist hooligan.

Chris
Streatham

A.S. Neil Project

I AM doing an M Ed degree at Liverpool University, and have started my dissertation on A.S. Neill's influence on (special) education.

I would like to hear from teachers, social workers, residential care staff, etc. who are sympathetic to Neill's ideas, and have been influenced by them in their work. I would also be interested in hearing from ex-Summerhill pupils, or anyone who has paid a visit there.

Mary Dixon
Moston Cottage,
Moston, Stanton,
nr Shawbury, Shropshire.

White Lion Street Free School

IN the article 'Summerhill, Education & Anarchy' (December 1985) there is a reference to White Lion Street Free School as being an example of a school run by a staff/parent co-operative. Actually the school was originally run by a children/staff/parent co-operative. However, since September 1985 this has been changed by an unilateral decision from a majority of the 'workers' (at White Lion Street Free School the staff has always referred to itself as the 'workers').

The workers now claim 'ultimate responsibility for running the school'; the implications of this policy have been enormously negative to liberty. It has meant the establishment of a two-tier system of democracy, a meaningless concept of democracy unless the two tiers are equal and acting as a system of checks and balances to one another; but the system now imposed at WLSFS is similar to the coloured parliament and white parliament in South Africa or having an all-powerful House of Lords (the adults) versus an impotent House of Commons (the children). The present system at WLSFS consists of two meetings which run the school; first, the 'school meeting' which is open to all members of WLSFS — children, parents, volunteers and workers; second is the 'general meeting', whose voting members consisted at first only of workers, but open to others if 'accepted' by the workers (since September only two parents have been found to be acceptable — and they weren't accepted until mid-January). However, the general meeting decides what decisions made by the school meeting are 'appropriate', which of course amounts to a veto. The children know all too well that their meeting (dominated by moralising adults to boot) has no power, and not surprisingly the children no longer have much interest in it.

The recent changes at WLSFS (the children/worker/parent co-operative is but one of many changes) represent a fundamental change of attitude toward children and parents. I have worked at WLSFS for the past 6½ years and the trend has been to withdraw liberty from both children and adults. From my attitude expressed here, one may correctly gather that I was in an out-voted minority concerning these changes, so my views are my own and not those of WLSFS.

At WLSFS, the co-operative/collective, instead of a group of individuals working together/sharing work equally, has become a group acting as and identifying itself as a unit and it seeks conformity and obedience. An unfortunate example of 'socialism without liberty is tyranny'.

Will Langworthy

Anarchist Students

WE, anarchist students of Anarfac (France), wish to correspond with anarchist students of your country to compare our experiences of militants, to co-ordinate international actions which affect our life at university.

We publish a magazine called *Anarfac* which contains anarchist texts, and we would like to receive worldwide information about university life — information (newspaper extracts.....) or texts written by anarchists.

To correspond, write (in French, English, Italian or Spanish) to:

Anarfac
c/o Publico
145 Rue Amelot
75011 Paris, France.

Women and the Practice of Anarchism

IN recognition of International Women's Month in March, The Anarchist Switchboard/Alchemical Space will present a two-day event on 'Women and the Practice of Anarchism' on Saturday, March 15 from noon to midnight and Sunday, March 16 from 11.00am to 5.00pm at The Alchemical Space, 324 East Ninth Street, New York, New York 10003.

The main thrust of this event is to focus on the links, historical and contemporary, between women's daily lives, feminist principles and anarchist practice. Rather than being a strictly academic forum, however, lectures and discussions will be included as part of an overall programme also featuring films, video, poetry, performance, and live and taped music.

Some of the participants will include Mary Krapf, formerly with The Living Theatre and now co-founder of The Alchemical Theatre; Holly Wolf and Mindy Washington, who will give two separate performances based on the life of Emma Goldman; Patti Stanko and Margee Stone, who will speak on anarcho-feminism; poet Nancy Ancrom; Barbara Juppe singing Irish folk music; Joanie Fritz of Protean Forms Collective and Claire Picher and Janet Restino, who will all do poetry, music and performance; filmmaker Meryl Bronstein and Elaine Leider, who will present a slide-show about anarchist women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In addition to the above, there will also be open readings and performances. This event is open to all. Admission is by contribution.

Porn 'Rights'

IN her short article 'Censorship; Porn and Intolerance', in the January *Freedom* on page 14, Flo says that so-called 'soft' pornography is, for many women, the only economically viable alternative to full-time prostitution. Of course, this is so, but it is no justification of pornography. Her view ignores the fact that porn and prostitution simply represent different degrees of the same phenomenon and that that phenomenon is not free speech or personal liberty, but the basic nature of our society as patriarchal, repressive, and degrading of women.

As for saying that opposing pornography or putting the livelihoods of women in jeopardy, this is the same as defending, for instance, the employment of children in heavy industry during the industrial revolution; an economic necessity for the families of those children but not a state of affairs that any anarchist should approve of. Of course, everyone has the right to a living, but they have a right to get it without having to degrade themselves. We don't defend the army or the police because they offer jobs to the poor. Along with the spectator-sex industry, they do more harm to society than they pay money to their participants.

The attitude expressed in Flo's article is more about defending the right of women to be exploited than it is about re-educating and changing society, so that pornography and prostitution both simply die away through lack of interest.

Ben
London

Flippant Porn

IN reply to Flo's article on 'porn and intolerance', I feel there are certain points that must be raised. The article states that attacking the porn industry is jeopardising women's livelihoods; does this then imply that we do not attack the multinationals, the arms and nuclear industries, the meat industry and indeed any other exploitative industry because we are threatening peoples jobs? We have to surely attack those institutions that seek to maintain the 'status quo' whilst at the same time looking for and developing alternatives, because alternatives will not present themselves unless there is demand for them. As regards the burning down of workplaces, well maybe that's not such a bad idea in some cases. My point is, however, that just as women challenge, expose and attack the porn industry in an attempt to bring about change as regards their own conditions within a patriarchal class-society, so the miners, who Flo mentions, must seek to bring change within the exploitative and inadequate conditions which they are

in. I find it exasperating, also, that Flo trivialises the issues (just as Cam distorts them) of pornography with comments such as ".....women do naughty things like taking their clothes off in front of other people". Arrgh! That's about as sensible as Cam saying "Rapists are only men who do naughty things to women".

We cannot afford to be so flippant about such an issue. Love,

Norman Hassle
Nottingham



Pornographic?

IN the discussion concerning pornography in recent issues of your excellent journal (heartly congratulations on attaining your century, by the way!), no-one seems to have taken the trouble to define terms. What exactly is pornography, and where does eroticism end and porn begin? Are the sculptures depicting sexual intercourse on the walls of Hindu temples, for example, erotic or pornographic? What of the *Kama Sutra*? As a librarian, I have on my shelves sizzling novels by Jackie Collins, Erica Jong, Henry Miller, Anais Nin, Molly Parkin, Pauline Reage and Viva. Am I therefore a despicable purveyor of porn with my premises liable to be fire-bombed by outraged feminists? Or am I simply a harmless peddler of erotics? I would genuinely like to know.

John L Broom
Scotland

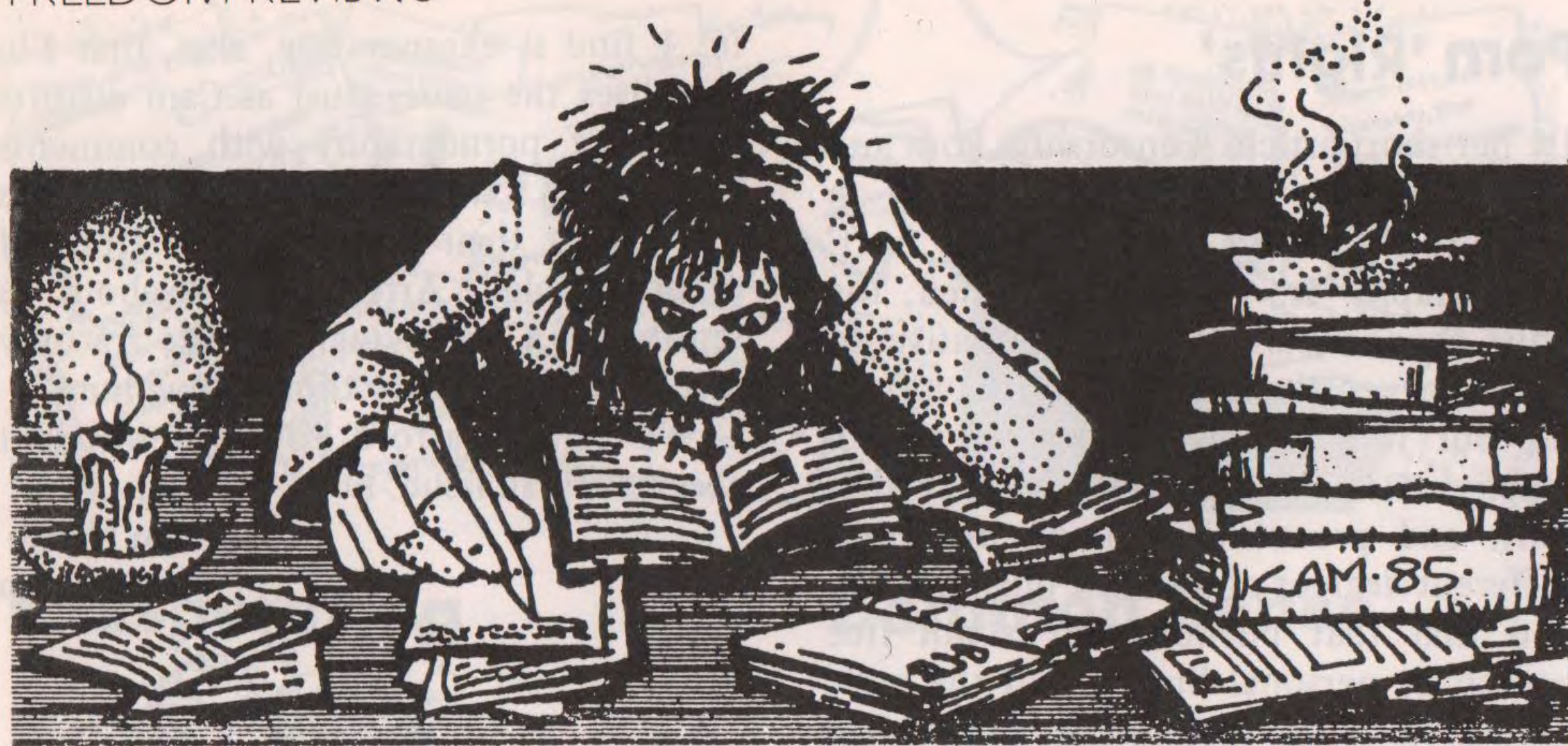
Prisoners

EIGHT members of the SOC (the Spanish union for agricultural labourers which has the same role and organisational form as the CNT had before the Civil War) who come from the village of El Coronil, were sentenced to a total of 5½ years in prison for peaceful protests against unemployment at a court in Seville on the 12th of February.

Even those labourers who can get work live in poverty so obviously the families these men leave behind need our support. Send any money you can to: SOC, Account no 60-5931-01, Banco Popular Espanol, Oficina Principal, Avda de la Constitution, Sevilla 16, Spain.

Full details of the case and the role of the SOC are carried in the latest issue of *Sinews*, available for 50p made payable to Spanish Information Network (listed under 'Esh' on contacts page).

Mick Larkin

**Design and Print Production Workbook**

David J Plumb

Workshop Publications, 7 Springfield Road, Teddington TW11 9AP. 48pp, £4.70.

Graphics Handbook, an introduction to design and printing for the non-specialist

Richard McCann

Health Education Council, 78 New Oxford Street, London WC1A 1AH. 24pp, £2.95.

RECENT advances in printing techniques make it possible to produce attractive, professional-looking printed matter quite cheaply. Or for the same outlay, it is possible to produce printed matter which is ham-fisted and illegible.

When rubbishy production is a vehicle for rubbishy thought, nothing is wasted except money. But when a sound piece of writing appears in such a form that no-one tries to read it, that is not only a waste of money but a tragic waste of thought and care.

With this in mind, some organisations have commissioned easy handbooks for their members or employees, explaining how to design for readability and prepare their work for the printer. Two such handbooks, both of them clear and explicit, are now on sale to the public.

David Plumb's book was written for the Caribbean Regional Book Production Workshop 1977. It includes concise descriptions of the various printing methods, worked examples of mark-ups and proof reading, and a glossary. I recommend it to anyone training to be a professional designer. The extra pages you pay for, however, are mostly about hot-metal setting, letterpress blockmaking, and other operations still widely practised in the Caribbean but almost obsolete here.

Richard McCann's book was written for officers in Health Education Units. It contains less information than the Plumb book, but its advice is sound. It probably includes everything necessary for the non-professional who just wants to put out some effective anarchist propaganda.

DR

Mother of all the Behans

Brian Behan

Arena paperback, £2.95

YOU could hardly avoid the sound of the Behans during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Brendan Behan's *The Hostage* and *The Quare Fellow* were delighting playgoers and impressing critics. Brendan Behan himself was popular with the tabloids as a notorious piss artist. Dominic Behan had a record on Top of the Pops (at that time a critics show), and embarrassed the critics by making a personal appearance when they were just saying his record was terrible. Brian Behan was leader of the strike at the Shell Building, depicted in a newspaper cartoon as 'Red dawn at the Dome of Discovery'. Kathleen herself, the mother, kept appearing on television on both sides of the Irish Sea.

Brendan's autobiography appeared about that time, Brian's a little after, Dominic's account of the family story was dramatised on Irish television some time since. In 1984 appeared yet another book, this one presented in the form of Kathleen's own autobiography 'as told to Brian Behan', and this is now reissued as an Arena paperback.

The Behans are worth a book or two, for the benefit of social historians. For one thing they are a brilliant family with wide connections (I learn from this book that Kathleen is a sister to the writer of the Irish National Anthem, and related by marriage to TV bore Eammon Andrews). For another the family lived for years in hand-to-mouth poverty, an experience which many share but few have the skill to write of.

For a third thing, perhaps worth more than any other, they were all staunch Republicans in Dublin, and embraced the paradoxes of the whole Republican body of opinion. Kathleen's first husband was among those who occupied the Jacob's biscuit factory in 1916, while Kathleen herself ran messages to Connolly and Pearse at rebel headquarters in the GPO. Her second husband was arrested shortly after their marriage, and spent the two years of the Civil War in a prison for Republicans run by the Irish Free State.

On her living room wall the icon of Christ with the Bleeding Heart was flanked by the icons of Connolly and Lenin. In her book she mourns the hero Michael Collins, though he was shot for Republican reasons. She stands for Devalera, though he failed to deliver the prosperity he promised. She was always an unquestioning adherent of the church, and at the same time an opponent of the church in its attitude to Franco and Stalin. This is not the kind of book to analyse such paradoxes but it clearly displays them, in one who is neither muddle-headed nor stupid. A clear account of something is the first step to understanding it.

Now, if all this talk of historical value has made the book seem the leastway pompous, then I must apologise. This is a charming, comic, sprightly book, worth more than its price for the entertainment alone.

M McM

**Towards a Fresh Revolution
by the Friends of Durruti Group
An Anti-Statist Communist
Manifesto**

by Joseph Lane

(Drowned rat Publications, 80p each)

A REVIEW of the first three pamphlets in the Drowned Rat series published a few months ago mentioned that they were all reprinted without acknowledgement from previous publications (July 1985). This practice has been continued in the next two pamphlets in the series, which were originally included in the New Anarchist Library by the Cienfuegos Press during the late 1970s.

Towards a Fresh Revolution, a manifesto produced by the Friends of Durruti during the Spanish Civil War, which was first published in Barcelona in 1938, was republished with a new introduction by Jaime Balius. *An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto*, produced by Joseph Lane during the crisis of the Socialist League, which was first published in London in 1887, was republished with a new introduction by myself. They have now been republished without any indication of their previous appearance — and, in my case at least, without any consultation, so there was no opportunity to correct mistakes or bring references up to date.

It is good to have anarchist texts kept in print, but it is a pity to have it done like this.

NW

Some Syndicalist Shortcomings

The IWA Today — A short account of the International Workers Association and its sections by Col Longmore. Price 50p.

THIS pamphlet fell like a ton of bricks on the Direct Action Movement.

One reviewer in *Direct Action* accused Col Longmore of manufacturing myths and causing offence to some foreign sections of the International Workers Association (IWA-AIT). The publication has been challenged by many people I respect inside the DAM.

Yet *The IWA Today* is a perfectly respectable example of historical analysis. Quite openly it is story telling by a partisan of a particular political position, and none the worse for that, provided one makes the necessary allowances. Mr Longmore, it must be said, tells a good tale, and has produced an attractive, articulate and in some respects persuasive short pamphlet, which deserves to be read by anyone interested in the anarcho-syndicalist international.

Blind Alley Politics

The pamphlet defines the terms of the tendencies within the IWA as being Syndicalist, Revolutionary Syndicalist and Anarcho-Syndicalist. He rightly stresses that syndicalism/trade unionism generally lacks a long term view of how to change society, and that this is a serious shortcoming.

Clearly Col is out to put syndicalism in its place, something Mrs Thatcher has already done at a more practical level. Trade unionism (syndicalism) may not have been entirely seen off, unpublicised actions by workers may still be scoring successes since wage levels are rising rapidly, but it does seem mass unemployment has clipped the wings of the formal trade union movement at the top. Of itself even the strike weapon seems to provide diminishing returns in the present climate.

Of course the most shattering defeat of this kind of shortsighted syndicalism, which Col doesn't use in his pamphlet, has been the recent Miner's strike. Calls for solidarity and a General Strike fell on deaf ears.

Perhaps more than anything, the

miner's strike points to our own failure to build a broader vision of the needs of society. It is this general vision of society which Col is pushing for, against the sectional interests of certain organised groups.

When recently I spoke to Fidel Gorron, the IWA-AIT Secretary, he told me that the DAM in their honest enthusiasm to help the miners, had failed to analyse the miner's strike adequately. This lack of critical analysis of the strike and its consequences, shows up our unwillingness to consider calmly the social conflicts of our time. What must worry people like Señor Gorron is that while there is much to admire in Scargill — his courage; his willingness, unusual in a British union boss, to lead from the front; his dedication; his brilliant articulation of tactics; there is much to disturb us as anarcho-syndicalists: the executive's attack on federalism within the NUM; the attitude to Polish 'Solidarity'; the union's links with the Eastern Bloc and their membership of the communist dominated Miner's International; and finally the union executive's emphasis on centralism.

Clearly the spirit of syndicalism and the desire to back workers in dispute is decent and honourable, but without a social morality it is easily corrupted into a support for sectional interests.

Conservative by Nature

What then is Mr Longmore's position?

The theme of the pamphlet is to point out the limits of trade unionism as they occur in the member sections of the IWA, particularly in the French CNT and the Italian USI. He is critical of the old Syndicalist Workers Federation, which represented Britain in the IWA from 1950 to 1979, which he claims lacked 'direction'.

Yet has Longmore got a solution?

Well sincere ideologues, like Col, often tend to think that all we need do is get our ideas right. I agree that waiting for the workers while performing the service of cheer leaders in industrial disputes, as some syndicalists and marxists do, is a one-eyed approach, but clearly social change demands something more than an ideological change of mind. Surely the trick is that we must relate our ideas to

the practical world and this needs an anarcho-syndicalist program.

Because Col is so wrapped up in the ideology, he betrays fatalism when he says 'The British workers are by nature conservative, ..., they chose to stay with the Methodists (the traditional leaders of the British labour movement, according to Col), who have betrayed them at every turn since'. The idea that the British are easily misled is a controversial one — Dianne Phillips (1), a sociologist, has said '... the working class are not, at least in Britain, willing fodder for capitalist industry. They are the most obviously wised-up, cynical, politically and economically effective working class in the world.' The fact is the British workers are both 'conservative' and cunning, and both views can be reconciled. I believe that British syndicalism (trade unionism) has become short sighted, sectional, and selfish, and this has more to do with shopfloor attitudes than with the leaders 'Methodist' or otherwise. In times of 'full employment' this may, as Mrs Phillips says, have made sections of the working class 'politically and economically effective', in that they have been able to squeeze capitalism and the State by using economic muscle free from the incumbrance of an anarchist morality or even some simple socialist beliefs. Thus many of the employed have been able to embrace welfarism and the begging bowl politics of state subsidies, while calling for tax cuts and voting Tory.

Mass unemployment makes such bad British logic a luxury we can no longer afford.

Basically Col Longmore has the right idea; somehow our vision of the free society has to draw together the interests of the 'workplace and community'. But what I am saying is that the vision must be based on an analysis of the fragmentary nature of British society.

None of this means that either I, or Mr Longmore for that matter, are seeking to dismiss syndicalism as a social movement. Syndicalism and direct action is part of the everyday practice and practical reasoning of British workers, and must be at the root of any theory of social change in our society. Whether as a people, having been spoonfed for decades on State subsidies, we are capable of making the changes Mr Longmore wants is another matter.

Brian Bamford

1 Dianne Phillips (1984), 'Education: Success and Failure' in R J Anderson and W W Sharrock (eds), *Applied Sociological Perspectives*.



Listen, Anarchist!
by Chaz Bufo
(no publisher, no price)

THIS 16-page pamphlet, which takes its title from Murray Bookchin's well-known polemic, *Listen Marxist!*, and comes from the Black Duck Press in San Francisco, contains a powerful critique of 'the deliberate self-marginalisation of a relatively large number of North American anarchists', especially in their hostility to work and workers, their bias against any form of organisation, their romanticisation of violence, their employment of lies and abuse in controversy, their misuse of words and use of jargon, their rejection of science, rationality and technology, and their reversion to mysticism and superstition. The conclusion, 'What Can Be Done', contains ten points:

- 1 We should avoid the use of violence except in self-defence and in revolutionary situations . . .
- 2 We should avoid deliberate self-marginalisation . . .
- 3 We should attack irrationality and mysticism wherever and whenever they arise . . .
- 4 We must refuse to tolerate personal abuse, physical harassment and outright violence . . .
- 5 We should take great care — especially in printed matter — to employ simple, clear language . . .
- 6 We should look askance at those who attack other anarchists, using emotionally loaded terms such as 'leninist', 'stalinist', 'purge' and 'censorship' . . .
- 7 We should not tolerate dishonesty and personal attacks . . .
- 8 We should not cover behind pseudonyms or anonymity when we criticise the ideas of other anarchists . . .
- 9 We should accept the fact that freedom of association implies freedom to disassociate . . .
- 10 We should attempt to live our lives as nearly in accord with anarchist ideas as we can . . .

Much of the detailed discussion relates to recent events in the United States and Canada, but the general argument is just as relevant to anarchists in Britain.

MH

Proudhon

Proudhon and His 'Bank of the People'

by Charles A Dana (Charles H Kerr, Chicago, \$4.95)

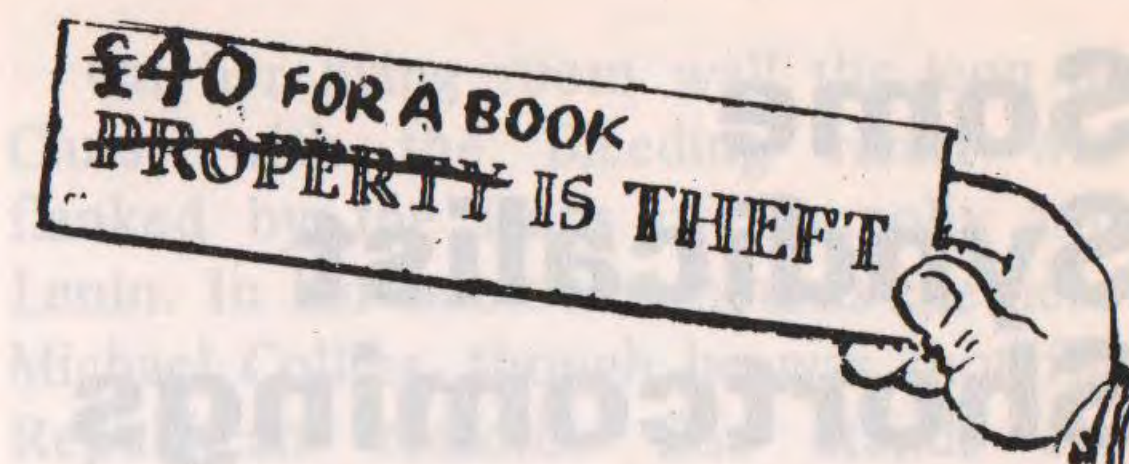
Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the Rise of French Socialism

by K Steven Vincent (Oxford University Press, £40)

ALTHOUGH Proudhon was one of the most important socialist thinkers, his complete writings still haven't been published more than 120 years after his death, even in French, partly because they would fill 40 or 50 volumes. The situation is much worse outside France, and scarcely one-tenth of this vast output has ever appeared in English.

There are Benjamin Tucker's old translations of both volumes of *What is Property?* and of the first volume of the *System of Economical Contradictions*, of which the former has been reprinted several times; there is John Beverley Robinson's translation of *The General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, which was published by the Freedom Press in 1923 and has also been reprinted several times; there is Richard Vernon's translation of part of *The Principle of Federation*, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1979; there is Stewart Edwards' short anthology of *Selected Writings*, which was published on both sides of the Atlantic in 1969-1970. There have been many items in various periodicals; there have also been a few pamphlets, such as Benjamin Tucker's translation of *The Malthusians*; and there is the booklet of Charles A Dana's, *Proudhon and His 'Bank of the People'*, which consists of newspaper articles published in 1849, was published by Benjamin Tucker in 1896, and was reprinted with a new introduction by Paul Avrich in 1984.

This is a useful summary of Proudhon's economic ideas in 67 small pages, well prefaced by Tucker and now well introduced by Avrich. Dana was a leading American journalist who followed the common pattern by beginning as a revolutionary and becoming a reactionary. In his youth he was involved in progressive politics and praised Proudhon; later he was famous as a conservative Republican. Tucker was a leading American individualist anarchist, who reprinted Dana's articles both to annoy and embarrass an old turncoat (rather as the favourable article about anarchism which Bernard Shaw published in 1885



was reprinted by anarchists in 1896 to annoy and embarrass him in the labour movement), and to advance the cause of moderate anarchism. Both Dana and Tucker emphasised Proudhon's economic rather than political ideas, especially his proposal for cheap mutual credit. Unfortunately Proudhon's attempt to put this proposal into practice, in the Bank of the People, collapsed just when Dana was writing his articles, and most subsequent attempts have either failed in the same way or have been absorbed into the state capitalist system. But the proposal remains a fundamental element of those forms of anarchism which go beyond individualism but stop short of communism, and the reappearance of this account of it is welcome.

A great deal has been written about Proudhon in French, the most recent authoritative studies appearing during the early 1980s. Much less has been written in English, mostly by American academics. The latest such book by K Steven Vincent is a ludicrously expensive and generally pedestrian doctoral thesis on his place in the development of French socialism. The first half concentrates on his move from Christian to anti-Christian socialism, and the second half concentrates on his doctrines of association, mutualism and federalism.

Vincent is of course aware of Proudhon's contribution to the anarchist tradition, but he is more interested in his place in the broader republican and socialism traditions, and he is particularly concerned to defend Proudhon against the criticisms of Marx and later Marxists. Vincent is also aware of Proudhon's unsystematic and even contradictory arguments, but he is determined to place his various writings and actions in their historical context and to show that he had a consistent position.

The result is an interesting but irritating book, which contains much useful material on Proudhon's work and fulfils its intention of vindicating his position as one of the fathers of French socialism. If it seems frustrating to anarchist readers, it may be valuable in demonstrating the limits of Proudhon's anarchism. But it is unreliable in small matters and unconvincing in large matters. The best books on Proudhon in English are still those by George Woodcock, Alan Ritter and Robert Hoffman.

NW



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