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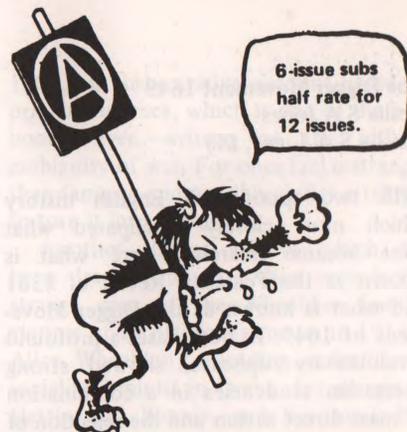
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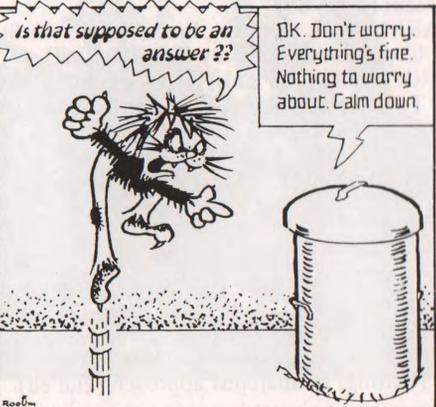
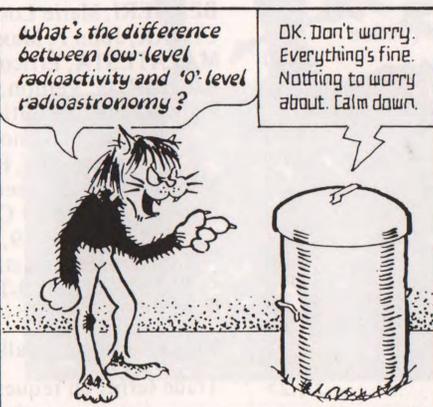
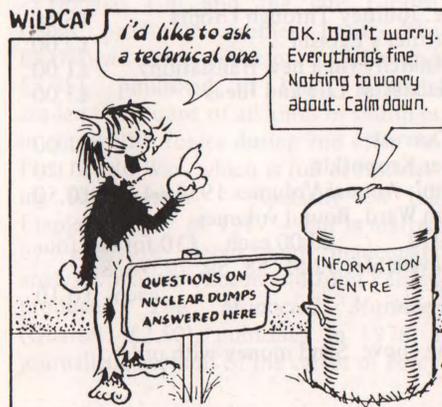
1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

ANARCHIST MONTHLY

Vol 47 No 8 SEPTEMBER 1986 75p



THE STALKER MYSTERY MULLAHS AND BOMBS OF IRAN



FREEDOM

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This month's cover illustration is taken from a poster produced by the French student anarchist group Anarfac, who would like to correspond with anarchist students in Britain (they write English). The address is Anarfac, c/o Publico, 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.

Subscribe now!

NEXT month's Freedom will be an important book of permanent value, 64 pages of new information about the history of Freedom and the anarchist movement, and articles by prominent anarchist authors on anarchism in 1986 and the future.

The price in shops will be at least £2, to cover the cost, but **SUBSCRIBERS WILL GET IT AS PART OF THEIR SUBSCRIPTION.** Need we say more?



NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

Meet us at these radical book fairs

Freedom Press will be having stalls at three Fairs this autumn:

LONDON: ALTERNATIVE BOOKFAIR at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on September 20th from 11:00am to 5:30pm.

SHEFFIELD: SHEFFIELD RADICAL BOOKFAIR at Sheffield Town Hall on Saturday 13th September from 10:30am to 4:30pm. At the time of going to press it had not yet been decided whether the Bookfair would also be open on Friday afternoon and early evening. If Friday is more convenient to some of our readers they should check with the City Libraries, phone 734707.

LONDON: ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square on November 22nd from 10:00am to 5:30pm.

Book prices corrected

WE ARE sorry to say two errors and an omission occurred among the prices in *Freedom* Reviews section for August.

Denis Pym's *The Employment Question and other essays* is priced at £2.00, not £2.50 as stated.

The Tragedy of Spain by Rudolf Rocker is £1.20, not £1.50.

We gave the correct price in dollars for the *Haymarket Scrapbook*, but omitted to give the price in pounds for those who may want to order it from Freedom Press Bookshop. £10.00 paper, cloth not in stock.

Posters and stuff

THE Bookshop list in the centre of this issue lists books available by post. Personal callers can also buy secondhand books, a wide range of magazines and posters, including the popular *Government Screws You Up* (based on the heroin posters), and the most recent *Resistance Behind Barbed Wire*, a drawing by Zdanek Adla made at Buchenwald concentration camp, published by Overall Brigade.

The Bookshop is at present open Tuesday to Friday from 10 (ish) am to 6 pm, and Saturday from 10 am to 4 pm. Angel Alley is approached through a narrow pedestrian tunnel between numbers 84 and 85 Whitechapel High Street; 84 is a Kentucky Fried Chicken Shop. The Whitechapel (Art Gallery) cafe and Ahmed of London, a clothing manufacturer, are also in the Alley and display notices at the entrance. Freedom Press Bookshop itself is on the first floor, up a staircase with a right-angled bend, making disabled access very poor indeed; volunteers in the shop will of course give all possible assistance.

Cheques are acceptable if accompanied by a cheque card. We regret we cannot accept book tokens or payment by credit card.

Iran MULLAHS AND BOMBS

THE undercurrents of Iranian politics have surfaced in London. A shop, run by a prominent monarchist, Reza Fazeli, in Kensington High Street has been bombed, killing his son, Bijan.

Iranian politics in general have become more active. After the revolution, and the consolidation of power in the hands of Islamicists, the opposition was systematically removed. Monarchists with money went abroad, the others stay silent. The Mojehedin (radical moslems) were crushed, after a spectacular bombing campaign. The main marxist group, the Fedai'in, split over their attitudes to the war. Tudeh (Moscow line communists) were tolerated for a while, before suppression. Remnants of all these groups agitate, in traditional emigree-fashion.

The regime in Tehran and Qom concentrates on propaganda about the Islamic Revolution and the war, in order to distract attention from internal discontent.

The war is also active at the moment. There's a big recruiting drive (and you thought everybody had already volunteered for martyrdom?). The successful Iraqi air raids, including those on Tehran oil refinery and southern depots, frightened the government. They show foreign help, which is the only factor delaying the victory of God's Armies. A new move on the Home Front, is technical students being trained to produce grenades, shells, etc. What happens to those skills in the future. Arming the people is a dangerous precedent.

Supplies are increasingly restricted and anyway they are channelled through neighbourhood mosques as a method of social control. The 'free' market still operates but the prices are increasingly ludicrous. Personal pressure in the street still comes and goes, depending on the level of paranoia. At the moment, it is high. There has been a spate of bombings. One in Qom (August 16th) killed at least a dozen people. A car bomb in Tehran (August 19th) destroyed a passing bus, killing around 50 (the government says 22). The government was quick to blame an unlikely alliance of mojehedin and monarchists, apparently backed by Iraq of course, and proclaim that the 'terror ring' has been smashed. People are un-



Ranan Lurie

convinced. The mojehedin deny all responsibility and condemn such attacks in public places. The possibility of agents provocateurs is suggested.

The internal manouvers in the government become more focussed, as the Supreme Guide on Earth ages still more. He is 86 now, and seen less and less. The usual rumours start and then he appears on television, still apparently tough enough. Montazeri keeps being proclaimed as Official Successor, to universal derision. He can't be as stupid as he seems; after all he set up much of the pro-Khomeini movement underground whilst the Grand Ayatollah was still kicking his heels in exile. However, nobody expects him to survive the backstabbing between Khomeini (president) and Rafsanjani (speaker of the Majlis) when his patron goes. At the moment, the traditionalist bazaari faction (roughly, Khomeini) has made some progress against the radical fundamentalists (roughly, Rafsanjani). Sweeping proposals for land reform, nationalisation etc are further delayed.

Responsibility for the London bomb is contested. Fazeli's shop was an important centre for distribution of dissident material. He himself is a monarchist, with links to the royal family. His speciality is laughably crude videos, either himself ranting or moralistic playlets of mullahs leering at 'belly dancers' (in European terms). His circle's influence is more important than the tone of these suggests to the sophisticated. The consulate, just round the corner in Kensington, naturally says that the explosion was self-inflicted, an accident during a conspiracy against them. Most non-consular Iranians in London assume that it was direct political retaliation, if not set up by diplomats then by 'Hezbollahi's', the Party of God. The actual line of division can be left to theologians.

Ali

IN BRIEF

A Nigerian official has confirmed that convicted armed robbers in Niger are being executed slowly by firing squad. They are first shot in the ankles with subsequent volleys aimed higher at five minute intervals until they die.

The strike record in Britain continues to decline. There were fewer strikes last year than in any year since 1938. The number of days lost is now the lowest since 1967 (2.4 million working days, compared with a ten year annual average of 11.1 million).

Forty two police officers have been injured by colleagues during riot training in the West Midlands in the past six months. Chief Inspector Geoff Rees points out, 'unfortunately, when you throw things people do get injured'. He adds that these are usually 'minor injuries'. Most dramatic cases include one who fell off his horse and dislocated a shoulder and needed stitches in a head wound and 'a number of officers had singed eyebrows and one inspector lost half his moustache.'

A US judge has ruled that King Juan Carlos of Spain must pay \$7,050 to a taxi driver in Tennessee, as redemption on a 150 year old Spanish government bond. A Spanish diplomat says that the judge has 'an enormous sense of humour'.

A handcuffed man ate in a restaurant, where a waitress cut up his meat, tried on shoes in a store and wandered around Lausanne for 3½ hours before somebody told the police. He was actually a reporter, acting with police help. They said that they had thought he would be turned in within 20 minutes.

Traditional healers in Swaziland are demanding a name change, as they say that 'witch doctor' is derogatory.

More than two thirds of British people favour the introduction of a Freedom of Information Act (subject to safeguards on national security etc), according to a survey carried out for the Campaign for Freedom of Information. Woman and old people were slightly less positive. Slightly more than an average proportion of Conservative supporters are in favour of such an Act.

Six out of ten women favour castration for rapists and four out of ten would support hanging, according to a survey in 'Womans Own'. 12% of those who responded to their questionnaire said that they had been raped, 29% of these before the age of 16.

Events

Morning service

A Century of Freedom

talk by Nicolas Walter. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, at 11.00 am on Sunday, 5 October 1986.

London Anarchist Forum

The weekly meetings at the Mary Ward Centre begin again on Friday 26th September at 8.00 pm when we shall decide our new programme.

Usually we have a talk with a named speaker and topic, followed by a discussion; some of us continue the discussion in the pub.

Arrangement of the meetings is by an ad-hoc committee, and anyone can quickly get involved.

Our last session was very successful socially, and we welcome all comrades young and old, especially those new to anarchism or new to London who would like to make contact with the movement.

Every Friday at 8.00 pm

Mary Ward Centre
42 Queen Square, London WC1
Admission Free.



Freedom Centenary Celebration organised by Riff Raff Poets

Tuesday 21 October at 7pm
at the October Gallery
24 Old Gloucester Street, London WC2
(behind the Mary Ward Centre
— nearest tube Holborn)

Adrian Mitchell
England's finest living poet

Street Accord Band
From Northampton

Beattie Mitchell

Food and bar by Peacemeal



History Workshop 20 Weekend

History Workshop 20: Leeds, 21-23 November

This year there are two parallel anarchist strands. The provisional programme is as follows.

1: International Anarchism

Keith Nathan: *Bakunin and the Platformist Tradition.*

Nick Heath: *French Platformist Organisations since the 1920s.*

Carl Levy: *Gramsci and Anarchism.*
Richard Bircumshaw: *Insurrections in Spain before 1936.*

Geoffrey Ostergaard: *Indian Anarchism*
Martyn Everett: *Art and Anarchism.*

Peter Marshall: *Anarchism and Human Nature.*

Graham Baugh: *Contract in Anarchist Ideology.*

2: British Anarchism

Heiner Becker: *The Revolutionary Committee and the London Anarchist Clubs during the 1880s and 1890s.*

Haia Shpayer-Makov: *The Public Image of Anarchism before the First World War.*
Sheffield Anarchists: *Anarchism in Sheffield.*

Ken Weller: *Libertarians in Islington.*

John Quail: *Anarchist Views of the State.*
Mark Shipway: *The Workers' Socialist Federation and the Labour Party.*

Bob Jones: *Anti-Parliamentarian Communism after the First World War.*

Contact: David Goodway, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JJ.



History Workshop 19, November 1985

Recordings of the anarchism session available on C90 cassettes.

Cassette 1: Alan Carter, 'Karl Marx's theory of history: a critique'; Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'The SDF and anarchism'.

Cassette 2: Haia Shpayer-Makov (continued); Michael Smith, 'Kropotkin and the education of the ordinary young'; Tom Cahill, 'Anarchism and co-operatives'.

Cassette 3: Murray Bookchin, 'Recent developments in the Green movement in the US and Germany'.

The cost is £1.50 each cassette, plus postage (1 or 2 cassettes = 28p; 3 cassettes = 40p). Please send money with order (cheques payable to R.W. Jones) to: **R.W. Jones, c/o Northern Herald Books, 6 Edmund St, Bradford 5.**

WANTED. If any reader has recordings of sessions of the 1985 History Workshop other than those listed above, they are requested to get in touch with Bob Jones.

International Anarchist Congress

THE Fourth Congress of the Internationale des Federations Anarchistes will be held in Paris on 31 October and 1, 2, 3 November 1986.

Programme

1. Checking mandates
2. Memberships
3. Planning committees to discuss the issues
4. Links with the press
- 5a. Studying the international situation and the libertarian movement (on the CRIFA report)
- 5b. Reports on national situations from IFA federations or from similar groups (where IFA does not exist)
6. The IFA position dealing with the great issues of today: wars of national liberation; colonisation; militarisation; imperialism; blocks policy
- 7a. Labour struggles, unionism, AIT/IWA
- 7b. Prospects of social transformation and anarchist struggle
8. CRIFA bulletin and organs of expression of the IFA
9. Resignation and appointment of new secretary

Communications to Publico, Relations Internationales, 145 rue Amelot, 75011-Paris, France.

Giorgio Sacchetti
CRIFA Secretary

America RADICALS OF 1960s AND 1980s

LAST issue I dealt with the first of two questions posed by the comrades of *Rivista Anarchica*, about social conflict in 'the Reagan era'.

As to the second question: 'What are the relevant differences between the radical movement of the '60s and that of the '80s?' I think that the movement of the '60s was much less radical than it seems in retrospect. To its credit, it hastened the end of the Vietnam War; no mean achievement. But, with exception of a few activists in the movement, it lacked most of all a coherent vision of a new direction for society. At best, it was a liberal reformist movement, at worst a movement theatrical in nature. It's not accidental that two of the foremost leaders of that movement, Abbe Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, are the star attractions of a political circus making the rounds of the college lecture circuit.

It isn't accidental that many of the 'leaders' of the movement of the '60s are in the forefront of the grossly materialistic drive to 'yuppify' America.

As for the '80s, there seems to be little

connection and coherence in the few social movements that exist. For the most part, one cannot identify any of them as being truly radical. Reformistic, yes, critical of the government, yes, but again, the quality of vision, an anti-authoritarian direction, seems to be missing. For example: the various groups that oppose the US intervention in Central America, groups such as the Emergency Response Network, are in fact critical of the government's policies and are trying to mobilise resistance to it, but at the same time resist being critical of the Marxist regimes and would-be Marxist leaderships among the guerrilla movements in Central America. They are uncritical of the real dangers that the peoples of Central America will face from their would-be leaders speaking in the name of 'The Revolution'. It reminds me of the early organisational days of the 'Vietnam Day Committee'. When I spoke out about the necessity to support the Vietnamese people by opposing the policies of the US government, and in addition warn against the real dangers of a Marxist dictatorship that would be forced on them by North Vietnam, I was violently attacked for expressing this viewpoint.

Today, perhaps, the most radical response to the policies of the US government in Central America is not coming from the various left/liberal groups, but rather from those religious groups and individuals that have given rise to the 'Sanctuary Movement'. Those courageous individuals who are putting their bodies on the line and are willing to go to jail for their convictions. One hopes that from this confrontation with the naked

power of the State and the inhuman nature of this power that a libertarian, anarchist lesson will be learned.

As for the various other movements that exist, I have the impression that they are too diffuse and dispirited to be an effective libertarian force at this time. The anti-apartheid movement, while doing good work in keeping the pressure on the government of South Africa, is hardly a radical movement. It is at best reformistic in nature, trying to exert pressure on the policies of the US government and upon the policies of US industries that have interests in South Africa. Despite the fact that most of the support for this protest comes from the college campuses, it shows no evidence of a radical vision. As for the other movements in the US — the animal rights movement, the radical gay movement, the ecological activists, and the various aspects of the peace and anti-nuclear movements — they all seem to be in a period of retrenchment and stocktaking. In fact, one of the most active of the peace/anti-nuke movements, 'The Abalone Alliance', after years of demos and sit-ins marked by many arrests, is in the process of changing its name and direction. They seem to be putting direct action aside for the moment and are moving toward becoming an advisory/information centre.

As always, comrades, there is no easy path ahead for us. The anarchist must, as in the past, continue to work without great expectations of immediate results. We must continue to try to effect, by our participation and inspiration, those individuals and groups that have a libertarian bent. 'Don't weaken'. **David Koven**



Waste DUMPING NUCLEAR RUBBISH

NIREX, the Nuclear Industry Radioactive Waste Executive, was originally (for all we know) Nirwex, but changed its name to Nirex at the first meeting. 'Nirwex' is a more accurate acronym, but it sounds too much like 'nervous wrecks'; 'Nirex' is more reassuring.

Reassurance at the expense of accuracy is an important activity of this quango, as our good comrade Paul Rogers elegantly demonstrated in June; and as he also proved, they are not very good at it.

Trying to allay superstitious fears of anything connected with nuclear radiation, Nirex has opened 'information centres' in towns near its proposed waste dumps. Paul Rogers walked into the Nirex 'information centre' in Bedford and dumped on the counter a parcel which he said contained mud from the Ravenglass estuary in Cumbria, contaminated by nuclear waste from Sellafield and emitting alpha radiation. He then telephoned the police and the local press to say what he had done.

Nirex staff tested the parcel with their Geiger counter. It registered nothing. A policeman came, they assured him it was a harmless joke, and he took the parcel off to the police station. Then came Rod Jones, a reporter from the local paper. Staff told him, too, it was a harmless hoax.

How did they know? They had tested the parcel with a Geiger counter. But surely, it was *alpha* radiation the mud was supposed to be emitting? (Mr Jones is not a nuclear physicist but he has a layman's knowledge.)

Yes, alpha radiation had been mentioned; so what? Mr Jones patiently explained that alpha particles are too massive to penetrate paper, but if anyone opened the parcel and put their hand near the mud it could be nasty. Incredulity gave way to amazement and then to panic, as they phoned the police to say on no account to open that parcel.

The staff at the Nirex 'information centre' had no information on the subject of nuclear radiation, QED. They were not there to inform, but to reassure.

Eventually Nirex is meant to solve the problem of dumping 'high-level' waste, which will be dangerously radioactive for the next 100,000 years; but the temporary stores for high-level waste are not yet half full. The immediate problem is to dump the rapidly growing accumulation of 'intermediate level' and 'low level' waste, for instance used protective clothing. 'Low level' means anything which will be safe in 300 years. It used to be sealed in steel containers and thrown overboard from ships at sea; but Greenpeace put a stop to the practice.

Early in 1985, journalists claiming inside knowledge reported that Nirex were considering four sites for dumping, at Killingholme in Humberside, Fulbeck in Lincolnshire, Elstow in Bedfordshire, and Bradwell in Essex. Members of Parliament for these constituencies asked questions and were answered by the Department of the Environment that the reports were untrue; Nirex were studying the problem but had no particular sites in mind. A few months later Nirex announced that it was to inspect four sites for their suitability as

low level and intermediate level dumps. Surprise, surprise, they were at Killingholme in Humberside, Fulbeck in Lincolnshire, Elstow in Bedfordshire, and Bradwell in Essex.

The sites have little in common geologically, and it seems possible they were selected mainly for the social characteristics of the neighbourhoods. The local villagers are consistent Tory voters, who might be expected to side with the respectable professionals of Nirex, against anarchist leftwing loonies and scruffy hippies. What Nirex overlooked is that even consistent Tory voters have a modicum of common sense.

The proposed site at Bradwell is Ministry of Defence land, a disused munitions dump from World War Two, which the MoD and its predecessor the War Office prohibited to people on the grounds that it was full of unexploded bombs. Villagers pointed this out to Nirex, who reassured them there were no bombs there, afterwards modified to 'we are 99.9 percent sure' there were no bombs there. Ever long-suffering of yokel worries, Nirex nevertheless delayed inspection of the site for two weeks (!) until the MoD could clear it after 41 years of inaction. The siege there did not begin until 1 September.

At the other three sites engineers, employed by civil engineering firms under contract to Nirex, arrived on 18 August to find their ways blocked by hundreds of demonstrators. Anarchists and leftwing loonies and scruffy hippies were among them, but welcomed, and certainly on the first day outnumbered, by local villagers.

The police were not much help. These were not metropolitan police, going out to a demonstration and then going home to somewhere else, nor yet rural police confronting gypsies to the cheers of local farmers. They were rural police whose

respectable friends and neighbours were demonstrating; and police are no more eager than anyone else to have a nuclear dump on the doorstep. At Elstow there was an arrangement for the protesters to be advised when the twelve contractor's vans (from Leeds) crossed the Bedfordshire county border, but the arrangement broke down for some reason and the lorries appeared without notice. Police, being among the first to see them coming, shouted and waved for demonstrators to get into the road. Their purpose, the police explained to surprised reporters, was to minimise the danger of injury.

'Ladies and gentlemen', intoned a senior officer, 'I must warn you that you are obstructing the highway. Please turn aside in a peaceful manner'. A joyful shout of 'No!' Police then advised the contractors to go away and come back the next day.

Next day the van drivers elicited some sympathy from a smaller, but sufficient, number of protesters blocking the road. They had applied to stay the night in Bedford but their employer had said it would be too expensive and required them to drive all the way back to Leeds, then to Elstow again the following morning. Capitalising on the sympathy, the chief engineer pleaded to be allowed through. They were not nuclear dumpers, he pointed out, but professionals who would report their findings as to the geology and groundwater publicly and honestly. If the villagers were right that the site was unsuitable, what had they to lose by letting it be inspected?

The spokesman for BAND (Bedfordshire Against Nuclear Dumping) readily accepted the engineer's good faith, but not that of Nirex: 'I think you'll do a fair job', he said, 'but if you came out and told them it's all made of mango jelly, they'd say "mango jelly's just what we need to contain the waste"'

People at Killingholme are quite certain the site there is unsuitable. It is right on a geological fault, in a catchment area from which groundwater is collected for food-processing factories, and not far from the most rapidly eroding coast in the British Isles. Nevertheless they take the same view as the people of Elstow, that Nirex has already decided to use the site, and whatever the survey report Nirex will say that confirms its suitability. The only way to stop the dumping is to prevent the survey.

As we go to press, contractors have not been allowed onto any of the four sites. Nirex is surprised. They expected some opposition of course, but they expected it to die down in a day or two. The government has decided not to bury intermediate level waste at these sites after all, but only low-level waste; and Nirex has offered to buy houses within two kilometres of the dumps.

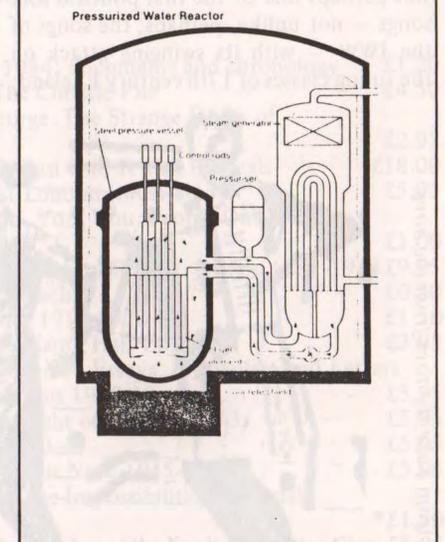
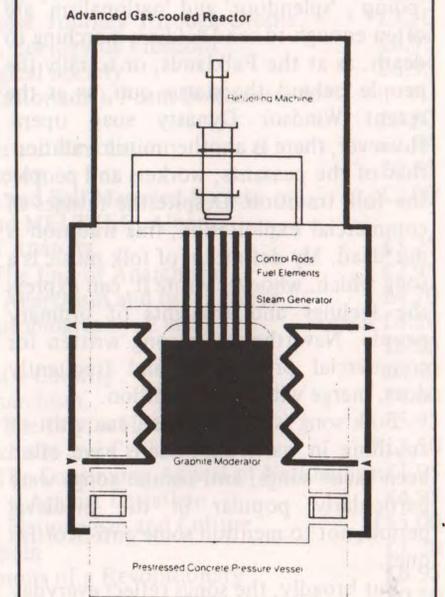
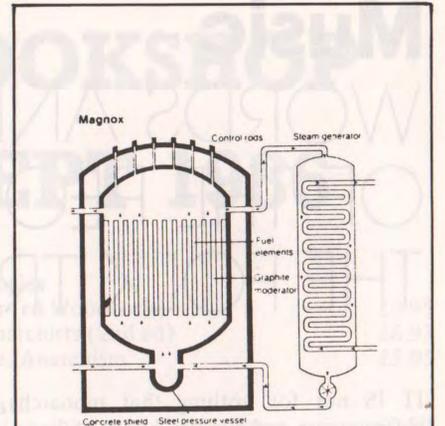
They are talking to representatives of BAND, HAND, LAND, and EAND (work it out), and in the case of Killingholme they agreed not to try and enter the site for a time, while HAND consulted its members. Nirex can only proceed in this matter by consent. If they are allowed to get on with the work in peace it will take months. If they somehow force their way onto the site and then have to cope with peaceful sabotage like having their holes filled in and their markers pulled out and their workers continually distracted, it could take forever. If they take out a court injunction they cannot count on the eager support of the police, and in any case all sorts of people have declared their willingness to go to gaol.

But in order to proceed by consent they must have the consent of nearly everybody, and they will not get that by convincing only the 'leaders' of the protest, the spokespeople and committee members. They are not 'leaders' in the sense of bosses, as Nirex appears to suppose; their leadership does not extend to calling the protest off. Every demonstrator will need to be convinced.

The protesting villagers, as distinct from the anarchists, leftwing loonies, scruffy hippies and others who have come to help, are given by Nirex publicists the insulting nickname of 'Nimby', an acronym for Not In My Back Yard'. No doubt the immediate threat to themselves first drew the attention of many to the wider problems of nuclear waste, but it is surely a slander to suggest they would revert to Tory-voting meekness if Nirex decided to dump their lethal muck in someone else's backyard. These villagers have learned that it is misleading to compute the expense of nuclear power simply in terms of immediate money, or the danger of nuclear weapons in terms of the likelihood of war. They are not going to unlearn it.

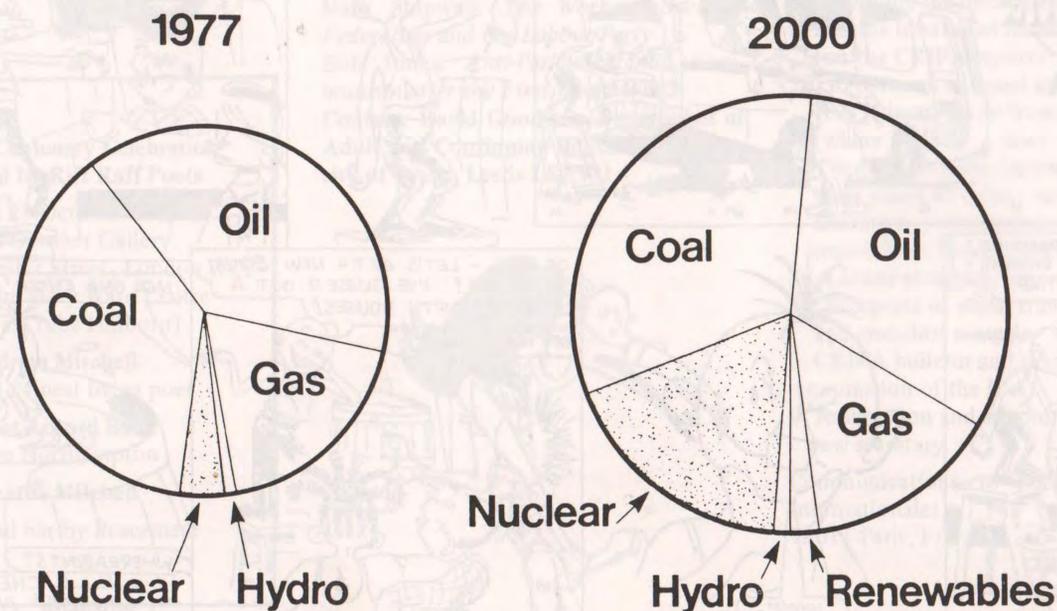
We have the impression the ignorance of nuclear radiation shown by staff at the shop in Bedford pervades the whole Nirex organisation. It is not impossible. Despite high unemployment generally there are plenty of vacancies at good salaries for nuclear physicists, and Nirex might have failed to attract anyone competent in this field.

They also appear to be incompetent in public relations, and in the technology of waste dumping. Sweden and Germany are proposing to dump even low-level nuclear waste in deep holes, below groundwater level. France proposes to store it in permanent surface structures, above groundwater level. The United States buries it fifteen metres deep, and is having problems with radioactivity seeping into the groundwater. Nirex has decided to follow the United States system.



All illustrations from *Nuclear Power the Fuel for our Future* (Nuclear Power Information Group 1979, free).

DR



Music

WORDS AND MUSIC OF THE PEOPLE THE FOLK TRADITION

IT IS not for nothing that monarchs, governments and tyrants favour 'military' music, marching bands and such ceremonies. The basic beat of such 'march' music is a sound not unlike the pulse of the human heart. That, together with 'pomp', 'splendour' and 'nationalism' are often enough to send soldiers marching to death, as at the Falklands, or to rally the people behind the status quo, as at the recent Windsor Dynasty soap opera. However, there is another music tradition; that of the peasants, workers and people; the folk tradition. Despite the ravages of commercial exploitation, this tradition is not dead. My definition of folk music is a song which, whoever wrote it, can express the feelings and thoughts of ordinary people. Nevertheless, a song written for commercial profit can, and frequently does, merge within the tradition.

Folk song is not socialist, anarchist or anything in particular; there have often been racist songs; anti-semitic songs were particularly popular in the medieval period, not to mention some anti-Scottish ones.

But broadly, the songs reflect everyday life, the concerns of ordinary people — food, work, life, love, death and change. Naturally they have political overtones. The 'Diggers Song' of the diggers of 1649 was perhaps one of the first political folk songs — not unlike, perhaps, the songs of the IWW — with its swinging attack on the ruling classes of 17th century England:

'With spades and hoes and plowes,
stand up now, stand up now, / Your
freedom to uphold, seeing Cavaliers
are bold / To kill you if they could,
and rights from you to hold. / Stand
up now, Diggers all.'

Nor were they the last social movement in English history to make use of song. The luddites — machine breakers opposing the destruction of their frame knitting livelihood — were celebrated in many songs of the 1810s, one such being 'General Ludd's Triumphs':

'I'll sing the achievements of General
Ludd, / Now the hero of Nottinghamshire.
/ Brave Ludd was to measures of
violence unused / Till his sufferings
became so severe, / That at last to
defend his own interests he roused /
And for the great fight did prepare.'

The Chartists too did not go without songs. And there were numerous songs about strikes, lockouts and accidents in industry, such as 'The Cotton Lords of Preston'. Workers on strike, or locked out, would write a song, have it printed as a ballad and attempt to raise money for their own relief by its sale.

In more recent times movements such as the mass trespassers during the 1930s to gain access to the Peak District for the workers of nearby Manchester and Sheffield were similarly remembered in song. Though Ewan McColl is both a communist and Stalinist there can be few

people in Britain who have not heard his song commemorating the rambler hero of this particular struggle:

'I'm a rambler, I'm a rambler from
Manchester way, / I get all my pleasures
the high moorland way, / I may be a
wage slave on Monday, / But I am a
free man on Sunday.'

The peace movement of the early '60s saw protest songs such as 'A Hard Rain is Gonna Fall'.

Though folk music has a long pedigree, older than the '60s revival, it is either to the folk clubs which grew out of the '60s revival or to one of the many festivals you must go if you wish to hear live folk music. There are many 'traditional' and 'contemporary' songs sung at these clubs and many 'ordinary' people writing and performing fine songs. Bill Prince, one such from Bedford, is a dustman by day but a singer/songwriter in his free time. 'No Cause for Alarm' is a strong condemnation of the nuclear state by Bill.

The 'singaround' clubs represent the most spontaneous and 'anarchist' element. Being entrance free, directly democratic, anyone can perform or not, as is their choice, and *anything* can be performed. The music may be a bit amateur but that doesn't matter.

The festival scene offers the chance to see 'big names' but unlike many pop musicians, virtually no one in the folk world is a millionaire and many performers sing on work, environmental and political themes. Mike Harding has written many such songs as 'King Cotton':

'This is the land where children have
laboured, / Where life and death meant
the self same thing, / Where the many
have worked that the few might
prosper, / This is the valley where
the cotton is king.'

Mike Harding is one of the few I know of who have laid any claim to being an anarchist. In his book *The Armchair Anarchist's Almanac*, can be found many gems of which the following is an example:

'A government official is anyone who
can scrape up 51% of the votes cast by
40% of the voters who could be
bothered to vote out of the eligible
population. This democracy ensures
that something like 13% of the popula-
tion choose the government.'

with which we all agree!
So if you wish to listen to/perform
some music/songs with people who are
aware, if only slightly, of the real history
of England, and contemporary issues, get
down to your local folk club.

Jonathan Simcock

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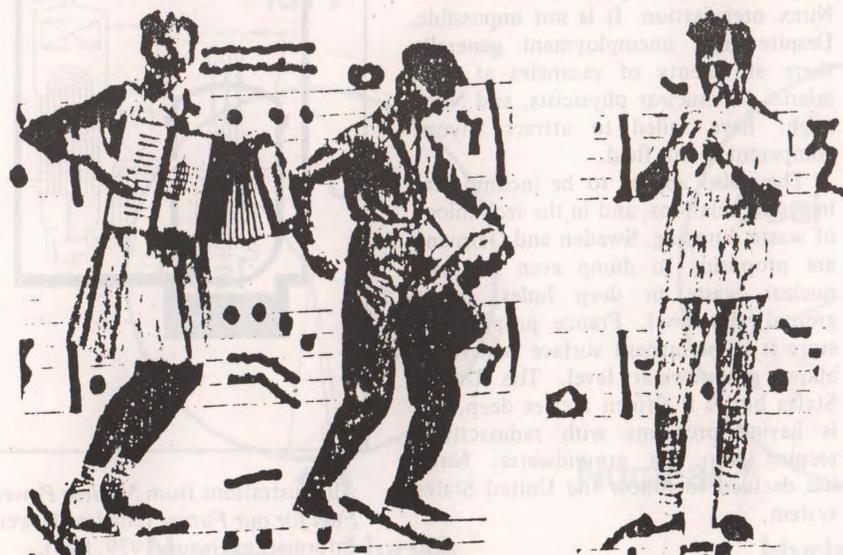
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Ireland

THE RIGID REPUBLIC

IN THESE islands there are two states. One is a ramshackle monarchy. The monarch is the head of two (different) state-cults. The government consists of two Houses. One is made up of aristocrats and of holymen from the state-cult of the larger element in the overall state. The other represents the ordinary citizen, but even a cursory examination reveals that most of the people in the 'lower' House are from the privileged stratum of society. All of this is accompanied by a bowing and scraping to the monarch, and the wearing of outlandish and anachronistic clothes to glamourise these people. The other state is rigidly republican. Church and State are separate. There are no priests or bishops in either of the Houses of the legislature. The lower is elected by universal adult suffrage, using the most scientific methods to make sure the citizen's vote counts. The Senate is chosen from among the most distinguished of citizens regardless of sex, gender, class, colour or their party politics.

The former state should be a shambles, the latter a beacon to the world. But in fact the UK is still one of the ten and probably five most important industrial states in the world (despite the ruling class trying to blackmail the rest of the population into extruding more capital for their use). The latter state is probably the most reactionary in Europe.

Northern Ireland is part of the UK state and the great political dispute is whether or not it should be booted out of the UK state, either to become part of the Republic ('one and indivisible'), or to make its own way in the world.

Anarchists should oppose the expulsion of NI from the UK. Thereby we will stand shoulder to shoulder with Ian Gow, Enoch Powell, the Orange Order, some very shady characters on the far right of the Tory Party and in opposition to practically all of the Leninist and the Libertarian left. Why? Simply because, British society despite the lacy froth is substantially liberal and can be nudged in the direction of libertarianism - this latter would be especially true if the Trade Unions were pushed to take up workers' control of industry, a somewhat forlorn hope as the bureaucrats are fighting against workers' control of the

Trade Unions.

The substance of Irish society, as has been obvious for anyone with eyes to see for the past century and a half, is Roman Catholicism. For a decade or so the church dithered, simply because Rome dithered, now Rome is retrenching and so is the Irish hierarchy (and if you think 'hierarchy' is a quaint hang-over, think again - the real parliament of the state is at Maynooth, according to Sean O'Faolain in 1942, there is no reason to think that he would have to change his opinion today).

Ireland's industrial revolution has only succeeded in making the place ugly without producing great wealth for the workers, or power for the working class. It is also faltering, and the number of people being employed today is only balancing those being made redundant. Scores of thousands of youth are emerging onto the 'jobmarket' every year. Most of them escape to the larger more comprehensive culture of the other island.

The small farmer (which was a politism for 'peasant') and the rural co-operative commonwealth are now manifesto-writers' pipe-dreams. Due to Garrett Fitzgerald's over-playing his hand and to the death of the Labour Party in the Republic, there is a real likelihood that the substance of representative democracy will disappear in the 26 counties. It will probably remain, but both Fine Gael and Labour will disappear, and it is unlikely that the PD or the DSP or WP will pick up enough support to stop Fianna Fail being in power for the far foreseeable future.

If anarchism is not to be merely a charming dream then we must set realisable targets. Struggling for libertarian solutions to problems in a backward state to which we do not 'belong' is useless. If a great powerful state and some of its most important structures could be won: for realisable libertarian goals, like workers' control, this would have long-term historical implications for society not just in England, Wales or Scotland or our wee Ulster, but also for the south and for all of western Europe and the whole system of which Great Britain is part.

This means that we will probably not see the end result of our endeavours, but revolutionary politics is not surely about ego-tripping in the manner of Trotsky, Mao, Che and so forth, it is about creating a better world.

Sean McGouran

The American Atheists organisation wants its weekly half-hour television show to be broadcast on the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service. They say that atheists in the armed forces suffer discrimination since religious programmes are shown on military television.

Indian Anarchism?

IN A letter published elsewhere in this issue, Geoffrey Ostergaard describes Sarvodaya as 'Indian anarchism, a product of the main reinterpretation of aspects of the Indian tradition of religious thought and not one of the varieties of Western anarchism imported into India.' Swami Nirmalananda is the author of *Enlightened Anarchism*, now in course of publication in India. We publish this document by him, without comment, as a contribution to understanding.

How to find freedom in an unfree society

1. Reduce one's needs to the minimum possible.
2. As far as possible, avoid dependency on others, on government, on society and possessions. How light one feels when there is freedom from the weight of things!
3. Learn to be free from all sorts of expensive vices such as smoking, drinking, gambling, drug habits, etc. Man does not need these props.
4. Establish right relationship with all. Freedom in relationship brings peace and happiness.
5. As far as possible, do not interfere in the affairs of others. Live free and let others live free. Do not discuss right and wrong. Avoid all kinds of traps, unnecessary involvements and entanglements. Accept full responsibility for one's own action.
6. In simple living lies the highest virtue. It is like a treasure. Do not exchange it for an easy life.
7. Practising the ideal of Truth and Non-violence is false and unwise. Learn to abide in Truth and Non-violence in which there is peace and contentment.
8. Coffee, tea, white sugar, milk and milk products are unnecessary, and even harmful to health. The Vegans all over the world do not use them. Plain water is the most natural drink of all creatures except the modern man.
9. Give up newspaper reading, cinema going, TV and video watching, as these cause mind conditioning and distortion of values.
10. The thought-free state of self-awareness brings about inner refinement and culture of the heart which alone can make a person truly free, happy and wise.
11. Learn to grasp the underlying Oneness of all. Therefore, treat everything and everyone as one's kith and kin. Being always friendly with all, learn to walk hand in hand as a playmate and companion of Nature.
12. Become true lovers of the Universe by going beyond the barriers of the mind.

Swami Nirmalananda
B.R. Hills, Karnataka, India

Police

THE STALKER MYSTERY

ON 23 August the Deputy Chief Constable of Manchester went back to work, doing the Chief Constable's job for three days, until the chief came back from holiday. He had been suspended on full pay for 13 weeks while under suspicion of offences against police rules.

An expensive (£260,000) investigation led by Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, produced a list of ten possible offences. For instance, on 31 August 1985 Deputy Chief Constable Stalker used his official car to take him to a gathering where he made a ceremonial presentation to a visiting French police chief; as this was not strictly police business, it could be construed as misuse of his official car. Stalker applied to appear in person before Greater Manchester Police Committee to answer all the charges, but the committee decided they had too little time to waste any of it on such trivia; 'Mickey Mouse allegations', one committee member called them.

The mystery, not to say suspicion, surrounding Stalker's suspension remains. Stalker himself, Sampson, and anybody else who might know anything are running in circles backwards to deny the involvement of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the secret intelligence service MI5, or the Freemasons. But the denials are unconvincing where no other explanation is offered. The Home Office has now started an investigation into the investigation.

Four solutions to the mystery have been proposed. They are not mutually exclusive. Perhaps they are all true, or perhaps they are all false. All will no doubt be revealed in 30 years' time, when the files are released to historians.

1). The RUC, or MI5, or both, decided to ignore the laws restricting police power and fight the terrorists with that same ruthlessness which the terrorists use themselves. Stalker, a straightlaced Mr Plod, could not be persuaded to agree to this course. So the network of personal friendships, or the Freemasons, or some other link between Ulster and Manchester was used to get him out. (This solution is less attractive when we reflect that the actual work of the investigation was done by eight detectives, who stayed at work when Stalker went.)

force) is the struggle between political parties competing for the vote. ('If you anarchists want to change society why don't you stand for Parliament har har har?') In Guatemala perhaps the elected government can do nothing to which the army, the landowners, or the Americans object, but in Britain Parliament is sovereign.

In fact, however, every nation-state is an alliance of magnates, combining to restrain and exploit ordinary people, but each pushing for an increased share of power relative to the others. Those at the top are always in danger of losing some power to subsidiary rulers. King John was forced to make concessions to the aristocracy. Later monarchs found themselves having to call Parliaments, of aristocrats and gentry, to agree taxes. Charles I was defeated by Parliament, and Parliament was dispossessed in turn by its own general.

2). Central government started the investigation on the advice of constitutional nationalist politicians, who pointed out that they were losing votes to Sinn Fein (the party connected with the IRA) because of the shootings. Stalker, a Roman Catholic with an Irish mother, was appointed as likely to satisfy nationalist voters. The Anglo-Irish agreement precipitated byelections in the 15 Unionist seats, where it became clear the nationalist vote was returning to the constitutional parties. The biggest threat now came from the loyalists, who would not be attracted by Stalker's background. It was therefore decided to take him off the case.

3). The respectable-seeming Kevin Taylor is in fact a major international criminal. Officers investigating him were astounded to recognise the Deputy Chief Constable among his friends, and requested a separate investigation.

4). John Anderton cannot stick his Deputy and seized the excuse to nobble him.

There have been some rather strange objections to Stalker's involvement with the Conservative Party, attending fundraising functions and so on. 'What would people say', asks one letter to a newspaper, 'if Stalker attended a meeting to keep Militant in the Labour Party?' But nobody has suggested this was part of the reason he was suspended.

Towards a police state?

Fascinating as it is, the question of what happened to Stalker is much less important than what is going on in Ireland that he was sent to investigate.

We were all taught at school that in this country the elected government is the only body in power, and the only struggle for power (apart from people trying to overthrow the constitution by

Every civilian government is in some danger from the military, and every military government from rich young officers. South Africa is supposedly ruled by politicians elected by the white minority, subject only to judges administering established laws. But the more white ascendancy is threatened, the more power passes from the politicians and judges to the security forces. If the security forces eventually take over and South Africa becomes a police state, the oppressed majority will not notice much difference. But the politicians, now in the ascendant, will be reduced to the status of police puppets.

Britain is nowhere near a police state, but there are discernible movements in the direction of the police getting a bigger share. Until 1976, for instance, the law did not allow police to imprison anyone for longer than two days without permission from a magistrate. Then the law was changed to allow them to hold people for up to five days in 'security' cases; not to change police practice so much as to bring existing police practice back within the law. Police in England and Wales (except London) are nominally controlled by Police Committees of local councillors and magistrates, but it is apparent these committees are little more than advisory bodies whose advice the Chief Constables may ignore with impunity. During the miners' strike of 1984/5 it became clear they were obeying the instructions of a central 'police liaison committee', and spending what they thought fit on overtime payments, heedless of the complaints of local politicians, that between police overspending and government ratecapping they were being forced into personal bankruptcy and political ruin.

Ulster police have always been more heavily armed, and more threatened by arms, than police elsewhere in Britain. It must be thoroughly frustrating for them that they are not allowed simply to shoot their enemies, instead of going through the uncertainties of trials, which even before the juryless Diplock courts include defence lawyers and demand evidence. MI5 is answerable to the Prime Minister, who in the case of the present incumbent of that office believes that if juries acquit accused people there is something wrong with the jury system. It is not impossible that the RUC in 1982 had central government permission to experiment with killing rather than arresting, and that MI5 were there with tape recorders evaluating the experiments.

If that is so it was a catastrophe for the two lads at Ballymeeny, that the experimental series began with a cock-up. But for those who think a political state a lesser evil than a police state, it may be fortunate. **M McM**

Stalker: a chronology

FOR the benefit of readers who have not followed the Stalker affair, we present here some of the facts which the media have mentioned. Not knowing how they are related, we simply list them in chronological order. (Acknowledgements to Katy Andrews for research.)

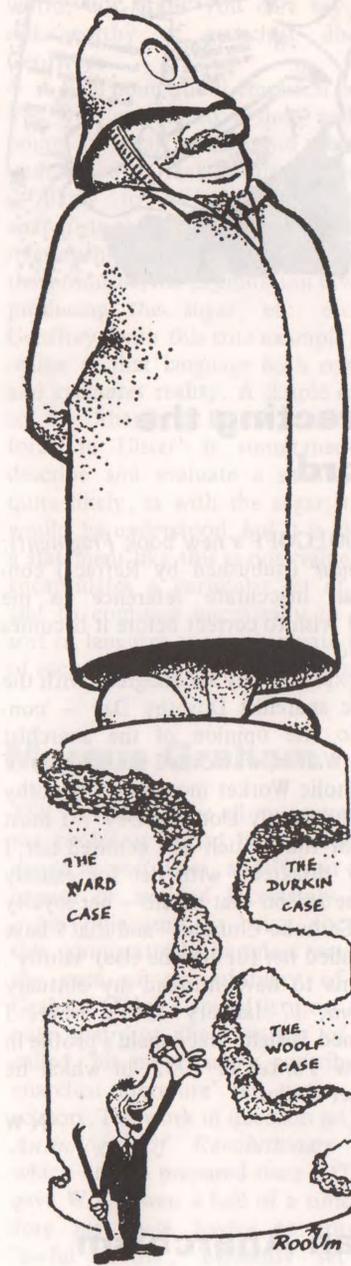
1981: in December John Stalker, Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, went on a boating holiday to Miami with his old friend Kevin Taylor, a Manchester businessman. It was Taylor's boat, but otherwise they shared expenses.

1982: 2 January, Stalker was a guest at Taylor's fiftieth birthday party; there were at least 74 guests of whom 13 had criminal convictions. 24 November, in a hayloft at Ballymeeny in Northern Ireland, RUC anti-terrorist officers shot two teenagers and killed one of them in the presence of MI5 officers; the lads had no connection with any terrorist group. About the same time in Lurgan, three members of the Irish Republican Army, unarmed at the time, were killed by RUC officers who fired 109 bullets into their car. December, two unarmed members of the Irish National Liberation Army were similarly killed by police shooting up their car.

1983: during an inquest into the Ballymeeny killing the Coroner resigned complaining of police non-co-operation; police stated they were under orders to conceal the presence of MI5. An inquest on the INLA men led to three constables being indicted for murder; during the trial one of them said he had been ordered to lie about the incident. October, a woman who had been employed by Manchester Conservative Association kept the Association's car pending payment of salary; Kevin Taylor, as chairman of the Association, sent a private detective, an ex-policeman who had worked with Stalker, to repossess the car; there was a scuffle and police were called but took no action; the woman complained to the Conservative Party national executive.

1984: Sir John Hermon, Chief Constable of the RUC, asked for an 'independent' investigation (ie one by officers from another place) into allegations that the RUC had a policy of killing suspects in preference to arresting them (a 'shoot to kill' policy, the nationalist press called it). Stalker was appointed, and took with him eight detectives from Greater Manchester.

1985: early, Manchester Conservative Association was dissolved by the national executive. Police began an investigation into the affairs of Kevin Taylor. 7 August, Stalker attended Taylor's wedding anniversary party; at least 51 were present of whom seven had convictions. September, Stalker handed Hermon a report which



The above cartoon was published in 1963. The cartoonist boasts of having 'dislodged a bit of brick' from the pedestal on which the public mistakenly placed our wonderful policemen in those days (the rather larger holes in the pedestal represent cases in which people died as a result of police action). These days, people in power have stopped trying to pretend the police are saints. A repressive force can manage quite well without 'public confidence'.

recommended the suspension of several RUC officers pending prosecution; Hermon asked for the investigation to continue. October, Stalker attended a fundraising event for a rugby club, where he met Taylor and was invited to join him and some other friends at dinner in a restaurant; Stalker recognised one of the guests as a villain and looked up his record when he got back to the nick, so learning that Taylor was under investigation; he told Taylor they should not meet again until the investigation was over. November the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed, and the RUC found themselves, for the first time, under attack from Loyalists.

1986: in February, Hermon passed Stalker's 'interim' report, which he had been sitting on since September, to the Director of Public Prosecutions. The investigating detectives complained to Stalker they were having problems collecting evidence for the 'final' report; RUC officers were refusing to discuss MI5 involvement, or release an MI5 sound recording of the Ballymeeny incident, without higher authority which was not forthcoming. In April, Stalker gave Hermon an ultimatum; unless his team got access to what they wanted by 1 June, he would resign from the investigation complaining loudly of non-co-operation. 16 May Stalker went on holiday. 28 May he was instructed by John Anderton, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, to stay on holiday because he was being investigated. Colin Sampson, Chief Constable of West Yorkshire, started the investigation of Stalker and also assumed responsibility for the RUC investigation, which was still conducted by the eight Greater Manchester detectives. July, the RUC officers recommended for suspension in the September 1985 report were suspended. 18 August, members of Greater Manchester Police Committee each received a summary of Sampson's report recommending that Stalker be tried by an 'independent tribunal' for disciplinary offences. 22 August, the Committee met and voted 36 to 6 to reinstate Stalker forthwith. 25 August the detectives in Northern Ireland complained to Sampson that whenever he was in West Yorkshire, high-ranking RUC men pulled rank and refused to co-operate; an Assistant Chief Constable was added to their team.

A policeman in Switzerland has been drowned, trying to rescue a duck trapped in a whirlpool.

Gerrard Mohapi, from Lesotho, has died aged 85. For the past 70 years he passed as a woman and worked as a nurse for 30 years.



Rape camp

IN SEPTEMBER last year a woman was raped by two men living at Molesworth 'Peace' Camp. In May 1986 a woman was raped in London, by a man who had lived at the camp for two years. In July another woman was raped at the camp.

There has been a history of various forms of male violence at Molesworth Camp for the past three years. Women have spent a lot of time discussing sexism with the men. Nothing has changed, and the women have been forced to leave Molesworth in fear and confusion.

There has been a conspiracy of silence about this at the camp for too long. The women who have been forced to leave want the whole peace movement to know that Molesworth is not a Peace Camp. It is a raping ground and must no longer be praised and protected.

The women who have left the camp want it closed. We see no sign of those involved in the camp confronting the rapes issue, and feel if the mixed camp continues there will be another rape there.

As *Freedom* has in the past offered support to Molesworth I ask you now to print this truth about what happened there. We (the women who were raped and others calling for the camp to be closed) can be contacted at this address.

Rachel
Box MW, 3 Fletchers Terrace,
Cambridge

Polish prisoner

WLADYSLAW CHRABOWSKI is currently in prison in Warsaw, Poland, serving a three-year prison sentence for printing and possessing Solidarity leaflets and publications. He was one of twenty workers arrested at the Warsaw printing works Prochem earlier this year — the state has agreed to release them all for a one million zloty ransom.

Please send letters of support to: Wladyslaw Chrabowski, Areszt Slędczy, ul. Ciupagi, Białoleka, Warszawa, Poland.

Letters demanding the release of Wladyslaw and the others should be sent to: Polish Embassy, 47 Portland Place, London W1N 3AG.

Correcting the record

SAM DOLGOFF's new book *Fragments: A Memoir* (published by Refract) contains an inaccurate reference to me which I wish to correct before it becomes accepted.

He explains why he disagreed with the Catholic anarchist Dorothy Day — 'contrary to the opinion of the anarchist Nicolas Walter, who called the founder of the Catholic Worker movement, Dorothy Day, "the saintly Dorothy Day".' I must comment that, much as I admired her, I actually disagreed with her for exactly the same reason that he did — her loyalty to the Catholic Church — and that I have never called her (or anyone else) 'saintly'. He seems to have misread my obituary (*Freedom*, 17 January 1981), where I mentioned Dwight Macdonald's profile in the *New Yorker* in 1952 'in which he called her a saint'.

NW

Indian Anarchism

IN HIS generous review of my book, *Nonviolent Revolution in India* (August 1986), NW concludes that 'neither Bhavne nor Narayana, nor Sarvodaya in general, can properly be considered either as anarchist or pacifist . . .'. But what can 'properly be considered' anarchist or pacifist?

Pacifism, a relatively simple doctrine, is more complex than commonly supposed by those who identify it with refusal to kill or harm other human beings. Gene Sharp makes this clear in his typology of principled nonviolence. (See Chapter 10 of his *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, 1979.) And anarchism, except for sectarians peddling their own particular brand as the exclusive truth, is a notoriously protean doctrine, ranging from anarchist communism to anarcho-capitalism.

We should not use words loosely, but terms like 'anarchism' don't have essential,

ineradicable meanings. 'Anarchism', I suggest, should be used to refer to a cluster of related ideas, several of them fuzzy at the edges. From this perspective, there are good reasons why some of us classify Sarvodaya as a variety of anarchism. In doing so, we recognise that it is *Indian* anarchism, a product in the main of a reinterpretation of aspects of the Indian tradition of religious thought and not one of the varieties of Western anarchism imported into India. In this respect, Indian anarchism is unlike, say, Indian Communism.

'I, too, am an anarchist, but of another type', declared Gandhi in 1916. The qualification is significant, as are the differences between mainstream Western and Indian anarchism. But aren't we being a little Eurocentric in declining to recognise a largely indigenous anarchism when we see it? Sarvodayites, I admit, don't call themselves anarchists — nor did Godwin or Tolstoy. But, then, Sarvodaya has the effrontery to claim that it is the 'true' philosophy of humanity in which, as it unfolds, all apparently competing creeds, including Marxism and Western anarchisms, will eventually find a place! The claim parallels that of Hinduism which encompasses all religious doctrines, ranging from idol worship through monotheism to atheism.

Geoffrey Ostergaard

See 'Indian Anarchism?' page 13.

DAM

ON THURSDAY 21 August the Central London section of the Direct Action Movement held a public meeting on anarcho-syndicalism at Conway Hall, in Holborn, London. Two speakers presented the case for revolutionary, federalist unions as opposed to the centralised, reformist unions of today. Anarcho-syndicalism did not die out in 1936 but is still relevant today. The events in Paris in 1968 showed that capitalism is not secure and the economic problems since the mid nineteen seventies reinforce the message. However, certain aspects of anarcho-syndicalism are outdated, such as the idea of strictly syndicalist unions, and must be dropped.

The speakers actually covered much more ground than the above precis indicates. Too much ground, really. Anarcho-syndicalism, like anarchism generally, has a long history and it is difficult to state the ideas in today's terms without mentioning the past. But whilst we must be aware of and learn from the past, we must guard against the danger of appearing as a historical episode. Easier said than done, of course.

Mo

Royal Wedding

WHAT lame excuse did they give you at the PO counter? No ordinary ones available? I almost fainted when I saw the 12p stamp used to send my August *Freedom*. Next time, if it's a choice between a gratuitously offensive stamp and no stamp, you have my permission to send it with no stamp and I'll gladly pay the postage myself. I'm damned if I'm going to mark the celebrations of those over-indulged upper-class scum.

Rudi Affolter



Sugar and sense

GEOFFREY Barfoot's article, 'Knowledge and Sense', was badly argued, incoherent and very reactionary. In arguing for a naive empiricism, he places himself firmly within the macho-scientific tradition in which everything can be 'falsified', 'proved' and quantified.

He says anarchists should only be interested in propositions which relate directly to sense data and can be falsified with single reference to such data. This would be extremely limiting if it were possible, but it's not — there's no such thing as direct sense perception. Our perceptions are all mediated by our understandings and interpretations. This becomes obvious when one thinks of the strikingly different perceptions people have of the 'same' experience, but if Geoffrey wants 'proof' I suggest he looks at some of the psychological literature which shows that the psychological/sense states of, say, fear and anger are similar, and thus that people interpret what emotions they are feeling from the situation they are in.

One of the most insidious aspects of Geoffrey's call for an empirical approach is that it negates people's own experiences. Experiences of racism, sexism, oppression cannot be 'proved' or 'falsified' without reference to a particular view of the

world, but don't you dare say they're not worthy of anarchist discussion, Geoffrey.

A final point about empirical language. Yes, you can go to a shop and say 'a pound of sugar, please', and probably be understood. In fact in this situation what is likely to be of more interest to anarchists than the request is the power relationship between the consumer and the producer, the exploitation involved in producing the sugar, etc. etc. What Geoffrey (with this trite example) fails to realise is that language both *constitutes* and *evaluates* reality. A simple example: to say 'there's a British peace-keeping force in Ulster' is simultaneously to describe and evaluate a situation. It is quite likely, as with the sugar, that you would be understood, but it is clear that a statement like this is not 'value-free', it encapsulates a particular set of beliefs, and to continue uncritically to use this sort of language is to perpetuate the kind of society we live in at the moment.

Ros Gill

Marcus Graham

YOU certainly have all my sympathy for the problems caused by a sudden abundance in obituaries, and if you feel cuts cannot be avoided I certainly have no major objections to being doctored in this comparatively harmless way. But in the case of my obituary of Marcus Graham (July) I found it most unfortunate that just the mention of what I called 'his most lasting contribution to anarchist literature' fell victim to your scissors. The work in question is Graham's *Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry*, which he had prepared since 1927, which gave W C Owen a hell of a time just before his death having to correct the 'awful proofs', 'evidently set up by foreigners ignorant of English', and which finally was published in 1929; it has never been reprinted.

Hopefully my card-index box may now rest for a while!

H

Get your message across

PLEASE submit letters, and other material for publication, in a form which is useful to the typesetter. That is to say, make it easy for someone to copy your words without having to think about their meaning. If you have access to a typewriter please type with 'double' line spacing; if not, please use lined paper and write clearly using every second line, on one side of the paper only. Items offered for publication should be on separate sheets from covering letters etc, and from each other.

Stuff which is worth publishing sometimes arrives in unsuitable form. It gets put on one side until one of us has time to copy it out, shuffles to the bottom of the pile, and when we find it again it has lost its relevance and is no longer worth publishing. Please make sure this does not happen to your stuff.

Editors

Censorship of porn

I AM grateful to Andy Brown for his thoughtful letter in response to my recent article. I do indeed agree with him that the whole question is bound up with complex matters of the distribution of wealth and power in our society. The cartoonist who illustrated my article with a drawing really touched on an important point most aptly. Andrea Kinty's letter was most amusing; especially the sting in the PS! Such antics should be more widely known, and all power to her elbow in exposing the sort of Dworkin nonsense for what it is. The letter from Seattle from a correspondent signing himself or herself 'Vivien Sharples', I found only mildly amusing. I suspect that the writer is some kind of male chauvinist with his tongue in his cheek and a primitive sense of humour, trying to take the mickey by ridiculing the Dworkin mob still further. But surely this mob can be trusted to make themselves sufficiently ridiculous without anyone resorting to a spoof letter like this.

Tony Gibson

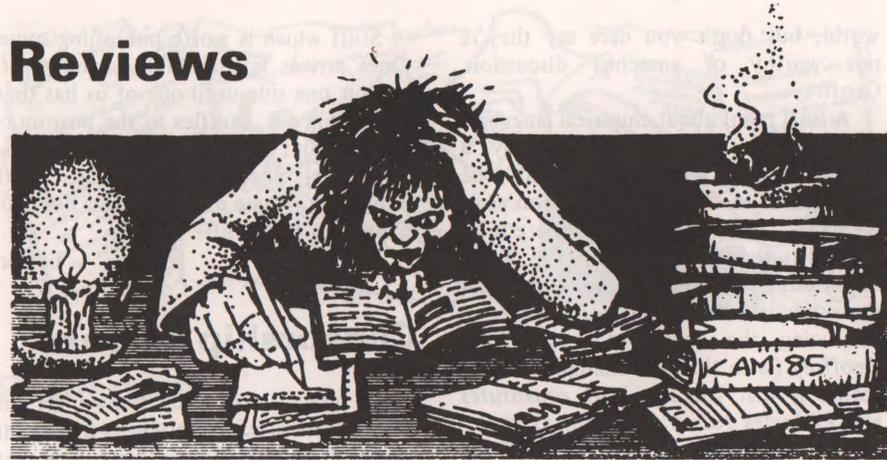


I WOULD like to point out to Vivien Sharples that I have been called 'silly' by young girls.

It does not worry me since silly means lucky in Suffolk (England) dialect.

Paul Rothwell-Hartmann

Reviews



Contributions to a history of anti-war activity in the First World War

THE First World War is the great example in our history of mass obedience – when millions of ordinary men volunteered to fight at the Front for a King and a Country who had done nothing for them, and millions of ordinary men and women worked for the war effort back on the Home Front – and 70 years ago this society was probably more united for a bad cause than ever before or since. Yet even then there were pockets of disobedience – from liberals and pacifists and socialists and anarchists who dissented for political or religious or humanitarian reasons, and from deserters and criminals and layabouts and drop-outs who dissented for personal reasons.

Hundreds of books and articles have been published and hundreds of radio and television programmes broadcast about various aspects of the war, but very few about any aspects of anti-war activity – especially about such activity in the armed forces. Dave Lamb's *Solidarity Pamphlet Mutinies: 1917-1920*, published in 1978 and still available (Solidarity, £1.50) remains the best short summary of published material about the various soldiers' strikes during and after the war. Andrew Rothstein's book *The Soldiers' Strikes of 1919*, published in 1980 and now available in paperback (Journeyman, £3.95), describes those which can be linked with the opposition to the British intervention in the Russian Civil War from a Communist point of view.

Douglas Gill and the late Gloden Dallas produced another book, *The Unknown Army* (Verso, £18.50 and £5.95), published in 1985, a semi-academic account of all kinds of mutinies in the British forces during and after the First World War, which is full of fascinating information – especially on the Etaples mutiny of 1917 – but is marred by excessive detail and inadequate analysis. William Allison and John Fairley produced *The Monocled Mutineer* (Quartet, £2.50), published in 1978, a journalistic account of the career of Percy

Toplis, a mysterious deserter and mutineer who became a murderer and was shot by police in 1920, which is full of sensational speculation but is marred by a total lack of supported evidence.

It is typical of the mass media that out of all the available material *The Monocled Mutineer* has been chosen as the subject of a television series being broadcast on BBC 1 from 31 August to 21 September. Alan Bleasdale's script (Hutchinson, £5.95) distorts the few known facts even further, transforming a man who seems to have been a pretty unpleasant crook into some kind of working-class anti-hero. Never mind – fantasy makes better television than fact.

A better subject for such dramatisation might be the extraordinary episode of fraternisation between British and German soldiers on the Western Front at Christmas 1914. Malcolm Brown and Shirley Seaton produced *Christmas Truce* (Leo Cooper/Secker & Warburg, £14.95), published in

1984, an authoritative account based on primary sources, which is one of the best books ever written on the infinite ambiguity of war. For once fact is stranger than fantasy, and possibly defies attempts to turn it into fiction.

Another similar subject which has been dramatised more than once is the strange case of the Wheeldon family, victims of an official frame-up in 1917 – Alice Wheeldon, a leading antimilitarist socialist feminist in Derby, her daughters Hettie and Winnie, and her son-in-law Alf Mason, who were trapped by Government agents and prosecuted for conspiring to assassinate Lloyd George and other politicians, three of them being imprisoned after a tragi-comic trial. One such dramatisation was Sheila Rowbotham's play *Friends of Alice Wheeldon*, first performed in 1980, and this now appears in a book with the same title (Pluto, £4.95). The text of the play takes only 80 pages; there are also a short preface and a short introduction, a short forward and a short afterword to the play, and a 100-page essay on 'Rebel Networks in the First World War'. The book is really rather a mess, but it contains a great deal of interesting information and stimulating discussion about the anti-war movement, including a few passing references to anarchists.

What is really needed is a single account of the whole movement against the First World War (and indeed the Second World War), but meanwhile all these individual items help to build up a general picture which still looks confusing but should become clearer in the end. Perhaps it is time for a survey of the anarchist contribution to the subject.

NW



The Digger Movement 1649

Leslie S A Jones
(Leslie S A Jones, £1)

THE two episodes in English history which most closely anticipated what later became anarchism are what is known as the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 and what is known as the Digger Movement of 1649. In both cases a profound revolutionary upheaval showed strong libertarian tendencies in a combination of mass direct action and the rejection of instituted authority.

There is virtually no first-hand information about the people of 1381, but the situation is very different with the people of 1649 – printing had been invented during the interval – and the contemporary reports of what the so-called Diggers did during 1648-1650 are accompanied by a series of remarkable pamphlets, mostly by a leader called Gerrard Winstanley. It is therefore possible to write a proper history of the episode, covering both the practice and the theory, but this has not been done in this new account.

Leslie Jones produced a rather unreliable and unreadable pamphlet on *The People's Uprising 1381* in 1981, and has now produced an equally unreliable and unreadable pamphlet on *The Digger Movement 1649*. The narrative is repetitive, the analysis is superficial, the scholarship is amateurish, and the style is clumsy. There is quite a lot of interesting information in the 24 pages, but you have

to work hard to get it out, and you can't trust it when you do so. You would do much better to read Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* or Fenner Brockway's *Britain's First Socialists* or – best of all – the revised version of Christopher Hill's edition of Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom and Other Writings*.

MH

Turning the Tide

Noam Chomsky
Pluto Press, £5.95

Noam Chomsky is a professor of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and one of the world's leading scholars in his specialised academic field. He is also a critic of the United States government and has been for some twenty years since he became an opponent of US involvement in Vietnam. *Turning the Tide* is subtitled *US Intervention in Central America and the Struggle for Peace*, and is a continuation of his earlier work. Only the setting has changed.

The US government is publicly committed to democracy and yet in Central America, as elsewhere, maintains evil dictatorships in power, sometimes to the extent of intervening militarily to install a dictator against the popular will. The reason for the actual US government policy, as opposed to its stated policy,

has been and continues to be the desire of US capitalism to use Central America as a cheap source of raw materials. This in turn requires Central American governments prepared to put the interests of US capitalism before those of their own people.

Examples of such governments are found in El Salvador and Guatemala, in both of which countries the government terrorises its people with murder and torture, all financed by the US government. The US government is determined to prevent the emergence of governments such as the one in Nicaragua since the overthrow of Somoza, a US puppet and dictator, in 1979. Governments with even the slightest concern for their subject peoples threaten the interests of US capitalism.

The main camouflage behind which the US government policy hides is that of anti-Communism. President Reagan refers to the contras carrying out terrorist raids on the civilian population of Nicaragua as 'freedom fighters'. As Chomsky says, the only freedom involved here is the freedom of US capitalism to rob and exploit the rest of the world. Chomsky goes further. The US government actually encourages Communist involvement in the area since this makes the US claim to be defending freedom, when it is actually destroying it, more plausible. Chomsky's perceptive analysis of US involvement in Central America is highly recommended.

Mo

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