

# FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

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**Freedom Press**

IN ANGEL ALLEY  
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LONDON E.1

## Groups

**ABERDEEN** libertarian group. Contact c/o 193 King St, Aberdeen.

**ABERYSTWYTH.** Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberystwyth.

**BELFAST** Anarchist Collective, c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast.

**BIRMINGHAM.** Meet Sundays, 8.30pm at the Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. B'ham or Ring Joanna 440 5132  
also Anarcha Feminist Group

**BRISTOL CITY.** 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

**BRISTOL** Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8  
**CAMBRIDGE.** Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

**CANTERBURY.** Alternative Research Group. Contact Wally Barnes, Elot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.

**CARDIFF.** Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

**CHELTENHAM** Anarchists see street-sellers, 11.00-1.30 Saturday mornings at Boots corner, High St.

**COVENTRY:** John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

**DERBY** (and environs). All two of us welcome collaborators. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 368678.

**EAST ANGLIAN** Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

**EDINBURGH** Anarchists meet at 8 p.m. on Monday at First of May Bookshop, Middle St.

**EXETER** Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter.

**GLASGOW** Anarchist Group. Initially, weekly meetings. For further information contact John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, Glasgow G45.

**GREENWICH & BEXLEY.** Any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group please contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, SE2 9 TU.

**HASTINGS** Anarchist Group. Solstice, 127 Bohemia Rd, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex. Tel: 0424 429537.

**HIGH BENTHAM.** Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.

**HUDDERSFIELD.** Meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic Students' Union).

**HULL** Libertarian Collective. Pete Jordan, 70 Perth St, Hull, East Yorks.

**LEAMINGTON & WARWICK.** c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

**LEEDS.** 29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.  
**LEICESTER.** Anarchist group, Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days). 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop, Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896. Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

**MALVERN & WORCESTER** area. Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcs.

**MANCHESTER.** c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

**MID-SUSSEX** Anarchists. Contact Resources Centre, North Road, Brighton  
**NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.** Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

**NOTTINGHAM.** c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av, Hyson Green (Tel: 708302).

**OLDHAM.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist group in Oldham area, contact Nigel Broadbent, 31 Cooke St, Fails-worth, Manchester. (Activities to be decided on formation).

**OXFORD.** Danny Simpson, Room 1, Turf St, Oxford.

**PORTSMOUTH.** Caroline Cahm, 25 Albany Road, Southsea, Hants.

**READING** University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

**SALFORD; MOVEMENT FOR ANARCHY** Experimental Group 2. Contact SNOWY at 22 George Henry St, Salford 5.

**SHEFFIELD.** Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWV, Syndicate of Initiative. John Craghe Memorial Society.

**SWANSEA.** Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Duvant, Swansea.

**THAMES VALLEY.** Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (Tel: 062 2974).

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE.** Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

**WILTSHIRE.** Comrades in Swindon wish to start anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton. Swindon. Wilts.

## FEDERATIONS

### LONDON

**FEDERATION OF LONDON ANARCHIST GROUPS:-**

Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av, Tel: 359-4794. Before 7 pm.  
Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1, Tel: 247-9249

Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042  
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.  
London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042  
Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd).  
West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

### KENT

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd  
Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION**  
c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd,  
**NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION**  
Secretariat:- C/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

**SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION**  
Contact: Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St (Top R.), Dundee. Tel: Dundee 814541

**"SOLIDARITY: a libertarian communist organisation which publishes the journal SOLIDARITY For Social Revolution**  
Local Contacts: Aberdeen, c/o 187 King St, Aberdeen. Dundee: c/o N. Woodcock 74 Arklay St, Dundee. Manchester: c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1. Oxfrd: c/o 34 Cowley St, Oxford. London: c/o 123 Lathom Rd, London E6., and members in many other towns.

**ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION** (Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own newspaper Bread and Roses). Local contacts: London: Danny Jakob, 88 Speedwell House, Cornet St, Deptford, SE8. Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, BG. Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill. Glasgow: Dave Carruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4

## Meetings

Wednesday, 6 June, London Men's Centre, Bread and Roses, 316 Upper Street, London N1. Workshop on co-counselling (8 p.m. prompt!)

Wednesday, 13 June, London Men's Centre. Consciousness raising.

Wednesday, 20 June, London Men's Centre. Workshop on violence against women (women welcome).

Anarcha United Mystics invite you to an all night party at 13 James St, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (opposite Covent Garden tube station) from 8 p.m. on Friday, 8 June and again on Friday, 22 June. Bring that which you expect to find. Entrance free.

AUM also hold meetings every Thursday night from 8 p.m. at same address to discuss the parties and other things about the true revolution of Love, etc.

U.S. comrade needs job and/or flat in UK from July 1979. Replies to Box 66, Freedom Press.

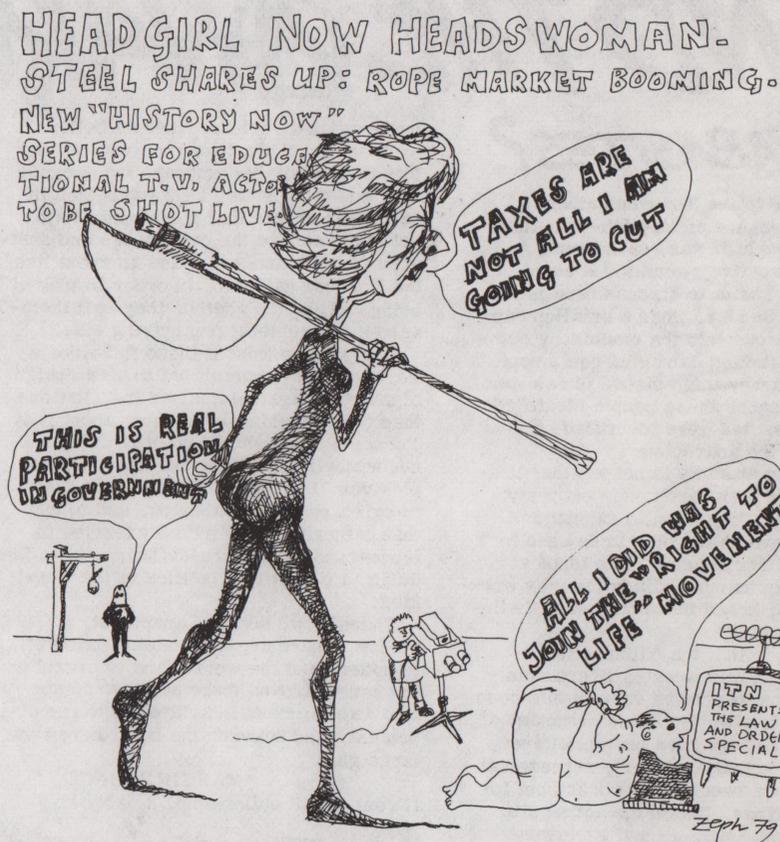
Asian Youth Movement are appealing for funds to help defend the 13 people arrested on 30 April in Bradford during an anti-NF demo. All cheques payable to: The Eccleshill 13 Defendants Fund, at 266 Lumb Lane, Bradford. For further info. ring 499310

We are tired of living in the city and want to live and work in a collective way in a country somewhere in Europe. Contact TOBY, 23 Hessel Terrace, Leeds 6

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## Maggie, now swing the axe! \*

first Elizabethan era, when the noble art of the executioner lay in the skilful swing of the axe. Without wishing to denigrate the art in any way, there is no doubt that the axe is a relatively simple instrument to use - (no calculations about weight of carcass, length of drop, etc!) - and who among us has not split a log or two in their day?

Further, it is much more spectacular than the rope, which brings us to our next consideration. High among the noble traditions of British justice stands the principle that 'Not only must justice be done; it must be seen to be done'.

This surely must be the clearest possible call for a return of public executions - so that all the people, including the judge and jury who passed sentence and arrived at their verdict, shall be able to see with their own eyes that justice is carried out with proper regard for the law of the land. The immediacy of beheading is ideal for that.

This would at one blow remove the furtiveness which sadly attended the old-style hangings, carried out in the name of the people, but shabbily, in private, without the people being able to see them for

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\* Advice to Mrs. Thatcher, Evening Standard, 31 May 79.

# TORNNESS AND THE ANARCHISTS

## 1. PARASITES?

I WENT UP to the Torness gathering over the weekend of May 5th-7th, and overall thought it was really good. A very constructive, worthwhile event. But the bit I want to discuss here is the episode on Sunday, when a small group of people broke into the machinery compound and started damaging equipment. The reason why this episode is relevant to us is because these people identified themselves, and were identified by others as 'the anarchists'.

The issue at stake is not whether it's 'right' or 'wrong' to damage property: I have got no objection to sabotage of equipment which is going to be used to build a nuclear reactor. The issue at stake concerns our attitude towards working within a broad movement such as the Torness Alliance.

The fact is that the Alliance is the nearest thing to a working libertarian organisation that we've seen in this country for quite a while. Decisions made at national meetings have been criticised, and it's true that a properly representative structure needs to be worked out for these meetings. But on the actual site over that weekend, we had a working system of grassroots democracy, at which mandated, recallable delegates (spokes) represented their affinity groups, and reached consensus decisions on that basis. There were obviously individual problems and inadequacies, but the Alliance is a concrete example that libertarian forms of organisation can work.

However, it seems that some avowed anarchists regard even this sort of structure as a bourgeois con-trick. On the Saturday night, at a long spokes meeting, a consensus was painfully hammered out concerning the nature of the occupation which would take place on Sunday. Despite this, some avowed anarchists went off and did their own thing.

This raises the whole question of what we mean when we call ourselves 'anarchists'. Do we mean that we are libertarian socialists, prepared to abide by collective decisions which are reached in an open, democratic and unbureaucratic fashion? Or do we mean that we are unaccountable individuals, who will abide by no collective decisions, and insist on following our whims and moods?

I know where I stand, I am a libertarian socialist, and I'm prepared to listen to and work alongside other socialists or liberals or environmentalists or anyone, so long as they're committed to the str-

uggle against nuclear power. I believe we have to build a broad movement, and this will inevitably embrace many currents and tendencies. I am interested in helping to create that movement. I am not interested in the petty poses and gestures of individuals who use an event like the Torness gathering in order to play at being 'militant', whether they call themselves 'anarchists' or anything else.

The point is this: if these individuals were genuinely committed to a campaign of sabotage against nuclear installations, then they shouldn't be arguing about it at Torness. They should be organising a secure cell-structure and obtaining explosives. But to wait for someone else to call a peaceful gathering, and to use that gathering for a trivial exercise in fence-cutting and tyre-deflating, is to indulge in parasitical politics of the worst kind.

There's two sorts of anarchist, it seems. There are anarchists who want to understand the world, and to organise to change it. And there are anarchists who want to make individual gestures of protest. And between the two, there is a large gulf.

MARTIN SPENCE  
(From NEAF bulletin no. 8, May 1979)

## 2. THE ANTI-NUCLEAR DILEMMA

... Michael Morris (Guardian, May 9) recognises that the 'plain arguments' have failed to 'slow the nuclear juggernaut' and suggests that the anti-nuclear movement in Britain could 'turn from direct action, in the form of non-violent civil disobedience, to less peaceful methods'.

The Government and the nuclear industry are able to ignore criticism from liberal intellectuals such as Guardian readers and leader writers. They have no clout. Those who work in the nuclear industry are well paid and are 'protected' from anti-nuclear propaganda. The risk of sabotage and supply interruption prompts the screening of potential workers for 'reliability'. Thus there is little prospect of help from organised labour within the industry.

The anti-nuclear movement is in an apparent dilemma: demonstrations and festivals are applauded and ineffectual; more direct action might be more effective but will be deplored by the 'responsible' authorities.

Many of us in the anti-nuclear movement, faced with this situation and with the clear danger to life and liberty presented by nuclear technology, feel that sabotage, and the destruction of machinery and property, are justified. We feel that this course of action is entirely consistent with the principles of non-violence. It does not hurt people; nuclear technology does.

A. SHEVEK  
For Reading Anarchists  
(From Guardian, 11.5.79)

## 3. VIEW FROM THE LUNAR COMPOUND

AS reported in the Guardian the 'gathering' and occupation at Torness on May 4th-7th exposed a split in the British anti-nuclear movement and thus a turning point for it. But as for the facts of what happened and the character of this split the Guardian's report - based on a press statement issued by self-selected spokespersons for the Torness Alliance - is a pack of lies. The same goes for radio and TV coverage of these events.

The split goes back to some time before the occupation. For a long time several groups and many individuals have been sceptical of the dominant strategy adopted by the anti-nuclear movement - typified by Friends of the Earth - based on pressure group politics, marshalling counter-expertise, influencing the media, etc. With the failure of this strategy at the Windscale Inquiry a year ago the emphasis shifted to 'non-violent direct action', implying a readiness to break the law but not to hurt people. Around this notion were grouped both original direct action proponents, who tended to interpret it to mean anything short of attacking people, and more recent converts from pressure groups, who saw it much more in terms of public relations. The latter dominated meetings of the Alliance, especially planning meetings.

When one of these earlier this year ruled against any damage to property in the course of the 'gathering', including the fence surrounding the site, it began to appear that some members of the Alliance were trying to sabotage any realistic possibility of an occupation, especially when an attempt to reverse the ruling at the Birmingham meeting led to the virtual

exclusion of the fence-cutting proponents and threats by others to police the fence themselves. A letter to the Alliance newsletter, urging the cutting of the fence should this prove necessary for an occupation, was not printed, nor was the copy sent to Peace News, so that discussion of this viewpoint was effectively censored from the normal communication channels of the Alliance.

Nevertheless when it came to the 'gathering' itself it became clear that support for cutting the fence, occupying as soon as possible, and damaging machinery on the site was considerable - strong enough for a full meeting of the Alliance on site to agree to bring forward the occupation from Monday to Sunday - which took the security men and police guarding the site by surprise. By Sunday morning large sections of the fence had been completely removed; nevertheless the public relations specialists insisted on making fools of themselves by marching on one of the remaining sections and climbing over it with the aid of bales of hay. (We can't help wondering whether these people would have got round to occupying at all without the threat of being upstaged by the fence-cutters).

About 500 people, taking the easier route, barricaded the main gate to the site and surrounded the inner compound where the machinery (and the security men and police) were kept. There were not enough of the latter to watch all round the compound so that fencing was cut and gates opened in a number of places with-

out any arrests. Those advocating no damage to property did what they could to regain control of the situation, including the devious tactic of calling a meeting at a point well away from the compound or the main gate, thus excluding anyone who thought either of these worthier of their attention: not surprisingly this meeting followed the no-damage line. Meanwhile considerable damage was done to machinery and buildings (£20,000's worth according to the latest official reports), but this was limited by an apparent desire to avoid direct physical confrontation with the police. This also meant that many of the people who caused the damage soon left the site since there was nothing left to do which did not involve such confrontation. Police reinforcements eventually appeared and re-occupied the compound, leaving some demonstrators free to continue a by now symbolic occupation of the outer site (where there are few buildings and no machinery).

It is blatantly untrue - and in any case quite implausible - for persons claiming to speak for the Alliance, and for the media, to claim that only 25 'wreckers' or 'self-confessed anarchists' or whatever were involved in damage to property. And for these people to point proudly to their role in helping the police to 'calm down' the 'wreckers' says more about where their sympathies lie than about anything which actually happened.

The split in the British anti-nuclear movement parallels splits in the anti-nuclear movement in other countries.

In America, from which the 'affinity group' structure which makes up much of the Alliance was imported, similar lack of democracy and the development of informal leadership within the Clamshell Alliance led to the formation of 'Clams for Democracy'. In France similar factors and a split this time over confrontation with the riot police led to the growth, after the Malville demonstration in 1977, of 'autonomous groups' concerned with sabotage and direct action.

Those who damaged the fence or machinery are not outside the Alliance, as the press claimed: they are, in accordance with the Torness Declaration, 'taking all non-violent steps' to stop construction. If anyone is outside the Alliance, it is those who would stop or obstruct such steps being taken.

We support the Torness Alliance as a network of groups and individuals with a common aim but a variety of strategies, intended to facilitate organised opposition to the building of the nuclear power station, but in no way entitled to impose any particular dogma or strategy on its members.

We therefore totally oppose any censorship on discussion of possible strategies within the Alliance; any attempts to manipulate groups and individuals into adopting a particular strategy; the issuing of unrepresentative and misleading 'official' press statements; and the emergence of informal leadership and bureaucracy which these activities reflect.

THE WILD SIDE STROLLERS.

# BRING BACK THE AXE!

Continued from page 1

themselves, and with only a small number of elite representatives of church and state (those faceless bureaucrats!) present.

Public execution would also conform to the more modern concepts of participatory democracy and the consequent diminution of the monopoly of the state in matters which concern us all, which is a declared aim of our new Government.

The site for our public executions, here in London at least, practically chooses itself, of course. Steeped in our culture, haunted by our history and a monument to the resilience of our monarchy, Tower Hill still stands, crying out to be used to the full in the re-creation of our past glories. Better late than never, perhaps, we may yet see the dawning of the new Elizabethan age we were promised 25 years ago.

What a boost this would be for our economy! What a tourist attraction! Well served by public transport (even mooring for boats from Copenhagen and Ostend, etc), the Tower already has splendid coach parks with room for more to be built (creating employment!) to accommodate the multitudes who would surely flock to see a spectacle unique in Europe - at least since the Nazis.

And apart from the instant flow of useful foreign currency, such a display of moral fibre would immediately go a long

way towards repairing the damage done to our economy by recent events in Iran and would help to cement our trade with the rest of the world of Islam.

Nor must we forget ourselves, which is why we plead with Mrs Thatcher to ensure that public executions are always held on Sunday - not only because it is the Christian sabbath and thus the better the day the better the deed, but because the whole exhibition can then be carried off with the least possible interference with business. Bank holidays, of course, would be ideal, and perhaps she would see May Day as a suitable execution day?

Nor must we forget the children. If executions were televised, the little ones would not have to be subjected to the dangers of getting lost among milling crowds of strangers, but could capture the excitement and further their proper education in the safety and comfort of their own homes. In colour. In close-up.

While the dramatic and educative quality of the broadcasts could be raised still further by the return to London - and into active service - of that incomparable symbol of our history, Temple Bar.

In view of the undoubted popularity of these events, we are sure there would be no shortage of people wanting to participate directly, some wanting to play the part of the condemned, but mostly, we imagine, wanting to swing the axe.

# Reply on: 'WHAT IS ANARCHISM' 'WANTED: A MORE COMPREHENSIVE AND INSPIRED VISION!'



Dear friends

Today I received the March 24 issue of FREEDOM and was surprised to find in the letters section a wide spectrum of reactions to my 'What is Anarchism?' article which was reprinted in FREEDOM a few months ago. When FREEDOM originally asked to print it, I suggested that I might add some comments to it, and I think that it may have been a good idea.

I'm grateful that Laurens Otter recognised the limitations that are inevitable in a short article in a collection of writings from a variety of viewpoints. I agree with him that there are a number of oversimplifications that still have to be developed. Moreover, I think that some readers (like Dave Coull) failed to understand that the article was not written primarily for movement people, but rather for a general audience of a specific type, which has a lot of misconceptions about, and even ill-informed hostility to, anarchism. The article developed out of my disgust with a meeting on anarchism by an association of political theorists (The American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy) and was my response in their journal to what I took to be the distorted outlook of most of the members of the group. The article was written in a form which was designed to at least get a hearing from those I was criticizing, although I hoped that people who were sympathetic to anarchism or active in the anarchist movement might also get something out of reading it (as the members of the FREEDOM editorial group seemed to agree).\*

I might mention that I think that it is essential to defend the anarchist position in academic circles where liberalism and sterile Marxism prevail, and anarchism is dismissed as naive and ridiculous utopianism (at best). I hope that the alleged proponents of 'class struggle' realise that in the era of the technobureaucratic-bureaucratic state the universities are a key institution in the process of social repro-

\*Yes indeed, we did agree that readers would get something from 'What is anarchism?' and the response to this essay, we believe, demonstrates that we were right. We should like to add that we completely disagree with the application of the word 'anarchology' to what we see as an excellent and highly valuable attempt to clarify different strands of thinking in the anarchist movement. EDS.

duction, and perform essential functions in stabilising the class system and legitimating the ideology of domination. In no way do I deny the validity of any other kind of struggle, but I think it is imperative to realize that the struggle of theory - the critique of ideologies of domination and their intellectual hegemony - is an integral part of the overall struggle against domination. To put this more concretely: we cannot accept a situation such as exists in the so-called 'advanced' countries, in which a large segment of the population enters into a conditioning process called the university and finds the only alternatives to be integration into the prevailing system or such 'radical' alternatives as the varieties of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason I find it necessary to deal with such dubious subjects as 'books' and their contents, and sometimes to write in terms comprehensible to and acceptable to, academic people.

Which brings me to the details of Dave Coull's personal attack. I'm tempted to pay back in kind his charge that I'm really a mere 'anarchologist', rather than a 'true' anarchist. I might ask if Dave himself is a 'real' anarchist, or a mere anarcho-psychoanalyst: someone who deduces all the details of somebody else's life by analysing any statements that they make about anarchism? Of course it's impossible for me to think this because Dave himself informs us that he can speak with authority, being an authentic 'active anarchist for over 15 years'. I, on the other hand, can't be an 'active anarchist' like him, since my article shows to his satisfaction that I'm someone who 'makes a hobby or profession out of the study of anarchism'. But Dave overlooks one obvious possibility: maybe I'm an active anarchist who also studies anarchism as a hobby. In fact, this is the case. Although I have only been one of the elect for 12 years, I have managed in that time to be 'active' in the antiwar movement, libertarian education, the antinuclear movement, co-ops, our local anarchist group, an anarchist affinity group, and I now work with an 'activist'-oriented anarchist publication that even Dave may approve of (Bayou LaRose). He should read it. It's guaranteed to cure all delusions, in addition to sexual and theoretical impotence). Furthermore, far from being the relentless opponent (rather than sympathetic critic) of anarchosyndicalism and class struggle that he thinks I must be, I have

been a member of the IWW since 1975 and have worked to build connections between the CNT and groups in the US and Mexico. In my spare time I also study anarchist theory.

But enough of this biographical data that I would have hoped to be totally unnecessary. An issue of substance which is raised in two of the letters concerns the relation between anarchosyndicalism and anarchocommunist. The dispute between these two approaches does not concern the necessity of class struggle or class analysis, and nowhere do I state this to be the case. But this does not mean that there are not considerable differences between the two outlooks, which is the point I was trying to make. Anarchosyndicalism has focused primarily on the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class, and the struggle against the state as the institution which above all perpetuates political and economic domination. Its praxis has emphasised economic action as the key to social revolution (seizure of the means of production by the workers, abolition of capitalism and the state by general strikes and/or insurrection by the working class). This approach is based in part on an obsolete class analysis and a lack of attention to many areas of social interrelationship.

On the one hand, it is clear that we must not throw out class analysis and class struggle, but rather develop a more adequate understanding of class domination and a praxis grounded in this knowledge. Bakunin laid the groundwork for this project in his critique of Marx in which he prophetically described the rise of the new technocratic and bureaucratic classes that have developed in both East and West. We now know that this evolving system of class domination is reinforced not only by the old bourgeois ideology of classical capitalism, and by the armed might of the state, but also by a powerful ideology based on such late-capitalist values as increased consumption, economic growth, technological development, and the necessity of planning by experts in a 'complex society'. Our knowledge of this system of domination leads us directly into such areas as the critique of high technology, the industrial system, and the rule of the commodity. And of course into the realm of action based on this critique. For many, May 68 symbolized the advances that have been made in the development of this critical consciousness, but also the problems we face in attempting to transform it into large-scale self-activity.

On the other hand, we must go even beyond the areas suggested by the new class analysis that I have just mentioned. For

example: feminism has shown us that patriarchal domination cannot be downplayed in the struggle against capitalist and statist oppression, but rather must be a central focus in combating the authoritarian conditioning which underlies all forms of domination. Both the gay liberation movement and radical psychology have revealed to us the real insanity of channelling sexual desire (eros) into restrictive and artificial sex roles and identities. The ecology movement has shown how even 'radical' political movements have been founded on an inherently exploitative and dominating view of nature, which cuts off humanity from its organic interrelationship with the whole natural environment. Even many traditional forms of anarchism have not been immune from this outlook. Finally, developments like surrealism and situationism have reminded us of the necessity of liberating the unconscious and the imagination, and importance of developing a not merely 'self-managed' society, but rather a truly creative and self-expressive society. The list could go on. The point is that a much richer and more all-embracing conception of anarcho-communist must be achieved, not only in theory, of course, but in the activity of anarchists in affinity groups, in larger organizations, and in our lives as a whole.

As I said, I think that much of what is most valuable in the heritage of anarcho-syndicalism can be incorporated in this synthesis. Yet when I look at the activity

## Open Letter to Teachers— ACT INTELLIGENTLY!

From a member of the Hull Anti-Institution Group:

The teachers now involved in action for better pay are moving in a totally ridiculous direction. They are active for a reinstitution of differentials, and of course status, but as a result of their action are causing themselves to be alienated from parents and the rest of the population as well. It is, of course, a truism that people can always be persuaded to go against public workers who take action, especially when that action "affects the future of our children". In most cases the children are coming home early, parents being deprived of the peace and quiet that the state kindly provides in the form of "day-prisons". In this way teachers make an enemy for themselves in the general population.

However, this can be remedied. Teachers can use the situation to make a real and lasting ally if they would only be sensible about their agitation - THE KIDS. Kids love any form of teachers' strike or other disruption - until boredom sets in. Teachers' action is still short-term at present, and boredom for kids in the future, the kids are happy and well-disposed to teachers, I imagine. It is now up to teachers to act intelligently and encourage the current activity of kids and end the continuous US-THEM which generally takes teachers after a few years in teaching.

and thought of many of those who want to preserve a primarily syndicalist approach, I find much, or even most of it to be missing. I often talk to syndicalists who have a condescending attitude to women, and sometimes open hostility to gays. They are also often antagonistic to those who do not center their lives around being part of the working class, or who pursue experiments in social change such as communes, alternative technology, or work in alternative schools. When I read the traditionalist publications of the AIT or the Fédération Anarchiste I can understand why many libertarian youth in France hesitate to associate with the organized anarchist movement. This is not a mere 'theoretical' question, but rather one which confronts the anarchist movement wherever it exists. At present it is a burning issue in Spain, as was discussed in the last issue of *Open Road* and no. 13 of *Bicicleta* (from Valencia). It appears that a large percentage of the membership of the CNT has dropped out as a result of the movement of the organization toward a more traditional syndicalist perspective, and the very existence of the organization as a mass movement is threatened. I am not ready to give up on organizations like the CNT (or our own pathetically small IWW) which seek to apply anarchism or libertarian strategies to large-scale economic struggles or workplace issues. But if these organizations are to have any real liberatory potential and any validity for the future they must go beyond the obsol-

ete ideology of the classical workers' movement, with its economism and productivism, and root themselves firmly in a much more comprehensive and much more inspiring vision of libertarian communism. This vision must be based on a thoroughgoing critique of all forms of domination, and on a praxis which is adequate to combat these forms of domination and permit the creation, growth, and flourishing of a new libertarian culture.

JOHN CLARK

New Orleans

## DON'T ASSUME TOO MUCH!

Dear FREEDOM . . . . .

It's been good having the paper around - I think the Review section is usually especially good. Also, from the point of view of our usual customers, we feel that it's important not to assume too much sympathy/background knowledge on the part of the readers. Hence, eg. the Review on 'What is Anarchism?' (vol. 40 no. 3) was very well received here.

NICK YOUNG

'Alternative Society'  
Stirling, Scotland

## ANL-SO USEFUL FOR THE NF!

Dear Editors,  
D. P., in his piece on Southall (Vol 40 no8/9), fails to note that the two dead persons he mentions died trying to prevent the National Front from exercising free speech. If the 'anti-nazis' had not sought to coerce the NF, if they had ignored their meetings and marches, Kevin Gately and Blair Peach would not have died, the police would have had no excuse to intervene, and the NF would have received little, or no, attention. Indeed, so useful has the A. N. L. and its allies been to the NF that had they not existed, Martin Webster would probably have invented them!

I was not surprised at the two deaths. Having witnessed the mindless violence of the 'anti-nazis' at Lewisham, it was obvious to me that such tactics could easily lead to death on one side or the other. After all, what could be better grist for the propaganda mills of the groups involved?

What is a matter for concern is that people who profess to be anarchists - and thus presumably see through the machinations of all politicians - allow themselves to get mixed up in such a tawdry business.

Sincerely,  
S.E. Parker.

London W2

# THE SHARPEST INDICATOR

ALL anarchists agree that prisons should be abolished, but beyond saying so, what are we doing to bring that aim closer? In this country the only answer can be to look at the work of Radical Alternatives to Prison, the libertarian socialist group whose ultimate aim is the abolition of imprisonment but who are at the same time active in examining the concrete ways in which we can move towards such abolition.

This month RAP sent a memorandum to the May inquiry into the United Kingdom Prison Services, which was set up in November 1978 with the very limited mandate of investigating prison facilities, and in no way of challenging the policy of imprisonment per se.

RAP, however, together with organisations like NACRO and NCCL, have submitted wider-ranging criticisms, and RAP's are, of course, of particular interest to anarchists and libertarians.

Beginning with quotations from Kropotkin and Wilde, on whose ideas the group is based, and recognising that "The strategy of abolition ultimately presupposes changes in the economic and political organisation of society", RAP recognise "the need for setting medium term goals and for assisting those in prison to overcome the worst effects of their custodial environment."

RAP accordingly set out their basic medium term goals as follows:-

- a moratorium on all new prison construction.
- a reduction in the existing prison population by means of short sentences, the decriminalisation of minor, non-dangerous offences and the provision of genuine and humane alternatives to custody.
- an end to prison secrecy; the scrapping of the Official Secrets Act.
- an end to the drugging of prisoners.
- an end to the use of segregation units ('cages') and solitary confinement within prison.

RAP say they believe the ideas derived from Kropotkin and Wilde are of "greater relevance now than they have ever been before, because the power of the state is steadily increasing and 'law and order' is being used to extend its influence." A main symptom of this trend is the "phenomenal growth of the British prison system since the end of the Second World War".

RAP point out that, contrary to its liberal image, Britain compares unfavourably with many other European countries as

Prisons cannot be looked at in isolation. Not only must the other components of the criminal justice system, the police and the judiciary, be subject to the same sort of critical overhaul but the society in which the criminal justice system is set also requires constant scrutiny. The links between crime and inequality, unemployment and the pervasive values of the acquisitive society have long been recognised, for how else can one explain the preponderance of the poor in the population of our prisons, and the increasing number of prisoners who come from oppressed ethnic minorities? Imprisonment is used most in those societies which value freedom least and the growth of a prison system is the sharpest indicator of the political direction which a society is taking."

RAP, 1979

regards the number of people imprisoned. They observe that although prisons cannot be abolished without massive social change, significant reductions in the size of prison populations can still be brought about by a more enlightened sentencing policy, as in Holland, a country with a prison population proportionately four times smaller than Britain and where more than half of this serve sentences of less than six months, compared to only 17 per cent in this country.

Naturally enough, RAP are critical of the so-called State 'alternatives' to imprisonment such as Community Service Orders and intermediate treatment, which "have not reduced the prison population at all". As opposed to this RAP stresses "The radicalism of 'radical alternatives' (which lie) in their populism - they are organised by ordinary people rather than by officials of the State. They are based on the principles of self-help and mutual aid, applied among people who have themselves been in contact with the criminal justice system - people on deferred sentences and ex-offenders. The Newham Alternatives Project is one such example ..."

They continue, "One of the major obstacles to the reduction of the prison population is the claim that all prisoners are dangerous and that if they were released they would endanger public safety. Quite apart from the fact that this is not true it is also worth pointing out that public safety is threatened more systematically by many social institutions and practices which are not regarded as criminal - the production of nuclear weapons, the

## prison notes

abuses of factory legislation and the extensive reliance on motor vehicles. The pursuit of profit has always meant that the safety and welfare of ordinary people has been neglected and in addition it has created the social conditions in which people turn to criminal behaviour to achieve the goals which society has set for them. It is absurd to think of prison as something which reduces risk in some areas of our lives, rather it is a menace in itself, an institution which habitually brutalises people and returns them to society far more embittered than when they went in".

RAP also refer to the effect that the dehumanising work demanded by the state of prison officers has on their attitudes and practices, and that a mere improvement in the working conditions of prison staff will not lead to change in this respect.

RAP's memorandum on prisons is available price 50p. from: Radical Alternatives to Prison, 104a Brackenbury Road, London W.6. And it is well worth reading. For further information, the RAP Project Coordinator, Jerry Westall, can be contacted at (01)-748 5778.

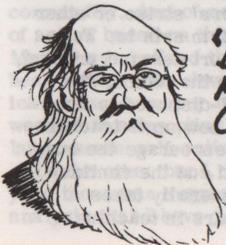
USSR

### ALEXIS KHAVIN (NEW LEFT OPPOSITION) ARRESTED

READERS interested in the emergence in the USSR of the 'New Left Opposition', reported on in our last issue, should note the arrest of another member of the group. Alexei Khavin was arrested on 19 April after refusing to give evidence against Aleksandr Skobov and Arkady Tsurkov, members of the Leningrad commune arrested last year. Police searched him and took away his clothes at the police station; during his absence from home, drugs were 'discovered' there and he is likely to be charged with drug offences, the maximum sentence for which is 10 years' imprisonment.

Alexei Khavin, who is 20 years old, had been put in a psychiatric hospital while still at school, for circulating the works of Kropotkin in 1977.

Metro stations and Russian streets may bear Kropotkin's name, but anyone who reads him is obviously insane!



'DON'T FORGET  
MUTUAL AID,  
COMRADES!'

ONCE, I WAS trying to get arrested and called at the village police station to see if he could oblige - it was an unpaid fine, and the time to go to jail was then just convenient, and expired - but to my disappointment the local policeman was on holiday. In the classical phrase 'you can never see them when you want them'. But P.C. Plod - as I shall call him - was rarely visible. Every now and then he took a leisurely stroll up all four of our streets, and exchanged a few friendly words with the inhabitants. (Were we in Chicago or Soho instead of deep in the country side one would assume that this was the routine collection of graft but nothing like that seems to go on in our village.) Such is the invisible nature of the local constabulary that recently the signs indicating the presence of a police station disappeared overnight. One is informed by a small notice to phone the nearest market town - about ten miles away - in case of emergency.

On the occasion when I wanted to go to jail, the market-town police ignored my offer to surrender (like a Western bandit) to them on the next day but insisted on coming to get me (to stick to Western phraseology) in the evening and holding me overnight in the local hoosegow which left much to be desired. I was done out of a breakfast too! P.C. Plod would never have done that.

But now all is changed. I don't know if it is anything to do with the new reign of law and order or if P.C. Plod by a fortuitous concurrence of two incidents: one where Plod saved a girl from drowning or suffocating or crushing in an overturned motor car - she must have turned over on an icy road, into a ditch, in the presence of P.C. Plod. Secondly, Plod was apparently threatened with violence by somebody involved in a case in the courts. These two incidents must have thrust P.C. Plod into the spotlight whereas he had been skulking in the shadows of a relatively crime-free beat and could take occasional days off for fishing. Now he is thrust into the whirling maelstrom of a market town with its straying cattle, Hell's Angels and who knows what else?

Now we are patrolled regularly on a bicycle by P.C. Thrust - which I shall assume is his name. I think the Home Office should revise its policy of employing progressively younger policemen. By the time I get to ninety they will be employing ten-year-old schoolboys. Thrust, I think, has started shaving, they would probably let him in to X films but I do not think he can yet have a vote.

But Thrust is resolved that if a crime wave does not exist in Camford he will create one - and cover himself with glory in putting it down. His first incursion was into the local grocer's where there had been a suspected out-



## PC PLOD AND PC THRUST

break of supply of beer and tobacco to juveniles. He was able, in plain clothes, to buy tobacco without being asked for his birth certificate - itself a suspicious circumstance. Relations between the shopkeeper and his customers have been strained because the younger members of families have been debarred from doing their manifold family duty of fetching beer and fags. P.C. Thrust is watching the shop under the provisions of the Sunday Trading

Act, which he has almost committed to memory and is waiting to pounce the moment a non-perishable foodstuff leaves the shop on the Sabbath. The shopkeeper (who has studied the Act, too) is contemplating becoming a Muslim.

Thrust has poked his head into each of the local pubs and assured the proprietor, with a lack of enthusiastic response, that he will call in from time to time. The pubs have been closing with depressing regularity and no longer, after licensed hours, does the tell-tale string of cars huddle round the pubs.

His greatest triumph in checking vice in Camford, so far, is to call at the Senior Citizens' bingo session and explain to the already harassed secretary the provisions of the Gaming Act and that the wild wagering of massive stakes (more than 50p) on the upturn of the bingo caller is illegal. Such reckless gambling must be checked and senile delinquency may therefore be held at bay.

I don't know whether Thrust is inspired by Mrs. Thatcher's resolve to have the best police that money can buy or if it is vice versa, and Mrs. T. is inspired by the exploits of boys like Thrust who will make his mark upon Camford or bust. But all I know is that someone has already, in our law abiding-by-ignoring village, threatened to 'do' P.C. Thrust. If this is done it will prove that Camford is criminal at heart and it only needed P.C. Thrust to bring it out.

Jack Robinson.

## WESTMINSTER BY MOONLIGHT

SHOCKING revelations were made today (10 May) by a detective investigating a well-known and ill-reputed Commons House in Westminster - which it is said was frequented by a man now on trial, facing a charge of conspiracy to murder.

It appears that this House - known colloquially as a 'Parliament' - employs some six hundred odd workers - known as Members - of both sexes, none of whom have any prior qualifications, professional or apprenticeship - for the job, and most of whom are employed, at high rates of remuneration, elsewhere through normal working hours.

The main working area is known as a chamber, believed to be derived from the French word, chambre, a bedroom.

Though they are paid a guaranteed annual salary, it is entirely voluntary for these Members to attend this Parliament. Indeed when they do actually turn up there is additional attendance allowance, believed to have been instituted as a way to reduce the high rate of absenteeism. Moreover even those attending may well not enter the Chamber or other private working areas (which are liberally supplied for the use of senior Members - often known as Cabinet Ministers, again from the French, cabinet) but spend their time in canteens

or bars. They only need to go into these, and that for perhaps no more than half an hour, to qualify for the attendance allowance.

Such are the generous holiday arrangements that attendance is at the most required on only about half the days of the year; and holidays are not only paid in the normal sense but Members are frequently paid to go on visits to similar Houses in other countries or to pay services to Heads of friendly States. So lax are the conditions of work that Members are frequently to be seen asleep in the Chamber, and at other times behave in a most disorderly manner, frequently breaking into a discordant braying sound - presumably to show that these particular Members are not asleep.

They are not only paid a large salary for totally useless and completely undemanding work, nor only do they get an attendance allowance when they actually turn up, and subsidised "trips" when they do not, nor yet only large and unvetted expenses - said to cover their postage - but a blind eye is turned by their foreman - known as "Speaker" - at widespread non-payment of tax on a large proportion of this pay.

L. C.

# News From Angel Alley

WITH A FEW HONOURABLE exceptions commercial publishers today are more concerned with a quick turnover of titles than with consolidating their lists. Thus many valuable books simply disappear once sales fall below a certain monthly level. One such title to suffer this fate has been Colin Ward's Anarchy in Action now out of print but not being reprinted, at least by the original publisher. At Freedom Press we have often wished we had the funds to lay in stocks of books of interest to anarchist propagandists, but it is wishful thinking when, in fact, we have considerable financial difficulty in keeping some of our own titles in print. We are at present reprinting three of our publications, Nicolas Walter's About Anarchism, Kropotkin's The State and Rocker's Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism. Furthermore, Lessons of the Spanish Revolution is now out of print and unlikely to be reissued for some time because of the cost (which in the case of this book would involve negative and plate making, as the original type has long since been "distributed") and stocks of Colin Ward's very successful Housing - an Anarchist Approach are getting low and should not be allowed to go out of print. In a matter of months we will also have to consider reprinting the ever-popular A.B.C. of Anarchism by Alexander Berkman.

With present printing costs even the reprinting of a book represents a major

FREEDOM'S DEFICIT FUND  
(Target for 1979 : £2000)

Donations Received April 12-25

NEWCASTLE u. TYNE: F.W.K. 80p;  
EDMONTON Canada: H.B. £23.30;  
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J.L. £3; J.K.W. £1; LONDON  
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GATOS Calif: A.G. £2; HARSTON:  
B.W. £1.30.

Total: £57.90  
Previously acknowl'd: £534.66

TOTAL TO DATE: £592.56

strain on our financial resources, for what one has to bear in mind is that with each book published a considerable sum of money is tied up for anything from two to five years, by which time the cost of reprinting that book may have doubled.

IN OUR OPINION THE Tory government will not only engage the Unions in confrontations on wages but will unwittingly set the rank and file well-meaning socialists in the labour party discussing ends and means unencumbered by feeling obliged to support the government or the party machine in its vote catching operations. It has always been the case that anarchists' ideas have had a bigger audience when the Labour Party has been in opposition, and anarchist propagandists should not miss the opportunity to further their ideas in the years ahead. Our most recent publication THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (142pp. £1 plus 22p postage) was completely ignored by the journals of the Left engaged in the recent vote-catching game. But we will now be having the post-mortems and there will be a more receptive attitude to the anarchist critique. And if anarchist propagandists

are really concerned with persuading sincere Labour Party supporters to abandon the head-counting game, now is the time to put our case to them not a month before the next general elections.

IT IS TOO SOON TO INCLUDE a list of contributors to our Premises Fund in this issue, the more so as for reasons beyond our control the last issue of FREEDOM was dispatched a week late, but we nevertheless have two bits of news which we hope will on the one hand emphasise the need for such a fund and on the other encourage comrades and friends to show their solidarity for this fund. The bad news is that we have now received our Rates bill for the coming year. It has gone up from £836 to £928. In the same post we received a sympathetic note from an old reader who, having had to dispose of his collection of 30 years of FREEDOMs because of space problems, appreciates our need for space and therefore the need to meet the overheads and enclosing a £100 cheque towards our £1000 target for 1979! What a start and encouragement surely for our many other friends to do what they can to beat the overheads so that we can produce more anarchist propaganda.

## BOOKSHOP

Dennis Hardy: Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England, paper, 268pp., £5.95 (36p)

\*John Clark: The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin, cloth, 343pp., £11.50 (66p)

John Clark is the author of Freedom Press's book Max Stirner's Egoism, £1.50 (19p) and of the article "What is Anarchism" that appeared in FREEDOM vol.40 no.3 (24.2.79). Copies still available at 20p (7p post)  
Belt & Braces Roadshow: The Accidental Death of an Anarchist. The "programme" of their current - and excellent - play about the murder of Pinelli by the Italian police £0.15 (10p)

\*Richard and Ana-Maria Drinon (Eds): Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman ppr., 282pp £4.95 (54p)

\*Victor Serge: Birth of Our Power, ppr., 292pp. £1.25 (22p)

\*Serge: Conquered City, ppr., 204pp. £1.50 (19p)

\*Christie & Meltzer: The Flood gates of Anarchy (new edn.) ppr., 160pp. £1.25 (19p)

\*Tony Bunyan: The History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain (new edn.) ppr., 324pp. £2.50 (36p)

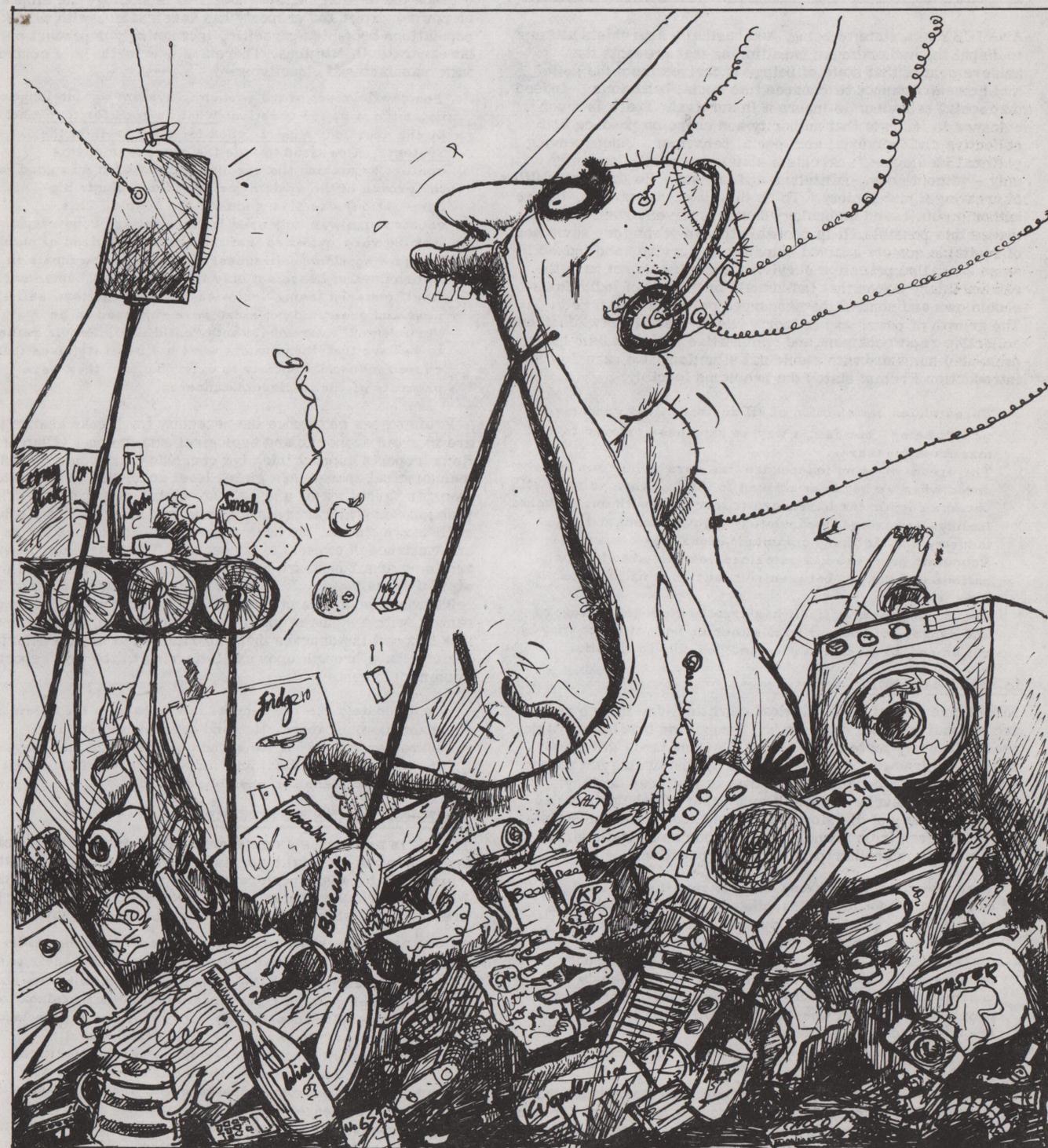
\*Eric Cahm and Vladimir Claude Fisera (Eds.): Socialism and Nationalism, Vol. I ppr., 116pp., £2.50 (19p) Includes interesting chapters on Bakunin and Kropotkin by Jean Caroline Cahm.

Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked \* are published in the USA or Canada.

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# Anarchist Review Freedom

SUPPLEMENT  
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Vol 40 No 10



# TO BE OR TO HAVE

Alan Albon reviews TO BE OR TO HAVE by Erich Fromm  
Jonathan Cape £4 90

ANARCHY is a state of being, and basically anarchists attempt to dispel the authoritarian conditioning that prevents the achievement of that state of being. It derives from the belief that humanity cannot be coerced into social behaviour - indeed that social behaviour is inherent in survival. There is much evidence to indicate that authority and coercion produce both collective and individual anti-social behaviour. Unique among political ideologies, anarchism states that within humanity only - without gods, politicians and priests - lie the possibilities of creating a just society. To do this is an urgent task, before authoritarian-based technology destroys the environment that makes this possible. It is probable that in prehistory some sort of equitable society enabled humanity to survive, and indeed some so-called primitive surviving societies do not have the extraordinary notion that individuals or groups of individuals should own and control the resources on which we all rely. The growth of power and property has divided society, destroyed collective rapprochement, and competitive individualism has presented humanity with a suicidal situation. On page 2 of his introduction Fromm states the problems forcibly:-

Unrestricted satisfaction of all desires is not conducive to well being nor is it a way to happiness or even to maximum pleasure....  
The dream of being independent masters of our own lives ended when we began awakening to the fact that we have all become cogs in the bureaucratic machine with our thoughts feelings and tastes manipulated by government and industry and the mass communications they control. Economic progress has remained restricted to the rich nations and the gap between rich and poor nations has ever widened.  
Technical progress itself has created ecological dangers and dangers of nuclear war either or both of which may put an end to all civilisation and possibly to all life.

### DESIRES AND NEEDS

NEEDS are part of our biological condition, for if such needs are not met we shall cease to be, a condition that has a tragic reality in many parts of the world. Desires are a different matter; desires can enhance or destroy; the desire for power and property, to consume more than is just, can destroy others on one level and oneself on another. Such desires can create a society of division and stress, and inhibit the satisfaction derived from a whole range of human sensations. As Fromm says in another part of the introduction:

Theoretical considerations demonstrate that radical hedonism cannot lead to happiness as well as why it cannot do so given human nature. But even without theoretical analysis the observable data show most clearly that our kind of pursuit of happiness does not produce well-being. We are a society of notoriously unhappy people; lonely anxious depressed destructive people who are glad when we have killed the time we are trying so hard to save.

### ANARCHY IS TO BE ....

THE question of BEING undoubtedly permeates anarchist thought; the individualists' sovereign individual is a misnomer, for it is only in relation to the collective identity that the individual can identify him/herself. It is this solidarity which the authoritarian, and particularly the State, has destroyed. John Quail says in his history of the British anarchist movement (The Slow Burning

Fuse) "Almost immediately I began to call myself an anarchist though it is probably true to say that it takes a little time TO BE one".

Since the development of industrial technology the emphasis on power, profit and property has accelerated, with whole populations becoming parasitic, increasingly dependent on vast bureaucratic institutions. There are new methods of control, with manufactured objectives:-

The development of the economic system was no longer determined by the question: What is good for man? but by the question: What is good for the growth of the System? One tried to hide the sharpness of this conflict by making the assumption that what was good for the growth of the system (or even for a single big corporation) was also good for the people. This construction was bolstered by an auxiliary construction: that the very qualities that the system required of human beings - egotism selfishness and greed were innate in human nature; hence not only the system but human nature itself fostered them. Societies in which egotism selfishness and greed did not exist were supposed to be "primitive" their inhabitants "childlike". People refused to believe that these traits were not natural drives that caused industrial society to exist but that they were products of social circumstances.

Fromm goes on to urge the necessity for human change if we are to avoid economic and ecological catastrophe. Club of Rome reports support this, but conclude that economic and technological change on a global level according to a 'master' plan can 'avoid major and ultimate global catastrophe'. This presupposes a hierarchy of experts, and after all, to pinch a well-known phrase, we have never had it so good as far as an abundance of experts is concerned. These experts, however, are in no small measure responsible for the monumental mess we find ourselves in. It is to changing social attitudes and the reintroduction of common responsibility (and with it common sense), with a sense of justice and compassion, that we must look to avert the dangers that expertise, tied to authoritarian society, have brought upon us. Referring to the CoR reports, Fromm comments

Unfortunately the two reports are written in the spirit of quantification abstraction and depersonalisation so characteristic of our time and besides that they neglect completely all political and social factors without which no realistic plans can possibly be made.

### POLITICAL PATHS TO NOWHERE

THERE is an emphasis on the anarchist point about political leadership and its total inability to change the march to catastrophe. That endless conferences and resolutions lead to nowhere is obvious as those in the power spectrum are only interested in the status quo in essence. As the book says:-

Yet nothing of real importance happens: both the leaders and the led anaesthetize their consciences and their wish for survival by giving the appearance of knowing the road and marching in the right direction. Another explanation is that the selfishness the system generates makes leaders value personal success more highly than social responsibility. It is no longer shocking when political leaders and business executives make decisions that seem to be to their personal advantage but are at the same time harmful and dangerous to the community. Indeed if selfishness is one of the pillars of contemporary practical ethics why should they act otherwise? They do not seem to know that greed (like submission) makes people stupid as far as the pursuit of even their own real interests is

concerned such as interest in their own lives and in the lives of their spouses and children.

The destruction of a real collective entity has been one of the greatest effects of capitalism. Everything is organised through a third party of political representatives. Morality invested in a third party, state, god or guru. Fromm points out the fatal human passivity which sees no alternative to various forms of authoritarian control. Today's frustrations can produce violent nihilistic activity or the complete passivity produced by westernised Indian cults. The major task of the anarchist is to penetrate the consciousness of people taking all these considerations into account. The welfare state has tended to reinforce this passivity, which is why anarchists should divorce themselves entirely from the propaganda of the revolutionary left. Just as straight society has its violent heroes remote from the experience of the vast mass of people so this emphasis exists in much anarchist propaganda. The positive aspects of anarchist philosophy do not get adequate attention in the anarchist press.

It is extraordinary that in a book where the whole ethos is in effect anarchistic, no real attention is paid to the movement that translated this ethos into living terms in the Spanish collectives of the civil war. To emphasise my meaning I quote Brennan in the latest edition of The Spanish Labyrinth:- "Death by monotony, by sameness, by loss of identity is if we are spared destruction in another war, the fate held out by the brave new world of universal control and amalgamation; against that death Spain will put up a long drawn out resistance."

THAT OUR GOAL SHOULD BE MUCH AND NOT TO HAVE MUCH, says Fromm, and its emphasis is an anarchist one. Today in the west we have much, very much; it is also true that some have very much more than others. In the process the mass of people have become less, very much less; small cogs in a vast machine for producing the mountain of manufactured detritus. Fromm observes that the difference between being and having is not necessarily one between east and west but between societies centred around persons rather than things.

As this poem quoted from Goethe's Faust puts it:

PROPERTY  
I know that nothing belongs to me  
But the thought which unimpeded  
From my soul will flow.  
And every favourable moment  
Which loving Fate  
From the depth lets me enjoy.

Feminists would say, the difference is between a female-orientated and a male-orientated society. It could be said that the repression of sexuality and the romanticisation of love have turned it into an entity outside humanity. Words like to 'possess' and to 'have' and to 'make' have crept into those describing the relationships between people. A thing instead of a process, a thing like all other things, instead of a feeling, like all other things in a capitalist (or bureaucratic) society with a price, a commodity. Humanity is alienated in the emot-

ions largely because people seek solutions outside themselves and their collective arrangements, which are dominated by third parties that have a vested interest in humanity's troubles. As expressed by Fromm:

For another example: To say "I have great love for you" is meaningless. Love is not a thing one can have but a process, an inner activity that one is the subject of. I can love, I can be in love, but in loving I have.....nothing. In fact, the less I have, the more I can love.

In discussing being, one is brought sharply to the philosophical difference between anarchism and other political ideologies.

Living structures can be only if they become; they can exist only if they change. Change and growth are inherent qualities of the life process.

Ossification of institutions is particularly related to power-based authoritarian structures, the hierarchies of which have a vested interest in the status quo. Technical advances in such societies are almost always associated with the power structure and present a danger to the growth and continuing development of self-regulating human communities.

Centralised bureaucratic societies give people a false sense of security, a sense of belonging but only as a subordinate, a private in an army that is opposed to the real interests of humanity.

Talking of faith, Fromm remarks:

Faith in the having mode gives certainty; it claims to pronounce ultimate unshakeable knowledge which is believable because the power of those who promulgate and protect the faith seems unshakeable. Indeed, who would not choose certainty if all it requires is to surrender one's independence?

and on the same page he writes:

While I can have the idol because it is a thing, by my submission to it, it... simultaneously has me. Once He has become an idol God's alleged qualities have as little to do with my personal experience as alienated political doctrines do. The idol may be praised as Lord of Mercy yet any cruelty may be committed in its name, just as the alienated faith in human solidarity may not even raise doubts about committing the most inhuman acts. Faith in the having mode is a crutch for those who want to be certain, those who want an answer to life without daring to search it out for themselves.

### FREEDOM AND GROWTH

The ultimate belief that freedom is necessary for growth is essentially anarchist, and that this must permeate the whole of humanity if our accumulated technical knowledge is to benefit all humanity.

This faith in each person and in humankind is the anarchist gift to humanity - if anarchists have the wit to convey it, and if humanity as a whole has the wit to accept it.

Continued overleaf



My faith in myself in another in humankind in our capacity to become fully human also implies certainty but certainty based on my own experiences and not on my submission to an authority that dictates a certain belief.

#### ALIENATING RELIGION

All gods are jealous; as Bakunin remarked, "If God existed he would have to be abolished". All that was revolutionary in the Christian religion was rapidly swallowed and what survived of it was an institution allied to the ruling class, and which became one of the most alienating forces in human history. Creative forces of human love were controlled, led and sculptured to the demands of paternalistic authority. Where the Christians left off the admen have taken over. The word 'love' has never been repeated so many times to the jangle of piped music and the noise of cash registers pounding out their rich symphony to industry.

In reality, there exists only the act of loving. To love is a productive activity. It implies caring for, knowing responding, affirming, enjoying: the person, the tree, the painting, the idea. It means bringing to life, increasing his/her/its aliveness. It is a process, self-renewing and self-increasing.

One must refer to Fromm's book *The Art of Loving* for more of this theme and its relevance to this new book.

Chapter Three deals with the attitude to materialism in the Old and New Testaments and the writings of Master Eckhart. How the Hebrews came from the certainties of slavery to the uncertainties of freedom: this is the quandary of modern life (*The Fear of Freedom*). There are several groups of Jews who regard the setting up of a modern Jewish state as a great mistake. The anarchists regard the setting up of any state as a great mistake - more, as a danger to humanity.

A section of Jewish life today is very much involved in the blatant materialism of our time, and in this much of early Jewish culture is forgotten, for instance the vision of Messianic times.

The vision of the Messianic Time is the other specifically Jewish contribution to world culture and one essentially identical with that of the Shabbat. This vision like the Shabbat was the life-sustaining hope of the Jews never given up in spite of the severe disappointments that came with false messiahs from Bar Kochba in the second century to our days. Like the Shabbat it was a vision of the historical period in which possession will become meaningless, fear and war will have ended, and the expression of our essential powers will have become the aim of living.

The early Christians were constantly preoccupied by the belief that the world was coming to an end. This was only true in regard to the powerful authoritarian regimes, which carried with them the seeds of their own destruction. This is still true; it is also true that people still replace one authoritarian regime with another. Then, as now, such regimes suck resources into their bureaucratic centre. Then, however it happened in the relatively small Mediterranean Basin, today it is from the whole world, with all the power that modern technology can provide. Religion seems to have engendered a fatalistic passivity that may indeed make the destruction of life on earth as we know it a possibility.

As Fromm remarks:

Not a few people, scientists rather than religionists (with the exception of the Jehovah's Witnesses) believe that we might be approaching the final catastrophe of the world. This is a rational and tenable vision. The situation of the early Christians was quite different. They lived in a small part of the Roman Empire at the height of its power and glory. There were no alarming signs of catastrophe. Yet this small group of Palestinian Jews carried the conviction that this powerful world would soon collapse.

The writings of a few men with vision, such as Master Eckhart (1260-1327) had little to do with the ecclesiastical and political horrors that affected Europe. According to Eckhart:

Our being is the reality the spirit that moves us the character that impels our behaviour; in contrast the deeds

or opinions that are separated by our dynamic core have no reality. The second meaning is wider and more fundamental; being is life activity birth renewal outpouring flowing out productivity. In this sense being is the opposite of having of egoboundness and egotism. Being to Eckhart means to be active in the Classic sense of the productive expression of one's human powers not in the modern sense of being busy. Activity to him means "to go out of oneself".

Fromm points out earlier in the chapter:

In the having mode of existence what matters is not the various objects of having but our whole attitude. Everything and anything can become an object of craving: things we use in daily life - property rituals good deeds knowledge and thoughts. While they are not in themselves "bad" they become bad; that is when we hold on to them when they become chains that interfere with our freedom: they block out self-realisation.

In essence this book indicates the level on which anarchists have to operate in order to reverse the concepts that have grown up in modern society. These tendencies have in the western countries been reinforced by the admen, the media. As Fromm points out, private ownership is an exception rather than the rule if we consider the whole of human history and pre-history. However, in a patriarchal society even the poorest own something or someone:

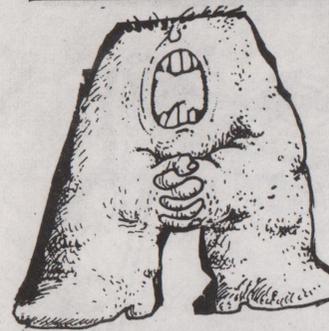
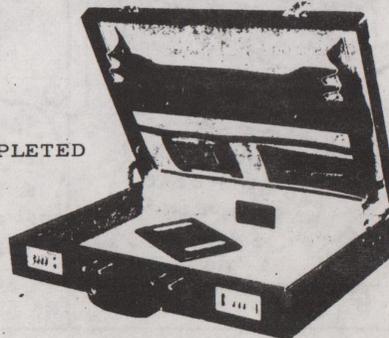
In a patriarchal society even the most miserable of men in the poorest of classes can be an owner of property - in his relationship to his wife, his children, his animals, over whom he can feel he is absolute master. At least for the man in patriarchal society, having many, many children is the only way to own persons without needing to work to attain ownership - and with little capital investment. Considering that the whole burden of childbearing is the woman's, it can hardly be denied that the production of children in a patriarchal society is a matter of crude exploitation of women. In turn, however, the mothers have their own form of ownership: that of the children when they are small. The circle is endless and vicious; the husband exploits the wife, she exploits the small children; and the adolescent males soon join the elder men in exploiting the women and so on.

In affluent countries, particularly as women establish their independent status economically, the emphasis of ownership moves to one of things. Fromm gives Stirner's picture of the bourgeois obsession with property:

"Individualism" which in its positive sense means liberation from social chains means in the negative sense "self-ownership" the right - and the duty - to invest one's energy in the success of one's own person.

In dealing with the modern phenomenon of throw-away buying, and the complex reasons for it, the use is explained that is made of people's insignificance in a complex and enlarged society to encourage them to express themselves in ego-building exercises. This is provided by the constant stimulus of acquiring more and more things and throwing away the old to buy new. Most of this Fromm calls 'passivating' stimulus, because it is externally induced, whereas an activating stimulus comes from within. A parallel to this is the development of eastern-inspired religious sects, such as the 'Moon People', the 'Divine Light Mission', where 'passivating' stimulus in the religious sense is bound up with the consumption orientation of the promoters.

TO BE COMPLETED



BUT  
IS IT  
ART  
?

IN OUR attempts at propaganda anarchists usually rely on the written word (and a bit of direct action), but seldom attempt visual forms. Therefore it was with a sigh of relief that I heard of Jay Kinney's desire to call upon artists around the world to produce 'anarchy comix'.

Once word was out it took only a few months for the strips to be written and drawn and to persuade the San Francisco underground comix publisher 'Last Gasp' to back the idea, though they were slightly hesitant at first to finance a more overtly political book, being afraid that the content would limit sales to just the committed readers.

However, this was shown to be false as once *Anarchy Comix* appeared it sold very well in America and the copies that arrived in England sold out almost immediately. More are on their way. (25,000 were published).

I S/HE who looks at anarchism and law in a positive manner may expect attacks from outside the circle of anarchists. This is not astonishing. Notions about law are generally underdeveloped among non-legal scientists. Many people cannot see law other than in its prohibitive form. Anarchists notice subsequently that the law's prohibitions are formulated by those who are in power (rulers). Prohibition and rulers belong to the same 'family'. An-archy - without rulers - means the rejection of power. From this starting point the struggle against prohibition and rulers takes place. But people who look at law in this respect, focus merely on two of the possible many functions of law:

- the formulation of relations of superiority and subservience;
- the formulation of a set of corresponding negative sanctions.

II In trying to throw a light on this problem an international seminar was held at the beginning of this year at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. The seminar was attended by about 40 participants, of whom more than half were non-Dutch. About 30 participants delivered a paper relating to the particular subject of their contribution. All papers were discussed during the seminar. The number and diversity make it impossible to summarise or comment on them separately. The general conclusion may be drawn that the possibility of a positive relation between law and anarchism was not rejected out of hand. This was not surprising, because there were no 'real' anarchists attending the seminar. This remark I shall try to explain at some length.

III The question 'what is a real anarchist?' seems to me a misleading one. Implies that there is a finite number of unshakeable criteria for determining whether one is an anarchist or not. I consider this to be impossible, because of the fact that nobody can define the finite number of criteria. From where should s/he get the authority to do so? Instead of speaking about a finite number of criteria it is better to determine a 'field' about which we shall speak in an 'anarchistic' manner. Then we can say that the criteria for doing so must be consonant with politico-philosophic conceptions of a non-coercive, non-dominating and non-exploitative character. From this it follows that anarchistic criticism will always lay the finger on matters of an oppressive character, attempting to destroy individuality and autonomy. The counterpart of this criticism is anarchistic constructivism, which stresses

It comprises 11 strips, making 36 pages in all by ten artists from America, England, France and Germany. The subjects range from the indefinable, via prison, Kronstadt, the Ukraine, Spain and Yorkshire into the future; all the artwork is of a reasonable standard, some better than others.

Being involved in the project as a contributor I'm not trying to write an objective review, merely to inform you of *Anarchy Comix*' existence - If I have a criticism it is that as is usual with our propaganda, it lacks any introduction to basic principles, assuming a prior knowledge of anarchism and its glorious past, although Jay Kinney's strips 'Too Real' and 'Some Straight Talk About Anarchy' are exceptions.

Americans, having a richer tradition of comix understand and appreciate the form quite easily. In this country there are few comix artists and even fewer political comix - in the past few years I've seen only four or five, most of which I've contributed to and they've not succeeded, never getting beyond one issue and selling in small amounts. The main obstacle seems to be a view that comix are somehow half-illiterate, only for the simple-minded, rather than being a synthesis of line and word, prose and graphics. I hope that with the success of *Anarchy Comix* this will begin to change and perhaps we can even produce a home-grown product.

*Anarchy Comix* no. 2 will soon be out. We've finished all our strips and sent them to San Francisco. Watch this space for news.

*Anarchy Comix* no. 1 is distributed in the UK by 'Hassle Free Distribution' and 'PDC' and sells for 60p. in movement bookstores. Don't miss it!

CLIFF HARPER

# Anarchism and Law

matters of a liberatory character, and with which one tries to develop individuality and autonomy. Under the operation of the federative principle it is not necessary to see individuality and autonomy as contrary to cooperation and organisation. Complementing, not fragmenting may be seen as an immanent organising principle, based on coherence instead of on repulsion. Viewed in this light law can acquire a different character from that against which anarchists have traditionally fought.

Law has invariably been considered by anarchists as (economically) conservative (that is to say, as protection of the interests of a capitalist minority), and as prohibitive. This kind of law they have combated. In the process they have lost sight of the fact that there can also be law which permits instead of one which deprives or restricts, a law which opens up alternatives instead of one which closes them down.

The permissive side of law can be seen in at least two aspects - the innovating aspect and the functional aspect. In respect of the innovating aspect, law is a social phenomenon with which one creates space for new developments. Through the functional aspect one tries to ensure that the means does not become an end in itself. In other words, law can be used to abolish old compulsion without creating new compulsion.

In this sense, anarchism and law can be seen as complementary, as the Dutch anarcho-socialist and legal scientist, Clara Meijer-Wichmann, already saw at the beginning of this century. Clara Meijer-Wichmann developed a new outlook on law, which was re-introduced at the seminar and which I think it would be fruitful to elaborate upon.

THOM HOLTERMAN

Thom Holterman works at Erasmus University, Rotterdam (in the department of constitutional law), and is a regular contributor to the Dutch anarchist magazine, *De As*.

# 'They're Off!'

EACH and every year I have followed the Town and his sweating frau to Epsom Downs for Derby Day. There with the goodly company of mugs, pigeons, marks, suckers, tealeaves, crooks and honest to god villains we trudge from the station to the 'buses to the course' to disgorge onto that slight hollow in the Downs that is the race course. Each year I back a horse in every race and in all those years I have never backed a winner may not even won a place bet and it is only the great race of the day that has me pushing my way to the rails to cheer on my galloping glue factory as it thunders across the turf in a perennial rear guard charge. And yet I hold it a day well spent for it is now almost the only Londoner's day that is not artificially inspired by those with a private ideal or grudge.

I love it. To stand, packtight, shoulder to shoulder in the over-crowded boxing booth is for me pure Rowlandson and to watch the booth owner clipping seconds off each round in favour of his own boxing booth boy as the challenger is hammered, punched and elbowed in complete abrogation of the Marquis of Queensbury's ruling is Hogarthian in the great tradition. To queue for the hot fish and chips and to buy one's short weighted Guinness from the tough characters behind an open air beer flooded trestle table and with a gut frozen with fear and an air of false courage to push one's glass of Guinness back for full measure and to get it properly filled means that one can strut like a fighting game cock for the rest of the day. And with a carton of jellied eels in the hand, one's dog sniffing the trampled grass and the collection of bookmaker's deadloss race tickets peeping out of one's top pocket this is Londoner's day and one moves into one's tradition and historical role for the sheer pleasure that the day gives. Here are the gypsies failing to live up to the image of their Bond Street paintings. Tough and independent. The washing on the lines and the television serials stop the motorised coach they live out the day indifferent to the races.

Here it was between the wars that the race gangs carved each other and the bookmakers with cutthroat razors and it was not to eliminate the Five O'Clock Shadows but for control of the racecourse 'protection racket' and Ras Prince Monolulu of the phoney title has long been laid to rest in his borough council 'imperial tomb' and can no longer be arrested on his platform at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner for using pre-permissive obscenities.

Gone with the Guinness and roses but Epsom Downs on Derby Day still survives as long as the middle class sociologist do not discover us. One always wishes the Royal Academy well but it would seem that exhibition after exhibition fails to live up to the press hand outs. 'Derby Day 200' has that same feeling of a viewing of the sainted jolly dead that one gets when the middle class sophisticated move in and discover the joys and the pleasures of the lower orders. They 'discovered' Charlie Chaplin, Max Miller, Max Wall and Piaf but never in the flea pits or the crowded music halls but only after a working class culture has been deloused.

The Royal Academy 'Derby Day 200' is a pleasant, cheerful, interesting exhibition museumwise but like the work of war commissioned artist it is and can only be a superficial approach for it can never convey the sweaty gut feeling of the day and as always only the 18th century etching of the Jockey Club villains and layouts by Rowlandson catches his age and ours. But for the Town and his jockey strap frau it was into the main drag of the Royal Academy for the 211th exhibition of the Royal Academy 'Summer Exhibition'.

13,306 works were submitted of which only 1,444 works were accepted with no money refund for the losers and on this year's showing one must assume that yards and piles of awful rubbish was rejected or great works of genius got the imperial thumb's down. One can ask nothing of the RA 'Summer Exhibition' for for all it does is to reflect middle class taste of the year. All art is middle class orientated, and I state this as an ex-by reason of age - common labourer Starving Artist Second Class, and if most work on display at this year's RA



'Summer Exhibition' is pure, but unsullied, garbage then the fault if fault it is is that there are not sufficient good artists available to fulfill the demands of the Town and his every picture tells a story frau. We drank of the free Pimm's handout glasswise courtesy of Pimm's of Pall Mall while somewhere in the background Sir Hugh Casson the can-carrying chief of the RA made a speech either denying or affirming responsibility for this year's exhibition. It would be stupid to pretend that there is not good work within this exhibition as with the trompe d'oeil of Isobel Sayer and William Clayton. Meticulous reproduction of innate objects, photographic realism, but magnificent craftsmanship. Beautiful watercolours and gouaches by Cooke, Gorgas, Stooke and Foulkes as always tucked away in an over-crowded side room because of the English middle class belief that oil painting is economically and aesthetically a better buy than a beautiful water colour by a native master, but for all the Victorian circa 1979 sculpture, the Bond Street dated abstractions or the sickly sweet works of Hamilton Fraser we have, as ever, the gentle works of Tristram Hillier of silent, empty air-less Spanish villages that live by the craft of the artist and, justifying the whole raddled exhibition, one single beautiful watercolour of 'Menacing Cloud' by Edward Ardizzone. Turner, you should be living at this hour Pimm'swise. Across the town across the river facing the beaten strike pickets outside the National Theatre, and the burning smelling question of the hour 'who laid pieces of shit on the front seats of the stalls within the National Theatre?' is the Hayward with their 'New Painting New York' and if this is what the lads in the Big Apple are churning out then I suggest, unless they are collecting the dollars for it, they should hand in their brushes and go back to Colonel Saunder's finger licking chicken counter for these type of elephantine uninspired abstractions were old and ancient hat ten years ago. If it pays the rent then I wish them well but 'New Painting New York'? In the main halls of the warehouse that people call the Hayward is a brilliantly laid out exhibition of 'Film as Film'. Collage was an art form when over half a century ago there was no commercial market for it and men such as Ernst and Schwitters literally cut out their found 'rubbish' on their poverty housed kitchen tables but it is now of the mode and cutouts and carvings by Matisse and Paolozzi are purchased by State galleries for wealth beyond the dreams of McAlpine's Irish soldiers keening in their Guinnesses deep in the heart of Ward's Irish pub.

And the reason that 'film as film' exhibition within the Hayward is such a rewarding exhibition is that they have promoted a magnificent display/viewing of experimental film by men and women who sought and succeeded in transferring their work as artists to the primitive negative. 1979 it is good solid TV commercial old hat but here at the Hayward are the master primitives putting into motion what the artists of the medieval period did when they worked on the erude glass.

ARTHUR MOYSE

# ALL ARE EQUAL... BUT

WE all know the George Orwell quote that some are more equal than others, applied to a satirical view of the Soviet Union, *Animal Farm*. This is not some isolated thing, but is built into any society based on power. The greater the concentrations of power in a society, the more equal they are. Status is an important part of power. This applies here as in the Soviet Union. Here it is the Rolls Royce, there it is the Zil. However, there, even if you have the roubles, only the very top people are allowed Zils. Types of cars form a hierarchy and, like other privileges, they come with a particular job.

The hierarchical form of society comes over clearly in *The Soviet Industrial Worker* by David Lane and Felicity O'Dell. The book is subtitled 'Social Class, Education and Control'.

Education in the Soviet Union is a process of incorporating children and young workers into the system. Examinations and the resulting qualifications are greatly prized and sought after. A person's income, status and privileges are based on his or her position in the hierarchy. Usually the higher the educational standard that is achieved, the higher the stake that person has in the society. The authors produce statistics showing that the non-conformists occur among the population which fails to achieve a required standard of education. These do not necessarily form a political opposition organised or otherwise, but show their non-conformism in drunkenness, under-production or absenteeism. Such behaviour is abhorred in the Soviet Union. Work is seen as a very important part of a person's life. The reason why it happens could lie in dissatisfaction with the work performed. It is usually boring, soul-destroying and repetitive.

Any educational system based on examinations and a resulting order of merit will leave some behind. Great stress is put on competitiveness in education. Students have had an equal chance and opportunity to reach a high level in their aspirations. Having failed to achieve this level a 'cooling out' is necessary. This means a readjustment of a person's ambitions to a less well paid occupation, possibly manual work. Statistics also show that manual work is less desirable than other occupations. However, unlike capitalist economies, the Soviet Union with its 'Marxist' outlook, in theory places great importance on manual labour. It is emphasised that all jobs are equal under socialism. Although achievement is esteemed those who do not make it are nevertheless incorporated into the system. They are made to feel that "all jobs are worthy of respect". Of course, this egalitarianism does not bear too close an investigation. Higher incomes, privileges like the cars mentioned, and special shops where imported and hard to get goods can be bought by those who make the top grade.

In a system where industry is nationalised, every worker comes under the watchful eye of the trade union and the Communist Party. The trade unions' role in the Soviet Union is solely one of integrating workers into the factory and the wider society. They are there to ensure that every worker achieves high productivity and that he or she has a good attendance record. They make sure that everything is alright at home and that therefore nothing interferes with production norms. Their other functions are social and welfare:

"In 1972 the unions controlled 94,000 clubs, houses of culture and cinemas; in twenty-nine sports organisations were more than 200,000 stadiums, sports halls and other sports facilities".

They also deal with the allocation of housing recreational facilities, nurseries for children. The unions administer the benefits for sickness and injury at work. Much of this union work, as here, is done voluntarily. Unlike here, life revolves much more around the place of work. Social and economic life are integrated to a far greater degree.

The Party also is strongly represented in every industrial enterprise. It ensures through its different organisations in

the factory that complete control is maintained. The Party organisation is there to see that government directives are carried out, that production targets are reached. However, factories are not run by the Party. A factory administration is headed by the director who has this responsibility. The directors in turn are subordinate to the government's Council of Ministers.

From this outline a clear pyramid structure emerges. Everyone and every group have their place. Obviously those at the top are Party members and it is stressed that no matter how zealous Party activists might be in their factory party organisations must not allow "the slightest interference or usurping of management functions".

Certainly, through the organisations of the Party the workers can participate in some branches of decision-making within the factory. Managers are happy with this because it gives more job satisfaction and therefore brings higher productivity. But decision-making is very limited; perhaps the election of the foreman, and even then, the list of candidates is drawn up by the administration.

The Soviet Union is still a developing industrial power. It is more labour-intensive than is Western industry. Although the standard of living may not be as high, the average worker has a feeling of security of job continuation which the British worker lacks. However, as Soviet industry expands and 'improved' technology is used fewer workers will be needed to produce increased output. Similar conflicts could also arise if consumer demands are not met. Whether these tensions and conflicts can be contained and controlled remains to be seen. But what reports we do get from the Soviet Union show that below the surface of industrial peace, discontented workers do protest and strike against their state bosses. This at least shows that the state communist totalitarian system has not put out the flame of freedom.

While this book will not obviously be widely read it does have a great deal of information which is useful for anyone interested in the workings of Soviet industry.

P. T.

MEANWHILE,  
BACK IN THE GOOD OLE  
UK—

