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FIFTY PENCE

"Selfishness is not living as one wishes to live. It is asking others to live as one wishes to live."

Oscar Wilde

UNEMPLOYED OF THE WORLD UNITE!

We make no apology for returning again and again to the economy, and in particular to unemployment. So long as the politicians, the media and the City insist that the recession is 'bottoming out' and prosperity is on the horizon (albeit a receding horizon!) we shall continue to denounce them as liars with what we think are the facts that no serious observer of the international scene can surely ignore. Some anarchists

may think this is a waste of time; that we should be 'on the streets making the revolution'. Would that we could!

But the reality is that we are living in a world so divided, so desperate, so unsympathetic, so individualistic that to imagine that something positive can emerge in the short term to support the values which anarchists and non-party socialists stand for, is wishful thinking!

Then why go on? Apart from the fact that anarchism gives meaning to our lives in a hostile environment, we also propagate these ideas because we have no intention of withdrawing from society. On a recent BBC farming programme a rebel against the establishment, when asked why he went on tilting at the windmills, replied with a quotation to which we as anarchist propagandists

subscribe wholeheartedly: "All that is required for evil to survive is that good men do nothing".

There are today in this country some four million people, young and old (and their dependents) denied a decent living because the capitalist system is not concerned with whether they have a job or not. The capitalist system is concerned with production - of goods or services, or just gambling on the money markets - for profit only, and wherever possible to maximise profit. Hence the more wage-slaves it can replace by machines the better (that is, so long as machines increase their profits). This has certainly been the case on the land, where ownership is in fewer and fewer hands and where there are
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BUGGING INTERNATIONAL

So it's not only royalty who are being bugged. A *Guardian* / Granada Television 'World in Action' inquiry revealed that the GCHQ (the government's bugging headquarters at Cheltenham) have also been routinely listening in to communications between trade union leaders. The Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty) maintains that this is a breach of Article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights which guarantees the right to privacy, and are taking it up with the European Commission of Human Rights.

Apart from the fact that that will probably take a year or two for any decision, then what?

This bugging goes on worldwide. For instance, in France the daily *Libération* recently published documents showing that President Mitterand's security staff "illegally tapped an investigative journalist's telephone in the mid-1980s while he was working on a story about them". Though, according to Reuters, "phone tapping is strictly controlled in France to suspected criminals plotting terrorist attacks", it is just as widespread in France as in every country. Human Rights? Privacy? Rubbish!

All one can suggest to anarchist conspirators - don't use the phone!

THE LAND AND THE OCEANS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

Just as we anarchists believe that the land should belong to the people and not to individuals to do what they like with their 'property', so should it be with the oceans, that provide mankind with a considerable amount of food, and especially those communities which are primarily dependent on fishing for a living. Some attempt has been made by the European Community but to no avail, and for the simple reason that the capitalist system encourages the greedy and powerful to enter every commercial field where they think they can make a quick buck. Just as we have factory farming, we now have factory fishing. The trawlers have got larger and larger (encouraged at one stage by government subsidies) and 'need' to get always larger catches to cover their 'overheads'. The traditional inshore fishermen are finding their normal fishing grounds have been 'hoovered' by these monsters.

We have very little confidence in the

Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries (MAFF) but even less in the fishermen, especially in the big trawlers, who are protesting that the MAFF is preventing them from earning a living by imposing quotas. They admit, anyway, that they are cheating, just as the French and other EEC fishermen are doing.

As we write these lines French fishermen in Brittany have prevented landings of fish from British boats. In Peterhead more than 60 Scottish fishermen armed with cans of diesel boarded a Russian factory fishing vessel and proceeded to pour it all over their catch. And at Grimsby and Milford Haven fishermen prevented fish from being unloaded from a French trawler.

Surely it is time to tell the Slandowners that in fact the land belongs to the people - and even before we establish this fact, what
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UNEMPLOYED OF THE WORLD UNITE!

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now more machines than farm workers. We are also witnessing the compulsory 'set-aside' of a million acres of arable land for which farmers will be paid to do nothing and more farm workers will be on the dole - and how many will be kicked out of their tied cottages and unable to find accommodation they can afford?

The dilemma for the capitalists is that on the one hand they would much prefer to employ robots than human beings, but on the other hand they need markets, consumers, for their production and services. The employment of robots, of computers and larger and larger tractors and combines, and even the fishing industry now in the news with huge trawlers that will fish the sea dry in a few years, may be good for profits in the short term but at the expense of massive unemployment.

It is simply putting more money in the pockets of those who already have more than they know what to do with, at the expense of many many more who, as a result, are on the dole and are consumers of the bare necessities only.

Taxation on income and wealth is the capitalists' admission that we live in an unfair society. However, it is applied in such a way that whether Tory or Labour Parties have been in office over the past fifty years, in the end the rich have got richer and the poor poorer! And in the fourteen years of the Thatcher-Major administration every budget favoured the

rich and the better off. After all, super-tax was reduced from 80% to 40%! It's too big a subject to go into the question of 'perks' here. But the BBC-Birt scandal (which was perfectly 'legal') is only the tip of the iceberg. For instance, all the political parties are agreed that the tax rebates on mortgages (which cost the taxpayers something like £9,000 million a year) should be abolished, but votes come before principles and nothing is done. And what about all the company cars, entertainment for the top boys meeting potential clients, etc.... One big racket.

It is ironic that the *Sunday Express* (7th March) dared to have a two-page spread on the "£1.5 billion great dole robbery", their 'investigation' on the "massive cost of moonlighters and giro cheats exposed for the first time". According to their "senior Department of Employment civil servant" informant, "57% of all claims in inner cities may be fraudulent". Apparently the government cannot afford the funds to hunt out these 'fraudsters'. What an admission that one of the world's most prosperous nations has officially no less than "5,470,000 people receiving

income support and unemployment benefit". And according to the *Sunday Express* they are cheating to the tune of £1,500 million. How can one get worked up over this chicken-feed compared with the billions of pounds that the government poured into the money markets in an attempt to avoid the 'Black Wednesday' devaluation of sterling and out of which speculators made billions?

Governments in the G7 prosperous capitalist nations can afford not to allow the unemployed to starve. Not out of love but in order to keep them docile and grateful, apart from the fact that every penny they get has to be spent on the necessities of life and on which some supermarket makes a profit.

How can we convince the growing army of the unemployed that capitalism has a future only if its victims do not react. Remember the slogan: 'they are few, we are many'. In the European Community as at present there are officially nearly twenty million unemployed. Add to them the exploited millions of workers who are prepared to accept any job at any price in order to make ends meet (yes, they

include the *Sunday Express* 'moonlighters' who are 'getting away' with earning a few quid on the side at slave labour rates, as their employers know full well!) And what about the other millions of wage-slaves who don't know when it will be their turn to join the ranks of the unemployed? Last but not least, do you enjoy depending for your bread on an employer (man or multinational) who can hire and fire as he thinks best in ... no, not your interest but his?

We believe in the old fashioned slogan: 'Workers of the World Unite' (and our white-collar brethren are learning fast that under capitalism on its last legs nothing is secure, and they are now being sacked or made redundant even faster than industrial workers). So though we have given the headline to the unemployed, all who are dependent on an employer, whether they are unemployed or not, should see that a future of security and satisfaction in one's daily life depends on closing ranks. The capitalist system must be defeated and replaced by one based on co-operation and equality. This will never occur so long as its victims fight each other. Our slogan for 1993 is: 'Unemployed of the World Unite: you have nothing to lose and a lot to gain!'

Female Authoritarianism

Of all the theories which have been produced in the recent past, surely none has had greater impact than that of feminism. Such has been the quality and volume of these works that significant cultural shifts have been achieved throughout society, and although women continue to be exploited both in the family and at work, this has at least been lessened. Many men (me included) feeling themselves to be targets of the feminist critique were obliged to examine their own attitudes and values with sometimes disturbing results. For many years now it seems to me that men have been put firmly on the defensive about the whole sex/gender issue, to the point where some women might feel that 'the problem' is at root one of maleness and that women are 'basically okay'. This article takes the view that authoritarianism is a problem for both sexes, and drawing on the work of psychoanalysts Luise Eichenbaum and Susie Orbach, seeks to explore the issue of female authoritarianism.

The family

It is well known that the most powerful influences which contribute to the formation of the individual's character occur within the first few years of life; this is always a good starting point when assessing adult behaviour. Even where child rearing is equally shared by both parents, it is the mother who necessarily has the closer, more intimate contact with the child during this most important time. It is within the daughter's first and most crucial relationship that the foundations for her later

psychological development are laid. Within the family, the mother-daughter relationship is intensified by that fact that men, often absent while working, do not always feel able or even willing to participate as fully as they might in child rearing activities. Male socialisation of course does not help here, and men may feel inadequate or even excluded from these matters. The absences of the father are important for the daughter as they are for the mother, and can arouse animosity: "Mothers often let their daughters know both overtly and covertly that men are disappointments. They may convey disdain and contempt for them".* From these early beginning, alliances may be formed between mother and daughter over the issue of the inadequacies of their father, and their influence may only be revealed to the daughter in analysis much later in life, and probably after her daughter has experienced difficulties with her male partners.

Underlying these observations is a critique of the patriarchal family, which suggests larger groupings with more open communitarian relationships where child rearing is a responsibility for all adults, and where women are not made to be economically dependent upon men: demands which lie at the core of feminism in its more radical forms. Eichenbaum and Orbach's work takes nothing away from these broader fundamentals, but the thrust of that which I have outlined is towards exposing a degree of sexism against men which is rooted in the family. Women who have received a primary

socialisation along the lines sketched above are likely to allow their prejudices to spill over, not only in their intimate relationships but also in the broader gamut of social activities, particularly in matters connected with work and employment. Like men, women absorb large chunks of generalised authoritarian culture, such as a perceived need for bosses to 'maintain order' etc., but a subconscious feeling of being let down by the father and a consequent tendency to mistrust males in general may lead to an additional sexist factor in a woman's attitudes and behaviour which makes the experience of exploitation by men at the workplace all the more resented.

Women and power

Thanks to 'equal opportunities' legislation, women can now find additional openings for their careers, and some chance of promotion. If a little power is gained, avenues are opened by which 'revenge' can be exacted for repression that may have been suffered, and any anti-male prejudice that might have been picked up from mothers and elsewhere. The experience by men of female authoritarianism and sexism can be most distressing, and judging from discussions with friends, both male and female, I have found that it is quite widespread.

In the past I have had to suffer the most exasperating and humiliating times with a female boss. Working in a job which I was well qualified to undertake, I was made to feel

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THE LAND & THE OCEANS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

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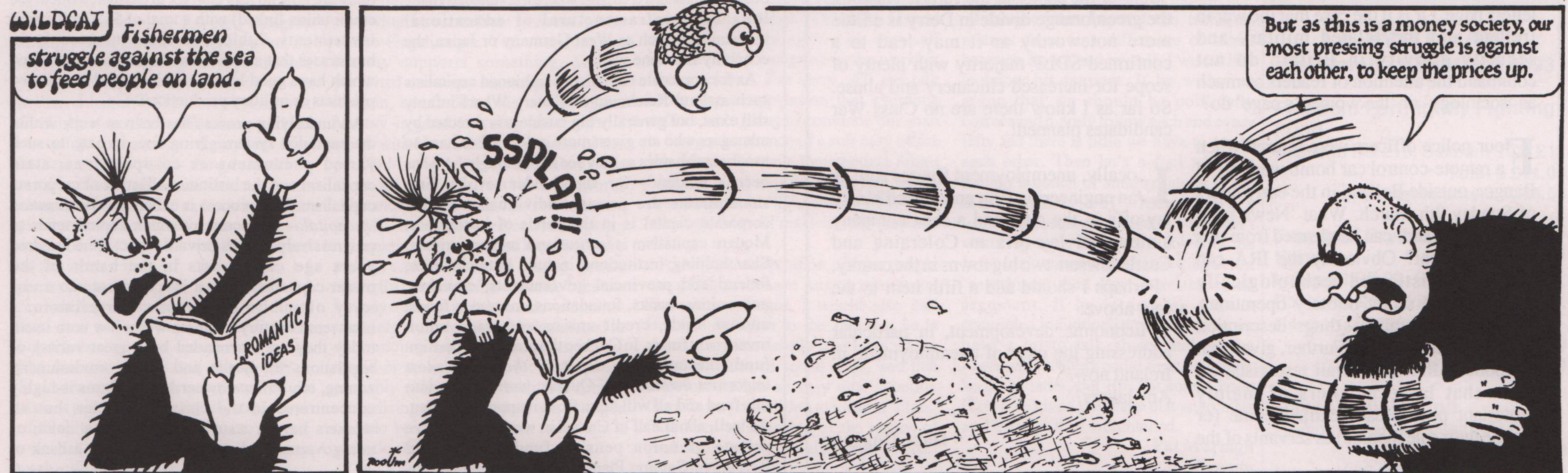
about taking over the million acres of arable land that is being 'set aside' and for which we are paying the farmers to do nothing on it. What about renting it to the young rural unemployed who would probably enjoy the opportunity to grow their own vegetables and perhaps sell the surplus?

And what about our oceans?

Not only is inshore fishing being destroyed by the large trawlers, but effluent from factories and fuel dumped by vessels when cleaning out their tanks (said to be more than the occasional oil tanker disaster in the course of a year) is also doing its share. Governments connive at the latter and have encouraged the large trawlers.

What can we - the consumers - do to halt this crazy free-for-all which will inevitably end in nothing for all?

Footnote: According to *Guardian* correspondents in Brussels and Paris (24th February) "European Community officials are hoping to defuse the French fishing crisis ... by setting minimum prices for imports of cod, haddock and whiting". What happens when there is a glut in the market?



Croatian Women

Despite the appalling suffering and the state of affairs in former Yugoslavia, news is still reaching the International Anarchist Movement from that area of the world, particularly from pacifist and women's groups in the new state of Croatia.

We should be in no doubt that the new Croatian state is highly authoritarian in nature and shows undertones of its Nazi past in many ways.

At a governmental sitting of 5th May last year the basis of a constitution was laid down which shoves the status of women (and the family) back a couple of centuries. These moves are soon to formally be ratified by the parliament. Not only will it render abortion illegal but threatens basic human rights as well.

It calls for measures to boost the population and to transform the family of today into the 'family of the future Croatia' which will have three or four children. Censorship of the 'anti-life mentality' in medicine, school textbooks and the media is well on the cards. Here's an extract:

"Social Protection of the Family"

a) The Republic of Croatia must pass laws and create the conditions so that the first and most venerable profession in the republic will be that of the mother-teacher ...

d) To take mothers and their children out of the factories and other places of work which don't suit them. Thus would be created thousands of jobs in Croatia. Women - mothers [sic] - must be liberated from factory work and receive higher allowances and a mother's salary insofar as she is an educator. ... f) A struggle against non-femininity.

The demographic situation is aggravated by a new

evil: late marriage at the age of 35 to 50. Such marriages do not produce children.

The fiscal policy of the new Croatia will not favour non-femininity, it will support the family and couples who are married with children.

Economic Protection of the Family

... b) Families with many children will receive privileges.

c) All other factors being equal, authorisation to set up private businesses, job allocation ... should be given as a priority to families with many children.

Moral Protection of the Family

a) The government will carry out its policy on the family in the light of the formula: a happy family produces a happy society.

b) The republic must, with legal and political support, resist all that is detrimental to the family and marriage.

c) Fight against pornography, child prostitution, white slave traffic and the control of private cinemas and video clubs.

d) The dignity of motherhood must be underlined, venerated and publicly advocated with a new bank holiday called 'The Day of the Croatian Mother' placed on the calendar.

e) Stricter controls over divorce for couple with children."

The group which has released this information is calling on people to send telegrams of protest to the government of the Croatian Republic addressed to Gospodin Sarinic, Tgr Stjepana radica 6, 41000 Zagreb, Croatia. They also ask that anyone so doing should send a copy of their telegram to Ljubljana 'for security reasons'. The address is Women SOS, Druvstvo SOS-Telefon, PP26, 61 110, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Neil Birrell

(source *Le Monde Libertaire*)

News from Northern Ireland

I'm stung into action by two things. Firstly a desire to see debate in the letters pages as vitriolic and wide-ranging as the 'sociology' and 'women's page' debates, but this time on the situation in Ireland. Secondly, quoting from the excellent piece from Colin Ward in the 6th March issue, I also share the beliefs that exclude one from: "the ranks of those who think in terms of mass revolutions (whose first victims, whether in China or Cuba) have been anarchists". And so I add a fourth item to my 'anarchist agenda for Ireland now' - items for discussion and debate in the letters pages and elsewhere. The full list now reads:

1. Total demilitarisation in Ireland.
2. freedom to express differing cultural traditions.
3. The role of outside intervention.
4. Developing an anarchist movement relevant to Ireland now.

Any one of these, or any combination of them, would lend itself to teasing out in the letters page. Or is it the case that the war in Ireland and the related military and security activity in Britain do not command the attention of readers as much as 'sociology' or 'the women's page' do?

Four police officers were injured when a remote-control car bomb went off in Bangor, outside Belfast, in the early hours of Sunday 7th March. What 'News from Northern Ireland' can be gleaned from this single incident? Obviously the IRA can mount sophisticated technologically advanced and secret military operations. The 'mindless, brainless thugs' description doesn't seem adequate. Further, given that the police officers were all reservists, we learn that large numbers of mainly protestant people earn extra income (or maybe their sole income) as servants of the

state. Then, in the aftermath of the blast, we had Bulldog Mates on our radios telling us he never ceases to be amazed at the spirit of the Ulster people, who bow to brushing up the broken glass and the ruined buildings with determined and cheery smiles. Thus we learn that Her Majesty's most senior servants here, English to a man (almost exclusively!), continue the tradition of colonial rhetoric and paternalistic mouthings developed in the far reaches of Asia and Africa. What other news of Ireland then?

Local government elections are coming up and, given the absence of any formal political assembly here, lots of attention will be given to these charades. Belfast City Council will lose a couple of Alliance Party voices and the twin green/orange battles between Sinn Féin and the SDLP on the one side and the DUP and the UUP on the other side will lead to 'more of the same' in the future. Hustling the green/orange divide in Derry is a little more noteworthy as it may lead to a confirmed SDLP majority with plenty of scope for increased chicanery and abuse. So far as I know there are no Class War candidates planned!

Locally, unemployment figures rose as an engineering firm announced ninety lay-offs in the city, and a shirt company announced lay-offs in Coleraine and Castledawson, two big towns in the county.

Perhaps I should add a fifth item to the four above:

5. Economic development, in particular addressing the issue of unemployment, in Ireland now.

Any takers?

Dave Duggan

50 Years of Indian, Black and Popular Resistance

Last October Lille was just one of the towns in France which hosted a visit from Amon Russell, militant of the American Indian Movement, and Rita Zanotto, a member of Brazil's Landless Movement. They were interviewed after the meeting and the following transcript appeared in *Le Monde Libertaire*.

Le Monde Libertaire: Are you concerned about the future for your community?

Amon Russell: Discrimination exists; not like the racism in South Africa, but it's in their heads. The economy on the reservations is extremely weak. Unemployment is forcing some of us to leave the reservations. Moreover, I'm very concerned about the influence of the predominant culture. My people must realise that it's not all it's cracked up to be. You also in France are feeling it more and more with Eurodisney and McDonalds. Such things are bad.

Le Monde Libertaire: How can one explain the collective identity of the native peoples after five centuries of colonialism?

Amon Russell: Even today there is a revival of Indian consciousness, not only in North America but also, and more especially, over the rest of the continent. It is most closely linked to spirituality and the preservation of our language which is used in our ceremonies: for example, the respect for the Old Ones and the link with the Earth.

Le Monde Libertaire: Rita, what is the Landless Movement?

Rita Zanotto: It's a non-exclusively popular Indian movement in Brazil. It defends the rights of the landless peasants. It organises demonstrations and land occupations aimed at returning the land to the peasants. If it forms part of the country's political landscape it is in a syndicalist manner; it doesn't participate in elections. We are also concerned with the problem of illiteracy and education. As far as 1492 is concerned there are no celebrations in Brazil. For us the 'discovery' was in reality an invasion by Spain and Portugal in the first instance, and by the USA today which is in the

process of achieving a total invasion of Brazil. We 'celebrate' it with demonstrations and debates.

Le Monde Libertaire: So what for you is the significance of the campaign for '500 Years of Indian, Black and Popular Resistance'?

Rita Zanotto: What decided us to participate in this collective movement was its willingness to put together all the problems of Latin America: those of the minorities both black and Indian and peasants, social and economic problems. All these organisations have got together to present their histories and their struggles.

Amon Russell: Some people in North American white society know what happened. By contrast some 'integrated' Indians are totally unaware. It was important, faced with governmental propaganda and the history they teach in the schools, to re-establish the truth.

Le Monde Libertaire: Have you any specific demands to put forward?

Amon Russell: We want people to recognise our struggles today: land, the right to fish and to hunt ... One of our key demands is the liberation of Leonard Pelletier, an Indian political prisoner in the USA for the past sixteen years. He is a real symbol of resistance. He has done much for the indigenous peoples even from his cell. He poses questions which go beyond his own personal situation, particularly with regard to religious freedoms and the rights of Indian prisoners. His defence committee thinks he has a good chance of being freed, but when ... I cannot say.

Rita Zanotto: The Landless Movement has one essential demand: land rights and agricultural reform. Currently 65% of the land is owned by 5% of the big landowners. By contrast the little folk only own 5% of the land. Between four and six million peasants are landless. A huge mass (10%) of land is in the hands of the American, Japanese and German multinationals ... In addition to this major demand we would add food, education, health, work ...

— LETTER FROM CANADA —

The Socialisation of Capital

In 'Another Look at the Economy' (*Freedom*, 6th March 1993) I suggested that at least one quarter of the Canadian economy possessed some sort of non-capitalist aspects. I propose to integrate this picture within a broader view of the economy.

First off, state capitalism in Canada. In spite of a wave of privatisations, provincial and federal government expenditures account for almost half of the GDP, some \$239 billion in 1986. This is normal in the developed world, where the state can account for 30-50% of the GDP, and for all the talk of Thatcherism this has not been reduced one iota. The state is fundamental to the modern economy. Government provides the infrastructure, R and D, higher education, dole for the unemployed and investment and subsidies for many sectors. Where the state has done this work poorly, used as a hog-trough for speculators as in the US and UK, the economy has suffered, but where the state has made long term infrastructural or educational investments, such as West Germany or Japan, the economy has done well.

As for corporate capital, old fashioned capitalists such as Paul Reichman of Canary Wharf infamy still exist, but generally big business is directed by managers who are given more or less a free hand to run the companies as they see fit, although there has been a tendency for shareholder revolts. Few shareholders are private individuals as most corporate capital is in the hands of institutions. Modern capitalism is *institutional* and not private. Shareholding institutions include municipalities, federal and provincial governments, churches, universities, banks, foundations, insurance funds, mutual funds, credit unions and trade union investment funds. In Quebec the provincial pension fund, the *caisse de depot* is the single most important investor. All Quebec workers pay into this fund and all will draw from it upon retirement. As well, about half of Canadian workers also have private or union pension funds, Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSP) or mutual funds.

Company pension fund reserves together with RRSP's run to about \$400 thousand million.

The institutional nature of modern capital could have some interesting effects. In the 1970s and '80s shareholding churches and universities forced de-investment in South Africa. There is no reason why this sort of activity might not continue. This is especially true with *company* pension funds. Workers may eventually take over these funds, enabling them to pressure the corporations in the direction of social responsibility. Pensions (state, company and trade union) will become even more important in the coming decades with the ageing of the baby boomers.

A new area where social responsibility is creeping in is with 'green' or 'ethical' mutual funds. Begun by a Vancouver credit union in 1986, there are now no less than six in existence (most are credit union linked) with a total of \$150 million in investments. Ethical mutuals invest only in businesses that are environmentally conscious and which have good labour relations (and no tobacco products or military production).

An underlying process has been at work within the capitalist system giving rise, in part, to such varied phenomena as co-operatives, state capitalism and the institutionalisation of corporate capitalism. This process is called the *socialisation of capital* - a process by which capital tends to progressively lose its private aspect. One hundred years ago capital was in the hands of the owner-capitalists, now it is spread out into a vast array of public institutions. Furthermore, a nineteenth century business was a law unto itself, today they are surrounded by a great variety of regulations for health and safety, environment, zoning, etc. Private ownership of shares is highly concentrated in the classical manner, but all workers have a state pension, most a union or non-governmental pension fund, most a bank or

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A meeting was convened on 23rd February by Helen Jackson MP to discuss the water crisis. Not the long-term problem of Britain's water supplies, nor the devastating effect of years of drought in Africa. The crisis she was drawing to the attention of official and unofficial bodies was the fact that the water companies of England and Wales have increasingly used a policy of cutting off water supplies to households whose bills were not paid.

She had told the House of Commons on 28th January that the number of disconnections was 7,273 in 1990-91, now trebled to 21,586. There were none in Scotland since it is illegal to cut off water supplies there. Quite apart from the fact that the Housing Acts regard a house without a water supply as 'unfit for habitation', Helen Jackson drew attention to the way that health and safety regulations which require drinking and washing water to be provided in workplaces fail to note that there are no fewer than 2.5 million people whose main base for their paid work is their home.

She cited a Citizens' Advice Bureau report that South Staffordshire Water Company disconnected the water supply of a family with three children, one of whom has special needs.

WATER

A crisis of morality and social responsibility

The client has offered to make repayments of £30 per month, but the company maintained that she had made her offer too late. They demanded a reconnection fee of £94 which the client could not meet.

Some water companies have been offering householders coin-in-the-slot meters, and Ms Jackson commented that "there is gathering evidence that the increased use of prepayment meters for water supply is equally unacceptable. It is worrying that the threat of disconnection is forcing people into this as an option, limiting consumer choice and leading to self-disconnection in hardship."

John Middleton, director of public health for the Sandwell Health Authority in the West Midlands, drew attention in January to the collapse of public morality over water since the sanitary campaigns of 150 years ago, remarking that the Victorians recognised "the need to provide safe, wholesome water supplies for everybody, rich and poor. Water

disconnection is something we should not tolerate in a civilised society."

He said that during the period of 1991 and 1992, with a marked rise in disconnections in the Sandwell area in which 1,400 households lost their water supply: "over this period cases of hepatitis and dysentery rose tenfold".

He was right to stress that the policy of disconnecting non-payers is more than a public health crisis: it is a crisis of social responsibility. The sanitary reformers of the last century, battling against diseases like typhus and cholera, were faced with a political ideology that believed that to interfere with the free market was to invite moral and economic disaster. They were not even socialists but they managed to persuade both city and central governments that every citizen needed access to a pure water supply, regardless of their ability to pay.

A century ago Kropotkin cited "water supplied to private dwellings, with a growing tendency towards disregarding the exact amount of it used by the individual" as an example of what he saw as the growing general belief in the principle of free access. In many parts of Britain, within most people's memory, the water supply to houses whether from a local authority or a private water company was so cheap that it was almost free (as the income was generated from metered commercial users) and was usually paid for by a small sum added to local rates or included in tenants' rents.

And until very recently most of us had never heard of a household's water supply being cut off for non-payment. These arise not so much from the rapid rise in the 'cost' of water and the backlog of engineering, nor wholly from the Thatcher government's privatisation (since in many areas the supply has always been from private companies, though with limits of profits and dividends) but from the spread of the doctrine that the user is a 'customer' from whom every last penny must be squeezed. This is what Thames Water told *The Guardian* (12th September 1992) that "we are being too soft, and that is why our

disconnection levels will rise".

Needless to say, the horrors of being deprived of water apply exclusively to poor households. Until 1988 the water bills of people drawing supplementary benefit were met by the DSS, but with the change to income support and housing benefit individuals became responsible for their own water bills. At the same time many councils felt unable to continue to be collecting agents for the companies.

Meanwhile, a new generation of managers fresh from business schools see the vast capital resources of the water industry as the collateral for raising new funds for expansion into other fields. Thus Thames Water now has an interest in the water industry in East Germany (where domestic water used to be provided without charge), while Essex Water now belongs to a French firm.

Anglian water recently undertook to invest £4 million in the water supply of Buenos Aires. Phil Read of the GMB union commented that the company's water quality in East Anglia has yet to meet EC standards regarding lead, nitrates and pesticide content, while many sewage works are still polluting the region's rivers. To which the water company replied that Anglian Water Services is a separate company from Anglian Water International. Similarly Thames Water has acquired a water engineering subsidiary in the United States, which is losing money. The company's chief executive explained to the press that "the aim remains to expand non-utility businesses to provide an earnings stream free of regulatory control".

The water industry used to be run, whether publicly or privately, by complacent people who took it for granted that their first duty was to ensure a supply to every household. Now it is run by impatient entrepreneurs with no interest in those users who cannot pay, and roam the world looking for opportunities 'free of regulatory control'.

In benighted Victorian times this derogation of social responsibility would have been met by public outcry. At the end of the twentieth century it is taken for granted except by a few campaigners like Helen Jackson and a handful of pressure groups who understand the desperation of the poor.

Colin Ward

The Spirit of Community

The spirit of community is not dead, at least not in these parts. This is a consoling thought on the morning after an arm-aching (for the Melodeon Players), voice straining, drink imbibing evening of a 'session' at the Thorne Tree pub, Waingroves, Derbyshire. The Thorne Tree is a small pub, crowded when there are only sixty people present. It was definitely elbow room only with seventeen musicians plus instruments in addition to the fifty locals present last Friday when we played from 9pm until well after midnight.

Around the Derwent valley area of Derbyshire such 'sessions' are a regular event at roughly fortnightly/monthly intervals, but they are not totally 'spontaneous'. Five individuals, including myself, from time to time pick out a local pub either known to us and with a sympathetic landlord or unknown, untried and new, for an evening session of music and song. After confirming date and time with the landlord we use the good old telephone and an informal 'Telephone Tree' to inform a loose network of singers and musicians of the forthcoming session. This

method rarely fails to produce a good crowd.

On Friday 26th February at the Thorne Tree there were the usual variety of performers present: one double bass, three fiddles, one Irish flute, three melodeons, one piano accordion, four guitars, three tin whistles, two bodhrans and several singers.

The material played and sung included Cajun waltzes, Breton dances, Irish hornpipes, jigs and reels, English morris tunes and many old favourite 'sing-a-longs' such as 'Danny Boy', 'The Manchester Rambler' and 'Whisky in the Jar'. As the drinks flow and the spirits relax the music gets better, or at least it seems to!

These evenings bring people together to play and sing their hearts out. It is people's own music and song, self-created and enjoyable. A roomful of people singing at the top of their voices: "I may be a wage slave on Monday / but I am a free man on Sunday" from the 'Manchester Rambler'. What a contrast to the Saturday evening fare of those stuck in front of the alienating television set cut off from their friends, community and life.

Jonathan Simcock

LETTER FROM CANADA

(continued from page 3)

credit union savings account and many belong to a co-op. This is a form of hidden shareholding. Taken as individuals these workers won't have much, but add them all together and you get the bulk of capital in society. One must also include all other forms of societal wealth such as transit systems, public libraries, hospitals and schools. These are used by workers not the billionaires.

Socialisation is brought about by two forces. One force is capitalism itself, as industry develops it is necessary to draw on an ever-greater pool of capital, vastly more than a single person or family enterprise can borrow or contribute. Capitalism is also very destructive, to the point where it threatens its own existence, as such there is a need for regulations and government involvement. The other force is class struggle, of which two areas are important. Workers, by organising and struggling, gave rise to a host of reforms and by driving up wages also turned up the heat on the socialisation process. Another aspect involves alternative institutions - trade unions, mutual aid societies, credit unions and co-operatives, which are in fact the most socialised part of the economy.

People may well ask: "But what about Thatcherism? Doesn't this run counter to socialisation?" The answer is: of course, for there is never a tendency without a counter-tendency. Thatcherism, however, has not proven a successful

remedy for capital's ills, in fact it has worsened the situation. The most highly socialised countries such as Austria, Japan or West Germany have been the strong economic performers. Look toward a return to the practice of socialisation in those countries that have messed themselves up with the 1980s 'voodoo economics'. Environmentalism will play a major role in this as more and more regulations are introduced and consumers and environmental organisations put pressure on governments and companies. Internationalisation may allow certain companies (those which rely upon unskilled or semi-skilled labour) to break free of trade unions and regulations by fleeing to the underdeveloped world, but inevitably the processes that formed unions and environmentalism will occur there too.

Socialisation shows that capitalism is weaker than we think and has only continued to exist by adopting non-capitalist aspects. In a sense capitalism lives by killing itself. But it is also a lot stronger - a system in continual change can never become decadent and hence cannot be quickly overthrown. Nonetheless, a revolution is taking place and libertarians can further the process by pressing for the maximum socialisation through the development of co-operatives and self-management.

Are there any *Freedom* readers who could do a similar report on socialised capital for other countries? This way we could get a more global picture of these developments. Of particular interest would be material on co-operatives, mutual aid systems and credit unions.

Larry Gambone

Out of collar, into harness?

In his recent Carlton Club speech John Major set out his vision of the classless society. In Major's meritocracy there will be toll roads and the jobless will have to work for their benefit. To rapturous applause he told the Tory faithful: "My concern is to make sure the unemployed keep in touch with the world of work". But with one in ten of Britain's workforce jobless, one has to wonder what world Major belongs to.

The idea that the unemployed should be compelled to work for their benefit, euphemistically described as 'workfare', appears to be gaining currency in political circles. Even in the Labour Party there are some that aim to get tough with the unemployed and look towards a Clinton-style workfare programme where the jobless are kept busy sweeping streets and planting trees. There is of course no shortage of work in the 'workfare economy' and the benefits are obvious: the Tories could announce that they had abolished unemployment in Britain overnight, and Labour's 'modernisers', ever anxious to please the aspiring classes of Basildon, would not be saddled with the image of Labour as the party of the dependency culture.

Although the Tories have used unemployment to bring down inflation and wages as well as to weaken the unions, there is a philosophy which underlies this workfare mentality. It is a cynical belief that the unemployed are feckless and apathetic and have only themselves to blame. It is this

philosophy which criminalises the unemployed, after all those that break the law can also be forced to do community service. It is a philosophy which turns the unemployed into second class citizens and makes them the scapegoats for fourteen years of Tory incompetence.

Lamont may well announce in his March budget that the government intends to introduce workfare, but this now seems unlikely despite the launching of a pilot scheme in Norfolk. Both the costs involved in setting up the scheme and the fear of establishing a minimum wage appear to rule this out in the short term. What is more likely is that there will be a renewed crackdown on the unemployed to go into useless job schemes as hidden unemployment statistics, or they will be pressured into taking low paid casual employment.

The Tories' massive budget deficit, forecasted to rise to fifty billion by the end of this year, means that we all face massive cutbacks. In the public sector it means redundancies and wage cuts. It entails cutbacks in community services and in benefits for those out of work. If the Tories are to be stopped from destroying further jobs and services and we are to prevent Britain from becoming the sweatshop of Europe, then we must stand together. Solidarity is crucial whether you are in or out of work. Today's employed become tomorrow's unemployed.

Joe McCarthy

A New World Order: grassroots movements for global change

by Paul Ekins

published by Routledge, London, 1992

This is less of a book than a very useful and interesting compendium of the many initiatives that have emerged during the last decade, social movements whose aim has been to counter the destructive tendencies of world capitalism. Interestingly, the latter term comes to be mentioned only on the last page of the book. Ekins is an economist and research director of the 'Right Livelihood Awards Foundation', awards that are presented annually in Stockholm to people and organisations that have attempted to offer concrete solutions to the global crisis that now confronts us. Many of the recipients of the award are described in the present work. The text is clearly written and relatively free of jargon, but it is marred by Ekins' baneful tendency to continually use coded abbreviations. Thus in one short sentence he can write: "The GOG R&R are often presented ... but ... only ten percent of the SSP's PAP's and none of the NSP's" (page 91).

The first chapter gives a short but succinct outline of what Ekins describes as the "global problematique", the four basic problems of unprecedented magnitude that now confront the world.

The first is the widespread existence of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological) and the very high level of military spending that exists throughout the world. This is spent not only on weapons of mass destruction (which constitute only about 20% of global military spending) but on conventional weapons, research and the militia. This stockpiling however can hardly be said to have kept the peace, for since the Second World War there have been well over a hundred major wars in all parts of the world, killing an estimated 22 million people. Ekins seems to put this state of affairs down to aggression and insecurity that are intrinsic to the human condition.

The second crisis is the rampant poverty that

A New World Order

exists throughout the world, but particularly in Latin America and Africa. It is estimated that around 20% (one thousand million) of the world's population are suffering from absolute poverty, that is, they are unable to obtain the basic conditions for human survival. Ekins quite misleadingly sees this poverty, like war, as "integral to the human condition". Such an assumption was refuted by dependency theorists like Gunder Frank a generation ago. Ekins views such poverty as being caused by 'development', and offers a crude explanatory diagram based on the notion of 'rich' and 'poor' nations. It thus evades the 'class' nature of capitalism and sees relationships between countries only in terms of trade and aid. Not surprisingly he finds it "paradoxical" that development benefits the core.

The third world problem he discusses is the environmental crisis – the widespread pollution of the atmosphere, species destruction, deforestation, and the increasing desertification that threatens the very survival of the biosphere, let alone human life.

Finally, Ekins briefly outlines the fourth problem, the denial of human rights and the widespread genocide and political oppression by governments throughout the world. He notes the fact that western governments, particularly the US, have given full, even if covert, support to the most oppressive regimes and dictators – and they still do. But rather surprisingly Ekins makes no mention of Chomsky's important writings on state sponsored terrorism and the use of force not so much to bolster dictators but to keep the world open to the 'Fifth Freedom' – the freedom of capitalists to rob, to exploit and to dominate.

All these four problems, Ekins contends, are interlinked by "a single, systematic problematique of great complexity". He seems very reluctant or unwilling to give this 'problematique' a name. It is of course the world capitalist system which is the underlying cause of all four problems – the

'military machine', the poverty, the environmental crisis and the widespread repression.

In the second chapter Ekins gives a brief critical outline of three United Nations commissions that have examined world

or capitalism re-vamped

problems: the Palme Report on *Common Security: a programme for disarmament* (1982), the Brandt Report which looked at economic development, world poverty and issue of 'survival', and the Brundtland Report *Our Common Future* (1987) which reported on the environmental crisis. It seems that the United Nations has never established a commission to look into the other world problem, that of repression, but then, as the United Nations is composed of national governments who are largely responsible for the political repression this is hardly surprising. Ekins gives useful critique of these "conventional" approaches to world problems, and notes that they all presuppose or support the existing economic system, and tend to have an exclusive preoccupation with nation states. He gives short but salient notes on the limitations of both trade and aid. Free market capitalism, he suggests, leads to dependency relationships, loss of autonomy and increasing inequality, while aid has little to do with serving the interests of the poor. He interestingly notes the similarities – as "command-and-control economies" – between multinational corporations and the state capitalism of Eastern Europe and the old USSR.

This analysis, brief and dense though it is, essentially entails a sustained critique of the world capitalist system, although Ekins seems to see this system largely as an exchange mechanism involving trade and aid between nation states, rather than as a mode of production that is intrinsically exploitative.

And he also seems to be under the mistaken impression that this critique has only recently emerged. But this analysis leads Ekins to argue for a 'new' approach to world problems, and this approach he sees as being expressed by the new social movements which have emerged in the last decades – although it is important to recognise, I think, that such movements have a long history going back to the beginnings of capitalism. And the value of the book is in the brief accounts that Ekins

gives of these movements, as reflected in organisations and certain selected individuals. He thus outlines:

1. Those organisations (like the European Nuclear Disarmament movement) and individuals – Thompson, Kelly and Galtung are examples – that have sought to establish real security by means of generating public opinion in the direction of peace initiatives and disarmament.
 2. Those organisations such as Amnesty International, feminist associations and Survival International that have been active in defending human rights.
 3. Those grassroots movements that have sought to express "another development", one that is conducive to the well-being of local communities. Among those he discusses are the Sarvodaya movement (Sri Lanka) and the Working Women's Forum (India), and he links these with reformist organisations in the United States and Europe that advocate the "progressive market", the notion that one can happily combine profiteering with economic activities that do not have negative social and ecological effects.
 4. Environmental movements such as the Chipko movement (India), Sahabat Alam (Malaysia) and the Green Belt movement (Kenya), which are local and decentralised initiatives concerned with defending the local environment against commercial interests or in projects such as tree planting.
 5. Finally, Ekins outlines the 'new' model of development in relation to such issues as
- (continued on page 6)

Anarchism has always been concerned with emancipation for all groups who have suffered from oppressive discrimination, and has sought to show them that their interests are identical. Emancipation for the young does not clash with emancipation for elderly people, as argued by such pioneers as Alex Comfort.¹ Similarly, oppression of any racial group is really one of the devices for dividing and ruling the community by an authoritarian elite. There is no difference between the interests of men and women, and it is foolish to try to work up strife between the two sexes, and to pretend that one sex or the other has 'special' needs.

One woman, whom I heartily admire, writes under the name of Claudia, and as a result of her extensive experience says the following:

"It is, of course, fatuous to say that all men rape (or would, given half a chance) only to take up with one of these allegedly dangerous creatures. Yet women who cannot face life with themselves perform mental gymnastics to convince themselves of the acceptability of certain men. The eligible chevalier now calls himself 'anti-sexist' or 'pro-feminist' ... Such women make the initial mistake of seeking to be impressed by a man, and consequently falling for some sanctimonious creep on a 'men against violence against women' march (or something of that ilk). 'Anti-sexist' men are the first to inform women of the depth of their oppression. Some have tried to tell me that I am far more downtrodden than I had actually realised. Belief in female vulnerability comforts such men."²

As the result of my own extensive experience I have found that the men she refers to as 'creeps' fall into two main types. The first type, lacking the normal male attributes, find

Enemies of women's emancipation: creeps who posture and cringe

it difficult to relate to women. Consequently they seek to ingratiate themselves with women by cringing to them and bleating 'Oh yes, we men are dreadful creatures. You have every right to despise us because we lack the spiritual qualities of you women. We are all crude, brutal and beastly!' Naturally most normal women find this cringing approach pretty revolting, although some butch types of women like to have a few of these creeps around in order to kick their bottoms, metaphorically or actually. This type of creep is often scared of the frank sexuality of ordinary women, and is really seeking a substitute for mummy to shield their inadequate personalities.

The second type of pseudo pro-feminist creep is more akin to the kinky type immortalised by Leopold von Sacher-Masoch in his novel *Venus in Furs*, and more recently by Christopher Isherwood in his *Mr Norris Changes Trains*. He does not seek to persuade women that they are very, very vulnerable; he wants women to be tough and aggressive. The whip-wielding 'dominatrix' of the bawdy house is his ideal.

Both these types are the enemies of female emancipation because they seek to foster totally unreal stereotypes of women. The great majority of women are not the over-vulnerable, oppressed, super-sensitive

creatures dependent on intuition rather than rational thinking that the former type of creep would have us believe. Neither are they the raucous, dominating harridans that appealed to Mr Norris. Most women are very like men, and it is thanks to the pioneering efforts of the true feminists that they have become so. By the true feminists I mean those women who, throughout the ages, have stood up for equality between the sexes rather than the silly gang of women, mostly American, who pretended that it was they who had invented feminism at the end of the 1960s. In the latter's promotion of an anti-man campaign they have been divisive and anti-libertarian in tendency. They have fostered censorship and prudery, whereas true feminists, from Chaucer's Wife of Bath onwards, have shown a healthy and frank interest in sex:

"I had the best 'what's its name' that there was. For in fact my feelings all come from Venus, and my heart from Mars. Venus gave me my desire and my lecherousness, and Mars gave me my sturdy stamina ... Alas, that love-making was a sin! I always followed my inclinations according to the attributes of my horoscope; which made me such that I could not withhold my little chamber of Venus from any good fellow. Yet I have the mark of Mars upon my face, and also in another private place."³

Thus spake the Wife of Bath, and many fine anarchists, such as Emma Goldman, have said likewise.

The creeps who like to exaggerate the brutality, insensitiveness and dominance of the male sex, while emphasising the vulnerability and super-sensitivity of women, may have an additional motive for doing this. While reserving for themselves a very special status, they may get an emotional kick out of imagining themselves to be in the midst of a menacing and savage jungle of macho louts, as did Jean Genet. According to Edmund Clark:

"Genet loves the idea of the police, not of course because they present to him an opportunity for atonement but because they are, in his eyes at least, tough, manly and remorseless. Society and the police are largely admired because they are *not* lenient with the guilty. They taught him to love evil, and now he loves them. Significantly he regards Hitler as a saint and Nazi thugs as 'beautiful'.⁴

This romanticising and exaggeration of male brutality in the fantasy of some male creeps while it may appeal, in a pornographic way, to a minority of unbalanced women (and some of the pulp female magazines pander to it) naturally has an unsettling and confusing effect on immature girls who have yet to assess the realities of life. It is divisive between the sexes and plays into the hands of the tiny minority of reactionary women who would convert all girls into man-haters. It is similar in tendency to the gross exaggeration of racial stereotypes, which fosters mistrust and inter-racial disharmony.

Let us recognise for what they are the posturing creeps who cringe.

Tony Gibson

3. Chaucer, The Wife of Bath's prologue in *The Canterbury Tales* (translated by P. Gooden), London: Pan Books, 1987.

4. Edmund P. Clark, 'The Gamesmanship of Jean Genet' in *Anarchy* no 87, 1968.

1. Alex Comfort, *A Good Age*, London: Pan Books, 1989.

2. Claudia, *Love Lies Bleeding*, London: A Class Whore Publication, 1992.

A New World Order

(continued from page 5)

health, education and housing.

Addresses of all the organisations mentioned are given in the Appendix.

One has the impression in reading through this useful book that, for all his strident criticisms of capitalism and of governments, Ekins actually believes in some benign form of capitalism that is non-exploitative of people, non-destructive of the environment, and not implicated in any form of political repression. He also seems to believe in some form of 'nation state' that does not represent the interests of the rulers and the economic system, but rather serves the general well-being of all the people. Thus poverty, exploitation, repression and environmental degradation are seen as a "paradox", as a kind of moral lapse on the part of capitalists or the political elite. Thus although he bemoans the fact that third world "elites" maintain repressive governments and stash away their wealth in banks outside their own country, and is highly critical of the effects of both aid and trade, the normal, legitimate workings of capitalism go unchallenged. The exploitation of human labour which creates the wealth, through sweatshops, share-cropping, estates and plantations, factories and mines; the appropriation of profit by capitalists (which moves essentially from 'south' to 'north'); the fact that 'capital' freely moves to where it can generate the most profit (regardless of the social and ecological consequences) while the movement of people is strictly curtailed within the parameters of the nation state – all these repressive features of capitalism are completely by-passed by Ekins. And it is significant that the collective organisations that defend the rights of workers in the third world – share-cropping associations and trade unions – get no mention at all in this book.

When we come to the conclusions Ekins' reformist position – which runs counter to the whole tenor of his book which supports grassroots organisations, co-operatives, local autonomy and decentralisation – becomes only too apparent. He divides the world up

into three groups – the beneficiaries of the "power structure" or the "order" (industrialists and elite workers, and the professional middle class), the servants (by which he seems to mean essentially third world workers) and the dispossessed. Such a categorisation, like his use of the terms north/south, rich/poor throughout the book, completely obscures, of course, the class nature of capitalism, and grossly simplifies the complex nature of world capitalism and its intrinsic relationship to the nation state. Teresa Hayter's critique of the Brandt Report *The Creation of World Poverty*, published a decade ago (1981), has altogether a much more politically aware analysis than this present text.

In the final pages Ekins outlines three 'forces' that are creating the supposed divisions – scientism (the hegemony of modern science), developmentalism (industrialism, consumerism and growth, i.e. industrial capitalism) and statism. He seems to be suffering from some kind of historical and political myopia, and is thus blissfully unaware that critiques of all these three forces have been expounded for more than a century by romantics, socialists, hermeneutic philosophers, ecologists and anarchists. But the real paradox of the book is that having provided us with a very useful critique of capitalism and statism – in the process of outlining the grassroots organisations – Ekins ends by suggesting:

"State power has a vital role to play in people's self-development. It must provide the basic institutions to encapsulate and frame the market so that the market mechanism may work to general advantage."

To advocates 'state power' and the 'market' makes all his pleas for cultural diversity, democracy, ecocentric perception, individual autonomy and social justice all sound rather hollow and rhetorical. In framing ideas for a "new world order" Kirkpatrick Sale's 'bioregionalism' and Murray Bookchin's 'social ecology' seem to me much more promising than the kind of welfare capitalism suggested by Ekins.

Brian Morris

Capitalism?

A few days ago on a Radio Four programme reviewing the economic position, a representative of a big manufacturing industry was being interviewed and talking of the hostility of the previous (Thatcher) government to his sector of industry. I don't recall the exact fraction, nor do I know how carefully he had worked out his statistics, but my impression is that he claimed that in the years of the Thatcher decade Britain lost three quarters of its productive industry.

It's of course a comment that one hears frequently on the left, but that statement coming from that source has quite a different significance from the same statement made by the (former) victims of capitalist exploitation. It suggests strongly that the

standard 'marxist' analysis of Thatcherism – as the epitome of laissez-faire capitalism – falls very far short of marxist precision.

It ignores the fact that Marx saw in every ruling class a progressive as well as a reactionary role. That despite the dialectical limitations of industrial entrepreneurs as a class, they existed to perform a progressive role in advancing manufacturing industry, and in so doing turning the exploited producers into a developed working class. A truly capitalist government, as the executive committee of this elite, would therefore foster the extension and development of capitalist manufacturing industry. Plainly this was not Thatcherism.

What is normally meant by laissez-faire capitalism, in Britain, is not meant to include the outwork-capitalism of the medieval period, nor the pre-mercantilist merchant capitalism of the late Tudors and early Stuarts, but refers specifically to urban, manufacturing industry as it arose from the technological developments of the eighteenth century, was fostered first by the needs of the Triangular Trade and then by the wars against revolutionary France, attaining political power with the Great Reform Act.

In the early days of Thatcherism, many advocates of old-style analysis used to say that her power disproved other class analyses which suggested that we have moved to a bureaucratic collectivist, state capitalist or managerialist stage where industrial entrepreneurs no longer formed the driving sectors of the ruling class. That takeovers and asset-stripping (financed by the inflated compensation paid by the Atlee government when it nationalised industries) was all indicative of new ruling class practices.

But in fact though Thatcherite politicians used the language of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century liberalism (the authentic voice of progressive capitalism), Thatcherite policies plainly constituted the governmental application of asset-stripping – a policy that has no progressive *raison d'être* in purely laissez-faire capitalist terms; and they were backed by state intervention against trade unions in a way that went beyond what eighteenth century liberal ideology would permit.

This was a new parasitism. Parasitic on capitalism, or rather on bureaucratic collectivism, as well as on workers, not a restoration of naked and primitive capitalist power. It lacked the progressive role of either nineteenth century capitalism or that of twentieth century bureaucratic collectivism; not to see it as such understates the evil of Thatcherism.

LO

The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook

by H. Beard and C. Cerf

Harper Collins, London, 176 pages, £4.99

This is a work of considerable scholarship.

It falls into four parts:

- I. concerning politically correct terms and phrases;
- II. a politically correct/incorrect dictionary;
- III. suspect words and concepts to be avoided and/or discarded;
- IV. a bilingual glossary of bureaucratically suitable language.

Each part has a separate addendum of notes giving the sources for the entries so that we may know just where and when the politically correct words, phrases, etc., originated. There are 661 notes in all. How such a well-researched and impressive work of scholarship can be published at so low a price I do not know, but I would recommend it as a 'must' for all those who value libertarian values, clear thinking and freedom of expression in the modern world.

The dictionary begins with a quote from George Orwell's book *1984* concerning 'newspeak'. When the year 1984 was reached a few years ago, all libertarians were relieved that the horrors that he depicted had not come to pass. But we should not be too complacent. One of the sinister aspects of the society which he described was the careful destruction of the English language so that the words and phrases in which we communicate were systematically abolished and replaced by 'newspeak'. In Orwell's time this process had already begun in communist propaganda, so that the reality of life in the Soviet Union, and the values which Marxist-Leninists hoped to force on us all, would not be clearly apparent.

By destroying language and substituting a new-fangled emasculated jargon, it was hoped to prevent people from committing 'thought-crime', that is, thinking thoughts that were held to be politically incorrect. 'Thought-crime' involves thinking for ourselves instead of in highly restricted and stereotyped terms dictated by the arbiters of what is 'politically correct'.

This publication is, of course, biting satire in its intent. By producing a dictionary of the 'newspeak' it shows what an active and highly authoritarian minority are trying to force upon us. All that is nasty, bureaucratic, prudish, hypocritical, restrictive, truth-concealing and priggish in modern society is expressed in this 'newspeak'. As I am an ordinary man I am horrified by it; if I were a woman I would be even more horrified by it, for women have most to lose by the sort of society that is envisaged by would-be repressors of natural sexuality under the guise of a pretended 'feminism'. There is now a lively group of women in the USA who, with their male collaborators, are organising to fight back against the 'sisters' who are striving to put new chains upon them. It is from this movement that much of the research that finds expression in this book has emerged.

It is easy to dip into this book just for laughs. When we learn that a proposed contraction of 'he, she or it' (thus avoiding the crime of

sexism – see!) should be "h'orsh'it", or that a street manhole should be called a "femhole", or that "men's point of view on all cases" should be known as the "ego-testical world view", we cannot but wonder whether this repressive movement is just the work of zany comics. But it is not. These people are serious, and the actual references to the proposers of these and other monstrosities are given. Humourless they may be, but utterly humourless people are dangerous, as was shown in Nazi Germany when Goebbels set about reforming the German language. Undoubtedly the normal reader will laugh at many of the monstrosities listed in this book, and laughter is a healthy reaction against what is perverse and hypocritical in society, as satirists such as Swift, Orwell and Donald Roodum have shown. But don't be too confident: the enemies of free expression, of normal sexuality and ordinary living, are gaining a remarkable degree of support among some sections of the more priggish young people. An American professor ventured to make a mild joke about 'politically correct' newspeak before his class, and several alert members of his class reacted to it by filing a formal sexual harassment charge against him. "Maybe this will make people more aware, and other faculty watch what they say", explained Susan Rode, one of the students who signed the complaint.

Tony Gibson

A Manual for Clear Thinking

God's Worried

NEW 50th ANNIVERSARY YEAR 1913-1993
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& SOCIETY
5 MARCH 1993 £1.50

Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the quick way to heaven. Blessed are they that live in luxury, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they shall see where it gets them. Blessed are they that hunger, for they shall be fed with words. Blessed are the powerful, for they shall keep their power. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall believe anything. Blessed are the speechmakers, for they shall be called wonderful. Blessed are they that are tortured, for they shall gain humility. Blessed is the Church of the Poor, for it shall say nothing of the violence of the rich.

Roger Woddis

Roger Woddis has contributed a weekly verse to the *New Statesman* for 23 years. Due to illness the above contribution on the cover of the 5th March is his last, and in our opinion one of his most forceful. Fellow poets and admirers add their tributes to Roger Woddis in the 5th March issue of the *New Statesman* (£1.50).

Can it be that following the articles by Arthur Moyses and Colin Ward in *Freedom* (6th March) we may have a real debate about the nature of contemporary anarchism, i.e. one that leads to new ideas, new structures and new action? Might we, at long last, climb out of the nineteenth century?

The heart of the matter is Arthur Moyses's assertion that "every group is dominated by a strong personality supported by weak-willed sycophants..." My experience, nearly as long as his, confirms that conclusion, but like all rules it has an occasional exception and therein may lie a key to the future.

By 1987 I was totally fed up with this leader-and-led syndrome. Nearly every organisation I had ever been in turned out to be led by a sacred circle focused around 'a strong personality' and all the rest was window-dressing. It had no future.

Followers (or sycophants) are happy with their station because it relieves them of responsibility, but there is a deeper reason for it. Our whole culture, including that of self-styled 'revolutionaries', is based on a compound of puritan and *laissez faire* individualism (two hundred years of each, one after the other) that induces the ego trip, the power struggle, petty empire and hierarchy as naturally as night follows day.

We don't just have to defeat or escape from 'the capitalists'. We have also to escape from ourselves. There can be no remaking of society until we remake its component parts, i.e. the individual (oneself) and his or her immediate forms of association. The two cannot be separated. 'The revolution' is a non-starter if it does not start in one's own backyard.

Against leaders and led – for pecking orders

The cul de sac

Anglo-European anarchism ran into the ground in the 1890s and for the most part has been a ventilated corpse ever since. Our four great teachers – Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta – have got us by, only just.

Why did new thinking come to a virtual standstill in the 1890s? There were at least four good reasons. The first was a complete failure to face the central problem of nationalism, empire, militarism and violence. Marx had made the same mistake and his influence was considerable. Engels knew better but was ignored. Kropotkin's collapse in 1914 had a certain logic. He had no body of ideas and values with which to confront World War One, so he relapsed into nationalism.

The second reason for standstill concerned anarchist terrorism. In Italy, France, Russia and elsewhere people calling themselves anarchists, in the name of 'propaganda by the deed', set out to assassinate presidents, prime ministers and royals. They were never called to account for what they did. Its consequence was a complex of new oppressive laws across the continent, the multiplication of secret police services, a bomb-throwing negative reputation for anarchism that survives to the present day, and a withdrawn, negative, shallow defensiveness on the part of

anarchists themselves. The result was that new thinking all but stopped.

Thirdly anarchism attached itself to 'socialism' in a singularly unthinking way and went down with it. It should have been clear by then that so long as we need money and the market we shall have to have *some* form of capitalism and that so long as we fail to find the answer to hierarchy we shall have to have *some* form of the state. But people wanted jam tomorrow, sold their souls to a dream, lost contact with reality and crashed headlong. We now have to pick ourselves up.

The fourth failure was the near total lapse over structure. In the name of a Stirner-related individualism (but really related to the overall individualism of western society) there was no way in which a successful organised movement could be built from the bottom up. Freedom Press was the only anarchist outfit to survive the century that followed the 1880s, and that followed from the very particularity of its goals.

All four impediments have to be disposed of at more or less the same time – yet another package deal. The last one, concerning the structure and function of organised anarchism, is as good a lead as any, all the more so since it will yield to instant personal and small group action.

Just how do we dissolve the leader-and-led, strong personality problem that Arthur Moyses puts his finger on? A modest experiment yields the likely starting point. If six of us sit round a table with something to talk about, it will be found that we do not need a chairperson. Increase that number to twenty-six and we are into a different ball game – one that needs a referee. Somewhere along that lone of increase we have passed out of the zone of free association into that of hierarchy. There is no question of vice or virtue. We are into the nature of scale. There is nothing we can do about it except *keep all basic units small*, insist on single figures. Growth then takes place by the multiplication of units, *not* by an increase in their size.

On the same principle the best size for a bigger conference is 49, or thereabouts, with its sessions divided into plenaries and seven-times-seven groups. In the single figure group there is no room for the big speech, charismatic dominion is out. Rallies and demos are not conferences – so the bigger the better.

In the small group the individual ceases to be a number, a cipher, a vote, and emerges as a person in his or her own right with identifiable talents, time, energy, resources. The unchaired discussion means proper freedom of speech. In the usual bigger meeting you wait your turn, have your turn and then have to shut up. How can the cut and thrust of creative exchange happen on that hopelessly circumscribed basis? In the small group you come in as often as you like, when you like. The spark leaps. New ideas emerge.

But of course it all depends who makes up the group in the first place. They have to be people on more or less the same wavelength, as ready to listen as they are to talk. An anarcho-green group is a mutual support group (amongst other things) but it is not an exercise in psychotherapy. That is something else. The 'freedom' group looks outwards to the problems of society, the psychotherapy group looks inwards to the personal psychological problems of its members. To confuse them is fatal. There is a good case for both – separately.

There is leadership but not leadership. Each one leads according to his or her expertise. In a given area the less experienced are glad to listen and take the advice of the more experienced. Each leads at one moment and is a supporter the next. It is the familiar pecking

order, an order prescribed by nature itself. It is the egalitarian answer to hierarchy. And it works. In the arts and sciences it is the received order of things, quartets, quintets and sextets are as common to music as they are to scientific research. They have never been taken seriously in politics because politics is dominated by the traditions of church and state where congregations and constituencies assume that elites and 'the masses' are the inevitable order of the day. And we have allowed ourselves to be fooled into believing it. It is time to break out of a dead paradigm.

How to make a start

There are never any problems about starting single-issue groups. Tens of thousands of them saturate the country. There are 30,000 in London alone. But when it comes to open-ended groups there is an extraordinary reluctance to proceed beyond the received forms of church and political party. The green movement has been no more successful than the anarchist movement. Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth are centralist (the first more so than the second) and the Green Party has fallen at this same hurdle.

The answer is to start differently and stay different. Keep it small, stick to the unstructured, make it multi-purpose, assure its independence and insist on equality – no chairperson, no secretary, no treasurer. It will need a convenor who may well also be the host since it meets in a private house or flat. It needs to meet regularly – ideally once a month – and is well underwritten by a useful monthly newsletter with appropriate documentation. A subscription is not necessary. If there is any need for money a whip-round should do it. Some food and drink are important, since conviviality is of the essence.

Since all the people involved will be thoughtful activists (otherwise they will not be interested) the first thing is to find out what each is into. All manner of things will start from that shared intelligence. Secondly, since they will all live in more or less the same city or locality there is the perennial question of its present direction, where it is going wrong and what might be done about it.

Groups as the ground of people power

When all the Soviet satellites collapsed in 1989 the word that went about was 'people power' – but not for long. Amazingly no one had done any homework. There were no alternative ideas and structures ready – all fell back upon the market and into western-type parliamentary party politics. We have had hundreds of years of both and they just do not solve our problems. It is time for us to conceive the forms and practices of direct democracy, the social market and eventually the gift economy. But there is no way we can do that if we try to leap from the individual to the community. The route has to be through countless small groups, through which the necessary ideas and energies can be generated.

Time is not on our side. Somewhere ahead of us there is an Anglo-American financial crunch. It promises to be devastating. The irony is that we may need to be saved by the Germans, but they are in increasing trouble themselves at the moment, so that makes it all the more important to look to ourselves.

If we cannot turn libertarian ideas into working structures we are dead ducks. History will dispose of us. Life will go on and others will take our places. But at least, if we can find the questions that need to be answered, we can make a start.

Peter Cadogan

Female Authoritarianism

(continued from page 2)

as if I was barely tolerated. Any tiny error of mine would be pounced upon, and I would be told off in a forceful yet polite fashion which would steamroller any explanations I might have. Attempts at friendly conversation by me would be responded to, but in an abrupt manner which had the effect of terminating the discussion and re-establishing distance between us. This strategy had the effect of inducing considerable anxiety in me and adversely affecting my work. When I tried to establish quite what the difficulty was between us and resolve it, I was responded to with stone-faced silences. She never made any suggestion that I was not capable of doing the job, or at least not to my face; everything seemed to turn upon elusive and unspoken matters connected with personality and gender. I was the only male employee in her section and needless to say her attitude to the women was completely different. These women were privately sympathetic to my predicament, and also embarrassed by it, but would do nothing in my support. Set against this submissiveness to authority, it is important to emphasise that my female co-workers showed no signs of sexism, and in matters purely connected with the work were always friendly and supportive. As with men, the central dynamic concerns those who seek and wield power, whilst fear and submissiveness in others keeps them in the saddle and buttresses their authority.

Points for discussion

To return again to feminist theory, it should be clear that authoritarianism is not exclusive to men. However, some feminists seem content to convey that impression, and even claim to be more libertarian than men. I reject this argument for the following reason: accepting that women are often repressed by men, its implication is that repression encourages freedom. No, repression only encourages those who experience it to repress others. It could also be argued that the repression experienced by women because of their sex is *additional* to that experienced by both sexes;

more repression means less freedom. It is possible that women who maintain that they have higher levels of personal freedom than men confuse the readily apparent 'female' tendencies towards giving and caring with radical libertarianism. Of course giving and caring are important to a co-operative and sociable lifestyle, but patriarchal cultures encourage in women just these tendencies, and make them coterminous with submission and repression. Women are subtly coerced to give and care too much; not surprisingly, many feel hungry for emotional support and yearn to express their individuality and creativity.

The developing feminist critique led women who were socialists to shift their point of reference away from economic considerations and towards the core problems of power and hierarchy, i.e. closer to an anarchist position, while women who were already anarchists came to call themselves anarcho-feminists. To me anarcho-feminism *as ideology*, and distinct from groupings of anarchist women interested in sex and gender, is something of a blind alley which diverts attention from authoritarianism in both sexes. Anarchism has always included the rejection of *all* forms of repression. To introduce the concept of feminism to it, to in effect build an ideology around one sex, runs the risk of inadvertently introducing sexism when the object is clearly to oppose it.

John Griffin

* *Understanding Women*, Luise Eichenbaum and Susie Orbach.

John Griffin is the author of the Freedom Press title *A Structured Anarchism: an overview of libertarian theory and practice*, 40 pages, ISBN 0 900384 58 1, £1 post free inland.

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A Women's Page?

Dear Editors,
I am very distressed that John Pilgrim likens me to Mary Whitehouse and that he should respond to my letter with such antagonism (6th March 1993) – but I fear that this is because he has misinterpreted my viewpoint (understandable given its shortness and failings). However, in doing so he has credited me with an argument that I never made. At no point was I ever trying to defend essentialist arguments that hold that intuition and spirituality are natural characteristics inherent to women. Rather, I was trying

Dear *Freedom*,
Regarding the suggestion that *Freedom* should have a women's page: women's pages sprang up to provide a space where women could have articles printed about 'their concerns' which would otherwise not have been printed in the main body of the paper – in no way then is the idea of a women's page a bad thing among the capitalist press where women's opinions or issues seen as relating specifically to women would not otherwise be printed. However, at present women writing for *Freedom* have their articles published within the relevant section: letters, international, reviews, etc., and I do not see how the cause for women's liberation or anarchism would be furthered by forcing all women's writing into the ghetto of a women's page.

Surely, as an anarchist paper, *Freedom* should have libertarianism as its central principle of operation and rather than marginalising women's views into 'their own space', which only serves to strengthen the view that women's interests are naturally and inherently at odds with those of men, the direction *Freedom* must move in is surely the opposite. Rather than push women into a corner it should take back to the drawing board any article which does not address itself to both men and women – or can any readers think of any issue, social or political, that is only the concern of men?
Piers Hale

to defend those feminists who believe that the *ideas* of intuition and spirituality are useful concepts in the fight against male domination (of women and men) – and I never said that those feminists were exclusively female – such concepts may well be adopted by men as well as women in the battle with patriarchal, capitalist structures.

Secondly, I was not suggesting an abandonment of reason per se, but rather an abandonment of the type of reason that has been the singular ideological backbone that has been used to prop up existing power differentials throughout modernity. For instance, it is the 'scientific' reason of biology, medicine and mainstream psychology that has helped to keep women subjugated by promoting the common sense view that they are naturally the best sex to stay at home and rear children. We can't let this type of reason win. To quote Julia Kristeva (which will probably annoy Tony Gibson), we must "... confront the controversial values once held to be universal truths by our culture, and to subject them to interminable analysis". Truth and reason have become valorised to the point where they are very dangerous and have a strangely narcotic effect. They need to be taken apart to reveal what lies behind.

We need to recognise that reason and truth are not absolutes, they are created and shaped by those who hold power, and are then used in a hegemonic process to win continued consent for existing inequalities. Thus, while Godwin's oft-quoted phrase "sound reasoning and truth must always be victorious over error" is at first attractive, we need to ask whose sound reasoning and truth over whose error. A dialectic is never a neutral process but a power relationship; as anarchists we need to be very aware of this. That is why I said that for me anarchism was a moral and spiritual position – it has to be, for saying it is a position of truth and logical reason rather than of belief is imposing one's own viewpoint on the world. As Malatesta

argues: "We do not boast that we possess absolute truth; on the contrary, we believe that *social truth* is not a fixed quantity, good for all times, universally applicable ..." (original italics). He is right, and anybody that dogmatically insists that anarchism is 'the truth' cannot legitimately call themselves anarchists.

Finally, while I mostly accept what John Pilgrim had to say in response to my letter (including the suggestion that I should read more and then shut up!), the same cannot be said with respect to Tony Gibson's riposte. I have nothing against "naughty words" as Mr Gibson seems to imply, however I do have a problem when they are consciously used in a degrading manner designed to label people as inferiors. Also he has stupidly and mistakenly assumed that my use of the word 'spiritual' is somehow connected to God or religion – if he bothers to look up a definition of the word he will find that it means "relating to the spirit or the soul" (*Collins English*

Dear Editors,
In Larry Gambone's response (*Freedom*, 6th March) to my article on political correctness he says I whitewashed "the last rotten vestige of Stalinism". Really? I condemned the stifling of debate that comes with use of this label. Some people like the idea of this new label and use it to attack others (as in Mike Montrose's letter in which he tells of how a friend said he was not PC for disagreeing with his views). Others dislike it and use it in derision. But on both counts are we not faced with dogma and dismissal of opposing points of view? Thus the *concept* of PC is stifling to those of us who do not fall in line one

Dictionary). In other words, the self or the individual ... hasn't that got just a little something to do with anarchism?
Mark Stevens

Illusion of PC

side or the other. Hardly support for Stalinism.

I agree with Larry that PC is authoritarian, this is clear from what I wrote. (Authoritarian leftists and rightists are of the same mould [or is it fungus] and both like to suppress views they don't like.) Clearly there is a danger from authoritarian leftists who come up with demands which they wish to force on others. There is also a greater danger from the establishment oriented who wish to dismiss *all* challenges to power as it now stands. Which is the greatest danger? For example, if anti-imperialist views are allowed to be seen as nothing but PC (as some people called the anti-Columbus movement) then nothing will change, we will have violent oppressive history portrayed as justifiable and challenge to it dismissed *without* debate.

All in all Larry criticises me for things I did not say and misses the point of my article, which was the danger of dogma and *labelling* issues as dogma regardless of their content. Did you miss the sentence when I said "we should have debate and not thought control"? It is unfair that you label me a Stalinist whitewasher whilst I actually condemned the stifling of debate! The whole point I made was that "each issue should be discussed in itself and not seen as part of a single radical agenda" (see the article).

My main point was to try and show how the established order is in fact bleating it is under attack every time radicals condemn it and there finds it useful to protect itself ideologically by labelling opposition in some way to sully it. As Larry said, "the whole point of PC is to suppress critical thought" (as if I didn't actually say the same!) and I wrote of the danger to free-thought that comes not only from leftists who adopt the term PC but also, more importantly, from the establishment which likes to label all counter ideas together and sully the progressive by associating it with hateful extremism. PC marginalises anything it is applied to, hence its usefulness to the establishment.

(Also I do not have 'conspiracy theories' about the media. The media in this country being largely conformist to the capitalist system such support is institutional, not conspiratorial. Given the way it portrays capitalism and its evils in a less than critical way I do not accept it is a cheap 'cop out' to criticise the media. Also it is not sully Orwell to refer to the obfuscation and rejection of issues through language as Orwellian.)

It is frustrating to be called an apologist for a 'vestige of Stalinism' and have what I wrote misrepresented and parts ignored. I suggest Larry read more carefully what I actually wrote and base any criticism on that and not on things I did not say. Fortunately P.J. Hale and Mike both understood what I said about labelling and suppression and, like Hale, I wait for the day the term PC fades away.

Ian Borrows

Feminism a Dogma?

Dear Editors,
For several months I have been enjoying life instead of arguing with Ernie, but truth must be served – even non-absolute truth. In *Freedom* (20th February) he suggests that I blame ideology for our (social) ills. Well, yes – with the not quite trivial correction that I also credit it with our social successes.

Back in about June '92 I pointed out in a letter that to present women, women as such, in the way Ernie does, as gentle, inoffensive creatures oppressed by men,

is little more than ordinary sexism inverted. Ernie replied mentioning refugees for battered wives and saying (I speak from memory) that if I could find a refuge for battered husbands he'd eat his hat – or perhaps it was his file of *The Feminist*.

At midday on Tuesday 21st July, Radio 4 presented a programme which spoke of battered husbands, saying that the police in one northern English town were getting reports averaging two a week and mentioning an American proposal to start a refuge for them. It also pointed out that battered husbands face difficulties not faced by battered wives; to announce their condition is more likely to draw contempt than sympathy, and they also run the risk that any admission of violence between spouses is likely to lead to the husband, rather than the wife, being charged with assault. No doubt there are far more battered wives than battered husbands, but this indicates a difference in weight and musculature rather than disposition.

George Walford

THE RAVEN – 21

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Class and Anarchism

Dear comrades,
Stephen Booth's 'The Dogma of Class Denied' (*Freedom*, 14th November 1992) misses the boat in my opinion. I would be willing to grant many of his points. Yes, from an anarchist point of view class is not the be-all and end-all. Yes, there are other very important "points of exploitation" that face an individual in our society. Yes, the idea of who is exploiting whom is hopelessly confused in our society, necessarily so given the complexities of an international economy. Yes, the 'exploited' are no more valuable than anyone else – to which I would add that being the victim of any form of oppression gives one no moral superiority either.

Be that as it may, I would disagree strongly with Booth's statement that he rejects class "having any predictive powers towards the improvement of the human situation". That sort of statement flies in the face of common sense and the everyday experience of anyone who bothers to look. A few things should be made clear. Human beings are complicated beasts. If a physicist cannot predict the behaviour of the molecules of a very simple gas in a totally enclosed container, i.e. if the laws of thermodynamics are statements of probability rather than certainty then how can *anyone* hope to predict the behaviour of far more complicated things like humans except 'on the average'. Statements about how people of certain classes will behave are merely statements of likelihood, and it's obvious to anyone who has eyes that many, many, many such statements can be made. They

probably can't be made in relation to grand theoretical schemes like a total change in society, but most such grand schemes are so burdened with uncertainty that very little can be said about them besides general statements of their likelihood. Hence there is no and can be no 'scientific socialism' because we simply don't know enough to predict.

Yet people in any class society generally act in a way that can be statistically anticipated if one doesn't allow one's theorising to carry one away. If one decides in a fit of ill temper at one's radical fellow travellers to refuse to see this fact one is letting oneself in for a whole lot of unpleasant surprises. I call to illustrate the case of Murray Bookchin. Now I like practically everything Murray says when he can refrain from his hobby of neo-Hegelianism. Yet, over and over Murray supports something, sees it perverted and loses his temper. He does it again, and he loses his temper again. Murray is good at losing his temper. I agree with him. I think that most of the people Murray launches his polemics at have all the intellectual and moral substance of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Yet Murray cannot predict what is going to happen in the restricted world of lefty politics, let alone in some grand theological picture of the world, because Murray refuses to take socio-economic class into consideration. He is reduced to denouncing his opponents as either stupid or malevolent. A lot of them are probably either one or both, but simply recognising that other ideas are wrong is of little benefit if you want to lay out a realistic course of action.

I call a personal experience to witness.

In one anarchist group of which I was once a member there was a student who chummed around with the local 'vague lefty' crowd. Like myself, he came from a traditional socialist / social democratic family. Unlike myself, he had no marketable job skills that didn't involve the direction of other people. He was a social sciences student. He was going to vote for the social democratic party in power at that time because "if the NDP loses most of my friends will be out of a job". So, I might add, would he be out of a future job if his only skill is being 'politically correct'. I knew where he was going, and it was not to be a lifetime anarchist. I could be a simple snot and merely denounce him for having 'wrong ideas'. I could do this if I didn't recognise the realities of 'class'. Or maybe I could expect him to act against his own self interest if all I recognise in the world is 'the machine'. I'm sorry. All the talk about vague oppression that everyone suffers isn't going to convince this man to forego the chance of a soft easy office job. Maybe in some hypothetical future 'the machine' will be destroyed, but in the meantime he'll model his ideas to an ideology that will make his life easy. He did.

A realistic expectation of how people are going to behave *has* to take social class into account. I would also call Booth's attention to the fact that he is arguing against people who have a very simplistic idea of social class, and that therefore he has an easy time shooting them down. In addition to ideas of 'class' based on 'relationship to the means of production' there are also ideas of class based on income levels and even on

cultural characteristics. I personally hope to a 'relation to the means of production' view, but I should make it known that I once set up my own class schema for my own amusement. In the flowchart that I constructed there were no less than eighteen classes that exist in a normal industrialised society. There were another six that don't occur in such societies. The average marxist schemata contains *at most* seven classes, usually even less. I feel that my typology is useful, not infallible but useful, for predicting behaviour in the same sense as if I were an ethologist observing the behaviour of another social species. Yes, the usual 'class analysis' is not a great guide to how people will act, but there are other ways of looking at the subject.

I suspect that beyond the technical matters there is a difference of intent between Booth and myself. I would like to know his purpose. If he wishes to argue that we should be politically correct and merely follow each and every lefty fad there is little we have to say to each other. Then he's a fool who has bought a bunch of shoddy goods in the market-place of ideas in a techno-bureaucratic society. I wouldn't waste my time. If he is a follower of the 'neo-sit' trend of anti-civilisation 'anarchism' then I'm interested in an argument. If he is arguing from a principled individualist position then we have a lot to talk about, and maybe *Freedom's* readers could benefit. I think he is the latter, but I'm not sure. I hope (I'm sure given the ways that anarchists are) that I will be enlightened.

Pat Murtagh
Canada

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