

# anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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FIFTY PENCE

**"Men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions or by having none worth sacrificing; and the effect of party government is always to develop hostilities and hypocrisies and to extinguish ideas"**  
**John Ruskin**

## FIRST PAST WHICH POST?

**T**hat the British public are inveterate gamblers, there can be no doubt. The Grand National farce, televised worldwide, carried no less than £75 million in stakes from the punters in this country alone! *Think of it: for a horse race lasting a few minutes!* More millions of pounds were staked in Hong Kong, for instance, where the "fiasco", the "tragedy", the "disaster" (to quote from the front page expletive headlines of the Sunday tabloids) was witnessed by millions on television direct link.

**A**nd how many people in this country know that the horse racing business is now this country's

*fifth* largest industry? (No wonder we are going to the dogs!) In fact Mr Lamont recognised the power and political importance for the Tories of the 'gee-gee', bowler-hatted, trilby-hatted, top-hatted pressure group when in his recent marathon budget he removed VAT from their industry because of threats that they would simply transfer their interests to Ireland where there was no VAT. It was much easier to remove VAT on the horse racing industry and to put it on to domestic fuel. After all, in a capitalist society a racehorse is a more valuable asset than an old age pensioner. To deny this and at the same time say that you believe in the capitalist values which are currently being evangelised by, in our opinion, some of the most verbally vicious bunch of Tory ministers since the other 'nasties' were 'elevated' to the Lords - and in particular we mean Lilley, Portillo, Howard, Clarke, Riffkind and last but not least Major, the hypocrite *par excellence*. - is sheer dishonesty.

are won by the party that is 'first past the post'! Good traditional language of the huntin', shootin' and racing fraternity (and sorority, and how!). The Tories, having won four elections in a row, have no intention of changing the system. The Liberals, with a respectable percentage of the votes and a derisory number of elected members, are all for a system that will give them MPs corresponding to the votes received. The Labour Party can't complain in the election gamble, but neither can it, apparently, halt the continued election of Tory governments with a mere 32% of the electorate voting for them (about 40% of actual votes). So the party is divided between those who continue to advocate the 'first past the post' system and a growing number putting forward a variety of alternatives. So much so that as a result of it the decisions of the annual conference of the Labour Party, a commission headed by Raymond Plant (professor of politics at South-  
*(continued on page 2)*

## THANKS!

**N**ews of the masked thugs' attack on Freedom Press got around surprisingly quickly thanks to local radio reporting, and on the Sunday a brief mention in *The Independent* and a more detailed piece in *The Observer*, and of course the 'grapevine'. So much so that long before *Freedom* was printed we were inundated at the office and individually with messages of support and solidarity from all over the country. By the Tuesday some comrades had decided without being asked that we would need some extra cash to replace the damaged equipment. And though we made no special appeal in the last issue of *Freedom*, as readers will see from the donations list, more than £350 has come in in less than a week - unsolicited! Thank you, and a warm thank you to all those comrades and friends who, in expressing their indignation at the senseless destruction of our typesetter and other equipment, were also generous in their appreciation and support for the work that Freedom Press has been doing for anarchism year in year out.

At the time of writing we don't yet know how much of the cost of replacing the office equipment is covered by the insurance. But as you all know, set-ups such as Freedom Press have never too much money in the bank because there is no end to the initiatives we can take if we have the money. So we can assure readers we will not refuse donations to the special 'damages fund' which has been started spontaneously by some of you!

(see page 8)

**I**t's surely not surprising in view of the foregoing that British elections

## THE STRIKING RAILWORKERS NEED PUBLIC SUPPORT TO WIN

**W**e go to press a week before the announced second one-day strike by the railway workers, which has, naturally, been condemned by the hierarchy of British Rail as 'disastrous' and counter-productive. Most of the press concurs. Obviously when a nationalised industry or service strikes it does not hit the boss since in this case the 'boss' is the public (as un-represented by the government) which pays but has no power to instruct British Rail as to policy. Yet so long as the public does not demonstrate in the street in favour of maintaining a railway service, as opposed to a business whose main concern is profit, it would seem to us that the railwaymen are making generous gestures (because they are losing a day's wages every time) but cannot, without mobilising the public, hope to face McGregor and

the government to give up this quite crazy privatisation of the railway network.

**T**he government has no support in the country for privatisation of the network since nobody - even those who are in principle pro-privatisation - can see how it could work for the benefit of the consumer. According to *The Sunday Times* (4th April):

"Rail privatisation is off the track and must be changed radically, the Bow group of Conservative MPs says. In a hard-hitting report, the group warns that present government policy means higher fares and reduced services.

The group, supported by 100 MPs, wants a national transport plan that would end the bias in favour of road-building. Drivers should pay the true cost of motoring, which means doubling road tax. The roads programme should be cut back and the money saved put into rail."



# FIRST PAST WHICH POST?

(continued from page 1)  
hampton University, and even a columnist in *The Times*) was set up in 1991 to examine the case for electoral reform. TWO AND A HALF YEARS LATER YOU would have thought that they had time to realise that no self-respecting socialist would vote to go on maintaining the capitalist system. The Plant commission suggested "the supplementary vote" is, according to *The Guardian*, "untried in any democracy". Be that as it may. What is relevant, in our opinion, is that any pretension to socialism surely depends on Clause IV.4 of the Labour Party

constitution which we reproduce with approval:

*"To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."*

The present leadership of the Labour Party is embarrassed by Clause 4 and yet at the same time officially opposed to any alternative to 'first past the post' elections.

There are Labour Party members who fondly believe that if only one put over Clause 4 and emphasised all the values and morality that inspire socialist values, workers and people of goodwill would overwhelmingly elect Labour candidates.

If things were so cut and dried in a society open to ideas there might be some hope. But we are living in a capitalist society which, by definition, is rotten and which by its control of the media is seeking to draw everybody into its labyrinth of rottenness, of *m'en foutisme*, of 'I couldn't care less', which has no time for one's neighbour or for the disadvantaged of the rest of the world.

Anarchists are convinced that appeals to the capitalist system via the ballot box, and by any psephological system Lord Plant and any successor of his may devise to oust the Tories, will only result in another bunch of politicians sporting perhaps pink instead of blue labels. But the real problem is capitalism. Neither the Tories nor the Liberals do anything about it - why should they? They believe in it! And the Labour lot are supposed to oppose capitalism but all they do is to try to win votes at any price. So why vote for them?

(to be continued)

# New threat to free speech

Our contemporary, *The Freethinker*, in its March issue highlights a new threat to freedom of speech and thought.

Islamic zealots in universities are packing meetings and debates, shouting down and intimidating anyone who disagrees with them, reports the secularist monthly.

Its front page story is devoted to a debate at the University of Westminster on 24th February at which Islamic students attempted to forcibly segregate the audience, intimidating those who refused to comply with their demand that men and women should be seated separately.

On another page, Barbara Smoker, President of the National Secular Society and a well-known speaker who has taken part in university debates for the past 25 years, writes of her experiences at Westminster, and at the University of Sheffield on 16th February. At both these debates, and at the Voltaire Memorial Lecture given by Dr Richard Dawkins at the Conway Hall last November,

fundamentalist Moslems tried to interfere with free speech.

Some of our readers will have read Dr Dawkins' lecture, *Viruses of the Mind*, which was reviewed in *Freedom* (28th November 1992) and is available in our bookshop at the price of £2.

Barbara Smoker describes the atmosphere at the University of Westminster, where she had been invited to speak, as "reminiscent of a Nazi rally". Moslem students supported the death sentence on Salman Rushdie. "However, the main target of the Moslem students, in both Sheffield and London, was the whole concept of freedom".

*The Freethinker* is available from Freedom Press Bookshop at 40p (plus postage of 18p inland, 50p overseas). We commend this publication to our readers, and hope to deal with the same topic in a forthcoming *Freedom*.

CC



Front page splash for the horsey industry in *The East Anglian Daily Times*

## CORRUPTION UNLIMITED

### Some corrections and addendums

In the item 'Corruption Unlimited' (*Freedom*, 3rd April) the penultimate paragraph reads: "Recently the EC required that ??? should refund a £44 million 'sweetener' that the government gave them to take over the ailing Rover motor industry." The ??? should have been British Aerospace.

In the last paragraph we asked about Enquiries that were supposed to be taking place into Mark Thatcher's £24 million fortune. In the meantime, *The Sunday Times* has published another of its surveys of 'The Top 400' which they describe as "the most authoritative guide to wealth in this country". It includes the Baronesses' young tycoon and it would appear that we were a year behind for he is now 219th in the millionaire stakes at £40 million. *The Sunday Times* declares that he "has made his fortune from his Middle East and American business dealings". What other

than in arms can have been his dealings in the Middle East? Surely not his 'expertise'?

In the second paragraph we referred to the £17 million contributed to the Tory coffers by un-named well-wishers, and which the party's chairman considered as an affront to be required to disclose the sources. Since then at a recent House of Commons Question Time bear-garden, the Prime Minister declared that the Tory Party will give oral evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee enquiry into the funding of political parties. It would also submit a memorandum as requested, but he added "we have always said that we are opposed to state aid for political parties".

What's the betting that it will be argued that 'in a free country anonymity for benefactors to such good causes is sacrosanct if that is what they wish'. Come off it you hypocrites!

## DISCUSSION

# The role of men in anarchism?

I've been reading with great interest the recent correspondence in *Freedom* about women and anarchism, and I find myself agreeing with bits and pieces from most, but perhaps I could add my tuppenceworth.

The main problem seems to be that men, in general, identify themselves with the 'doers' in society. Whenever they hear or read the words 'the people', 'the workers', 'those in authority' or whatever, they assume the article or programme is about men. Women are regarded as a sort of sub-set, useful maybe, but definitely not in the mainstream of things. (I would suggest that women who want to have Women's Pages in *Freedom* fall into this trap too, trying to marginalise us still further.)

Rather than worrying about how to get women interested in anarchism, or politics in general, it might make a lot more sense to try to break down the gender barriers from the other side, and encourage men to be interested in what keeps us all going: let men begin to think of themselves as the 'be-ers' in society rather than the 'doers'. Let them get involved in social relationships, birth, death, education, how we should all live together. After all, from a 'traditional' woman's perspective, it is men who are peripheral: they would go off fighting, trading, exploring, colonising, while women kept the thread of life going on.

In practice, of course, times have changed. Necessity has worked for women so that it is accepted and expected for them to have paid work outside the home. But also, in practice, we are still primarily responsible for childcare, for keeping the household and the

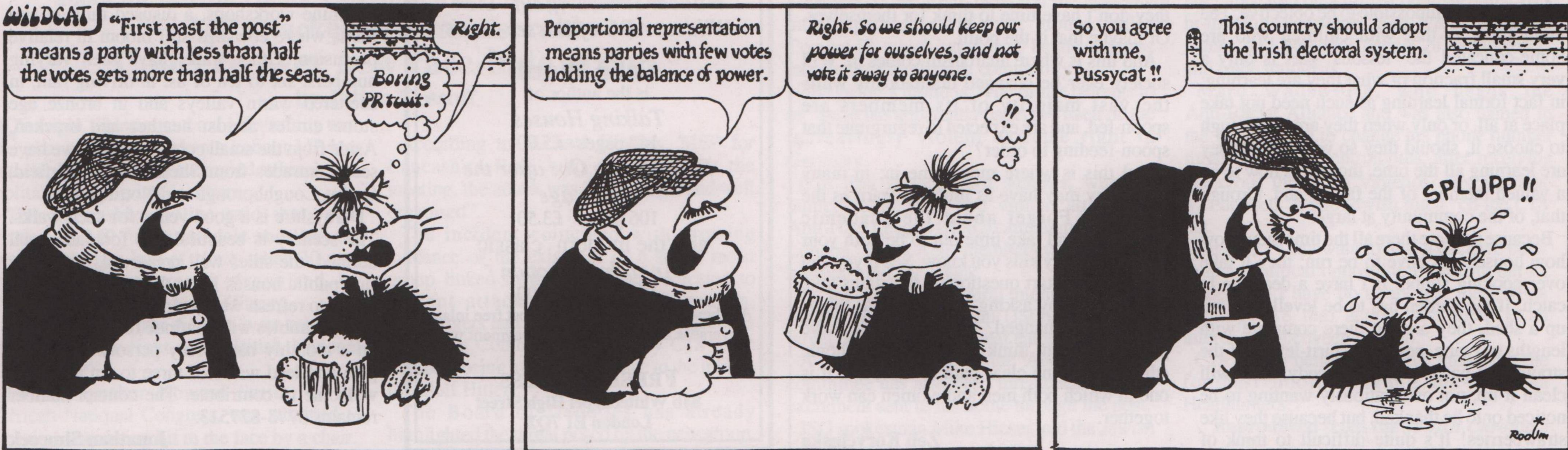
family together.

I would argue that women have made that step outside their historical, traditional role. It is now time for men to reassess their roles, in real terms, rather than just in theory.

Let's look at how people (women and men!) see themselves. For too long people have been defined in terms of their functions: meet someone for the first time, and the chances are they'll introduce themselves by saying I'm a joiner/teacher/chimney sweep or whatever, as if the hours they spent in paid employment put the seal on their whole personality. That's rather a dire thought. It means that the country is made up of armies of workers, each clearly limited and subdivided, rather than societies of people, each free and full of possibilities and potential. If we could see people primarily in their social roles, it would also take much of the sting out of unemployment. After all, about the only advantage being unemployed has is that you have got a lot of time on your hands. If all that time could be used positively, there's a huge source of potential energy out there.

To explore the notion of being 'being' rather than 'doing' a little further: an aspect of practical anarchism which I'm very involved in is education, home education as opposed to schooling, because it is here that children can learn how to value themselves as people, not just as workers-in-training. (Unfortunately, I've recently had some experience of how your average male anarchist views education:

(continued on page 3)





# A Role for Anarchists Today?

As I arrived at a party held to celebrate the early spring with music, leek bake in arm, a nice anarchist, Colin Ward, came up to me and called me an extremist. He slipped a copy of *Freedom* in my pocket while I was too busy trying to think of an answer to notice. Had I been quick enough I would have thrown back at him Noam Chomsky's remark that if anyone who's pro-western governments is automatically a moderate, then extremism is the only sane position.

Later, at home, Colin jumped out of my pocket asking, as many of us do, 'What Will Anarchism Mean Tomorrow?' (*Freedom*, 6th March 1993). As I've tried to define anarchism over the years, Colin has been in my mind hammering home his clear and optimistic message. So while I was glad to read Colin's positive predictions about the future, I was disappointed at what seems to me some misplaced and uncharacteristic pessimism.

Anarchists, argued Colin, have gone astray when they've imagined taking over or overthrowing the state; anarchy is "a theory of organisation" which proposes, in Paul Goodman's words, the "extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of social life". Anarchy will grow in the 21st century, drawing on its links with the green movement and the poor outside the world's official economy. Anarchy will build on triumphs like that of basismo in South America which, keeping at bay a predatory ruling class and military, must keep society going by building up from the base. This is inspiring stuff. The complete opposite of Marx's (and others) trap of making pseudo-sophisticated analyses of global trends, exaggerating the factors which favour revolution and glossing over those which constrict and corrupt it.

Marx, in his journalistic writings, admitted that popular action (not some 'scientifically inevitable process') was the key to change. But the promise he offered appalled many of those on whom such change was dependent. Anarchists, Ward amongst them, warn us not to waste our time working for some far-off revolutionary paradise. Anarchy is worth working at because it builds on what we have already taken the trouble to create and are therefore likely to want more of. Effort which has given and will give value to our lives.

Colin Ward has given us a summary of where he thinks anarchism has gone wrong in the past and asks how we might have to adapt to deal with a changing set of circumstances in the next century. His positive assertions make sense, but we should not risk throwing the baby out with the bathwater.

Anarchy, to me, is the defence and

encouragement of self help and community. When states are weak, due to internal contradictions, economic crises or whatever, new organised minorities attempt to take them over promising benefits for the majority but keeping most of them for minority interests. Anarchists, like those in Spain in the '30s or like Magon in the Mexican revolution, rightly exploited these moments to push for anarchy. That many went too far - embracing and confronting the false hopes of an overnight worldwide revolution is another matter. They were right in as far as they were defending their communities from the generals, tycoons and cardinals. These predatory classes have sought to maximise profit and social control by the imposition of factory production (farming included) and the politics of sheep, always supported by a reactionary church hierarchy keen to have a key role in the twentieth century. These forces have threatened a valuable and vulnerable social fabric.

There is a role for anarchists in increasing the realm of free action in all scenarios, whether bound by the normal chains of imposed order or whether in the midst of atmospheres of change that occur in the weak links which break into revolution. Those that impose their leadership on revolutions, while internal and multinational interests mould them into status quo powers, suppress or co-opt anarchists and other dissenters. But such leaders are forced to respect libertarian and communitarian traditions which deepen during revolutions and which people, whatever their politics, cherish when forced into collective self-defence.

Colin Ward is right to point to the hammering these traditions have taken in the USSR and China. Some have survived and, to be fair, have done better in more favourable circumstances, including in the midst of revolution. Early ideologically motivated attempts at large scale collectivisation in Nicaragua were quickly abandoned, the Sandinistas being forced to favour the co-operative private farmers and informal economy which are firmly embedded in Latin American culture.

A sense of community has underpinned the resistance to fascism in Europe and to its equivalent in the Americas. Surely in this respect no century will see the circumstances so new that anarchists will have no cause to admire and draw on the worthy spirit of their predecessors.

Colin Ward goes on to ask us, "do we anarchists, hostile though we are to the state, find ourselves defending the secular state against those organised minorities who want to use it for their own purposes?"

In building anarchy it may not be good tactics to confront head-on fundamentalists trying to take over the state, any more than it is with revolutionaries (if they can they will, and anarchists are unlikely to be any healthier for the confrontation). Fundamentalists, who've always been around, gain support for their ambition to rule in God's name from people fearful at the destruction of their social fabric at the hands of forces beyond their control. They regret too late the fear and lack of self-respect that is spread in their communities by the attacks on rival minority groups which fundamentalism thrives on. They learn too late that prophets, like revolutionaries, must rule for the good of the profit grabbers. But is it not also true that while play-acting at being the west's new enemy evil empire, such states are also forced to make the transition to status quo powers, unable as they are to sustain indefinitely ideological frenzy and territorial growth based on wartime mobilisation?

The anarchists' role must be to stress the positive traditions which have given communities strength such that they are not afraid to respect others alongside whom they have always lived, not to strengthen themselves by releasing the talent within them which is veiled by last-ditch opposition to equality, fraternity and independence.

There should be no question of anarchists defending so-called secular states which, like all states, are controlled by organised minorities who exploit societies divisions just as much as fundamentalists. On the contrary, our sympathies should be with those on the streets of all sides - Israeli, Palestinian or any other - who defend their communities but refrain from acts which escalate cycles of victimisation which drive people to reactionary positions based on feelings of superiority and fear of reprisal. If anarchists worry about needing the state to keep us in order, instead of continuing to point out how much better society is at organising itself when unburdened by centres of disproportionate wealth and power, then there's no hope for any of us.

With increasing competition for diminished resources the realms of free action that are essential are exactly the forms of anarchy which people like Colin Ward have often stressed. Communities can only gain in strength by adopting lifestyles in harmony with their environment. Above all, if we accept that our choices in life (including the

political) reflect our view of each other, which in turn is a product of our view of ourselves, it is vital that we encourage each other to lead participatory lives, giving colour and strength to our environment through music, art, drama, gardening, allotments, the rediscovery of old traditions, etc., etc. The growth of the informal sector similarly boosts community and personal independence, something which will perhaps be deepened by the spread of LETS (local currency and barter systems).

Strong communities are less threatened by diversity (and any temporary departure of their members) and it might be hoped more willing to defend the development of alternative lifestyles by the likes of travellers and squatters. Their existence is, of course, a product of the emptiness and fear of big business consumerist culture. This culture is regenerated by provocative attacks on those whose life's work is no longer valued or whose only value in such a culture is to encourage a feeling of superiority in those who feel they must work all their lives for low wages for fear of ending up the same. Anarchy, in the positive free action sense, by its nature thrives on dispossessed communities; the anarcho-syndicalist spirit also has a role, not in trying to fight a daily class war in every workplace but in mobilising co-ordinated creative dissent and defence of victimised communities as well as in encouraging the fun side of anarchy and the fostering of hopes such as the fair sharing of what paid work is available.

Anarchy can only grow in the future, especially if it builds on its strengths. Anarchists, whether of Magon's Mexican flavour or Ward's English flavour, act in the revolutionary or evolutionary context of their time and place. While individual anarchists may be encouraged by occasional moves in the right direction in the policies of states, anarchism relocates itself on the firm ground of community, and cautious that our minds not fall prey to the image makers of church, state and big business. Our brother in Hamburg ('Women's Page', *Freedom*, 6th March 1993) is wrong to worry that women are out to get him and have taken control of half the state for the purpose. Plenty of people are on the state's payroll and encourage anarchy in places like the classroom, something many, including me, are grateful for.

Anarchy has meaning in all contexts and can only gain in strength from the growth of the informal economy and the Green movement, and from the democratisation of information technology. My feeling is that the members of those turning to fundamentalism are outweighed not by the declining number who see themselves as martyrs expecting only occasional gratification as they march the shining path to paradise, but by the many people who enjoy the anarchy of the here and now and want more of it tomorrow.

Dominic Allt

## The role of men in anarchism?

(continued from page 2)

I gave a paper at the History Workshop in Newcastle at the end of last year, and I found myself continually having to explain what education has got to do with anarchism; there is a profound misunderstanding here, one which equates school learning with education.)

True education is all about how to ask questions, about not relying on authority just because it's there, but about learning how to do things by actually doing them. It is a subject which is hard to explain about, because when you are in the middle of living through it, it is impossible to be objective. The main thing is that with children who are home-educated the 'lessons' part is only a very small fraction of what they are learning; in fact formal learning as such need not take place at all, or only when they are old enough to choose it, should they so wish. What they are learning all the time, though, is how to be a valued member of the family and, through that, of the community at large.

Because they are there all the time they know how households have to be run: they'll take over cooking supper if I have a deadline to catch. If the garden has to be levelled to put up a shed, they are out there complete with lengths of twine, pegs and spirit-levels. If the strawberry patch gets too weedy, they will clean it up, not ostentatiously wanting to be noticed or to be thanked, but because they like strawberries! It's quite difficult to think of

examples because this is the way we live so we tend not to notice until our friends say how different it is in their households. Because home-educated children feel needed, they can put a value on themselves, which will ensure that they won't let themselves be exploited when they are grown up. They are learning how to 'do' things all the time, sure, but at a deeper level they are also learning how to 'be'.

Schoolchildren seemed to be hived off into their peer groups so early in life. They have to take classes in this and that, they have to sit exams for the national curriculum, they have to jump through hoops to please the government of the day. They are so hassled they don't have time to think for themselves. Or maybe that is the point.

And this is where anarchism comes in. Will society ever be changed dramatically while the vast majority of its members are spoon-fed, and are expected to regurgitate that spoon-feeding to order?

And this is where men come in: in many ways they may have as much to learn as the children. Forget about the academic theorising, and take time out to be with your children, or any kids you know. See if you can help them to start questioning the status quo, because it is by asking questions that things start to get changed. If you want to have people who can think for themselves, home education is one clear path to take, and it is one in which both men and women can work together.

Zeb Korycinska

### Books by our contributors

**John Griffin**

is the author of

*A Structured Anarchism*

40 pages £1.00

**Donald Room**

has edited

*What is Anarchism?*

74 pages £1.95

Three volumes of his 'Wildcat' cartoons are available:

*Wildcat Anarchist Comics* £1.50

*Wildcat Strikes Again* £1.95

*Wildcat ABC of Bosses* £1.95

**Colin Ward**

is the author of

*Talking Houses*

142 pages £5.00

*Freedom To Go: after the*

*motor age*

106 pages £3.50

and the modern 'classic'

*Anarchy in Action*

150 pages £3.00

All these books are available post free inland (overseas add 15% postage), payment with order, from

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## A report on Red Rambles

It is nine months since the first of the Red Rambles walks in Derbyshire's White Peak. In fair weather and foul we have met to tread the hills, fields and footpaths, and to talk as we walked. Only once (in December) have we missed a walk. The highest turn-out to date saw seventeen of us start out from Brassington, a grey-stoned village west of Matlock, to walk five miles via narrow stone-walled fields, unenclosed pastures and old mine workshops, a disused railway and fields where cowslips still bloom in relative profusion. Other walks have seen varying numbers, six to ten of us, in driving rain, in sheltered warm valleys and in bronze age stone circles amidst heather and bracken. Aside from the small core of regulars we have seen comrades from Sheffield, Chesterfield, Derby, Loughborough and Nottingham.

Derbyshire is a good venue for such walks. The scenery is beautiful, the footpaths well defined, the stiles well preserved, and many fine public houses lie at the start and end of walks to refresh weary rambles.

Red Rambles will continue for the next year on a monthly basis. Any persons willing to plan and lead walks of three to ten miles are welcome to contribute. The contact number remains 0773-827513.

Jonathan Simcock



# BANZAI!

The global success of Japanese companies is only too evident when we look at the country of origin of goods on sale in our shops, the steady collapse of British companies and, inevitably, mounting unemployment.

It is often said that paternalism in Japanese industry, the commitment by companies to a lifetime of employment for their workers, is a key factor which encourages growth. I am sure this is true, but rather than the purely economic explanations, this article explores some social psychology with a view to explaining Japanese behaviour. I take the view that along-side plenty of good old 'sound marketing strategies' Japanese management has exploited libertarian attitudes existing in Japanese and Buddhist cultures as a means of gaining genuine commitment from the workforce. A managerial approach like that is in sharp contrast to more traditional and overtly authoritarian ones made elsewhere, and to our eyes may sit uneasily with the apparent Japanese drive to achieve an economic hegemony through trade, rather than that of armed force pursued in 1941-45. Russell Braddon, and other prisoners of the Japanese at that time, were repeatedly told that the war would last for a hundred years. Soon after the disastrous Japanese defeat, Braddon challenged an officer:

"This was last one hundred years?"

"Ninety-six years to go", came the reply!

Braddon goes on to claim that "the other one hundred years war", as he calls it, is now in full sway and that we are now experiencing the results. I don't think that the waging of an ongoing war is a conscious act of policy, but there seems to me to be a rapacity in the Japanese drive to dominate world markets which is deserving of some study.

## Theory X and Theory Y

Before launching into a consideration of how the Japanese organise their companies, it is interesting to look at work by Douglas

McGregor in the 1950s, work which retains an interest for management and organisation theorists in the West. McGregor sets out two sets of propositions and assumptions:

Theory X maintains that the average employee is inherently lazy, lacks ambition, dislikes responsibility, likes to be led, and is resistant to change. For managers these assumptions imply a need to provide very close control and overt direction of effort, and the 'co-operation' of the workforce must be gained by a combination of persuasion, rewards and punishment. Theory X represents the overtly authoritarian approach.

Theory Y, on the other hand, is rather more libertarian. Here workers are seen in a more creative light. They are not by nature passive or resistant to change, they have become so as a result of their experience of 'traditional' organisations, and by implication, Theory X managers. It is up to management to make it possible for people to develop their abilities, to take responsibility, use initiative, etc. Managers have control of broad company objectives, but should also assist people to achieve their goals within that framework. The task of management should be to "co-ordinate individual talents and aspirations, rather than merely giving orders to a recalcitrant and alienated workforce. Implicit in Theory Y is the idea that more effort can be extracted from the workers if they can be made to feel part of a supportive team. These ideas have become quite widespread in Western companies, at least as a set of aspirations. In practice, more authoritarian methods continue to be represented, but with passing genuflections towards Theory Y.

It is often said that British industry, what's left of it, is dominated by accountants, and accountants abhor risk; they tend to be obsessed by short term considerations, on profit or loss - the 'bottom line'. Macho management styles more fashionable in the Thatcherite era certainly fit into the Theory X scheme of things. Japanese management is



'Be happy in your work!'

also cautious when launching new products, extremely tight in its control of finance, and vigilant in its observation of employees' performance. Yet Takeo Fujisawa, co-founder of Honda, once remarked: "Japanese and American management is 95% the same and differs in all important respects". Western companies are comparable with their Asiatic counterparts when it comes to broad strategy and systems, but there are fundamental differences in the application of skills and style which make the latter such formidable opponents in the remorseless battle for the control of markets.

## The Japanese style

The Americans, Pascale and Athos, in *The Art of Japanese Management* have researched the functioning of the Matsushita Electric Company (brand names National, Panasonic and Technics) and I have relied on this to highlight key aspects of Japanese thinking which not only connect with Theory Y but also with libertarian theory.

Theory X and Theory Y discussions are strongly represented in Western business schools, yet the Japanese are not in the least bit impressed, and are even contemptuous of these efforts. The style of Japanese management, you see, is not something which is learnt in a school, it reflects a whole gamut of attitudes which figure strongly in Asiatic and Buddhist culture, and as such it has far greater potency. There is a belief in meeting the needs of the individual, wherever possible, and at all levels of the hierarchy. The development of individual skills has its baser profit oriented motives, but here we are talk-

ing about a genuine respect and concern for well being. Interdependency is highly valued as a bringer of effective team work, and the high levels of personal self-esteem and confidence which flow from it make for an impressive ability to deal with ambiguities, uncertainly and imperfection. The much more overtly authoritarian and fearful Western approach views the latter with horror, and seeks to neutralise the anxiety they induce with hard rational analysis and urgent demands for clear-cut solutions as soon as possible. Japanese culture accepts these difficulties as facts of life, to be lived with and worked around in a pragmatic fashion. When unsure of how to proceed the Japanese will reflect deeply, even meditate, on the key issues surrounding the problem; when decisions are finally made, you can be sure that they have the best chance of a successful outcome. In their writing, the word 'ma' is used to indicate that the reader is advised to pause and experience the feel of the situation, rather than to feel pressured towards action.

## Ulterior motives in Bosnia

On-the-spot *Times* correspondent Roger Boyes asks (5th April): "Does the [European] continent end at the Balkans? Is the 'common European home' essentially a Christian idea - and the Bosnian war a religious war? At what point does a European humanitarian tragedy become a European political, or even military, obligation? It is now commonplace that Europe has failed Bosnia over the past twelve months, chiefly because it could not solve or at times even articulate the big issues behind the war."

The answer to the question (whether or not Roger and the politicians and priests really want an answer), Bosnia's war, like Ulster's war, most certainly is a politico-religious war; the religious powers needing the support of religious leaders to give them a spurious cover of morality. They would do without each other if they could, but that would present enormous difficulties for them. And whereas both the politicians and the religious leaders would prefer peace to war, they are not prepared to sacrifice much of their power for the sake of peace.

Given their greed for power, it is not surprising to hear that the religious hierarchies have an ambivalent attitude towards those with pacifist sentiments. The Catholic *Universe* reported (29th March) Vesna Terselic, a co-ordinator of the Croatian anti-war campaign currently touring Britain, as saying that Croatia's bishops had given scant encouragement to peace groups. Apparently, Croatia has no branch of Pax Christi, the Roman Catholic equivalent of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. Another up-to-date example of putting power before

peace comes from Cardinal Basil Hume who, speaking recently on the Warrington bombing outrage, said that he feared that the initial revulsion of people would sink into the background very quickly and things would carry on as before the event. Hume made no reference to the fact that his church also would carry on as usual with its insistence on segregated schools, which must be a big factor in setting Protestant against Catholic. The price of de-segregation is too high a price to pay for peace in Ulster, so far as the Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders are concerned.

Incidentally, and very importantly, there have been many reports from Bosnia claiming that its Serb, Croat and Muslim inhabitants enjoy a common fraternity that is much more than facade - could this be the result of the fact that de-segregation in schools has been the (enforced) rule in Yugoslavia over the past fifty years? If so, the religious hierarchies in Ulster should be confronted with that fact.

War calls upon people to do dreadful things that they would never contemplate under ordinary circumstances. Hiroshima, Dresden, the gas chambers, were outrages that could only have taken place under war conditions. Left to their own judgement, people would have nothing to do with such barbarism, so governments need compliant religious leaders to reassure those with consciences that Hiroshimas are 'the lesser of two evils', that Dresdens 'are regrettably necessary', and that Hitler's National Socialism was preferable to communism. And it was just a few years hence that our own bishops, with a few notable exceptions, left the prosecution of the 'just' Desert Storm in the hands of the generals.



'Sure shot!'

In his book *The German Dictatorship* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970), the German historian professor Karl Dietrich Bracher writes "only a few [Protestant] clergymen took the road to political resistance [to Hitler]" - and, as we all should know, the Vatican signed the infamous Concordat with Hitler. Interestingly, Professor Bracher also observed that "the 1940 census ... counted 95% of the population as nominal [church] members" - how's that for culture!

The reflex reaction of religious leaders to the threat of war is to call for prayers, thus handing the responsibility for concrete resistance over to God, getting themselves off the hook into the bargain - a happy compromise that helps both themselves and the governments. Our answer to Roger Boyes must surely be that governments and religious leaders most certainly have no intention of articulating 'the big issues behind the war' wherever that war may be.

As I complete this essay, John Major appears on television commiserating with victims of the Warrington bombing and claiming that there is a common will for peace in Ireland. We will take a lot of convincing that his government, the Eire government and the religious leaders who variously collude with them, are willing to give away any of their power towards that end.

EFC

There is a tentativeness here, even vagueness, which contrasts with the boldness and willingness to act which are often seen as managerial imperatives in the West.

Japanese respect for the feelings of the individual also has its echoes in language; the verbs occur at the ends of sentences, so that the listener may be led gently to the point of action, and there are nineteen ways of saying 'no'. There is an extreme concern with an avoidance of conflict, or at least overt conflict. Contrarily, Western culture regards face-saving, so important to a Japanese, as being largely irrelevant in the field of business, and underperforming employees are often harangued and humiliated at meetings, etc. The Japanese see no value in macho styles; the emphasis is on the organisation's achievements and problems, on team work rather than with brash moves by attention-seeking individuals. There is a cultural obligation to involve as many people as possible in participative discussions. When it comes to company re-organisations, there is a certain delicacy and deftness of touch which always aims to avoid disrupting existing work groups, whereas in 1990s Britain 'restructuring' has almost come to mean wholesale destruction.

John Griffin

(to be continued)



'Down with the State!' and 'Only upon the ruins of the State ...' express emotions and wishes of many, but it seems that only the cool 'Opt out of the State' can help them toward their realisation. When a new scientific insight appears, then those convinced of it simply proceed on it, without wanting to persuade the old professors who do not intend to follow it. Quite on their own, they will fall behind and dry up. Indeed in many cases maliciousness and stupidity will put many obstacles in the road of the new idea. That is the reason why hard struggles must be fought for unconditional mutual tolerance. Only from then on will everything proceed automatically, because the necessary foundation for every progress, namely experimental freedom and free research have been achieved. The frequently discussed question: 'What ought to be done with the reactionaries, who cannot adapt to liberty?' would thereby be simply solved – they retain their state, as long as they want it. But for us it would become unimportant. Over us it would have no more power than the ideas of a sect. Consequently, and as an aside, before the ideas of MUTUAL TOLERANCE in political and social affairs will break its path, we could do nothing better than prepare ourselves for it – by realising it in our own daily living and thinking. How often do we still act contrary to it?

These words are intended to demonstrate how much I have fallen in love with this idea and to make others understand my pleasure to have found a forgotten essay of a pioneer of this idea: the article 'Panarchie' by P.E. De Puyd in 1860. The author declares himself for *laissez-faire, laissez-passer*. (The Manchester School of free competition without state intervention.) From this he concludes that the law of free competition does not only apply to the industrial and commercial relationships but would have to be brought to its breakthrough in the political sphere.

Do I want to propose my own system? Not at all! I am an advocate of all systems, i.e. of all forms of government that find followers; nothing develops

## Panarchy – a forgotten idea of 1860

This article by Max Nettlau appeared in John Zube's journal *Piot* (see below) and was originally published in Gustav Landauer's *Der Sozialist* (15th March 1909). 'Panarchy' is reproduced here in an abridged form.

and lasts that is not based upon liberty. Nothing that exists maintains itself and functions successfully except through the free play of all its active components. Otherwise there will be loss of energy through friction, rapid wear of the cog wheels, too many breakages and accidents. Therefore I demand of each and every element of human society (individual) the liberty to associate with others, according to choice, to function only in accordance with his capabilities, in other words the absolute right to select the political society in which they want to live and to depend only upon it.

Today the republican attempts to overthrow the existing form of the state. He is opposed as an enemy by all monarchists and others not interested in his ideal. Instead, according to the idea of the author, one should proceed in a way which corresponds to legal separation or divorce in family relationships. He proposes a similar divorce option for politics, one which would harm no one.

In practice the machinery of the civil registry office would suffice. In each municipality a new office would be opened for the POLITICAL MEMBERSHIP of individuals with GOVERNMENTS. The adults would let themselves be entered according to their discretion. From then on, they remain untouched by governmental systems of others. For the differences that might arise between these organisms, arbitration courts will suffice, as between befriended peoples. There will, probably, be many affairs common to all organisms, which

can be settled by mutual agreements, as was, for instance, the relationship between the Swiss cantons. There may be those people who do not want to fit into any of these organisms. These may propagate their ideas and attempt to increase the numbers of their followers until they can pay for what they want to have in their own way. Freedom must be so extensive that it includes the right not to be free. Consequently, clericalism and absolutism for those who do not want it any other way. You are dissatisfied with government? Take another one

### Comment by Larry Gambone

'Panarchy' is a document calling for the maximisation of pluralism and tolerance. No libertarianism worthy of the name can be anything but pluralistic and tolerant, but the malignant influence of new left neo-stalinism (such as Marcuse's concepts of 'repressive tolerance') made these ideas dirty words on the far left. Even though panarchy may seem to be rather unworkable in a world as complex as ours, tolerance is more necessary than ever. Classical anarchism was weak on what to do about those who don't want to be free, but here we have the solution – let people do what they want providing they leave the rest of us alone. This could possibly work in a society where the vast majority of people are tolerant, but the problem remains with the large minorities (and in some countries majorities) who aren't willing to live and let live. For totalitarian cults like Stalinism, Nazism

for yourself – without an insurrection and without any unrest – simply walk into an office for political membership.

Free choice, competition – these will, one day, be the mottoes of the political world. Wouldn't that lead to unbearable chaos? One should remember the time when one throttled each other in religious wars. What became of these deadly hatreds? The progress of the human spirit has swept them away. The religions nowadays co-exist peacefully. Should what was possible in this sphere not likewise be possible in the sphere of politics? Nowadays, while governments only exist under exclusion of all other powers, each party dominates after having thrown down its opponents and the majority suppresses the minority, it is inevitable that the minorities, the suppressed, grumble and intrigue and wait for the moment of revenge, for the finally achieved power. But when all coercion is abolished, when every adult has at any time a completely free choice for himself, then every fruitless struggle will become impossible.

and Islamic fundamentalism, ideological imperialism if the very *raison d'être*. A totally free society as envisaged by 'Panarchy' would still face the same dilemma out present partially free society faces – what to do about those who, in the name of freedom, want to destroy freedom.

### Microfiche

*Libertarian Microfiche Publishing will provide information about how to publish on microfilm and offers almost 1,000 microfiche that contain about 250,000 pages. These are film of 148x104mm that fit into the viewers in your public library. Many rare and early anarchist publications are available at \$1 per fiche. For a catalogue send a donation to John Zube, L.M.P. 7 Oxley St, Bernima, NSW, Australia 2577. John also publishes the interesting little journal *Piot* which discusses panarchy.*

### Dancing with Dogma: Britain under Thatcherism

by Ian Gilmour

Simon & Schuster, £16.99

This book takes its title from a photograph on the cover showing the author dancing with Mrs Thatcher at the Young Conservatives Ball, four weeks after she had sacked him from her Cabinet in 1981. It illustrates the contention that politicians, despite their bitter differences, have more in common with each other than they have with the rest of us.

Gilmour is a 'One Nation' old fashioned Tory with an upper class background, believing in *consensus*. Mrs Thatcher in his view is not a Conservative at all, but a throw-back to crude nineteenth century Manchester Liberalism, and needed her Cabinet "only for the people who want to go in the direction in which every instinct tells me we have to go ... it must be a Cabinet that works on something much more than pragmatism or consensus. It must be a *conviction* Cabinet". Moreover, another senior minister warned him, "if there is one lot of people that our leader dislikes more than the lower classes, it's the upper classes".

However, it wasn't for the sake of the entertaining political gossip that another anarchist went to the length of getting his local bookshop to send me this book, to ensure that I would read it. It was because, with every statement meticulously documented, the book is valuable for the propagandist, and nowhere more so than in the chapter on poverty. Gilmour notes that measuring poverty in the Thatcher era is difficult:

"because of the inadequacy, and sometimes deliberate obfuscation, of government statistics. That in itself is revealing ... Nevertheless, between 1981 and 1987 the percentage of the population living in households below 50% of national income, which is where the EC draws the poverty line, more than doubled from nine to nineteen – more than 10.5 million people ... Thus, relative poverty grew significantly during the 1980s, encompassing nearly one tenth of the population in 1979 and nearly one fifth in 1987. Even more disturbing, children fared worse than society as a whole during this period, the proportion living in poverty doubling to reach 26% in 1987. Furthermore, these statistics do not show the depth

## Effective dictatorship is fine for some

of poverty experienced (i.e. how far below these levels people fall), and they are in any case lower than the real figures, since they exclude both the homeless and those living in institutions, some of the most impoverished in our society."

Gilmour goes on to relate the growth of poverty to the enrichment of the rich:

"In the 1980s, for the first time for fifty years and, possibly, for more of a century, the poorer half of the population saw its share of total national income shrink. In 1979 the poorest fifth of the population had just under 10% of post-tax income and the richest fifth had 37%. By 1989 the share of the poorest fifth had fallen to 7%, while the share of the richest fifth had risen to 43%. The rich got richer, and the poor got poorer."

He applies the same kind of analysis to other aspects of the Thatcher policies, economic, foreign, housing, health and education. He notes how in the Falklands episode "the blimps of all parties rushed in" to ensure that one British serviceman died for every seven inhabitants. "Imperial pretensions are not impressive when you do not have an empire". However, he believes that the Prime Minister "received the backing of a massive majority of the British people" and that "Her conduct of the war was almost impeccable".

The British electoral system is such that Mrs Thatcher won three general elections in a row, and she announced her intention "to go on and on". Gilmour comments that "the evidence is that the voters did not want Thatcherism, yet by voting for the Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher (who thought they 'voted for me'), Thatcherism is what they got. As a result, Britain is now probably the most right-wing state in Western Europe – something she has never been before". her own party had to get rid of her, and Gilmour believes that:

"Margaret Thatcher was finally brought down by her European policy and by the poll tax, two issues which had one thing in common. British local government and the European Community prevented the untrammelled exercise of plebiscitary democracy. The poll tax would effectively destroy what remained of the

independence of local government, and an anti-Brussels crusade would emasculate the European Community."

The poll tax was introduced against the advice of ministers who claimed it was morally indefensible and hideously expensive to collect. Yet Gilmour says that they were all, except for Peter Walker, silent about it in Cabinet. He would ruefully relish Channel 4 television's inquiry on 10th March into the cost of introducing first the poll tax and now its successor, the council tax. This cost was claimed to be £21 billion. For Gilmour, the poll tax was the culmination of the Thatcherite market or rather supermarket philosophy:

"It graphically illustrated the Thatcherite attitude to institutions and their wish to give the market a monopoly. Yet while the market may satisfy demands, it does not deal with needs or equity, which require institutions. But in the Thatcherite philosophy the people of this country were not so much citizens as consumers. Hence demand was all that mattered. Much was made of more choice being provided, but the alleged choice was very much circumscribed by the government. People could not choose to be citizens rather than consumers, they could not choose to make collective choices, they could not choose more education or more health rather than more private spending. They could only choose to be consumers. Institutions such as local government could not be allowed to stand in the consumers' way; they were therefore downgraded and their independence was diminished. The only institution of course that was not weakened was central government which was made more unchallengeable by the undermining of others."

And this, of course, was the achievement of the party whose propaganda in 1979 said that it would roll back the frontiers of the state. Gilmour goes on to stress a point that, like other decentralists, I have often argued myself to fellow-citizens who don't know what is happening:

"While Britain was becoming ever more centralised and was fragmenting and weakening local government, the rest of Western Europe was moving in the opposite direction. Both in

traditionally decentralised states like the Scandinavian ones and in traditionally centralised ones like France, Italy and Spain, decentralisation was greatly extended. Similarly the United States, Canada and Australia, as well as continental Europe, did not share the Thatcherite obsession with centralising all decisions on public expenditure and waging fiscal war on the localities. Italy's expanding economy owed much to the initiatives taken by local and regional authorities."

There are a number of anarchist lessons to be derived from this book. It provides evidence for the anarchist criticism of parliamentary democracy. The British electoral system allowed Mrs Thatcher to work out her fantasies on the British through three periods of office without more than 43% of the votes cast, and to rule Scotland in spite of the fact that another party had won a majority of parliamentary seats there. Once in, she could do as she liked, in what Gilmour calls a "plebiscitary democracy". Lord Hailsham, who was a member of her cabinet for years, ("I sit there, quietly oozing"), he told the author outside the cabinet room, when in opposition had warned of the dangers of an "elective dictatorship". And this is what we got. Nor has it ended with the unlamented dictator. John Major, Gilmour thinks, put a human face on Thatcherism. "Yet Thatcherism even with a human face is still Thatcherism".

In his concluding chapter he writes:

"Margaret Thatcher wanted, through her economic policies, to change 'the heart and the soul of the nation'. She did achieve a transformation, but not, presumably, the one she intended. Britain did not change to an enterprise society. The transformation was in sensibility. British society became coarser and more selfish. Attitudes were encouraged which would even have undermined the well-being of a much more prosperous society. Many people did well out of Thatcherism, and in consequence still support it, though their numbers, also, are in decline. Because of the coarsening of society and the bombast of Thatcherite propaganda, the beneficiaries of Thatcherite policies believe that some benign process was at work. They did not realise – and apparently still do not – that what had happened was a large redistribution of wealth from the poor to the rich."

And 43% of our fellow citizens loved it, and still do.

Colin Ward



### Tea and Anarchy: the Bloomsbury diary of Olive Garnett 1890-1893

edited by Barry C. Johnson  
Bartlett's Press, £11.95\*

### A Girl Among the Anarchists

by Isabel Meredith (introduction by Jennifer Shaddock)  
University of Nebraska Press, £8.50\*

The *Torch* was an anarchist newspaper published in London in the 1890s. Its contributors included Kropotkin, Malatesta, Sebastien Faure, Louise Michel, George Bernard Shaw (who wrote *Why I am an Anarchist*), Ford Madox Ford, and Lucien Pisarro. Joseph Conrad, in the preface to one edition of *The Secret Agent*, denied that he had ever met an anarchist, but in fact he had been taken to the *Torch* printing office by Ford.

The founders of the *Torch* were Olive, Arthur and Helen Rossetti. When the paper was launched in 1891, they were aged seventeen, fifteen and thirteen. Helen, the youngest, is said to have been the driving force of the three. For two years they reproduced the paper by means of gelatine pads, then they set up a letterpress printshop in their house, and after a year there they moved the printshop to Ossultson Street near King's Cross. The printshop was acquired for the *Freedom* group in 1896, and *Freedom* was printed there until 1916 when the police disabled the press.

It is said that when Kropotkin visited the Rossetti household he was asked to visit the nursery, went there prepared to play the genial uncle, and was surprised to find himself asked by a fourteen year old girl to sign a paper agreeing with the *Torch* statement of aims and principles.

The Rossettis were born into the liberal-minded, scholarly, artistic, Victorian social set which included the Pre-Raphaelites. Olive Garnett was of the same set (her father was Keeper of the King's Library at the British Museum), and became a great friend of the Rossetti sisters through their families. Other family friends included the Kropotkin family, and Olive Garnett's diaries are an important source for Kropotkin's biographers.

\* Isabel Meredith, the author of *A Girl*

\* When ordering from Freedom Press Bookshop, please add 10% inland or 20% overseas towards postage and packing.

## Tea and the Torch

*Among the Anarchists*, is the nom-de-plume of Olive and Helen Rossetti, writing in 1902 about their anarchist activities and the anarchists they had known. The book is presented as fiction, with fictitious names exchanged for real ones, and many details altered; the narrator of the book is a young woman on her own, whereas in real life there were two women and their brother. And before publishing "the *Tocsin*" (the *Torch*) Isabel was involved with "the *Bomb*" (*Commonweal*), whereas the Rossettis only knew that journal from outside.

Persons, places and events can often be identified, sometimes through quite transparent disguises. Louise Michel is "Vera Marcel, the Red Virgin of the barricades, the heroine of the Commune of Paris".

Émile Henry, the "propaganda of the deed" nut, is identified by his real name. H.G. Wells wrote a short story *The Anarchist*, in which an anarchist swallows what he takes to be a phial of cholera bacilli and drowns himself in the Thames with the object of causing an epidemic. The story is utterly, stupidly, nastily unfair to anarchists – or I thought it was until I read the spine-chilling account of Émile Henry in this book. If Wells took Henry, a self-styled anarchist, as a model of anarchism, then his story makes sense.

"Earnest thought and reflection told him that if any section of society suffered, then society at large was

guilty: all the thoughtless, all the indifferent members of society were equally responsible for its abuses. Now this may be true enough theoretically, but no one but a fanatic or a madman would carry the reasoning farther to the point of saying: 'Society is fairly well represented by a mixed crowd in a café. I will attack this crowd indiscriminately, and kill as many of their number as I can. I will unreluctantly end my days on the scaffold in order to accomplish this very obvious duty'; and proceed from words to deeds."

It is dangerous to think in generalisations. I had thought that in Victorian times, respectable, teenage, middle class women were kept on a tight rein by their families, but these two books show women of that age and class gadding about unchaperoned, with the freedom of sloane rangers a hundred years later.

Both books are informative about anarchists and anarchism, and sympathetic; and perhaps it is an advantage that neither is written from the anarchist standpoint. Garnett was never an anarchist, and the Rossettis in 1902 had more or less come to agree with their father, that their anarchism was a teenage enthusiasm, indulged as part of their education.

"Olive's conversation", wrote O. Garnett of O. Rossetti on 19th October 1892:

"unknown to herself was dangerously near the ridiculous. Among other schemes they have one for the conversion of the entire British police force, so that, should there be a popular insurrection in

Trafalgar Square, the police, having had their humane feelings awakened by the anarchists, will cry 'Brothers, we had rather be bludgeoned than bludgeoned in support of an unjust law, we will go in a body and resign' ... When the police have been entirely won over ... she proposes to convert the entire British army to the same views."

Garnett enjoyed talk which came close to the ridiculous. On Sundays she would walk up to the fountain in Regent's Park to listen to the open air speakers, and records with delight a remark in an open-air debate between "Nicholl the anarchist" (perhaps George Nicholl) and an Irish social democrat called Wheland:

"'Ah me bhoy', says Wheland, 'I see I have shot over your head entirely. You are talking about bread and butter and I was talking from a purely intellectual and moral standpoint'."

In the *Torch* office the Rossettis worked with anarchists of all social classes and many nationalities (and also met "the strange medley of outside cranks and *déclassés*" who collected there). *A Girl Among the Anarchists* includes thrilling stories of hiding anarchists threatened with extradition and execution, police raids and hairsbreadth escapes; all the more thrilling because they are disguised accounts of real experiences. The slightly archaic language adds to its enjoyment. It is a good read on two levels.

*Tea and Anarchy* is the work of a charming writer, well edited; a good read for those who enjoy biographies and the exploration of the past.

DR

## Beyond Politics

### Beyond Politics

by George Walford  
£2.95 (post-free inland)

George Walford has contributed articles on anarchism and related issues to both *Freedom* and *The Raven*, and regularly features in *Freedom's* correspondence columns. Much of his arguments and ideas in these pieces derive from his exposition of 'systematic ideology' which attempts to examine and explain 'ideology' and which argument he develops to come length in his book *Beyond Politics*.

'Systematic ideology' originated in the

writings of an American, Harold Walesby, in the 1940s.<sup>1</sup> Walford uses Walesby's ideas as he examines the nature of ideologies and the motive forces behind aspects of human behaviour in the social, economic and political fields. This involves looking at the development of human history and political ideologies themselves.

Essentially 'systematic ideology' states that political ideologies can be explained by reference to a rigid pattern known as an 'underlying ideological structure'. Ideologies fall into 'series'. Walford divides humanity into broad groupings: firstly the non-politicals whose behaviour is based upon expedience, secondly the principled who form most of those involved in mainstream politics, i.e. Conservatives, Liberals and Social Democrats, and thirdly those who repudiate the present social, political and economic status quo and attempt to radically change it, i.e. anarchists, communists and other revolutionaries.

Walford points out that the group 'the non-political' forms the majority of the population, while followers of the political ideologies are a minority, and the numbers of political groups in his 'repudiation' category smaller still. Walford claims that this is the result of evolution, with humanity first having lived in a 'non-political' and 'expedient' manner as 'hunter-gatherers' or 'foragers', then with the development of the 'principled' group arose the state and agricultural society, and lastly came the category of 'repudiation' into which he places anarchists, communists, etc., as if anarchism, and for that matter communism, were really very recent phenomena, yet in reality ideas similar to anarchism and communism have been around for thousands of years since the dawn of oppression and the state.

Walford argues that this division of humanity continues to this day and is unlikely to change, the inference being that anarchism can never grow beyond a fringe movement. It is clear that Walford believes that this is the main reason why anarchism remains a minority view. He does not give enough consideration to the combined effects of authoritarian education, the church, exclusion

1. *Beyond Politics*, page 2. *The Domain of Ideologies*, H. Walesby, 1947.

of anarchist viewpoints from the mass media, and outright suppression.

Walford claims there is a relationship between the political ideologies and the ideas they advocate. Thus for Walford conservatism stands at one end of the British political series, advocating authoritarian policies in matters political and social but individualistic in matters economic. He sees anarchism at the opposite end of the British political series, advocating total freedom in matters social and

(continued on page 7)

## The Academic Inn

### The Academic Inn

by Leopold Kohr  
Y Lolfa, 238 pages, ISBN 0 86243 278 2,  
£6.50

This is a book seemingly published on anarchist principles, which is authored by a celebrated academic and originator of the catchphrase "Small is Beautiful", which was exemplified in his classic work *Breakdown of Nations*. Indeed, Leopold Kohr might be described also as an agitator, and as he says of himself, "I am an anarchist". *The Academic Inn* has a foreword which is the author's reply to the publishers' reader's report, and ends, "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition".

There is no doubt of the anarchist strain running through the 49 samples of his columns which appeared mainly in *El Mundo* and *San Juan Star*, but also in *Educational Forum*, *New York Times*, *Western Mail*, *Times Educational Supplement* and *Harvard Crimson*.

What is so interesting is that these articles appeared, as Ivan Illich described in Kohr's previous book from Y Lolfa, *The Inner City* (£4.95), in "two local papers of a Caribbean capital", which was San Juan in Puerto Rico. That such dazzling wit and anarchic commonsense was not out of place there and is more than acceptable here, makes the same point as Kohr that excellence is not restricted to any particular centre, which he relates to the

university. Both Ivan Illich and Leopold Kohr happened to be at the University of Puerto Rico at the same time. Kohr was later a visiting professor at Cambridge.

This is really a book about the university – any university – its foibles, its rivalries, plots and uprisings. He makes the idea of students attending university not for three or four years after leaving school a very sound possibility. Which would benefit both the faculty and the students. The only quibble I have is with his wholehearted approval of the institutional and quadrangle side of Oxford and Cambridge. What I know to be true is how the most radical students (at Oxford) generally turn into the opposite after graduation. (Having said that, let's not forget that it was Oxford which refused Mrs Thatcher, when Prime Minister, an honorary degree.)

The book is full of quotable references and remarks, and to end, here are five. "The true measure of democracy is freedom from government". Marx's "Follow your path, and let the other do the talking". "... the Socratic assumption is that, the more one has learned the more one has become aware how little one knows". "For some reason, people admire doubly what they do not understand". "For the only way to restore *quality* is through the destruction of *quantity*, not by purging the faculty of 'bad' teachers".

Rodney Aitchey

## - FILM REVIEW - DARE TO DREAM

### Dare to Dream

directed by Marianne Jenkins  
VHS video, 40 mins

This is a film about anarchism in this country, directed by Marianne Jenkins and is available on VHS. I have just seen it and I would like to recommend it for showing to anarchist groups and cinema societies *internationally*. Marianne Jenkins used much archive material, besides live interviews with historians and activists of the present anarchist movement. Of the archive material, not only from anarchist sources, the 'CNT-FAI newsreel' is of special interest. There is a short appearance of Leah Feldman, the much respected comrade who recently died. The interviews with Nicolas Walter, Albert Meltzer, Vernon Richards and Philip Sansom are very good from the anarchist point of view. I especially enjoyed Philip's contribution. The cross-cutting with political events is very cleverly done and, for my part, I was very pleased with Marianne's treatment of my poem 'Song of Anarchy' by the use of photo-montage, especially in the dance of death of First World War soldiers. The anarchist presence in Trafalgar Square when the poll tax and Thatcher were defeated is dramatically shown, and there is a very bright interview with Richard Famous and Vi Subversa of Poison Girls.

John Rety



# Calhoun woz here

Much recent media grist has come from incidents such as the Merseyside minor murder, the holiday alone mother, the rape of several elderly women, and other similar shock-horror acts. The apparently endless parade reduces individual responses to numbed confusion and public reactions to predictable, almost ceremonial, clichés.

As part of a total public service package, the media also supply stifling sensory cushions. Torpifying discussions are offered, the usual array of public parade experts attempt predictably banal questions of the 'what should be done?' genre. In print, audacious speculation from the wine-bar bunkers produces a notion that perhaps poverty, deprivation, and large numbers of people surplus-to-requirements might, given suitable research, provide some clues.

From the institutionally provendered classes, whose positions allow – no, require – them to monkey on, seeing no poverty, experiencing no deprivation, and knowing people who indulge in such acts are inherently evil, comes an endless stream of detailed asinine waffle.

Politicians? Comrades, we know it would be foolish to expect much from the leaders of a society fixed resolutely in its feudal past. Our 'leaders', whose search for answers is hindered by a mandatory affliction of terminal cranial rectosis, will inevitably suffer from vision blurred by short-range contemplation of yesterday's concerns.

One does hear muttering from the clogged

collective political colon. Things like, more prisons, as if the country were not an open penal colony; more training, as if the problem were out-of-control dogs. And when thousands of highly educated and skilled aerospace workers can't find jobs, what are others being trained for – domestic service? The only useful outcome is to illustrate what anarchists have long known: the utter irrelevance of the traditional political system to real human problems.

None of the details of our present malaise are new. The British matrix of finely graduated socio-economic divisions has always been used to partition privilege from poverty. Yuppies up, with the traditional cry of 'fuck you, Jack and/or Jill, I'm alright' has long been an integral part of a way of life which, we are frequently assured, is much envied by lesser breeds of men.<sup>1</sup>

What is new is that as Britain as a whole sinks into the mire those divisions, which paradoxically held perfidious Albion together, disappear. Consequently, Jason and Amanda are no longer able to pull up the ladder. Rather, by pulling they end up in the shit with Jack and Jill. Worse (real middle class shock horror) their children, for whom they assiduously cultivated their positions, for whom they sacrificed self while reinforcing the *status quo*, are also in it.

The traditional routes up and up are closed. Despite various university Degrees in Many Aspects of the Past, graduates cannot get jobs – sorry, they are unable to find suitable positions. Much worse, when they try to export themselves to sunnier economic climes, they meet unreasonable and unsporting smart-assed foreigners who display prejudice against emigrants from *le troisième monde nouveau*.

So, in Britannia's feudal state, children are killing children; children are having children. Parents are deserting offspring and pensioners are seen as sex objects or bonfire material. The ancient ox-cart that passes as the British social machine falls apart and everything goes down the pan. The best brains of our generation scratch for illusive causative details, as if

1. Shakespearean for foreigners.

cracking one flea will end the plague.

Should we worry? Should we care? Is this time for anxious solitude or dancing naked in the streets? Thousands of children die unnoticed every time Liverpool plays; thousands of ten year olds have AK47's. Boys in their early teens distinguished themselves as Khymer Rouge slaughterers – just a phase they were going through, one of those teenage fads, or too much television and junk food? In many parts of the world parents don't desert their children, they kill them (well, the girls anyway).

Perhaps we are having difficulty adjusting our perspective to the New World Order. In my experience the gutter is always hard when you are chucked out of a plush party, especially if it is raining. Tired and emotional reactions are to be expected; we are not yet used to these sorts of things in our backyard.

Nevertheless, the questions remains: what is happening? Ecologically, the world may be descending to random insect doom, but what is the nature of the self-inflicted human catastrophe?

Enter Calhoun.<sup>2</sup> Calhoun conducted a definitive study with rats. He provided a community with *ad lib* food, drink, and bedding material – but confined them in a fixed amount of space. It was a regime analogous to global social security. To some it might be predictable that the population compressed itself with the pressure of its increasing numbers.

The result was a behavioural sink. Under compression from increasing numbers aberrant behaviour became commonplace;

2. A bit of behaviourism here. Behaviourism is a concept of psychology, derived from statements of US psychologist John Broadus Watson of 1913. It is concerned with the objectively observable actions of organisms. Organisms are seen as 'responding' to conditions in the outer environment and from internal biological processes. An objective of experimental behaviourism is to determine the inherent behaviour patterns of organisms. For anarchists much of the idea may be rejected because it conflicts with notions of free will and the necessity for the condition of freedom. See J. Calhoun, 1983, *Environment and Population: Problems in Adaptation*, Praeger, New York, USA.

Calhoun's rats became cannibals, were sexually indiscriminate, went in for random violence, and lost their normal patterns of parenting behaviour. Similar sinks have been observed in other species, including primates. Of course, as all the scientists say, the degree to which behavioural sink phenomena can be associated with human actions is a matter of conjecture.

Yet we are subject to similar compression. It has more complex elements than those generated by simple overcrowding among rats. Human compression involves elements of deprivation, unfilled potential, lack of purpose and hope. And, as Jason and Amanda are discovering, the scourge of shattered assumptions and denied of expectations. In fact, all those things which are commonplace in a society declining, falling, and going down the tubes.

Under such circumstances should we not expect our animal nature to respond in relatively the same way as rats or baboons? I can think of no reason why not. And should we not expect such aberrations among the most vulnerable, among the young living in pre-formed tele-form vacua, and post-pubescent youth, tom-cattling the purposeless social ruins in their early teens?

For most of human history we have dipped and dived into local sinks of one sort or another.<sup>3</sup> The ultimate solution of World War Two, based on the Croatian idea, is only fifty years back. Despite the illusion of peace, killing other people now has greater grassroots popularity than ever before.

So why no mention of Calhoun and the behavioural sink among the chattering classes? Could it be they are beginning to suspect that the chain has been pulled? That even of the end is not quite yet nigh, the prospect of full flush Global Sink is in clear view, whichever way you look from either end of Negative Equity Avenue.

Those in positions in our society will not have answers. The process of achieving their position inflicts too much damage for them to comprehend the predicament, let alone find answers. Hence the universal prescription of 'more' – more of everything that hasn't worked before. And that in itself is another part of Calhoun's sink. Not that less, or different, is necessarily an answer – it has been found that behaviour patterns produced by compression do not revert when the pressures and stresses are removed. The effects are permanent.

In times of catastrophe we retreat. The religious become fundamental; anarchists rediscover Kropotkin, Bakunin, etc., and each will passionately hold that their own holds the answer.

But is there an answer? Not as such, and certainly not in the past. Optimists may believe that the sink, and its attendant crash, can be avoided. Pessimists believe too many are swinging on the chain and won't let go to avoid the flush.

I like to think I'm a realist. Perhaps the best we can hope for is a sort of designer descent, with enough residue sticking to the surface to start again when the turmoil of compression, sink and crash subside. The options are increasingly stark; get ready to enjoy this ride, or join a raft-building team of your choice.

Colin Johnson

3. Try Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* for instance.

## Beyond Politics

(continued from page 6)

political but total control in matters economic.<sup>2</sup> Walford's thesis goes seriously wrong at this point for his definition of anarchism is very narrow and *the reality does not fit within his 'series'*. Anarchism really is different from the whole range of 'statist' political ideologies.

All anarchists reject government and the state, some anarchists, the anarcho-communists, advocate a libertarian version of the planned economy, others such as John Griffin<sup>3</sup> and Colin Ward<sup>4</sup> seem to be advocating an anarchist version of the mixed economy with a combination of non-monetary production in communes, a monetary economy in collectives and self-employment which retain wages and money as a means of exchange. This 'mixed economy' would also be tolerant of a small private sector. Others still, the anarcho-capitalists, advocate total *laissez faire* economics. Anarchists do not advocate a single economic policy, there is considerable divergence. Neither do anarchists base their ideas totally on unproven theory as Walford claims. A considerable section of the current anarchist movement base their ideas on their experience of the real world. This trend is perhaps best illustrated by works such as *Anarchy in Action* by Colin Ward with its emphasis on anarchistic practices in social, economic and political life now. This also has its counterpart in the conscious attempts to create co-ops, collectives, communes, etc., and to live anarchism now without waiting for some mythical revolution to bring change.

Walford's book is an interesting read and does explain what an 'ideology' is. However, life and ideas do not fall into the tidy patterns he sees and there is definitely much in this work that anarchists will disagree with.

Jonathan Simcock

2. *Beyond Politics*, page 21.

3. *A Structured Anarchism* by John Griffin.

4. See chapter 'A Self-Employed Society' in *Anarchy in Action* by Colin Ward.

## — NEWS FROM CANADA —

### Quebec Workers Fight the Tories

As a parting gift to the most backward part of the electorate, the Mulroney Tories have made it impossible to quit your job and collect unemployment insurance. Under the guise of combating abuse, this law will give enormous power to the bosses, for the one freedom that non-unionised workers had was to quit and try to find better employment. The reaction in Quebec to this cruel measure was quick and angry. The three union federations together with a host of popular organisations held a demonstration on 7th February bringing out 50,000 people in minus 20° centigrade weather. This *manif* caused me to reflect that whatever criticisms one might have of the labour movement, its importance in the struggle to humanise society cannot be denied. For when the workers come out in mass, there is a sense of solidarity, maturity, seriousness and depth that is lacking when they aren't present in any number.

The Conservatives didn't realise that after a decade of cutbacks and unemployment an issue such as this would be the proverbial straw to break the camel's back. Of particular significance politically is the fact the Tories depended upon Quebec voters for re-election and have now lost any chance of this. At last we will see the end of Thatcherism in Canada.

Three weeks later, on 20th February, there was another demonstration against the new unemployment measures, only this time in Ottawa. The Quebec unions did not participate this time and the organising was done by a group of people who

work with the unemployed. The organisers, some of whom are anarchists, did a superb job bussing in more than 800 of us from various parts of Quebec and even providing tasty bag lunches en route. Unfortunately on arrival we outnumbered the local people by about three to one. Since this action was supported by the Ontario trade unions, it seems they have a way to go before they build up support, even though polls show most Canadians are opposed to the new regulations. This shows that once again Quebec has the most conscious and militant workforce in North America.

At this demonstration I really felt the lack of labour participation. For one thing, the multitude of Stalinist and Trotskyist *groupuscules*, very marginalised on 7th february, were now annoyingly in plain sight. The rally just didn't pack the punch of the previous one, but on that account you can't fault the organisers who did their best to make it a success. And ultimately, for the Montreal organisers it was successful, just by the fact of having people there from all over Quebec.

For my part, I distributed a leaflet at both rallies which suggested putting an end to political interference with unemployment insurance by having workers take over the system and run it as a mutual aid society or federated insurance co-operative. The responses I've gotten to this idea, while not numerous, have been overwhelmingly positive.

Larry Gambone

## Raven 21

Apologies to *Raven* subscribers for the non-appearance of this issue, mainly due to delays with the printers. The Easter break added to the problem. It will however be dispatched before the end of April without fail. As a bonus for waiting so long this issue of *The Raven* will be the usual 96 pages plus eight pages of photos!



LETS

Dear *Freedom*,  
You recently carried an article by Denis Pym promoting the idea of LETS (Local Exchange and Trading Systems) and calling on the unemployed to get involved in them. I have seen leaflets and material outlining a local LETS scheme being set up in the Newbury area and personally I have come to the conclusion that they are something that unemployed persons like me and workers in general should avoid.

LETS certainly do not operate on the basis of "need not greed" as Denis claims. LETS are still based on individual exchange and commodity relations, the motive for participants is still individual profit and accumulation, even is this is in the form of material goods and services rather than cash. LETS still recognise existing private property relations, there is no attempt to communalise the resources, tools, machinery, buildings and land held by certain individuals in the scheme. Those in LETS who have an essential skill backed by tools, machinery and premises will unavoidably have an accumulative advantage over those who are less skilled and have nothing but their labour. LETS are not really 'outside' the existing capitalist economy but are just a self-managed grassroots arm of capitalism. Also Denis lets the cat out of the bag when he admits that new members will have to be prepared to "go into social debt". This will particularly hit unemployed participants.

I think if I were to go on a LETS scheme

Freedom without interference is hard work

George Walford's 'Appeal for Help' (*Freedom*, 3rd April) should surely have been printed on 1st April as it is a splendid satire. I am confident comrades are aware that we seek freedoms that are basic and fundamental, and we seek them because we are oppressed. There can be no question of giving bosses the 'freedom' to exploit workers. It is only 'interference' if my freedom prevents you from enjoying an equivalent or more fundamental freedom. Thus, my freedom to buy bananas may subsequently reduce the freedoms of poor banana growers unless I read my Ethical 'Consumer' carefully.

Usufruct is a key anarchist idea: the right to use something if no-one else is making use of it. Thus it is impossible to deprive anyone of the freedom to read a

book, as long as you are reading it yourself. When you are not reading it, it should be available (like this copy of *Freedom*) for others to read. In reality property ownership is an absurd sop to insecure people whose egos need the boost of paper ownership. You can only own food when you eat it; own a painting when creating or admiring it; own a tool when making something with it. At all other times you are simply depriving others of making use of it, reducing their freedom unnecessarily.

George was presumably deploring Mr Major's attempt to redefine freedom in terms of 'choice': as we all know that means more choice for those who can afford it. Mr Stockbroker's 'freedom' is clearly choice at the expense of the basic freedoms of others. But such people

already have all the real freedoms as they are not exploited, imprisoned or prevented from setting up co-operatives - if you can imagine a stockbroker setting up a co-op!

But there is a serious question in George's letter: 'What do we want freedom for?' For myself, the most important freedom is the freedom to work. Of course I do *not* mean employment. I mean physical labour, using skills of hand and eye; that creative combination of art and craft which alone satisfies the human spirit.

You get out of life what you put in; and you get most out when you are actually physically working. Of course Marx was right that there is no fun in it if others own the means of production, as they force us into slavery, drudgery and alienation. We

all want to have an impact upon our environment, to use our unique gifts to add to the common good, to express our inner spirit through the medium of material reality. This is our nature. Our government and social organisations suppress this essential need, and must be outgrown if we are to be free.

This freedom does not interfere with anyone else's freedom, as there is more than enough work for everyone. And if everyone was allowed to work according to their unique gifts, in their own way, at their own speed, co-operatively or alone, there would be more than enough of everything else. For, when the human spirit is expressed through creativity, the need for consumption becomes minimal. The desire to possess objects is a poor substitute sought only by those who are prevented from the free expression of their real selves.

John Myhill

it would be like voluntarily imposing workfare on myself. I have no intention of volunteering my effort so I can become a dogsbody for small traders, local spivs and petty capitalist shopkeeper types.

The real alternative for the unemployed and those in crap jobs is to practise material support and solidarity in struggles around housing, free time, against slave labour and paying bills, etc. Seizing and sharing goods and space should be our response to our current situation and this should be done on a communal basis.

Paul Petard

Solidarity from *Freedom's* readers

Friends,  
I've just read a report of the attack on Freedom Bookshop. Herewith a contribution from *Ideological Commentary* to help make good a little of the financial damage.

There isn't much one can say, except: sympathy and best wishes.

George Walford

To all at *Freedom*,  
Very distressed to hear of your trouble. Here's a donation to help you get over it.  
Mushroom Bookshop

suppose it's very good getting a bookcase pushed over on you. I'm sending a donation towards repairs. We don't have much money but I think we can afford this.

Steve and Janey

Dear Friends,  
I was shocked to read of the cowardly attack on the Freedom Press Bookshop. Please accept the enclosed as a small contribution to repair the damage.

Jonathan Simcock

Dear *Freedom*,  
Why do these moronic corny fascist outfits who vandalise radical bookshops always wear balaclavas? Are they afraid of catching a cold? Or is it to stop all the sawdust from falling out of their heads?  
I'm glad to hear that *Freedom* is not going to allow itself to be shut down by some bunch of no-hopers - keep up the struggle.

Paul

To all at *Freedom*,  
Don't let the bastards get you down!  
Cath and Alister

Anarchists and friends back *Freedom*

In addition to the letters from which we print extracts, we have received messages of support and sympathy in form of telephone messages and personal visits from: the Anarchist Communist Federation, Class War, Greenpeace London, 121 Anarchist Centre, 56a Info Shop, East London DAM, North London DAM, Aberystwyth anarchists, Phoenix Press, Rebel Press, A Distribution, AK Distribution, Lib Ed, the THAP Bookshop, Jewish Socialist, Clyde Books of Glasgow, Nottingham Anarchists, and many individuals. Thanks to all these comrades and friends.

Dear *Freedom*,  
I was very sorry to read about the attack on *Freedom* and send this (regrettably small) donation to help.

I have read *Freedom* for many years; it adds much to my life and I would feel bereft without it.

Alison Herts.

Dear Friends,  
Enclosed cheque is a contribution to your repair and restoration work after the C18 thugs' visit.

Your last edition of *Freedom* was the best yet - some very excellent writing.

John Myhill

Dear Friends,  
I have read that a fascist gang invaded your premises recently and caused considerable damage ... so I enclose a cheque to help.

John Roe

Dear *Freedom*,  
I heard about you getting attacked from a friend who was talking to a socialist worker. I didn't believe it, then *Freedom* didn't come on Friday like it usually does. When it came on Saturday I found out it was true.

We both feel upset about it. Thank heavens nobody was hurt, though I don't

ability to ensure the smooth running of society. Without them it would be very difficult.

It is vital that we don't unnecessarily antagonise them like Class War does. Neither must we concentrate on them to the exclusion of the working class and under-class, i.e. homeless. We must show that we have a common goal to build a better society without bosses and politicians. Class hatred is not only wrong but counter-productive to our cause, when it is aimed at the middle class.

There are many people in the middle class who could be sympathetic to our cause, if only we tried harder to win them over. We don't have to dilute our politics like the Labour Party to be successful.

The recent furore over the closure of the mines showed that the working class can find an ally among certain sections of the middle class. Even conservatives.

So in conclusion I would like to say that if you really want to put a spanner in the works of capitalism then it will be the computer operator working in a bank who will be able to do it rather than, or to a lesser extent, the miner in Yorkshire.

Paul Pritchard

Who will make the revolution?

Dear *Freedom*,  
Most anarchists believe that the working class will make the revolution because they are the most oppressed. But do they really have the power? With four million unemployed does the working class really have the economic muscle to change things? Much of the heavy industry, i.e. steel, coal, ship-building, etc., has been lost in the last decade. These industries employed physical labour. The new industries, e.g. electronics, employ mental labour. The majority of workers in the new industries are middle class, while the old industries were working class. But the new workers are still workers, they are wage-slaves, if a little better off than their forebears.

So the question to be asked is this: is the new middle class revolutionary? Certainly they are better off than the working class, but they are just as powerless as the rest of us. They have a vote every five years, but they are taxed, can be sacked, still have to pay the mortgage, etc. They are not so much materially exploited as spiritually exploited.

If a revolution ever happens they will be vital to the transition to a socialist or communist society because they have the

Following the news of the raid on Freedom Press offices by C18 thugs, the *Jewish Chronicle* faxed us a copy of an article they had just published about the activities of the C18 gang, which we reproduce below.

MP attacked in extremist raid  
Concern over new race-hate group  
by Julian Kossoff

Far right violence entered a disturbing new phase this week, when a Labour MP was attacked as extremists attempted to break up a political meeting in Blackburn.

The Lancashire police said that Janet Anderson, MP for Rossendale and Darwen, was caught in a hail of chairs when 30 men stormed a conference organised by Anti-Apartheid at the town's library.

The police said that the men were members of the extreme-right-wing British National Party (BNP).

Fellow speaker Howard Smith, of the African National Congress, was admitted to hospital after being hit in the face by a chair.

According to Michael Hindley, MEP for Lancashire East, who also spoke at the meeting, the attack was "disciplined and well organised".

The incident coincided with growing evidence of the existence of a secret racist group linked to the BNP and dedicated to violent attacks on Jews, anti-racists, left-wingers and trade unionists. The group is known as Combat 18, or simply C18 - the numbers being a coded reference to the initials of Adolf Hitler.

The Board of Deputies has already highlighted the threat posed by the new group.

Its 1992 communal security report warned: "Recent months have witnessed the formation of a clandestine group based on the BNP but including members of other groups, called Combat 18, which has already begun to harass members of the Jewish community".

The group's motto is "The future belongs to us" and it has apparently patterned itself on the increasingly violent extreme right in Germany.

C18 first surfaced last summer, with the launch of at least two violent attacks on Anti-Nazi League (ANL) campaigners in East London. Three ANL members were taken to hospital after the attack.

In the autumn, several members of the Jewish Socialists' Group (JSG) became the target of a C18 death threat campaign.

A Jewish member of the ANL's steering committee has also been threatened and had excrement sent to his home through the post. JSG spokesman Mike Hieser told the *Jewish*

*Chronicle*: "There is no doubt the calls came from C18". The names of the JSG members later appeared on a hit-list published in C18's bi-monthly newsletter *Red Watch*, with the names and personal details of broadcasters and trade unionists.

Marc Wadsworth, who heads the Anti-Racist Alliance and was also named in the list, has had to change his phone number three times in recent months, after receiving numerous threats of violence. His assistant was dubbed "a vile Jewish bitch" on the C18 list.

He said: "They want to deal a decisive blow to their political opposition by taking out its leadership. I have no doubt that the BNP is inciting C18 into action, and there is an interchange between the two."

C18 is also believed to have links with the football hooligan gang the Chelsea Headhunters.

Reproduced from the *Jewish Chronicle*

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

New York ME £4; Londonderry IB £2; Coventry MTP £2; New York FT £13; Wolverhampton JL £2; Lancaster JA £7; Newcastle RB £3; Hadleigh AH £5; Glasgow JTC £10.

Total = £48.00  
1993 total to date = £433.50

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

(including donations to Damage Repair Fund shown with an asterisk\*)  
Coventry MTP £2; New York FT £10; California LM £10; Wolverhampton JL £2; Belper JS £25\*; London GW £50\*; Donard, Eire, HS £5\*; London anon (in the bookshop) £10\*; Nottingham, Mushroom Bookshop £50\*; Wolverhampton JL £10\*; Bournemouth JR £20\*; Norwich JM £40\*; Ware AS £20\*; Whitstable MKP £6; Lancaster S £5\*; Exmouth MD £100\*; London, Freedom Bookshop collecting box £21.50\*.

Total = £356.50\* plus £30.00  
1993 total to date = £610.80

Raven Deficit Fund

Liverpool FC £4; New York FT £10.  
Total = £14.00  
1993 total to date = £424.50



## Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

### 1993 SEASON OF MEETINGS

**23rd April** - 'Anarchism and the Collapse of the Cold War and the New World Order' (speaker Dave Dane)

**30th April** - Open discussion

**Monday 3rd May at 2pm** - May Day Picnic in Osterley Park, Hounslow. Details later.

**7th May** - 'A New World in Our Hearts' (speaker Chris Draper)

**14th May** - Open discussion

**21st May** - 'My Fifteen Minutes of Fame: The Chalonner Case' (speaker Donald Room)

**28th May** - Open discussion of 'The Moral Collapse of British Society: the problem'

**4th June** - 'From Anarchism to Ideology' (speaker George Walford)

**11th June** - Open discussion of 'The Moral Collapse of British Society: the solution'

**18th June** - 'The Return to the Region' (speaker Andrew Lainton)

**25th June** - Open discussion

**2nd July** - 'Anarchism and Creative Unemployment' (speaker Michael Murray)

**9th July** - Last meeting: planning the 1993/94 programme

The next academic year's term dates have not yet been decided, but one can presume a similarity to other years. If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers especially, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203), not too early in the day please, giving subject matter and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

## FREEDOM fortnightly

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Open

Monday to Friday  
10am-6pm  
Saturday 10.30am-5pm

## Red Rambles

A programme of free walks in the White Peak for Greens, Socialists, Libertarians and Anarchists.

**Sunday 9th May** - Kirk Ireton circular walk. Meet 11am outside Barley Mow Pub. Length 2-3 miles.

**Sunday 6th June** - Canal and Woodland walk. Meet at 1pm at High Peak Junction Car Park. Length 4 miles.

**Sunday 11th July** - Circular walk through Holloway and Dethick. Meet at the Village Green, Holloway, map reference 325 563, at 1pm. Length 3-4 miles.

**Sunday 8th August** - Ladybower Reservoir and Lost Lad Walk. Bring strong books, waterproofs, food and drink. Meet at Ladybower Picnic Site, map reference 173 894, at 10.30am. Length 8 miles

**Sunday 5th September** - Church Broughton and deserted medieval village. Meet at entrance to Church Broughton Parish Church, 1pm. Church Broughton is 5 miles west of Derby. Length of walk 4 miles.

Telephone for further details:  
0773-827513

## MAY DAY PICNIC Osterley Park Monday 3rd May 1993 at 2pm

Welcome to another May Day Picnic. Please bring food and drink for sharing and a bag for refuse.

Osterley Park is a large house and park (maintained by the National Trust) to the north of Isleworth, Hounslow, West London. The house, originally built in Elizabethan times by an early capitalist Thomas Gresham founder of the Royal Exchange, was later re-modelled by Robert Adam who also designed much of the garden which is now a public park with ducks, swans, golden carp and much interesting foliage including shady trees.

Entry to the park is free between 9am and 7.30pm. The car park is £1 to non-NT members, although free street parking is available outside the gate (half a mile). The house, entry optional, is open between 11am and 4.30pm (for 5pm), £3.50 for non-NT members (members free). A pleasant airy cafeteria is near the house, as are conveniences.

Suggest we meet north of the lake on the south side of the house and we can then wander to find a more secluded place further in, say next to The Orangery to the north west of the house. Access by London Transport Piccadilly line (Heathrow train) alighting at Osterley, left and left again at Thornbury Road (a mile). Network Southeast from Waterloo on Clapham Junction, Houselow, Richmond, Waterloo circular route - either direction - which has many links with the SE, Reading, North London line etc., alight at Syon Lane, left up Syon Lane, enter Osterley Park from south east along unmetaled road, past lake, and bear left for house (a mile and a half). If coming by road from London use Great West Road (A4) either first junction of M4, or westwards A4 off North Circular and then right at Syon Lane lights (Southall turn) and left up Jersey Road or right at Thornbury Road lights. If from M25 use M4, Junction 3, then right, second left, left at roundabout onto M4, left at Thornbury Road (12 miles from central London). International passengers are reminded to use Heathrow Airport which is close by.

There are few pubs in the area.

Peter Neville for LAF

## ANARCHIST SUMMER SCHOOL '93

at

Govanhill Neighbourhood Centre  
6 Daisy Street, Govanhill  
Southside of Glasgow, Scotland

on

29th/30th/31st May 1993

A weekend of discussion, debate and workshops rounded off by Glasgow hospitality - socials and socialising.

Celebrate 100 years of anarchist agitation in Glasgow by joining in the fun.

### Themes include

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