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FIFTY PENCE

"A wise man neither lets himself be governed nor seeks to govern others; he wishes that reason should govern alone and always."

La Bruyère (1688)

NEWBURY AND THE LOCAL ELECTIONS VOTES OF DESPAIR

Apity we can't get all excited by the ignominious defeat of the Tories at the Newbury by-election where their 12,000 majority over the Liberal Democrats just a year ago at the general elections has been turned into a record 22,000 majority for the Liberal Democrats. Nor even at the results of the local elections where the Tories lost nearly 500 seats, mostly to the Liberal Democrats, as well as overall control of all Tory counties except for Buckinghamshire. Even the Liberal Democrats with three now 'control' more councils! So to the Black Wednesday of last September when sterling collapsed will be added the Black Thursday of May 1993. But everything will go on as before for, apart from the fact that the Liberal Democrats are Tories in disguise, the Labour lot who now control fourteen councils in England and Wales can do very little at local level without risking being 'capped' for overspending, even assuming they were any less bureaucratic and authoritarian than their political rivals.

For anarchists if there are to be radical changes, both social and economic, the initiative must come from below, from the people themselves, for none of the political parties favour grassroots militancy. Starting with the Tories whose annual conferences are purely social gatherings of life-long supporters anxious to give their leaders standing ovations, approval or otherwise of

BREAK IN AT 84b

This issue of *Freedom* does not include some items, including the donations, as we were broken into a couple of days before going to press and the newly installed photocopier and the laser printer were taken. We hope to be back to normal with the next issue.

Raven subscribers should have received their copies of number 21, which was dispatched on 6th May. If you haven't please let us know without delay.

policies being measured in minutes rather than a counting of hands. And what goes on at Central Office, and who are the Party's foreign financial backers is, as Chairman Fowler recently told nosy Tories, *not their business*.

As is known far and wide, the trades unions are the tail that wags the Labour Party dog, so that the constituency delegates' votes at the annual conferences don't count for much. And with membership at an all-time low they now count for even less. We are assured by the Labour leaders that they are aiming for a

one-man-one-vote party, and are now being encouraged by one of the nastiest pieces of work. Bill Jordan, president of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, when addressing his union's annual national committee meeting, argued that the Labour Party should abandon Clause Four and abolish formal links with unions.

We recently quoted Clause Four, but see no harm in doing so again since it is the only socialist slogan left to the Labour Party!

(continued on page 2)

WHAT'S LEFT OF THE LEFT?

With the collapse of the Soviet Union the authoritarian Marxist left in this country was dealt the *coup de grace* from which it cannot recover. A Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) publishes the *Daily Worker*, though both Party and newspaper (which apparently some days consists of one A4 sheet) are disputed by the official ex-CPGB, now the *Democratic Left* with a membership of 1,000.

In a *Sunday Times* feature (2nd May) on the Marxist groups, Alex Renton suggests that there "may well be more Marxist groups in Britain now" than before the collapse and he quotes John Callaghan, Professor of Politics at Wolverhampton, as suggesting that the "principal cause of splitting on the far left in recent years has been the rise of desk-top publishing". Nevertheless, apart from the Socialist Workers Party, with a membership said to be about 7,000, according to one of their members when asked what they wanted he replied:

"We're not saying: 'Elect us and we'll run the country better than Labour'. We say: 'Follow us and working class people will run the country'. A general strike remains their first goal. The revolution is still on."

It's the old story of 'follow my leader'!

Alex Renton concludes by asking "Where are tomorrow's revolutionaries?" and replies quoting

Professor Callaghan who thinks, rightly in our opinion, that events have left the socialist parties becalmed. And he adds:

"... the only really interesting area is in anarchism - the rise of Class War and the animal liberation groups and the New Age hippies. There are real numbers there."

We at *Freedom* would be more encouraged if we were to see 'the real numbers' among those of our fellows who don't 'opt out' but who seek to ensure that the goods and services we all need for our health and well-being should be available to all as of right without means tests or waiting lists. Once we succeed in removing the profit motive from human activities we remove the *raison d'être* for factory farming and not least the exploitation of man by man (as important, surely, as animal liberation?), the pollution of the environment (the number one objective for the Greens) and last, but not least, the exploitation of natural resources for useless but profitable ends.

Anarchism, because it opposes capitalism in *all its facets*, aims at a society which includes all these 'good causes'. But without many more propagandists than at present we shall never bring down the capitalist wall!

Patten and the assault on education

When the British executed the teenage Kevin Barry they effectively ensured that the majority of Irish, at that point distinctly lukewarm about the whole Republican adventure, would unite (well more or less) in demanding independence. Much the same thing seems to have happened with the teachers as the *fuhrerprinzip* inherited from the Thatcher years has come to operate through the obtuse persona of John 'Hellfire' Patten. Indeed his massive achievement in stopping (however temporarily) the endemic internecine struggles among the teachers' unions, uniting them with school governors, head teachers and parents, Brian 'Black Paper' Cox and the Conservative chairman of the Select Committee on Education, suggests that his talents might be better utilised in central Europe or the Middle East. Not content with a frontal assault on the whole teaching profession he is, as I write, threatening governors with penalties if they fail to discipline defaulting teachers, and has dismissed the parents he has been refusing to meet as 'Neanderthals'.

It is quite extraordinary that the *voluntary* bodies called into being by Patten's party should have their advice so ignored, and that they should be subject to threats for questioning central government policy. It is equally extraordinary that he should regard teachers' hours as infinitely extensible and try to dismiss work overload problems as educational luddism. The cumulative fatigue of constant overload was already decimating staff-rooms and depressing standards in 1977. That was long before Tory governments launched their frontal attack on conditions of work and created a situation where no subject specialist could keep abreast of new

developments.

It is startling when Robin Wilson, chairman of the Headmaster's Conference, scourge of the NUT and generally a supporter of the National Curriculum and testing (which doesn't bind Conference schools), says that the government doesn't understand the damage it is doing. When he goes on to say that teachers have had enough of being treated with contempt and of being given unworkable orders then an unusual alliance is in the making. When he views "the bizarre anthology of English literature thought appropriate for the nation's 14 year olds" with amazement then he is not only pinpointing the government's arrogance but highlighting the loss of its natural supporters and allies. Mind you that choice probably has a financial basis. All those old copies of *Treasure Island* and *Little Women*, old fashioned even in the 1940s, can be brought out to save money being spent on more apposite texts.

'Rolling back the state' has in the last fifteen years come to mean the unprecedented concentration of state power in the centre. 'Increasing democracy and choice' has come to mean abolishing or crippling local authorities who disagree. The same processes are now obvious at every level of education, from the onslaught of universities to the imposition of the National Curriculum in schools. The whole imbroglio over the teachers, and Patten's intransigence, goes to emphasise how far Britain has advanced

towards the sort of absolutism we used to deplore in Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia. The underfunding which the former Tory Minister Ian Gilmour details on page 176 of his sustained attack on Thatcherism, *Dancing with Dogma*, is only part of a general attack on standards under the pretence of raising them.

The encouragement of polytechnics was a government weapon in the general attack on the universities. They were thought, as Ian Gilmour points out, *far less likely to attack the government*. People doing vocational studies were not (it was felt) so likely to ask awkward questions and it was the disciplines whose *raison d'être* that was, philosophy and the social sciences, who suffered the most. The attempt to turn colleges into universities overnight, without funding for proper libraries, without staff having time for research and reading, portrayed as a democratisation of higher education, must in fact result in a lowering of standards no matter how dedicated the staff, because the resources are not available. High educational standards, like democratic practice, are inimical to the authoritarian and the dogmatic as Ian Gilmour says, because they depend upon and engender freedom of thought.

I am not trying to dramatise this. The 'raid' on the Open University's social science foundation course (apparently because economist Joan Robinson said monetarism mistook cause and effect), the closing of philosophy departments, the Education Acts of 1987/88 and 1991/93 allowing direct government intervention in course content, the establishment of a National Curriculum that has become in the words of Robin Wilson "a grievous burden and threat to standards" are all aspects of movement towards autocracy. Even if current impositions are successfully resisted, and the extraordinarily comprehensive nature of the alliance against them suggests that this is a possibility, it will only be a respite. The real danger is the amendment of the Education Act giving teachers, in addition to heads, a statutory duty to deliver the National Curriculum, with prosecution for failure. There is much Tory support for this move, but it will make teachers into educational conveyer belts for government policy. How the shade of Goebbels must be laughing!

It was after all John Patten's own government that put parents and governors in charge of educational decisions, and it is their decisions he is now refusing to accept. The reason is quite simple. It regards governing bodies as creatures of government, as the instruments by which the dictates of an increasingly totalitarian education system can be implemented. Those words are chosen carefully. The basically inoperable test programme is only part of the general move toward total control of education by central

government. In the process the very possibility of freedom of thought is now in danger.

The dilution of standards matters because it is ordinary people who will be sold the phoney degrees and the unqualifying 'qualifications' that will result. Marketing education as a commodity is already meaning that college staff are being told not to fail fee-paying students. Degrees, on this basis, are being sold. The Open University, which has managed to maintain high standards, has reduced its degree requirements from ten courses, to eight, and now to six, because they are "competing for students in the distance learning market". This means that the committed lecturer or teacher who cares about his or her subject and students will in the long run be forced out by policies that are only concerned with bums on seats. Left wing historian Harold Perkin has said that the brain drain of the early Thatcher years rivalled that from Hitler's Germany as academic posts were cut and cut again. The same process is again under way as freedom of thought in higher education is gradually being stifled.

The thought that America, of all places, is becoming a haven for the academic who rejects institutionalised philistinism is a cause for wonderment, but that is what is happening. At other levels such havens are not readily available but early retirement, 'nine to five' and resentful resignation are all taking their toll. The net result will be an education system staffed by *apparatchiks* and time servers, or by an educational proletariat powerless to do anything except carry out orders to create trained complaisant Tory-voting Essex-persons.

Apocalyptic though this may sound, the totalitarian threat is very real and the battle over the tests, for all the odd bedfellows it is giving us, has to be won if government power is to be checked and if freedom of thought is to survive at all.

What is happening is a sustained attempt to create new elites by making the education of the rest of us nominal and worthless. This is not to take refuge in conspiracy theories. It is all happening in the open. The present alliance of teaching unions is the best hope for some time of preventing the disintegration of education.

John Pilgrim

NEWBURY AND THE LOCAL ELECTIONS VOTES OF DESPAIR

(continued from page 1)

"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."

Bill Jordan's substitute clause, according to *The Independent* report:

"... should state the party's aim should be to secure 'the right to health care, education and employment, and to ensure that there is equality of opportunity and justice for every citizen."

And in his opinion:

"None of the industries privatised by the government should be automatically taken back into state control. Even the public utilities should not be re-nationalised unless it was proven that private interests had failed to make them more efficient."

Nowhere does one detect in this trade union boss an idea that workers' control is the only alternative to either private or state control.

Another reason for not joining the opposition chorus following the Tory debacle is that as non-voters we draw consolation neither from those non-voters who are politically apathetic nor from 'tactical voting'. The Tories are always brushing aside such defeats by lamenting the fact, but pointing out that though they regularly lose all by-elections they regain most of the seats at the general elections. They know that the millionaire media will put the fear of God in those Tory voters who have either abstained or voted Liberal at by-elections (to indicate to their leaders that they are not getting the preferential treatment expected) with the *Red, socialist* alternative if they persist at the general elections.

In our opinion we are condemned to Tory rule - that is by the haves at the expense of the have-nots. But from the anarchist point of view what is important to add is that it makes no difference whether the government benches are lounged on by Messers Smith & Co or Messers Paddy Ashdown & Co, of Labour Party plc or Liberal Party plc respectively. They are all operating the capitalist system and this means that it is run for the benefit of capitalists and not of their wage slaves.

WILDCAT I hear you're refusing to set the National Curriculum tests, Pussycat.

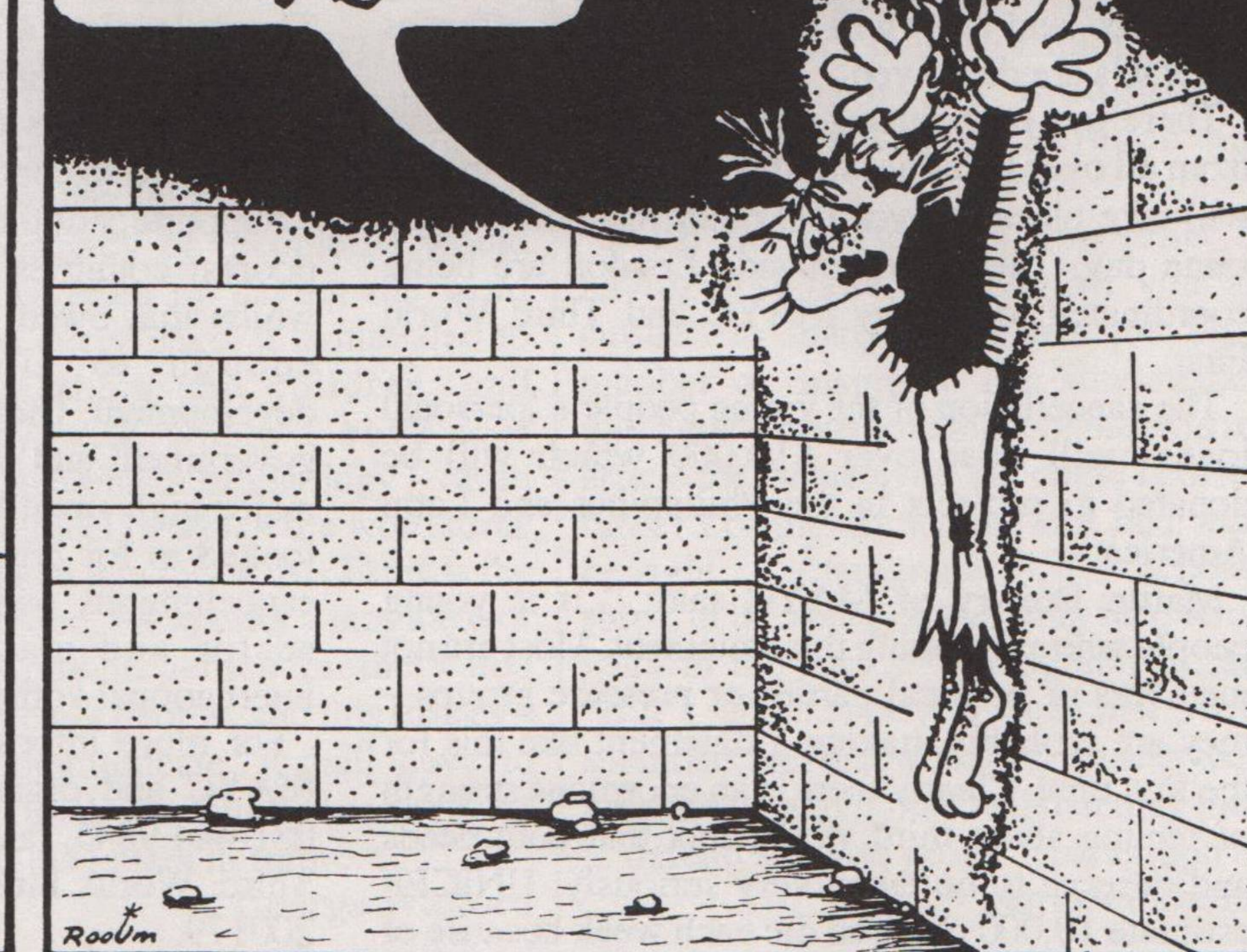


That's right. They have no educational value.

It isn't a crime to try to maintain educational standards, is it??



Ask a daft question.



An anarchist notebook

Anne Widdecombe, the Minister of Pensions, was recently baptised a Roman Catholic in the House of Commons crypt, then appeared all over the media displaying her lack of dress sense by wearing a funny hat with a severe expression.

Widdecombe says that she wants Britain to keep the independent deterrent, and that she is pro-life. By "the independent deterrent" she means a submarine carrying twenty bombs, each of which is capable of killing everything within a thirty-mile radius.

It is not independent, since it depends on supplies bought in from the United States. It is not a deterrent, since it deters nobody from anything. And as for being pro-life ...

The woman is obviously potty.

Even the Ministry of Defence is turning Green. It has rejected calls by the Countryside Commission to stop firing shells in National Parks, but has promised that the shells it fires on Dartmoor will be less environmentally damaging. With effect from some time in 1998.

A recent Home Office report concludes, after three years' expensive study, that crimes of violence increase when the consumption of alcohol increases, and that property crimes increase when the poor get poorer.

Before you say you could have told them that for nothing, note that a vociferous minority thought otherwise. Sociological research provides data which enable us to choose between alternative hypotheses, and data which confirm majority opinion are as valuable as data which lead to more startling conclusions.

Mrs Thatcher, as Prime Minister, flatly denied any link between crime and economic and social conditions, and there was nothing against her opinion except that most people thought different. Now in the light of the Home Office study, Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke concedes that there is a link, and so does his junior minister Michael Jacks. Thatcher of course concedes nothing; but she has not reiterated her denial recently.

The noble lord responsible for the welfare of British troops in the First World War was taken to a French brewery, commandeered as a soldiers' bath-house, to see hundreds of naked men sitting in hot water

in the vats. He remarked that he had not known the lower classes had such pale skins.

His mistake was connected with the assumption, made by Europeans of all classes a hundred years ago, that adults with dark skins were somehow less adult than adults with pale skins. Kindly pink-skinned people would care for brown-skinned people, even devote their lives to the welfare of brown-skinned people as in the case of Albert Schweitzer. But any pretension of brown-skinned people to adult responsibility was regarded as ridiculous.

No injustice was intended. The inferiority of non-Europeans was accepted as mere, uncontentious fact. Some other unconscious assumptions of that time, now seen to be mistaken, were that masturbation is harmful to health, and that minds are entities as distinct from processes. Of course there are people today who believe one or more of these propositions, but they are conscious of having a belief. A hundred years ago, people believed the propositions without noticing that they believed anything.

Every civilisation has its own collection of unconsciously accepted beliefs, and there is no reason to suppose that our civilisation is different. A hundred years in the future, people will no doubt be clicking their tongues in disgust at some of the things we believe without knowing we believe them. But as we are unconscious of them, we can have no idea what they are.

The trend these days is away from legal censorship. Those who wish to censor literature must increasingly turn to threatening publishers with loss of profit, especially in the sale of books to schools.

In the USA since about 1970, new editions of established biology textbooks have progressively cut out references to evolution for fear of the creationist right. An important contribution to the notorious ignorance of American school-leavers.

In Britain, of 105 children's writers surveyed by PEN, 62 said their publishers had asked them not to refer to things that may offend. No witches for fear of people with daft ideas

about Satanism. No pigs for fear of Muslim fundamentalists. No ballet, ponies or grassy lawns for fear of appearing middle class.

George Crowder, in his contribution to *The Raven 20*, discerns an unquestioned assumption in the work of nineteenth century anarchists, that ethics is a science with laws like the laws of physics. Nineteenth century anarchists, he finds, embraced a quasi-scientific hypothesis, that if people were free of coercion they would behave according to a natural morality.

Crowder finds this hypothesis underlying the work of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. He exempts Stirner, but I suspect this is because he is less familiar with Stirner's work. Stirner advocated utter selfishness in the belief that if everyone was utterly selfish, the result would be a harmonious union of conscious egoists (see page 275 of *The Ego and its Own*).

The change in assumptions about the nature of ethics has led to a change in the anarchist idea of what constitutes an anarchist. A nineteenth century anarchist works for the free

society on condition that it is attainable. A modern anarchist works for the free society because it is worth working for, whether it is attainable or not. Quasi-scientific hypothesis is replaced by ethical pro-attitude.

The change from nineteenth century anarchism to modern anarchism did not occur suddenly on 1st January 1900, but is a continuing process. The final chapter of Malatesta's *Anarchy*, written in 1891, is an essay in 'modern' anarchism, while some valuable young comrades today are 'nineteenth century' anarchists by the above definition.

Since all anarchists are working in the same direction, the difference does not appear to have much practical consequence, except perhaps that those whose anarchism depends on the factual hypothesis are more easily disillusioned. It certainly does not render the work of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin or Stirner any less useful or inspiring.

(Stirner's *The Ego and its Own* has just been reissued at £8.50. When ordering by post please add 85p inland, £1.70 overseas. Malatesta's *Anarchy* is £1.50 post free inland, add 23p overseas. *The Raven 20* is £3 post free to anywhere.)

DR

Letter to a Pacifist

Why don't you believe in violence? That state we oppose does, which is why it spends millions on armies and police. We have to have a proper understanding of the nature of the state we oppose, and this nature is firmly based upon violence.

Whenever people have opposed the system non-violently, the state has been quite prepared to use violence against them. Do you remember the peace camp at Molesworth? Perhaps you remember the Beanfield? What about the CTT policing of the Miners' Strike in '84? What about the police vans driving into peaceful crowds of poll tax protesters in Trafalgar Square, or the police horses trampling a woman there? And so it goes on.

Whenever peaceful protest becomes too big the state will use violence, and then it will lie. In my own town poll tax bailiffs used baseball bats to beat up poll tax protesters. One of the people hit was a twelve year old lad on crutches. The state has no conscience. With this in mind, I say that pacifism is not an option when faced with a baseball-bat-wielding bailiff.

Now I take a broad definition of violence, because the physical harm the state does to us all has many different facets. The examples above show the active violence the state uses when confronted. I also include passive or indirect violence. By this I mean such things as coercion, life endangering pollution, benefit cuts, mass unemployment, and the media with its lies, suppression or information and its imposition of the ideology of the New World Order; as well as the more obvious things like police, courts and prisons. As an example of passive violence let me tell you about a friend of mine whose baby girl was stillborn. Several other mothers miscarried at the same time. Statistically, my town should not have this many miscarriages in two years. We all know why this happened (a leak at the local nuclear power station) but as usual the whole thing is covered up by the media. The murder of this little girl and the other children, and the system's silence in the face of this outrage, are also to be classified as acts of violence.

I say that 'the state is violence', it is a total and systematic network, and the harm it does to us ranges from our being starved by it like the Africans; passively murdered like the still-born daughter of my friend; poisoned by its industrial and chemical plants; marginalised like the unemployed and nearly every political group; being made mentally dead by its 'culture' all the way through to being imprisoned, tortured, killed by it. The state is the bailiff with the baseball bat, the charging police horse in Trafalgar Square, the tanks in Tianamen Square, the radioactivity in the air we breathe. *The state is a madman with an axe.*

What is the pacifist response to all this? The pacifists tell us to 'turn the other cheek', 'do not resist evil', 'overcome evil with good'. These ideas are to be respected, but they do not take into account the nature of the state. Now I say Tolstoy and Gandhi are wrong because to rule out violence is to

actually encourage the silent but all-encompassing holocaust. Instead, I take the examples of such people as Primo Levi - "If not now, when? And if not this way, how?" - resistance fighters everywhere, the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto, and the revolt of the 12th Sonderkommando at Auschwitz.

The oppressor is more likely to oppress when he knows his opponents will not fight back. The state is the school bully writ large. A holocaust is only possible when people do not resist.

It is important to retain the ethical. Pacifists are motivated out of moral concern, advocates of resistance should also ground their actions in the ethical. Against Tolstoy and Gandhi, I say that we all have a moral duty to fight against this global concentration camp. In my earlier article ('Politics and the Ethical Void', *Freedom*, 7th March 1992) I show how politics is divorced from the ethical. (This is to describe politics as it actually is, and not as we would wish it to be.) The point being made here is that we must consider the grounds of our opposition. Politically speaking, the bailiff with his baseball bat, or the policeman with his riot shield and stick, do not function in the ethical domain at all, but are only judged by their results (people frightened into paying poll tax, etc). The grounds of our opposition seem to be purely practical, or preventative. They may be a species of self-defence, or arise out of anger. None of this means that we can separate ourselves from the ethical. Once we take back control over our own lives, and deny it to the political, we step back into the moral domain. By its nature, an act of resistance is an act of denial of control of the state.

Morality is important. So, how do we judge whether or not it is right to commit acts of violence against the system? The Enlightenment philosopher, Kant, has provided us with a means by which moral principles can be judged:

"I ought never to act except in such a way that I can also will that my maxim should become a universal law."

The Categorical Imperative asks, "is the action we propose capable of universalisation?" Now the moral principle I propose is this: when attacked by a madman with an axe, shoot the madman.* I say that this principle is sound, and capable of being universalised.

Most justifications of political violence rest on a means/end analysis. The usual view taken by pacifists is that the use of such means tarnishes the end. This is fine, except that as anarchists we are not seeking to impose our will on others, or force our vision of how things should be. What are the ends we are seeking? In this issue they seem to be largely preventative, a reaction against the actions of others. To shoot the madman is not directed towards any end, except perhaps to stop him. The act of shooting is an end in itself.

We are not concerned with any 'reward' we might find as a result of our action (i.e. shoot the madman

(continued on page 4)

— NEWS RELEASE —

10,000 young people take on governments and banks in bid to cancel third world debt

On Sunday 16th May 10,000 young people will gather in Trafalgar Square. They have each made a 'personal loan' to the third world in return for which they possess an IOU. At 3.30pm they will set an example to the world's governments and financial institutions by tearing up their IOUs and cancelling 'their' third world debt.

The event has been organised by MAYC (The Methodist Association of Youth Clubs). It will be colourful with many of the young people wearing costumes, and there will be a 'tickertape' effect as the IOUs are destroyed.

There has been strong support for the initiative from all over Britain - similar smaller-scale events will take place in over 100 other locations on the same day. The events outside London are being coordinated jointly by MAYC and Third World First.

The cancellation of the young people's 'personal loans' will raise over £10,000 which will be donated to projects in the Philippines and Latin America.

Martin Drewry of MAYC said: "It is young people who are making this statement. Most are not members of political parties or pressure groups - they are probably making a statement like this for the first time. Clearly there is an enormous strength of feeling about third world debt that both needs and deserve to be taken very seriously. UNICEF estimate 10,000 children die each week because of

third world debt - the same number of young people who will be in Trafalgar Square. The situation is ludicrously unjust - the third world gives much more to the north through interest payments than it receives in aid."

Luis Reveco of Third World First says: "The debt is hurting industrial countries like Britain too. Susan George, in her recent book *The Debt Boomerang*, shows how the third world's reduced spending power contributes to unemployment here. There is also a clear link between debt and increased drug production and deforestation. Debt at this level hurts almost everyone - it simply can't be allowed to continue."

Supporters of the event believe debt owed by the poorest countries must be cancelled completely, whilst that owed by the others must be reduced enough to allow sustainable equitable development. They say action is needed by both the government and financial institutions - including major high street banks. The government is being looked to for urgent response - both in terms of cancelling its own debt, influencing the private sector and making appropriate use of its international voting rights.

For more information contact: Martin Drewry, MAYC and organiser of the London event, tel 081-444 9845, fax 081-365 2471, or Luis Reveco, Third World First, tel 0865 245678, fax 0865 200179.

— OBITUARY —

Philip Holgate

We are sorry to announce the death at the early age of 58 of Philip Holgate, who took an active part in the anarchist movement from the early 1950s to the late 1960s.

Philip Holgate was born in Chesterfield on 8th December 1934 and took a degree in mathematics at what later became Exeter University. In 1956 he began studying statistics at postgraduate level at University College, London, and at the same time teaching mathematics and physics at school level. After exploring various religious and political ideas, he had become an anarchist and a pacifist, and he chose to work at Burgess Hill, the well-known free school. When he was called up for national service, his registration as a conscientious objector was accepted on condition that he continued teaching there — a rare recognition by the authorities of such a subversive institution!

He stayed at Burgess Hill until 1961, and at the same time he became more actively involved with the anarchist and pacifist movements. For more than a decade he wrote

regularly for *Freedom* and then also for *Anarchy* (some of his articles appear in various anthologies). He attended anarchist meetings and other functions, and joined the London Anarchist Group and the Freedom Press Group. He also took part in Aldermaston marches and other peace demonstrations (Vernon Richards' book *Protest Without Illusions* contains a nice photograph of him at the first Committee of 100 sit-down in 1961).

From 1961 he worked for six years as a statistician, first at the Rothamsted Research Station and then at the Nature Conservancy. As he became increasingly interested in his work, he took less interest in political activity, and he gradually withdrew from the anarchist movement, though he continued to sympathise with such causes as civil liberties and the environment. He eventually returned

to academic life, and joined the Statistics Department at Birkbeck College, the main further education institution in London University. In 1967 he became Lecturer, in 1969 Reader, and in 1970 Professor of Statistics, which he remained until his death.

His obituaries in national newspapers (the *Independent* on 22nd April and the *Guardian* on 28th April) described his many contributions to mathematics, especially in its applications to biology. As well as being Head of his Department for many years, he was at various times Dean of Science and a Governor at Birkbeck, President of the British Region of the Biometric Society, Treasurer of the Joint Mathematical Council, a committee member of the London Mathematical Society, Vice-President of the local Association of University Teachers, and an editor of the

Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. He was also a conscientious supervisor of postgraduate students, external examiner at other universities, participant at conferences here and abroad, and author of scores of scholarly papers. He found time to enjoy walking, photography, jazz, and private life. He suffered from heart disease for some time before his sudden death on 13th April 1993.

Philip Holgate will be remembered by anarchists as a reserved but determined person who never said or wrote anything which wasn't sensible or constructive. He seems to have been the same in everything else he did, and the obituaries paid tribute to his attractive personality as well as his remarkable ability (though they didn't mention his long involvement with anarchism and pacifism). We regret his loss to the cause to which he contributed so much, though we rejoice in his professional success and personal happiness, and we extend our sympathy to his lifelong companion, Susannah Brown.

NW

A Freedom article by Philip Holgate in 1963

Anarchist Economics

One objection that is frequently brought against anarchism once the more irrational ones have been overcome is that the economic organisation of a complicated industrially developed society could never be carried on successfully without a central government with power to impose its decisions.

How, for instance, would decisions about the building of roads or railways, or factories that would need several years work before they could begin production be taken in an anarchist society? How would distribution of food between different countries and international exchange of products be regulated?

These problems do not exist for the more radical 'back to nature' anarchists, who would be too busy digging their own compost-grown potatoes and weaving their own clothes and, at a more libertarian stage, rolling in the clover together to the accompaniment of folk songs, to want to construct factories or railways.

However, most people enjoy the increased possibilities for the enjoyment of life that the developments of the last few centuries have brought, and the advances in the extent to which human beings are able to control and exploit natural resources. The credit for these advances is always claimed by governments or socially powerful elements such as capitalist companies, and any accompanying disadvantages, in the shape of social regimentation, lack of freedom for individual expression are explained away as being inevitable concomitants of a society with a 'high standard of living'.

This propaganda, the success of which is hardly surprising since it is put out through the entire press

and broadcasting systems, the educational establishments to which everyone is subjected and so on, has ensured that very few people are prepared to envisage any kind of social revolution for fear of losing what they now have.

To begin with, however efficient the present social order may be for the people in power, it is clearly extremely inefficient from the point of view of the majority of the population. These points are appreciable particularly when people are able to get out of the habit, which is again accepted from schooldays upwards, of thinking in terms of financial values and looking at economics in terms of human effort, and the wealth that is created by it. In a recent discussion it was suggested to the writer that an efficient public transport system would be impossible in an anarchist society and that the decision about whether to build a tunnel or bridge across the Channel would prove insoluble.

There can hardly be two topics which illustrate more vividly the questions which divide the anarchist view of society from the authoritarian one.

Whatever the merits of crossing the Channel by tunnel, bridge, boat or aeroplane are, the one factor that has not been taken into account by the governments, companies and pressure groups that have been studying the question during the last few years has been what the people who are likely to use the communications want. All the considerations have been worked out in terms of profits, financial savings, return on investments and so on.

The public transport system is in a state of general chaos precisely because it is not being planned in

the interests of people who need to travel, but because it has been the plaything of competing financial and state interests since the days when the Romans built their roads for the conquering armies.

Suppose decisions about economic planning had to be made by a complicated process of referring to freely grouped associations of people involved in them; and that for instance it was impossible to have a road built unless enough road building workers could be convinced of its value to go out and do it. There may well be difficulties and delays, and unwise decisions would be taken from time to time, but they would be trivial compared with the stupidities and inefficiency of economic planning in our present society, whether it is controlled directly by governments or through private firms.

It is inconceivable, for instance, that if economic decisions were taken rationally in a free community that workers would build two parallel railways between the same cities, as happened in Britain during the industrial revolution; that food needed in one part of the world would be left rotting in another because of the 'economic' effects of 'giving it away'; or that wealth would be wasted on producing aeroplanes and ships for what is today regarded as national prestige. Yet all these things, productive of waste and poverty, are a built-in part of all the authoritarian economic systems of the world, and the tragedy is that they are accepted as good sense by people who would scoff at the 'anarchy' that would follow a libertarian social revolution.

The tasks of anarchists in face of this are twofold. Firstly, to overcome the habits of thought that support the present social system. That is to say, to convince people that an industry is not necessarily thriving and useful if it makes vast profits, or even if it pays high wages (the most difficult part!), if it is devoted largely to producing either unnecessary goods or, more usually, bad ones from the point of view of wear and performance. The most important case is the armaments industry which usually does pay good wages, and only occasionally causes unemployment. In fact, the very fact that it is profitable to manufacture shoddy articles and that millions of people find it financially rewarding to do socially useless and personally unrewarding jobs while necessary ones such as public transport suffer from lack of workers, illustrates the futility of capitalist economic theories.

If capitalism is evaluated according to its own set of values, it contains enough 'fundamental contradictions'. The anarchist challenge to people is to reject this sense of values and to judge a system not in terms of politics, profits, finance or even wages, but in terms of the use of human wealth to produce the kind of things we need for life and happiness.

The end of authoritarian economics would release so much energy that there would be room for a few mistakes, still leaving us all better off than at present!

Secondly, anarchists have never set out to lay down a blue-print for the future, and although many anarchists have vague ideas about local, regional, industrial and national syndicates and councils, the most important thing is not to say how people will organise a free society, but to have confidence based on thought and experience that they will be able to find their own way when the situation arises.

However, because of this, the fact that anarchism

is not just a plan for the future but for here and now, and it depends on the development of a different way of thinking and acting in social matters, it is important to develop whatever movements can be developed towards taking power into the hands of the people, whether in industry, agriculture, education or any other walks of life.

The weakness of the protest movements that have sprung up in the past seven years, welcome though they have been in comparison with the apathy that preceded them, is that they are based solely on a general reaction of horror against the H-bomb, political persecution or famine, which is again an admirable one but is bound to be superficial if it is not related to a general rejection of the idea that it is fundamentally right for power to lie in the hands of a minority; or that it is impossible for us to get rid of governments because of the supposed chaos that would ensue. For that reason they tend to collapse soon after the problem which brought them into being loses current interest.

What should be the strength of anarchism, although it depends on the efforts of those of us who are anarchists to realise it, is the fact that it does extent to every aspect of life; and its problem lies in arousing people to make out their own scale of human values on which to judge the success or failure of the present system of governmental and authoritarian society instead of accepting those pushed on them by the very people in power.

Philip Holgate
(19th October 1963)

Letter to a Pacifist

(continued from page 3)

and survive) because when faced with a situation of this magnitude, personal survival is unimportant, whereas the attitude we adopt and the actions we take are significant.

A frequent objection to violence is that it is futile because it does not produce results, or that it may even be counter-productive because the state could take hostages. The futility objection could be raised against the 12th Sonderkommando, who whether they rose or not were about to be liquidated by the SS, but I don't think that they are to be condemned for their uprising because it failed to destroy the SS as an organisation. The act of revolt is correct, in itself, and to be preferred against the alternatives; passively doing nothing, or actively "joining forces with the pestilences" (Camus).

"We are all hostages now." The hostage objection is answered by pointing to the fact that we are all required to oppose the madman. We cannot be neutral about a problem of this magnitude. They too have a duty to fight against the global concentration camp. I can only be responsible for my actions in

opposing it, but they too are responsible for theirs.

The pacifist is correct in forcing us to consider the effectiveness of our responses. Obviously a large scale uprising like the Warsaw Ghetto is more effective than a one-off, isolated act of resistance by a single person. Even one resister acting alone is to be preferred to doing nothing. This brings me on to my final point. To return to the Kantian Categorical Imperative. Is resistance capable of being universalised? I believe it is. If every victim turned on the victimiser, and this became a universal principle behind human action, then the oppressor would turn to other pastimes, and the world would become a safer place to live.

Stephen Booth

* The precise wording of the principle is not so important as 1) *The characterisation of the situation* (holocaust, etc.) as extreme, the enormity of the situation, the fact that its significance overwhelms us and that it is highly likely that as result of it I am going to die. 2) *A target*, a person (the madman), persons, or an organisation responsible for producing the situation against which I can take action.

New FREEDOM PRESS titles

— MAY 1993 —

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No Master High or Low: libertarian education and schooling 1890-1990

by John Shotton

Freedom Press, 291 pages, £7.95 (post free inland, add 10% overseas)

The business of book reviewing has its own conventions. You don't review your own books (although the novelist Anthony Burgess confessing to doing so under a pseudonym), you don't review books by your friends (though I can't think of any better reason for pushing a book), and you don't review books that you had a hand in. Well, I had a hand in the book I want to describe, since I was asked to write the foreword. I see this as a guarantee that I have actually read it.

The book is John Shotton's *No Master High or Low: libertarian education and schooling 1890-1990*, and if I am debarred from reviewing it I can certainly explain why it is important.

Under the banner of 'setting the people free', an endless series of Secretaries of State for Education and Science have been battling against demons of their own creation. The first is the control of schools in the publicly-provided education system using funds which, because of the extreme centralisation of revenue-gathering in this country, come mainly from central taxation. The second is the influence of the trade unions of teachers and of local government employees. The third is the system of training teachers, once a specialist activity which, through a process known as 'academic drift' has shifted from local and inexpensive institutions into polytechnics and now to universities.

In the Conservative demonology the last of these institutions is to blame for what Ministers describe as the 'half-baked, old-fashioned, progressive ideology' which is responsible for what they see as a decline in

A big challenge for the schooling industry

literacy and numeracy in Britain.

Most ordinary observers would conclude that our rulers, in their innocence, have been taken for a ride by their own faith, firstly in the free-market pressure groups persuading them that schooling is a commodity to be bought in the cheapest market, secondly by the Treasury finding that the biggest expense of teaching is that of hiring teachers, and thirdly by the intense lobby by the top (privately-educated) civil servants of the DES to gain absolute control of the school system. There is ample evidence for this view in a careful study of this struggle for control.¹

The introduction of a national curriculum for schools is a totalitarian measure, and it's sad that the political opposition has, like the frighteningly simple Conservatives, given their blessing to the idea. Testing, to ensure that it is followed, is the obvious next step. When the teaching unions objected, not to the concept but to the tests, the first response of the Secretary of State was to remind us that his edicts had become the law of the land. Objectors were automatically lawbreakers.

I'm reminded of an account of the Nuremberg trials back in 1947 when one of the pathetic defendants, charged with appalling acts of mass murder, muttered, according to the reporter S.L. Solon, that "the depths of depravity are not reached in one step". Now consider the way in which teachers have had to struggle, not only in

1. John R. Dunford, *Central/Local Government Relations 1977-1987 with Special Reference to Education* (Trentham Books for the Association of Education Committees, 1987).

post-war Germany, Italy and Japan, but much more recently in post-Franco Spain, post-Salazar Portugal or post-Soviet Russia, to free schools from the requirements of a national curriculum, and you will see how John Patten (to my regret, a lecturer in geography, that most liberating of subjects) has become the advocate of an educational police state.

Let's take for granted that the political right has been hoodwinked by the Treasury and Ministerial bureaucracy. That's where governmental faith in a free market leads you. They all know that they are defending entrenched privilege, since the private sector in schooling is free to ignore the National Curriculum, and its output moves into the most advantageous jobs. It was of course a Conservative Minister, Rab Butler, who decreed that there should be secondary education for all, just as it was later a Labour Minister, Shirley Williams, who set the pace for direct intervention by central government in decreeing that there should be comprehensive education for all regardless of the local status quo. Needless to say, she took care to send her own children to a direct grant grammar school.

The political left is divided on education. On one hand there are Marxist academics claiming that the system is devoted to *learning to labour*, training kids for their slot in the industrial machine, but on the other there are those who claim that the education industry itself has inflated academic values at the expense of manufacturing values, and have elevated their own aspirations so that their

brightest pupils know all about English Literature but despise metal-bashing, plumbing and the electrical wiring systems on which all our activities depend.²

At a tangent to all this, there is the debate about progressive education. It's the phantom bug-bear of the Tories, but it has also been the victim of huge misunderstandings on the left. It is often assumed, for example, that 'progressive schools' are the places where the affluent send their children once they have been thrown out of the usual upper-class educational institutions. I can remember Tony Gibson expostulating in anger when Penguin Books commissioned an academic author, Robert Skidelsky, to write a book on the subject. Skidelsky devoted most of his space to discussing alternative schools for top people like Bedales, Abbotsholme and Gordonstoun.³

John Shotton's book presents a very different reading of the story, taking off from a completely different starting point: William Godwin's 200-year-old attack on the idea of a national education system, and of a national curriculum. Drawing on the important research of Philip Gardner, he shows that the official history of the beginnings of state education in England is a suppression of the truth. There was, in the mid-nineteenth century, a huge network of humble working-class schools, effectively suppressed by the inspectorate as they were a rival to the schools set up both by the churches and by school boards following the Education Act of 1870.⁴ He goes on to excavate from history a whole series of school experiments by working-class anarchist groups in the early years of the twentieth century as a parallel to the story recorded in America by Paul Avrich.⁵

It is only after this significant re-writing of the history of education that Shotton turns to the progressive school movement from the 1920s onward, the whole series of ventures in providing 'schools for the unschoolable' in the same period, the heroic efforts to import the lessons of both into the publicly-funded school system, from Teddy O'Neill to Bob MacKenzie, and the continuous legacy today.

When I last heard of the author he was travelling from Africa to India, Australia and New Zealand, on the trail of schools named after A.S. Neill's Summerhill. No one in the outside world would dream of calling any education venture after any of our current series of Ministers. They just make new havoc for the school system and then move on or out. On the other hand, here is a book about the forerunners of the revolution in education in Britain that we might have had: a guide for the 21st century.

Colin Ward

2. Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* (Cambridge, 1981).

3. Robert Skidelsky, *English Progressive Schools* (Penguin, 1969).

4. Philip Gardner, *The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England* (Croom Helm, 1984).

5. Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: anarchism and education in the United States* (Princeton, 1980).

Great Historians and Small Conservatives

1066 and All That: a memorable history of England

W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman

Alan Sutton, £14.99

The Faber Book of Conservatism

edited by Kenneth Baker

Faber, £17.50

No twentieth century work has been more seminal than the great history of Britain by Sellar and Yeatman. Before Toynbee, they observed the grand pattern of history. It is chiefly composed of a "long succession of waves" – the wave of Huns was followed by the wave of saints and many others – "the Pitts, like pretenders, generally came in waves of about two, an elder Pitt and a younger Pitt". Before Butterfield they challenged the Whig (or Wig) version of history. Their succinct account of the processes creating the modern world will save students many a weary hour with Fernand Braudel: they note "the discovery (made by all the rich men in England at once) that women and children could work for 25 hours a day in factories without many of them dying or becoming excessively deformed. This was known as the Industrial Revelation".

Now a handsome new edition, with lavish illustrations, reminds us why we were all so bored recently when Fukuyama announced The End Of History. Sellar and Yeatman got there first in 1930. Having noted the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles after World War One, they concluded with exemplary concision:

"Chapter LXII: A Bad Thing
America was thus clearly top nation, and history came to a."

While Yeoman was a sturdy Yeatman, Sellar

was a Scot. Their definitive account of Bannockburn shows a keen understanding of national character.

"The causes of the English defeat were all unfair and were:

1. *The Pits*. Every time the Wallace saw some English knights charging at him he quickly dug one of these unnatural hazards into which the English knights, who had been taught to ride straight, jumped with flying colours.

2. *Superior numbers of the English* (four to one). Accustomed to fight against heavy odds, the English were uneasy, and when the Scots were unexpectedly reinforced by a large body of butlers with camp stools the English soldiers mistook them for a fresh army of Englishmen and retreated in disgust.

3. *Foul riding by Scottish knights*. This was typified even before the battle during an exhibition combat between the Bruce and the English champion Baron Henry le Bohunk, when Bruce, mounted on a Shetland pony, galloped underneath the Baron and, coming up unexpectedly on the blind side, struck him a foul blow behind and maced him up for life."

Alas Faber's latest courageous essay in post-modernist *bricolage* is not in the same literary class. Like most works of highbrow fiction these days, it has an Unreliable Narrator. Baker appears to be a paranoid fantasist imprisoned on serious charges – Greed, Grinding the Faces of the Poor, Blinkered English Chauvinism, etc., etc. Inanely cheerful, despite his grave peril, he imagines mighty witnesses springing to his defence – great dead writers including Aristotle, Hobbes and P.G. Wodehouse. His delusions make him so confident that he also summons such persons as Dickens, Orwell and Priestley who would readily have consigned him and his like to life imprisonment, if not the gallows. More recklessly still, he puts out a subpoena for

Yeats, to chant his savage *Meditations in Time of Civil War*, though in a rare glimpse of sanity he does concede that he is "not attempting to recruit Yeats as an English Conservative". Another sign that he is not completely crazed is that he keeps his quotations from Adam Smith short – extended excerpts would do his cause no good.

However, much of the book consists of pronouncements attributed to 'Baker', to 'Mary Baker' and to living persons, apparently accomplices of theirs, such as 'Tebbit', 'Lamont', 'Major' and 'Thatcher'. It is interesting to make inferences about his ambivalence towards some of these persons (as when he includes 'Howe's' denunciation of 'Thatcher') and his relationship with 'Macmillan' was so difficult that at one stage he quotes 'Levin's' attack on him as an "old fraud". But the language attributed to these homunculi (who may or may not have employed others to write their speeches) is so piddling when set beside Burke's sublime surges and Conrad's intricate periods that one is irresistibly tempted to skip. Post-modernism without zest is less tasty than the contents of the garbage can outside the Princes Street Macdonald's to which 'Baker's' pauperised victims needs must have recourse.

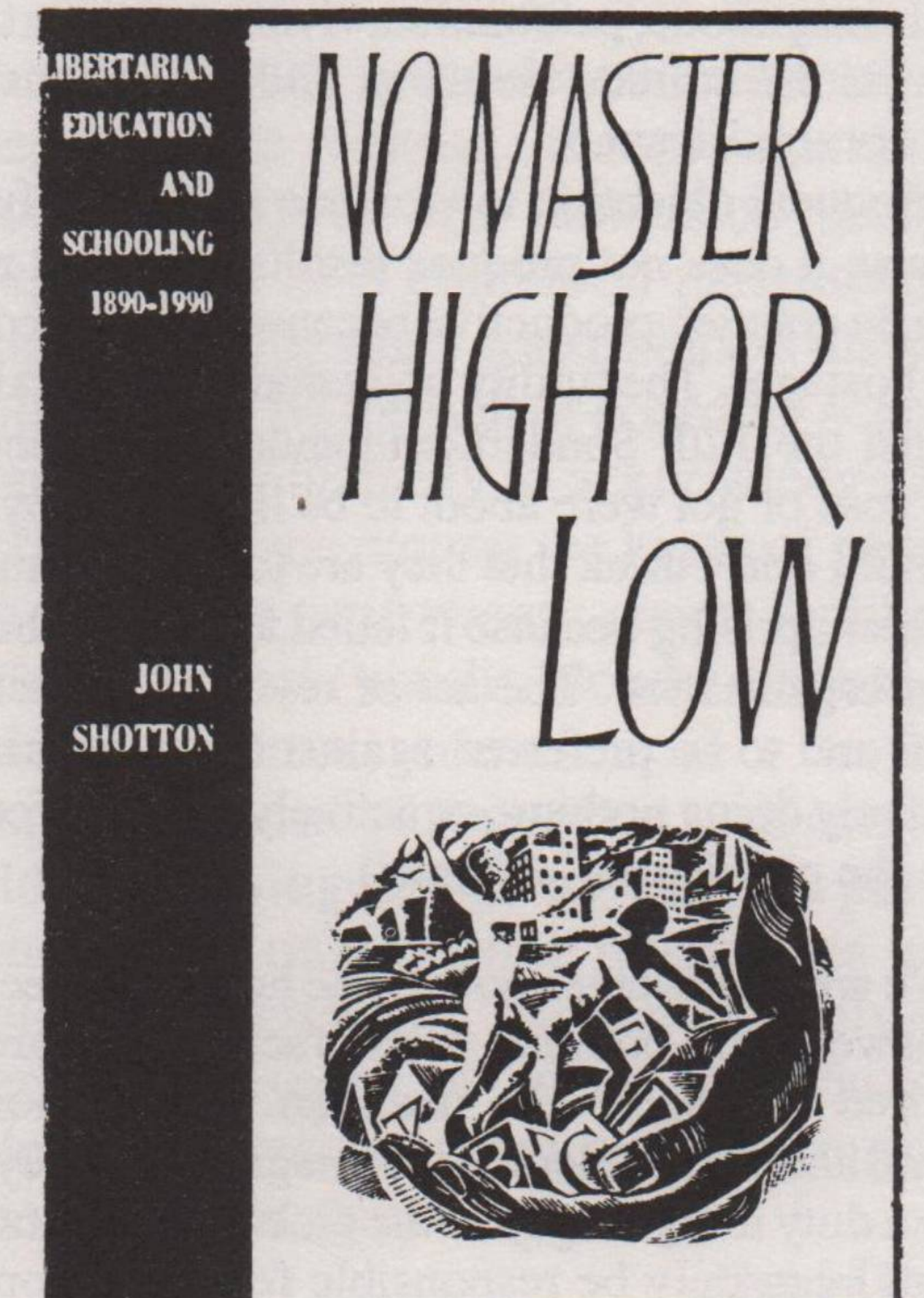
However, in fairness to Faber, their narrator surpasses himself when he summons the Edwardian Laureate Alfred Austin. His poem *Why England is Conservative* clearly haunts 'Baker', who is himself obsessed with a matter called 'Maastricht'.

"Domain, Throne, Altar, still may be upheld
So we disdain, as they disdained of yore,
The foreign froth that foams against our shore
Only by its white cliffs to be repelled."

Sellar and Yeatman could not have put it better.

Angus Calder

This review first appeared in *Scotland on Sunday*, and is reprinted with the kind permission of the author.



The New World Order and the Third World
 edited by Dave Broad and Lori Foster
 Black Rose Books, 160 pages, £10.50 (post free inland)

This book makes an interesting read not only because it is both contemporary and forward looking but also because, although not written from an anarchist viewpoint as I will show, it may cause us to reflect more on our position vis a vis the changing world order.

The book divides neatly into two halves. Firstly, an investigation into the history of US international relations which culminates in some predictions for the future, and secondly a discussion of the possibilities for third world independence in the future. The book purports to be "up to date" and given that it emanates from conferences held in 1989 and 1990 is relatively so with the limitations imposed by the speed at which events in the world seem to be moving.

Part one, then, concerning American foreign policy starts with a well documented exposé of America as sponsor of international terrorism. Herman, the author, argues persuasively that the US has, via the media, defined 'terrorism' to its own benefit whilst being itself the main world instigator of terrorism by rehabilitating or protecting fascist dictatorships, by outright or proxy invasions, by subversion and by supplying repression - financial

aid, training, etc. Chapter two (Gould and Bodenheimer) looks at the doves/hawks split on such policies towards state socialism as 'containment' and 'roll-back'. It includes some interesting prognoses regarding the future to which I will return. The first part concludes with a contribution from Samir Amin concerning the Gulf War.

This last article breaks little new ground and indeed the same could be said for the first two chapters. Chomskyan in both tone and analysis, apart from some interesting statistics, one is left with a certain sense of déjà vu. This should not be surprising. This is the history of the most powerful state on earth ever and for this to have passed undissected would be incredible. Two aspects are perhaps of more interest: firstly a sketch of what the future promises.

Written prior to Clinton's victory, Gould and Bodenheimer say in their analysis of 'roll-back':

"At this juncture, global roll-back in its classic conception seems to have been virtually accomplished, although the right continues to push the Bush administration to pursue more aggressive actions against Cuba, Vietnam and China, including a call for establishing a 'Radio-free Asia.'" This, if debate in the Western press is to be credited, would seem to be very much in Clinton's mind and South East Asia may indeed once again become a hot spot of American anti-Marxist activity. But the main point of the chapter is that the so-called 'peace dividend' will have to be realised in some form without the US losing its position of power. In this sense, like post-Vietnam Carter, Clinton can be regarded as a kind of velvet glove of the iron fist who can build on the recent SALT agreement to negotiate arms reductions without threatening American military superiority.

Secondly, of interest, is the background agenda to these essays. Whilst ostensibly concerned with American policy we get a feel of the writers' concerns which come through more clearly in the second half of the book. Herman, for example, shows only a grudging willingness to criticise state socialism: "The failures of socialism in the world have no doubt been a result in good part of bureaucratic excesses, centralisation, and a crucial failure to fulfil the best ideals of socialism as a system of participatory democracy." At best this is understatement, but a couple of lines later the picture is made clearer when we read of "... promising forms of democratic mobilisation, as in Guatemala, Chile and Nicaragua". If this verges on the acceptable, Amin is more questionable still when he says: "The revolutions of Russia, China, Cuba and Vietnam belonged to the same family as the national liberation movements in the third world ..." Also the accession of the USSR to superpower status is seen as "... on the whole, favourable to the emancipation of the third world."

It should not be necessary to state how unacceptable all this is to the anarchist position. That the revolutions of the USSR with ensuing Stalinism, China and Tiananmen Square, Cuba and its prisons, firing squads and suppression of human rights, and Vietnam with its atrocities should be seen as "... favourable to the emancipation of the third world" beggars belief. But it is indicative of the position which most of the contributors to this book seemingly take.

As we move into the second half of the book we are looking at the prospects for the third world. Again there is much of interest: an interesting

Marxist analysis of how power was lost in Nicaragua for example, but we are left here and throughout with the impression that we are speaking not so much of the prospects of the peoples of the third world but rather the 'progressive' (read marxist) organisations there. Here the authors display a certain pessimism in so far as it is felt that in most countries of Central America (the main area of interest) outright acquisition of power would seem unattainable and some form of power-sharing with 'centrist' or indeed US-supported right wing fascists is seen as the only way 'forward'.

As Marxism leaves the stage of history this should not be surprising and we can see perhaps in one example, as reported last year in *The Guardian*, of how correct the analysis seems to be. As the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) in El Salvador seeks accommodation with the American-backed ARENA party (notorious for its death squads and abuses of human rights), its mouthpiece during the twelve-year civil war, is now installed in a comfortable middle class district of El Salvador. Its director speaks of "the danger ... in not understanding the historical moment the country is going through". Five ex-journalists who failed to understand this 'historical moment' were sacked in September after suggesting the management was moving towards the right. These journalists, branded 'ultra-leftists', were however correct. Only last November the FMLN was registered as a legal political party and now aims at a 'broad opposition coalition' with the aim of winning the 1994 presidential elections. Meanwhile its yesterday supporters, who have borne the brunt of twelve years of war, are still waiting for land or training as their political leaders turn to the more important task of achieving power. Marxism has been renounced in favour of 'democratic socialism' and Mr Villalobos, the leader of the largest faction within the FMLN, the ERP, had informed us that democracy, the market and private property are 'inherent to socialism'. As tension has increased over the issue the ERP had argued that trade union demands should be neglected in the interests of 'political stability'. The dissidents who were opposed to the radio station taking on a rightist tinge were dismissed after the insistence of the management on turning the station into a private company as essential to attract advertising.

If this is to be typical of the future for Marxist 'liberation' movements, so be it. The chances of the peoples' problems being solved by collaboration with the hard right would seem slim. New liberation movements will hopefully arise having learnt the lessons of the Marxist past and seek to put into effect real alternatives based on dissolving centralist power rather than seeking to seize it. Such tendencies are already showing through in some areas.

Neil Birrell

The Living Theatre

The Living Theatre is once again a company on the road! Our space on Third Street in New York has been closed by the Fire Department and the Buildings Department and we cannot afford the renovations which would make it possible to continue working there.

Nomads again, we continue! We are now rehearsing George Washington's *Rules of Civility*, which we will soon be performing in New York at Theater for the New City (24th April to 2nd May) and in Germany in May.

Come June, we will begin work on a new project (in New York, if no one offers to take us in elsewhere). We will be creating a play for public spaces about the death penalty currently in vogue in the United States. Hundreds of people have been executed in the last few years and thousands more are now condemned. We plan to perform this play at the time prisoners are scheduled to die. The Living Theatre Company will perform it wherever we are at that time, and we will send a team to the city where the execution itself is to take place and train volunteers there to perform it on-site outside the prison.

At the same time we will be preparing a small cast (we think of it as 'one-bus') play to tour around the world and support the street theater project. We

have begun preparing a piece titled *The Writing on the Wall*, which deals with the mysterious apparition of the letter 'A' surrounded by a circle on buildings around the world. Who is putting it there? What does it mean?

And we are looking for the means - a commission, a residency, a sizeable grant - to create a really large play to tour with the entire company based on Fernand Braudel's *Civilisation Matérielle et Capitalisme: 1400-1800*. This is a grand project intending to explore the roots of the current economic system while engaging the active and consequential participation of the audience.

Here's how you can help us as we begin this next phase of our life:

- Send us the names, addresses, telephone and fax numbers of anybody who might be interested in having us for performances, workshops, etc.
- Send us your ideas about what kind of projects you would like to see The Living Theatre involved in.
- Keep us in your thoughts and come see us wherever we are!

You can contact us at: **The Living Theatre, PO Box 20180, New York, NY 10009-8959**, or telephone (212) 865 3957, fax (212) 865 3234.

Rambling on about Violence, Projection and Hysteria

I can write this piece in May because 'spring is here, the grass is ris, and we know where the birdies is' but by early April, when everything is promised and not much delivered, life at Botch-Up Farm gets ratty. A general state of depression grips us all. Suicide and violence are in the air. I am generally pissed off with a host of unrewarding routines like humping bales of damp straw and mouldy hay for unappreciative sheep and fending off macho rams and pushy ewes that won't even wait to let this slave put their cake in the trough. I deal with my frustrations and re-assert authority by delivering a regular kick to the arse of the most stropy ram and fattest ewe - the animal that has only one miserable lamb but consumes enough grub for four. In being able to select my victims I can at least play at being God.

A few years back this annual fit of violence caused me sufficient guilt to consult a shepherd whose husbandry I respect. 'Do you ever get mad and kick your animals?' I asked. 'Always' came back his spontaneous, if exaggerated, reply. I felt relieved. But some day a zealous RSPCA member is going to get me like one nearly did over our treatment of the dog.

Cass is the first among anarchists around here. He's more or less a free agent who works only when he wants to. He's famous and much loved in the village, particularly since we had him castrated! He's smart on the road whether pushing sheep or coping (in his wandering) with traffic. He gets fed by us once a day, has never been washed by us and has ground-down teeth.

The RSPCA man found him cadging crisps in The Angel, the poshest pub in the area, and took him 'into care'. This has happened before. The dog knows how to get attention, only

this time after feeding and washing him his protector phoned to say he was reporting us.

Paule suggested he bring the dog home and have a yarn before he did anything precipitate. On their arrival the dog rushed to his box, the coal bunker, and his protector got a lecture on how we treat animals and why. Paule also reassured him that the dog's teeth were not filed down by us to protect the sheep's articles, the least of our concerns. I forgot to mention that this dog is also the stupidest dog in Suffolk. His passion is shifting round the farm annually tons of bricks, stones and dirt, almost every shovel full of which goes past his mouth. This hobby doesn't do his teeth much good. Anyway, the RSPCA man withdrew apologetically as he went and for months after on the odd occasion we went to The Angel our friend would move to the bar to buy us a drink.

This year I decided to help my peace of mind in April by taking the advice offered by Jonathan Simcock and Brian Richardson in *Freedom* and doing a bit of walking - after 23 years here my knowledge of Constable's country is not too smart. 'Round Fools Day young Tom, aged six, moved by the exploits of those two daft British explorers in ice and snow, announced he wanted to walk to the equator. I chose the next best thing - a seven-mile hike round Constable's Stoke by Nayland Church taking in Stoke, Nayland, Bopted and Thorington Street. On our way, mostly via footpaths and back-roads, we called at the Stoke newsagent for stores. I asked Nigel if he thought we'd make the equator in the day. Playing his part to a tee he said he thought we could and sold us two local maps to help us get there.

Well, just after we had turned off the Hadleigh road to

immerse ourselves in open countryside and the first spring flowers, a car screeched to a halt on the main road nearby. There I was with back-pack and appropriate gear gazing at the church from this new angle through binoculars while Tom gathered a posy of coltsfoot, ground ivy and dead nettle. Next moment a breathless man fell upon us with a barrage of questions ... Who are you? What are you doing with this lad? and more I can't recall. Anyway, I wasn't bothered so much by his agitation as my own inability to answer. Whatever this was about I was guilty. He then turned to Tom asking if he was alright but Tom, open-mouthed, could do no better. Whereupon the interrogation stopped and the man withdrew a pace, made some apologetic noises about not being too careful with all this child molesting going on. I offered some sympathetic grunts and he returned to his car. In the front seat sat a young girl about Tom's age I supposed. A rambler with a child is more open to suspicion than a car driver out with a child during school hours. Here I was escaping from one kind of violence only to find myself under suspicion for another more serious form.

We finished our walk some hours later, Tom full of his achievements and me pleasantly weary. But these trivial experiences in the context of violence got me thinking about the whole thing.

Projection and hysteria

Most societies I know about seem to experience periodic upsurges in overt hatred, violence and destruction. These episodes coincide with power vacuums where an old authority can no longer be upheld and before a new one

(continued on page 7)

A good definition of anarchism (which I believe was used by Emma Goldman) is "Anarchism is the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty and unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence and are therefore wrong and harmful as well as unnecessary".

From this definition it follows that anarchists desire voluntary co-operation rather than regulation as the means of organising society. How do anarchists feel this situation could be brought about?

By the end of the nineteenth century, or by the early twentieth century, the majority of anarchists, who saw themselves as anarchist-communists or anarcho-syndicalists, believed that there would be some sort of revolution which would bring in the free society which they wished for. This was called the 'social revolution' to distinguish it from political revolutions which were seen to be a mere change of rulers rather than the abolition of the state and capitalism.¹

1. Alexander Berkman, *ABC of Anarchism* (Freedom Press, 1984) page 38.

Anarchism: development and prospects for the modern world

The question that needs to be faced is how much relevance does this idea of a social revolution have in the real world of the late twentieth century? To attempt to provide an answer to this, we must look at real history and also psychology.

During both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been many revolutions, or at least potentially revolutionary situations, none of them it must be noted led to an anarchist society. While anarchists often have excellent critical insights into the weaknesses of other political ideas, sadly they often fail to examine their own ideas so closely. The question that follows from this is 'Is anarchism ever likely to succeed?'. Perhaps 'the masses' were not 'sufficiently prepared' in all these revolutions, or perhaps there is

something inherent in anarchism that makes it impossible to be established in one revolution?

Many revolutions often seem to have followed a two-stage path:

1) The overthrow of the old regime and the creation by the activity of a sizeable section of the population of organisations of self-management (Russia 1917 and Spain 1936 provide well known examples). Also present is a weak central government which is often in conflict with the more decentralised organisations.

2) A new regime takes power and destroys the organisations of self-management as it consolidates its power. In Russia after 1917 the Bolsheviks gradually destroyed the independence of the Soviets. In Spain, particularly after May 1937, the Republican government strongly under the influence of the Spanish Communist Party was attacking the achievements of the libertarians.

These examples (and I could have chosen others) seem to indicate the problems facing anarchists in revolutionary situations.

Even if a regime should collapse, for a variety of reasons and not just because a group of revolutionaries decide to organise against it, all forms of domination are not ended. The very temporary stateless society (or with a greatly reduced effective government) still will contain examples of dominant behaviour (such as men dominating women, revolutionary elites, the need for military defence, etc). In short, revolutions are limited in their achievement and destroyed by authoritarianism and violence. This comes both from the revolutionaries and the forces opposed to the revolution.

People in societies based on hierarchies and domination, according to psychological studies done by Erich Fromm and Wilhelm Reich, develop feelings of passivity, dependence and identification with the predominant values. This makes for resistance to libertarian ideas. This seems to occur in individuals from all social backgrounds. Even anarchists are not immune to this!

It would seem from all this that a more pragmatic approach to anarchism must be

adopted rather than faith in a revolution. From all this it would also seem that the short term realisation of an anarchist society is extremely unlikely. Progress needs to be seen in achievements in moving society in a more libertarian direction.

Paul Goodman realised this and wrote towards the end of the last war that: "A free society cannot be the substitution of a 'new order' for the old order, it is the extension of spheres of free action until they make up most of social life".² This statement can be seen to hold much truth for anarchists.

To conclude, anarchism must be exhausted of the idea that a revolution alone will establish a free society. I feel that, at its best anarchism is a pragmatic and directional philosophy. Anarchists hope to move society in a libertarian direction and are not the only people involved in this process. In itself this is an endless task as there is no final goal. Whatever anarchists are involved in, such as Green issues, unemployed groups, women's groups, etc., there is clearly work to be done.

D. Dane

2. Paul Goodman, *Drawing the Line* (Free Life Editions, 1977) page 2.

Anarchist Picnic 1993

Despite good weather and excellent publicity (*Freedom*, *Peace News*, *Time Out* and a mention in *The Guardian*) and a free venue close to public transport, the attendance at this year's picnic was slightly disappointing. Eight comrades appeared, with two apologies for absence, and huge quantities of food and drink were left at the end. What went wrong?

One of the criticisms of previous picnics was they were inconvenient for walkers using public transport, but hardly the case this year. Those that attended came in three cars, one motorcycle, one bicycle and two stalwarts on train, bus and tube. One comrade drove all the way from Swansea (he would like to meet up with any local comrades - are there any out there?).

It does seem as if the criticisms from the anti-car brigade were met and should now be taken with some scepticism as these stay-at-homes apparently are really anti-walk and anti-public-transport as well. What we are seeing is that some people are activists, like to get around, visit, see places, socialise with like-minded comrades, whilst others like to sit in holier-than-thou ivory towers, write letters and articles and pontificate about how the rest of us should run our lives.

I remember in the '60s being active in the anarchist movement and in Nuclear Disarmament, Vietnam, Anti-Apartheid and other activities (curiously not mentioned by Peter Marshall in his monumental book), where the one central factor which helped to maintain focus was social activity.

Like you worked with your mates rather than those that simply had the same ideas. Maybe this is a class solidarity thing unperceived by the middle class, but it matters. You come to a meeting, go to the pub, go on a picnic, a conference, a weekend camp, and when the going gets rough you know whom you can rely on - your mates.

I may be quite wrong. People might not have come to this celebratory anarchist picnic for a myriad of reasons and I am being unfair, but one thing which does characterise the anarchist movement, and it is a small movement, is our insularity and lack of social contact. Being an anarchist is, in a sense, to cut oneself off from one's fellows whilst at the same time joining a movement of isolates. Surely we can do better than this comrades.

I propose we start an anarchist motoring club, not to exclude anyone, but to start to arrange country-wide activities, meets, where comrades can get together, discuss ideas, plan action, but most importantly develop social solidarity. The anti-car brigade will, I know, be horrified but have they anything better to suggest? The evidence is they have not. Anyone interested should make contact not only with me but with each other in near localities. Marxism is collapsing. The world is up for grabs. Let's not be iconoclastic. Reach for it. All you need is to put one foot in front of another or turn on the ignition.

Peter Neville

121 under attack

On the night of 12th April (Easter Monday) an arson attack was attempted on the bookshop and meeting place at 121 Railton Road, Brixton. At 11pm one white man was spotted on the roof at the back of the building - he had with him a can of petrol and some screwed up pieces of newspaper. After two attempts by local residents he was finally scared off - at least one other man was also spotted running away. Had they not been spotted they could easily have set fire to the buildings. Earlier in the year the bookshop was broken into - the only things taken were some shop records and a contact list of organisations. It seems highly likely that both of these incidents were the work of fascists. Given the recent events at the Freedom Press Bookshop it also seems quite possible that C18 is responsible.

A few days after the arson attempt a piece of 'hate mail' was delivered overnight. Trying to decipher the mad ramblings contained in it we came to the conclusion that it was probably written by the same people. It seemed to refer to barbed wire, etc., that we'd put up at the back of the building and it threatened "we will hit all your squats".

Violence, Projection and Hysteria

(continued from page 6)

replaces it - because people are unable to act with responsibility for themselves. This is a time when the dark, unfathomable side of life takes over, when those energies which in 'good' times we deny and are held more or less in check, corseted by some authority out there, suddenly erupt. Now the usual ranks of abusers, racists and thugs are swelled by new recruits. However, their significance might still remain at the margins of life if it were not for other forces and currents which join in to fan the outbreak of violence and create a general mood of hysteria.

Institutions build up a mass of employment around 'the problem', ostensibly to contain it but, because livelihoods are now at stake and jobs of any kind scarce, to the opposite effect. We find ourselves with a host of new industries - child abuse, racial equality, sexual equality, humanitarian aid and so on. Vested interests must keep 'the problem' alive.

Adding significantly to the tension are an even larger group of citizens, which may even include me and you, not overtly violent but who have more or less repressed these tendencies until the loss of external restraints leads us, in our confusion, to attribute our own violence and prejudice to others. This putting on others that which deeply bothers us in ourselves psychologists call projection. So in our informal worlds talk of violence and whispered accusations escalate. Child abuse is everywhere, fascism gripping united Germany, millions are dying of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, homosexuality is rampant in the next village, the blacks are running amok. The media, more vested interests, take up the hysteria too by stirring the shit. It's good for business.

The stranger, who in better times is the friend you don't yet

know, becomes somebody you must never talk to, as every schoolkid now knows. Children, the old, the sick and the vulnerable are advised to lock themselves indoors day and night. The rich turn their houses into fortresses replete with security devices and wait for the next burglary. Human intercourse shrinks to the formal and the trite. We wait alone in fear to be done to death and every death becomes a million with me next so that capitalism can prosper and I can be grateful for the state when I'm still here tomorrow.

Violence and energy

Violence, whether in actuality or projection, involves a lot of energy - energy which is dangerous but can also be put to good effect when we personally take charge of it. Violence is not just dangerous for people. If it's not designed and controlled by institutions, it's dangerous for them too, as the IRA have recently discovered. My favourite cousin to the concept of projection is Donovan's Law - 'Whatever a person is selling that's his tragic flaw'. We talk endlessly about people's abilities as assets, at least for them, and their disabilities as liabilities for us all. Donovan's Law puts a different perspective on this scene. It claims out disabilities and deficiencies as our major source of energy. We know that biographies frequently show our 'heroes' as being driven by their weaknesses rather than their strengths - Descartes, Newton and Einstein in science, and in the arts Beethoven and Van Gogh. Even Constable when he started out was short on talent and full of neuroses.

You can find 'confirmation' of Donovan's Law everywhere. The NSPCC is loaded with people who were lousy parents themselves. Tory ministers who are big on the

family banished their kids to public schools. The study of psychology attracts those who experience emotional instability and want to sort themselves (and others) out. Anarchists, who want organisation located in people's heads rather than in some external authority, are frequently hopeless co-operators. That, incidentally, is why I recommended to unemployed readers of *Freedom* the Local Exchange and Trading Systems (LETS) a few weeks back. LETS are based on an administrative system which does not assume people can co-operate easily. Ideally the administrative bit can be abandoned when mutual aid takes over and this, apparently, has happened.

The 'Tragic Flaw' Law applies to ourselves also. When I became a Reader in Organisation, colleagues jokes that I was not organised and didn't read. Indeed my continuing questioning of industrial man's over-dependence on the technologies of literacy (like writing, the print and the computer) in reducing affairs to one dimension derives directly from my experiences of a childhood paradise free from reading, writing and many adult constraints. This was followed, as night follows day, by the hell of boarding school. The flaw was fashioned by my inability to acknowledge and make use of an experience unique among the kinds of people with whom I was to spend the next twenty years. Similarly my obsession with the relational (not the bloody rational, as *Freedom* always prints in error) comes from a trained incapacity in this respect. A lot of violence has such origins.

In my ideal world everything about us can be put to constructive use including our violent tendencies and physical and psychological limitations. But we can only put an end to these periodic episodes of social hysteria and madness when people learn to recognise any authority outside ourselves is an illusion and live accordingly.

Denis Pym

Banzai

Dear Comrades,

Though I am not an anarchist, I would like to dispute John Griffin's contention that Japan has always been a conformist society, a possible model for Orwell's *1984*. At present I am working on a history dealing with opposition to the Second World War. This has led me to read *War Commentary*, the anarchist journal, for that period. It contains numerous references to protests by Japanese anarcho-syndicalists and by an organisation known as the Black Hand to the conflict.

John Griffin could even go to a highly orthodox historian like Christopher Thorne. In his book *The Far Eastern War* (page 265), Thorne suggests opposition was stronger in Japan than any other belligerent country. In 1943 the war economy was damaged by 300 strikes. But a more common means Japanese workers used to show their disenchantment was absenteeism, moonlighting and shoddy workmanship. Towards the end of the war, some

factories were reporting 40% of the labour force stayed away while the Japanese air force rejected 10% of new aircraft because of manufacturing defects.

Frankly, all the British Left has a problem when striving to establish links with their Japanese counterparts. I have heard Professor Royden Harrison, who has been visiting professor at Osaka University, explaining this difficulty very well. He says that it is impossible to understand the Japanese working class without understanding the Japanese language first. Then a dark cloud descended over Royden's face. After a long pause, he added that learning the Japanese language demanded so much time and effort, you would be so exhausted that it left you unable to do anything else!

Raymond Challinor

Anarchists and 'free will'

Dear Freedom,

There appears to be a widespread belief amongst anarchists that their philosophy is incompatible with a denial of free will. In his article 'Calhoun woz here' (*Freedom*, 17th April) Colin Johnson claims that, for anarchists, much of the notion of behaviourism "may be rejected because it conflicts with notions of free will and the necessity for the condition of freedom". And in *The Raven* number 5, page 59, L. Susan Brown states that "without a capacity for free will, the possibility of anarchism is nonsense".

It strikes me that both these writers are seriously mistaken in their views for a number of reasons. Firstly, as it pertains to the anarchist theorists that both Johnson and Brown mention, both Kropotkin and Bakunin (after his

repudiation of Hegelian metaphysics around 1842) rejected the notion of free will.¹ Godwin was particularly dismissive of free will,² and in his later works, such as *On Justice*, Proudhon can likewise be read in various places as vacillating between free will and determinism through incorporating elements of determinism into his conception of the former.³ Given that (at least) two of the most prominent anarchist writers clearly embraced determinism, I do not understand on what basis both Brown and Johnson can claim that anarchism must pre-suppose free will.

Secondly, I cannot accept, and do not think anarchists in general should support, the logic of Johnson's position which seems to imply that even if behaviourism were true, it must be rejected because it (somehow) 'conflicts' with anarchism. As the discussions in *Freedom* testify to, there is no single 'true' anarchism waiting to be discovered and if anarchism is going to subordinate what may be true to an ideology (important elements of which even its most erudite advocates cannot agree about) then anarchists have learnt nothing about the mentality of statism. Anarchists can disagree about what the truth may be, but they have to deal with it (or the closest they can get to it), face up to its implications for their own ideals, and not to deny or ignore it no matter how lofty such ideals may be.

Finally, I would suggest that the classical anarchists were right to both reject the notion of free will, and to see that it did not contradict their advocacy of an anarchist society. The essential claim that free will makes against determinism is that the most important

and normatively significant aspects of conscious human action are not explicable in terms of the physical laws that have so far been utilised to account for our conception of causation. In other words, from a determinist perspective the claim of free will says that there is some part of the human brain that is somehow unique in not being subject to the same causal factors and inter-relationships that we ultimately use to explain how everything else in the universe appears to operate. Such a belief strikes me as an even less plausible metaphysical relic that the existence of God, and as just another sad contemporary example of the historically-dated delusions of anthropocentrism. On the other hand, and to take up Brown's charge, although the claim that free will is false constitutes an important aspect of the anarchist critique of jurisprudence (which sees crimes as being committed by people who were 'free' to have 'chosen' to act otherwise), I do not see how anarchism is rendered impossible (normatively or in practice as a mode of social organisation) by free will being either true or false. The importance of anarchism is far more about realising the conditions of being free to act in the world than it is about making that freedom contingent upon whether we have to necessarily possess a free will to both effect it and define our own individuality therein.

David Hartley

1. See, for example, *Michael Bakunin: selected writings*, edited by A. Lehning (London, 1973) page 145, and *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* (New York, 1970) page 150ff.

2. *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (Harmondsworth, 1985) Book VI chapter VII.

3. See, for example, Alan Ritter's discussion in *The Political Thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon* (Princeton, 1969) page 32.

The value of local papers

Dear Editors,

I would like to endorse almost everything Amorey Gethin says ('Anarchism, Social Science and Propaganda', 1st May). There is, however, one organisation which "could help [anarchists] to make their ideas known to large numbers of people" - the local paper.

For years I have taken and had hundreds of letter published in five locals, but I cannot remember ever seeing a letter from anyone else which put forward an anarchist viewpoint. The prevalence of anarchists in the population served by these papers (a million?) is such that my recent mention in *Freedom* as "a well-known contributor from Slough who shall remain nameless" destroyed my anonymity completely!

One other point: I am quite sure that Jake was right to say that "clenched fists and blowing up buildings and abusive language are not going to bring anarchism closer".

Ernie Crosswell

Up with some freedoms

Dear Editors,

My 'Appeal for Help' (3rd April) was meant straightforwardly. Could the readers of *Freedom* tell me of any freedom of action that does not interfere with the freedom of others? Nobody has done so, and I don't think there are any; 'freedom that does not interfere with the freedom of others' is an empty phrase, a trick of argument. All the freedoms of action that matter do interfere with the freedom of others.

This appears in the one reply printed. John Myhill (17th April) starts by saying that we seek freedoms because we are oppressed. That is to say, we try to suppress the freedom to oppress in order to enjoy freedom from oppression. Excellent! But let us not then claim to be refusing to interfere with freedom. Let us admit - let us *declare* - that we mean to do away with the freedom to oppress.

John says: "It is only interference if my freedom prevents you from enjoying an equivalent or more fundamental freedom". In the ordinary meaning of the words it is still interference if my freedom prevents you enjoying a lesser freedom than mine. It may well be true that claiming ownership of a tool when not using it interferes 'unnecessarily' with the freedom of others; it still does interfere. So does using the tool; while I am doing this nobody else has freedom

to use it. John says a stockbroker enjoys his freedoms at the expense of the basic freedoms of others. Agreed. And if they assert those basic freedoms they will be interfering with *his* freedom.

Nothing is absolutely true, not even the statement that freedom is always a good thing. Some freedoms are to be favoured at the expense of others and some are to be opposed, for example the freedoms to oppress, to kill children, to degrade women, to suppress debate. Anarchy would not be a society simply of freedom but one in which some freedoms were promoted while some were restricted and others suppressed. It would include a lot of interference with the freedom of others.

George Walford

Sighcologie

Dear Editors,

Amorey Gethin is far too defensive about his attitudes to the 'social sciences'. I, for one, agree with him and there must be plenty of other sufferers of these 'authorities' who sympathise with his views.

I have this recurring nightmare myself. *Freedom's* editorial staff are calling for contributions to an issue of *The Raven* to

be devoted to psychology. It's not that sighcologie is any more or less useless to the anarchist enterprise than sociology or anthropology, it's just that in practice (i.e. the doing) all these tools of the personal and social have become part and parcel of a western intellectual tradition that's married to corporate capitalism and the authority of the state. Those social scientists whose ideas and practices exclude them from this description will find little difficulty sympathising with Gethin's views. When the study of psychology, sociology or whatever ceases to stimulate and provoke a questioning mind you can be sure the subject has become jobs for the boys and girls and just another opiate of one-dimensional man.

Through exclusive languages and limitations on membership and method, 'social scientists' establish property rights on divisions of expertise that happen to involve us all. This is psychology in practice, as employment, with our experts claiming to be able to measure with effect - occupational performance, educational achievement, emotional stability and intelligence - by

having people write symbols and put scratches in boxes. This is the psychology which offers to deliver us of our mental ailments and personal disabilities, straighten criminals, pick winners in the executive stakes, justify top salaries in terms of motivation, identify potential child abusers and generally reduce human conduct to simple mechanisms. If this is not what politically astute psychologists promise they do little to counter their paymasters expectations.

Fortunately the uninvited can still cry out bullshit, but serious people who examine and report on the tenuous evidence for these claims are overwhelmingly ignored by one-dimensional man.

The sequel to my nightmare is a smooth article in *Freedom* on 'Psychology as Liberation' written by a tired bureaucrat, a Professor of Psychology no less. Emancipation does indeed provide the one continuing thread of idealism in psychology but its pursuit is bad for business.

So sleep on this one Amorey. It ain't worth your concern.

Denis Pym

Solidarity from Freedom's readers

Dear Friends,

I was shocked to hear of the visit of neanderthals to FP. I'm glad you are all alright but I imagine it is disconcerting, to say the least, to have masked thugs deliver violence on the place ...

It is worrying when militant extremists decide to hassle a small shop. I thought anarchists were too ignored to warrant such reaction! Maybe the message of anarchism is more frightening to 'them' than I thought.

I very much admire your getting *Freedom* out just after the trashing.

Ian, Merseyside

Dear Friends,

Don't let the bastards get you down! - warmest wishes for your reconstruction.

Phyllis, New York

Dear Editors,

Herein a donation of \$100 towards replacement of equipment vandalised by C18 thugs. Onward and upward.

Libero

Dear Friends,

Here's £10 to help against the C18 thugs.

Pat, Yorkshire

Dear Freedom,

Hope you'll be able to recover from the nazi's visit - take care!

Tom, Tyneside

Dear Comrades,

I include an extra bit to help with repairs ... keep up the good work. If the foot soldiers of the capitalist class have to try and smash up *Freedom* it must have some influence!

Jake

Dear Freedom,

Just read about your little 'difficulty' with C18. Enclosed is what we can afford - we wish it was more.

Joe and Jane, Wales

Dear Comrades,

Don't stop - continue your fine work!

Jussi and Tima, Finland

Dear Freedom,

... any remaining money for overheads following vandalism against the offices and equipment, towards the cost of replacements.

M-T, Japan

Dear Friends,

It was shocking to read you were invaded by neo-fascist thugs who did damage at 84b!

Peter, Germany

Dear Freedom,

We were shocked to hear about the attack on you. If there is any practical help you need please get in touch.

October Books

Dear Freedom,

Sorry to hear about the destruction of your premises by nazi scum. Here is a little donation to help out.

Larry, Canada

Dear Comrades,

Good luck after the attack at your offices.

Pat, Canada

Dear Freedom Press,

I was very sorry to hear of the attack on your premises. Such setbacks are discouraging but I have no doubt that you will keep *Freedom* going. For people like myself it has provided a valuable link when I have often felt that I am the only person in my town who follows anarchist ideas. I am a member of Liverpool DAM but operate alone on this side of the Mersey. I often disagree with the line or lines taken in *Freedom* but I see that as a healthy sign. I have been reading your paper for over 25 years and hope to keep reading it for as long again.

John, Birkenhead

Greetings!

Just read of the attack you experienced. Congrats on so matter-of-fact reportage. The outrage against you appears all the more terrible given your tempered reaction. Nevertheless the damage incurred needs to be financed ...

Ztangi Press

Systematic Ideology

Dear Editors,

Ernie Crosswell (1st May 1993) accuses systematic ideology of ignoring mothers and children. He has seen enough of the literature on the subject to know that it speaks constantly of 'people'. I would hardly exaggerate by saying the word appears on every page; it is intended to include mothers and children, and everybody with whom I have ever discussed anarchism or ideology - or, in fact, any subject in which the word turns up - has taken it in this sense. Ernie is the only exception. He speaks a language of his own, one in which mothers and children are not people, and this makes it hard to communicate. I shall have to manage without the pleasure of answering his letters in future.

George Walford

Correction

Dear Editors,

Thank you very much for finding space (1st May) for my thoughts on 'Anarchism, Social Science and Propaganda'.

With the difficulties you must be having just now at *Freedom* you are entitled to many more than the usual number of misprints. I'm sure readers will have worked out most of those in my article for themselves, but could I correct three? I originally wrote "But Jake must be right ..." (paragraph 2); "... 'scholarship', in the sense of knowing who wrote what in the past ..." (paragraph 6); and "But I am ... sorry if anarchist social scientists feel that what I say attacks them personally, and if they feel that they must ... defend a whole group" (paragraph 8).

Amorey Gethin

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

21st May - 'My Fifteen Minutes of Fame: The Challoner 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. We are particularly interested in having more women speakers and those from ethnic minorities. After the meetings we go to a pub where, some say, the real discussions begin. Please note the Mary Ward Centre is available for hire for other meetings Monday to Saturday. Details from Patrick Freestone at the Mary Ward Centre.

PN for London Anarchist Forum

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

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 boots, 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.

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