

## Asylum

Most militant anarchists are liberals as well, and assume that the state will behave properly in some ways. In the relatively civilised West, we are shocked when governments arrest without charge, punish without trial, torture and kill without good cause. We expect refugees to be given the right of asylum, at least when they are 'political' rather than 'economic' refugees.

The current controversy over the theory and practice of asylum has involved some amusing statements on both sides, each trying to ignore the facts that most refugees have been very unpopular even in this comfortable country and that many if not most of us are ourselves descended from such unpopular people.

One of the leading anarchists who took a strong stand on the right of asylum was Peter Kropotkin, himself a refugee in several countries in succession, so it wasn't too surprising when he was recently drawn into a relevant correspondence in *The Times*.

On 15th February Professor John Spencer, a retired academic lawyer with strong liberal tendencies, brought into the debate a reference to "the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin", describing his escape from the prison hospital in St Petersburg, his journey from Russia to Oslo, and then his wait for a ship to England, ending with a quotation from his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*: "As I went to the steamer I asked myself with anxiety, 'Under which flag does she sail - Norwegian, German, English?' Then I saw floating above the stem the union jack, - the flag under which so any refugees, Russian, Italian, French, Hungarian, and of all nations, have found an asylum. I greeted that flag from the depth of my heart."

Soon there were some amusing comments. On 17th February Hugh Mahoney suggested that Spencer "should reflect on the fact that the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin's eulogy on the great British tradition of asylum did not include the expectation

that the great British taxpayers would supply him and various members of his family with a free house and indefinite financial support". On 21st February Mike Mitchell noted that "Kropotkin was not prevented from earning a living while in this country", and Patrick Arnold added "the pertinent fact that in due course Peter Kropotkin returned to Russia".

On 23rd February Roy Dean concluded by saying that "Peter Kropotkin, the [!] theorist of anarchism, was a prince and presumably of independent means", so "it is unlikely that he would have been a burden on the British taxpayer". On the contrary, Kropotkin abandoned his title at the age of twelve, had no independent means after he gave away his estate on his father's death, and supported himself by his own work for the rest of his life.

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### Children can't tell Tony Blair from God ...

In a BBC2 documentary screened at the end of last year, primary school children were asked about their views on love, relationships, politics and religion.

One seven year old named Natasha was at one point asked about the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and what she thought he looked like. In response she said: "He's got grey, long hair, curly, with a grey beard; a grey, like, dressy thing, and he does miracles and that".

Such a confused perception is worrying enough among young children, but what is really disturbing is the realisation that Tony Blair actually seems to believe it.



# anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

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Ken Livingstone or Frank Dobson? Now *Freedom* offers a new candidate ...

## 'A Mare for London'

It seems that the only thing capable of knocking stories about the Millennium Dome off the front pages of the yellow press at the moment is the pantomime now in progress in preparation for the election of a London Mayor. Unlike most other capital cities in the West – and towns and villages too, come to that – London has never in its history had a mayor, nor have any other towns in Britain, except in a purely ceremonial role.

But the chaos that is capitalist society has been so exacerbated, particularly in large urban conurbations, by the selling-off – or rather the giving away, so derisory were the prices paid – of the former nationalised utilities and public services to the private companies that many and various opinion-formers, lobby groups and spin doctors have persuaded large numbers of ordinary people that they need an executive mayor to sort things out. Add to this the state of public transport, traffic congestion, parking, pollution, crime, council housing, schools and hospitals in London, and other urban centres, and it becomes clear that they have defeated most attempts by local authorities, police, quangos and other regulatory bodies to improve them. Additional bodies and tiers of management, brought in since the abolition of the GLC by Pinochet's 'dear friend' Margaret Thatcher to try to coordinate the conflicting responsibilities and plans of local councils, have largely failed, ending up as little more than an exercise in managing the chaos.

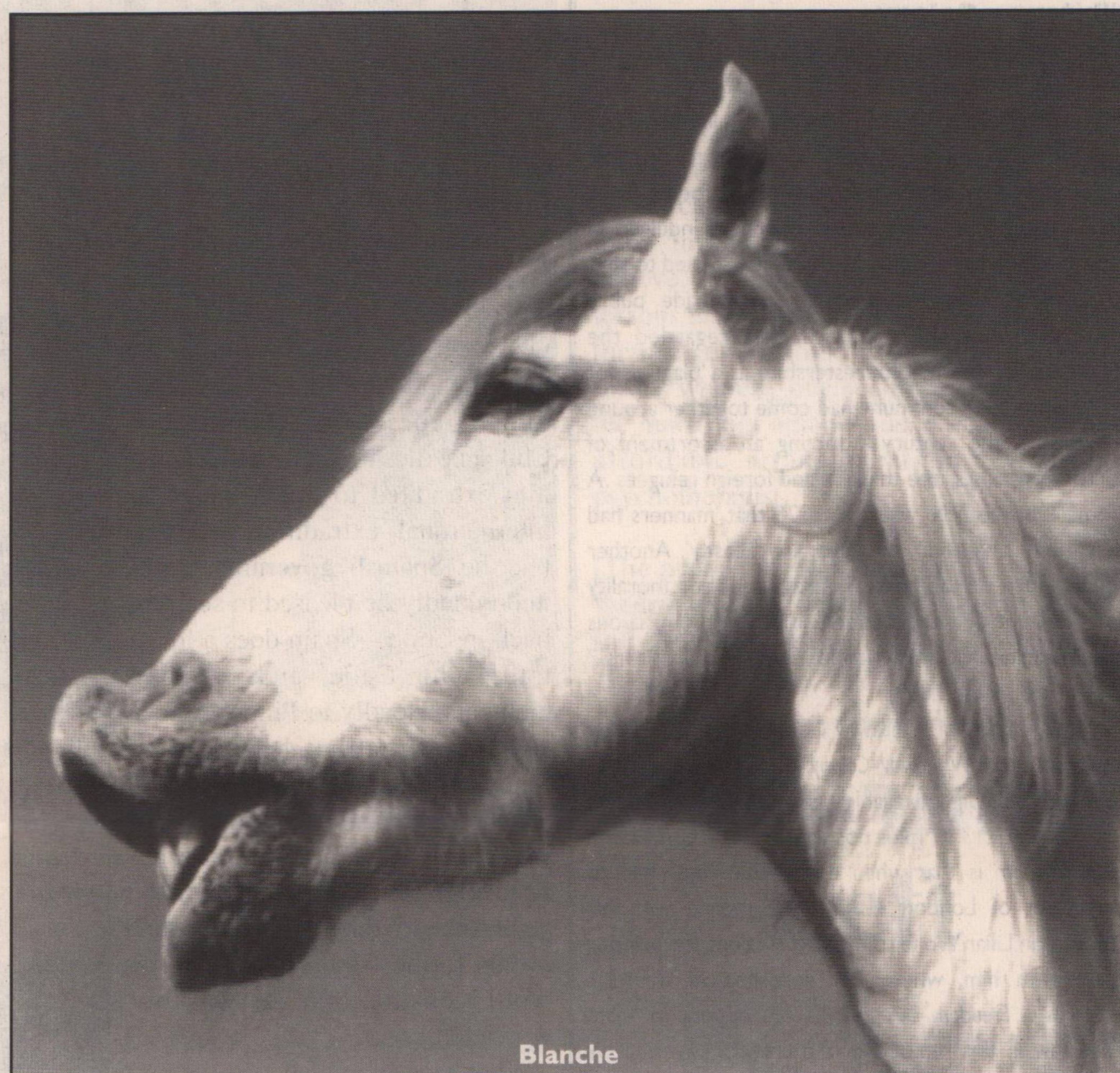
Hence the clamour in the press for yet another 'czar' – a strongman, a powerful figure who will cut through all the bureaucracy and bring everything together into a harmonious whole. How he or she will

stop the rampant mismanagement, corruption and patronage in local councils is not explained, nor how he or she will make them respond to the needs and wishes of their electors, nor how to tackle the racism, corruption and outright criminality of the police.

The truth is that the history of 'mayorarchy' abounds with examples of corruption, patronage, nepotism and cover-ups. One only has to look at the scandals surrounding, for example, the former mayor of Marseille, the former mayor of Paris (currently the President of France) and various mayors of New York to realise that mayors are more likely to be involved in them than to be sorting them out. Every town and village probably knows of at least one example involving its own mayor.

But none of this worries the dwindling herd of participants in London's mayoral pantomime. Every time they trot on stage they raise a laugh, despite themselves. The shenanigans are almost unbelievable, and it has been going on now for two years, despite the fact that the pantomime horses ... sorry, candidates, have only just been announced, and the election campaign hasn't even started yet. The reason it doesn't worry them is that they are only interested in the power and influence the job will bring. It has been noted in the press that, in fact, the post of London mayor will have far less real power than its European and American counterparts. But we predict here and now that one of the first acts, if not the first act of the new London mayor will be to ask for more powers.

And the candidates are nothing if not ambitious. Ken Livingstone, the defeated Labour nominee but supposedly still the people's choice if he runs as an independent,



Blanche

is also the favourite of most London businesses, according to a recent poll. He has been languishing in semi-obscurity ever since he was kicked out of power along with the GLC, and is desperate to get his hands on the reins of power again, and a lot more money – especially since he has never been offered a ministerial job by any Labour leader. The Tory horse and millionaire, Steven Norris, is another business favourite, but the former secondhand car dealer is more

in love with the private car than he ever was with any of his five mistresses, and he thinks 'people on public transport smell'. Frank Dobson, the official Labour candidate who managed to 'win' the nomination by getting fewer votes than Livingstone (only Labour could manage that) has done himself no favours by first appearing not to want the job, then appearing to take it on reluctantly, then appearing to be a ventriloquist's dummy with

(continued on page 2)

Preparing for the action: Ken Livingstone, David Dimbleby, Frank Dobson and Steve Norris are miked up for BBC's Question Time



## Notes in the Margin

### Red Pepper and us

We've just received the March issue of our contemporary *Red Pepper*, the left-wing socialist journal, which includes 'Anarchism Tomorrow' by Colin Ward as the second in that journal's current series on alternatives for the left. We've splashed out on a half-page advertisement for Freedom Press and its publications, concentrating on Colin Ward's own books as being those most likely to get our message across to a wider public. We've mentioned that we're bringing out a new edition of *Social Policy: an anarchist response*, the lectures Ward delivered at the London School of Economics. This should be available soon.

### Whiteway Colony

More historic government papers were made public this week. The press is full of stories about the Queen Mother and Wallis Simpson, or how Tallulah Bankhead was reported to have seduced Eton schoolboys. Our paper picked up on the following: "A prototype hippy commune in the 1920s where members indulged in 'free love' so infuriated the Home Office it tried to shut it down, according to official papers made public yesterday. Files show that officials regarded the Whiteway Colony in Gloucestershire as a 'plague spot on morality'. The commune had come together around the turn of the century attracting 'an assortment of socialists, pacifists, free thinkers and foreign refugees'. A Home Office official wrote in 1925 that 'manners had they none and their customs are beastly'. Another added: 'I look on the place as a plague spot on morality and I believe that the opportunities for promiscuous fornication are the attraction for some of the visitors.'" (*Metro*, 3rd March 2000)

The true story of Whiteway Colony has been told by Joy Thacker in *Whiteway Colony: the social history of a Tolstoyan community*, available from the Freedom Press bookshop at £13.99 (plus postage), and the connection with *Freedom* is that when editor Tom Keell had to move out of London in 1928 he moved with his companion Lilian Wolfe to Whiteway, taking the printing press with him, where he "published at irregular intervals a *Freedom Bulletin*. His old opponents from 1914 saw in this removal of the *Freedom Press* away from London only new fodder for their accusation of 'a dictatorship', and as a result of this altogether utterly unpleasant quarrel published from May 1930 on a paper called '*Freedom* (new series)', which, however, Keell (and other former members and friends of the *Freedom Group*, like Nettlau, Mabel Hope, Elizabeth Archer, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and others) did not recognise as a continuation of 'the old *Freedom*'. Keell himself published fifteen issues of the *Freedom Bulletin* between 1928 and 1932, and was from autumn 1928 secretary of the Whiteway Colony, but otherwise felt quite disillusioned. He found a consolation in working on the land, and most letters to friends contain references to sowing and the encouraging effects of seeing seeds grow has on the mind. In 1936, however, he was again brought back to a more active role in the production and distribution of anarchist literature and papers, when he was approached by the son of an old Italian comrade to help with the distribution, and eventually editing, of *Italia Libera* (Free Italy)", and he then helped with the production of *Spain and the World*, forerunner of the *Freedom* of today.

### Labour Party centenary

Talking about alternatives for the left, the Labour Party has just held a meeting to celebrate its own centenary. *Freedom Press* held its centenary party way back in 1986 and we're going stronger than ever. We don't claim to have brought about socialism, let alone anarchism, but we do say that the Labour Party has not only failed to bring about socialism but is moving further away from it than ever, and we would say inevitably so, as we explain in our publications such as *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*. It all goes back to 1886 when Charlotte Wilson and the anarchists were expelled from the Fabian Society, and later this year we shall be publishing a collection of essays by Charlotte Wilson, edited by Nicolas Walter. Let the arguments be revived, and continue in the twenty-first century.

# Pinochet goes home

After eighteen months of legal wrangling, former dictator General Augusto Pinochet has been sent home to Chile, where he has made a remarkable recovery from the ill health that dogged him in Britain. Accused of overseeing the execution of scores and torture of thousands of the political opponents of his regime, after overthrowing a Communist (but democratically elected) government in an army coup allegedly supported by the CIA, nevertheless home is no doubt where he would prefer to be.

Exiled from his home country, he had effectively become an international pariah, but in Chile he will never be convicted of any crimes. Pinochet has a clique of supporters in Chile, small but powerful, and they and their kind in London and Spain have been shouting loudly for him to be released. It is hard to believe that they are all totally ignorant of, or innocent of blame for, the atrocities committed under the Pinochet regime, but they have a vested interest in ensuring that no names are named. Indeed, Pinochet wherever he was tried would never have been convicted. A Spanish judge, representing families of Chilean exiles in Spain, had wanted him extradited to Spain under an international extradition warrant, but the Spanish government will undoubtedly be pleased to see him back in Chile – Spain does a lot of trade with Chile, and in Chile elements friendly to Pinochet have tried to organise boycotts of Spanish products.

Nor would Pinochet be convicted in any court in Chile – as a former head of state he would claim the right to be tried by a military court, so his former friends in the army would ensure that he was not convicted.

What have anarchists to say about this? In the article reprinted in translation from *Le Monde Libertaire* in *Freedom* of 29th January ('Chile: the hard right back in force') the writer demonstrated how the ideology of Pinochet has polluted political life in Chile since the return to democracy ten years ago.

Of course, one man was not

responsible for everything wrong in Chilean society. The same forces are still at work: mass poverty, fear of instability, crime, repression of any expressions of popular discontent. A divided society without balance, which depends ultimately on the military to enforce authority.

Chilean society is perhaps a bit like that of Spain in the 1970s, towards the end of Franco's rule. Whereas previously one had a rich and privileged bourgeoisie opposed to the potential forces of a peasantry and an industrial working class, one now has a growing middle class. But under Pinochet the rich and privileged did very well, and such a class always fears for its liberty and wealth.

It may be said that Pinochet did not do the dirty work, but he ordered it or knew about it. In a hierarchical society you blame the person in charge, or who do you blame? The torturers and executioners will claim that they were obeying orders – it is only in a free society that one could blame torture on the torturers.

Unlike the Marxists, however, we anarchists cannot call for a turning of the tables, for the jailing of former oppressors, for the persecution of the persecutors.

Human rights campaigners have clamoured for justice for the thousands who were murdered and tortured during the Pinochet regime, yet what justice can be given them? How can any court of law restore life to a dead man, or heal the wounds to his family? Apart from financial compensation, which does not depend on anyone's conviction, any legal action against individuals can only be retribution.

Undoubtedly a trial of General Pinochet would uncover many facts about life in Chile under his dictatorship, but for anarchists no trial is necessary to point out the essential fact that his rule was the product of a deeply divided society, and that only when wealth and privilege are abolished and equality established will the tyranny of a Pinochet be impossible.

Pablito



(continued from page 1)

Blair's hand up his arse. Still, he's beginning to get the idea, and anyway he's got the dirty tricks departments of both Millbank (Labour Party HQ) and Downing Street to call on if Livingstone does run against him as an independent. These departments have been working hard throughout this entire farce, but will go into overdrive with a black propaganda campaign the minute Livingstone decides to stand against Dobson.

Indeed, as we write, according to media reports Millbank has faxed every Labour loyalist in London urging them to pack the audience of the BBC's 3rd March *Question Time* programme which goes out on Thursday evenings, in order to 'jeer at Ken' when he appears on the panel with the official candidates, and to load the agenda with hostile questions. But with Labour's typical brilliance they managed to send the same fax to Livingstone himself, thus alerting him to the plot!

Tempting as it might be to some to vote their way out of the urban problems of London and elsewhere (there are mumbblings

in the same direction in Liverpool and other cities) by adopting a mayoral system, anarchists are clear on one point: the problems in our society are largely the problems of government and the state, so it is pointless and unrealistic to expect ever more layers of government and the state to solve them. History demonstrates that you don't get either freedom or solutions with more government – all you get is ... more government. By the time the dust has settled after the mayoral elections there will in fact be two more layers on the edifice of the state bureaucracy, since there is also to be a new London Authority – a sort of castrated GLC. And we all know who's going to have to pay for that gravy train.

Whatever the problems of London, and they are many, voting will not solve them and mayors will not solve them because they are caused by the way society is structured, and you can't legislate that away whoever owns or runs London Underground.

However, we anarchists are realistic and we recognise that some people will always feel uneasy unless they think they've done something and they might secretly sneak out

and vote anyway. So in the spirit of the millennium (whatever that is) we at *Freedom* have decided to nominate our own candidate (see photograph) – one with the least objectionable qualities we could find, and one least likely to impose anything on anybody. This is Blanche, our preferred candidate for 'mare'. When our photographer caught up with her, she was already out on the hustings doing some rabble-raising, as you can see. We hope all anarchists and like-minded Londoners will feel able to support her. It shouldn't be too difficult – after all, most people like horses and the current two-horse race is boring and predictable, and this is unfair, especially to the spectators. What's more, it's been fixed. Perhaps some technophile comrades could set up a website for Blanche called, say, 'londonmare.com' to coordinate support and count votes. This site would only be for use in daylight hours, of course, as after dark supporters would automatically be redirected to 'london.nightmare.com' – which is what the whole sorry charade of London mayor will probably turn out to be.

# Gay men and miserable bigots



I have four nominations for this year's Ian Paisley award for outstanding services to bigotry. In an age of authoritarian education the heads of four particular schools shine out like a beacon of pure ignorance and prejudice. Let readers stand and salute the heads of Westcliff High School (Essex), Hatch End High (London), Monkton Combe Junior (Bath) and St. John's Church of England School (Tunbridge Wells) for they have snatched their pupils back from the

grasping talons of Beelzebub! Back in the early days of the millennium our unsuspecting schoolchildren were looking forward to enjoying a 'Dome Experience'. All four schools had booked their visit to take place on Saturday 12th February 2000 when, only a few days before their scheduled arrival they received a shattering blow. It was announced that on that very same Saturday a concert was to be given in the Dome by the London Gay Men's

Choir. Shocked but unperturbed our heroic heads, with no thought for the possible expense, unhesitatingly leapt to the defence of their vulnerable moral charges and immediately cancelled their intended visits. Thank God that such headteachers still exist, for extensive research has demonstrated that the mere sight of a gay man is enough to draw a child into a debauched life of buggery and lesbianism.

Thank God also for the House of Lords. Now thoroughly reformed and purged of ex-public schoolboys it is no longer in thrall to homosexuality. On the 7th February it demonstrated its determination to protect us from perverts by voting 210 to 165 against the repeal of 'Section 28'. Without this vital piece of legislation there would be nothing to prevent Local Authorities from bribing children to be gay. Indeed it was only the enactment of 'Section 28', in 1988, that forced schools in Inner London to return to teaching maths and English, which they had previously abandoned in favour of 'Homosexual Studies'. (The Institute for Economic Affairs actually petitioned for the introduction of the National Curriculum on the grounds that it would displace 'Homosexual Studies' from school timetables!)

I would have expected our solidly reactionary Prime-Minister to have resisted

— COPY DEADLINE —

**The next issue of Freedom will be dated 25th March, and the last day for copy intended for this issue will be first post on Thursday 16th March.**

♦ ♦ ♦

**If possible contributions should be typed using double-spacing between lines, or can be sent as text files on disc (with a print-out please).**

the sodomites but he's obviously spent too long in Islington, his head has been turned! Which only underscores the wisdom of our four headmaster-heroes in cancelling their visit to the Dome and substituting a more morally reliable destination. I am sure all right-thinking readers will join me in hoping that they all have a lovely time skiing in Austria.

Christopher Draper

Yet again the Philistines have reared their ugly heads in pursuit of profit. This time Stancliffe Stone is the villain of the piece, casting its ardent leer onto the fair countenance of our Derbyshire ladies. We will not sit by and let these morons ravish this magnificent environment.

A camp has been set up near the proposed site of industrial vandalism. At the moment (18th February) about a dozen hardy individuals inhabit the tents, tree-houses and benders. Morale is high. As is usually the case in these actions, spontaneous acts of simple altruism are very much in evidence – but for all the activists' enthusiastic energy, they need more people to get involved.

So leave off the Prozac and booze, or whatever substance gets you through these long and gloomy winter months, and celebrate spring in sunny Derbyshire. She's already active. Beech, birch buds all a-bursting, the gold of primroses smiling up at you, badgers and bats sharing our night – the blasts from the quarry getting nearer. Well, things can't be perfect!

For those of you who would join all this jollity it would be prudent to get in touch first with the camp: telephone (mobile) 0797 4049369, pager 10523 164256, or visit their Internet sites at <http://pages.zoom.co.uk/nineladies>/<http://www.pixie-inc.demon.co.uk/nineladies>

Stanton Moor Hillside is a truly magnificent location. The quarry was excavated in the last century. Since that time nature has taken over with a vengeance. A riot of deciduous trees growing in the most unlikely places, from the depths of crevices, holes and shallow ledges and cliff faces. Huge gritstone moss covered wheels that never reached their destination, as flour mills converted to steel rollers. This site is rich in history and wildlife, situated as it is in the Peak District which is Britain's most visited park. As well as a Bronze Age burial site with four surviving stone circles and the Earl Grey Tower (built in the last century to commemorate the passing of the Reform Act), it is also a wildlife haven – home to a herd of Norwegian Fallow Deer, riddled with badger setts and also a rare bats habitat. The proposed quarry to be worked by Stancliffe Stone Ltd would inevitably cause disruption on a scale that has never been

## Nine distressed ladies in Derbyshire

experienced in this immediate vicinity before.

The inhabitants of the local village, with its narrow streets and roads, would suffer from the lorries that would travel to and from the devastated hillside. Extraction of gritstone from the setting of The Nine Sisters and Stanton Moor was given in 1952, but consent is no longer appropriate with present Peak Park policies, especially in its relevance to tourism.

There is a threat to the local water supply and the dangers of quarrying on a geological land-slip. Heavy vehicle traffic, with associated noise and dust pollution, and the effect on tourism and wildlife are not to be underestimated.

If this quarry is blocked, jobs will not be

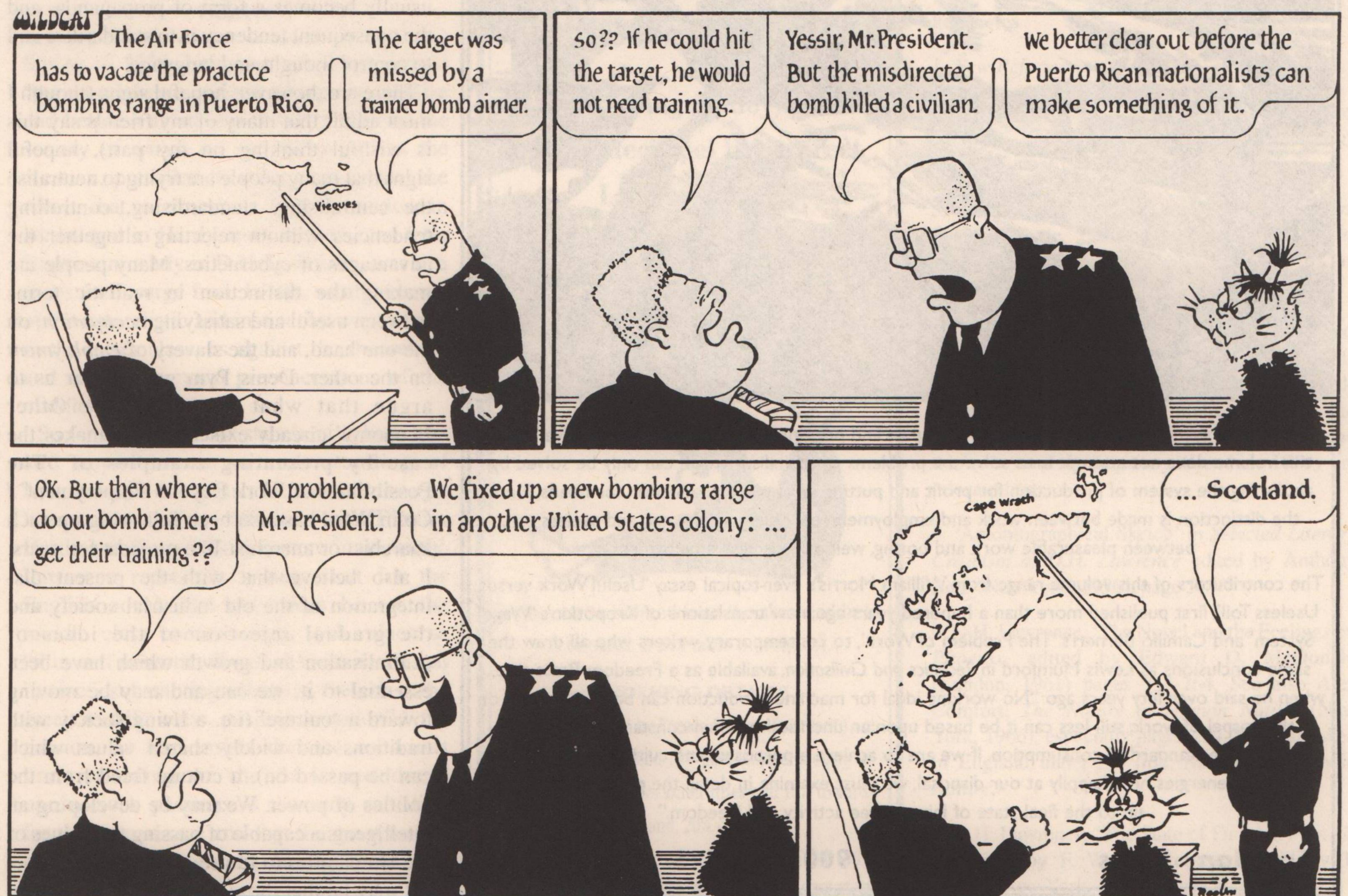
lost because the two quarries are not operating and the surrounding area is mainly unfarmed. Some of this stone will be sold abroad because in some countries their environmental protection laws make it too awkward for them, so it's often cheaper to buy our rock than dig it up locally.

The National Grid reference is SK247634. From Nottingham and Derby catch the Transpeak, Nottingham to Manchester, stopping at Derby, or catch R61, both of which are run by Trent buses. The first one runs at 7.20am and then every two hours (9.20, 11.20, etc.) seven days a week, with slight variations on Sunday. A different bus company runs a service from Matlock, destination Wensley/Winster/Bakewell. Get off at Stanton-in-Peak, the nearest village to

Nine Ladies. This is bus number 172, coloured blue and white. When using Transpeak (or TP as it is labelled), get off at The Peacock Hotel at Rowsley, turn left following signs for Stanton-in-Peak – it's up a 1 in 4 hill – and keep following this road until you reach a junction then take the first exit left (more like straight on) which is signposted Stanton Lees, carry on past the telephone box and on and on. The site entrance is on your right-hand side before you get to the barn – just shout.

Contact the camp at Nine Ladies Anti-Quarry Campaign, Lees Cross, Stanton Moor, Stanton Lees, near Matlock, Derbyshire. Telephone 0797 4049369. For the local residents group call 01629 732553.

Mick Cropper



# Modern Society and Useful Knowledge

During a discussion of the state of society some time ago, one of participants raised the following thought-provoking question: The fragmentation of knowledge is an aspect of the fragmentation of society ... In the coming decades one of the most serious challenges may be how to overcome [this fragmentation] if we want to avoid slipping into chaos. Can Western science, with its stress on rationality and quantifications, fruitfully respond to this challenge without bringing in more humanist, soft, emotional and qualitative aspects?

This is a very slippery subject for several reasons, and there was nothing resembling general agreement. What looks like chaos to a person who is concerned with overall control and social integration, may look like essential human diversity to a philosophical anarchist like me. Another friend, who is a practical scientist, said that while it is unfortunate, perhaps, it is also inevitable that in science at least, knowledge is always partial. There is just too much information to digest, analyse and draw conclusions from for any one person to have any more than partial knowledge, but to share one's knowledge freely is a mitigating factor. In some sense this may always have been true, but we might well ask, as Paul Goodman does, 'can science with the stress on rationality and quantification' be worthwhile unless it is

concerned with humanness? Perhaps this suggested division between rationality and quantification aspects on the one hand and humanist, soft, emotional and qualitative aspects on the other is part of the problem and not just a given, a widespread delusion justifying rockets in space and preparations for war.

What Paul Goodman actually said is that if you can't explain an idea, a concept, a theory concretely and clearly enough for it to be understandable to an unlettered person, then you must ask yourself if you understand the idea or concept or theory clearly enough yourself, and then ask whether or not it is actually an idea, concept, or theory worth holding.

Knowledge is, by its very nature, partial and always in the state of change and conflict, at least on its frontiers. It is essential, then, that ideas, theories, conclusions and opinions be continually voiced, shared, and tested. It is in this area where I believe modern concerns are focused. From at least the Middle Ages on, priests, magicians and medicine men have practised mystification or demagoguery while engaging in the politics of power, sometimes speaking a language which ordinary people neither used nor understood, and pretending to make miracles.

While modern social and literary theorists and politicians don't speak and write in Latin, many do purposely or inadvertently create

languages of their own which are understood only by the initiated either to gain power over others or to preserve the sisterhood and the brotherhood (the guild) from outside threats. Very often, most of it is humbug. But those modern mystifiers are not very important, whatever they may think themselves. Only a very tiny minority of the people even listen to them, and when no one listens, there is no effect on human life at all.

However, moving a step deeper, there are serious problems which have been threatening ever since the beginning of the industrial

**Many people are making the distinction in realistic terms between useful and satisfying occupation, on the one hand, and the slavery of employment on the other**

revolution and especially since its latest phase – the cybernetic revolution. There are good possibilities which don't show any real signs of working out. For example, computerised robots could relieve great numbers of people from physically and mentally debilitating semi-automatic routine labour and allow them to enjoy more satisfying *occupation*. But, for the most part, what has happened is that people are put out of work and obliged to accept other debilitating *employment* at lower wages, or else they go despairingly onto the welfare rolls while, at the same time, prices are inflated in order to pay for the machinery and to create profit.

Since we live in a society where employment is a positive value and a means of gauging self-esteem and since employment is usually undertaken not for satisfying and useful occupations but only for the income it produces, this situation also produces serious problems for people. There is, along with all this, the computerised society's tendency to centralise 'information and ideas', which usually becomes a form of propaganda, and the consequent tendency is to standardise and to control thought and language.

There are, however, hopeful signs (though I must admit that many of my friends say this is wishful thinking on my part), hopeful signs that many people are trying to neutralise the centralising, standardising, controlling tendencies without rejecting altogether the advantages of cybernetics. Many people are making the distinction in realistic terms between useful and satisfying *occupation*, on the one hand, and the slavery of *employment* on the other. Denis Pym goes so far as to argue that what he calls 'The Other Economy' already exists, and he makes the case by presenting examples of 'The Possibilities of Work Beyond Employment'.<sup>2</sup> Colin Ward has also been following up such anarchist or anarchist-like projects for years. I also believe that with the present disintegration of the old industrial society and the gradual rejection of the ideas of centralisation and growth which have been essential to it, we can and may be moving toward a 'culture' (i.e. a living society with traditions and widely shared values which can be passed on), a culture freed from the politics of power. We may be developing an intelligentsia capable of passing the values of the Humanities to future generations.

It may be that those genuinely independent

intellectuals of the first half of this century who carried out this activity, often in spite of the institutions under whose care it was, have followers.<sup>1</sup> From the margins of the present society we can create a culture of participation, invention, and creative innovation based on the contribution of individuals whose needs and services are autonomously motivated. And, certainly, intellectuals have a place in the changing society: not so much as 'brainworkers' whom Dwight Macdonald defined as "specialists whose thinking is pretty much confined to their limited 'fields'" but 'intellectuals' whom he defined as those "who take all of culture for their province".<sup>4</sup>

But I want to get at the issue of fragmentation in a different way, in what I see as a deeper and directly human way to approach the dilemma. During the first three decades of this century when the fragmentation of life began to point clearly in the direction of our present dilemmas, some writers, such as George Bernard Shaw in *Heartbreak House* (1917), began to look back to the nineteenth century and to Charles Dickens for the early indications of fragmentation and chaos in society. Others, such as E.M. Forster, James Joyce, and D.H. Lawrence, wrote powerfully and not always wholly consciously of their own perceptions of the conflicts resulting from fragmentation as they saw it in their own time.

In 'What I Believe', an essay published in 1938, E.M. Forster discusses the fragmentation of knowledge which led to making science the 'subservient pimp' of power and created an apathetic age of faith. His own response in the essay is to announce his belief in human relationships, unreliable as they sometimes are. It is, he argues, a faith which will keep open a few breathing holes for the human spirit and will allow people to go on living and creating under the shadow of war until fate strikes them.

Earlier, in 1910, in his novel *Howards End*, Forster had set up the conflict between the values of industrialists like Henry Wilcox

**From the margins of the present society we can create a culture of participation, invention, and creative innovation**

(concerned with making money through cheap labour at home and abroad and through speculation) and people like Mrs Wilcox and Miss Avery (who are concerned with human values and the wholeness of life), and he did this with what seemed throughout the novel the intention of allowing the latter to triumph. But in the end, the triumph is ambiguous, a temporary victory in a confrontation which was purely personal rather than ideological, and Forster's attempt to eliminate the fragmentation by combining the best parts of the two views by creating a bridge between them failed because the main characters discovered that the two views are incompatible in their crucial, basic structures.

In *A Portrait of the Artist As A Young Man* (written in 1912 and published in 1916) James Joyce explores the fragmentation of knowledge which creates conflict between the budding human (mainly sexual) needs of his character, Stephen Dedalus, and the social and religious values of his time and place, which eventually leads Dedalus to divorce the seemingly chaotic, 'kinetic' concreteness of life from art and to define 'art' as abstract and universal truth, as 'stasis'.

However, it was D.H. Lawrence who faced the dilemma of fragmentation most squarely

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Various writers ask

## WHY WORK? ARGUMENTS FOR THE LEISURE SOCIETY



The title of this collection by various writers, past and present, is meant to be provocative. What this volume does not attempt is to solve the problems of capitalism which can only be solved by abolishing the system of production for profit and putting in its place production for needs. Here the distinction is made between work and employment, between useful work and useless toil, between pleasurable work and boring, well-paid, useless employment.

The contributors of this volume range from William Morris's ever-topical essay 'Useful Work versus Useless Toil', first published more than a hundred years ago; new translations of Kropotkin's 'Wage System' and Camillo Berneri's 'The Problem of Work', to contemporary writers who all draw the same conclusions as Lewis Mumford in *Technics and Civilisation*, available as a Freedom Press title, when he said over fifty years ago: "No working ideal for machine production can be based solely on the gospel of work; still less can it be based upon an uncritical belief in constantly raising the quantitative standard of consumption. If we are to achieve a purposive and cultivated use of the enormous energies now happily at our disposal, we must examine in detail the processes that lead up to the final state of leisure, free activity and freedom."

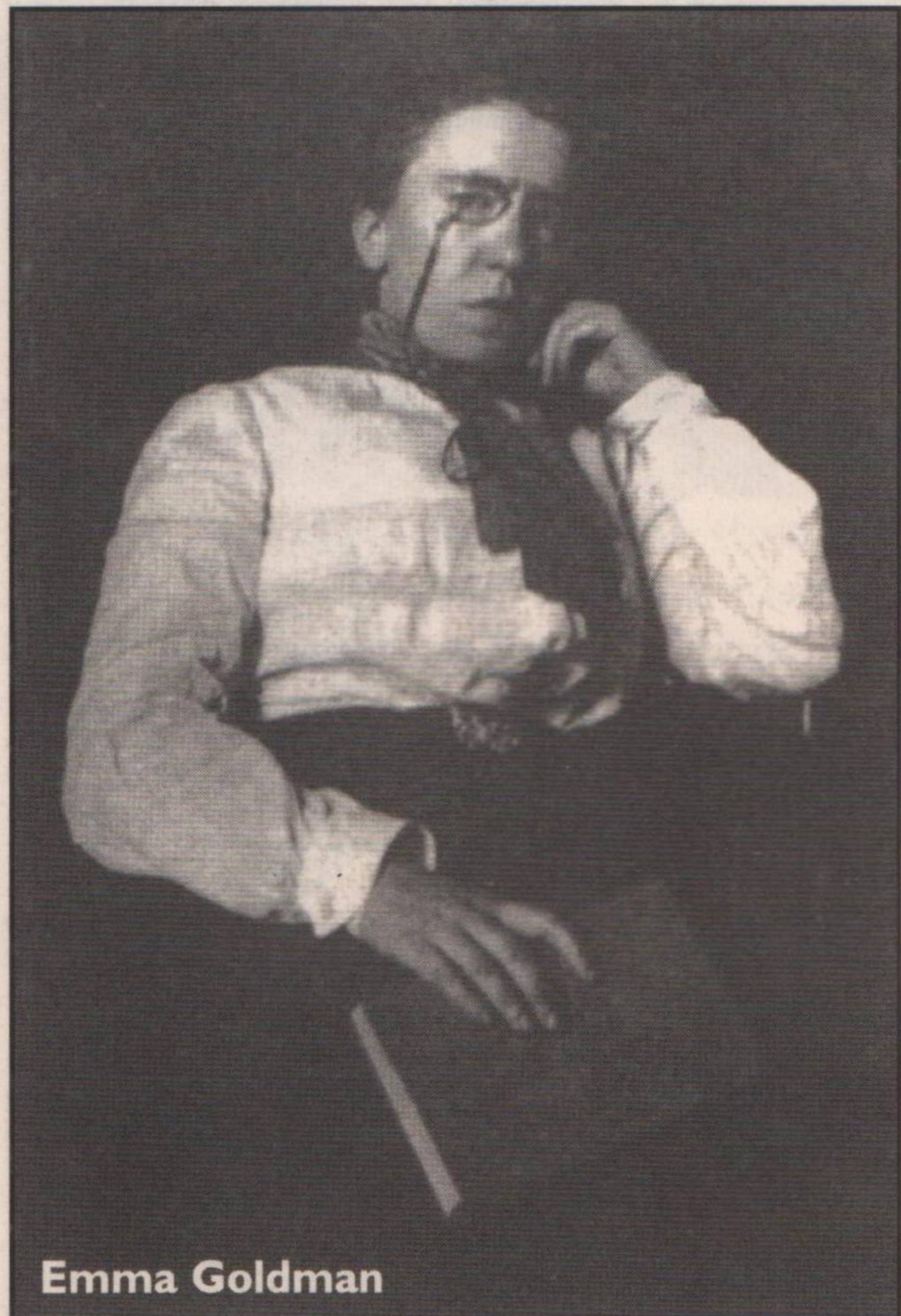
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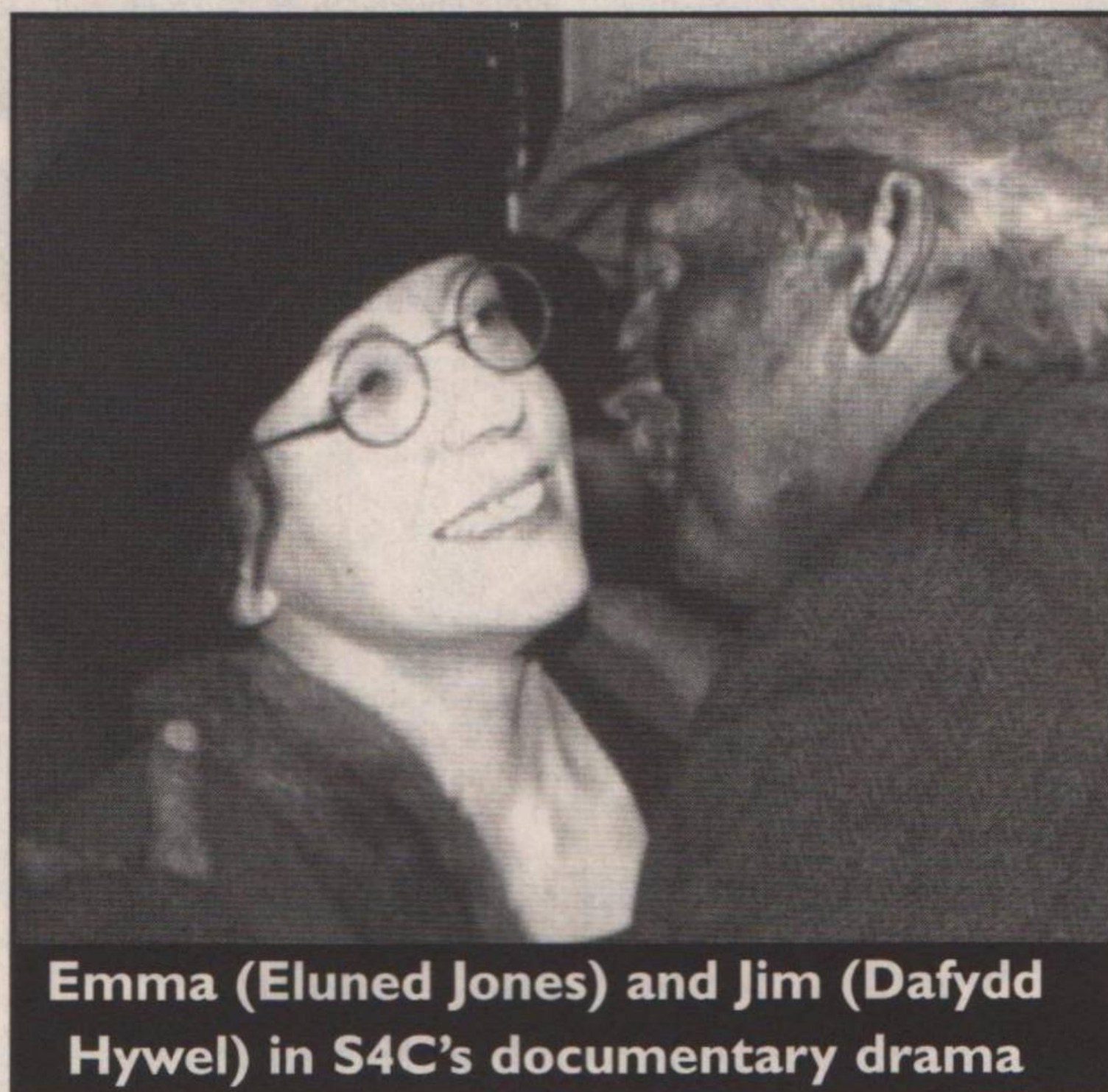
Emma Goldman (1869-1940) has been one of the best-known advocates of both anarchism and free love, in her own day through her impassioned oratory and in our own time through her dramatic autobiography *Living My Life*. Her relationships with the Russian anarchist activist and writer Alexander Berkman, and the radical American doctor Ben Reitman, have subsequently been well documented in biographies by Alice Wexler and others.

What few people know is that while on a visit to Britain she married a South Wales coalminer (in 1925 on her 56th birthday), and those who do know seem to know virtually nothing about it. It is generally assumed that she underwent a marriage of convenience to get a British passport at a time



Emma Goldman

# Emma Goldman's husband



Emma (Eluned Jones) and Jim (Dafydd Hywel) in S4C's documentary drama

when, having been expelled from both Russia and America, she was having to move from one European country to another with no right of settlement.

In *Living My Life* Emma Goldman makes the briefest of references to the event: "In June", she writes, "I had married the old rebel James Colton. British now, I did as most natives do who can scrape up enough to escape their country's climate". In fact she went to live in the South of France, where she wrote *Living My Life*, leaving her 'old rebel' husband in Wales.

Later, at the time of the Spanish Revolution, she visited Spain to see the peasant communes and came to London again where she met the anarchists who were publishing *Spain and the World* and reviving the Freedom Press imprint. But when we have been asked, as we are from time to time, about Emma Goldman's husband we were at a loss to know where to refer our enquirers for information.

Now the relationship between Emma and her husband has been the subject of a documentary drama, *F'Annwyl, Annwyl Emma*, on S4C, the Welsh language television channel, and of an illustrated article in the Welsh magazine *Planet: the Welsh Internationalist* (no. 133, February/March 1999). In 'Red Emma and Sweet Solidarity' Colin Thomas outlines the relationship between Emma Goldman and her husband and tells the story of how he came to direct the programme.

As he says, it is easy enough to find information about Emma Goldman, but seemingly only one letter from Jim Colton has survived among her papers (in the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam).

Colin Thomas wrote to local newspapers to appeal for information, and made contact with the widow of John Colton's grandson, who had preserved all of Emma Goldman's letters to him, along with other material which enabled him to piece together this lost chapter of Emma's life.

The author is plainly sympathetic to what he calls "that anarchist tradition that was brutally suppressed by the Communists in Russia and in Spain", and his account will be wanted by all those of our readers with a special interest in Emma Goldman, and for that matter anyone who is interested in the making of television documentaries.

*Planet* is a lively mixture of political comment, fiction, poetry and reviews, setting Welsh culture in an international context, and we recommend it to our readers. It costs £2.75 per issue in shops (£3.45 by post), with



Jim Colton

a year's subscription (6 issues) costing £13 (including postage and packing) from *Planet*, BP44, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 3ZZ (telephone 01970 611255).

CC

(continued from page 4)

and even hopefully in his essays and novels. He wrote of it most directly in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which he published himself in 1928 rather than try to trim it down to satisfy commercial publishers. It is his most polemical, even idealistic novel, and he writes of the conflict as an unhealthy modern one, a conflict between the full and satisfying life of the whole human being and not merely narrow sexual morality but the whole mechanised repressive culture of which that narrow sexual morality is an integral part. That culture denies our intrinsic human (animal) nature and sets up in its place an idealised nonentity called 'the mind'. But the human mind grows out of the body (often in opposition to it), and like hair, it depends on the body for its healthy existence.

In our society, according to Lawrence, the life of the mind is almost wholly occupied with a denial of the whole, physical, human being in all its diversity and individuality. This view manifests itself in the novel as a conflict between industry, strong control, and abstract concepts, on the one hand, and sensual fulfilment, creation, and human relationships, on the other. This point of view

**We are nearing the end of the two hundred year old industrial revolution and the values to which it has given rise**

and argument are even more valid for us today than they were in 1926 when Lawrence began the novel.

In Lawrence's early novels – especially *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow* and *Women In Love* (which I think are his best novels

along with the much later *Lady Chatterley's Lover*) – the instincts, the passions, are primary. In a very important essay called 'Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel' which appeared in *Partisan Review* in the

**Novels can provide us with human awareness beyond mere information and can bring us life values rather than money values**

Spring of 1958, John Henry Raleigh writes: "the moral stance of the workingman, passive and helpless as he was in the context of the society of which he was more or less the creature, prevailed in a deep sense, and the revolt that occurred in English fiction in Butler and in Hardy and in others, and later on pre-eminently in D.H. Lawrence, was in a sense an upsurge from below, an affirmation of the naturalistic and instinctive ways of life in the lower class, as against the theoretical and restrictive moral preconceptions of the middle class."

So far as it goes, this statement is both true and important to an understanding of Lawrence's insights. However, though Lawrence does have affinities with Thomas Hardy and Samuel Butler, more importantly, Lawrence represents a new start for the English novel. Not only does he see the middle class consciousness and values as "thin and neurotic, divorced from needs and instinct" substituting affection, "which is the great middle class positive emotion",<sup>5</sup> for passion, he also insists that the conscious understanding of the dark and deep, unconscious passions is the only salvation for the human race and that the great novels can bring us to this understanding better than anything else can.<sup>6</sup>

We are nearing the end of the two hundred year old industrial revolution and the values to which it has given rise and are well into the cybernetic revolution with its new horrors already with us and those burgeoning in the near future. We need to take stock of the human, emotional damage as thoroughly as

many people are already considering the environmental damage of the past and present. Novels can provide us with human awareness beyond mere information and can bring us life values rather than money values; they can bring us awareness of full human existence, eliminating the politics of power which is itself, as Alex Comfort makes clear, a form of neurotic behaviour. Of course, only voluntary cooperative effort can lead to effective change even in a group of two.<sup>7</sup>

John R. Doheny

Footnotes

1. *New Reformation* (New York, 1970), page 80.
2. *The Employment Question and Other Essays* (London, 1986). See also *Why Work?* edited by Vernon Richards (London, 1983).
3. See Wayne Burns, *Journey Through the Dark Woods* (Seattle, 1982). See Russell Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals* (New York, 1987), for an argument that they do not.
4. Dwight Macdonald, 'A Theory of Mass Culture' in *Diogenese*, 3, Summer, 1953, pages 1-17. In England Alex Comfort is a remarkable example of Macdonald's 'intellectual'. *Art and Social Responsibility* (London, 1946) and *Authority and Delinquency* (London, 1950) are relevant here.
5. 'Autobiographical Sketch' in *Selected Literary Criticism of D.H. Lawrence* edited by Anthony Beal (New York, 1956), page 5.
6. D.H. Lawrence, 'The Novel and the Feelings' in *Phoenix*, edited by Edward D. McDonald (London, 1961) pages 755-764. See also Alex Comfort, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York, 1966), especially pages 204-206. Published in England under the title, *Nature and Human Nature*.
7. D.H. Lawrence, 'The State of Funk' in *Phoenix II*, edited by F. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore (New York, 1970), pages 565-570.

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# The Indonesian archipelago under threat of holy war

Recently, at the call of the United Action Front of Muslim Students, there have been demonstrations in Jakarta and Java with slogans such as 'Allah is Great', 'Holy War' and 'Burn the Churches'. More than 85% of the population of Indonesia identifies with Islam.

One of the placards raised by the students in Jakarta read that the genocide of Muslims in Ambon can only lead to the genocide of Christians in Jakarta. Ethnic and religious factors, along with political and economic demands, seem to be playing a more and more important role in the explosions of violence which are regularly rocking this immense and disparate country made up of four archipelagos and thousands of islands scattered along a line some 5,000 kms. in length.

Islam arrived on these shores in the fifteenth century and Christianity, as preached by Saint François-Xavier arrived in 1546. Today the two faiths live alongside each other more and more uncomfortably.

## Kill the Moluccan people

The confrontations between Christians and Muslims which have been shaking the Moluccas Islands for the last year have led to at least 1,134 deaths. More than seven hundred people, according to official figures, have been killed during the last two weeks and confrontations were continuing last Wednesday despite the deployment of some eight thousand military reinforcements.

Colonel Prijantono confirmed that since 26th December 502 people had been killed on the Island of Halmahera. He denied that members of the island's Muslim community had been massacred.

The violence in Halmahera followed confrontations which, having started on 26th December with the burning down of the church in Silo – the main centre of the Protestant community in Ambon – have caused the deaths of some 63 people in the province's capital and 165 on the neighbouring island of Buru, mainly in the Christian community.

The Indonesian authorities seem to be running out of ideas as to how to regulate the conflict which broke out in this archipelago where the indigenous Melanesian and largely Christian population feel threatened by the massive influx, organised and financed by the regime in Jakarta, of Muslim settlers coming from other Indonesian islands.

"This conflict which has been branded a religious dispute has as its aim the extermination of the indigenous Moluccan



people and their social institutions" claimed the Indonesian Church Communion last week.

Claiming the Christian community was 'being suppressed' the organisation, which brings together the Catholic and Protestant hierarchies, called on the international community to intervene by sending in forces to reinstate order.

## Mass is over

Recall July, August and September of last year which included the massacre of striking students, Timor, the Christians killed in the name of Allah ... and it's still going on today. The army and the militias are no longer killing for some religious ideal but because of orders from above or out of simple ignorance because, at the end of the day, the

killers don't know why they are killing, they simply obey like robots and kill gratuitously. It is only the religious leaders sheltering in their mosques and churches, those with political responsibility in Jakarta in their air-conditioned offices and the under-cover Americans who have figured out that if enough folk are killed per square metre then that makes more room for them in which to make a buck or two. In the evening, at the call of the muezzin, here come the surveyors. It's all been pre-planned. Tomorrow they'll make an early start with mechanical diggers provided by Mac Cornik.

In Java the soldiers have been firing on the students because these 'privileged' folk were protesting against the excesses of the dictatorship and the military. We should remember that in the suburbs of Jakarta we can find the families of soldiers and students living alongside each other.

In ordinary times they socialise and get on with each other coming together on Fridays to say their prayers. Then the international community made its call for peace. Our lads based in Noumea were sent in to defend democracy in Timor under a pretext of humanitarian aid. Let's pause for thought on this notion of the right to intervene in overseas conflicts. It only applies when there is no risk. Are we suggesting the folk down in Chechnya are enjoying their bloodbath? When will the UN poke its nose into that one? What exactly did they, our heroic humanitarian squaddies, do apart from farting around on a square yard or two of occupied land? The Aussies didn't want anything to do with the French so they put a bit of distance between themselves and the hotspots. A few weeks later our lads, well refreshed and covered in medals, were given a hero's return in Noumea – back in time for Christmas, as promised.

Then the Bishop of Timor returned to preach universal harmony. He's got all he could have wanted ... two armies – one

national and one of occupation, priests, bearded and hairless imams, technical advisors, armaments engineers from Matra, a team from Bouygues ... each and every one to get his or her share of the booty, everyone gets more and more enmeshed into the global community and the plunder can carry on.

With the Timor question 'dealt with' now we can turn to other things. The Games in Sydney! The spectacle must continue. We must occupy the airwaves so others can't get their foot in the mediatic door. Make some noise. Occupy a bit of ground so other issues cannot see the light of day. Issues such as poverty, illness, undrinkable water and stagnant sewers, unemployment, suicide rates amongst the aborigines in Australia's prisons, overpopulation, malnutrition, lack of education and all those other problems which represent the hidden reality in that part of the Pacific and which are the real causes of inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence. We are just two hours by plane from Europe and a few months away from the Olympic Games.

## Invade! Expel! Build ...

And destroy! This is the credo of the believers and the property developers. The religious war is a smoke screen. They want the people's land to build their luxury apartment blocks with their swimming pools and private beaches ... they will leave it to others to deal with the upkeep and the security. And we, in our turn, will become the policemen on the periphery. The builders are thinking of us. That means that we will all be signatories to their contracts and accessories to the crime.

How do we get rid of capitalism and capitalists, religion and stock-options? That is where we should really focus our minds if we want to see equality between the nations of the world. North and South – same struggle.

Albert-Kanaky  
from *Le Monde Libertaire*, 16th February 2000

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# The Raven

No. 39

on Culture and Ideology

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# Anarchists at Speaker's Corner

Dear *Freedom*,

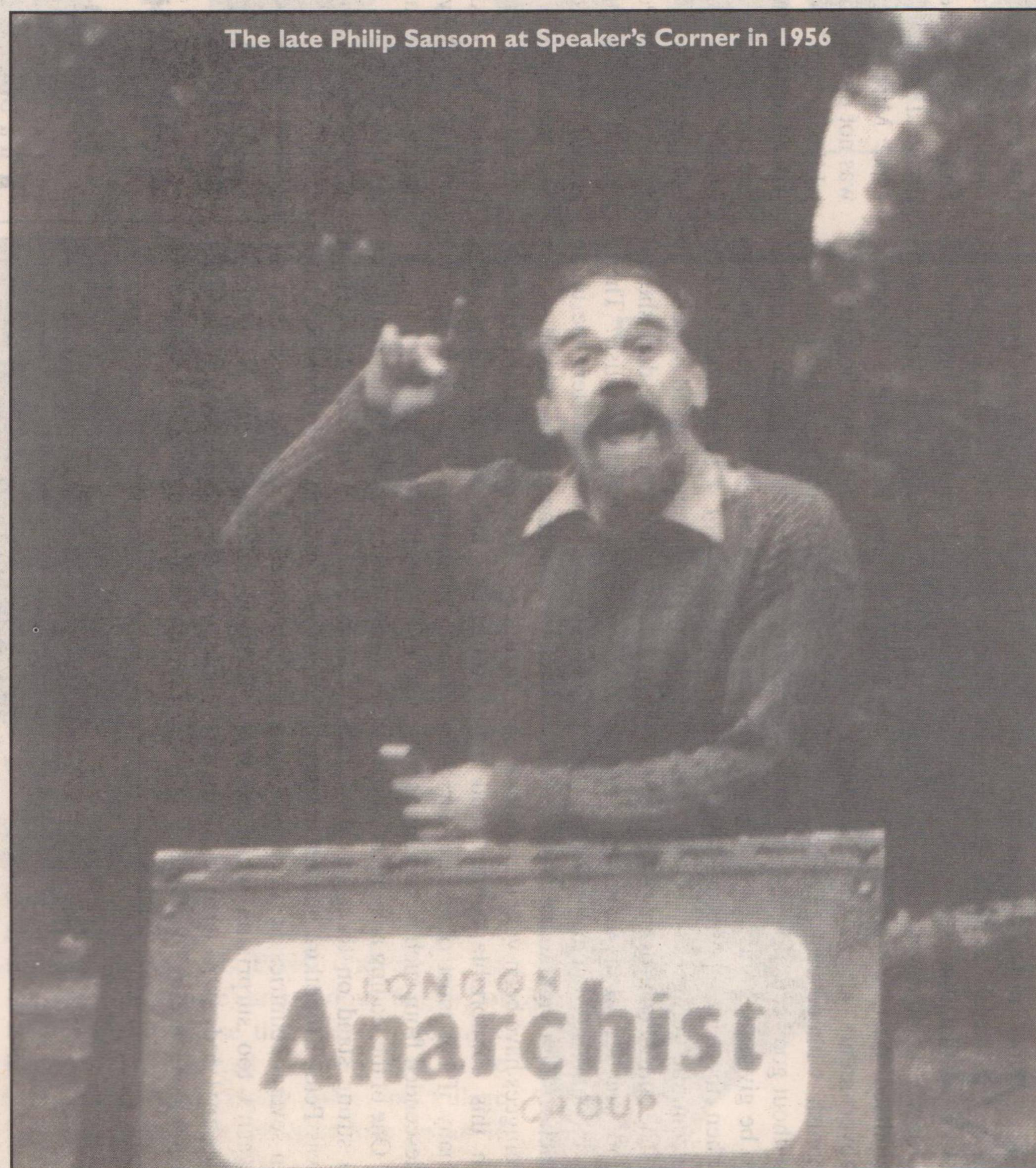
Mayday 2000 is being described as 'a festival of anarchist ideas and action'. There will be a lot going on in May and I think *Freedom* would be a good place for anarchists to advertise their ideas and generate support for any actions they have planned.

One idea which I want to put into practice is, starting on Sunday 30th April, to get people together at Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park for an afternoon of anarchist-related talks. The 30th April would be an important day because that will be just as actions in the city start to happen. It would be good to have an open debate where people who may see events, maybe on television or just in the street, could go and hear more about anarchism.

It would be good to sustain the talks and open discussions each Sunday in May and, if we get enough support for this from people willing to speak, maybe have a theme to each Sunday. I think there will be many people in London during May who are here for Mayday 2000 but who would like to express their ideas freely in public without hassle. Speaker's Corner seems like the obvious venue for this. If people knew there would be others speaking there on similar topics, etc. then I think Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park could be something special.

I will be contacting as many people as possible via e-mail to gauge support for this idea. Anyone interested in this idea can e-mail me at [werdna@remrah.freeserve.co.uk](mailto:werdna@remrah.freeserve.co.uk)

Mayday 2000 is an opportunity not to be missed. I came too late to anarchism to know Philip Sansom but if ever his words were appropriate, they are appropriate now: "Putting it simply, surely the anarchist position must hold that history is made by people. But making history is a tough business. Nobody can do it alone, for in spite of all the wonderful examples of outstanding individuals who have flown in the face of



society to create changes, their fiercest struggles have all been to gain the support of their fellows so that their ideas may become effective."

Mayday 2000 is just one way of gaining that support.

AH

[The London Anarchist Group had a regular platform at Speaker's Corner in the 1950s,

and Philip Sansom – who is pictured above in full flow – was perhaps the best known orator among a team of speakers, who also included Rita Milton and Donald Room. Speaker's Corner is still a major tourist attraction, and we at *Freedom* would be glad to support anyone who wants to give it a try – but they'll have to be able to handle the hecklers!]

# Preserve us from Democracy

Dear *Freedom*,

I greatly appreciate the courtesy shown me in AH's response to my little piece 'Preserve us from Democracy' in the *Freedom* of 12th February. It was in heart-warming contrast with the rudeness that seems to dominate so much of the discourse between anarchists in the pages of *Freedom*. And I am very grateful to AH for pointing me towards the sections about direct democracy in the Anarchist FAQ on the Internet.

But I'm afraid I find these unconvincing. The argument seems to me vague, theoretical and unrealistic. There is talk about minorities who dissent from the majority vote withdrawing from the voluntary association. But what happens, for instance, if the majority decides that chemicals are to be added to the local drinking water? Or that the community should continue to burn fossil fuels?

'Democracy' is a very big subject that there isn't anything like the space to deal with

here, and, as NW pointed out in the same issue of *Freedom*, it is interpreted in many different ways. But I think there is one interpretation that is common to everybody, which is that it means ultimately the power of the majority. (Incidentally, 'democracy' is actually impossible except in the case of a hypothetical democracy embracing the entire population of the world. What might be 'democratic' for the whole of the island of Ireland would not be democratic for Ulster, and so on. This is the fundamental immoral and illogical absurdity of democracy.)

Democratic voting may sometimes be a regrettable necessity – at the very best. It is holding up democracy as an ideal that I object to. My response to John Desmond's stricture on Declan McCormick, Paul Petard and me (again in the same issue) is that there can be no achievement that is worthwhile if it is not achievement of a worthwhile ideal. It seems to me that democracy can never be an ideal for an anarchist, since it is a system of power over others. In section A.2.11 of the Anarchist FAQ it says: "The case for democratic participation is not that the majority is always right, but that no minority can be trusted not to prefer its own advantage to the good of the whole". But if that is true of minorities, it is true with knobs on of majorities! It is precisely the dominant selfish majorities in rich countries that today widen the gap in wealth between themselves and the poor within their own borders and maintain, even increase, the misery of billions

of human beings elsewhere in the world.

So surely we need to advocate a quite different ideal from democracy. To me the ideal that accords most with anarchism is solidarity – sympathy, respect and concern for others, be they few, many, or just one. And if and when we have to vote, it should be not in the interests of the majority, still less in the interests of the 'people', that terrifyingly dangerous abstraction that exists nowhere except in minds, but according to what we feel is right. I would sum up by suggesting that an appeal to democracy is an appeal to selfishness; an appeal to solidarity might, with luck, produce a great increase in human happiness.

Amorey Gethin

# Taking the plunge

Dear *Freedom*,

I have very often, through the years, come by the odd copy of your newspaper and found its 'line' and coverage to my liking – it is now time to take the plunge, and subscribe and even contribute to the cause!

I look forward to receiving my first newspaper soon and, in the near future, my first copy of *The Raven*.

nick nedsky

# Who won in Seattle?

Dear *Freedom*,

After reading Lynn Olson's letter, 'Who won in Seattle?' (*Freedom*, 26th February) I felt compelled to throw a couple of comments Lynn's way.

Firstly, although I agree with Lynn that many anarchists are driven by unconscious drives and are compelled to 'react to' as opposed to 'respond to' state induced violence, I think that unless Lynn knows these people who she believes are 'acting out' as a result of, as she puts it, "a repressive childhood" I find her playing the Sigmund Freud rather offensive in regard to the vast majority of protesters who were involved in the organising and action in Seattle.

There is no such thing as a perfect action, whether it be accountable or covert, unconscious or consciously motivated. The most invaluable gift of any action, is I believe, not the hope of results but of the lessons learned for the individual. Actions in themselves become such a process and means whereby one becomes aware. And for the more poor amongst us, it is a much more affordable arrangement than visiting a psychotherapist.

Chris

[The protesters, as Olson said, chose to call themselves anarchists – but what kind of anarchists were they and what were they trying to achieve?]

# Darwinian Left

Dear *Freedom*,

Ilyan's letter in the 12th February's *Freedom* concerning "this nonsense of a Darwinian Left" is a symptom of a belief among some anarchists that Darwinism is a right-wing ideology (c.f. "the Darwinians are on the right and opposed to co-evolutionist Alfred Russell Wallace on the left").

I cannot accept that everyone who believes that evolution occurs through natural selection is a right-winger. Alfred Russell Wallace is a perfect example of someone who was not right-wing who believed in Darwinian evolution (he came up with the theory at the same time, but independently, of Darwin).

If Ilyan was talking in his letter about the activities of Social Darwinists then it should be remembered that there have been a number of attempts to co-opt Darwinism to suit particular political beliefs, including Anarchism. Social Darwinism is not the sole preserve of the right and Darwinism should not be derided because of the use (abuse?) that people make of it in trying to pursue their political goals.

The most confusing aspect of the letter was the suggested connection between Darwinism and GM, BSE and CFCs. I would propose that the problems Ilyan is highlighting are problems that are more connected with the pursuit of profit and power (of course human stupidity can come into the equation), rather than Darwinism.

The truth is that Darwinism is not of itself of the right or left but is simply an explanation of the diversity of life and the origin and decline of species. While it may be an explanation for both good and bad deeds, in no way is it a moral or political justification for any of them.

Bill Runacre

Please keep sending in your letters and donations



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