

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

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Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
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LONDON E.1

Groups

ABERDEEN Libertarian group. Contact c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberystwyth.

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

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

BRISTOL CITY. 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

BRISTOL Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8

CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

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

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

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

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

DERBY: Collaborators welcome, contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Wetleigh Ave, Derby DE 3 3 BY, tel 368678. No connection with some of the graffiti appearing in the city centre!

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

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

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

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

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

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

HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.

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

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

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

LEEDS. 29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

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

LONDON

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

Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042 Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.

London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042 Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd). West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

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

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

MID-SUSSEX Anarchists. Contact Resources Centre, North Road, Brighton

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

NOTTINGHAM. c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotch-olme Av. Hysong Green (Tel: 708302).

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

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

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

READING University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, White-knights, Reading, Berks.

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

SHEFFIELD. Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are:

Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative. John Creaghe Memorial Society.

SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

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

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

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

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FEDERATIONS

KENT

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

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION

c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.
Groups are:
Burnley Anarchist Group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.
Lancaster Anarchist Group, 41 Main Rd, Galgate, Lancaster.
Manchester Anarchist Group, c/o Grass Roots
Manchester Anarchist Organisation, c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth St, Manchester M13.
Manchester Syndicalist Workers' Federation, c/o Grass Roots.
Newsletter & quarterly meetings, Contacts in other areas.

MIDLANDS FEDERATION: Groups in the Federation include Birmingham, Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield.

NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Secretariat:- C/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

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

"SOLIDARITY: a libertarian communist organisation which publishes the journal SOLIDARITY For Social Revolution
Local Contacts: Aberdeen c/o 167 King St, Aberdeen. Dundee: c/o N. Woodcock 74 Arklay St, Dundee. Manchester: c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1. Oxford: c/o 34 Cowley St, Oxford. London c/o 123 Lathom Rd, London E6., and members in many other towns.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION (Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own paper, Bread and Roses). Local contacts: London: Box 2, 136 Kingsland High St, London E2. Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, B6. Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill. Glasgow: Dave Curruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4

Desires

PRISONERS ACTION GROUP John Nightingale, P.O. Box 82, London E2.

Comrades in the North and West London area who would like to meet an anarchist who is feeling rather isolated please contact Bob Mander, "Viva Zapata", High Line Mooring, Rowdell Road, Northolt.

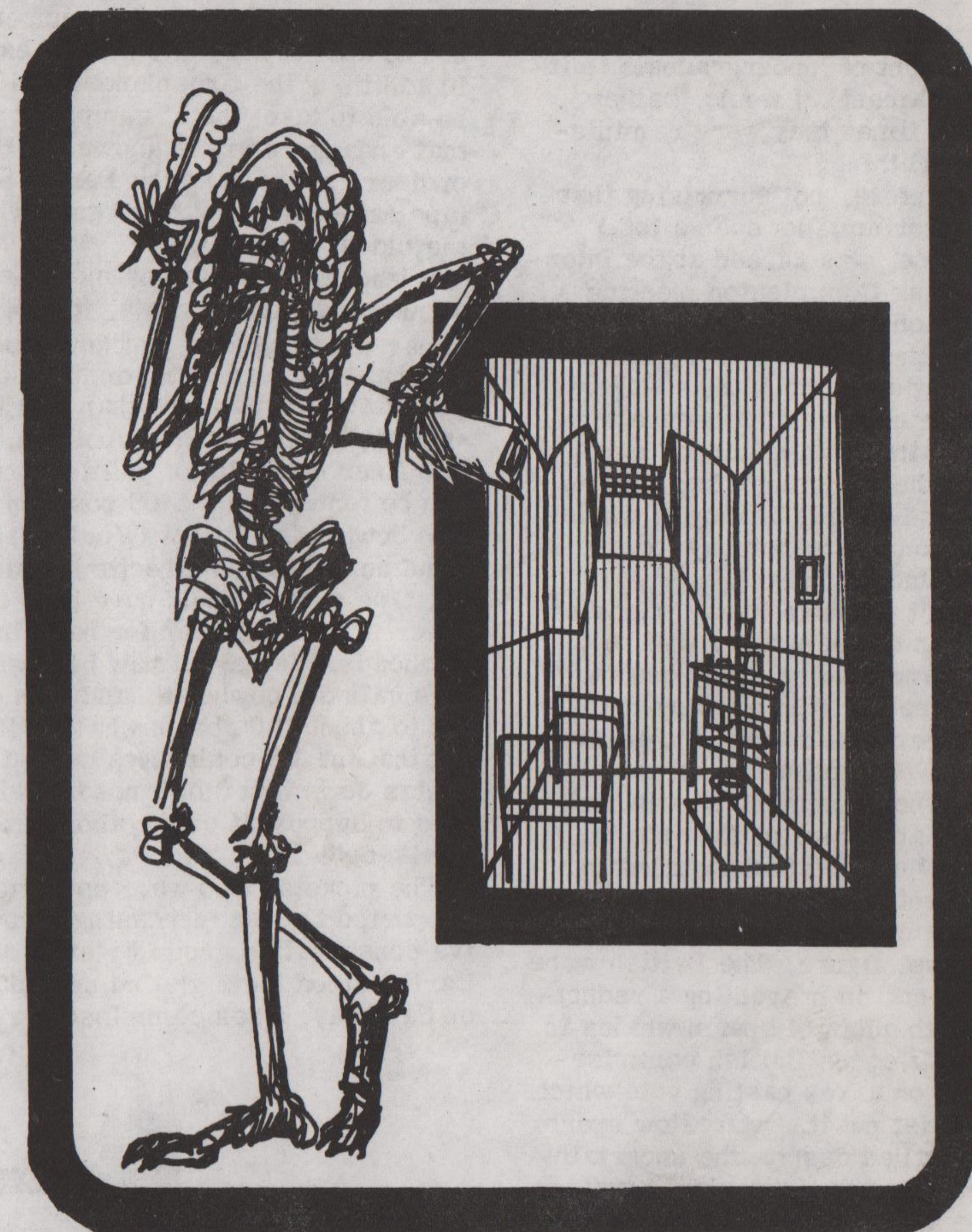
Any gay person in trouble with the law because of their homosexuality and who needs practical and personal support, or who wishes to join East London Gay Liberation Front and fight anti-gay discrimination in the area write to:- ELGLF

c/o QMC Gay Liberation Society, Students' Union, Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London E1 4NS.

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AFTER THE DEATH PENALTY



OFTEN there is a lofty scorn in libertarian circles for 'reformist' measures and last week's decisive rejection by Parliament of a motion to assist the re-introduction of the death penalty may be thought to be one such, both in regard to its limited nature, and its origin. However, although 'the best' (anarchism) is the enemy of the 'good' (social reform) one feels that there has been some little progress in humanitarian thinking on the subject of the death penalty.

There may be those of an anti-parliamentarian and populist turn of mind who feel that this is not the true source of wisdom on penal and criminal matters, but that a decision should be left to 'the people'; this could only mean a referendum. It would be elitism to say that the majority is always wrong, but given the emotional head of steam generated by the popular press and its sensationalised treatment of crimes in general (and certain types of murder in particular) one hesitates to concur that, on this topic, as on many others, wisdom will be arrived at by voting.

One feels that this particular debate and its outcome was a triumph for reason rather than for democracy. In any case, it would not have been held but for the lobbying by the Police Federation, particularly through the offices of Eldon Griffiths,

their former (and possibly future) parliamentary spokesman. The ultimate aim of the Federation is to re-introduce the death penalty for the murder of police and prison officers.

The touching belief in the effectiveness of capital punishment as a deterrent was not even upheld by Eldon Griffiths in his speech so that the motives of the advocates of the death penalty stand revealed as vengeance or punishment. In the minds of many, the eight o'clock walk is the sacrificial ritual of a scapegoat hanged for the sins and failures of all of us. Sir Ernest Gowers, chairman of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, points out that the gallows was primarily chosen "not as a good way of killing ... but as an excellent device for enhancing the deterrent effect of the death penalty by exposing his body to the public gaze in the most ignominious and abject of postures". With pickpockets at hangings, a hangman tried for murder, a Minister of Justice conspirator to murder, the deterrent argument loses its force. In any case, taken as the leading motive in executions, it holds no comfort for the innocent for if deterrence is the aim, as a character in Dickens said, "Better hang wrong fellow than no fellow". The executed and innocent Evans, Hamratty and Bentley - plus scores of examples

from the United States and Europe - could just as easily strike terror into the hypothetical assassin before s/he commits the premeditated crime as any guilty killer

However, all that is over now till, one pro-hanger observed, an even more terrible crime comes along - with a whipped-up plea for the gallows again. Regardless of the fact that so rational and balanced is human nature, normally, that to do such terrible deeds as occasionally burst forth is proof of insanity in itself and as such, should be the object of pity and research rather than extermination.

Aldous Huxley in his Ends and Means quotes Marrett, the social anthropologist, as saying "Real progress is progress in charity, all other advances being secondary thereto" (by 'charity' Dr. Marrett is reverting to the old meaning of 'caritas' - love and truth, not the formalised hand-out we think of nowadays). The parliamentary vote, minimal though it was, is a faltering step in progress.

As anarchists we must push on from the abolition of the gallows (or chair or knife or any other method of death-giving, no matter how 'humane') to the abolition of the prison - no matter how progressive.

JACK ROBINSON

DEATH BY QUOTA

AT TIMES, it was said, the wranglings were reminiscent of 'undergraduate imitations of parliament'. I would, rather, say that at all times they were reminiscent of the real thing.

It was, therefore, not surprising that no total moratorium, not even a total commercial one, was agreed at the International Whaling Commission meeting last week in London. Two measures which do show mounting concern at the extent of the annihilation of the whales - apart from the large number of conservationists who now attend these annual 'quota' riggings - is the decision to ban pelagic (though not land-based) hunting of whales, and the creation of a sanctuary for all whales in the Indian Ocean.

While it isn't possible to say whether the pelagic ban and sanctuary will help our brothers and sisters of the sea to survive, or whether it is already too late for many of the whale races, the governments of the IWC continue to refuse to put an end to the slaughter. The British for their part abstained on the vote to allow a 'quota' of 273 sperm whales in the North Atlantic - a vote which was carried in the face of scientific advice to agree to a lower figure. The British were also instrumental in preventing a reduction in the death quota of sperm whales in the North Pacific; the British commissioner decided on a Yes casting vote which, as *New Scientist* put it, 'will allow sperm whales to be killed despite the uncertainties of scientists and the declared statements of the UK government'.

It was an absolutely rotten week for the minke whale, one of the smaller of the great mystoceti, whose flesh is a delicacy of Japanese palates. Although the pelagic, or deep sea, whaling is now banned, the minke were specifically excluded from the ban through a move of the Danes to placate the already audibly rumbling Japanese stomach; and this stomach will in fact be fuller of minke than ever before. Also, mindful of eskimo pressure - though it's known that eskimos as eskimos don't need the bowheads to survive (but then should one culture survive on the extermination of a species and in any case could it?) the US was anxious not to stop the aboriginal whaling and so traded off some sperm whales against agreement on bowheads. This means that the bowheads, now estimated

at only about 2260 in total number, may not be able to stay this side of extinction. In addition, the Greenlanders will still be able to take 'their' humpback whales, that endangered race known for its extraordinary songs, and the Bering Sea Russians can still take 'their' gray whales - the oldest race of all.

Without going into any more detail here about such murder pacts, it was soon clear to the pickets just how much political haggling was going on. While the IWC scientists are no more than political hacks anyway, again as the NS pointed out, "No finer example (of political expediency) can be found than the US position on Eskimo bowheads. Talbot (World Wildlife Fund conservation director) summed it up; 'The quotas would have been a lot lower if it hadn't been for haggling over bowheads. We have a new blue whale unit. It is called a bowhead', and it is equivalent to about 120 sperm whales. He is saying that the US could have pushed the quotas down if it didn't need other countries to support it on the aboriginal whaling issue".

The pickets, who were not officially supported by that increasingly conservative conservation group Friends of the Earth, stood their ground until daybreak on Saturday, when commissioners and

or Japanese, that we shouldn't disturb their deliberations by a surfeit of shouting and chanting, or for that matter that we shouldn't cause any trouble to the poor police, the Special Branch included. (What has it to do with us? asked one staunch conservationist when, in the midst of some argument, I reminded her that six people had been arrested that Monday). Fortunately, though, in conjunction with the constant honks of sympathy from passing motorists, we did manage to make our presence felt, and when big blue Flo, the 30 metre balloon whale, came floating surrealistically between the arches into Regent Street, bringing everyone in it to a halt, the cops were so surprised they forgot to arrest her.

And so it was over for another year. Or was it? Survival is hard work when you're fighting governments for it, and in fact the next months must be ones of constant battle on all fronts if we're to save our friends, let alone communicate with them. But if we do, it will only be through direct militancy; only through sheer anger and undying amazement that, if we let them, one small, ugly group of human animals could take the world's leviathans away. For ever.

GAIA



assorted delegates at last came staggering from the Cafe Royal. It was odd not to be for once on a mainly anarchist picket; odd that among some of those who had stayed all week and all night to 'save the whales', while across the road thousands after thousands of death warrants were being signed, there was still anxiety that none of us should let down the cause by 'bad behaviour', that no 'blood' should be spilt over the heads of Russian, Canadian

Note There will be a picket outside Bow St magistrates court from 10 am. on 29 August (Wed.) where the case will be heard of a group of people who occupied the office of the High Commissioner in Canada House on the last day of the IWC in protest against Canada's outrageous behaviour. The four people were charged with 'illegal use of electricity' in the course of making phone calls...

THE LAST RIDE OF THE SUMMER

From London To Amsterdam, linking up en route with Dutch cyclists, Saturday, 15 September. Start 10 am Trafalgar Square. 21.30 boat from Sheerness to Vlissingen. Return fare £25. Bring sleeping bag. London Cycling Campaign 486-8573

'History of London Anarchism - Where are we going?' 12 August, 8 pm. Roebuck Hotel, 108a Tottenham Court Rd, W1. (Near Goodge Street tube).

MEETINGS

Contacts contd. from back page

'Anarcho-syndicalism - what is it?' Public meeting. 8 pm. Thursday, 23 August at Labour Rooms, Smith St, Rochdale. Organised by Direct Action Movement (Manchester group), c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

Comrade seeks flat/house share in Norwich from September. Phone PRU on 01-485-001 (day), 01-485-0340 (evenings, w/es) or write 65 Willis Rd, London NW5.

A Grand Anarchist Summer Ball. Saturday, 18 August. Sunset - sunrise. Admission £2.00. Music, food, clowns, jugglers, sword swallowers, grand raffle, spot prizes, drinks, herbs etc. At Metropolitan Wapping Wall, E.1. (Phone 488-0802). Near Wapping tube.

Any readers in the Bournemouth area who would like to be put in contact with 'Icarus' (see 'Bournemouth Justice Takes a Holiday', current issue) are invited to let the Editors know.

SHARPNESS ACTION

SHARPNESS is a port on the River Severn, and it was here, on Sunday, 1 July that the 'Gem' docked. The 'Gem' was in port to be loaded up with 2000 drums of low level nukiller-waste, to be dumped 500 miles off Lands End.

On the evening of Tuesday 3 July, anti-nukiller activists gathered in Stroud. The activists came from Oxford, Bristol, Bath, Stroud, and myself from Greenpeace (London). Late into the evening we held a meeting about the action that we were about to undertake. Having had only two hours' sleep, we all piled into four vehicles and set off towards Sharpness docks, with the intention of occupying the cranes there. It was from then on that the high farce and heavy moments started.

Within moments of starting, the fourth vehicle with us got stopped by the police due to an electrical fault. It was only in daylight that this vehicle was able to proceed. Meanwhile the other three vehicles went ahead. Within a few miles of the dock, a police car passed us by, turned around and followed us. It was this police jam jar that stopped the third vehicle. Thus we in the first two vehicles proceeded, without our support people. Within a mile of the Sharpness dock and half a mile from Sharpness village, a police vehicle suddenly appeared in front of us, its blue light flashing. We stopped. We were then questioned about what we were doing (going to see some friends); had our names and addresses taken and were then held up while they checked us out. In the meanwhile a police inspector turned up, and we went through some of the questions and answers game again. After an hour and 20 minutes we were allowed to go. However, we first gave a push to the police car which had stopped us in the beginning, as it had left its lights on and run its battery flat. In any case, it was blocking our roadway.

Half a mile down the road, looking down the hill at the docks, we could see no police in sight. However, given how long we had been held up, we expected the docks to have a police presence. (On the Monday and Tuesday, during the loading, a small police presence was noted).

At 5 a.m., when we got down to the dock side, halting by the 'Gem', we were amazed: no police were to be seen. Eight people jumped out of the vehicles, ran to the cranes and climbed up to occupy them. Banners reading, "AEA, The Sea Is Not Your Waste Bin!" and "No Nuclear Waste Dumping" were unfolded and hung upon the cranes. Meanwhile the two vehicles were pulled back, to a site outside the dock area.

Later the people in the other two vehicles arrived and all those present went down by the dockside, or on the cranes.

After a couple of hours a number of police arrived. We were told that we would only be arrested if we tried to board the 'Gem', whose gang plank we could easily have gone up. Just after

HIGH FARCE AND HEAVY MOMENTS

7 a.m. Inspector Day turned up and ordered us off the docks. In any case, we were told, the boat could always be loaded up by the ship's own cranes. Then things started to happen fast. The dockside train appeared, shunting waggons of waste behind it. Five people sat down and were carried off, while 11 people stayed up in the cranes. One of the people who was carried off was dumped just the other side of the low level bridge, while the other 4 were bundled into a van and dumped down the road. Of the 3 people then left outside the docks area, 2 went off to pick up those who had been driven off. While the others were being driven away, the police put a cordon on the two bridge entrances, thus blocking the side of the docks where the 'Gem' was moored. Meanwhile two trainloads of waste, each containing 10 wagonloads, went onto the docks. Gradually other people arrived to form a picket of 50 at the lower bridge.

On the dockside, things were getting heavy. A docker got up into one of the cranes and moved it around with Trevor on the jib. However, it was decided that it would be silly to proceed in this way. The dockers were milling around under the cranes, and some debate materialised between them and those on the cranes. Ken decided to go down and talk to them, but upon reaching ground level he was escorted off the docks. After a couple of hours the 'Gem' was moved and docked at another wharf, from which point loading resumed.

A woman and her son got into a small boat and started rowing towards the 'Gem'. They were quickly pursued by three police in another boat. This looked like a real fun race and was reported on the TV news as the farcical sight that it was. These two people were apprehended and charged with "taking a boat without the owner's consent". The charge was later dropped.

Having spent seven hours up on the cranes, and by then feeling that little more could be achieved, the 10 remaining people came down. They were held for two hours by the police, given a lecture about 'good behaviour' and then driven down the A38 where they were dumped.

While talking with police that afternoon we learned they had been briefed by the UKAEA (UK Atomic Energy Authority) two weeks before. They and also the local

people had been told that the drums were "designed to leak" and that under water pressure would fold in on themselves, while the waste would be washed away. It was also emphasised that much of this waste came from hospitals and research laboratories.

Later that afternoon a picket was held at the London offices of Stephenson Clarke (a subsidiary of Powell Duffryn).

No more action was taken at the docks until Friday, although they were kept under observation. On the Friday morning a high-level waste container was seen being shunted around outside the docks. But this turned out to be an empty flask that was going to the Berkley nukiller plant, which is just a couple of miles from the docks.

At 1 p.m. on the Friday, a dozen activists gathered at Sharpness again. Three adults and two children went down to the main gate and up towards the 'Gem', which had by then been moved just by the lock into the docks. This diversionary group was soon intercepted by the police who moved them off to the main gate where a picket took place. Meanwhile the other nine people went over to the other side of the docks and attempted to get to the lock gate, in an effort to make sure that it could not be opened. (The idea was to chain themselves up there). This group was also intercepted by the police and escorted off the dock area.

By this stage it was obvious that not much more could be done at Sharpness to prevent the boat from sailing. Four of us did however walk back along the Severn to the outside of the lock to watch the boat leave. The 'Gem' sailed off into the distance, with Berkley nukiller power plant to be seen on its left and the Oldbury one in the far distance. As it was going through the lock one of the sailors was heard to remark, "See you next year, gentlemen". We went back to our vehicle, via the docks, saying goodbye to the police as we went. (By then they were almost like old friends). As we passed Inspector Day we said "See you next year". And presuming they use Sharpness again, then the Severnside Alliance who organised the demonstration will be back.

On the Saturday a march of 50 people went from Berkley to Sharpness, handing out leaflets with the words "The 'Gem' has gone, the Nuclear problem hasn't".

MARTIN LOWE

'The Gem' has gone.
The Nuclear Problem hasn't.
We live in an area with one of the highest concentrations of nuclear reactors in the world. There are two more...



BOURNEMOUTH JUSTICE TAKES A HOLIDAY

WHILE Dorset's Assistant Chief Constable, backed up by a number of his most experienced sleuths, are making police history, treading around in London's police excrement, all is not going well down Dorset way. Those holiday brochures waxing eloquent about the charms of sunny Bournemouth say nothing about the 1 a.m. curfew on all the town's discos, the thuggish activities of the local Special Patrol Group in enforcing it, the crookery of the Dorset CID and the supine nature of the local magistrates. The signs are that it's a very unsunny scene indeed. Not, of course, that Dorset's Assistant Chief Constable could wallow around effectively in the London mire, if from experience gleaned in his own training ground of fixing the rules to get the required courtroom results wasn't part of regular police routine.

Glen Fern Road, situated just a few minutes' walk from Bournemouth sea-front, is the sore spot in the life of everything that staid Tory Bournemouth would like to think it is cherished for. Glen Fern Road is a shortish turning, with the holiday coach parking area on one side and on the other a multi-storey carpark complex, housing, at least four discos, a couple of bars and a residential hotel. Not surprisingly, it's the haunt of the local SPG after midnight, when the discos disgorge their youthful clientele. Not untypically, Bournemouth wants to attract the rich and take the money, but what it doesn't want is for the young to enjoy themselves, or make any commotion. Of course, the local cops, toggled up in their uniforms, tinned up in their miserable transits, and outlawed from their beds, don't relish youthful merriment either.

On December 15 last the two Crowe brothers, Paul (21) and John (18) emerged from one of the discos at closing time, and had to skirt round one of the local SPG transits drawn across the pavement as they went to look for a friend's car. John, who had been on his passing out parade that day, having finished square bashing, was swinging his arms and was told by the kindly filth to 'piss off'. Paul asked why the police abuse; the SPG gentlemen then said piss off or be charged, and the brothers enquired further what charges would the cops bring? By this time all the cops from that transit were taking an interest. The brothers walked off to another disco exit to find their friends, but two of the sleuthful filth (PCs Pavey and Beadle) followed them and after standing in a nearby shadowy recess, accosted the brothers as they again returned to make their way home.

The two brothers soon found themselves in the jolly transit. John was

nearly strangled by PC Beadle for merely trying to talk en route to the cop shop. Again, in the night during their time in the cells, John's head was crashed against the wall by a massively built unidentified CID cop for daring to request the use of the toilet. A mid-December night, no bed covering of any description was offered, and in the morning both were charged with 'breach of the peace'. Paul alone was further charged with 'assault'. The brothers got a number of court adjournments, took legal advice, and the case was finally tried summarily on 11 June. Their Bournemouth solicitors had proved useless, and through Release Birnberg and Co were persuaded to act.

The police story as presented by star witnesses PCs Beadle and Pavey, was a vague one, and no doubt as things usually go before Bournemouth magistrates, was sufficiently stupid enough to be deemed proven. The police provided no photographic or other precisely detailed information about the vicinity in Glen Fern Road, where the actual arrests were made. But unfortunately for the police, the defence did provide this information. The police were not pleased.

What Beadle's and Pavey's story amounted to, was that from where they were standing they saw a crowd outside one disco entrance that they variously estimated at 100/400 persons. (The defence contested the numbers, saying at most there could have been 100 in the general area, but reckoned it was more like 50 in fact). According to the police there was some commotion at the centre of the crowd; who was causing it they couldn't see but eventually the two Crowe brothers emerged kicking, spitting, marching, pushing and singing 'Fuck off you cunts' to the tune of 'Auld Lang Syne'. The cops received a number of complaints about this from members of the public, whose names they never took, and they dutifully stopped the brothers as they passed by where they were standing. The brothers were still spitting into some flower beds at that point and in their pleasant unaggressive way the cops said, Look old chaps, it's nasty to spit, now why don't you stop it and go peacefully homewards. The two wicked, aggressive brothers took no heed, asked the cops who was 'fucking well going to stop them spitting' (the answer not being obvious, of course) and Paul immediately spat just under the right eye of PC Pavey. John got 'hysterical' and tried to rescue his brother. John wasn't charged with assault, though he was brutalised in the transit. Paul was charged with assault (spitting in the cop's eye) and NOT brutalised in the transit or at the station. No parties to the events describe any conversation in the transit van turning on the question of 'spitting' in the cop's

eye. It can't be every day a cop gets a mouthful at close range and immediately forgets and forgives the experience.

How much of the police story about the Crowe brothers' behaviour in the period leading up to the arrest could have been true. With the brothers emerging from a crowd of 200 to 400, all stood on the pavement area immediately outside the disco, and with the police not getting a clear view of the brothers or what exactly they were doing till they had emerged, it was something of a surprise for the police to learn, on being shown photographic evidence, that the distance in all was 21 feet. The brothers had performed all their 'breach of the peace' repertoire in just seven paces, and some of that distance still within the periphery of the alleged crowd. Although one of the two cops didn't in fact recall those acts and didn't know, complaints had been lodged with his colleague. PC Pavey saw it all though and he reckoned, before being told what distances were involved, that it had taken the brothers 'a few minutes' to cover the 21 feet walking at a normal uninterrupted pace. When pressed to explain how seven uninterrupted paces could take so long, he said that 'when I say a few minutes I don't actually mean minutes'. Pavey still blubbered on when pressed by defence counsel to explain the discrepancy, until the magistrates got bored and acknowledged that they had got the defence point.

The outcome of the case was that both John and Paul were acquitted of the 'breach of the peace' charges. However, the magistrates - to appease the police, no doubt, on an issue where there were no grounds for police mistakes as distinct from police lies - found Paul guilty of 'assault' by spitting in Pavey's face at point blank range. The sentence of the court was a fine of £50 with 28 days to pay. This fine is much lower than is usually dished out by the Bournemouth magistrates, even for the lesser charge of breach of the peace. Paul Crowe is appealing against the court verdict. Neither he nor his family are in the slightest bit pleased at the low fine. Both brothers had lodged formal complaints about the officers in the case on various grounds, well before the case was tried. The fact is that Paul's 28 days to pay was no concession at all, because the Bournemouth CID on an aggravated burglary charge in April after the 'breach of the peace' complaints had been lodged. Since April 23 without any evidence having been laid before the Bournemouth magistrates, he has been remanded in custody to Dorchester prison. Fighting one fit-up piled upon another, from a Dorchester prison cell, in a county noted for its conservative law and order enthusiasm, is no easy exercise. However, the Crowe family, their friends, supporters, and Release, are mounting a campaign to give the local filth some of the exposure they obviously so richly deserve. *

ICARUS

* had arrested him

A bulletin on the case in conjunction with the Crowe family and friends will be available at 15p from Release.

Dear comrades

I should like to correct one point (and question another) in Millie Jackson's article 'Anarchy in the 80s' (30 June). She says that 'it is surely no accident that the single most comprehensive introduction to anarchism in pamphlet form remains Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism*, which was written in the 1960s and consequently (through no fault of the author's) gives little consideration to the women's movement or the ecological crisis'. My pamphlet is not a comprehensive introduction to anarchism in detail but a selective summary of anarchism in general, and one of the principles of selection was to give little consideration to any of the many movements and campaigns which are close to but not part of anarchism. It therefore contains no discussion of those which are fashionable today or were fashionable ten years ago. This is certainly the author's fault, because it was a deliberate decision, based on the editorial wish to concentrate on anarchism itself rather than on libertarianism or revolutionism, and on the commercial wish to prevent the pamphlet from being crudely up to date when it was published or going quickly out of date afterwards. If it were written in 1979, it would give no more consideration to the women's movement or the ecological crisis than in 1969, except to mention anarcho-feminism as well as feminism and the campaign against nuclear power as well as the campaign against nuclear weapons.

She says that 'there's been too much rubbish written by libertarians about the weaknesses' of the Anti-Nazi League and Rock Against Racism, and that 'there is also a distressing tendency for anarchists to isolate themselves from potential allies' such as the Anarchist Workers Association, formerly the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists and currently the Libertarian Communist Group. But haven't many anarchists rightly been wary of the general anti-libertarian aspects of these two series of organisations and the particular Trotskyist tendencies in them? And isn't 'our immediate need' not just 'to create a revolutionary movement', but to remember the lessons learnt from 'refighting the Russian Revolution and the Spanish Civil War/Revolution', and to insist on opposing revolutionary just as much as reactionary forms of authoritarianism?)

I should also like to challenge one point in Paul R. Buckland's article 'Anarchists Come To Judgement' (30 June). He says that 'individualists and egoists are not anarchists'. Some of them are not, and some of them are more anarchist than many socialist, collectivist, communist, syndicalist, councilist, classist anarchists. Nothing is gained by any anarchists asserting or exclaiming without argument or evidence that any other anarchists are not anarchists.

We obviously should and usually do work with other libertarian and progressive organisations, but we just as obviously should and usually do work with other anarchists. We must avoid both the excessive tolerance of syncretism and the excessive intolerance of sectarianism - in the 1980s as in every other period. Above all, there is no single, simple answer to our problems. N.W.

Dear friends

Regarding Paul R. Buckland's 'Anarchists come to judgement': using Mr. Buckland's criteria it seems that I qualify as a 'worker'. I live in a council flat on a council estate, I have been on strike and for the last 20 years I have worked for British Rail.

As a 'working class Anarchist' my contacts within the Anarchist movement have not been very happy ones. I have been treated with patronising contempt and almost paranoid suspicion.

Unlike Mr. Buckland I did not join the class struggle via anything, I was born part of it, I do not have a degree, in fact the extent of my education is church of England and secondary modern (failed), but I have learned not to trust anyone who refers to me or anyone else as a 'worker'. People are whole human beings, not workers.

A concern with 'the working class' or with 'workers' is not a humanistic concern, not a concern with real human beings.

The term 'worker' denotes not a full person, but a component in production, a part-person, a role.

To be concerned with 'the workers' is not to be concerned with men, but with abstractions" (George Gardstein, *Anarchy*, 118).

Why anyone should find the suggestion that people are capable of organising their own lives insulting, is quite beyond me, but what I do find insulting is the idea that if Anarchists are to communicate with us, then they must come down to our level.

Finally I wish Mr. Buckland had said which people he considered to be scroungers and which people he considered to be in productive work, I would have preferred that he had referred to it as socially necessary labour, then I would not have had to take my shoes off to count them.

C.E. BENNETT

Portchester, Hampshire

Dear friends

Are we readers of FREEDOM as bad as Paul R. Buckland makes us out to be? Future issues of this esteemed paper should prove one way or not.

I wish to take issue on your reference, Paul, to the scrounger and the workshy. Now I am sensitive about these sort of remarks being as I am a claimant these last four years or so. My excuse is I like (as did Thoreau) wide margins to my life. The discipline of the workplace denies me this 'right'.

For argument's sake (only) I accept my role as parasite. But we men and women are only minor species of such and surely can only be a slight irritation to our host. Rather should your concern be directed in a more rightward direction. How about the blue-blooded variety, to recall but one? I'm told that this particular breed has been sucking at the proletarian host for centuries.

Further there are lots of people doing useless work for a living but the sad truth is they don't know it. But to those of us who do, what is our alternative?



I look forward to the first copy of Direct Action Movement. Perhaps here we will have answers rather than slanders and insults.

Fraternally
MICK CROPPER

Kirby-in-Ashfield
Notts.

Dear FREEDOM

I have every sympathy with Martin Spence (30 June) when he declares himself on the side of the democratic anarchists and opposed to those who argue for total individual freedom and fuck everyone else's rights.

However, even to an outsider, it is obvious that the Torness Alliance is by no means a beautiful example of anarchist democracy at work. And the decisions reached were obviously not based on 'consensus', as he claims, and obviously the delegates were not truly representative. Quite the contrary, it seems from the letter by the 'Wild Side Strollers' (How ridiculous can you get?) that we have here a typical example of domination by an informal elite of activists who are neither proper delegates nor even conscientious about their accountability.

What really irks me about Martin's letter is his statement "...the Alliance is the nearest thing to a working libertarian organisation". The Anarchist Communist Association, of which I am a member, has devoted huge amounts of energy into developing a truly democratic anarchist structure on a national and local level. This has not been easy, but it has been worth it.

So many anarchists talk about the theory of delegation, recallability, accountability, rotation of responsibility and the alternatives to hierarchical political structures, but few try to put them into practice or try to explore the advantages and difficulties in practice. Previous attempts at national federations have merely been talking shops and have soon collapsed.

Only the ACA, and possibly Solidarity, has seriously attempted to explore what anarchist democratic structure means in practice and not surprisingly only those two groups have survived to develop anarchism further and spread it beyond the self-conscious affinity groups which have dominated the movement for too long.

Anyone who would like to explode the myth that anarchism means chaos is welcome to contact their local ACA group (see back page) for a lively discussion of this and other issues.

DAVID CARRUTHERS
(Glasgow ACA)

Glasgow G44 3QY

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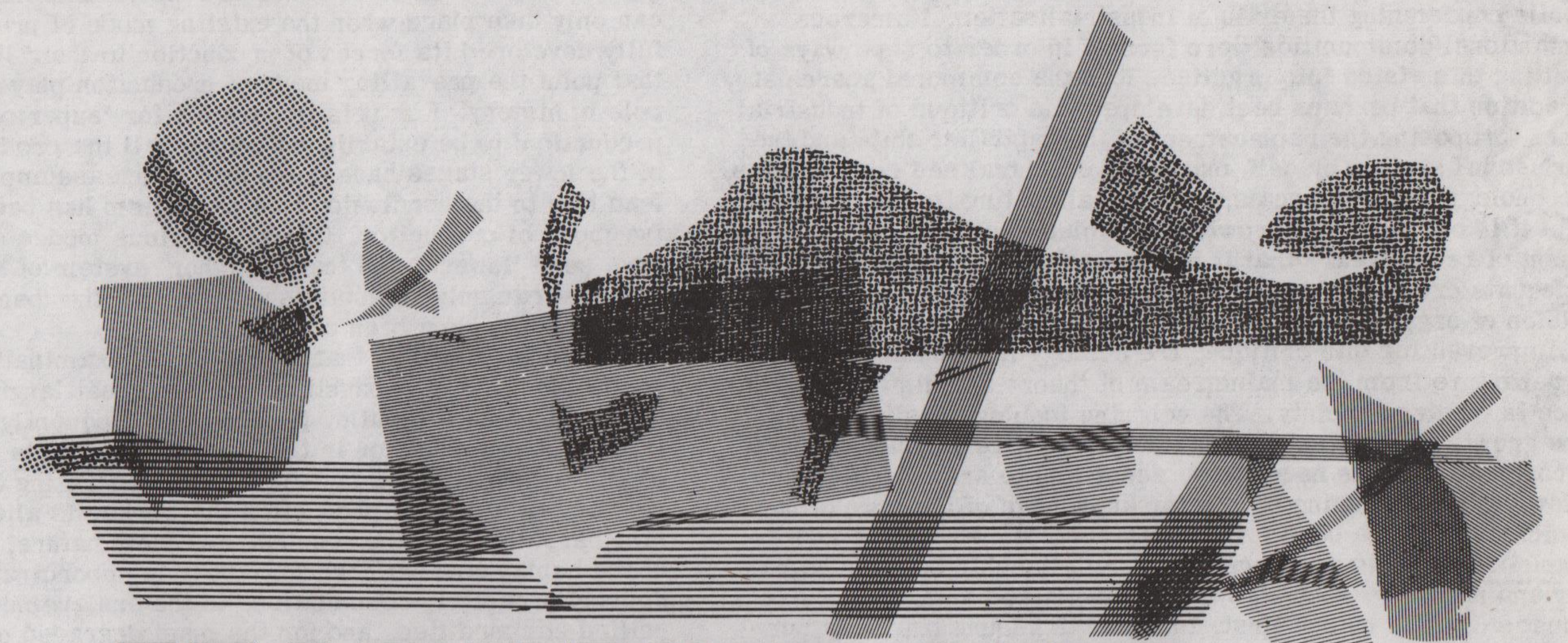
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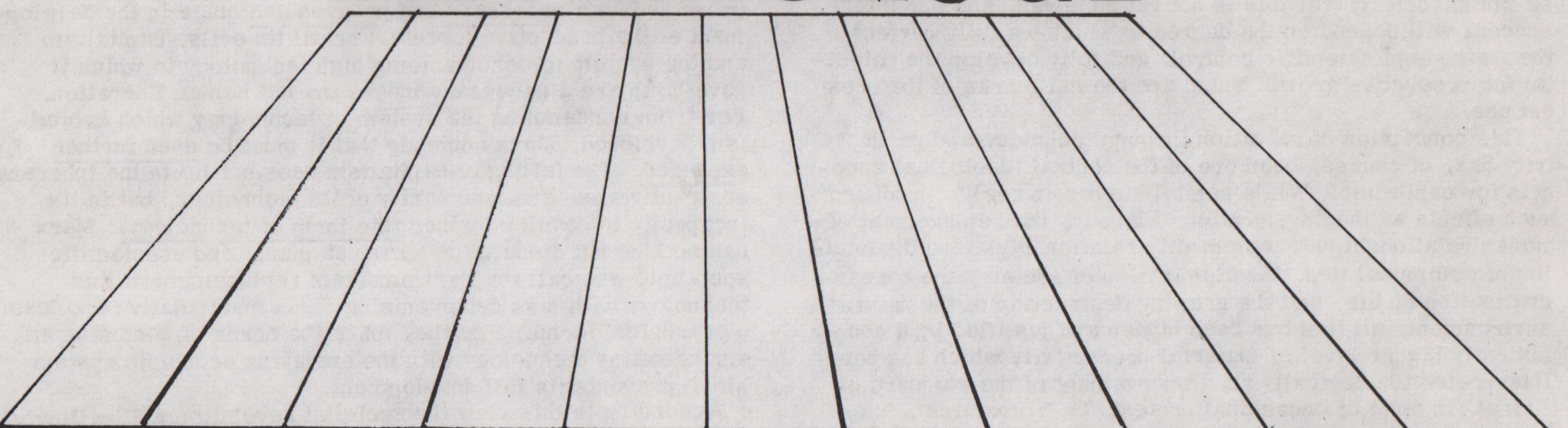
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MARXISM AND TECHNOLOGY



"The atom contains within itself a mighty hidden energy, and the greatest task of physics consists of pumping out this energy, pulling out the cork so that this hidden energy may burst out in a fountain. Then the possibility will be opened up of replacing coal and oil by atomic energy, which will also become the basic motive power. This is not at all a hopeless task. And what prospects it opens before us! This alone gives us the right to declare that scientific and technical thought is approaching a great turning point, that the revolutionary epoch in the sphere of the cognition of matter and the mastering of it ... Unbounded technical possibilities will open out before liberated mankind".

Leon Trotsky, Radio, Science
Technique and Society

TODAY we are coming to a new understanding of the problem of technology. Of course, we have for generations recognised a problem of technology: that is, the problem of how best to develop the predominating technical forms of Western society, and thus to assure the continued march of Progress. But today our assumptions about Progress through industrialisation, mechanisation and technical growth are losing their self-evident character. For we are beginning to see that the unrestrained growth of production, the increased development of high technology, and the intensified exploitation of nature are inexorably leading us toward disaster. It becomes ever more obvious that the kind of technological development on which Western society has long depended, and in which it has had so much faith, is resulting in unprecedented degradation of both the natural and social environments. Accordingly, we have seen in the past decade the rapid growth of a movement to combat these tendencies, and to offer to humanity an alternative view of nature, humanity and the future.

In fact there have always been movements of protest against the reigning technological ideology. Early in the Industrial Revolution the Luddites - some of the first radical workers - chose to smash the dehumanising machinery being imposed on them, rather than submit to domination and degradation in the name of technical progress. Writers like Charles Fourier and William Morris - so called 'utopians' - presented visions of a society based on enjoyment, aesthetic values and free association, while condemning the evils of industrialisation. Numerous intentional communities were formed in order to seek ways of putting this vision into practice. It is the communal anarchist tradition that perhaps best developed this critique of industrialism, proposing the replacement of the capitalist state and the industrial system by self-managed, decentralised communities, technology of human scale, and non-alienating forms of labour. Yet it is only with the growth and evolution of the ecology movement of recent years that it has been possible to formulate an adequate critique of industrialism, based on a comprehensive vision of organic interrelationships and nondomination.

In presenting this critique, the ecology movement represents a departure from the mainstream of theory and historical practice in Western society. The reigning ideology has identified the growth of high technology and quantitative productivity with Progress. What is necessary, according to orthodox Western view, is the amassing of greater knowledge of the laws of nature, which can then be used for greater control over nature and exploitation of its resources. The relationship between humanity and nature is seen as one of struggle and antagonism. We must subjugate nature first, in order to assure our very survival, and then to go on to the production of an abundance of material goods, which is judged necessary for the attainment of human welfare. As knowledge and technique develop, we come ever closer to the goal of conquest (or defeat) of nature, and conversely, the victory of humanity. The achievements of past epochs are seen as inept and futile strivings toward this goal, for it is only the massive, powerful technology of the Industrial Revolution which has brought within view the era of the final subjugation of nature, and the possibility of a developed world society. Yet this is not yet achieved, and our future success will depend on the degree to which we fully perfect the methods of scientific control, and fully develop the potential for productive growth which are the hallmarks of the present age.

This conception of salvation through technique and productivity has, of course, been one of the central ideological supports for capitalism. While capitalism has in reality produced such effects as the degradation of labour, the replacement of human relationships by commodity relationships, the dissolution of communal ties, the atomisation of society, the bureaucratisation of life, and the growing destruction of the natural environment, all this has been hidden and justified by a consistently higher level of material productivity which has been interpreted ideologically as 'improvement of the standard of living'. In spite of occasional protests by 'romantics', 'utopians', anarchists and assorted schizophrenics, this ideology of technological Progress has dominated political discourse in the modern period, and has entered deeply into the popular consciousness (or rather, the mass unconsciousness). So thorough has been this ideological domination that even movements of apparent opposition to the prevailing economic and social systems have failed to make a break with it. As the following discussion will show, 'even' Marxism, which claims to be a revolutionary theory (in fact the final revolutionary theory) shares with capitalism a deep commitment to the technological values of industrialism. An examination of the pre-suppositions of Marxism will show the limitations of this pseudo-revolutionary view of technology, and point to the need for a truly revolutionary critique based on ecological principles.

MARX AND THE PROBLEM OF TECHNOLOGY

In the 'Preface' to the *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* Marx outlines the technological utopianism that lies at the heart of his theory of human liberation. First, he makes the claim that in any given historical period the relations of production, or the property relations, correspond to a 'given stage in the development of humanity's material forms of production' (or the technological structure of society),

and that the economic structure of society is 'the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.' Changes in property relations are traced back to changes in the 'material productive forces'. Social revolution is therefore seen as the result of contradictions which arise between the forces and the relations of production. The social revolution which takes place in order to resolve this contradiction can only take place when the existing mode of production has fully developed its forces of production to their limit. Up to that point the prevailing mode of production plays a progressive role in history. For it is impossible for 'superior relations of production' to be established before 'all the productive forces of the lower stages have developed. Such assumptions thus lead him to the conclusion that capitalism has been a progressive mode of production, that all previous modes of production have been 'lower', and that a 'higher' system of social relations can only be established when all the 'beneficial' tasks of capitalism have been carried out.

Of course it is true that Marx, in his examination of the capitalist mode of production, goes to great lengths to show the evils which it entails. He does this eloquently and brilliantly in his discussion in the *Paris Manuscripts* of the forms of alienation produced by capital, demonstrating that under the capitalist role of production the worker is alienated from him/herself, from the species, and from nature. The creation of the human essence through labour is subordinated to the demand of capital accumulation, to the enslavement of all by reified commodities, and for the most degraded of the workers, to the mere struggle for survival. No less eloquently does he show in *Capital* the true immiseration of the proletariat by the destructive power of Capital, whether this be through the literal driving of the workers to misery and material deprivation in the classical period of capital accumulation that he observed first hand, or the enduring domination of the commodity and exchange value over human values and human needs. Yet what must be remembered in reading Marx is that this entire disgusting history of exploitation and domination is presented as a necessary and progressive stage in the development of the productive forces. For all its evils, capitalism and the system of dehumanising high technology to which it gave birth are a necessary means toward human liberation. Far from condemning the system of technology which capitalism developed, Marx contends that it must be even further expanded. The failing of capitalism does not lie in the inherent destructiveness and inhumanity of its technology, but in its incapacity to develop further this form of technology. Marx has nothing but disdain for those 'utopians' and unscientific socialists who call for the immediate replacement of this technology with less dehumanising, less manipulative and less hierarchical forms. For they make the error of confusing an emancipating technology with the enslaving economic system which prevents its full development.

According to this view the socialist revolution will willingly inherit capitalist technology and remove the economic and political barriers to the growth of productive powers (i.e. production for capitalist profit and the necessary support for capitalist production - the bourgeois state). In the *Grundrisse* Marx explains that further development of mechanised production will 'redound to the benefit of emancipated labour and is the condition for its emancipation'. Under such a system humans are reduced to functionaries whose activity is determined by the nature of the technological system which makes possible expanded production, and creative activity is replaced by attendance of technology, in which 'the human being comes to relate more as a watchman and regulator of the production process itself.' What Marx hopes is that such a system, for all its evils, will allow such a wealth of production that labour time will be reduced to a minimum, and human freedom can be achieved in the realm of free time - 'beyond the sphere of actual material production', as he states in volume three of *Capital*.

In view of this boundless faith in high technology Marx logically sees the expansion of this development through imperialism as another progressive aspect of capitalism. No country can be ready for socialism if it is not first endowed with the benefits of capitalist production. For this reason in his writings on India, Marx expounds on the benefits of British imperialism, which, he says, had the 'civilising' mission of

introducing centralisation of power and industrial development. The British were the unrecognised benefactors of India, for they unified political rule in the state, developed a centralised system of transportation and communication, created a disciplined army, developed a governing class 'endowed with the requirements for government and imbued with European science', and introduced high technology in the form of steam power. While the Indians failed to see the advantages of all this progress, the British were in fact acting on behalf of 'history' and Marx wishes the same fate on all the other non-Westernised societies of the world. For, as he mentions in the *Communist Manifesto*, one of the historic missions of capitalism is to save peasant societies from what he condescendingly sees as the 'idiocy of rural life'. This attitude extends even to the most libertarian and communalist of primitive societies. Far from seeing any enduring value in the cultures of non-Western peoples, in the reverence for nature, the cultural richness, the aesthetic achievements, the non-authoritarian family and social structures that so many exhibit, he sees only one thing - backwardness in social and technological development. Marx's goal can be summarised as follows: to continue the path of technological development initiated by capitalism, while removing the fetters placed on technological growth by the capitalist mode of production. In order to do this, the workers must be organised in a centralist, authoritarian character of capitalism itself. Dismissing with contempt the anarchist proposals for decentralised, autonomous communes and workplaces voluntarily federated for mutual aid, Marx contends that the workers must above all be organised into a political party, with the 'immediate aim' of 'the conquest of political power by the proletariat'. The workers' party must immediately push for centralisation and industrial development under capitalism. It must 'compel the democrats ... to concentrate the utmost productive forces, means of transportation, factories, railways etc. in the hands of the state'. The goal is to 'increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible'. This programme is explained in the *Communist Manifesto* to include concentrating in the state such functions as being the exclusive rentier, the sole creditor, the controller of transportation and communication, owner of the means of production, organiser of 'industrial armies, especially of agriculture', and educator through a system of state schools. In the *Address to the Communist League* Marx reiterates his centralist, productivist proposals, arguing that when property is confiscated it must not be permitted that agricultural workers should manage the land communally as the anarchists propose, but rather it must become 'state property and be converted into workers' colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large scale agricultural production'.

The result of Marx's proposals is quite clear, and he makes no attempt to hide the result. What he advocates is a system of State capitalism based on a programme of development of capitalist technology. As he explained in the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the state must in the transition period become the owner of the means of production and pay all according to the amount of labour they perform, with deductions for social consumption organised by the state. Since Marx was blind to the possibility that concentration of economic, political and technological power in the state would lead to new forms of bureaucratic and technocratic domination, he ignores the possibility that the surplus production taken from the producers by the state will be used to institute new forms of entrenched hierarchical power. According to his utopian productivist outlook, the only barrier to liberation is economic exploitation by private capitalists, and once this form of exploitation is eliminated, the only problem is to develop production under the proletarian dictatorship.

Unfortunately for Marx, we can now see the bankruptcy of his entire productivist centralist programme. We know that the supposed inability of capitalism to further develop the productive forces is entirely illusory, and that it is in fact capable of increasing production to the extent of exhausting many of the resources that it extorts from nature, and even to the point of inundating the biosphere with the waste products of this production. The idea of a 'socialism' that would unshackle such a technology for even greater exploitation of nature now becomes ludicrous, not to mention grotesque and terrifying. Furthermore, we have come to see that develop-

ment in capitalist production does not necessarily lead to greater consciousness of exploitation, but often rather to a greater legitimacy for capitalism and the bourgeois state, as long as the ideology of consumption and material progress reigns over society. Where Marx was wrong was in his mythology of technological liberation, but where he was certainly correct was in his analysis of the ideological domination achieved through the subordination of all values to those of commodity consumption. A valid development of Marx's critique of ideology extends it to domination through technological and statist ideology also. Such a critique points to the need for a revolutionary movement based on a rejection of capitalist technology and authoritarian political power, and demanding the immediate institution of forms of social interaction and organisation which replace hierarchy, manipulation and regimentation by cooperation, mutual aid and non-dominating relationships. This is, of course, the precise development foreseen by anarchism, and is the political correlate of the outlook of the ecology movement.

It is not surprising that Marxism has moved in a quite different direction, and has in fact only intensified the productivist, centralist and authoritarian tendencies of Marx himself, while diluting or eliminating the most critical and dialectical aspects of his thought. The best evidence of this conclusion is the history of this century, in which we have seen so-called socialist states invariably develop systems of bureaucratic and technological control, and institute policies aimed at the development of high technology and centralised planning. In every case the truth of this concrete historical development has been denied by ideology, yet it has been impossible to permanently disguise reality. Whatever doubt remained should now be dispelled as the Maoist myth crumbles and the illusion of 'decentralism' and 'communalism' under state capitalism and bureaucratic centralist administration reveals itself for what it is - blatant ideological mystification.

Some Marxist-Leninists would like to disassociate themselves from the technocratic and bureaucratic excesses of the various 'workers' states' and certainly those who wish to justify their precarious position within the ecology movement must attempt to do so. Otherwise it might appear to some understandably sceptical observers that they in fact have nothing in common with the aspirations of the ecologically-minded and that their vocal and conspicuous presence in the movement is motivated by blatant opportunism. (If your efforts at creating your own mass movement have been pathetic failures, find someone else's movement and try to lead it). Although this view has, I believe, more than a particle of truth in it, it is certainly not an adequate explanation of the presence of Marxist-Leninists within the anti-nuclear struggle, the present focus of activism within the ecology movement. For there are certainly consistent reasons for Marxist-Leninists to oppose nuclear power, just as there are for liberal capitalists to do so. A liberal capitalist can specifically reject the human costs of nuclear energy while remaining oblivious to the enormous human costs entailed in the entire capitalist system and its exploitative and destructive system of technology. Similarly, a good Marxist-Leninist can be appalled by the dangers of nuclear power, which, after all, is produced for the sake of capitalist profit and in order to support capitalism's legitimating process of increased commodity consumption. Yet this same person might fully support capitalist technology when utilised by a 'true' workers' state, and might, in fact, judge the costs for nuclear energy itself quite differently if it were at the service of socialist development of the productive forces.

In short, the anti-nuclear movement is not a fully ecologically conscious movement, but rather a coalition of diverse elements, many of which are far from accepting the ecological view of reality, and are, in many respects, positively antagonistic to it. The latter is the case with orthodox Marxist-Leninists. Since many Leninist sectarians wish to disassociate themselves from the ruthless industrialisation, bureaucracy and technocracy of the varieties of Stalinism I would like to continue with a discussion of the technological theories of two supposedly less degenerated figures in the Marxist-Leninist pantheon, Lenin himself and Trotsky.

LENIN AND THE RISE OF TECHNOBUREAUCRACY

Lenin is the key figure in tracing the transformation of Marxist productivist practice. Under his guidance, the bol-

shevik party, the vanguard of the technobureaucracy, understood the development of the Soviet economy according to the principles formulated by Marx. (This is not, of course, to say that Marxist ideology was the cause of the historical development, but rather that the ideology performed a legitimating function in the rise of the technobureaucracy and was one important factor in the determination of the precise form of historical development taking place). Lenin fully accepts Marx's position concerning the centrality of economics to social transformation. More specifically, he adheres to the view that a contradiction between the forces and relations of production underlies revolutionary change, and that the productive forces of a given epoch must be fully developed before humanity can move on to a higher level of development. Lenin noted that if the productive forces had not been developed to their limit in advanced capitalist countries, they were in a positively primitive state of development in Russia, a peasant society which had not even gone through a period of bourgeois revolution and liberal capitalism, as in Western Europe. For this reason drastic measures were seen as necessary.

Lenin's solution to the problem of backwardness is the institution of a form of state capitalism in which capitalist industrialisation is to be accomplished by the centralised action of the 'workers' state' rather than by a multitude of capitalists, as in the liberal capitalist era. Thus, in *The Tax in Kind* Lenin explains that the 'working class' must learn "to organise large scale production along state capitalist lines". Like all orthodox Marxists, Lenin rejects forms of communism which have existed in tribal societies, or those proposed by anarchists and libertarian socialists for these are based on such 'utopian' conceptions as decentralisation, diversity, smaller scale technology, communal and workplace self-management, and a rejection of regimented patterns of work - all of which is alien to Lenin's productivist mentality. "Socialism", he says, "is inconceivable without large-scale capitalist engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science. It is inconceivable without planned state organisation which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution. We Marxists have always spoken of this, and it is not worth while wasting two seconds talking to people who do not understand even this (anarchists and a good half of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries)". So much less would he spend a second listening to them!

One of Lenin's primary goals was to make certain that the Soviet economy would be firmly based on such a system of high technology with centralised planning. Accordingly, he argues that the 'chief content' and the 'chief condition' for the success of his state capitalist revolution is "the new and higher organisation of production and distribution on the basis of large scale (machine) production". (*Six Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*). To achieve this what is necessary is "the transformation of the whole of the state economic mechanism into a single huge machine" so as "to enable hundreds of millions of people to be guided by a single plan". (Extraordinary 7th Congress of the R.C.P. (B.)). Identifying industrialisation and mechanisation with Progress, Lenin finds in German state capitalism a model worthy of emulation. All that is needed is that the Germanic industrial system be combined with a state of different class composition. Germany is "the last word" in modern large scale capitalist engineering and planned organisation, subordinated to Junker-bourgeois imperialism". Cross out the last phrase, Lenin remarks, and substitute "a proletarian state, and you will have the sum total of the conditions necessary for socialism". Ironically, this exercise in bolshevik simplemindedness comes from an essay on what Lenin calls 'Left-wing Childishness' and this paradigm of non-dialectical analysis is put forth by an alleged champion of 'dialectics'.

The ideologist of high technology finds it necessary to make an apology in favour of the necessity of the hierarchical and manipulative character of such a system of production. Thus he argues that his followers should accept the temporary necessity of administration by bourgeois experts. In *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* he explains that for a time higher wages must be paid to these experts. Yet "the sooner we ourselves, workers and peasants, learn the best labour discipline and the most modern technique of labour, using the bourgeois experts to teach us, the sooner we shall

liberate ourselves from any tribute to these specialists". What Lenin fails to mention is that under a hierarchical system of production, tribute must continue to be paid to some class of 'experts' or 'specialists' and long after the 'bourgeois' variety are in their graves, power will be in the hands of a new class of technocrats who will hide their power not only under the guise of 'science' but also under that of 'the proletariat'.

Lenin's commitment to mechanisation and high technology is not limited to the question of the introduction of heavy machinery and large scale production units. In addition he praises the technology of control of human activity which goes under the name of 'scientific management' or Taylorism. As is usual in the Marxist view of dehumanising or ecologically destructive technologies, their major fault lies in the fact that they are used for capitalist ends, not in their destruction of creativity, autonomy and human relationships. These latter shortcomings are, of course, recognised, but are justified by 'historical necessity'. So, says Lenin, in *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, "we must raise the question of piece-work and apply and test it in practice; we must raise the question of applying much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system..." This 'progressive' side means, of course, progressive from the standpoint of maximising 'socialist' productivity through such measures as 'analysing mechanical motions during work, the elimination of superfluous and awkward motions, the elaboration of correct methods of work, the introduction of the best system of accounting and control, etc'.

Nothing is more obvious from Lenin's view on planning, industry and technology than that in him we find the supreme embodiment of the administrative mentality. He has found the key to historical development, the science of revolution, and it is his task and the task of his party to remake society from above, to act upon society in a way that the 'masses' beneath them are utterly incapable of for themselves. Liberation can only be achieved through domination, domination of the masses in order to compel them to fulfill their historical destiny, domination of nature in order to reduce it to a resource for expanded production. Not surprisingly, the masses have continued to rebel against this domination, even in Lenin's own 'workers' state' sometimes quietly (through sabotage and non-cooperation), sometimes violently (the Kronstadt rebellion and the Ukrainian Revolution). Lenin, like the capitalists, knew the definition of a good worker. "Obedience, and unquestioning obedience at that, during work to the one-man decisions of Soviet directors, of the dictators elected or appointed by Soviet institutions, vested with dictatorial powers..." Lenin regrets the fact that his ideal of the perfectly submissive worker has not yet been achieved. And why? "This is the effect of petty-bourgeois anarchy..." Anarchy: the resistance to domination, manipulation and arbitrary authority; a disease soon to be eliminated from the 'revolutionary workers' state' as it triumphantly moves toward 'communism'.

LEON TROTSKY: THE CULMINATION OF TECHNOCRATIC IDEOLOGY

In some ways, it is hardly worth our while to examine the technological views of Leon Trotsky, since they are merely a development of themes found in Marx and Lenin, and contain little in the way of new departures or original insights. Yet from another perspective, it is especially important to mention Trotsky. On the one hand, because of his attacks on Stalinist authoritarianism and bureaucratism Trotsky has gotten in some circles a reputation for anti-authoritarianism and anti-bureaucratism. Yet this reputation is based on a failure of some to see through the process of ideological mystification, and an examination of Trotsky's views on technology reveal one of the many ways in which he accepts the logic of domination. Furthermore, Trotsky's thought is especially enlightening concerning some aspects of Marxist productivism, since he states in its most blatant form that to which many of his predecessors wisely only alluded. In Trotsky we find vulgar productivism at its most vulgar.

In *The Revolution Betrayed* Trotsky makes the theoretical framework quite clear: "Marxism sets out from the development of technique as the fundamental spring of progress, and constructs the communist programme upon the dynamic of the productive forces". Not being one for understatement, he observes that "Marxism is saturated with the optimism of

progress" - not, of course, the 'utopian' progress of growing communal consciousness and practice, but rather progress rooted in the concrete development of productive forces. "Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory... not in the language of dialectics (which always remains to him a foreign language) but in the language of steel, cement and electricity".

Since socialism must justify itself through productive development, there must be practical programmes for the achievement of this development. Here Trotsky reiterates the themes developed by Lenin. In *Terrorism and Communism* he goes to great lengths to defend a system of high technology, industrial development, regimentation of work and centralised planning. After presenting the fundamentally anti-Marxist thesis of the inherent laziness of human beings, he goes on to describe the system of militarism of labour which will be necessary in order to compel such indolent creatures as humans to perform the work which will be necessary to raise production to the level necessary for their ultimate liberation. "The widest possible application of the principle of general labour service, together with measures for the militarisation of labour, can play a decisive part only in case they are applied on the basis of a single plan covering the whole country and all branches of productive activity. This plan must be drawn up for a number of years, for the whole epoch that lies before us". Needless to say, such a scheme can only be achieved if planning is in the hands of political leaders who are conscious of the laws of history (bureaucrats) and scientists who are knowledgeable concerning the laws of nature (technocrats). In fact as he observes in his presentation of *The Living Thought of Karl Marx*, "the programme of 'Technocracy', which flourished in the period of the great crisis of 1929-32, was founded on the correct premise that economy can be rationalised only through the union of technique at the height of science and government at the service of society". The only error of the movement was its failure to see that the government must be a Marxist-Leninist one, that "only in unison with a proletarian government can the qualified stratum of technicians build a truly scientific and a truly national, ie. a socialist economy". It is not without justification that Castoriadis has called the Trotskyist movement "the bureaucracy in exile".

Where Trotsky is most informative is in his revelation of the epistemological assumptions underlying the Marxist view of technique. For he clearly shows that what we are examining is a theory based on a conception of knowledge as domination, lying at the heart of an instrumentalist view of both human society and nature. In *The Fourth International* he explains that "the need to know nature is imposed upon men by their need to subordinate nature to themselves". His relation to nature is emphatically different from that envisioned by ecology, which is one of non-dominating interaction, the interrelationship of inseparable parts of an organic whole. Instead, his is the view of nature inherited from the enlightenment: nature as a field open for conquest by human rationality. Nature is conceived of instrumentally; it is a resource to be used, to be consumed. Trotsky is quite frank about this topic also. As he explains in *The Revolution Betrayed*, "the very

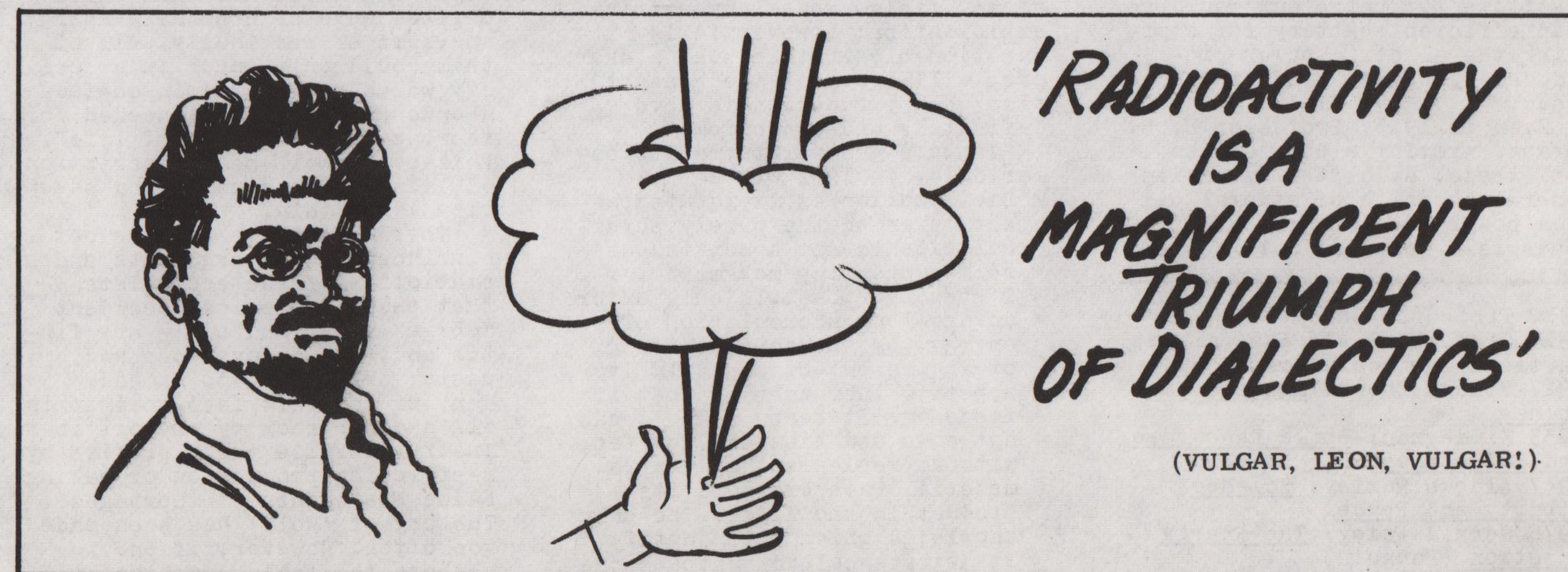
purpose of communism is to subject nature to technique and technique to plan, and compel the raw materials to give unstintingly everything to man that he needs". Science is the true vanguard of this revolutionary movement, the revolt against nature, and Trotsky is well aware of this. "Science", he says, "is knowledge that endows us with power".

But nature, as every materialist knows, is not something merely external to humanity. We are a part of nature. Consequently, in dominating nature we not only dominate an 'external world', we also dominate ourselves. Trotsky accordingly foresees the development of a science of society which will permit the control of society, just as natural science permits the control of external nature. This matter is also discussed in *The Fourth International*, as follows: "social life is neither a chemical nor a physiological process but a social process which is shaped according to its own laws, and these in turn are subject to an objective sociological analysis to foresee and to master the fate of society..." Thus we move from an objectified and dominated nature to an objectified and administered society.

And make no mistake about it: this programme for domination and administration will not be carried out by 'society'. For wherever there are concentrations of power there will be social hierarchies and class domination. Marxist theory always contained the potentiality of performing ideological functions for technobureaucratic class power; it now has realised that potential. As such it performs an essential task in legitimating the project of domination - both within human society and over nature. Trapped within the confines of this project, it cannot escape the necessity of defending exploitative forms of technology. While orthodox Marxism can support the political tactic of a 'united front' on some issues with the ecology movement, it cannot become ecological. For to do so would be to forsake its most fundamental principles concerning social change - to lose its orthodoxy.

All of this should be disquieting to anyone committed to the ecological perspective, for while ecology increasingly points to the necessity of decentralisation, diversity in natural and social systems, human scale technology, and an end to the exploitation of nature, orthodox Marxism must consistently opt for the reverse: centralisation, uniform planning, high technology and an intensified domination of nature. (All of which will, of course, lead to its opposite - in another epoch or two). So we are justifiably appalled when we discover that Trotsky writes that "radioactivity... is a magnificent triumph of dialectics", and that nuclear energy will offer us "unbounded technical possibilities". Yet it is not his position on this particular issue which should be most disturbing to us. What should be our central concern is the fact that the ideology of domination can still be looked upon by some as a revolutionary theory, and that strategies of centralisation, regimentation and productivist development can still be offered as a programme for human liberation. It is this which should impel us to further develop an ecological theory and practice, rooted in a vision of a non-dominating human community, and an organic unity with nature.

JOHN CLARK



is it the end?

THERE IS something rather comforting in finding one's gloomier prophecies confirmed. There is a note of triumph in being able to say 'I told you so' but there is no possibility of extricating oneself from the errors of others. The present apparent oil crisis and the recent nuclear near-disaster are two instances of the phenomenon, and ecologists and friends (and just acquaintances) of the earth have leapt upon these two factors with an understandable mixture of emotion. It has long been debated whether oil was a finite property and, lulled by North Sea oil discoveries (even as late as this week), it has been thought by some that an ever-increasing and never decreasing flow of oil would lubricate our unceasing slide down the primrose path of the motor age. And this despite warning voices which have punctuated that balloon of carefree optimism from time to time, long before the ecology-conscious 1970s. In referring to my own bookshelves I find prophecies and exhortations similar to today's going back over sixty years*.

Aldous Huxley in *Science, Liberty and Peace* (1947) wrote:

One of the most urgent tasks before applied science is the development of some portable source of power to replace petroleum - a most undesirable fuel from the political point of view, since deposits of it are rare and unevenly distributed over the earth's surface, thus constituting natural monopolies which, when in the hands of strong nations, are used to increase their strength at the expense of their neighbours and, when possessed by weak ones, are coveted by the strong and constitute almost irresistible temptations to imperialism and war. From the political and human point of view, the most desirable substitute for petroleum would be an efficient battery for storing the electric power produced by water, wind or the sun.

Even in 1915, Professor H. S. Jevans, writing a book on the coal trade, said "the extensive general adoption of mineral oil as a power producer for all purposes is a very unlikely contin-

gent for, as far as our present knowledge extends, the supply of oil is strictly limited". However, given the subject of his book, the Professor was no more unbiased than, say, the head of the Miners' Union on oil and nuclear energy.

Stuart Chase in *Men and Machines* (1927) refers in passing to petroleum: "There is not very much of it but without it most of the prime movers and machines in the world today would grind, smoke, sputter and come to a dead stop . . . When oil begins to fail, as it may in the next decade, my guess is that the last bearing wells will be husbanded primarily for lubricating purposes." Chase later quotes the United States Petroleum Conservation Board in 1927 as "giving us six more years of oil, if no new fields were discovered, and the consumption rate did not drastically change . . . Other estimates have run as high as fifteen or twenty years. . . . Meanwhile for every barrel of oil reclaimed, nine barrels are wasted, according to current methods of exploitation".

In *Technics and Civilization* (1934) Lewis Mumford commented that petroleum, the "vast new source of power was, opened up fully, equal to the old coal beds in importance, even if doomed to be consumed at a possibly more rapid rate". Zimmerman in *World Resources and Industries* (1933) does not concede to the Cassandras "crying the early depletion of petroleum reserves" but he does mention "a statistical analysis shows that twelve large oil fields, whose maximum production had amounted to almost two and one quarter million barrels, showed a falling-off of 67% one year after reaching the peak, and of 74% two years after". His footnote to this is revealing: "This behaviour is characteristic of oil fields under competitive exploitation; however it is questionable whether such a sharp drop will occur at the present time when production is more definitely under control."

In more general terms Professor Soddy in 1912 wrote *Civilization as it is at present*, even on the purely physical side is not a continuous self-supporting movement . . . It becomes possible only after an age-long accumulation of energy, by the supplementing of income out of capital. Its appetite increases by what it feeds on. It reaps what it has not sown and exhausts, so far, without replenishing. Its raw material is energy and its product is knowledge. The only knowledge which will justify its existence and postpone the

day of reckoning is the knowledge that will replenish rather than diminish its limited resources.

Gerald Foley in his Penguin *The Energy Question* (1976) cites the ecologists' *Blueprint for Survival* as saying of the use of 'oil reserves': "If these rates continue to grow exponentially, as they have done since 1960, then natural gas will be exhausted within fourteen years and petroleum within twenty years." Foley contrasts this with the expressed in a paper by Prof. Peter Odell that "the oil resource base in relation to reasonable expectations of demand gives very little apparent cause for concern, not only for the remainder of this century but also thereafter well into the 21st century at rates of consumption which will then be five or more times their present level". Who is one to believe? Foley points out that Odell is talking about all the petroleum within the earth's crust -- recovery rate of which varies from 20% to 60%. Earlier, Foley writes "Extracting oil is more like squeezing treacle out of a brick than lifting bucketfuls from a well."

Foley refers back to the American situation in the 1930s (on which Zimmerman writes) when there was an American surfeit of oil and "efforts were constantly directed to finding ways of increasing consumption. In this Americans were extremely successful. The huge private car, produced by the million in the factories of Detroit, consumed more energy than a whole Roman legion, and was used to take its owner down to the drugstore for a packet of cigarettes. Central heating, air conditioning, skyscrapers, houses crammed with mechanical and electrical devices, a huge consumption of food, clothes and material goods, in all these ways, and more, American society devised ways of consuming energy undreamt of previously. All of them could only occur in a society which had energy in copious abundance beyond that needed for the basic necessities of life". This could well be a description of life in the sixties and seventies in Britain.

There are those who are not convinced by the arguments and statistics of the ecologists that these geological accident debris - coal and oil - are finite and, due to over-use and waste, are coming to an end. Many on the left feel that it is all a conspiracy by the oil industry to raise their profits by restricting production or making false statements of shortages. The cry of 'Wolf' has been made too often. However, if one remembers the fable, eventually

the wolf did come but no one believed the shepherd. If - as seems likely - oil resources are running out, it is only capitalist logic to get as high a price as possible for a dwindling supply.

At the moment, the acceptance by the nations of the world, of ideas of conservation of oil seems to be little but a deathbed repentance.

One might feel that this distressing scenario (to use the fashionable term) of vanishing resources would lend weight to the doctrines of Malthus. However, the accelerated consumption of oil merely serves to illustrate the wastage of energy, the usage of the most profitable and dangerous sources and the necessity for a change to other energy sources. Cipolla in his *Economic History of World Population* wrote:

"Around 1952, the annual world production of energy was in the neighbourhood of 30 thousand million megawatt-hours. Of these, only some 10 thousand millions were actually put to work. The others - two thirds of total production - were lost. Energy can be lost in all sorts of ways. There are production and transportation losses. There are losses in the process of the inter-conversion of fuels. And finally there are heavy losses in the conversion of heat to mechanical energy in its application, such as the generation of unwanted heat, the evaporation of cooling water, mechanical friction, improper combustion, imperfect heat transfer, and a low load factor. As a matter of fact the largest losses occur at the consumer level where nearly half the original supply of energy is today dissipated in the form of waste heat in the course of its use."

Foley, in *The Energy Question*, comments on the same point of waste. "It is perhaps a characteristic flaw in technological thinking that most approaches to energy-saving tend to postulate the use of some new technique or technological device: solar houses, heat-pumps, waste recovery systems, combined heat and electricity generation and so on. In fact, the largest savings can be made by simply cutting out over-consumption. Cars can be smaller and fewer, journeys need be made. Internal temperatures of houses and offices could be lowered with advantage to health as well as expenditure on heating, if people dressed a little more warmly. Homes are cluttered with superfluous gadgets; supermarkets display a profusion of identical goods competing for attention solely on the merits of their expensive packaging; greenhouses are heated to produce strawberries and lettuces in the middle of winter; 'convenience' foods seem to consume energy in their production in proportion to their loss of nutritional value; feeding of domestic pets is carried to ludicrous and damaging extremes; pressurized aerosol con-

tainers often cost many times as much as the product, such as shaving soap, they are so unnecessarily used to dispense; all these and many more energy uses add little or nothing to the enjoyment of life. Many detract from it by increasing the problems of pollution and waste disposal." One may not agree with all of Foley's slightly puritanical censures but one may observe that every usage is in fact under personal control and decision and needs no government edict to bring their disuse into effect.

Elsewhere Foley examines the wastefulness of the motor-car in contributing to the exhaustion of oil. "The present excessive level of energy consumption by the world's motorists is an example of short-sighted and destructive profligacy. Like a vast herd of goats over-grazing the pasture on which they depend, they are in danger of consuming themselves out of existence." He affirms the practicability of producing a car with an economic consumption of petrol - one British motor manufacturing concern has, within recent weeks, promised to research such a model for production in the early 1980s! One could add to this catalogue of waste, the State's introduction of the greatest waste of all -- war, which in its current mechanized form is the greatest consumer of vast quantities of petroleum - for the purpose of which private motorists are prepared, if not resigned, to suffer rationing; a device which they are as reluctant to accept today as governments, at so-called peace, are reluctant to enforce.

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The alternatives to oil are many and some are infinite. One of the chief arguments against the use of resources of solar energy, wind and waves is that of cost of installation. But one has only to consider the reckless prodigality with which the installations for war are embarked upon, not to mention the blind alleys of space-exploration and nuclear research. The energy crisis should be as much concern and a test of the sincerity of States for human welfare. To use President Carter's speech-maker's ignored quote from William James, it could be 'the moral equivalent of war'. Perhaps the real thing is preferable?

The, so far, unexhausted resources of coal and natural gas are still with us and can be converted or substituted for petrol. Even methane, the product of rotting animal and vegetable wastes, could supply the needs of farms. (One even remembers a 'gas' lamp in London's West End illuminated by sewer-gas - and Colchester sewerage works is so illuminated now.) One farmer produced 226 cubic metres per day from the organic output of 1,000 pigs.

When one considers nuclear power one is repeating much that has been said before. The sheer

impenetrability of scientific language, especially when it is on the defensive and deliberately obscurantist, makes it impossible for the layman to join in the controversy with conviction. Foley summarizes the dilemma thus: "Nuclear engineering is at the edge of technological knowledge, it works with materials and processes for which there is little historical precedent. No one knows what will have happened to the pressure vessel of a light-water reactor after it has been subjected to neutron bombardment for twenty years, for the simple reason that none has been in service that length of time."

The dangers of nuclear energy are poo-hooed by scientists both from a conviction that nobody knows what will happen in the future - to nuclear waste for example - or a conviction based on vested interests. On balance, it is obvious that the amount of risk (for example Harrisburg) is disproportionate to the inconvenience of trying alternative methods of energy.

It was only in the crude exploitative days of the Industrial Revolution that coal mining was regarded as a viable method of obtaining energy; the cost in human life, both taken and warped, was not taken into account. Even now, the miners' unions, a vested interest, still staunchly support coal mining as a basic form of energy. Whatever happened to the Soviet-pioneered idea of firing mines and piping of the resultant products, thus cutting out the face workers? Like many good labour-saving, humanitarian ideas, it probably never got started on grounds of initial cost.

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This 'crisis' of energy is a challenge. It could have been averted with forethought and intelligent choice, but this is obviously not in the nature of States or government. We, who advocate other forms of society, are often accused of trying to put the clock back. It seems that in the field of energy the clock is stopping, so it will be necessary to adjust the time. Perhaps society will take its time from those believing in a decentralist society.

Alternative methods of providing energy will provide for smaller units of society, small and beautiful, pollution-free, with opportunities for more purposeful craft work. The move to a low-energy society entails a new thinking, a new set of values. That we are forced into such a situation seems to be making the best of a bad job, or a virtue of necessity. But it is nevertheless only by discovering through experience that we can find the right road for mankind and society.

JACK ROBINSON

*1912 Professor Soddy
1915 Prof. H. S. Jevans (albeit partisan for coal versus oil)
1927 Stuart Chase: *Men and Machines*
1933 Zimmerman: *World Resources and Industries*
1947 Aldous Huxley: *Science, Liberty and Peace*
1976 Gerald Foley: *The Energy Question* (Penguin)