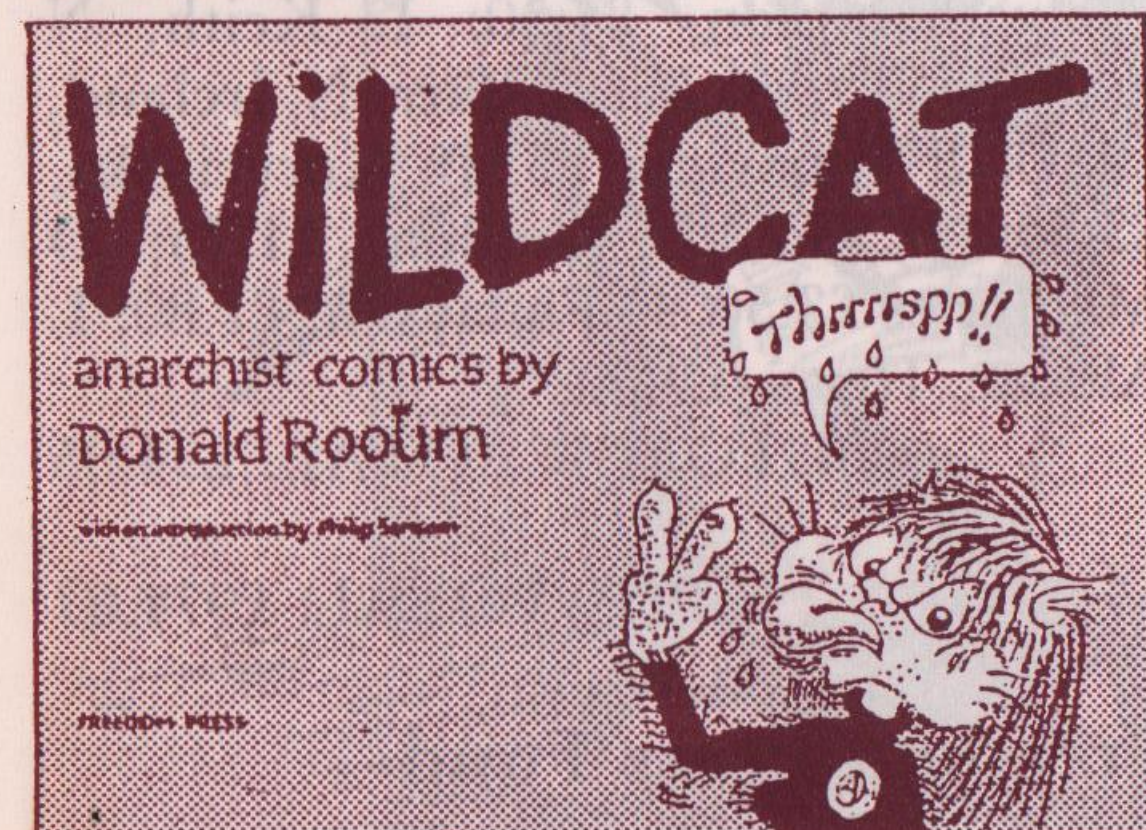


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Two new FP titles will be on sale this month:

WILDCAT ANARCHIST COMICS
by Donald Rooum with an introduction by Philip Sansom (48 pages ISBN 0 900384 301 £1.50)

Donald Rooum needs no introduction to *Freedom* readers. This little volume includes more than forty fullpages of completely new drawings, featuring our heroine the Revolting Pussycat, her abstemious comrade the Free-range Egghead, pigs dressed as policemen, recognisable politicians and loads of other characters. Readers familiar with the anarchist classics will enjoy the hilarious presentation of some classic images. Serious argument however is more or less absent since our artist believes that "a cartoon is no place for intellectual respectability".

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Philip Sansom's introduction (fitted among the cartoons which appear on every page) is an entertaining account of some of the anarchist enterprises in which Sansom and Rooum have been involved, including the downfall of a certain notorious policeman.

This delightful little book is addressed to adults, but not unsuitable for children. Much better than a greetings card.

THE ANARCHIST WRITINGS OF WILLIAM GODWIN edited and with an introduction by Peter Marshall (about 150 pages ISBN 0 900384 29 8 £3.00)

In the editor's opinion "Godwin is the first and arguably the profoundest exponent of anarchism. He is not only the greatest British radical philosopher, but a pioneer in libertarian education, a founder of communist economics, and an acute and powerful novelist".

This work offers for the first time a handy collection of Godwin's key thoughts in a clear and concise form, together with the editor's three part Introduction, consisting of an assessment of Godwin's influence, a biographical sketch and an analysis of his contribution to anarchist theory and practice.

The selections are taken from all of Godwin's writings and cover his views on human nature, ethics, politics, economics, education and the free society. Godwin will be of interest to all those who believe that rationality, truth, happiness, individuality, equality and freedom are central concerns of human enquiry and endeavour. As government's grow increasingly centralised, authoritarian and secretive, Godwin's insights are being increasingly appreciated.

FREEDOM PRESS have been appointed by the University of North Carolina Press sole distributors in the UK for one of the most important source works on the Spanish Civil War. We refer, of course, to: **THE SPANISH REVOLUTION — The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War** by Burnett Bolloten (644 pages paperback £7.50)

This is the third (and latest) enlarged edition with additional chapters and copious notes and references. What also makes this edition invaluable for the student is the Bibliography and a 50-page Index.

Burnett Bolloten continues his researches, though he is now well into his seventies, and therefore this latest edition may not be the last. But a bird in the hand . . . for this edition will very shortly be out of print.

FREEDOM

Liberty without equality is exploitation. Socialism without liberty is tyranny.

international anarchist monthly



CND Here we are again!
ANARCHY AND POWER POLITICS

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CONTRIBUTORS PLEASE NOTE: *Freedom* is a professionally typeset paper, which means that articles for *Freedom* need to be typed, on one side only, triple spaced with a large margin down both sides of the page. Neat handwritten material should be on lined paper using every other line. Keep your own copy rather than ask us to return the original. Letters — up to 400 words, articles — usually 1,000 words.

CND Here we are again!

THE CND demonstration in London on Saturday, 26 October, marks the latest stage in the development of the revived nuclear disarmament movement.

The old movement emerged nearly 30 years ago, as part of the radical realignment of the Left following the Destalinisation campaign in Russia, the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the Anglo-French attack on Egypt in the Suez War, the rise of the New Left, and the British testing of the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific. There had been protests against nuclear weapons since 1943, legal demonstrations since 1948, and illegal demonstrations since 1952, but a significant public movement appeared only in the late 1950s, with the formation of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War in 1957 and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in 1958, respectively the militant and moderate organisations for anti-nuclear activity.

DAC was responsible for the first Aldermaston March in 1958, at which Gerald Holtom's nuclear disarmament symbol was first used, but then specialised in illegal demonstration of non-violent civil disobedience. CND specialised in legal demonstrations and propaganda, taking over the Aldermaston March in 1959 and holding meetings all over the country. The Committee of 100 was formed in 1960, in an attempt to combine the militancy of DAC demonstrations with the size of CND demonstrations, and absorbed DAC in 1961.

The old movement reached its peak during the early 1960s, with mass demonstrations, both legal and illegal, with the Labour Party committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament for a year, and with between a quarter and a third of the population supporting such a policy. A whole generation was radicalised, and the process contributed substantially to the revival of the anarchist movement. But in 1964, with the election of Harold Wilson's Labour Government, making the usual left-wing noises and taking the usual right-wing actions, the radical initiative passed to the movement against the Vietnam War, the Marxist sects, the student movement, the Northern Irish movements, the women's movement, the gay movement, squatters, drugs, everyday life. The last large-scale illegal demonstrations and the dissolution of the Committee of 100 came in 1968, and the movement which had been so important for more than a decade almost disappeared for more than a decade.

Of course the nuclear disarmament movement continued to exist. CND continued small-scale demonstrations and low-key propaganda, pacifists continued to struggle after 1968 as they had done before 1958, the ecology movement turned attention to nuclear energy as well as nuclear weapons — but the media and the masses moved on to other things. The change came in 1979, with the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government and the NATO decision to install a new

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generation of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe, beginning with Cruise missiles in Britain. The movement revived, and a new generation of campaigners joined the old generation in what became a new movement, and a new process of radicalisation began.

The process of revival was marked by a series of mass demonstrations in London. The first, in October 1980, was so large that it brought the movement back to public attention and political significance. The second, in October 1981, was twice as large. The third, in June 1982 (just after the Falklands War), was twice as large again, and was indeed the largest nuclear disarmament demonstration ever held in this country. The fourth, in October 1983, was so large that it could hardly move. In 1984 there was instead a demonstration at Barrow-in-Furness, where the new Trident submarines are to be built, which was inevitably much smaller in size, if not in impact. In 1985 we are back in London.

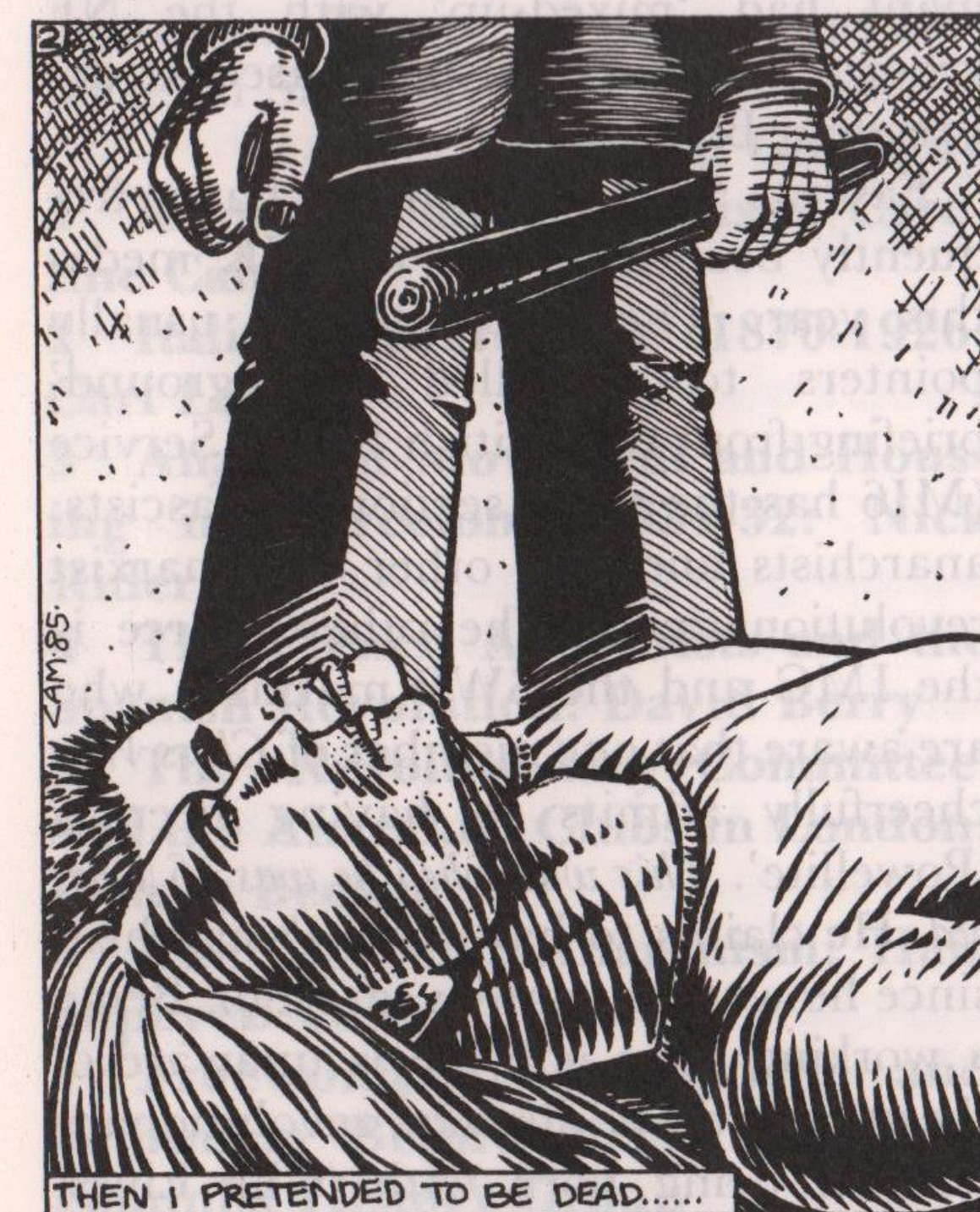
This time?

The question is what we are doing here this time. Last time, two years ago, not only was CND itself increasing in membership and support, but local



groups were growing all over the country, and above all direct action was becoming a popular method, with the women's siege of the first Cruise missiles base at Greenham Common and the first Stop the City demonstration, and then a series of autonomous illegal activities all over the country, many of them approved or even organised by CND, in welcome contrast to the sectarian condemnation which marred the old movement. But since the demonstrations against the Economic Summit and at the second Cruise missile base at Molesworth last year, there has been a marked decline in mass action, above all in the failure to maintain a major campaign at Molesworth. CND remains the largest protest organisation in Britain, with more than 100,000 individual members and four or five times as many members of local groups and with a majority support for the campaigns against new missiles, and there are still all kinds of actions in all kinds of places, but it seems that the media have moved on to other things and that masses may do so soon.

One problem which we have repeatedly raised is the danger of the movement becoming identified with the electoral interests of the Labour Party. The Labour Party Annual Conference passed a unilateralist resolution by a small majority in 1960, but this was reversed in 1961. However, it passed a



unilateralist resolution again in 1981, and this was confirmed with a two-thirds majority in 1982, making it official party policy, which it has remained ever since. The Labour Party fought the 1983 General Election with a unilateralist policy and a unilateralist leader, and although it lost heavily it has the same policy and another unilateralist leader. But Neil Kinnock, who like every previous party leader climbed to power on the backs of the Left, has now like every other party leader begun to

turn away from the Left. It may be tempting to rely on the election of a Labour Government at the next General Election, but it would be as futile as in 1945, 1964 or 1974.

Holy Alliance

Another problem which we have similarly raised is the danger of the movement becoming manipulated in the strategic interests of the Soviet Union. The holy alliance between Communists and pacifists in the anti-war movement has long exploited the inevitable emphasis of the British nuclear disarmament campaign on American and British weapons, and the recent Russian offers of partial disarmament have clearly been designed to impress the Left in Western Europe rather than the Reagan Administration in the United States. So, while we



should welcome any move which might reduce the rising tension in the nuclear arms race, we should be aware of the dangers of supporting the kind of Marxist front which did so much to vitiate the movement against nuclear weapons before 1958 and the movement against the Vietnam War after 1968.

A more immediate problem is the form of the present demonstration. Learning from the previous ones that the numbers will probably be so large that people are physically unable to get from one place to another, CND have organised a circular march starting at 11:00 and going clockwise round Hyde Park to call at the Russian Embassy in Kensington Palace Gardens and the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. So we are being asked literally to walk round in circles, which is uncomfortably symbolic of the present state of the movement! CND have also organised actions to take place during the long march — a four-minute die-in at 1:00, a four-minute sit-down at 2:00, and a four-minute hand-link at 3:00 —

each representing a technique which has been widely used during the past few years, but all a matter of symbolic rather than direct action. Finally there is the theme of the demonstration — 'Human Race or Nuclear Race' — which is a neat phrase but still a nice evasion of the



original question of what we are doing here. Add to this the predictable content of the speeches which will be given at the final rally from 3:30, and we have much to disapprove of in this demonstration.

Protest without illusions

Nevertheless, nothing will be gained either by just staying away (unless of course you are doing something more effective) or by just trying to disrupt the proceedings by attacking the speakers (rather than the police, who are more likely to hit back!), as has been done by some anarchists on some previous occasions. By all means let us show our dissent, but let us do so in ways which are likely to be understood by our opponents as well as our supporters and to increase rather than decrease support for our ideas. Let us circulate our publications and participate in discussions, doing everything we can to win friends and influence people on this most serious of all political issues.

Above all, let us add our small numbers to the large numbers of those who seem to share our views about the military policies of this and all governments, remembering that Canada in North America and Norway and Denmark in Western Europe have refused to accept the new missiles and that New Zealand on the other side of the world is going even further. We may not actually manage to pull this country out of the nuclear alliance and the arms race, but we can do our best. As we said on so many previous demonstrations of this kind — protest, without illusions.

FC

Bashed by The Rich March #2

CLASS WAR'S Bash the Rich March no 2 called on people to meet at Chalk Farm tube at 3:00pm on Saturday September 21st, with the intention of marching to those parts of Hampstead in which 'Rich Scumbags' have chosen to make their luxurious dwellings. By 3:00 quite a crowd had gathered; it was a shame that most persons present were in uniform, and busied themselves about searching the pockets, bodies and baggage of those out of uniform.

At a very rough estimate about 300 people took part in the march, escorted by what seemed almost as many police (including those who, previously out of sight, appeared as if on cue when the trouble started). The actions of the police were extremely provocative. En route to Hampstead they succeeded, by such means as several snatch arrests, in raising the tempers of the marchers. Tempers were pushed to the limit. Just inside Hampstead we were met by a line of police blocking the path of the march, diverting it down a side street away from where people wanted to go.

Here the march stood still, arrests were being made at the rear and fighting ensued as people attempted to resist these arrests. Those previously out-of-sight police appeared on the scene. Police lines tightened up as more arrests were made.

After people had been sufficiently frightened and once the potential trouble akers were in custody the march was allowed to continue — away from Hampstead! It was plain to see that this was a premeditated tactic of the police, and people played right into their hands, despite the odds. As I heard someone say, 'You can't take on that many coppers'.

Achievements

I'm not quite sure what people were hoping to achieve besides getting faces on police film and names in police files. This was certainly something the police wanted, and by detaining everyone for just a few hours and then releasing them all, except for one, uncharged, they succeeded in achieving just that.

And if the march had reached 'Millionaires Row', what then? Far from 'Putting the Shits up the Rich Scumbags', as they watched from behind their lines of police and in the comfort and total security of their own homes, it would have done more to amuse them, breaking the monotony of

the umpteenth game of croquet.

The idea behind the march, I am told, was to revive an old tradition. I can't help feeling that when times have changed then ideas should too! Shouldn't we be changing and inventing new and more successful ways of registering our discontent? Ways that aren't just an angrier version of Hyde Park! **Nick**

The Guardian links Class War with National Front

The so-called quality newspaper, *The Guardian*, recently claimed that the (ultra-leftist?) anarchist group *Class War* had been formed by leading members of the (fascist) National front. This was of course total bullshit, as was quickly discovered when *The Guardian* journalist 'responsible' (the young and inexcusably politically naive David Rose) was questioned as to his sources. These turned out to be hearsay from a friend of a friend in the Labour Party, who had "actually bought *National Front literature* in *Class War's* bookshop".

Class War doesn't have a bookshop, of course! To cut a long story short, the 'National Front literature' turned out to be a cassette of the punk band the Apostles (whom David Rose's informant had 'mixed-up' with the NF group, the Forskins) purchased at the Freedom Bookshop!

Fascists and anarchists have frequently been linked in the UK media this year. These reports are usually pointers to muddled 'background' briefing from the British Secret Service (MI6 has the same section for fascists, anarchists and any other non-marxist revolutionaries!). The other source is the IMG and the SWP marxists, who are aware that one member of *Class War* cheerfully admits to having been a 'Powellite'. This was when he was 16 years old. He claims to have been 'anarchist' since he was 18, many years ago. Being a working class yob, he is unaware of the standard middle class revolutionary pose of being born with 'Ché Lives' stamped on your bum.

Personal knowledge of *Class War's* leading lights goes back a long way amongst London anarchists. Indeed some of us can remember when Ian Bone took part in local government elections as a (very) radical Labour Party candidate. There are no known links with the National Front, except for one very bloody confrontation.

Courtiers to King Media

Whilst *The Guardian* cannot be excused for its deplorable bullshit,

neither can *Class War* honestly claim to be utterly innocent victims. The State has gone to a lot of trouble over the years to portray anarchists as dangerous loonies who believe in violence and chaos for its own sake. Anyone willing to play up to that image has always been rewarded with generous dollops of 'free publicity' from the Capitalist Press. *Class War* have gone out of their way to get such publicity, and gloried in it when it came.

The dangers of this course and the self-defeating nature of a vulgar version of 'propaganda by the deed' (or more accurately to the well publicised deedlet) have often been explained to them. To be fair, unlike *Black Flag*, *Class War* HAVE taken a stand against

History Workshop 19 Weekend

November 22nd-24th

THE Anarchist 'strand' of this promising programme has been put together by the recently formed Anarchist Research Group — ie nopt academic outsiders muscling in on the subject of anarchism. Topics 1-7 expected to take place on Saturday, 8-12 on Sunday.

David Goodway

- 1 Kropotkin and Terrorism: Caroline Cahm
- 2 Italian Anarchism 1870-1926: Carl Levy
- 3 Anarchist Movement and Housing in Barcelona 1931-32: Nick Rider
- 4 The French Anarchists and the Spanish Revolution: David Berry
- 5 The 'Revolutionary Committee' and the Anarchist Clubs in London: Heiner Becker
- 6 The SDF and Anarchism: Haia Shpayer-Makov
- 7 Freewomen?, Anarchism and Feminism Before 1914: Anarchist Feminist History Group
- 8 Karl Marx's Theory of History — A Critique: Alan Carter
- 9 Kropotkin and the Education of the Ordinary Young: Michael Smith
- 10 Tolstoy and the Causes of War: Ronald Sampson
- 11 Anarchism and Co-operatives: Tom Cahill
- 12 The Greens — Germany and America: Murray Bookchin

Send SAE (very quickly) for details to: HW19, Adult Education Centre, Springfield Mount, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT.

small group terrorism (bombism), but most serious anarchists are only too aware that someday, somewhere, some young disturbed *Class War* influenced kid is going to fire-bomb something he/she doesn't like and kill an 'innocent baby'. The rest of us will then lose everything we have patiently built up by years of quiet hard work.

Anarchism is about people controlling their own lives directly. It's about freedom, mutual aid and being responsible for your own actions. It is not about becoming famous/infamous and being childishly self-indulgent at other people's expense. That *Class War* should naively play Court Jester to the Media King was always a joke — only it was never really funny. **Stu Stuart**

Mary Ward Centre

Well-attended and comradely meetings have enabled good planning, guest speakers alternating with more informal discussions.

Early in November we have a visit from the Riff-Raff Poets — date not confirmed at going to press, so check *Time Out* or *City Limits*. Definite dates: on 6th December Stu Stuart gives us 'Up-wing, down-wing — a practical model for anarchists', and on 13th December we hold our Xmas social. Ken Weller opens the new year on 10th January, and Andy Brown, Jeff Cloves, Tony Gibson, Clifford Harper, Donald Room, Barbara Smoker and Colin Ward are among those booked for 1986.

Charlie
Every Friday at 8:00pm
Mary Ward Centre,
42 Queen Square,
London WC1



i.t. IS BACK! SUBSCRIPTIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, DONATIONS, STAFFERS, MORE DETAILS — BCM IT, LONDON WC1V 3XX.

In Brief

A MAN in Nashville, Tennessee, has been arrested more than 40 times in the past 17 years for stamping on people's feet. Judicial patience has been exhausted and he has been sent to prison after two more incidents.

TWO Bangladeshis have spent 19 years in prison waiting for trial on charges of attempted robbery. Three others arrested with them have died in jail in the meantime. If found guilty, their maximum sentence could be four years.

AYATOLLAH Khomeini has said that he finds the press can be boring. His official successor, Montazeri, has told newspapers to feel free to criticise the government. 'Newspapers should have freedom'.

A JUDGE in India has investigated the plight of 'bonded' labourers. In one case he found nearly 100 people kept in a cage 15 feet by 60 feet. Some were children under 14 who were forced to work 12 hours a day. Their food and water was 'unfit for animals'. The British-based Anti Slavery Society estimates that there are up to 100 million bonded labourers in India.

THERE is reported public concern in Japan about school bullying leading to suicide. In the first half of this year, the police handles 251 cases of bullying involving violence or intimidation. There were four reported suicides. Educational authorities blame this on strict discipline and emphasis on conformity.

INSURANCE companies have rejected pleas by the Metropolitan Police to offer discounts to customers who join neighbourhood watch schemes. Major companies say that such schemes merely displace crime into adjoining areas and have no effect on the total number of claims. Meanwhile, neighbourhood watching is encouraged in other quarters. The DHSS has been paying rewards of £25 to people who inform on 'moonlighters'.

A POLICEMAN in Los Angeles has been found guilty of planting a bomb on a team bus during the recent Olympics. He was going to 'discover' it in order to make himself a hero. He was sentenced to five years probation and fined \$10,000.



SRI LANKA

The Eastern Ulster?

YOUR criticism of Andy Brown's article on the state of Sri Lanka as being "a touch too pro-Tamil" deserves nominating for the prize in Media Understatements of 1985. If 'Andy' isn't the pen name of a Tamil separatist then Andy has simply read out one of their press releases to us.

I lived in Sri Lanka for two years in the mid-sixties, being deported in November 1964 for revolutionary activities. Those activities were aimed at heading off the precise state of affairs existing on the island today. Like Eire, if you don't understand its history then what goes on now is either inexplicable or, worse, explicable in the wrong way leading to a false analysis of the situation.

The Sinhalese are peasant farmers too sensible to deviate from their traditional practice of subsistence farming. In consequence famine has been virtually unknown there. When the Brits took over from the Dutch in the colonial era it was decided lolly lay in tea planting. Since the Sinhalese wouldn't budge cheap, industrious Tamil labour was imported in quantity from the Indian mainland. There were, incidentally, Tamils resident in the north of the island for some hundreds of years before Europe took any interest in the area, having established themselves by right of conquest. Indeed, had the whites delayed the whole island would have inevitably come under Tamil control since they had the advantage of a million or so of reinforcements from the mainland. Tea became the island's cash crop, and the British plantation owners scored heavily until 1948 when colonialism went out of fashion and they were chunked out.

Exploitation

Exploitation by White Sahibs merely gave way to exploitation by Brown Sahibs, mainly rich Sinhalese businessmen supplying Western markets for tea. A twist in this situation has given Sri Lanka its present problem. It arose

because of the lack of interest displayed by the Sinhalese in a government dominated by whites. They preferred to stay in their villages and practise their two-thousand-year-old life-style.

Consequently, educated Tamils were recruited almost en masse into the State bureaucracy and education system, and understudied whites in most key positions. When the colonial yoke was thrown off they remained to run a machine whose control was now vested in the hands of a clique of indigenous Sinhalese politicians hastily nominated and 'elected' under the auspices of a retiring power.

Obviously, as matters stood it was a no-no situation. The Sinhala State was in the power of an ethnic minority only barely tolerated by the indigenous population, who regarded it as immigrant labour subject to repatriation as soon as convenient. Since the Indian Government was making ugly faces at the mere idea, having population enough of its own, a compromise was hit upon by the politicians which, as often, satisfied no-one.

They made Sinhala the official language and required the Tamil-speaking minority to speak it if they wanted educating at the tertiary level and jobs in the public sector. The parallel with Wales here is close. Those Tamils, often key personnel, who couldn't or wouldn't learn Sinhalese got out as best they could, to open businesses or run farms and plantations. The politicians were forced to raid the dregs of the educational system where the native speakers lingered and give them super-fast promotion, often beyond their qualifications, experience and capacities. As in Wales, in some cases farmyard yokels who could speak the lingo found themselves catapulted into controlling positions on committees whose functions they found difficulty in spelling, let alone understanding.

All this could simply have been bad news for the Tamils if they had been in fact a minority. On Sri Lanka they are. But not a few miles away, on the Indian mainland . . . ! Again, we have a close parallel in the UK. The men of Ulster, being of Protestant Scottish origin, have only to whistle if the scene gets really juicy and their Scottish cousins will be right in there!

Solving the mess described is a far, far bigger task than jejeune attempts to side with one or other grouping and push for total repatriation, assimilation or partition. Implicit in the history described above, a history shared by Eire to a large extent, are the reasons why none of these solutions will work. For when we look at both countries we do not see drama, the conflict of right with wrong. We see instead a tragedy,

the conflict of right with right. There is still much tragedy yet to come.

Ronin

Blasphemy

SEVERAL members of Bunte Liste ('Coloured List'), a radical environmentalist group in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, West Germany, are being prosecuted for blasphemy. Their offence is the production of an anti-Catholic poster to advertise an Anti-clerical Week in October 1984, which showed a caricature of a Catholic priest holding a figure of God as a glove-puppet and a copy of the Concordat between the Vatican and Nazi Germany (which is still in force).

The old blasphemy law (paragraph 166 of the Criminal Code) can be used to punish with fine and imprisonment of up to three years any attack on 'the content of the religious or philosophical confession of a church or other religious society or philosophical organisation' which might disturb public order. This law has recently been used a dozen times in Catholic areas of West Germany as part of an attempt by the authorities to suppress propaganda against the increasing influence of religion in public life. The international freethought movement is organising a series of protests.

NW

(Bunte Liste Freiburg, Postfach 254, D7800 Freiburg, West Germany)

Student Conference

For too long the anarchist viewpoint to student issues has been swamped by the heavy hand of the party based tribes. We have an alternative to the bickering and bureaucracy of present student politics. We must make it heard!

On Saturday November 2nd there will be a meeting for all anarchist/libertarian students at the 121 Bookshop. The conference will start at 1:00 and continue for the rest of the day, with a social in the evening. Accommodation and a fares equalisation scheme will be available for those who need it and food will hopefully be provided.

If you are interested please contact us either address below. If possible give us the number of people coming and whether accommodation is required. Even if you can't make it to the conference, still get in touch and we will send a report on to you. Anarchy, Peace and Freedom,

Anarchist Group,
DMC Students Union,
432 Bancroft Road,
London E1

Direct Action or Revolutionary Socialism

CRITICS of the Direct Action Movement (in the Socialist Federation, etc) have of late accused it of turning its back on the existing trade unions and shop stewards' organisations, and attempting to set up new adventure unions outside of the 'reality' of the British Labour Movement. This view is, of course, a traditional Marxist misunderstanding of the 'bottom-up' approach to life employed by most anarchists and direct actionists. As one speaker at the DAM September Summer School, near Bradford, said:

"We have no faith in any form of officialdom. We put our confidence in ordinary people at the grassroots: on the shopfloor; in the street; on the picket line; in the dole queue. What distinguishes us from the party politicians is that they all believe in bosses of one form or another: the Tories in businessmen; the state socialists in civil servants or union bureaucrats."

John Simkin of Burnley DAM spoke on the national rank and file movement which DAM is hoping will develop. The idea is to co-ordinate the existing industrial rank and file movements like that of the miners, the teachers, and the building workers, and to createliason with workers in other industries.

Some concern was expressed by the jobless at the School about the role of the unemployed in such a movement of rank and file workers. Many anarchists and direct actionists are out of work. It was suggested that DAM ought to fight MSC and YTS schemes as cheap labour programmes. This could well become DAM national policy at its October Conference. It was also said that DAM should expose the union officials in the pay of such schemes as these.

An account of the history of the national rank and file movement in the 1960s which was formed by anarchists and syndicalists was given by another speaker. An explanation was provided of its shortcomings, achievements and eventual demise. It was argued that any future movement would require a clear and relevant programme as well as a libertarian structure.

The national rank and file Miners Movement sent up three speakers from Doncaster. They were all very critical of the TUC, the Labour Party, and Communist Party, and called for a movement cutting across party political lines. Their recent conference has already adopted many syndicalist principles:

- 1) Accountability, recallability and regular elections of officials with no life positions.
- 2) The average wage of the industry for all officials.
- 3) Union representation on every shift, as in the shop steward system.
- 4) Mass pit meetings to decide action and making all strikes over jobs, conditions and victimisation, official.
- 5) Build up an inter-union rank and file group, across trade union barriers.

Though the structure and spirit of the national rank and file Miners Movement is excellent they seem to be a bit gullible politically. Like so many of the left in British politics they seem to have picked up the plague of revolutionary socialism. This was evident at both the Summer school and in the NUM's revolutionary approach to the TUC, in seeking reimbursement of its funds confiscated by the courts during the pit strike, and demanding a review of the cases of the jailed miners and reinstatement of those sacked. This is clearly a political ploy in the the NUM are appealing to a party to which they are affiliated — the Labour Party, an intensely legalistic party given to solving all problems by the

passing of laws — to juggle with the decisions of the judiciary if it gets elected in three years. Meanwhile, the miners are still in prison and those sacked stay sacked. Perhaps this is an example of the hypocrisy for which we English are so famous.

A more pressing problem for us in view of the incompetence of the Coal Board, must be to work out a strategy for the coal mining industry. This strategy must question the way the coal industry is managed, and offer realistic alternatives to McGregor's 'management by diktat'. Basing their approach on solving the problems and overcoming the inadequacies of the present management structures, the rank and file members and the DAM ought to produce a series of programmes for specific industries dedicate to establishing a more democratic administration of work.

After the conference of the national rank and file movement in 1961, a writer in *Freedom* declared: "Obviously the trade unions have their achievements and their uses: the point of the demand for a new rank and file movement is that they are not useful enough, and that in some circumstances and cases, their structure is antipathetic to workers' actual needs."

If the Summer School of the DAM has given us some clues about how to tackle some of these problems it will have done a good job.

Brian Bamford

LORD Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor, has said that he has not banned supporters of CND from becoming magistrates. However, a spokesman for his department has confirmed that local committees are being advised to question candidates on the issue. The fear is that they will 'bring the magistracy into disrepute' by taking part in demonstrations. Several JP's have been dismissed after taking part in peace protests. Some are trying to appeal. Desperately important for Civil Liberties, no doubt, but somehow we don't feel much sympathy.



POWER

Violence and hypocrisy



A WAVE of orgiastic leader-worship has flooded the country over the past few weeks. Thousands of normally upright citizens have prostrated themselves before führers and potential führers in the hope of becoming, or remaining, on the winning side. Rights and wrongs have been bandied about, causes and effects have been kneaded into the bread of life for dubious organisations led by small groups of politically motivated individuals from whom no sane person would buy a second hand car.

The problem is to find the sane persons. Once the wave of euphoria reaches the private parts, the emotions take over and mind itself is taken over by matter.

And what is it that matters? Let us go back just twelve months, to the end of the SDP annual conference, and the peroration with which Dr David Owen ended his winding-up speech at the 1984 rave-up. He summed it all up thus: "What we want is votes. What we want is influence. What we want is power!"

Well, now, you can't be more honest than that, can you? Listening this year to as much as we could stomach of the various parties' annual conferences, Dr Death's words came back to us time and time again.

Lore 'n' ordure

Whether it was the Liberals or the Social Democrats (whatever they are!) or the Labour Party or the final knee trembler, the Conservative conference, the one message that came across loud and clear to the watching millions — and thank goodness for television so we can now see in close-up those bulging eyes and twisted mouths — was that

they all wanted power. But they all said that they wanted freedom for the people, while never, at any time, promising to set us free from them. On the contrary, like Dr Owen last year in that moment of unaccustomed frankness, they all wanted power, and in their terms, that meant coming into control of the state machine, and being thus able to impose their concepts of law and order (or lore'n' ordure, as some of us call it) upon everybody else. Democratically, of course.

But under our (ie, their) electoral rules, here in the land of the Mother of Parliaments (and where is the father I should like to know?) democracy really means one-party government as surely as it does in Russia or Chile. It needs only a slender majority in the Commons to give a party power, and this is usually achieved with a minority of votes in the country. So we are usually governed by a minority party. Way back in 1945, an exception to this was chalked up when the Labour Party swept to power with a huge majority. The party leaders were taken by surprise, for it was taken for granted that our greatest wartime leader, Winston Churchill, would be returned to office by a nation ever-so-grateful for his leadership during the most destructive war up to that date.

The election was swung, however, by the very voters he had led so gallantly from the rear: the soldiers, sailors and airmen of the armed forces had voted overwhelmingly for a change. Unfortunately, what they got was the Labour Party, who hadn't got the guts to do what the electorate had obviously expected of them — a radical change in the British system that would have made the return to the bad old days of

the 1930s impossible. Blimey mate, in those days we had more than three million unemployed! Didn't want that again, did we?

One Big Boss

The Labour Party's idea of change was to nationalise the mines, the railways, electricity and gas. Instead of a thousand mine owners, there would be only one — a state appointed, nationalised board of bosses. Instead of a thousand little bosses, one big boss. The miners cheered, silly sods, for while it must be admitted that access to state money (ie: public, ie: your and my money) improvements in conditions were possible, safety standards were improved, pithead baths were installed, so miners did not have to walk home in their working filth, to squat in a bath before the kitchen fire before crawling off to bed. How the Tories hated that! But the big boss was now there. A miner black-listed for 'disobedience' in one pit found himself black-listed everywhere — for the same boss was everywhere.

If nationalisation ever needed its final condemnation, it got it this year — when the miners had to crawl back to work after a noble year-long struggle, behind a leader who believes in nationalisation, and is indeed a Stalinist, believing not in workers' control but in centralised state control. The final irony, which seems to have been ignored by many supporters of the miners, was that among the many countries which were helping to break the strike by exporting coal to Britain was Poland — whose Stalinist government is supported by Scargill, against Solidarity — a much more syndicalist type organisation than the NUM.

Lost Chances

But to cast another quick backward glance to the 1945 Labour Government, one can only weep that the chance to make those radical changes was not even considered. Not that anarchists expected them, but the political power was there to introduce a much stronger say in the running of industry by the workers. Never mind about owning shares in the mining industry — giving workers a slice of the capitalist action — but some degree of decision-making should have been written into the nationalisation legislation, some workers control over the closing of pits, for example. But the idea of extending, even by a little, industrial democracy, which would give workers some control over their working lives, did not even occur to the Labour Party — or the Trade Union bosses. Scargill's fight against pit closures was a bit late; for pits were already being closed in the

fifties — with no opposition from the unions.

But then, the Labour Party has never been a socialist party in any real sense of the word. Or even, for that matter, social democratic. It has been a centralist party, aiming at the control of individualistic capitalism by smoothing over its rough edges; its introduction of the welfare state was aimed at making capitalism more acceptable, not abolishing it. The welfare face of the warfare state.

Scavenging for votes

The case is still the same today — perhaps even more so, faced with the twin evils of the 'militant tendency' on its left and the Social Democratic Party on its right, the Labour Party now has to tread a very careful and narrow path towards respectability which will win it votes in the next election. Which is all that matters.

All the parties are today scavenging for the middle ground, with the possible exception, as of now, of the Tories. While Labour has always sought the support of middle class radicals to top up its solid working class base, now there is no solid working class base. For the first time in history, 'blue collar' workers are no longer in the majority — except among the unemployed, who are learning the hard way that the 'masses' are no longer needed in our increasingly computerised industries. The SDP, having come from nowhere, has to scavenge for votes wherever it can. Led by careerist ex-Labour politicians who left the sinking ship in advance of the rats, the SDP makes it up as it goes along, pretending to be something different. The Liberals try to be the same 'libertarian' conservative party they always tried to be, which is absurd in an increasingly authoritarian situation. Nuclear disarmers should note that the Liberals are 'in favour' of getting rid of Cruise, etc; the SDP is not. A vote for either is a vote for the Alliance, which is more likely to be led by David Owen than by David Steel, so that Liberals voting against nuclear weapons may end up finding themselves being led by allies in favour of keeping them. And if you think that Labour, without any such complications, is a safe bet because of Neil Kinnock's firm statements — take a look at Labour's record the first time around. "We cannot", said Aneurin Bevan, "go naked into the conference chambers of the world". Welsh wizards may change, but power politics do not.

Naked class hatred

So we end with our annual orgy with the Tories. In some ways it is a relief. You don't have to try to read between

the lines so carefully. A Conservative Party Conference is blatant. Sheer naked class hatred, equalled only by our own Class War comrades, blazes forth from the speakers from the floor. The leaders are rather more careful, but egged on by their supporters can also go over the top. The hangers and floggers rant and roar, retired policemen call for rubber bullets, water cannons and CS gas on the streets, to standing ovations. 'Life and death sentences are demanded with such intensity that you feel as though damnation, purgatory and eternity itself cannot provide enough punishment for the evil wickedness of pinching videos and nappy liners from supermarkets.

Make no doubt about it. Rubber bullets, water cannons and CS gas will be provided. Just as a rookie constable can be paid more than a teacher, the money can be provided for the maintenance of law and order, with riot gear, shields and new (South African



style?) truncheons. Violence on the grand scale can be provided.

The Tory conference had one great advantage over the others. Its timing coincided with the last riot of a series. The fact that police violence had sparked off the summer's riots was ignored. This was a summer in which three separate incidents of armed police 'accidentally' killing or wounding innocent individuals had highlighted the growth of state violence on our streets — a violence which our black fellow citizens had been forced to live with for years. Not with guns, perhaps, but with harassment and insults, with provocation and intensified 'containment'.

The rule of force

The violence of the state is all pervasive. In our 'democracy' it likes to play it cool, in its dealing with the citizens, most of the time. This is because, most of the time, British citizens also play it cool. But step out of line and you will find little difference

between the dear old British bobby and the Russian, South African and American equivalent.

And that's just on the streets. That's just internal 'peace keeping'. Look at the British role worldwide. We (we?) sell arms like there was no tomorrow to anybody around the world who will buy our (our?) superior products. We sell to the Israelis and we sell to the Arabs. We sell to the Africans and we sell to South Africa.

One reason why Dr David Owen (as Labour Foreign Secretary) was still supporting the Shah of Iran long after his people had overthrown his tyrannical regime was because the Shah had been such a good customer for British arms. And now, Margaret Thatcher, 'batting for Britain', does her best to sell British armaments around the world — while at home she denounces violence, but supports the presence on British soil of Cruise missiles, NATO bases, American Command posts,

Polaris nuclear submarines, etc, etc, etc. Compare the use of a few hand-made petrol bombs on the street, even the death of one policeman by a teenager with a penknife, with the proud boasts of nuclear states that they have enough weapons to destroy the world 17 times — but deny decent living conditions for their own citizens.

It is all hypocrisy. Vote-catching among the soporific electorate and the denunciation of violence on the part of deprived youth are all part of the massive deception which governments and states practice against the people every day of our lives. We are robbed by taxes, misled by propaganda, ill informed, censored and deceived from the cradle to the grave. Welfare state or warfare state, we are always the subjects of hypocrisy — and when hypocrisy fails, subjected to violence.

Do you wonder why anarchists denounce all parties, all governments, all states?

Philip Sansom

Reviews



Fraud and Science

Betrayers of the Truth — Fraud and Deceit in Science

William Broad and Nicholas Wade
(Oxford paperbacks, 256pp, £3.95)

Science has a central role in our lives. It provides an ideology, practical spin-offs, and careers. Yet, 'science' as an abstraction does not exist. It is an activity carried out by people. This book examines some of the ways these people, being people, cheat. Cheating is supposed to go against the very nature of the activity, which is based on objectivity and honesty. The book shows how cheating is, in fact, built into the system.

The ideology of science has been constructed from outside, by philosophers and sociologists. 'Scientific method' is said to be based on logical deduction, leading to a hypothesis. This is then tested by experiment. If it holds up, then, together with other relevant material, it leads to a theory. Theories are, in theory, only held speculatively. They are ready to be abandoned if found wanting.

The honesty of the system is based on a community of scholars. Material is published, usually in specialist journals, in an objectified style which allows others to repeat the experiments. A system called 'peer review' means that funds and opportunities for research are distributed by expert scientific scrutiny. A further check is given by the practice of material for publication being submitted to 'referees', equally expert.

In practice, this elaborate construct simply doesn't hold up. Like most human activity science is a hand-to-mouth muddle, pressurised by prestige, passion, elitism and careerism. Theories are not pragmatic working tools. They are adopted according to

the climate of opinion. Acceptance depends on the status of the author. They are clung to despite conflicting evidence. They are not tested by replication, there is little kudos in copying experiments, the priority is, literally, in being first. The peer review and referee systems give ample scope for careers and personal rivalry.

This book explores and extends these themes. The best documented examples of fraud are, predictably, modern. They vary from careful selection and presentation of ideal data to outright forgery. Plagiarism is rife. The vaunted checks are ineffective in practice. Going back a bit, if you want big names suspected, at least, of cooking their results, try Newton or Mendel. The first had the advantage that he could use his prestige to browbeat any critics, another theme which recurs.

These things are just not academic. Science and its technological spinoffs affect us all. A couple of practical examples: Lysenko, a plant breeder in the USSR, managed, with political help, to foist his crank notions on the scientific establishment, severely undermining agriculture. Cyril Burt was the foremost British psychologist for many years. His belief in the hereditary nature of intelligence underpinned the educational system and the 11-plus exam. His results from twin studies were quoted in all the relevant literature. He invented them. Finally, these spin-offs, operated by people, may destroy them all.

'Science' as a rhetorical device can be used to foist anything on the world. As an approach, it is a vast improvement on superstition and ideology. As a superstition and ideology, it is dangerous. It encourages professionalism and elitism. The cult of the expert gives credibility to anyone in a white coat.

This book can be recommended. Then, taking the lessons a step further, the same analysis can be applied to other ideologies.

DP

Communist Comics

(no 1, A4, 4pp from Box Conflagration, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX) Post-situationist diatribe mixing graphix (sic) and captions. Against self-styled revolutionaries trapped by their ideological straitjackets into obstructing revolution. For those who want to drift amongst the encompassing saturation of critical activity and affective behaviour.

Clydesider

(no 1, Sept 1985, 1 Op, A3, 6pp from Clydesider, Glasgow G1 1HL) Latest manifestation of a noble tradition of local publishing. An 'editorial' proclaims the intention to report-and-support the various struffles and campaigns that erupt locally of people trying to regain some control over their lives, 'BECAUSE WE REJOICE IN THE FACT THAT THEY EXIST'.

Ainriail

(nos 1 and 2, A5, 12pp, Six Counties 15p, elsewhere 20p from c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Smithfield, Belfast 1) Also the latest version of determined local publishing. Both issues are concerned about asbestos hazards. Also include the Murrys' case, plastic bullets and Irish steel.

DP



Peace Diary 1986

(Housemans £3.00)

THE 33rd *Peace Diary* contains the usual information about all sorts of organisations involved in the anti-war movement in this country (including the Freedom Press and the Freedom Bookshop) and around the world, as well as some relevant anniversaries (with the usual poor standards of coverage and accuracy). There are in addition brief articles by Harry Mister and by Colin Ward marking respectively the 50th and 100th anniversaries of *Peace News* and *Freedom* next year, both slightly marred by factual errors but making fascinating reading and beginning the coming celebrations.

NW

Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman

by Candace Falk
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston \$25)

THIS biography of Emma Goldman was published in the United States last year, before Alice Wexler's *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (reviewed in *Freedom*, April 1985). It hasn't yet been published in this country, but it will probably appear here when it becomes available in a paperback edition.

Candace Falk is an American academic who edited a one-volume paperback reprint of Emma Goldman's autobiography *Living My Life* in 1982 and is now the director of the Emma Goldman Papers project at the University of California, Berkeley. She came to the study of the great Russian-American anarchist from her work on the political thought of the American feminist movement during the 1970s. In 1975 she had one of those experiences dreamt of by all historians and biographers — she discovered a forgotten hoard of correspondence between Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman, her colleague and lover at the peak of her American career — and she later spent six years working on both sides of the Atlantic, examining primary material in various archives and interviewing many people who had known Emma Goldman.

The result is a big and expensive book, containing more than 600 pages and costing nearly £20, and making

more extensive use than ever before of contemporary documents, especially letters from, to, and about her. The biography is heavily biased towards personal rather than political matters. The first half of her life — her childhood and youth, her emigration from Tsarist Russia to the United States and her conversion to anarchism, her relationships with Johann Most and Alexander Berkman, her activity as a speaker and writer — is covered is less than 50 pages. By contrast, the period she spent with Reitman — from 1908 to 1917 — fills 200 pages and dominates the story. Here the bias is even more personal, involving many long quotations from their correspondence.

This is Candace Falk's main contribution to our knowledge of Emma Goldman, and here is the book for those who are interested in the way an intellectually dominant woman in her forties, who preached freedom in love as in everything else became physically enslaved and emotionally injured by an intellectually submissive man in his thirties who practised total promiscuity. We are taken through all the ups and downs and ins and outs of their relationship, given their private sexual language (Hobo and Mommy, his willy, her mountains and treasure-box, and so on), and shown all their mutual joy and sorrow. We are told much less about their campaigns for free speech and birth control and against the First World War and conscription.

Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman were separated when she was first imprisoned in and then deported from

the United States, and 250 pages are devoted to the last 20 years of her life — the period not covered in Alice Wexler's book. Here the bias remains personal, even during her activity in the Russian and Spanish revolutions, more attention being given to her writing *Living My Life* than to actually living her life, and much space still being taken by correspondence with Reitman.

Candace Falk's title gives a fair indication of her approach, and her book has great value as a detailed personal biography, though the early period is treated more fully by Alice Wexler. It must be said that the personality which emerges is not very attractive or even very impressive — the sense of importance and the lack of a sense of humour detract from the immense courage and energy. What would be really welcome now is a big new political biography to supersede Richard Drinnon's *Rebel in Paradise* after 25 years. Meanwhile *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* rightly reminds us how much of their own lives the great anarchist leaders sacrificed for the sake of our lives.

NW

The Thunderer

(Issue no 1, 4pp, 31p, Box 7, The Other Branch, 12 Gloucester Street, Leamington Spa, Warks.)

Pretty but confusing situationist diatribes. No doubt fantastic if you recognise the targets.



Evolution In Debate

I AM pleased to see a trend in *Freedom* that some authors are sub-dividing their articles in order to deal methodically with the subject matter, long may it continue, as we surely want to state our case clearly. Verbosity is also the enemy of clarity, and is all too often used to cover up bullshitting. To explain even the most complicated points one must never resort to mystifying jargon. Thus I'm saddened that Tom Jennings (*Freedom* Vol 46, 10th October 1985, page 8) could not understand my synopsis of evolutionary theory (*Freedom* Vol 46, 9th September 1985, page 8). My apologies too to all those others who couldn't. I can only say that it's normal to briefly define the theory before you discuss it, and I couldn't afford over 200 words for a subject which needs 200 volumes. Before I go on to reply to Tom Jennings I'd like to say that I did not provide the illustrations for the original essay, and I'd like to distance myself from the one on page 9 which may be interpreted as implying that Africans are less highly developed than Europeans [Eds: **It came from a 'text book'. We always thought we were all Homo Sapiens, black, white, yellow, etc.**] The reply then:

1. I'd like to explain that the name was added to the manuscript by mistake (not mine). Thus the signature reads like an elitist boast to the anarchists and a red rag to the police. Both of these were very much against my intentions. [Sorry — **overworked layout artist!**]

2. Please Tom, read carefully what you're criticising before you put pen to paper. That way you will have more chance of criticising what I have actually said. It's not surprising that I "avoid all mention of . . . current issues" when I stated firmly in the first paragraph of my essay that its aim is to elucidate the political influences active in the interpretations and presentation of evolution. The essay functions as: a) a reminder to biology students (whose right-wing ideology or naivety is normally not hidden) that an alternative interpretation of the facts exist, and b) to provide another argument for the ideological armoury of the anarchists. How many times have you come up against the flat (and absolutely false) statement that man is innately antiso-

cial, destructive, etc, and that anarchism therefore won't work?

3. If anyone wants detailed accounts of a) the occurrence of ferocious ancestors for modern mutualistic and solitary animal species, b) ferocity vs communalism in modern species, or c) reviews on the position of anthropology and ethnology on the subject, then I recommend the following: throw away popular works by certain writers from South Africa and critically read instead the works given in the appendix here. You'll find Tom, that my position is grounded on the most recent factual work, and is not in the slightest bit 'naive'.

Different 'models'

4. Tom brings up the question of individual selection vs group selection. This is as erroneous distinction. A group (or 'population') being defined as the statistical clustering of all individuals (as I explained in my incomprehensible introduction). Insistence on this false model (mis)leads Tom logically to a variety of kin-selection theories, which are not altruistic, but accounted. Balancing 'payments' imply authority to enforce debt collection, obedience to hierarchy and, lastly, human 'beehives'. This is quite different to our model where solidarity is species-wide, being expressed by the population as a whole, to the population as a whole. That is, that all individuals are responsible for the welfare of themselves and each other, regardless of which situation they find themselves in. Thus in a mutual-aid society social structuring exists only to facilitate the fullest expression of the individual. This is the most stable imaginable form of society, and would therefore be the most ecologically compatible. This can easily be seen when compared to dictatorships, nuclear terror-states, etc, which deplete gene-pools (jargon for mass murder) and appear to be leading quickly to extinction. This is absolutely not a 'naturalistic fallacy', it is simply a concrete law of nature than those species which don't fit into their environment do not survive. This law is universal and holds equally well for bacteria, as for dinosaurs, as for us.

Rubbish

5. It is absolute rubbish to claim, as



Tom does, that humans are primitive and undeveloped. Humans are not physically particularly highly specialised, but are definitely the most advanced organisms on the planet. Perhaps you've been watching too much 'Hitch-hikers Guide to the Galaxy', Tom!

6. Albeit that Tom's anarchism makes him justifiably popular in his faculty, I suggest he takes a break from leafing through his *Thesaurus* and finds out what *Berufsverbot* means.

Appendix: MAYR, E. — *Die entwicklung der Biologischen Gedankwelt: Vielfalt, Evolution and Vererbung*, Springer (Berlin) 1984. (also available in English).

RIEDEL, R.J. and KREUZER, F. (editors) — *Evolution und Menschenbild*, Hoffmann & Campe (Hamburg) 1983.

Rob West Germany



MUSIC

Country Blues

DESPITE the article by Peter Grafton in the September issue of *Freedom* on 'Let's hear it for Country', I must confess that I remain tempted by the view that any culture which has Country and Western as its favourite musical form can't be altogether sound. The main arguments for this frankly prejudiced point of view have been produced by the country and western artists themselves. Readers familiar with Wink Martindale's 1959 chart entry *Deck of Cards* (about a soldier playing cards in church who explains that the reason for this crime is that he has no bible, but when he sees the ace he is reminded that there is but one God and when he sees the two . . .) will understand what I mean. So those who can recall J.J. Barrie's greatly awful rendering of *No Charge* ("And you know folks that the true cost of real love is — No Charge"). I sometimes wake at night in a cold sweat dreaming that the police have finally perfected the ultimate in sophisticated torture — they've started playing a canned tape loop of *Coward of the County* in the cells (I always confess).

However being a fair minded person, I have to admit that Country and Western doesn't have the monopoly on God awful music. English culture has produced its fair share of total disasters in its time. (*The Birdie Song* by the Tweets, the truly dreadful record *Superman* and Brian and Michael's exquisitely bad *Matchstick Men and Matchstick Cats and Dogs* are all worthy of mention for their ability to induce a condition resembling brain death in the listener within a remarkably short period of time). Nor is it the case that all, or even a majority of Country and Western is awful; insipid and derivative from black music. Anyone who listens to country-blues recordings of the '20s and '30s and to white country fiddler players and singers from the same era would have to conclude that the divergence between the black and white musical tradition in America has been overstressed. The regional variations in American music show that the sounds emerged from the particular American environment and were not simple imports from Africa. Both country and blues music derive from the merging of the musical styles of Europe and Africa and it would be



racist to suggest that you have to be black to produce good music out of that particular mixture (theories of 'darkie rhythms' lie very close below the surface in many works by liberal music sociologists).

What is true, however, is that as long as the record industry has existed colour has had an immense influence on how much money a talented artist can make. For a mass white audience the marketers of records have always wanted a clean cut white kid to promote. A black artist who made a good record could always, to some extent, break through the prejudices of record companies, radio stations and record buyers and sell records, but it has never been easy to do so in volume. This has left the way open for white artists to make good money out of lifting their songs. Thus Pat Boone made a small fortune out of mangling Little Richard songs into unrecognisable pap and in America sold twice as many copies of *Long Tall Sally* as Richard himself did.

When a particular white artist's version of a black artist's song possesses merits of its own this doesn't alter the basic fact that in a white dominated culture a white artist can benefit financially from using black material. Actually tracing the mechanics of this process is rarely as simple as the Pat Boone example but it has nevertheless been of huge significance in the history of popular music. Both Lonnie Donegan in Britain and Elvis Presley in America drew heavily on both country and blues sources, made good records and showed sensitivity to the black music they recorded and thereby contributed enormously to the emerg-

ence of modern music. Both also did infinitely better financially than any of the black artists they admired.

This means that arguing over the relative merits of Willie Mac Thornton's *Tom Cat* or Elvis Presley's *Hound Dog* (written by the white Lieber and Stoller) can lead to missing an important point about colour in the music industry. That point is that whilst everyone who has heard it admits the quality of Thornton's version is very high she only had access to the small black market and didn't make a huge fortune out of the record. Presley had no such problems and ended up getting rich in Las Vegas. A smaller but similar problem in getting access to the market would confront a dreadlocked reggae group as compared with a clone group like Mai Tai today.

Therefore, if black artists sometimes denigrate the significant contribution of country music and are scathing about the musical creativity of white artists generally then they may be wrong but they've got a right — some of them are still waiting to be paid their dues!

A.K. Brown

[Stu note: As any West Indian musician could tell you, black-owned record companies often are even worse at paying artists than white-owned ones . . . that's why Bob Marley signed with Island Records (he personally told me!). Also Elvis Presley made more money from *Blue Suede Shoes* than Carl Perkins, who wrote and recorded it first! Also it was thanks to pressure brought by white musicians like Eric Clapton and Jack Bruce that US companies started to pay black songwriters their dues (Skip James etc). Also 'political people' seem to be utterly unaware that it is absolutely normal, expected and desired that other people record your songs . . . throughout the music world!]



Joy of Repression

AMONG the current correspondence about sexual freedom, the letters from Andy Brown are most interesting. Himself a valuable anarchist, he seems to have been manoeuvred by cunning censorians into the ridiculous position that public references to sexual joy 'pay too little attention to the rights of women'.

Yes, sex shops are more interested in making money than in making revolution; I fail to see how this makes them different from toy shops, antique shops and gardening shops. Is it seriously suggested that, while the salesladies at Anne Summers parties are there to make money, the salesladies at Tupperware parties are there as idealists, anxious to fill every kitchen with handy containers?

There are reasons other than profit levels for selecting a business, just as there are reasons other than wage levels for selecting a job. Most shopkeepers are interested in their merchandise, but of course a reasonable presumption, that people who run sex shops are interested in sex, does not put them anywhere near the forefront of the sexual revolution.

What they have to do with the (ongoing) sexual revolution is that thirty years ago they were illegal, whereas now, thanks to pressure from

accepted without evidence. So the censorious changed their tactics and latched on to the growing feminist movement, asserting that sexual liberation amounts to the oppression of women. This is every bit as nonsensical as the assertion that sexual liberation depraves and corrupts, but it succeeds. That an anarchist of Andy Brown's integrity is conned by it, shows how well it succeeds.

Few censorians in 1985 will admit to wanting taboo words erased from scholarly dictionaries; all they demand for the moment is a ban on pornography. It is important to bear in mind, however, that people are sexually gratified by getting sexuality banned. Sexual gratification is something we want repeatedly, not just once. If hard pornography is banned, girlie magazines will come under increased attack, and so on until the forces of freedom succeed in stopping the process.

How far repressiveness might go unchecked is a hypothetical question. The most extreme instance I know of is that in sixteenth-century Basle, where John Calvin in person made the decisions, a married couple were burned to death for 'having sexual intercourse without thought of children'.

Come on, Andy. Admit you have been diddled (it happens to us all) and get back to the revolution.

Donald Rooum

PS How can Andy take seriously the feminist women who object to 'prat' as an insult, on the grounds that the prat is part of the female anatomy? 'Prat', *vide* any dictionary, means 'buttocks'.

Cliche-ridden American television series have recently taken to saying 'get your arse outta here' instead simply 'get outta here'. No doubt the Viewers and Listeners Association have tried to get this usage banned on the ground that the word 'arse' tends to corrupt and deprave. If so, they have failed, but all is not lost. They can start a new agitation on the revolutionary feminist ground that women have arses.

Forbidding propaganda

Keith Roe says that whilst reading my article on pornography he "was waiting for what he knew from experience had to come (it always does)" and then proceeds to slag off a totally fictional version of my article. If he read the article that I actually wrote instead of the one he expected he would have found a totally different point of view put forward. I quite specifically argue against a ban on sex shops — what I want is a propaganda campaign which is a wholly different proposition. Has any-

one seriously suggested that anarchists should not engage in propaganda in case they interfere with someone's free will? Does anyone seriously believe that action (eg daubing 'enjoy sex not exploitation' across a shop window) cannot contribute to successful propaganda without forbidding anyone to do anything? What do you want us to do about sexist pornography, ignore it and hope it will go away?

He accuses me of being patronising in wanting to protect others from crap. Again he misreads the article, the whole tone of which was the reason I like pornography is not just what it does to other men and the risks this exposes women to but the effect it has on me. I quite clearly admit to participating in the human race and being subject to the same influences and pressures as others. My argument is that the unpleasant effects of pornography affect us all, but I want to persuade others that I'm right about my point of view,

APPEAL

The Great Subs Saga Part VII

REGULAR readers will know that at the end of July this year *Freedom* was raided by persons 'unknown' and artwork, money and everything to do with subscriptions stolen. To clarify matters, what they actually got was our 'payments-when-due' system . . . the subs list/labels system being protected by many copies at different houses all over the place.

An ill wind

It took some six months hard work to create an accurate 'payments-due' system. We should have it totally straight again in Jan-Feb and your sub-due number/month will appear on your address label around then! Meanwhile, while you have continued to receive *Freedom* we have not been able to bill you. It's an ill wind . . .

Lost income

We would have been some £400 to £500 in the red at the end of this year due to an unexpected 28% rise in our print bill. [This alone would require a price rise to 60p for a 16-page *Freedom*.] The raid has probably lost us about £750, given normal human meanness, thus we need an extra £1,000 in donations (above the £1,200 in 1984) to keep us straight.

not set myself up as an arbiter of good taste.

Andy Brown

[Eds: The point is, some forms of 'propaganda' (ie fire bombs) are inherently authoritarian, Andy.]

Pseudo intellectuals

I'M SORRY but sometimes I find some of your stuff so abstract and irrelevant it is a painful effort to read. I liked the debate on porn because sexuality is something that directly affects me. But all that evolutionary crap seems just an excuse for pseudo intellectuals to spout off all sorts of crap. What help is it to any working class member struggling against the State's offensive to be able to sound off like Mr Jennings? Is any of this cleverness any protection from a truncheon?

Keep it simple and direct. . . .

Chris Aberdeen

Bigger Freedom

Before the 'raid' and the new print bill, our plans were for a 24-page *Freedom* at 60p (50% more for only 25% price increase). We might just be able to manage it for 75p, providing donations went up a little bit (a lot really!). Most of the *Freedom* Editors are unemployed and broke. DP pays for the extra posh paper and JA for the pretty ink — we are addicted to both.

It would be very sad to go through our 100th Birthday without making a dramatic attempt to increase size of sales and number of pages. *Freedom* sales are up 15% and subs up 12% for 1985 so there is good reason to be optimistic. With a little extra special help from our readers we could have the best anarchist magazine in the world. Please be generous and respond to this 100th Birthday/Raid Damage/Bigger *Freedom* Appeal — it'll be another 100 years before you have to fork out for another one!

The Editors

Freedom Magazine Special Appeal

Dear *Freedom*,
Here is a huge donation/trivial sum for your 100th!

name
address
.....
.....

Donations

Freedom Magazine Fund

J K W, Wolverhampton, £3.00; J L, Wolverhampton, £4.00; Ruth Harer, USA, \$12.00; R F Clements, Suffolk, £2.71; Kris D, Salop, 45p; Lev Cherny, USA, \$7.00; J J Sandford, Worcester, 50p; P Wood, Dortmund, £1.00.

AUGUST TOTAL: £25.18

J K W, Wolverhampton, £2.00; J L, Wolverhampton, £6.00; Moore, Derby, £5.00; Sedley, London, £1.50; Szejder, Kent, £1.75; H Oliver, Surrey, £1.75; A Bartell, \$1.00; F Deiss, W Germany, 75p; D Dyer, Lincs, £2.00.

SEPTEMBER TOTAL: £90.75

J K W, Wolverhampton, £1.50; J L, Wolverhampton, £4.50; L Keith, N Zealand, £7.50; Isaac Barr, N Ireland, £2.50; P Popovich, £5.50; Korycinska, £3.50; B Gould, London, £1.75; D MacInnes £3.50; D Finlayson, £1.80; L Albone, Herts, £2.00.

OCTOBER TOTAL: £34.05

1985 TOTAL: £974.87

Freedom Press Fund

J L, £12.00; R F Clements, £2.72; A F Coats, Bristol, £2.49; J J Sandford, 51p; E May, £2.00; P Wood, £1.00; K McFaul, £1.75; R Garside, Lancs, £1.75.

AUGUST TOTAL: £24.22

J L £12.00; Sedley, London, £2.00; Wilson, London, £2.50; Szejder, Kent, £1.75; Janes, Surrey, £1.75; H Oliver, Surrey, £1.75; A Bartell, Ontario, \$100; D Bell, Cheshire, £1.75; F Deiss, W Germany, 75p; A Bates, Southend, £1.50; D Dyer, Lincs, £1.50.

SEPTEMBER TOTAL: £97.25

J L, £9.00; Isaac Barr, N Ireland, £2.50; P Popovich, £5.50; B Gould, London, £1.75; L Albone, Herts, £2.00; L Richey, £1.00.

OCTOBER TOTAL: £21.75

1985 TOTAL: £491.13

