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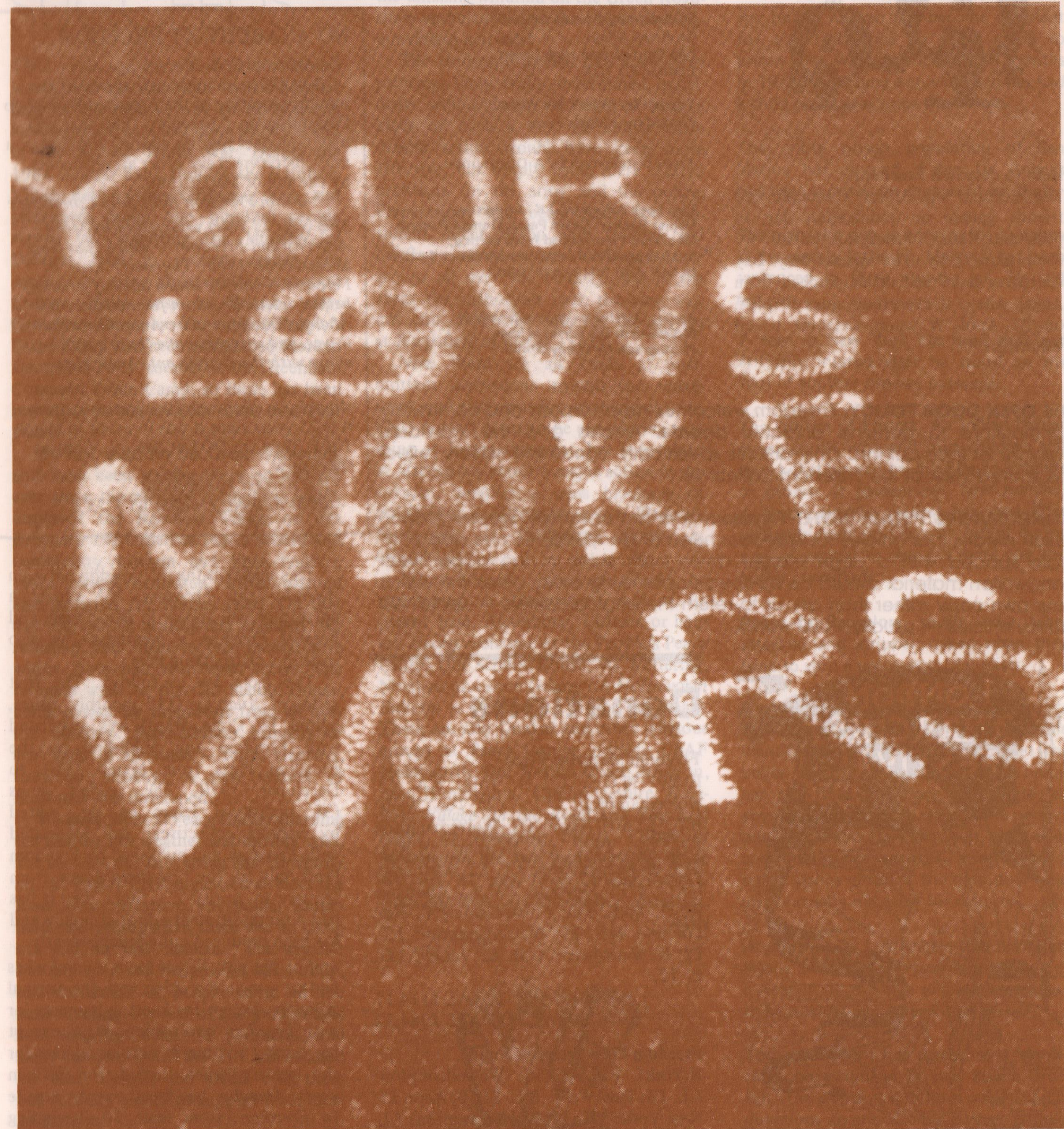


# FREEDOM

1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

ANARCHIST MONTHLY

VOL 47 No 3 APRIL 75p



MOLESWORTH  
 ANARCHISM IN AUSTRALIA



# FREEDOM

1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986



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This issue edited by J.K. Anderson,  
Heiner Becker, David Peers, Donald Room.  
(Stu Stuart has retired from editing,  
but has generously stayed with the collective  
to deal with this month's subs.)

Cover: Graffiti on the road outside  
Molesworth US Airforce base.  
Photograph by Denis Gould.

## Help to despatch Freedom

The editors and other comrades and friends gather on publication day to pack and stamp subscription copies. We need more help. The special May Day centenary issue will be despatched from Angel Alley, if everything goes to plan, on 24 April. A warm welcome to all volunteers.

**THE OPEN DOOR POLICY:** *Freedom* welcomes news, reports and comradely contributions to genuine anarchist debate. Articles give the individual opinions of their authors. Only articles specifically signed the editors reflect the shared view of the *Freedom* Collective.

**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.



26 and 27 April at Lewisham Odeon, Loampit Vale, London SE13. Buses 36, 36b, 47, 54, 108, 108b, 180, 185, 199; British Rail Lewisham. Details from All Systems Go!, c/o 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, London SE24.

## BLACK FLAG, ANARCHY, AND FREEDOM

THE following appeared in *Black Flag* 151  
(10th March 1986).

### NO ANARCHY AT FREEDOM

To *Anarchy* Collective,

It has been unanimously agreed at the monthly meeting of the Freedom Bookshop Committee on 7 February 1986 that you may no longer use this address and that you must therefore make other arrangements by the end of March 1986.

From Freedom Bookshop Committee

*This ends 25 years association between Anarchy and Freedom — which is at least as certain as '1986 - Centenary Year' of Freedom — during which sales of Anarchy helped rescue Freedom financially. Now Anarchy has gone more Anarchistic than it was, and it receives the 'bum's rush' — along with the nesting anti-Anarchists.*

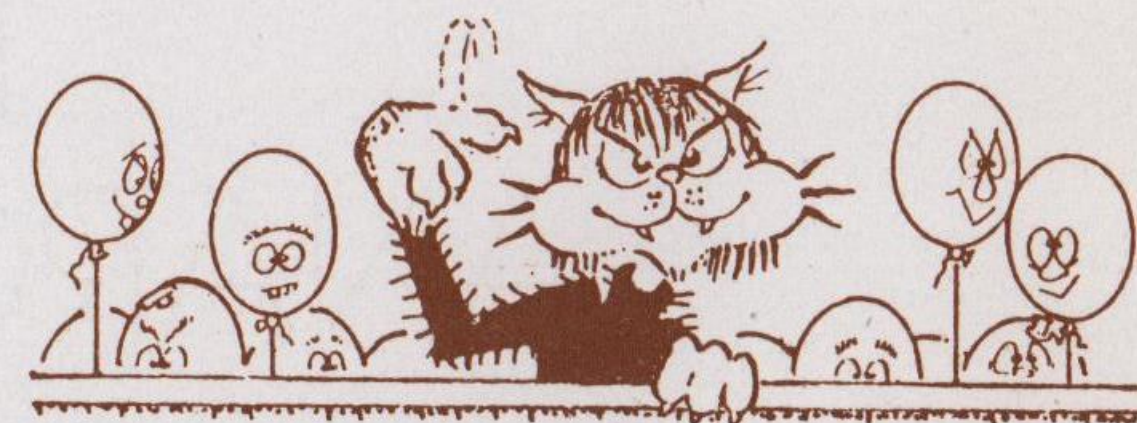
*Anarchy* is celebrating its quarter-century; it is 25 years since it was founded in March 1961. They are NOT at 84b etc. Contact them now:

c/o Refract Publications,  
BCM Refract, London WC1 3XX

This mistakes the relationship between *Anarchy* and *Freedom*. We expect a correction will appear in *Black Flag*, and because *Freedom* is mentioned we also publish a clarification here.

The facts are as follows. The first series of *Anarchy* (118 monthly issues, edited by Colin Ward) was associated with *Freedom* and published by the Freedom Press from March 1961 to December 1970. The second series (38 occasional issues so far, edited by various collectives) was associated with *Freedom* and published by Freedom Press only for the first three issues, from January to April 1971. Since then it has had a quite different editorial policy and has been produced quite independently.

For the past fifteen years *Anarchy* has had no association either with the original *Anarchy*, except for keeping its name, or with *Freedom* or Freedom Press, except for using a box number at our address for the last six issues. Indeed, for thirteen years *Anarchy* has been openly hostile to *Freedom*, from issue 10 (beginning 1973) to issue 38 (beginning of 1986).



## Molesworth WINTER BLOCKADE SUCCEEDS

TWO years ago the old airfield at Molesworth, near the American nuclear bomber base at Alconbury, was an open space, looking much as it had done since the end of the Second World War. During the 1984 August Bank Holiday the Rainbow Village held a Green Gathering there, and afterwards some two hundred people stayed on, squatting the Ministry of Defence land in protest against the decision to make Molesworth the second Cruise missile base in Britain, after Greenham Common. The original People's Peace Camp had been established there in December 1981, soon after the Greenham Common Peace Camp, so there has been resistance in the area for more than four years.

We first went for the Green Gathering, and have been staying there on and off ever since the military occupation which displaced the Rainbow Village on 6th February 1985. Before that a school and community kitchen had been built, a peace chapel dedicated, wheat planted and gathered for famine relief. On that day the whole atmosphere changed. We returned that night to face barbed wire where there had been open access. The refugees went to the Old School House, being joined by supporters from all over the country. Sympathisers brought or sent help of all kinds — food, blankets, firewood, money. A new system of resistance was developed.

We kept shifts at Peace Corner guarding the guards. The weather was terribly cold, but we kept our fires going and our spirits up. At Easter CND organised a 'Meet the Base' demonstration, but unlike Burghfield two years earlier, there was no camp site and no real blockade. The weather was still cold and the ground was muddy, but thousands of people came all the same. During the rest of the year people kept walking round the perimeter, and many cut or climbed the wire and invaded the base. Despite the media bias, there was actually plenty of support from local inhabitants.

On 6th February 1986, CND organised a mass blockade at Molesworth to mark the anniversary of the military occupation. We began the day sleeping in a van on the lane leading to the original peace camp. It was just as cold as a year before, with snow and ice everywhere. We got up at 5:00am and made coffee, then joined the

50 or 60 already at the gate and waited for dawn. When the blockade began at 6:00am there were several hundred people at every gate, and about 5,000 came some time during the day.

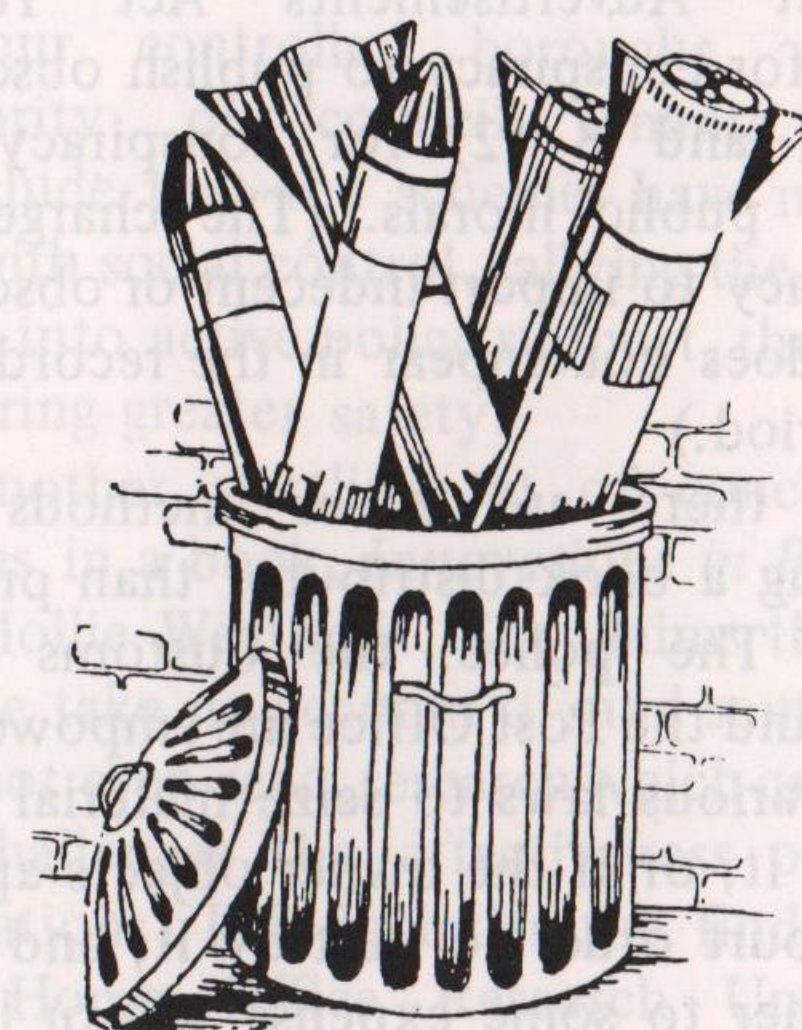
See the famous bicycle from Devon with its enormous banner carrying a doomsday clock! See the Fallout Marching Band! See the street-theatre groups! See the amazing windmill on the Green Road-show ambulance! See the reggae-dancing-nonviolent-activists!

The landscape looked like a Breughel painting. Only really determined individuals would dream of being at such a place on such a day. Of course more drastic action would have been more effective, but simply being there created problems for the army and the police. Preparations had been made for non-violent direct action with training and briefing sessions in local CND and peace groups all over the country, but in the event the authorities took the easy way out and closed the base for the day (as at Burghfield at Easter 1983).

Now there are all kinds of post-mortem discussions around the movement, and also plans for what comes next. CND doesn't seem to be considering anything at Easter this year, but is involved in discussions about a major action in the autumn, whether a mass blockade of Burghfield or Aldermaston or a 'People's Parliament' in Parliament Square in central London.

Meanwhile the pressure should be maintained at Molesworth and at its parent base, Alconbury. Visitors or help are always welcome at the People's Peace Camp, Old School House, via Kettering, Northamptonshire (where the *Molesworth Bulletin* is obtainable, £5 for one year). There are also Quaker and other religious groups at Peace Corner, outside USAF Molesworth, Old Weston Road, Brington, near Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire. *Rainbow Village on the Road* and *The Last Night of Rainbow Fields Village at Molesworth* are two pamphlets by Bruce Garrard, £1 each from Unique Publications, PO Box 23, Glastonbury, Somerset.

ADN



## IN BRIEF

Saudi Arabia has issued a new religious decree making the throwing of Arabic language newspapers into dustbins an offence. They often include quotations from the Koran.

An Italian woman has become pregnant for the 14th time to avoid going to prison. She was sentenced to 10 months in 1975 for stealing a chicken and has had a child every year since then.

The entire prison population of San Marino has escaped. Fabio De Angelis had been arrested on charges of car theft.

The man who dug up a corpse for guidance in the weekly lottery in Malaysia has been sentenced to three months jail. He did not win.

A man in New York has been shot and critically injured after he stood on the foot of another subway passenger.

The Politics of Protest. An Indian farmer strangled his wife and four children and then killed himself by drinking insecticide to protest at government farm policies. A South Korean worker has died after setting himself on fire with petrol during a sit-in protest to demand more pay and better conditions.

Police in Bangalore, south India, were attacked and stripped naked when they tried to stop a procession of nudists.

West Germany has finally completed its legislation to introduce computer-readable identity cards and passports. Even the police are critical. The largest police union has said that the move will create 'an abyss between the citizen and the police', blur the distinction between the police and intelligence services, introducing 'a secret police through the data door' and give 'virtually nil' gains for security.

A gun shop in Los Angeles has been held legally liable for the irresponsible sale of a weapon, in this case to a woman known to be suicidal who later killed herself.

The government has agreed to a 'significant concession' in its new Public Order Bill. The police are to have power to give directions to mobs only if they contain not less than 10 people. The original plan was for three.

Rajendra Sethia, the world's largest bankrupt, has been charged with criminal conspiracy and defrauding a government-run Indian bank of £5 million. He owes £170 million in London.



# Censorship

## GAY'S THE WORD

### BOOKSHOP

### NICKED AGAIN

FIVE copies of *Man to Man*, by Dr Charles Silverstein, have been seized by HM Customs and Excise as being liable to forfeiture on the grounds that they are indecent or obscene. Gay's the Word bookshop, to whom the books were in transit, have claimed that the books are not so liable. HM Customs can either let the bookshop have its books, or apply to a magistrate for a forfeiture order.

Various legal and publishing experts who have studied the book say it is a scholarly sociological research study, which might quite legally be published in this country. Even if this is true, however, the books may be destroyed. The law in forfeiture cases is uncertain and heavy-handed; anything which shocks the particular magistrate is liable to confiscation.

Gay's the Word bookshop, its nine directors, and an American wholesaler also face prosecution on a charge of conspiring to import indecent or obscene books, namely 141 titles seized by Customs and Excise since 1984 (see *Freedom* September 1985). A date for the trial has now been fixed; it starts on 6th October 1986. Juries in prosecutions tend to be more liberal than magistrates in forfeiture applications, but the charge is a new one. There are grave implications for freedom of speech, and the National Council for Civil Liberties will therefore supply lawyers for the defence.

In this country one may be prosecuted for sedition, blasphemy, criminal libel, or revealing official secrets. In terms of the number of prosecutions, however, the main onslaught against freedom of expression comes under the obscenity and indecency laws. The British stereotype is all for freedom of speech, but against anything rude.

Convictions for obscenity became more difficult in 1961, after the failed prosecution of Penguin Books and its director Alan Lane for publishing *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. It had been laid down in 1868 that to be obscene a publication must have 'a tendency to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and into whose hands a publication might fall', and this test had been incorporated into the Obscene Publications Act of 1959; but until the Lady Chatterley trial the phrase

'deprave and corrupt' was mere legal waffle. The judge at the Lady Chatterley trial, who made no secret of his respect for the defendant told the jury to consider the dictionary definitions of 'deprave' and 'corrupt'. The jury, who had just been insulted by the prosecuting counsel's asking them whether they would permit their wives or servants to read the book (no doubt some of them were wives or servants), took the judge's hint and returned a 'not guilty' verdict.

Subsequently the laws against pornography were repealed in Denmark, and there were dramatic falls in every category of sex crime other than rape (which stayed at the same level); clear evidence that whatever the evils of pornography, it does not deprave or corrupt its audience. The GLC film censorship committee held for a time that they had no right to ban pornographic films, until a judge told them they had a duty to consider public taste as well as the legal definition of obscenity. Neither prosecution nor defence is permitted to bring expert evidence as to whether something is likely to deprave and corrupt, and many juries would rather acquit than convict by guesswork.

This is not to say that convictions under the Obscene Publications Act are impossible; in the decade 1969-1978 there were 2,302 convictions under the Act (and 144 immediate prison sentences). Had the Act become unworkable, however, there were plenty of other laws to the same purpose. During 1969-1978 there were 261 convictions (5 immediate imprisonments) under Section 4 of the Vagrancy Act 1824, 119 (1) under the Indecent Advertisements Act 1889, 13 (4) for conspiracy to publish obscene articles, and 8 (2) for conspiracy to corrupt public morals. (The charge of conspiracy to import indecent or obscene books does not appear in the record for that period.)

But there are easier methods of damaging a book distributor than prosecution. The police, the Customs and Excise and the Post Office are empowered under various laws to seize material and destroy it, or if the owner objects apply for a court order to destroy it, and put the owner to some expense win or lose. They may also seize material 'for examina-

tion' and hang onto it for years.

How the system works is shown by the recent cases of the distributors Knockabout Comics. In July 1982 much of their stock of American literature was seized by the police and evidently classified into three categories: the worst to be the subject of a prosecution under Section 2 of the Obscene Publications Act; the middling to be the subject of forfeiture under Section 3 of the Obscene Publications Act; and the least bad not to be proceeded against but to be held for a long time.

The prosecution for the worst material took place in May 1984, and since a tendency to corrupt and deprave could not be proved, Knockabout were acquitted (see *Freedom* June 1984). The application for forfeiture of the middling stuff was heard by a magistrate in April 1985, and although he was informed that the 'worse' stuff had been acquitted by a jury, he ordered the destruction of the feminist comics *Frescazizis* and *Tits 'n' Clits*, and some ten other publications. The rest, some thousands of items, were simply returned to Knockabout in the summer of 1985, after three years of withdrawal from the sales stock. Supported by customers, suppliers and fellow publishers, Knockabout did not go bankrupt; but it will be a long time before their business recovers from the damage.

Now Gay's the Word are being subjected to the same kind of legal harassment, the main difference being that instead of the Obscene Publications Act, the law used against Gay's the Word is this new charge of conspiring to import indecent or obscene material. There is a definition of the word 'obscene' and the jury might well find that Gay's the Word stocks do not conform to the definition; but 'indecent' might mean anything.

This is an ingenious gimmick to prevent the circulation of material which those in power do not want us to read, and not just sexually explicit material. Much of the 'worst' category stuff in the Knockabout affair is not about sex but drugs; drugs tend to deprave and corrupt, don't they? If the charge of 'indecent' sticks against the books which delight in homosexual goings-on, it may be used against magazines which include articles praising riots; riots are not decent, are they?

DR

Sources:

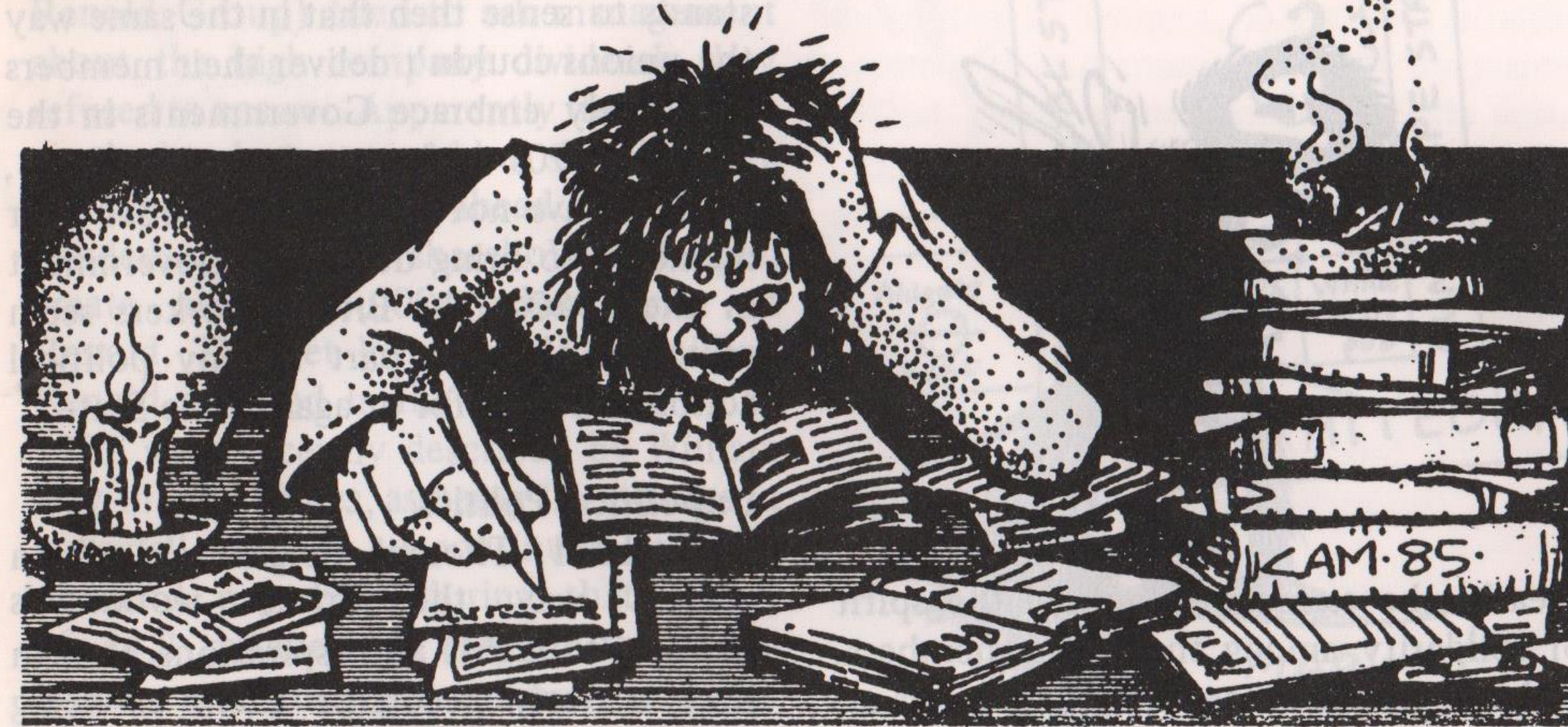
B. Kutchinsky, *Law, Pornography and Crime: the Danish experience*, Martin Robertson 1978.

*Report of the Home Office Committee on Obscenity and Film Censorship*, Cmnd 7772, 1979.

Press release from 'Defend Gay's the Word Campaign', March 1986.

Communication from Knockabout Comics.

## Reviews



### Clousden Hill

*Roses and Revolutionists*

by Nigel Todd

People's Publications, 64pp, £6.60 and £2.79

THE subtitle of this booklet is 'The Story of the Clousden Hill Free Communist and Co-operative Colony, 1894-1902', and it is the first proper account of one of the most successful libertarian communities in this country. Although it lasted only from 1895 to 1902, it was an interesting experiment in itself and it was also influential over a wide area for a long time.

The community was founded during the great wave of communities of the 1890s at Clousden Hill Farm, just east of Newcastle upon Tyne. The founders were a group of socialists conscious of the communitarian tradition in Britain and attracted in particular by the anarchist communism of Kropotkin, their leaders being Frank Kapper (Franz Kapir from Bohemia) and William Key, who both had long experience of left-wing activity in the North-East. There was strong support from local anarchists and socialists and even radicals (the local Liberal MP and newspaper-owner was the leading radical Joseph Cowen), and also from the national and indeed international anarchist movement. Kropotkin disapproved in principle of such isolated efforts, but he took a personal interest in this one, gave it public approval, and only warned of the difficulties.

These emerged soon enough. The land was rented, not bought. The numbers were small and the work hard, and there were soon disagreements and quarrels. The colonists included many nationalities (ten languages were spoken there!) and many varieties of socialism and anarchism, and personal and political problems often overshadowed the undoubted successes in producing food and enjoying life. In 1898 there was a shift from the original communism to cooperativism, and in 1902 the enterprise went bankrupt.

Nigel Todd, who is active in the La-

bour Party and the Cooperative movement in Newcastle upon Tyne, has produced a very detailed and sympathetic account of Clousden Hill, based mainly on primary sources. The level of accuracy is high (though the name of the millionaire who sympathised with anarchism was George Davison, not Davidson) and the whole work is very impressive. The booklet contains some excellent illustrations, though unfortunately none of the community itself, and it is a really valuable addition to the history of the anarchist movement.

NW

### Correction

Our review of *Graphics Handbook* in the March issue gave the wrong publisher's address. The book is only available from *National Extension College, 18 Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge CB2 2HN*.

### Policing the Police

This is the subtitle of a new report — *Neighbourhood Watch* (Libertarian Research & Education Trust, 9 Poland Street, London W1). Neighbourhood Watch schemes operate mainly in middle class areas with a high proportion of owner occupiers. The Trust found more such schemes in Croydon than in all 12 Labour controlled boroughs, with a majority of council tenants. They conclude that the schemes have more to do with social control, rallying the middle class into active police support, than with ensuring greater safety.

Another startling set of conclusions comes in a book, *Innovations in Policing* by Mollie Weatherit. She claims that the police take no account of, and sometimes did not even read, research which criticises or challenges the effectiveness of their operations. This includes the findings of the Home Office Research Unit, for which she worked for ten years.

## Science fiction

Wasp

Eric Frank Russell

Methuen p/b, 175pp, £2.50.

WHEN I was an early teenager, I discovered science fiction. Those were more innocent days, when the word 'computer' was a magic totem and we considered ourselves avant garde for dreaming of human spaceflight. A swift comparison of *Dan Dare* with *2,000 AD* illustrates the contrast. Eric Frank Russell was a big name. For a start, he was British. He was literate and witty enough to appear in the Penguin anthologies, which were just about all my local library carried. In the way of these things, some of the memories stayed with me.

This book was one of them. One of Russell's themes was the imaginative outsider outwitting the conventional, superstitious natives. This wasn't in the usual SF mode of colonialism. I suppose it was a cross between the American small magazine 'individualist' frontiersmanship/private eye and the British prisoner of war sagas. He used it several times. This is one of the best.

The hero, James Mowry, is picked out for his stropiness and dumped on an enemy planet during a war. His task is to create as much chaos as possible and so undermine the local war effort. He does this by inventing an underground resistance organisation and using imagination to make sure it gets maximum publicity. One of the memories that had stuck with me was the stickers, impregnated with hydrofluoric acid, which etched glass. Placed on a window, the shopkeeper has a lot of trouble with the secret police.

Some years ago, with my new interest in the theme, I started hunting round second-hand bookshops and science fiction 'marts', but Russell had become unfashionable. He is certainly dated for today's audience. Mowry is picked out by technological wizardry — a punched card system. 'Nylon' is a remarkable substance. And not all is so quaint, the only mention of women in the book is that the first people excluded by the card index hunt for a volunteer are 'females and children'. This is ahead of 'the elderly, the infirm, the weak, the untrustworthy and the temperamentally unsuitable'.

Then, last week, the motorbike immobilised by snow and electrics problems, I was in Victoria Station. And there it was, reissued. If you can ignore the above reservations (and Mowry's methods are not for pacifists) this is an entertaining account of how to run a one-person underground guerrilla campaign. Now, if I can just find my copy of *Plux X*....

DP



# Unions BOTTOM UP IS BEST



TRADE Union ballots are not something we should worry about. Anything which forces the union bosses to obey their members is okay by us. Unlike the political parties we don't believe in rule by the few. Having the masses summoned to strike by a company of union hacks is as revolting as any other form of conscription. I only mention this because, in their anxiety to oppose Government legislation on union ballots, some direct actionists and anarchists may be tempted to abandon their bottom-up beliefs. While we can be against accepting Government money for ballots, we cannot oppose union ballots in principle when the members so clearly want them. Obviously there are other democratic methods which the workers may apply depending on the circumstances, such as the mass meeting. But in official strikes no action should be based on the sole command of a union executive for that way lies the union dictatorship.

The chilling statement of a miner who, during the last year's strike, said that 'We elected the executive and they tell us what to do' is part of a slave mentality. Elective slavery produces an elective dictatorship. It boils down to the blind power worship which Bakunin detected in the International, when he said: some workers say 'We have elected the Committee; the Committee will decide.'

## Pit Strike

This problem of union ballots was a factor in the pit strike. To understand why there was no ballot let us go back to an incident which occurred at the 1983 TUC Congress, months before the strike. At that time Scargill was asked to back united action against redundancies by a leader of the Baker's Union. He refused, saying privately that he couldn't get his members to resist pit closures. Thus, well before the strike, Scargill was sceptical of the strength of solidarity of the miners on the redundancy issue.

We so easily forget that when the strike began the miner's executive held back from declaring the strike official. Then pressure built up both from the strikers and the media for the union executive to make it an official national strike. In this way the NUM executive became the victim of events as much as the perpetrator.

Clearly the executive doubted the spirit of solidarity among their own members, and this was the reason why there was no ballot on the strike. Since the strike this pessimistic view has been confirmed by Scargill, who has said a ballot of miners would not have backed a strike in 1984. The failure to call a ballot on the pit strike tells us a lot about the selfish sectionalism and lack of solidarity which is recognised as a feature of British working class life.

## Disagreeable Agreements

There was a time in the 1960s when most big union leaders were pro-establishment and moderate. Those were the days; when Sir William Carron ruled the roost in the engineering union, Lord Cooper was the appointed Pope of the General & Municipal Workers Union, and Sir Sidney Greene was general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. It was also a period of wildcat and unofficial strikes, which often took place in defiance of the union bosses themselves.

The mood of the time was summed up by Sir Sidney Greene of the NUR who told the Royal Commission of 1965-68: '... it is not much use my signing an agreement if I am doubtful of my members accepting it.' The press then used to call on unions to control their members. Editorials thundered about the 'authority' of the TUC. Press pundits urged unions to discipline their shopfloor members.

Today these same editorial columns go on about the '... hollowness of the TUC's authority.' Last December, *The Times* in an editorial declared: 'The idea of trade union governance is part of the notion that the TUC is an estate of the realm, a partner in national government, an arbiter of social contracts and the like — an outmoded notion.' No anarchist could have put it better — top-down trade unionism is doomed.

Yet it never really worked. Under both the Labour and Conservative Governments of the 1960s and 1970s the trade unions were poor instruments of State policy. Poor, because the rank and file could rubbish any deal their union bosses may make. No hard union promises could be

made as the members could pull the plug on them by taking unofficial action. It stands to sense then that in the same way the unions couldn't deliver their members and freely embrace Governments in the '60s and '70s to form a Corporate State, so they have not been able to order their members to bring down the Government in the 1980s. The British workers seem reluctant to take part in any political action, whether for or against the State.

## Unpolitical Politics

In 1871, Thomas Wright said: 'In a general way the British workman's political thoughts and aspirations, though they scarcely recognise them as being strictly political, turn exclusively upon improving the position of labour in relation to capital. And this they seek to accomplish by direct action — as, for instance, by strikes and the strengthening of trade unions — and not by the establishment of entirely new social systems.'

This is still true today. But what does it mean in today's climate? While it is true that the selfishness of British workers makes them poor political pawns for any demagogue, it also undermines social solidarity. Despite mass unemployment, pay rates are rising fast. How is this possible? According to *The Times* Economics Editor, Sarah Hogg: '... management has continued to fire workers in order to pay its remaining workforce more, rather than hold down pay levels where it was worthwhile to take on extra staff.'

Sadly this sacking of workers so as to pay more wages and dividends has been a feature of our industrial life since 1981, if a report by John Hughes for the Trade Union Research Unit is to be believed.

This finding does fit with my own experience in engineering where, faced with the choice between a pay standstill and redundancies, workers often call on management to make redundancies. How can men market their mates like this? Easy! We live in a Welfare State. No-one starves on supplementary benefit, so why should workers feel responsible? Welfarism like this has smashed some syndicalist assumptions, such as 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'

## Upopular Bosses

Yet if the shopfloor is responsible what about management? It has been argued that when workers do have control over management they tend to spend the profits rather than invest them. This year John Hughes of Ruskin College, Oxford, reports that companies are not investing their increased profits, and reckons that manufacturing investment between 1981 and 1984 fell short of renewing productive assets by £5.5 billion.

This corresponds with my own observations on the shopfloor. When during pay

negotiations in 1981 the shop stewards at Holcroft Castings, Rochdale, (part of the Renold Group) tried to ask management about the high company dividends they refused to answer. Apparently the worker's pay had to be restrained but shareholder's dividends could roar ahead. This open handed policy to shareholders helped create almost 4,000 redundancies at Renold. The net losses of £13.1 million Renold suffered in the three years up to 1982 were recently described by William Kay in *The Times*, as being '... thanks in no small measure to continued ordinary dividend payments during that period of £4.8 million.' A case of the shareholders strangling the company with the management's blessing.

It is this two faced style of management in which the company freely forks out to shareholders, while demanding restraint on the shopfloor that is disillusioning workers. A current Mori poll shows that 'shopfloor workers believe that there is a big need to improve the quality of management.' Few on the shopfloor have a good word to say for management, because English workers have to cope with the boss's blunders at first hand.

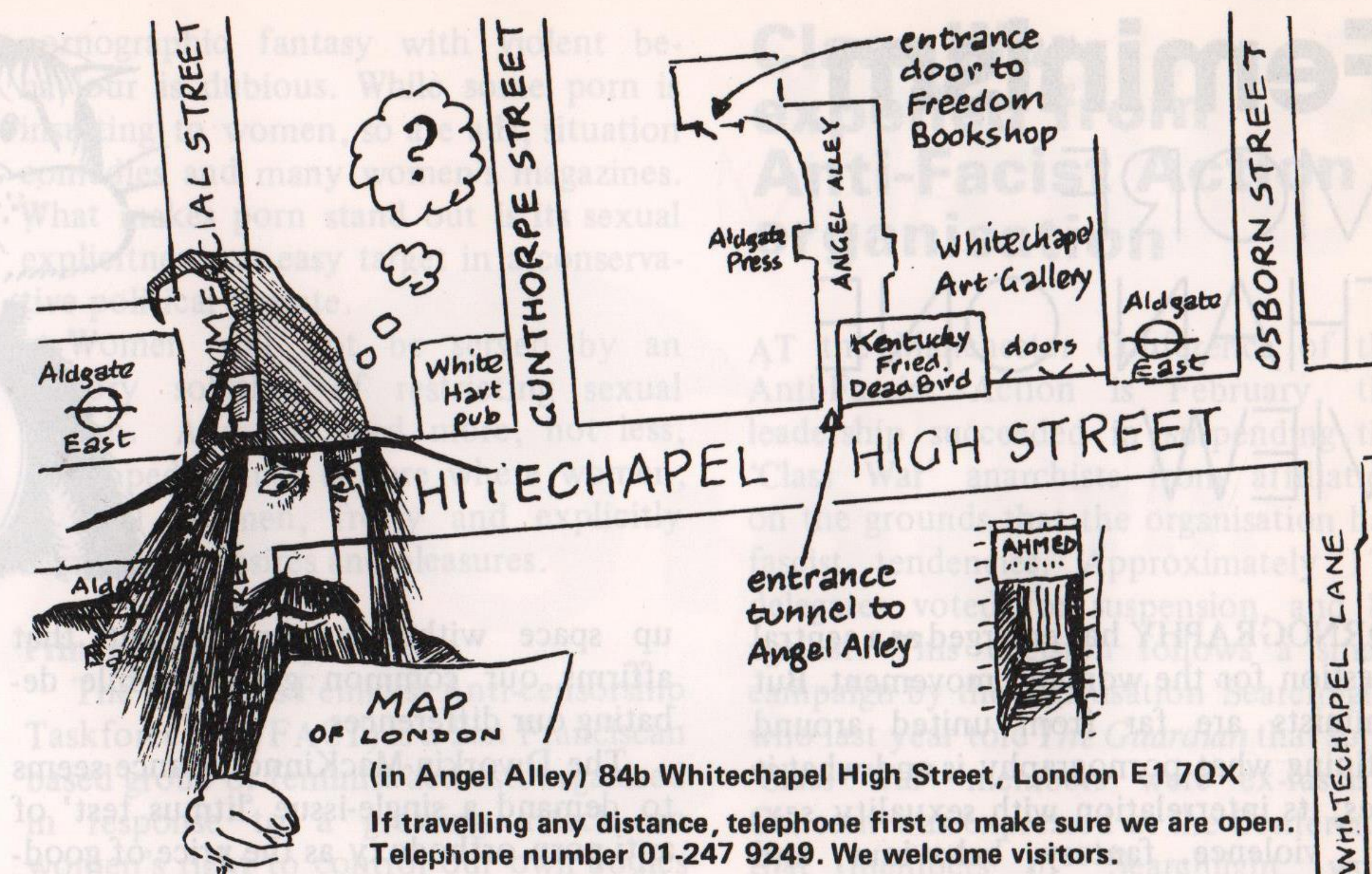
Of course modern 'Macho Management' is not designed to get shopfloor approval. Small wonder the Mori poll shows 'far fewer workers believe what their company tells them.'

In the end management control from the top can only work with a mixture of force and fraud. Today, while workers are held in check by unemployment, there is stalemate on the shopfloor. What must be worrying the Government is that if unemployment falls industrial militancy will break out.

In practice there are two main methods by which bosses and Governments handle labour: one is the fashionable macho-management of McGregor and Edwards, already mentioned, which is described by Robin Smith of Durham University as '... the obvious desire to increase management's control over labour' — management by brute force. The other, less obvious, ploy is for the union bosses to become the manager's accomplices. For as Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, put it: 'There is no alternative to union/management cooperation to keep Britain from plunging over the industrial abyss.' This is management by con trick.

Neither method is sound because they are both based on top-down management manipulation of labour. Democratic control of the firm from the bottom-up is never really considered. It took us hundreds of years to learn that slave labour was bad labour. How long will it take us to discover that boss management is bad management?

Brian Bamford



# FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

THE Freedom Bookshop has been at its present location since 1968, along with *Freedom*, the Freedom Press, the Aldgate Press, A Distribution and all the various organisations and periodicals which have been using this address. But it is still easy to make the journey to East London, get out of the train or bus at Aldgate or Aldgate East, manage to find Angel Alley in the middle of Whitechapel High Street, and still not venture down the dark and dingy entrance, overlooked by shabby shops and now the recently rebuilt Whitechapel Art Gallery.

However, we have done what we can to make the final stage just a bit easier, with a sandwich-board out in the street, a sculpture opposite the Gallery cafe, signs in the alley, and soon a banner outside our door. Meanwhile the bookshop has been reorganised so that it is staffed by voluntary workers for nearly the whole of seven days a week (but do telephone before coming to make sure we are open), and we have acquired some new stock, especially cheap paperbacks. (By the way, it is now possible to get almost any paperback in print within a few days, so don't be discouraged if you can't find something — get in touch with us and see what we can do.)

We have copies of some of the basic texts of anarchism, such as William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (£4.95) and Peter Marchall's new compilation *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin* (£3.50); a new edition of Peter Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* (£3.60) and the old one of *Mutual Aid* (£4.95). It would be good to have more of these, and the forthcoming Freedom Press publications should have some pleasant surprises.

Tony Hall's *Nuclear Politics: The*

*History of Nuclear Power* (£3.95) is an important new Pelican Book, documenting the relations between the various official organisations. Michel Foucault's *Discipline or Punish: The Birth of Prison* (£4.95) is a brilliant analysis of our 'universities of crime'.

We have several literary classics — such as Tolstoy's *Anna Karenin* (£2.95) and *War and Peace* (£4.95) and George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (£1.75) and *Nineteen Eighty-four* (£1.95).

Mildred Loomin's *American Alternatives* (£3.00) is an early account of ecology and liberation. Murray Bookchin's *The Ecology of Freedom* (£6.95) is hard but necessary reading; rather easier is *Toward an Ecological Society* (£4.95). Denis Pym's *The Employment Question* (£2.00) is a new argument for 'self-employment' rather than 'full employment', a positive consideration of our position in a post-industrial society.

We still have George Woodcock's *Anarchism* (£3.95), probably the most widely read book on the subject since it appeared in 1962, and Burnett Bolloten's huge masterpiece on *The Spanish Revolution* (£7.50).

Do come and visit the bookshop if you can. You will get a warm welcome, and even a free cup of hot coffee if you want, and you can enjoy a browse and a chat. If you can't make the journey, make use of our mail order service for all your book needs. Just send a list of what you want with the cash. If ordering from Great Britain add 10% for postage and packing, and if ordering from abroad add 20% (minimum 20p). Make cheques in sterling payable to Freedom Press. And a full list of current titles may be obtained if you send an A4 stamped addressed envelope.

DN



# Feminism MORE THAN ONE VIEW

PORNOGRAPHY has emerged as a central question for the women's movement. But feminists are far from united around defining what pornography is and what it does; its interrelation with sexuality, sexism, violence, fantasy, behaviour, and women's struggles for self-determination.

The feminist anti-porn position, as represented by Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon, has commanded much notice both within feminism and in the mainstream. For a time it seemed *the* only feminist response to pornography. But in recent years, many feminists have seriously questioned the anti-porn analysis and strategy, and challenged its implications for our movement's direction and priorities.

Coming together in coalitions across North America, Feminist Anti-Censorship Taskforce (FACT) members are taking a fresh look at the underlying premises of anti-porn ideology in relation to feminist theory and history. We are examining anew the complexities and ambiguities of sex, gender and imagery. We are alarmed by the current right-wing climate of growing attacks on the hard-earned gains of women, youth and sexual minorities — and at how feminist anti-porn campaigns relate to this climate. We are exploring how best to fight sexism and sexual violence without surrendering sexual expression.

We think that the women's movement is best served by more intelligent inquiry into the spectrum of women's fears, desires and experience — a process that is only short-circuited by an insistence that a politically-correct feminist 'party line' be accepted and adopted by all. We believe that proposals to restrict sexual speech in society at large, even if motivated by feminist concerns, are ineffective and dangerous — and will backfire against feminist interests.

## Why does Andrea Dworkin Refuse to Debate Fact?

Dworkin and her supporters refuse, on principle, to share public platforms with FACT members to discuss their proposed 'civil rights' anti-pornography legislation. In New York, Massachusetts and California, anti-porn feminists have dismissed attempts by dissenting feminists to open

up space within our movement that affirms our common ground while debating our differences.

The Dworkin-MacKinnon stance seems to demand a single-issue 'litmus test' of anti-porn orthodoxy as the price of good-faith discussion conducted in a spirit of education and respect. Rather than acknowledge the widespread existence of legitimate feminist opposition to their legislation, differences are distorted and feminist convictions called into doubt. For example, MacKinnon has charged anti-porn feminist activist Alice Henry of *off our backs* with 'press misogyny' for daring to raise criticisms of her analysis. The 'climate of tension and mistrust' has even led one Dworkin-MacKinnon supporter to recently decry the 'willingness on the part of the ordinance's defenders to condemn any sign of resistance to it as 'anti-feminist' or 'pro-pornography'.

FACT has been dismissed as 'a front for the ACLU [which is] a front for pornographers' and called 'a potential danger to thousands of women'. MacKinnon has condemned debating her critics because it could 'further the fraudulent notion that there are two feminist positions on this issue'.

## Why doesn't Andrea Dworkin refuse Right-Wing Support?

Though shunning dialogue with feminists who won't conform to anti-porn orthodoxy, Dworkin welcomes anti-feminist support for her legislative strategy: 'More and more right-wing women are coming to hear me speak. They keep reading in the papers that they're on our side, and I'm having the most interesting conversations I've ever had in my life with them. I don't ask women to pass a political litmus test to talk to me.' (We wish this extended to other feminists!)

The Dworkin-MacKinnon strategy seriously underestimates the right-wing's co-optation of anti-porn rhetoric for their own ends. How else can Dworkin say: 'When Jerry Falwell starts saying there's real harm in pornography, then that is valuable to me' when Falwell views its 'harm' as 'the destruction of marriage and family values all over America' ??

To pass the Indianapolis test ordi-

nance, MacKinnon ignored the absence of local feminist support for it, denied the importance of the well-organised local right-wing anti-porn lobby, and sold her legal services to anti-abortion, Stop-ERA politician Beulah Coughenour. And a flyer produced by anti-pornography feminists approvingly quotes Phyllis Schaffly for borrowing feminist rhetoric in condemning the 'degradation' of women.

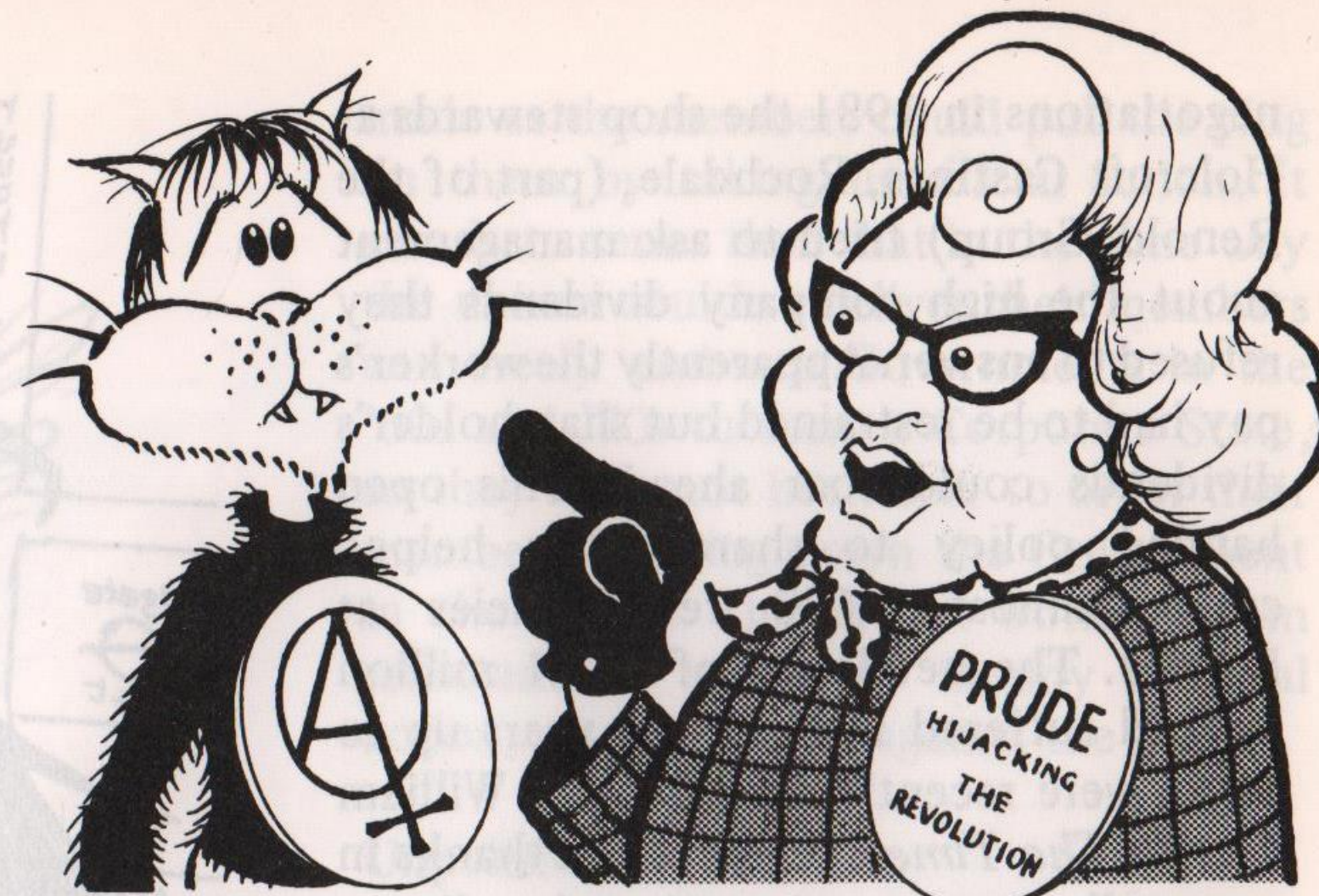
## Anti-Porn Sentiment and the Right's Anti-Vice Campaign

Is it an accident that the Dworkin-MacKinnon ordinance has been thus far adopted only in Indianapolis, with the support of a fundamentalist grass-roots crusade to 'raise the standards of the community'? According to ex-Moral Majority leader Rev. Dixon, 'I've said all along that pornography ought to be a feminist issue. It doesn't bother me at all that feminists and fundamentalists would line up in a campaign of this kind.'

Andrea Dworkin maintains that the Right is not truly anti-pornography or serious about doing away with woman-hating propaganda, and in a sense we agree. But Dworkin misunderstands the real point and purpose of the right-wing anti-obscenity movement; to use feminist energy and public opinion as fuel for an anti-vice juggernaut aimed first at feminist and gay culture and politics. The Dworkin-MacKinnon approach does feminism a dangerous disservice by denying the perilous balance of forces across the country and denying the right-wing's ability to pervert feminist concerns for anti-feminist ends.

The right-wing's agenda is clear: to drive sexual speech back underground where it is less subject to public scrutiny and influence; to step up attacks against women and gay men who work in the sex industry; to deny youth sex education and sexual rights; to deny women reproductive rights; and to silence feminist and gay sexual exploration. Across the country already:

\* The Reagan-appointed federal Commission on Pornography is conducting hearings with a special interest in gay sexual encounters and 'deviant' sexuality.



Their 1986 report is expected to call for stricter enforcement of existing obscenity laws and support for new censorship measures.

\* The California legislature saw the introduction of over a dozen bills to increase obscenity penalties this year; most are still pending further action.

\* Four federal bills are now before the U.S. Senate to censor and/or create new criminal sanctions against various forms of sexual and political speech.

\* The FBI, Justice Department, Customs Service, Postal Service, and local police are combining for drastic increases in felony and misdemeanor arrests and prosecutions of bookstore clerks, pornography actresses, prostitutes and members of sexual minorities — in the name of 'reducing violent crime against women and children.'

## For a Revitalised Women's Liberation Movement

Regardless of the intentions of the Dworkin-MacKinnon supporters, the single-minded focus on pornography as 'central' to the subordination of women will result not in empowering women, but in handing the most powerful reactionary forces another tool to reduce women's control over our lives. The current preoccupation with pornography diverts resources away from programs and services that concretely help women gain economic and social power.

Porn is a body of material diverse in form and quality — some is tasteless, sexist, poorly made; some is educational, aesthetic, visionary. Contrary to Dworkin's assertions, most porn does *not* involve or depict violence, and evidence linking

pornographic fantasy with violent behaviour is dubious. While some porn is insulting to women, so are ads, situation comedies and many women's magazines. What makes porn stand out is its sexual explicitness, an easy target in a conservative political climate.

Women will not be served by an illusory solution of restricting sexual speech. And we need more, not less, developed sexual culture where women, as well as men, freely and explicitly express our desires and pleasures.

## Principles of Unity

The Bay Area Feminist Anti-censorship Taskforce (BA/FACT) is a San Francisco based group of feminist activists organised in response to a growing attack on women's right to control our own bodies and our ideas of human sexuality. The media have portrayed the pornography issue as a debate between feminists and anti-censorship civil libertarians. BA/FACT is dedicated to voicing feminist opposition to proposed anti-pornography legislation.

The Taskforce's purpose is to inform the public in general and feminists in particular about the dangers of censorship of sexually explicit materials; to lobby against anti-pornography legislation, including the feminist 'civil rights' ordinances; and to build feminist opposition to such laws on the grounds that they are a misguided, dangerous and ineffective strategy in the struggle against sexism and violence.

**FACT**  
Bay Area  
Feminist Anti-censorship Taskforce  
Box 4361, San Francisco,  
California 94101.

## Class War expelled from Anti-Facist Action organisation

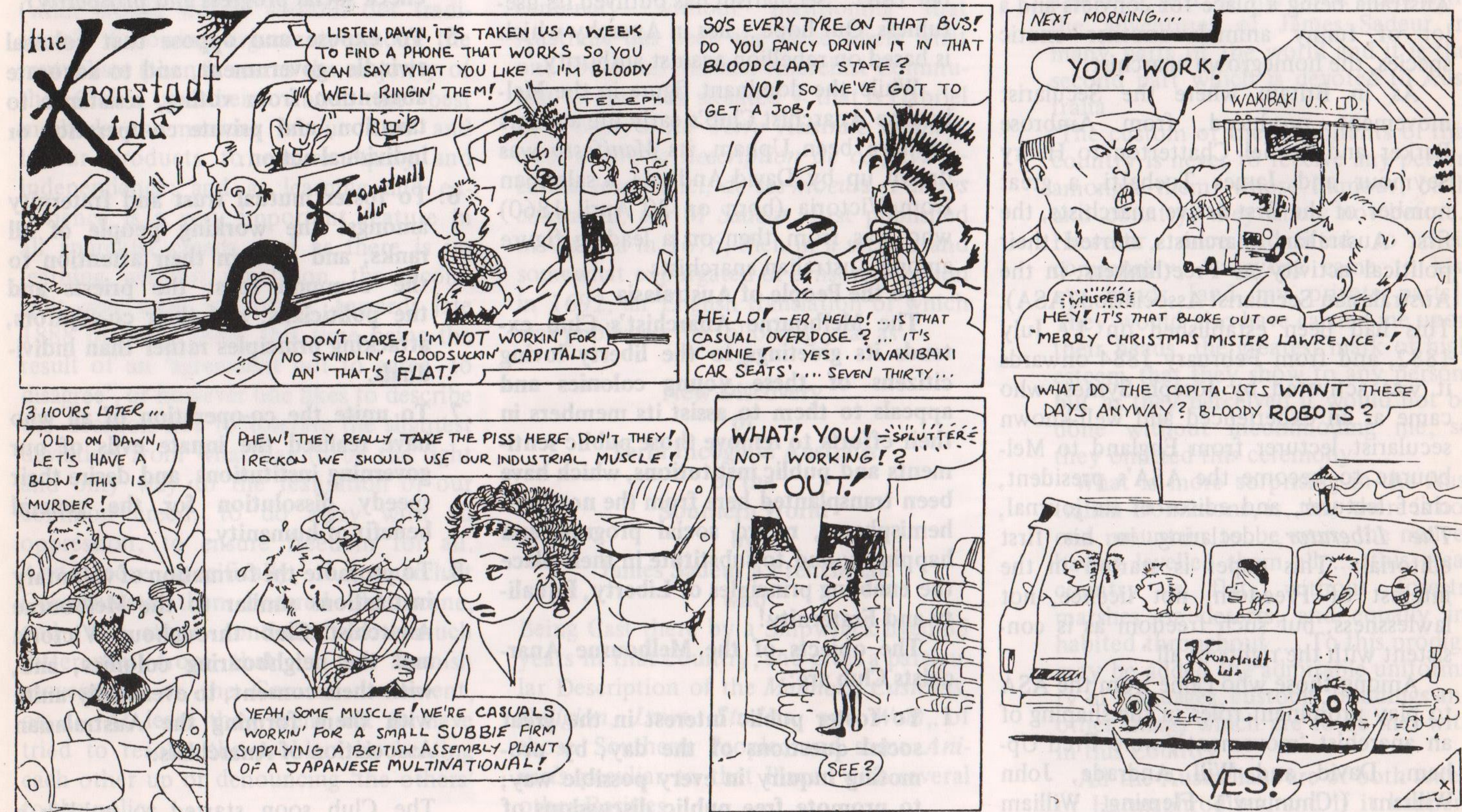
AT the Manchester Conference of the Anti-Fascist Action is February, the leadership succeeded in suspending the 'Class War' anarchists from affiliation on the grounds that the organisation had fascist tendencies. Approximately 170 delegates voted for suspension, and 80 against. This decision follows a smear campaign by the organisation 'Searchlight' who last year told *The Guardian* that some 'Class War' members were ex-fascists. Concern was expressed at the Conference that members of 'Searchlight' work closely with the Special Branch.

Anarchist and direct actionist delegates at the Conference complained that a witch-hunt was being conducted against the anarchist movement. Though this was denied, 'Searchlight' has tried to show similarities between anarchist and fascist theory by saying both are anti-state, anti-communist and anti-capitalist.

Bitter exchanges took place between anarchist delegates and the Conference bosses when attempts were made to gag libertarian speakers from the floor. And when the decision was taken to ban 'Class War' about 70 delegates and observers walked out.

Brian Bamford

*Searchlight* is a publication and organisation which claims to infiltrate fascist organisations in order to expose their activities.





# Centenary ANARCHISM IN AUSTRALIA

Australia had a healthy anarchist movement a hundred years ago, and was the setting for an anarchist Utopia two hundred years before that. Centenary celebrations 1 to 4 May 1986. For information contact AACCC, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052, Melbourne, Australia.

EVEN the last reader of FREEDOM may have realised by now that 1986 is the year of anarchist anniversaries and centenaries. While we are certainly conceited enough to believe that the most important one is FREEDOM's own centenary — and who could doubt it? — we certainly like others to have a fair share of our celebration columns. Before dedicating our next issue to the centenary of the Haymarket affair and of May Day as a day of workers' solidarity, we want this month — still just in time for those who may be interested in booking a flight — to draw attention to the Australian Anarchist Centenary Celebrations, going to take place in Melbourne from 1 to 4 May 1986.

For it was on 1 May 1886 that the first meeting took place of Australia's first 'official' anarchist organisation, the Melbourne Anarchist Club, thereby adding to the then common European picture of Australia being a place for convicts and a lot of funny animals another exotic species, the homegrown anarchist.

As in Britain where the Secularist movement produced, from Ambrose Barker and Daniel Chatterton to Henry Seymour and James Tochatti, a great number of the first active anarchists, the first Australian anarchists started their political activity as Freethinkers, in the Australasian Secularist Association (ASA). This had been established on 17 July 1882, and from February 1884 onwards it was activated by Joseph Symes, who came as an experienced and well-known secularist lecturer from England to Melbourne to become the ASA's president, chief lecturer, and editor of its journal, *The Liberator*, declaring in his first editorial: 'This paper is started in the interest of Freedom, not licence, not lawlessness, but such freedom as is consistent with the rights of all.'

Among those who came from the ASA to play prominent roles in the shaping of an anarchist 'movement', were Fred Upham, David and Will Andrade, John William ('Chummy') Fleming, William

McNamara, and John Arthur ('Jack') Andrews.

It seems to have been Upham who first lectured on 'Anarchism' to the ASA, in October 1885. However, industrious readers of the Secularist press of the time will by then have been fairly well informed about Anarchism as a concept in general and as a European movement in particular, whether through the articles by a later lifelong collaborator of FREEDOM, Henry Glasse, from about 1879 on in George Standring's *Republican* or the regular reviews of the radical socialist press (and particularly of Kropotkin's *Le Revolte*) in the same paper.

It is therefore not entirely surprising if growing differences in the ASA, and especially opposition to Joseph Symes's more and more despotic behaviour, led the most active members of the ASA to Anarchism as the alternative, as Fred Upham formulated it concisely in November 1887: 'Secularism has outlived its usefulness. Our hope ... lies in Anarchy which is based on rebellion against authority.'

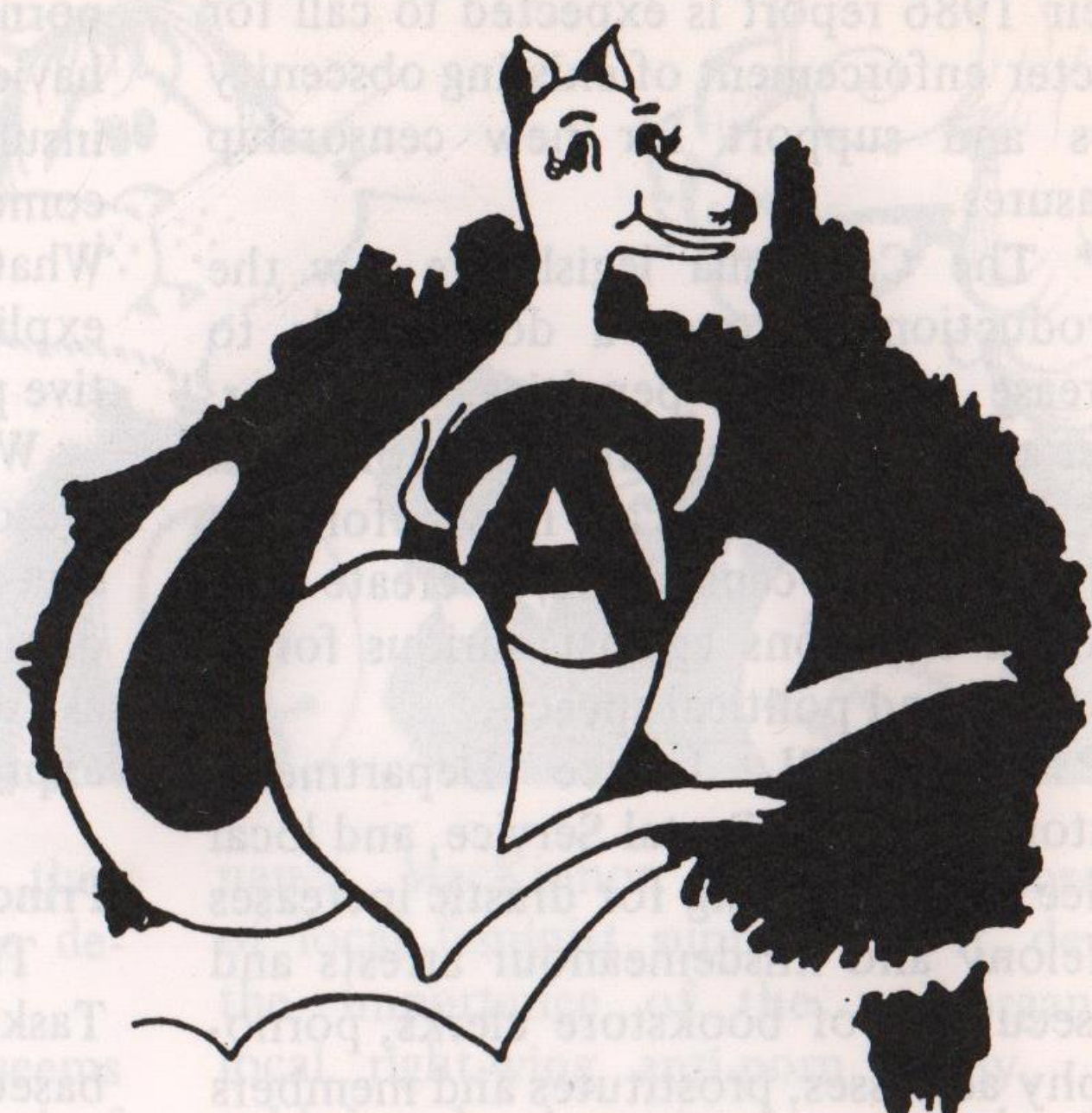
While the dominant figure in the Melbourne Anarchist Club's early life appears to have been Upham, its *Manifesto* was drawn up by David Andrade, a salesman from Victoria (born on 30 April 1860) who was from then on a leading figure among Australian anarchists.

**To the People of Australasia**

**The Melbourne Anarchist's Club extends its greetings to the liberty loving citizens of these young colonies and appeals to them to assist its members in their efforts to remove those public sentiments and public institutions, which have been transplanted here from the northern hemispheres, retard social progress and happiness; and to substitute in their place the enabling principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity!**

**The objects of the Melbourne Anarchists Club are:**

1. To foster public interest in the great social questions of the day, by promoting inquiry in every possible way; to promote free public discussions of



all social questions; and to circulate and publish literature, throwing light upon existing evils of society, and the methods necessary for their removal.

2. To foster and extend the principles of Self-Reliance, Self-Help and a spirit of Independence amongst the people.
3. To uphold and maintain the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. By Liberty we mean 'the equal liberty of each, limited alone by the equal liberty of all.' By Equality we mean 'the equality of opportunity for each individual.' And by Fraternity we mean 'that principle which denies national and class distinctions, asserts the brotherhood of Man, and says 'The World is my country.'
4. To advocate, and seek to achieve, the abolition of all monopolies and despotisms which destroy the freedom of the individual (and which thereby check social progress and prosperity).
5. To expose and oppose that colossal swindle, government, and to advocate abstention from voting, resistance to taxation, and private co-operation or individual action.
6. To foster mutual trust and fraternity amongst the working people of all ranks, and to turn their attention to the common foes: the priests and the politicians, and their co-adjutors, attacking principles rather than individuals.
7. To unite the co-operation of all who have realised the innate evils of our governing institutions, and desire their speedy dissolution for the general benefit of humanity.
8. To promote the formation of voluntary institutions similar to the Melbourne Anarchist Club throughout Victoria and the neighbouring colonies, and, with their consent, to eventually unite with them forming the Australasian Association of Anarchists.

The Club soon started to publish a

newsletter, appropriately called *Honesty*, which immediately also became a sort of printed information link to the Anarchist movement all over the world; for from the beginning the Australian anarchists seem to have taken great care to keep informed the 'rest of the [anarchist] world' about the progress and tendencies of their movement, first making sure that the then leading anarchist paper, *Le Revolte*, published the club's *Manifesto*, and later by having the most regular and industrious contributors and letter writers to all leading anarchist papers, from *Le Revolte* and its successors *La Revolte* and *Les Temps Nouveaux* to *Societe Nouvelle* and *L'Humanite Nouvelle*, from *The Anarchist* to FREEDOM, from *Autonomie* to *Freiheit*, from *El Productor* to *La Protesta*. I do not know of any other national anarchist movement that made its presence similarly regular in the international anarchist press.

The outstanding 'activists' in this regard must have been Andrews, who corresponded in several languages, thereby making life easier for overworked anarchist editors, 'Chummy' Fleming, whose letters not much bothering about spelling and punctuation were a familiar feature to most anarchist editors up to his death in 1950 (and who in his last years regularly forgot to add his signature — to the great sorrow of, for example, the historically ignorant secretary of the Freedom Defence Committee who did not know what to do with these unsigned letters from the other end of the world), not to forget in the 1940s and 1950s the indefatigable K.J. Kenafick.

Very soon, however, in the Club's second year, the first split occurred (what would we do without our traditions?) following arguments among the mutualists (then it seems the majority of the Club's members) about the best methods to measure labour time and labour products to ensure equity and independence; and as learning and experience is a very important feature in all anarchist creeds, and as there is no learning without repetition, the second split was soon to follow, towards late 1888 or early 1889, this time being the result of an 'agreement not to agree to disagree', or however one likes to describe the decision not to tolerate the slightest deviation from what has to be the right and only way to the realisation of our common creed: to do away with all oppression, to ensure freedom for all. And, more specifically, the Anarchist Communists then entered the scene, and the story continued not much differently from that in the Spanish movement, or the German movement, or .... At least they seem not to have tried to resolve the problem by beating each other up or denouncing 'the others' to the police.

In any case, from then on the Club seems to have been 'dominated' by what are commonly referred to as 'Individualists' of the Tuckerite school, Andrade being the most prominent member; while Andrews started, more or less on his own or with very few friends, the series of his very personal Anarchist Communist papers, and his one-man propaganda through letters to editors of all sorts of papers, all over the world, which he continued nearly up to his death in 1903.

But, apart from all these 'practical' contributions to Anarchist history, Australia has of course still another place in the history of anarchist ideas, and we must not close our contribution to the celebration of our Australian comrades' centenary without mentioning that Australia has been the place where what one could call the first Anarchist Communist Utopia was situated — that is Gabriel de Foigny's *La Terre Australe connue, c'est a dire la description de ce pays inconnu jusques ici, de ses moeurs et de ses coutumes; par M Sadeur*, first published in Geneva in 1676, then in a second and somewhat expurgated or censored version in 1692, an English translation of which was published the following year as

A  
New Discovery  
of  
Terra Incognita Australis  
or the  
Southern World  
by  
James Sadeur a Frenchman  
who

Being Cast there by a Shipwreck lived 35 years in that country, and gives a particular Description of the *Manners, Customs, Religion, Laws, Studies, and Wars*, of those Southern People: and some *Animals* peculiar to that Place: with several other Rarities.

# 1886



# 1986

For an assessment of the book, and a number of excerpts, we refer to Marie Louise Berneri's *Journey through Utopia* (1950), which, of course, has been republished by Freedom Press, and from where we take all our citations.

And for all those of our friends and comrades who will go to Melbourne and certainly will have there a lot of fun and perhaps (hopefully!) the experience of an anarchist world meeting like the one in Venice in 1984, but who have not yet been to that part of the world, we add a few descriptions to be affirmed or refuted afterwards — and why not in FREEDOM? — which may serve as a kind preparation of what may eventually be expected ....

The first part of the book deals with the adventures of James Sadeur in many parts of the world and it is the second part which is devoted to Australia.

'The custom of the inhabitants of this country is never to receive any person amongst them, whose humour, birth and country, they know not before.' However, once admitted to their community, 'everyone came to kiss my hands [and my private parts]. They would also have carried me upon their heads, the greatest mark of high esteem that they show to any person; but as they perceived it would not be done without incommodeing me, so they omitted this ceremony ....

What is more surprising in the Australian Dominions, is, that there is not one mountain to be seen; the natives having levelled them all .... this great country is flat, without forests, marshes or deserts, and equally inhabited throughout .... To this prodigy may be added the admirable uniformity of languages, customs, buildings and other things which are to be met with in this Country ....

All the Australians are of both sexes, or Hermaphrodites, and if it happens





that a child is born but of one, they strangle him as a monster. They are nimble, and very active; their flesh is more upon the red than vermillion; they are commonly eight foot high, their face pretty long, forehead large, their eyes prominent, and mouth small, their lips are of deep red coral, nose more inclined to be long than round, and beard and hair always black, which they never cut because they grow but little; their chin is long, [cleft] and turns a little up again; their neck slender; their shoulders large and high; they have very little breasts, [their breasts are round and conspicuous], placed very low, a little redder than vermillion, their arms are nervous and their hands are pretty broad and long [and with six fingers], they have a high chest, but flat belly, who appears but little when they are big with child; their hips high; their thighs large, and legs long [with feet with six toes]. They are so accustomed to go naked, that they think they cannot speak of covering themselves without being declared enemies

of Nature, and deprived of Reason. In certain places there are some who have on their hips a kind of arm thinner but of the same length as the others and which they can extend at will and which is stronger than the others ....

In all the time I was there, I could never discover how generation work was performed amongst them; I have only observed that they loved one another with a cordial love, and that they never loved any one more than another. I can affirm I neither saw quarrel or animosity amongst them. They know not how to distinguish between mine and thine and there is more perfect sincerity and disinterestment amongst them than exist between men and women in Europe ....

That which seems to me most admirable in them, is to see them without any commanders to lead them, and without having any previous discourse or communication one with another, or receiving any direction or instruction, they know how to post themselves with so much order and discipline, that one would think they were all so many experienced captains, that were all inspired with the same design, and agreed upon the means how to execute it ....

I could not but admire a conduct so opposite to our defective one, that I was so ashamed to remember how far we were from the perfection of these People. I said in myself, can it be true that we are not all made Man? But added I, if it is not so, what is the difference of these People from us?

Isn't that worth finding out for yourselves?

B

## Pushers out

GREEK police recently raided the Athens district of Exarchia after a clash between local residents and drugs pushers. The residents of Exarchia — anarchists and people from broad-left groups — had united to clean the area of muggers and heroin pushers in an action similar to that several years ago by the residents of Christiania, the libertarian community living in an old army camp in the south-east of Copenhagen. The anti-heroin action in Christiania ensured that the heroin addiction rate there is dropping whilst Copenhagen itself is experiencing a heroin explosion, further proof that popular action, rather than the police, are the solution to the heroin epidemic. Indeed the Exarchia anarchists claim the Athens police cooperate with and protect the drugs pushers — it was only the anarchists that were arrested.



## History HEALTH CARE IN ANARCHIST SPAIN

THE socialization of health services was one of the greatest achievements of the Spanish revolution. The *Health Workers Union* was founded in September 1936. In line with the tendency to unite all the different classifications, trades, and services serving a given industry, all health workers from porters to doctors and administrators were organized into one big union of health workers. By 1937 the Health Workers Union, a section of the CNT, had 40,000 members. It goes without saying that such large numbers could not have been assembled so quickly had not the way been shown by others over the years.

The Health Workers Union did not confine itself solely to enrolling new members. It attempted to recreate the health system along anarchist lines in the areas under its control: Andalusia, the Levant, and Catalonia. Efforts to recreate a health system were crushed by the right-wing advance in Andalusia and the Levant, but were successful in Catalonia, the industrial heart land of Spain.

### Self-managed health care in Catalonia

Anarchist health workers laid the foundations of a new health system in Catalonia. The new medical service embraced the whole of Catalonia, divided into nine large sectors, with thirty-five centres of greater or lesser importance. No village or hamlet in Catalonia, no man, woman or child, was without adequate health care. (The population of Catalonia was then 2.5 million.)

Each centre was autonomous as far as method of organization within that centre was concerned; but autonomy did not imply absolute independence. Each of the nine primary centres met delegates from the secondary centres associated with it, to co-ordinate activity within that sector. Delegates from each sector met to co-ordinate health care throughout Catalonia.

Soon the population felt the benefits of this large undertaking. Community health centres were established in the twenty-six secondary centres, general hospitals in the nine primary centres, and specialist hospitals in the capital Barcelona. All decisions made in this vast network were based on equal decision-making, and people worked in the health industry for equal wages.

### Social and preventive medicine

When the Civil War broke out there were no specially organized health workers unions, yet many health care ideas and initiatives sprang up when the time was ripe.

This was for two reasons:

a) Health problems had been mentioned over and over again in the anarchist press; so many anarchist militants were aware of the problems of venereal disease, tuberculosis, infant and maternal mortality, etc.  
b) Before the Civil War health services had been administered by religious personnel, who disappeared overnight when war came. This forced anarchists to improvise new methods of organization and set up new health establishments, not only to replace civilian health services but also to operate, tend, and treat the wounded from the Civil War who were being brought in all the time.

### Equal distribution of wealth

One of the main aims of anarchism is an equal distribution of wealth among individuals. Under the new system all hospital doctors received 500 pesetas a month (the average wage in Barcelona at the time was 400 pesetas a month). Hospital doctors were also allowed to take private patients. This was not yet economic equality, but a great step had been taken in that direction.

### Health Workers Congress 1937

In February 1937, the Federation of Health Workers Unions (CNT) held a congress in Valencia. This meeting represented 40,000 health workers throughout anarchist Spain.

A health plan for anarchist Spain was evolved at this conference, based on initial. Health care was categorized into: general medical care; social and preventive medicine; social assistance; and sanitation.

Projects and plans dealing with particular diseases, war casualties, and the provision of health care were discussed. Ideas were exchanged and a large number of tasks initiated. The initiatives which derived from this congress were one of the greatest achievements of the Spanish revolution.

The Spanish Revolution was not only a period of remarkable economic growth, but also a period of profound changes in people's relationships, their traditional values, the organization of society, and people's ability to control their own lives. It was remarkable because of the goal of the anarchists — *human liberation* rather than economic or national liberation. For the first time in history people were able to control their own lives on the basis of equal decision-making with their fellow human beings.

Libertarian Workers Bulletin  
Melbourne

## Michael Davies

THEY say there is no rest for the wicked and undoubtedly that includes anarchist subversives like members of the Direct Action Movement. On the 24th of December we got a letter from Doctor Chandra Ghosh and it confirmed that three named comrades had 'permission' to visit Michael as friends.

On the 25th of December two of us drove out to Park Lane to 'test' this 'permission': we did this on the off-chance so that the actual visit by us was as close to the date of the lifting of the ban as possible and to show the authorities that we care about our comrades who are unnecessarily incarcerated at the behest of the state no matter what day of the year it is.

There was no visiting that day but we left something for Michael. We did this in an effort to relay a message to Michael so he would know we had called up anyway. We went up again today (26th) and spent about 1½ hours with him, and we had a good bit of a chat about how things had been with him and about one or two little things we are engaged in around Liverpool.

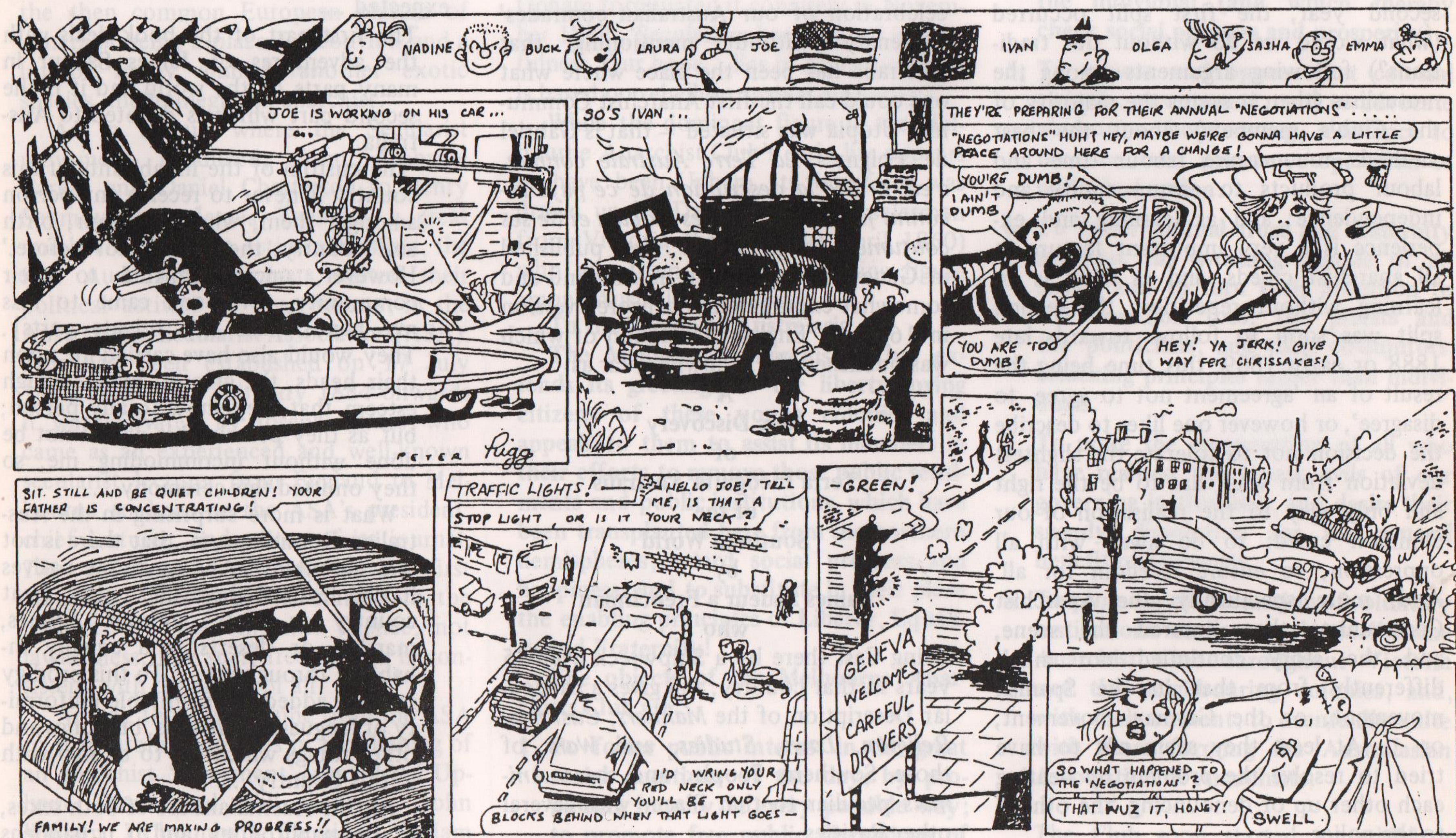
The censorship is still continuing in many ways but basically he is still in good form about developments in general, as he has received letters of support through the good publicity in the anarchist press. As well as the anarchists others like MIND and NCCL played a very good role in this campaign and to every one who did help, the Liverpool DAM extends greetings of solidarity; because without that support the struggle would have been extremely hard for us and much longer.

It is time for the anarchist network to turn the 'spotlight' fully upon these so-called hospitals and the methods used to put people in to them. As far as we are aware there are 116,000 people in these hospitals and if we are not prepared to do something about it, then most certainly no one else will.

If any comrades are interested in this field of activity and have any facts, figures or information in general which would be helpful in this activity perhaps they could contact us. An indication could also be given as to how far people are willing to go because unless we know people's commitment it will be hard to gauge what we effectively can do.

So if you are interested enough to get involved please write to: **SOLACE, Anarchist Aid for Prisoners, c/o Box Liverpool DAM, 82 Lark Lane, Aigburth, Liverpool 17, England.**

Oskar Rossin





# Controversy

## THE GANDHI MYTH

Mahatma Gandhi is often cited by pacifists as *the* shining example of how non-violent civil disobedience works successfully. (*Freedom* itself has had articles praising Gandhi by George Woodcock and others.) Unfortunately, these paeans of praise leave out a close study of Gandhi's role in the Indian struggle for independence, and just as importantly, who were his class allies in that struggle.

By 1919 the Indian capitalists had decided they wanted independence from the British rulers. However, as can be imagined, the British were reluctant to agree to this, and a propaganda campaign for withdrawal had no effect. This desire for independence was also to be found among Indian workers and peasants. In response to a mass rally at Amritsar in the Punjab, General Dyer ordered the machine gunning of the crowd, which resulted in over 300 dead and many thousands wounded.

The Indian capitalist class came to the conclusion that mass action was necessary to gain independence, after the failure of the propaganda campaign. However, they were haunted by the spectre of the Russian Revolution, which had progressed from democratic demands to outright social revolution. They received the answer to their prayers in Gandhi, who had already led several campaigns of civil disobedience in South Africa against the racist laws. He thus had a certain credibility, and was also not hindered by any identification with a particular region of the sub-continent.

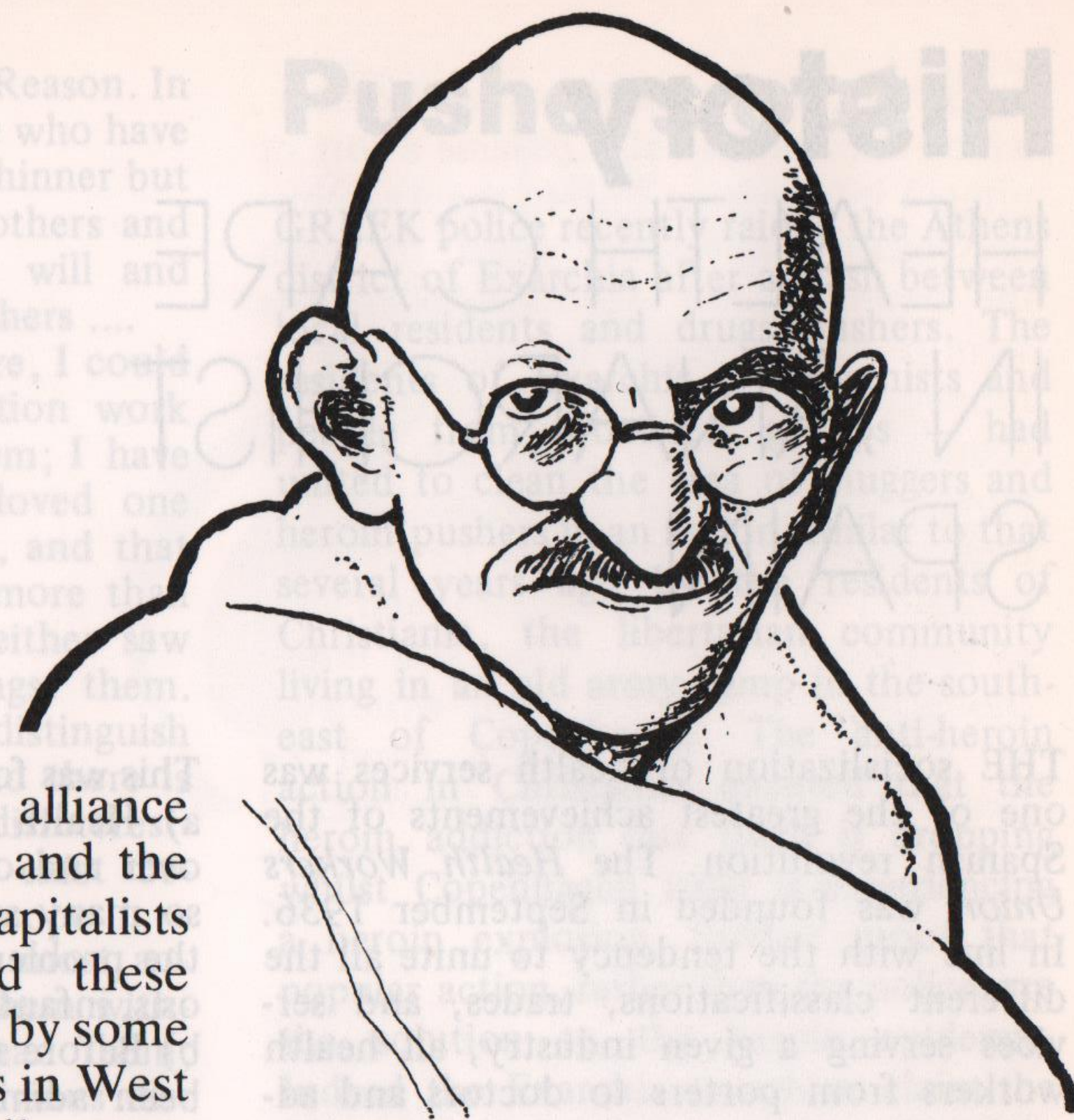
His theories of civil disobedience were rooted in Hindu theology. He preached the unity of classes among Indians, the rich to be "trustees" for the poor. This message of class unity was vital if

he was to create an alliance between the industrialists and the rich peasants. Indian capitalists enthusiastically welcomed these ideas, and he was financed by some of the leading industrialists in West India, the Sarabhais, textile magnates in the Gujarat, and the Birlas, second largest industrialist group in all of India. Millions of rupees were given to him over a period of twenty-five years. The rich peasants and shopkeepers also provided as well as a pool of activists for his Congress Party.

Each of Gandhi's mass campaigns of civil disobedience (1920-1922, 1930-1933, 1942) took place when British capitalism was in trouble. Each crisis broke a few more links with Britain. They also strengthened the Indian capitalists. Fair enough, one can argue, it was good tactics to attack British imperialism when it was in difficulties. What Gandhi failed to do was tie the second campaign to a massive working class upsurge, in conjunction with a mass campaign against a British Parliamentary Commission touring India (both in 1928). He waited till 1930 to launch the campaign. He rejected the idea of teaming workers struggles with a campaign for British withdrawal, because he was an advocate of peace between the different classes of India.

Gandhi never questioned the concept of "legality", either. He told his supporters to obey the law and he always insisted that the British had a "legal right" to arrest them. Once arrested, the campaigners were told to cut themselves off from everything outside and passively await their release.

When in April 1946 Indian sailors mutinied in Bombay and Indian soldiers refused to fire on them, Gandhi's Congress Party



refused to support them, which effectively broke the mutiny. Workers demonstrated their support in mass strikes, and the thought of workers and rank-and-file soldiers combining in action must have been troubling to Gandhi.

Gandhi's use of the Hindu religion as justification for civil disobedience was disastrous. Not only did it alienate the members of other religions in India, principally the Muslims, but it legitimised the caste system. Gandhi opposed one caste oppressing another, but he never came out in favour of the abolition of the caste system itself. Many "untouchables" were alienated in this way. The massacres that took place after independence were at least partly due to Gandhi's reluctance to include the Muslims within his Congress Party.

Although Gandhi admitted that he had read certain libertarian thinkers, principally Kropotkin, he had very little in common with their ideas. And while Kropotkin, at least during his militant younger years, identified with the working class movement (see his encouragement of French anarcho-syndicalism) and was committed to the end of class society, Gandhi never repudiated either the class or the caste system, and never tried to reach out to the working class, in India or internationally. For that matter, his puritanism, his distaste of sexuality, his cult of martyrdom, have very little to do with militant anarchism.

Nick Heath

# Psychology

## THE SEPARATION OF SELVES

A LOT of people can't see the point of looking at *psychology* as part of libertarian politics. Sometimes this is because 'psychology' is taken to mean the fashionable, bourgeois, therapeutic mentality broadly known as the 'Growth Movement'. In fact the growth movement is conformism masquerading as psychology (with the help of appropriate psychological-sounding jargon). It comes under a variety of guises and names. The intention here is to outline the general characteristics of this 'pop psychology' and to give a few reasons why it's so much pointless rubbish. It's no more relevant to any radical politics than are the principles of liberalism to revolutionaries.

### Self-obsession

The preoccupation with one's own personal relations, behaviour or emotional state can be a serious barrier to political activity. The energy invested in it easily becomes channelled in the direction of selfish and superficial aims. This is the age of 'self-actualisation' and other humanistic ephemera. The slogan of 'personal is political' often combines the prevailing hopelessness and narcissism of consumer culture with a complete and systematic disregard for others. Actually, of course, individuals' personal lives are wholly interwoven with those of the people around them (in the present and from the past). The idea that the development of each person can be examined and changed 'in a vacuum' is immediately, transparently false.

The 'personal' comes to mean 'the self' rather than its original, useful sense of 'the self and others (simultaneously)'. The political term of the slogan's equation has come to be lost.

The humanistic, therapeutic attitude is that individuals can survive and thrive psychologically — even in the (effectively unchanged) hostile environment which by various indirect mechanisms created their personal problems in the first place. It ignores the fact that personality develops in terms of relationships with others. Personality change can't therefore happen via vague notions of fulfilling potential. 'Actualisation' theories and therapies depend on an ability to disentangle the 'real self' from some version of the



'alienated self'. The latter is viewed as an imposition on human nature. The real self is said to be an expression of this 'nature'. It's seen as the innate predisposition to enhance ones life and fulfil potential in a 'good' or 'positive' direction. This can't fail to be a value-judgement, obviously.

Psychological 'growth' involves simply learning what one 'really' wants. Then thinking time is organised around ways of achieving these superficial wants. They are believed to be concrete expressions of the 'actualisation instinct'. So somewhere along the line they become 'needs', or even 'higher needs'. The jargon and mystical justifications of all this vary depending on which brand of therapy you look at.

What is striking is how easy and unthreatening it all is. A few sessions of comfortable consultation reveal your needs and a strategy to meet them. In fact the whole process operates at a totally shallow level. It consists of playing around with self-images — a bit like changing washing powders. Like the advert says, a new powder changes your life completely.

In order to change, you have to want to change. Armed with new words you are instilling with confidence that you can and will change. You get caught up in the euphoria of knowing this. Lo and behold! you fool yourself that you've changed. If you ever start seeing through this, there are plenty of other therapies to choose from.

*You have made your self-image a commodity. You can buy a new one when the old one wears thin. You can forget about authenticity. You've probably already forgotten about politics.*

### Grandiose Self

Underneath the nice middle-class notions of flexibility and perfectability lie more paranoid characteristics of the 'self'. The self inhabits a world populated by entirely separate, shadowy figures who need to be manipulated ruthlessly so as not to impede the sovereign-self's actualisation. Whether or not those around the self have their own needs doesn't come into it. The fact that there must be a complex dynamic tension between the behaviour and needs of each relative to each other

is completely ignored. Ultimately, if all members of a community followed the 'client-centred' therapists' prescriptions that community would very quickly collapse. This means that any apparent effectiveness of the pursuit of growth is frequency-dependent (ie, the higher the proportions involved, the worse for all and the more damaging to the community). In principle it seems that any of this sort of 'growth' achieved by one must mean some level of negative effects for others.

### Bourgeois competitive individualism in disguise

Again the link with narcissism and consumer capitalism is revealed. Others are assumed to be irrelevant except as barriers to short-term advantage. The future is beyond conception or opaque to calculations of profit. All of this also ruins any constructive effort to understand personal problems.

The personal growth movement in general fits the bill as an all-purpose palliative which nicely sidesteps questions of the structure of society. In fact the only society which exists for these people is the immediate social environment of the therapy-seeker/sucker.

The more conventional, so-called 'scientific' psychology usually makes no secret of its liberal-reactionary attitude. These are thoroughly ingrained in academic psychology. Hardly anyone can seriously believe that it offers anything but the 'measurement of trivia' (J Lacan). In all of these excuses for psychotherapy, mental health or normality mysteriously turn out to be synonymous with what-ever happened to be the most convenient for conventional Power.

### A useful rule of thumb

Examine a method of psychological growth (ie, a 'therapy') carefully. If it purports to be able to reduce unhappiness — forget it. The most any psychotherapy could ever hope to do would be to reduce *psychopathology*. In this society that would still leave everybody extremely unhappy.

Character / personality / psychological 'health', etc. are rooted in the prevailing social and political structures. In order for a society to operate at all, these structures must to some extent 'fit' the personality distributors of the population. The fit is now very bad (and it's never been much better). A useful radical psychology can show this vividly and in detail. Its aims should be to offer a coherent, comprehensive explanation of human-in-society. In combination with other levels of analysis and struggle it should be able to pinpoint new opportunities for resistance to the insanity of Capital and State.

Tom Jennings  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne



## Events

London Anarchist Festival 26/27 April see p. 2.

## Recapture Mayday

Public meeting on the 100th Anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs. Speakers from Direct Action Movement, Laing Lock-Out Committee, NUM, plus others. **Hackney Labour and Trade Union Hall, 96 Dalston Lane, London E8. Saturday 26 April at 2:00pm.**

## Chicago

**Haymarket '86**  
International Anarchist Conference in Chicago, 1 to 4 May 1986, remembering the Haymarket bomb of 1 May 1886, and the cruel aftermath which led to May First being observed as a day of international workers' solidarity. Liberals and Social Democrats will converge on Chicago to portray the anarchist martyrs as Liberals and Social Democrats. A strong anarchist presence is needed to counteract the imposters. **Contact Haymarket '86, Box 102, 1200 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614.**



**Australian Anarchist Centenary Celebrations**  
Melbourne 1 to 4 May 1986.  
Information from AACCC,  
PO Box 20, Parkville 3052,  
Melbourne, Australia.



The executed Chicago anarchists as portrayed by Siporin (detail).

## Anarchist camp

SINCE 1933 almost every year an anarchist meeting has been held in Appelscha (about 20 km. from Assen, Netherlands). The meetings traditionally take place at the anarchist camp 'Tot Vrijheidsbe-zinning' (For the Contemplation of Freedom). On the last occasion people showed enthusiasm for international exchange of ideas about ANARCHIST STRATEGIES, ORGANIZATION AND COOPERATION. This led to the initiative of organizing an INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MEETING in 1986. It will centre around discussions on the following four themes:

- anarchism and feminism
- anarchism and antimilitarism
- anarchism and ecology
- anarchism and syndicalism.

There will also be a cultural program. We would like you to contact us, if you think you can contribute to one of the themes or the cultural program. If you do so, please indicate briefly what you have in mind. We will get in touch with you soon.

The keynote of the meetings in Appelscha has always been solidarity and comradeship. We would like to continue this tradition and, therefore, invite everybody, speakers, listeners and pleasure seekers, to the International Anarchist Meeting in 1986.

dates: from Thursday evening May 15 to Monday evening May 19  
place: camping 'Tot Vrijheidsbe-zinning' Aekingaweg 1a Appelscha (The Netherlands) (phone 05162-1878)  
contact: Mike Alibi (I.A.M.) Nieuwe Gracht 40 Utrecht (The Netherlands)

## Spanish Exhibition

IN order to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Spanish Revolution this July, there will be an exhibition in Barcelona with the general title 'Anarchism and the Civil War 1936-1939'.

The global intentions of this exhibition are very high. The material will be drawn from the documentary resources of CDH-S (below) and other archives. There will be photographs, paintings, films, videos, and much else. At the same time there will be a cultural festival.

A co-ordinating group is being set up. For details contact:

**Centre de Documentacio Historico-Social  
Ateneu Enciclopedic Popular  
Montalegre 5, 08001 Barcelona.**

## Anarcho-pacifists

The Federation of Anarcho-Pacifists held its first meeting in London on Sunday, 2 March 1986. The next meeting will be held at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1, from 1 to 4 pm on Sunday, 13 April 1985.

Contact: *Lisa, 111 Courthill Road, London SE 13.*

## Anarchist Forum

**April 18 Andy Brown**  
**What Libertarian Socialism Is.**

**April 25 Mia Moseley**  
**Anarchism: Theory = Practice?**

**May 2 Bob Price**  
**Animal Liberation**

**May 9 Tottenham Claimants**  
**Fighting for our Basic Needs**

**May 16 Amy Harper**  
**Anarchism and Feminism**

**May 23 Chris Draper**  
**Libertarian Education**

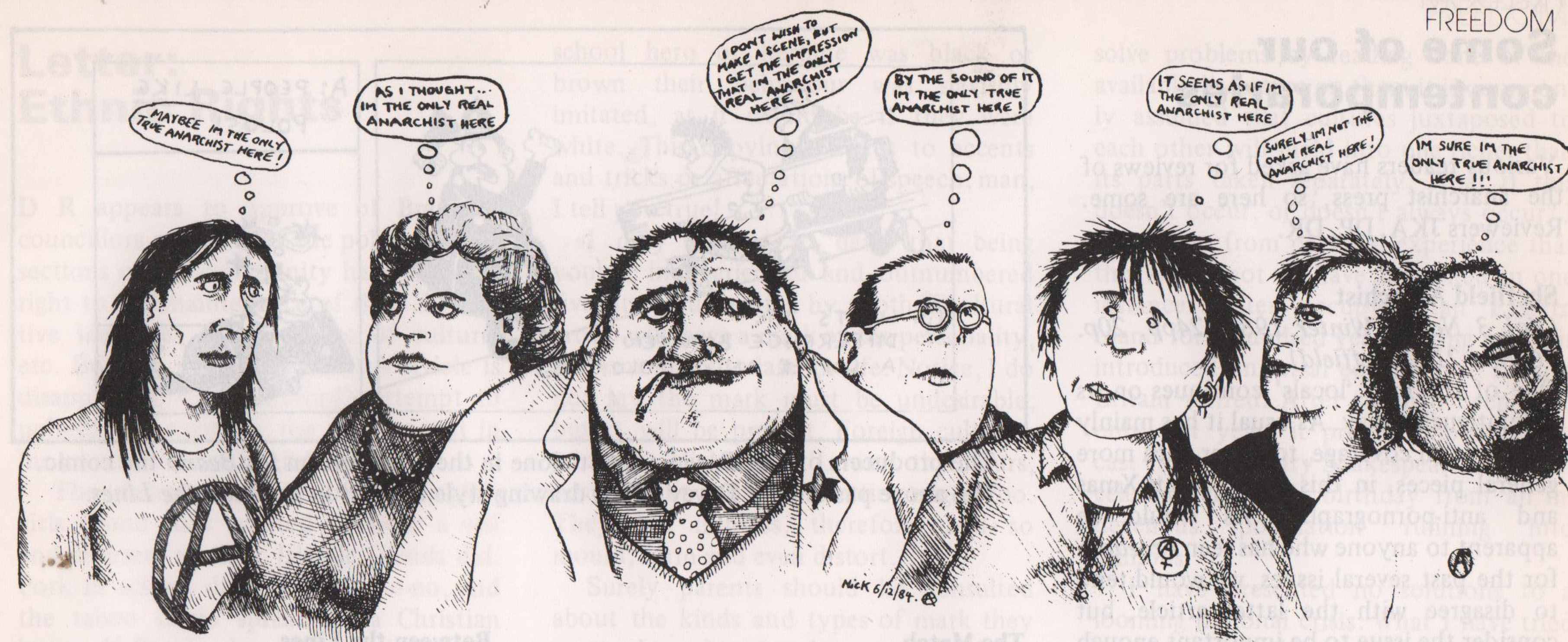
**May 30 Bill Green**  
**What is the Price of Freedom?**

**June 6 Alan Albon**  
**Walter Segal's Self Build**

**June 13 Will Langworthy**  
**Anarchism and Education**

**Fridays at 8:00pm**  
**Mary Ward Centre**  
**42 Queen Square, London WC1.**

**Anarchism: Theory and Practice, Past and Present** Fourth annual series of five weekly talks by Nicolas Walter, followed by discussions, begins in Central London on Tuesday evening at 6.00, 15 April 1986. Information from Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1n 3AQ (telephone 01 - 831 7711).



## Organisation

**Anarchy or Chaos**  
**Streatham Action Group**  
8 pages, free. (Copies from SAG (AOC), c/o 121 Books, 121 Railton Road, London SE 24. Please enclose SAE.)

THIS interesting and thoughtful little pamphlet is a call for organization in the British anarchist movement.

'The only things the anarchist movement seems to be good at is organising bookfairs and acting like complete wallies on CND demonstrations. The behaviour of many people at the end of the otherwise successful bookfair on November 9 1985, when people were shouted down trying to speak, was appalling. If this is how we communicate with each other, we might as well give up.'

'The paranoid fear of organisation', the pamphlet goes on, 'is holding the movement back'. A network of community/workplace assemblies is advocated, co-ordinated by delegate conferences and councils with all delegates subject to instant recall. The community/workplace assemblies 'would be the sovereign decision-making bodies'; though it seems that some decisions would be mandatory, for instance, 'All workers' initiatives ... should be supported'.

Anarchists, it is said, approve of organization but object to being organized. When past attempts to organize them have failed, the would-be organizers have too often fallen into fantasy, preparing constitutions and membership cards and delegate conferences for very few members. Several times, when publishing costs were higher than they are now, people pretending to be mandated by 'the movement' claimed the right to take over *Freedom*.

A paranoid might imagine the seed of a new takeover bid in the complaint against *Class War*, *Black Flag*, and *Freedom* that, despite the goodwill of their collectives, 'none of them are accountable

to the movement'. The pamphlet does not propose, however, that they should be made accountable to the movement; nor does SAG claim to be so accountable.

The proposal is for a conference 'of all revolutionary anarchist groups and individuals', from which a Revolutionary Anarchist Federation might be set up. No explanation is offered of the term 'revolutionary anarchist', or the nature of unrevolutionary anarchism.

**DR**

## Science

**And Yet It Moves — The Realisation and Suppression of Science and Technology**  
**Boy Igor**  
p/b 120pp £3.00 Zamisdat Press, GPO Box 1255, Gracie Station, New York, NY 10028, distributed in Britain by A Distribution.

THIS is an interesting and exasperating book. Interesting because it is full of ideas, a crackling critique of science, expertism and their philosophers. Exasperating because I am always exasperated by post-situationist language, its tendency to lambast elitism whilst being incomprehensible to outsiders and, at the end of the critique, no conclusion other than an evocation of 'proletarian theory'. If you can tolerate this, the interest makes it worthwhile.

'Science' is the ultimate appeal, in the manner of 'God' or 'The State'. Or as the book would have it 'the least attacked spectacle .... From the technocratic justification of power as scientifically administered to the neo-Marxist scientific proof of the decadence of that power, the last spectacular authority is invariably some appeal to science.' In the meantime, it becomes obscurantist, precisely by appearing to remove bias.

The first chapter is hop-scotch through the historical development of the idea of 'science'. The theme is that of scientist/expert as 'manager', from Bacon's 'Nova Atlantis' onwards. In the process there

was a steady separation of theory and practice, ends and means, mind and body. In the end as 'art' becomes pseudo-creativity, 'science' becomes pseudo-progressiveness. There are then chapters developing examples, maths and ultimately computers from money-counting and worker-control, robots as the final negation of workers and biology leading to clones, the final negation of individuals.

There's a survey of the history and practice of appeals to 'historical materialism' in the USSR, from Bogdanov's 'Proletkult' through Lysenko and the application of Taylorism, '... the entire literature and apparent openness of the debate was merely a means to make what had already happened politically and economically appear to have a scientific basis.' Finally cybernetics securing 'many of the advantages of centralised control in decentralised locations', a feat which previously seemed tantamount to having one's cake and eating it too!

'It's Only Academic' assails fashionable philosophers of science, Popper as an arch-conservative behind smoke-screens of unattainable 'falsification', Kuhn's revolutionary 'paradigm-shifts' scaled down to 'shifts in fashion' in the face of academic criticism and Lakatos' obsession with methodology. Feyerabend comes off better but is ultimately dismissed as a technocratic dadaist, recognition of all viewpoints means that you have none of your own.

The final couple of chapters, what's in it for the workers and the conclusion, are a let-down. The fizzing argument seems to die away. No doubt, the rise of proletarian theory will be an illuminating spectacle, we must look forward to it.

The booklet is attractively presented, with a spectacular 7 lines to the inch type face, at least double the norm for the idiom. It's anti-copyright, if you give Boy Igor time to recover costs, and the courtesy of a letter, you could fit it in a 32 page A4 pamphlet. Better still, develop it.

**DP**



## Some of our contemporaries

Various readers have asked for reviews of the anarchist press, so here are some. Reviewers JKA, DP, DR.

### Sheffield Anarchist

(Vol 3 No 11 Winter 1986, 24pp, 20p. PO Box 217, Sheffield)

One of the best 'locals' continues on its indefatigable way. As usual it has mainly strong, local coverage, together with more general pieces, in this issue — anti-Xmas and anti-pornography. As would be apparent to anyone who has seen *Freedom* for the past several issues, we would tend to disagree with the latter article, but consider the issue to be important enough to be worth extensive debate.

### A Night of Madness

(10pp, 5p. No address given but available from Freedom Bookshop)

A collection of photo's with handwritten comment, generally pro-peace, environment, animals. Support these people, then they can have access to better duplicators.

### Perchance to Dream

(formally *Protest*, 36pp, A4, issue 3, 45p. 52 Friday Hill, Chingford, London E4 6JT)

Mainly poetry and graphics. Unfortunately marred by some of the smudgiest duplication I've seen for a long time. Don't let this 'commodityism' put you off.

### Attack on Bzarg/Molotov Comics

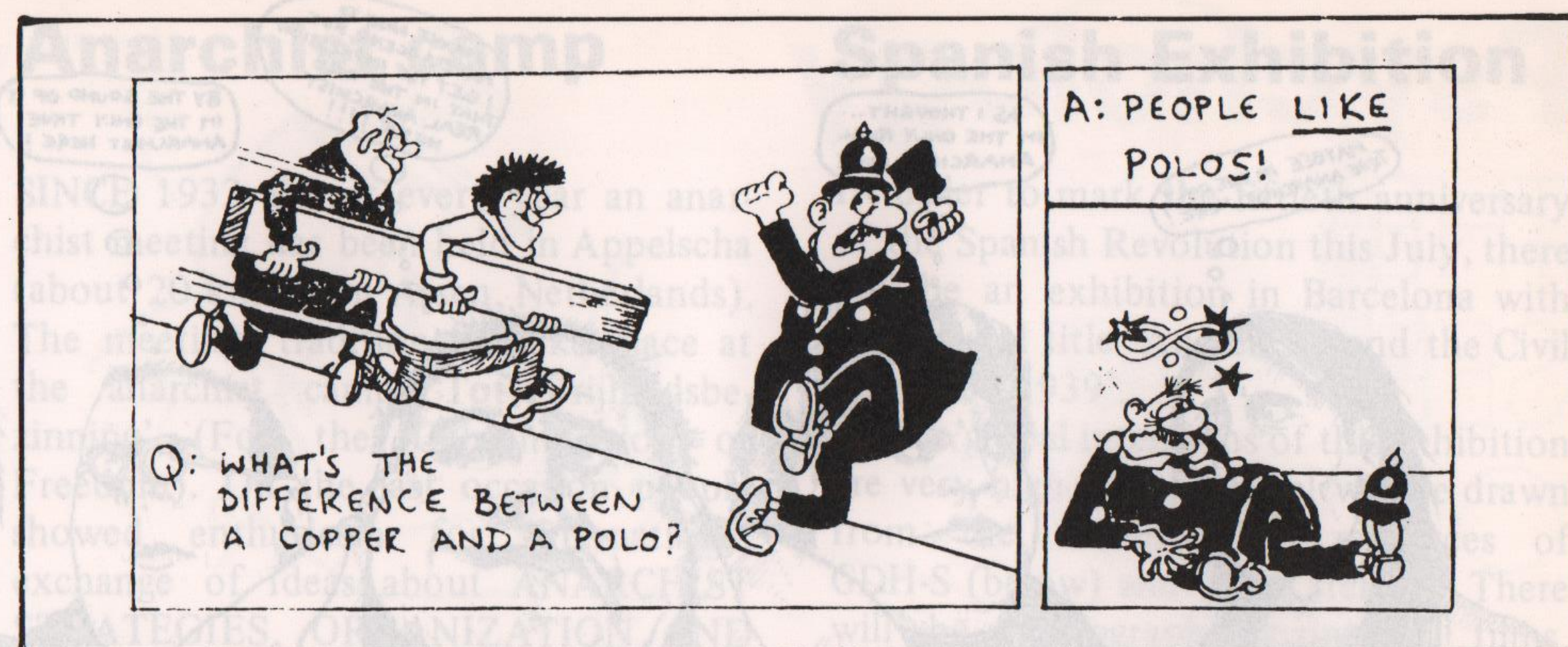
(28pp, A4, 50p, 79 Victoria Road, Fallowfield Road, Manchester M14 6BP)

Graphix, style and lunacy. Not to be missed for the saga of Ashley Wilks, Barnsley Bombshell and a collection of useful aphorisms. 'Don't believe in anything you can't spell', 'If you buy yourself in get a receipt'.

### The Beano

*Maidstone Anarchist Group* (Anarchy Club, c/o Students Union, Maidstone College of Art, Oakwood Park, Maidstone) 20 pages 10p.

Denis the Menace and Gnasher drawn on the front, and some contributors sign themselves Minnie the Minx, Bash Street Kid, Gnasher, Keyhole Kate. Delight in the subversive creations of Davey Law and Leo Baxendale does not, however, mean lack of seriousness. Well-written statements of anarchism, each of which separately explains what anarchism means, together show some of the controversies within the anarchist movement, for instance about the usefulness or otherwise of violence. Rather grey production on a stencil duplicator, but quite readable and well worth reading.



The producers of *The Beano* are not alone in their admiration for *Beano* the comic. The above pastiche of Davey Law's drawing style appears in *Between the Lines*.

### The Match

(Issue 80, 55pp, A5, 41. PO Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722).

As you can see from the issue number, this is hardly a new publication. It was founded in 1969 and is still edited and published by Fred Woodworth. *The Match* has a strange position in American anarchism. It has always reflected the personal view of its editor. This has always been an individualistic view. Woodworth criticises whatever he sees as anti-personal freedom, for example some of the positions taken by feminists. At times, he seems to be in the 'individualist/libertarian' camp, yet he has always had a keen eye for their inconsistencies. He has had a lot of individual criticism for some of his stands, for example against anti-pornography. A well-known American anarchist, himself hardly mainstream, on a recent visit here, called him and his journal 'an embarrassment'. *The Match* remains a fascinating read.

### Processed World

(Number 15, 44pp, 55 Sutter Street, Number 829, San Francisco, CA 94104, USA)

*Processed World* reaches number 15 and reports considerable changes since it first started four and a half years ago. They think that much of this is entirely positive, particularly in production and distribution. However, they note that the magazine has gone in a different direction than the one its founders intended. *Processed World* was to be a 'meeting point for dissatisfied and rebellious workers in the new technical and service sectors'. They further note that their extensive discussions of autonomous office-worker organising seems to have fallen largely on deaf ears — while their frequent references to sabotage have made them notorious. Still, if they are perhaps in danger of marketing a passively consumed image of revolt, they are helping to create the cultural conditions for *real* revolt. Their intelligent discussion and sharing of experience does help.

### Between the Lines

Oxford (Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford) 20 pages, donation.

Issue 16, the 'Keith Blakelock memorial issue', is designed rather to shock than to amuse or enlighten; the cover drawing, for instance, simply shows a man hitting a policeman on the neck with a thrown brick. A controversial statement of 'class conflict' anarchism acknowledges the validity of other anarchist opinions, and is intended to start a political debate within the paper.

### Nyet Pravda

*Crawley* (no address in the mag, but covering letter says send SAE to Nyet Pravda, Rusper Road, Ifield, Crawley RH11 0LQ) 8 pages 10p.

Covering letter with a review copy says this 'is designed to be a funny paper devoid of dialectic (yawn) articles'. Spoof ads, spoof (erotic) romantic fiction and fairy tale, short serious pieces relieved by comic spelling. Cover drawing not meant to be funny — a hooded (?) man with a petrol bomb.

### Libertarian Education

(*The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicestershire*) 20 pages 50p.

'A magazine for the liberation of learning' variable in quality but mostly very good. Not strictly anarchist, but wholly anti-authoritarian in its attitude to children and its vision of school. Spring 1986 is the first of a new series of this mag.

### El Frenzy

(16 pages, £5 sub for 6 issues. *El Frenzy Productions*, 245 Bradenham Estate, Albany Road, Camberwell, London SE5.)

The editorial of El Frenzy warns you that 'many passages will almost certainly be far above your head' and invites you to 'hurl yourself into a capricious vortex for once in your life'. Most of the paper consists of comics and the few passages seem to be an in-joke. This capricious production has a nice glossy cover, but for the rest I was unable to see any point

## Letter: Ethnic Rights

D R appears to approve of Bradford councillors support for the policy that all sections of the community have an equal right to the maintenance of their distinctive identities and loyalties of culture, etc. But the whole tenor of his article is disapproving of Honeyford's attempt to uphold this right for the ten per cent in his school who are English ethnics!

The parents of some of the English girls found they wanted to wear a veil and trousers as their Islamic friends did. Pork in school dinners was a no-no, and the taboo could spread to a Christian home. If Pa also happened to be a pork butcher civil war looms! After sports both indigenous sexes strip and shower: boys in sight of each other; girls similarly. Not Muslims, however. These attitudes went home and dismayed some parents; amused others, undoubtedly. If the

school hero or heroine was black or brown their behaviour was slavishly imitated, as it would be if they were white. This copying extends to accents and tricks or affectations of speech; man, I tell you true!

I defy anyone to deny that being young, inexperienced and outnumbered five hundred to fifty by another cultural group will leave a mark on the personality, and one likely to last for life. Notice, I do not say the mark must be undesirable; but it will be present. Foreign cultures, whether 'Higher' or 'Lower' than ours, have weight and often cutting edges, too. They can impress, therefore, and so mould, form and even distort.

Surely parents should be consulted about the kinds and types of mark they want the educational process to leave upon their children? If the question gets a 'No!' then only the National Front profits. What, for instance, is the betting that NF membership didn't escalate in Bradford during the dispute?

One final point. Amongst those who

solve problems by reading none of the available literature on them it is commonly assumed that cultures juxtaposed to each other will meld into one richer than its parts taken separately. What if this doesn't occur, or doesn't always occur? I can affirm from personal experience that this seems not to have happened in one instance. After occupying an Eastern island for a hundred years during which it introduced universal education in English Britain retired. After she had been gone only ten years it proved impossible to cast fully a solitary Shakespearean play in celebration of his birthday from an indigenous population running into millions.

I have presented no solutions to a looming national crisis. What I have tried to do is reveal the complexity of it. Incidentally, to pre-empt an obvious speculation by the more paranoid, I am white, English and I live with a Hindu family who have been very good to me and of whom I am very fond.

Trevor Artingstoll

## CONTACTS

**ABERDEEN** Anarchists, c/o Boomtown Books, 163 King Street, Aberdeen

**BANGOR** Anarchist/Libertarian Collective, c/o Greenhouse, 1 Trevelyan Terrace, High Street, Bangor, Gwynedd

**BEDFORD** Anarchist Society, Box A, Bedford College of Higher Education, Polhill Avenue, Bedford

**BOLTON** Anarchists/Direct Action, c/o Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, Bolton, Lancs BL1 1DY

**BRACKNALL** A's, Box 21, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading

**BRADFORD** A's, c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, 6 Edmond Street, Bradford

**BRISTOL** A's, Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol

Anarchist Society, University Students Union, Queens Road, Clifton, Bristol

**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE** A Group, Bucks College of Higher Education, Newland Park, Chalfont St Giles, Bucks.

**BURNLEY** A's, 2 Quarrybank, Burnley

**CAMBRIDGE** Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge

**CANTERBURY** Anarchist Group, 20 Uplands, St Stevens Hill, Canterbury

**CHELTENHAM** Green Anarchist Group, c/o Tom, Flat 3, 19 Glencairn Park Road, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

**CHESHIRE** Mall Housing Action Group, 87 Mill Lane, Macclesfield, Cheshire

**CHESTERFIELD** A's, c/o Jon, Box 42, 48 Beetwell Street, Chesterfield, Derbyshire S40 1SH

**COVENTRY** Anarchist Group, PO Box 125, Coventry CV3 5QT

Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Warwick University, Coventry

**CUMBRIA** Cats Cradle, 20 Camp Street, Maryport, Cumbria

**DERBY** Anarchist Times, 40 Leacroft Road, Normanton, Derby

**EDINBURGH** Little by Little, Box A, or Counter Information, Box 81, or Angry, Box C/W: all at c/o 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

**ESH WINNING** Spanish Information Network (Sinews), 37 South Terrace, Esh Winning, Co Durham, DH7 9PS

**ESSEX** Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

**EXETER** A Group, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter

**GLASGOW** Here & Now, Box 2, c/o Changes, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow CT4 9HE

Clydeside Anarchists, c/o Clydeside Press, 53 Cochrane Street, Glasgow G1

**HASTINGS** A's, c/o Hastings Free Press, 14 Lower Park Road, Hastings, E. Sussex

**HUDDERSFIELD** A's, c/o Peaceworks Co-op Ltd, 58 Wakefield Road, Aspley, Huddersfield

**KINGSTON** Thompasorus People, c/o Mathew, 7 Elmers Drive, Teddington, Middlesex TW11 9JB

**LEAMINGTON AND WARWICK** A's, Box 7, The Other Branch, 12 Gloucester Street, Leamington

**LEEDS** Box DAM, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2 3AW

**LIVERPOOL** Direct Action Group and DAM (confusing isn't it), c/o 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool 17, Merseyside

**LONDON** Freedom Bookshop in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Tel: 01-247 9249

Freedom Box Number Users: A Distribution, Class War, Libertarian Communist Discussion Group, Rebel Press, South Atlantic Souvenirs, Spectacular Times, Virus, etc. (others currently being reviewed)

Anarchist Group, QMC Student Union, Bancroft Road, London E1 4NS

Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 — meet Thursdays at 7:00pm

North London Polytechnic, c/o Students Union, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5

Solidarity (London and editorial groups), c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6

Streatham Action Group, c/o 121 Books, 121 Railton Road, London SE24

**MANCHESTER** Manchester University Libertarian Socialist Group, c/o General Office, Students Union, Oxford Road, Manchester

Timperley Village Anarchist Militia (TV-AM), Room 6, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester M1 2BU

**DAM**, National Secretary, 223 Greenwood Road, Benchill, Manchester

Poly A Group, c/o Students Union, Manchester Poly, Oxford Road, Manchester

Wildcat, c/o Raven Press, 75 Picadilly, Manchester M1 2BU

**MANSFIELD AND ASHFIELD DAM**, 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton in Ashfield, Notts

**MIDDLESBOROUGH** A's, Box A, Red & Black Books, 120 Victoria Road, Middlesborough

**NEWCASTLE** Tyneside Libertarian Group, 41 Bishopdale House, Sutton Estate, Benwell, Newcastle upon Tyne

Careless Talk Collective, PO Box 294, Newcastle, Staffs ST5 1SS

**NORTHAMPTON** A Collective, c/o Rainbow Bookshop, 33 Collwell Road, Wellingborough.

**NOTTINGHAM** A's, Box A, Mushroom Books, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham

**OXFORD** A's, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

**PETERBOROUGH** A Group, 5 Feneley Close, Deeping St James, Peterborough PE6 8HN

**PLYMOUTH** A's, c/o 115 St Pancras Avenue, Pennycross, Plymouth PL2 3TL

**PORTSMOUTH** A's, c/o Spice Island, 30 Osbourne Road, Southsea, Hants PO5 3LT

**PRESTON** A's, Jez Appleton, 34 Elgin Street, Preston, Lancs PR1 6BH

**READING** A's, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading

Box DAM, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks.

**SHEFFIELD** A's, PO Box 217, Sheffield 1

**SOUTHAMPTON** Verbal Assault, c/o Box A, 4 Onslow Road, Southampton

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA** A's, c/o Graham, 13 Palmeira Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex

**SWANSEA** A's, 24 Pentremalwed Road, Morriston, Swansea, W Glamorgan, Wales

**WINCHESTER** A's, c/o Books Upstairs, Above the Grainstore, Parchment Street, Winchester

**YORK** Shelf 22, 73 Walmgate, York

### FEDERATIONS

**South East Anarchist Federation**, c/o Canterbury A Group

**Anarchist Student Federation**, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX