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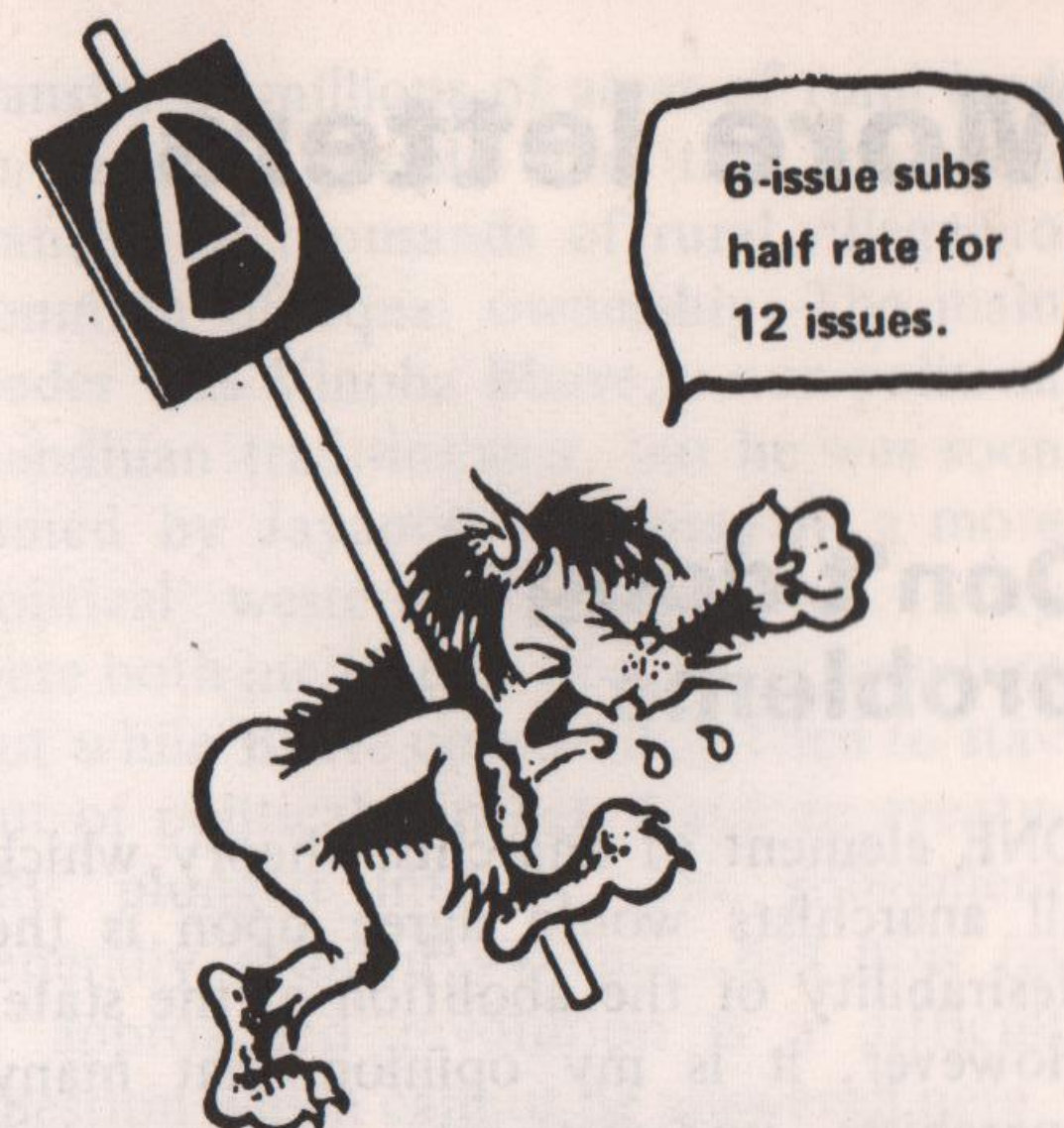
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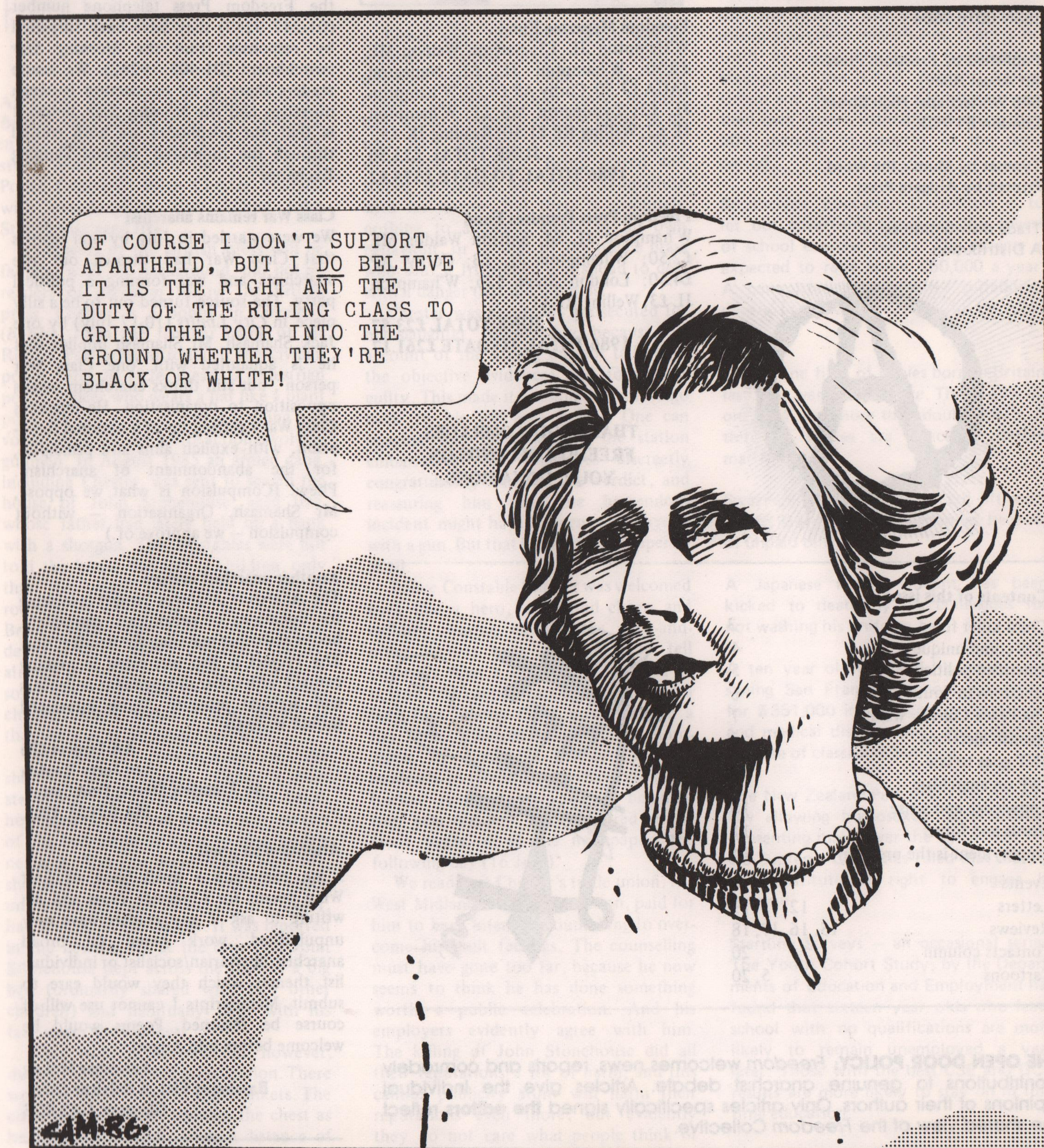
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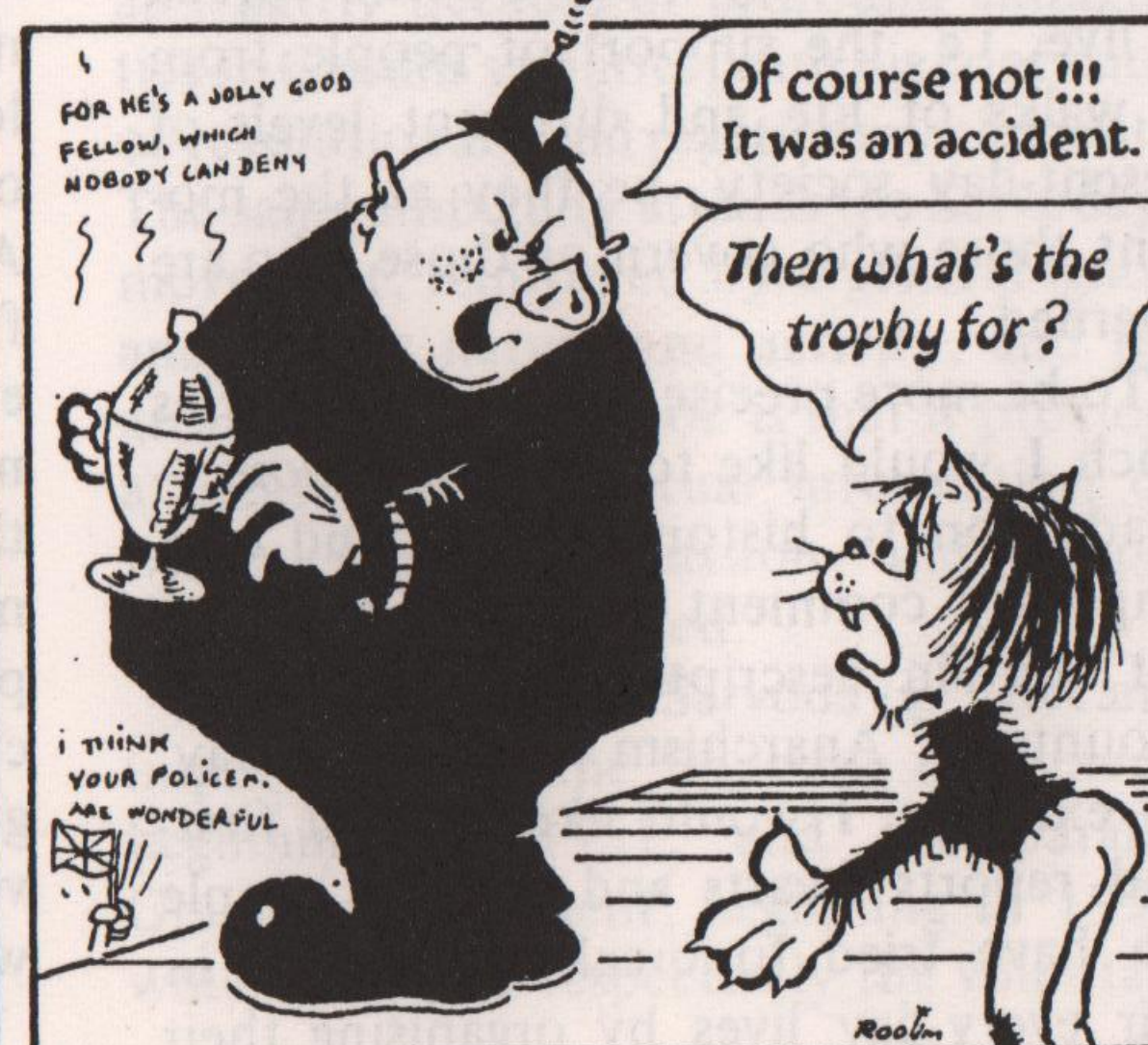
1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

ANARCHIST MONTHLY

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SANCTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA POLICE CHILD KILLER FETED



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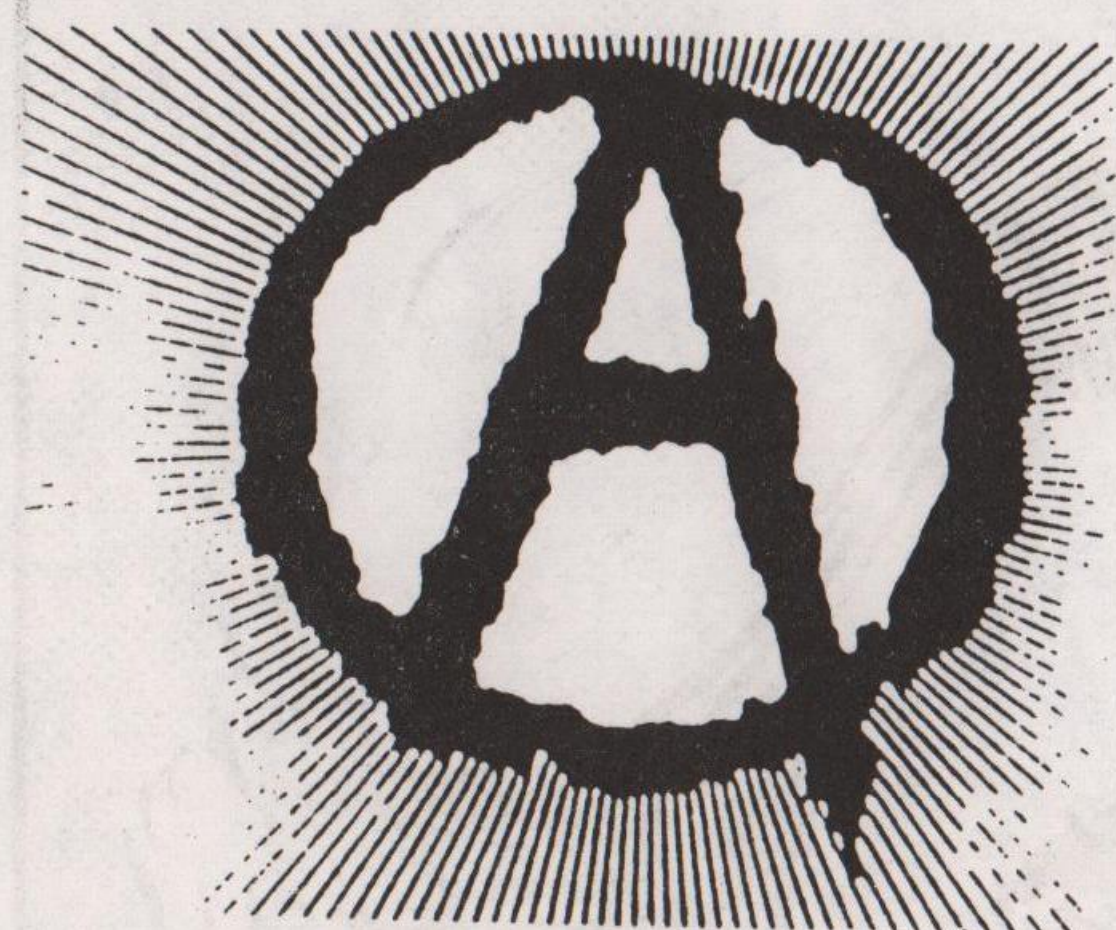
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THE OPEN DOOR POLICY: *Freedom* welcomes news, reports and comradely contributions to genuine anarchist debate. Articles give the individual opinions of their authors. Only articles specifically signed the editors reflect the shared view of the *Freedom*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

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

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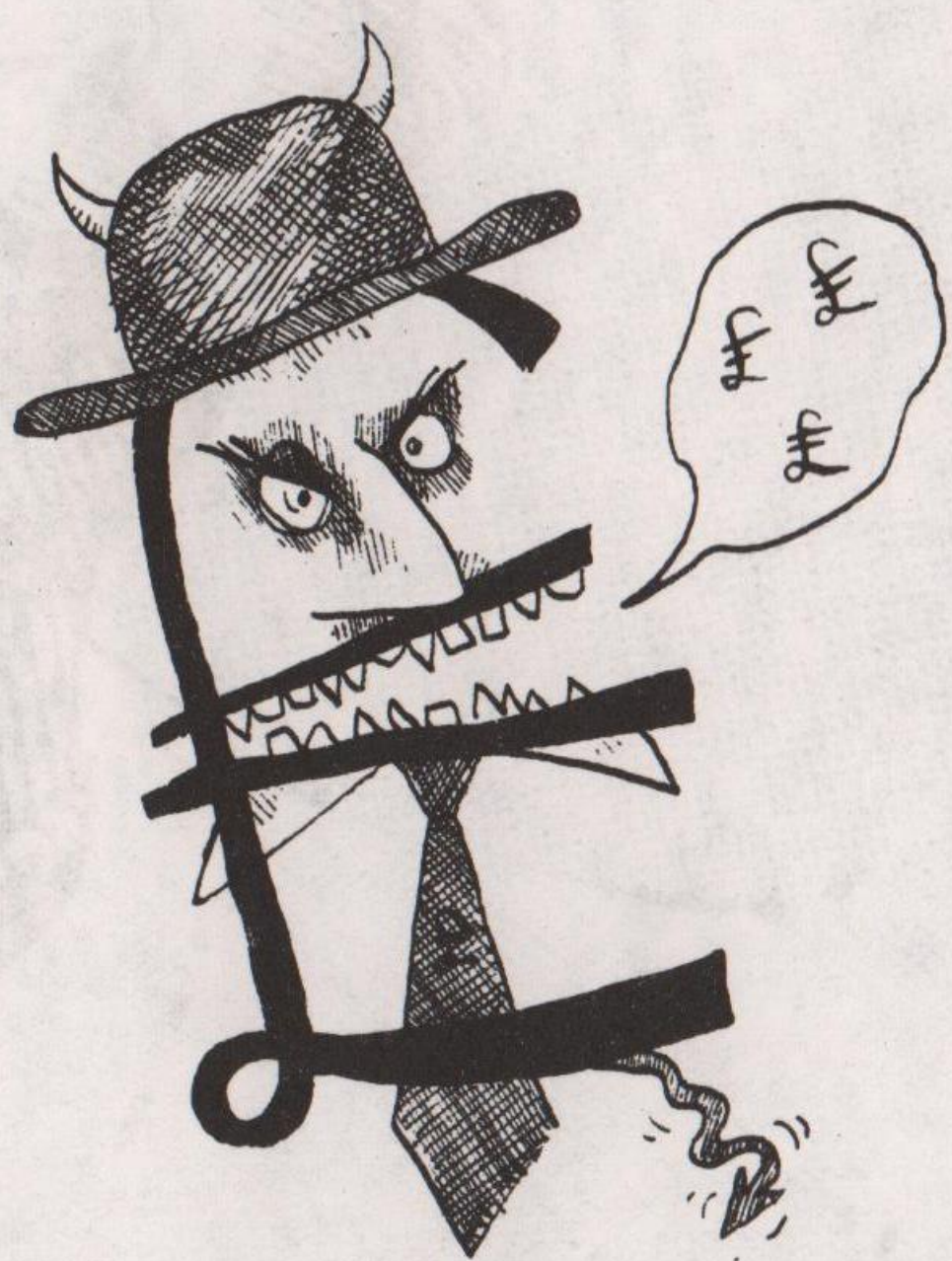
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Morning Star not taking over

One or two comrades tell us that, dialling the Freedom Press telephone number (01-247 9249) they have been surprised by responses from the *Morning Star* switchboard (01-405 9242). We assure readers there is no connection between ourselves and the *Morning Star*, unless it is that our telephones are both routed through the rumoured 'Central Tapping Exchange'.

Class War remains anarchist

We were startled in July by oral reports that Class War had thrown out the anarchists and was forming a political party. The source turned out to be a silly piece in *City Limits* (10-17 July) by one Jack Shamash. Mr Shamash implies that he is acquainted with 'one Class War person', but still thinks anarchism means opposition to organisation. He mistakes Class War's setting up of a national federation, with explicit aims and principles, for the abandonment of anarchism. Phew! (Compulsion is what we oppose, Mr Shamash. Organisation — without compulsion — we approve of.)

Another anarchist archive

The Anarchist Archives Project is looking for donations of periodicals, pamphlets, books and other materials for its collection. The Project is also interested in making contact with other independent collectors and archival projects. Those interested should write to:

**AA Project (F)
c/o Jerry Kaplan
46 Tremlett Street, Dorchester,
MA 02124, USA**

Attention all poets

I am compiling a small book of Left Wing poems for Clydeside Press and am writing to ask if any readers have new unpublished work based on broad anarchist/libertarian/socialist or individualist themes which they would care to submit. Manuscripts I cannot use will of course be returned. Poems would be welcome before mid August.

**Farquhar McLay
Basement Flat, 8 Balvicar Drive,
Glasgow, G42 8QS**

Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism

Public meeting organised by Central London DAM, Thursday 21 August at 7:30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Nearest tube Holborn.

Police CHILD KILLER FETED

ANYONE who has any respect for the British police should revise their opinions, in the light of the disgraceful publicity stunt which followed the acquittal of Police Constable Brian Chester, charged with manslaughter after killing John Stonehouse aged five.

Followers of the British press will be familiar with the background, but not all readers of *Freedom* follow the British press. Chester is a bobby in Coventry (*bobby*, from the familiar name of Sir Robert Peel who introduced the civilian police force in 1828, means a pedestrian police officer who wears a hat like a plant pot). He did a bit of pistol training and volunteered for any police action involving gunmen. In August 1985 an armed gang, including Chester, was sent to search the house of John Stonehouse, aged five, whose father had lately held up a bank with a shotgun. The constables were not told the house was full of children, only that they might encounter murderous robbers. In the course of the operation, Brian Chester shot John Stonehouse to death as he lay asleep. The child's father, already in custody, was told of the death some days later; his mother and the other children knew about it immediately as they were in an adjoining bedroom.

The precise circumstances of the shooting are confused. Chester's own story was that he rested his right hand, holding a cocked and loaded gun, on top of the bed while he knelt to look underneath it. The gun accidentally went off, shooting a pile of blankets which unfortunately, and unknown to Chester, had a child in the middle. It was reported in the newspapers at the time that John Stonehouse slept across the foot of a big bed (ordinarily shared with two other children) and habitually slept with his face under the blankets.

That story is contradicted, however, during the subsequent investigation. There were no bullet holes in the blankets. The child had been shot through the chest as he lay on his back, from a distance of about nine inches by a gun pointed downwards. Chester had called out 'All clear in here' before his gun went off. Perhaps he was startled by the unexpected sight of a person, and shot before he realised the person was not an attacker.



Either way, the child's death was an accident; no-one alleges that Chester intended to kill a child. Either way Chester emerges without glory; he may have killed a sleeping child in panic, or he may have handled a dangerous object with fatal stupidity. Being scared and stupid ourselves we might sympathise with his horror, but there is absolutely nothing to applaud; either in his own behaviour, or in that of the police brass who sent a frightened gun squad to deal with a danger that did not exist.

Chester was eventually prosecuted for manslaughter (presumably because his account of the killing did not tally with the objective evidence) and found not guilty. This made it possible for him to go back to his job as a bobby. One can imagine him creeping into the station embarrassed, his colleagues discreetly congratulating him on the verdict, and reassuring him that the horrendous incident might have happened to anyone with a gun. But that is not how it happened at all.

Police Constable Chester was welcomed back like a hero, with loud cheers and children waving union jacks. Law-and-order loonies were called out to tell reporters what a splendid young man he is, and how some years ago he rescued a lady (not among those present) from a fire. Police publicists distributed a photograph of Constable Chester grinning modestly in triumph, and (have your sick bucket ready) embracing a bemused four year old boy. This appeared on the front pages of all the newspapers the following day (16 July).

We read that Chester's trade union, the West Midlands Police Federation, paid for him to have intensive counselling to overcome his guilt feelings. The counselling must have gone too far, because he now seems to think he has done something worth a public celebration. And his employers evidently agree with him. The killing of John Stonehouse did all their reputations a lot of harm, and this callous publicity stunt will harm their reputations even more; but evidently they do not care what people think of them.

No doubt some policemen are as appalled as we are. Nevertheless, we are reminded of the traditional ditty: 'I'll sing you a song and it won't take long. All coppers are bastards'. **DR**

IN BRIEF

The publication of a report which shows that the health gap between rich and poor has widened since the Conservatives came to power, has been delayed. It was completed six months ago. The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys says that the delay is due to the transfer of information onto microfiches. There is 'no truth' in suggestions that it is deliberate. Meanwhile, the Child Poverty Action Group and the Low Pay Unit have issued their own report, estimating a more than 50% increase in poverty in the same period.

Strathclyde Education Committee is to let out advertising space on the covers of school exercise books. The scheme is expected to raise about £50,000 a year. A committee shall monitor suitability, sweets and BMX bikes are to be ruled out.

Nearly one fifth of babies born in Britain last year were illegitimate. This is 14% up on 1984 and more than double 1975. A third of babies are conceived before marriage.

Swaziland's Post Office has cut off most of the Government's telephones because of unpaid bills.

A Japanese karate student has been kicked to death by his colleagues for not washing his uniform.

A ten year old boy and his mother are suing San Francisco school authorities for \$351,000 in damages for 'emotional and medical distress, pain and suffering' because of classroom bullying.

The New Zealand Parliament has passed a law allowing homosexual acts between consenting males over the age of 16. The US Supreme Court has ruled that there is no constitutional right to engage in sodomy.

Startling Surveys — an occasional series. The Youth Cohort Study, by the Departments of Education and Employment has found that sixteen year olds who leave school with no qualifications are more likely to remain unemployed a year later. Those with the best CSE and GCE results are more likely to stay on in full-time education.

An airman who strangled a woman at a New Years Eve party after she pushed him to the ground and climbed on top of him whilst cuddling said, 'I could not face the humiliation of being assaulted by a member of the opposite sex.'

EVENTS

History Workshop 19, November 1985

Recordings of the anarchism session available on C90 cassettes.

Cassette 1: Alan Carter, 'Karl Marx's theory of history: a critique'; Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'The SDF and anarchism'.

Cassette 2: Haia Shpayer-Makov (continued); Michael Smith, 'Kropotkin and the education of the ordinary young'; Tom Cahill, 'Anarchism and co-operatives'.

Cassette 3: Murray Bookchin, 'Recent developments in the Green movement in the US and Germany'.

The cost is £1.50 each cassette, plus postage (1 or 2 cassettes = 28p; 3 cassettes = 40p). Please send money with order (cheques payable to R.W. Jones) to: **R.W. Jones, c/o Northern Herald Books, 6 Edmund St, Bradford 5.**

ON THE 14, 15, 16 and 17 August in a town called Fano, situated near Pesaro, on the Adriatic Coast of Italy, the third Anticlerical Meeting will be held in the 15th Century mediaeval Fortress. Canteen service, music, videos, debates and

LOS communique

1. Since the summer of 1985 LOS has been meeting regularly to discuss aspects of libertarian theory and practice. In particular, we share the concern that anarchist ideas have remained fairly static, irrespective of repeated experience of failure and defeat. A rather 'holier than thou' attitude has allowed anarchists to blame the state, authoritarians and other external conditions. The possibilities that the ideas as they stand may not have some kind of inevitable, transhistorical relevance, and that having those ideas does not in itself lead to good libertarian practice, continually escape attention.

We have therefore concentrated on the details of failure of libertarian organisation, trying to pin down what it is about anarchist principles and anarchists in action that may be at fault. We have been very aware of the fact that few precedents exist for this kind of criticism and self-criticism among anarchists.

2. There are several contexts in which this examination of libertarian organisation is important. Most obvious are anarchist groups or movements, and organisations whose structures have been strongly influenced by libertarian individuals or principles. But equally important are situations where ordinary people come together in groups and spontaneously choose basic anarchistic structures. From the start we have tried to bring together analyses and critiques of these forms,

exhibitions. The following topics will be discussed: Catholic religious instruction in Italian schools. 50th Anniversary of the Spanish Revolution. The antinuclear movement after Chernobyl; relationship between ethics and technology, ethics and nuclear power. All anticlericals, atheists, agnostics, non-believers, anti-Wojtylian Catholics of the world are invited! Campsites, motels and hostels are available. Correspondence to: **Circolo Culturale 'N. Papini', via Garibaldi 47, 61032 Fano (PS), Italy.**

Protest against nuclear energy.

Weekend of action at Dungeness Power Station, 23, 24, 25 August 1986.

We call for a weekend of action at Dungeness Nuclear Power Station, Kent, on the 23, 24 and 25 of August. Come for as long as you can over that period (camping is quite feasible). Come in as large numbers as you can. Come prepared to take whatever action you think appropriate. Our plan is that most of the action will take place in the afternoon of Sunday 24, when the plant will be blockaded and the wire cut, but what happens depends on YOU the people who are there at the time.

For more information phone **Hastings 441646.**

stressing social and psychological factors rather than crude ideological rationalisations.

3. We began by focussing on specific personal experiences of libertarian groups or organisations breaking down or degenerating into authoritarian or hierarchical structures of one kind or another. These 'case studies' included strike-support organisations, anarchist groups, housing co-ops and educational groups. From discussion of these, several prominent areas of concern arose. We then began to concentrate on these more general aspects of political groups.

4. Our first publication, a large pamphlet, is emerging from this work so far. In it we introduce our perspective, and discuss in some detail particular factors in political groups which we feel affect their activities profoundly. These include:

The social ecologies in which groups operate.

How admitting the impossibility of achieving absolute goals (such as complete absence of authority) affects our understanding of anarchism.

The effects of emotion.

The development and influence of rituals.

These parts of the pamphlet are being written individually, and as far as possible we have tried to keep them rooted in the reality of groups as we experience, perceive, think and feel about them.

Take Back the Land

Nagasaki Day August 9th-16th

We want to take back the land from the MoD. We want to build a 'peace village' on the Trident site to show that we CAN and HAVE to live in peace.

We are asking people to come on Hiroshima Day - August 6th - for workshops in preparation for the action. The Trident fleet will have the destructive power of 3,000 Hiroshimas.

From August 6th to the 9th we are asking people to come and read poems, share songs and music, perform street theatre and take part in a general 'people's witness' to express our feelings and opinions about hunger, war, pollution, nuclear power...

The week long nonviolent occupation of the Trident site will start 41 years after the bombing of Nagasaki - Saturday August 9th.

We want to occupy land the MoD have stolen and covered with a long list of bye-laws.

We are planning a wimmin's space, vegan communal meals, a creche, planting trees, jail solidarity and non co-operation, songs, etc.

For more information contact **Faslane Peace Camp, Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, Scotland. Tel: (0436) 820901.**

The final part of the pamphlet tries to assess where our activity up to now has got us, and where we might fruitfully go from there.

5. Our immediate intention is to get the pamphlet published. Up to now we have remained a small group of 5 or so individuals. We plan to expand somewhat, and to extend our contact with other anarchists and libertarians. If the pamphlet makes any impression we may try to continue in that vein and turn it into a semi-annual journal.

In addition, LOS as presently constituted is thinking of producing more diverse publications, analysing particular historical and current situations as well as hoping to move in more pragmatically useful directions. All of this depends, of course, on decisions made by any new, larger LOS.

It may be the case that our kind of enterprise works best in an affinity-group culture. If so, the single measure of value in what we are trying to do would be the growth of other like-minded groups, rather than the complacency to be derived from selling large numbers of pamphlets.

6. We are extremely interested in contact and correspondence with people who see some value in what we are trying to do. Please get in touch at: **LOS, c/o Durham Community Co-op Bookshop, 85a New Elvet, Durham City, County Durham.**

America PRESIDENT NOT SO IMPORTANT

WHEN the comrades from *Rivista Anarchica* proposed that I answer the two questions they posed to a number of American anarchists to be included in their issue 'Anarchism in America', I found myself bemused by the questions, and by the difficulty in answering them as succinctly as they wished.

Regarding the first question: 'In the Reagan era, what do you see as the important areas of social conflict in North America, from an anarchist perspective?' I feel that the way the question is posed seems to attribute to Reagan some special effect on the future course of social development, a concept that I totally disagree with. The two party system in the United States is in fact a one party system. Both parties reflect small variations in the way that the real force in this society - the industrial/commercial forces - that determine policies that both parties collude with and formulate laws that control the lives of the American people. For example, all of the legislation that the 'liberals' most bewail as

being the result of Reagan's reactionary policies were in fact passed by a Congress controlled by the opposition party, the Democrats. Sight tends to be lost of the fact that from an anarchist view, some of the most anti-libertarian acts were passed and inspired by this same political party, the Democrats, who too often are mistakenly attributed to represent the liberal tendency in society.

Under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, we saw the co-opting of what had been a radical labour growth during the early 1930s by the passage of labour reform bills that destroyed rank and file participation and opened the way for a growth of centralised, leader dominated unions.

Again under Roosevelt we saw the sacrifice of the Spanish Revolution, with his embargo of shipments to Spain, a move that ensured the ascendancy of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. In the name of the pursuit of the war against Japan we saw again, under the Roosevelt administration, the incarceration of Japanese Americans and their families in concentration camps, a move that had only one objective - to fill the coffers of corrupt realtors and politicians in California.

Under Truman, another Democrat, we viewed the callous dropping of the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Under Johnson, another Democrat, we saw the enormous build up and increased destruction of the war in Vietnam.

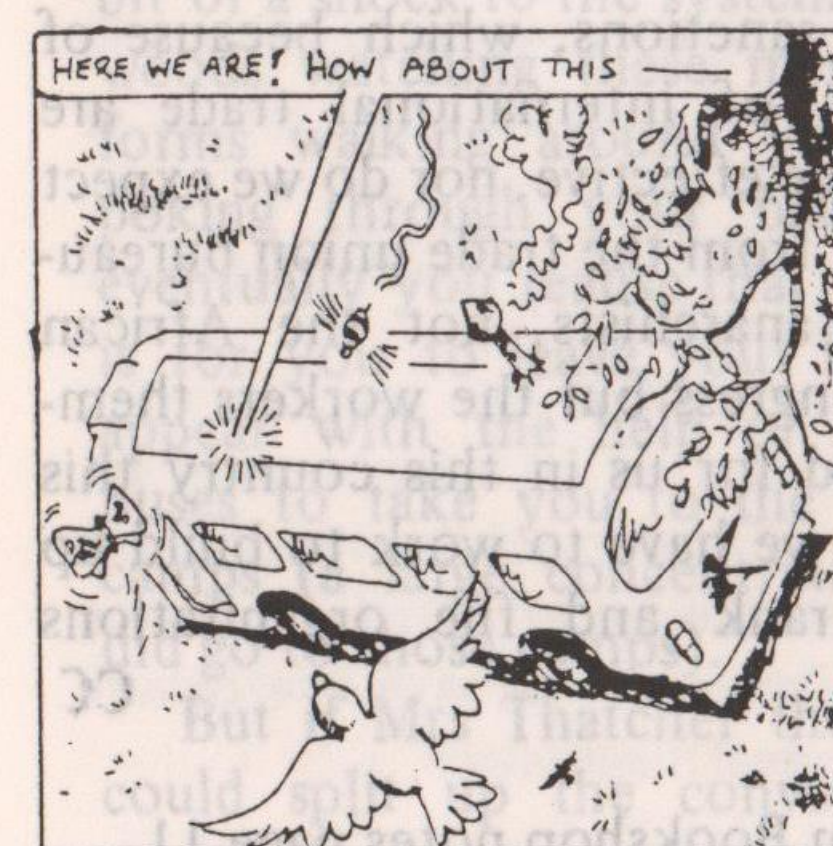
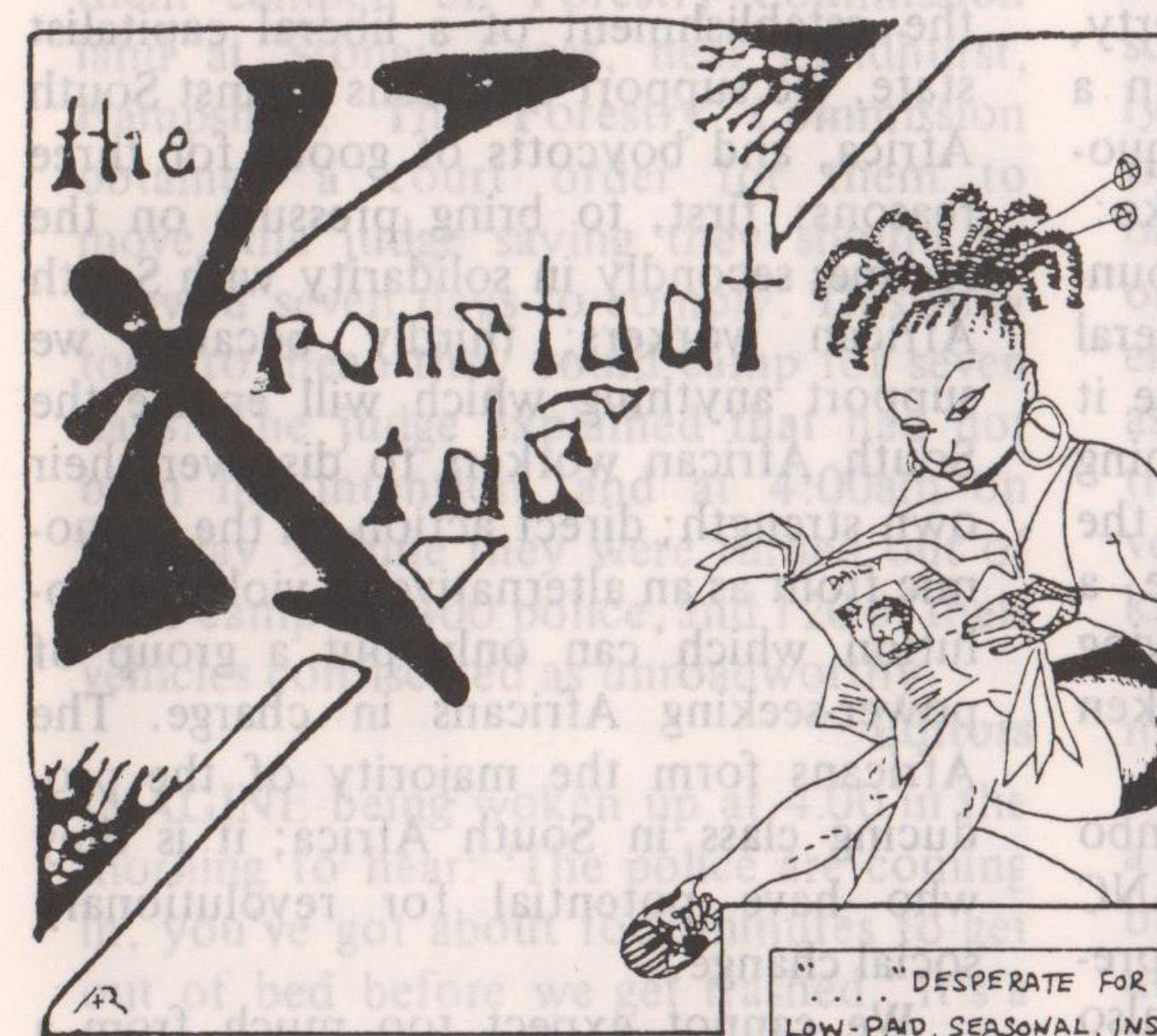
Another Democrat, Kennedy, brought the world to the brink of atomic war during the so-called 'Missile Crisis', in addition to which he tried by means of

covert force to bring down the Castro regime in Cuba.

No, it's not the presidential figureheads that we must concern ourselves with but rather the more insidious ways in which the 'political' structure controls the lives and minds of the American peoples. I worry more about the increased acceptance of violence as lifestyle and its effect on the minds of young people still in the process of development. The inane, if not insane, polarisation of patriotic madness as exemplified by figures like Stallone's 'Rambo' or that other violent reactionary American hero, Chuck Norris.

Prime time TV pimps for violence, speed and booze. The violence on shows like 'Miami Vice' is a continuous assault on one's sensibilities. The ads, both on TV and in the slick magazines, pimp for super fast, fantasised automobiles and booze. The combination of which annually kills thousands of people on American roadways. Sex, as portrayed on the 'soaps' on TV and in the ads in the slick magazines, is so infused with violent images that one does not wonder about the inability of some young people to equate love and feeling with sexuality. In addition to which, on most of the soaps and violent TV shows, too often women are the victims. I think that these expressions of power in American society are more threatening to the possibility of turning society toward a more libertarian direction and future than who the contemporary figurehead of the presidency may be.

David Koven



South Africa SANCTIONS WITHOUT ILLUSIONS

AS WE go to Press the British Cabinet is meeting to discuss the introduction of economic sanctions against South Africa, following the predictable failure of Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's attempt to use moral arguments to persuade President Botha to end apartheid. We have no special knowledge of South Africa but as anarchists we do have a special political perspective.

We have recently received a review copy of a new book which we recommend to our readers. *Apartheid: a graphic guide* is by Donald Woods, a well-known journalist who was forced to leave South Africa eight years ago; he has written an autobiography, *Asking for Trouble* and the biography *Biko*. His latest work is a well-written and well-produced paperback with good illustrations by artist Mike Bostock which could be read by both adults and youngsters. The text is up-to-date and the author explains the history of South Africa, its peoples and politics, and destroys many of the myths which the South African government's disinformation machinery has fed to the media. The author shows that the franchise is the keystone of apartheid, and anarchists will of course start to have their doubts. In outlining South Africa's history from the time of the earliest Dutch settlers Woods shows clearly the laager mentality of the Afrikaners and the Nazi nature of the Nationalists and against this he posits the African National Congress as moderate and intellectual. He points out that the Nationalists came to power democratically in 1948 and systematically brought in the 317 apartheid laws, with the franchise law as the keystone to the whole edifice. The difference between Nazi Germany and South Africa is said to be that in South Africa the blacks are the majority whereas in Nazi Germany attacks were made on minorities, to which we would comment that the Nazi aim was to bring the whole German people into the position of helots. The essentially irrational nature of the Boer mentality is brought out. Up to 1977 the Afrikaner Nationalist Party seemed impervious to any black challenge, the white liberals disbanded; Sharpeville in 1960 brought the attention of the world onto South African

society and the position of the blacks, and the same year Luthuli, Mandela's mentor, was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Nelson Mandela, who was arrested after he formed a military wing of the ANC in partnership with his friend and fellow-lawyer Oliver Tambo, drew up the ANC 'Freedom Charter', which Mr Woods reprints in full. Anarchists will immediately be drawn up short when they read this:

'That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.'

Or this:

'Only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.'

We can claim to have moved forward politically from that position. Let us continue to quote:

'All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride...the preaching and practice of national race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.'

'No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.'

'The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be helpers and protectors of the people.'

It is instructive to note the difference in treatment given to Nelson Mandela, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 (he could have been hanged as guilty of a treasonable offence), a moderate who advocated violence only against property, and Steve Biko, beaten to death in a police station in 1977. Let us give a quotation (from another source) from Biko:

'The myth of integration as propounded under the banner of the liberal ideology must be cracked because it makes people believe that something is being achieved when in reality the artificially integrated circles are a soporific to the blacks while salving the conscience of the few guilt-stricken whites.'

When Mandela was in prison, Tambo went on overseas missions and the ANC set up training camps for guerillas to prepare for civil war. It is noteworthy also that there are two military organisations: the PAC under Subukwe has achieved equal recognition by OAU and the UN. After Sharpeville and Macmillan's 'wind of change' speech there was a flight of investment capital from South Africa. Woods outlines the guerilla war being waged in Namibia by two liberation groups SWANU and SWAPO; and the ban on D'Oliveira and the political implications of boycotts of sports teams should be read by anyone who wants the answer

to those who allege that 'sport is nothing to do with politics'.

The Soweto riots in 1976, the riots of 1985 and this year, the withdrawal of foreign investment capital and the first ever default on overseas bank loan repayments, the increased international pressure growing therefrom are clearly outlined and the myths destroyed. Reagan's 'constructive engagement' policy (which was tried and didn't work) and the tacit support by Britain for such policies, has led South Africa to invade neighbouring countries in an attempt to set up regimes favourable to itself. The USA and Britain hold the key to the strongest sanctions but have used their veto in the UN Security Council.

Anyone who wants to go into South Africa's invasion of its neighbours might read *Apartheid's Second Front* which shows how the South African government believes it can hold back majority rule by opening up a 'second front' in neighbouring countries, an undeclared war which has cost 100,000 lives since 1980. 'A complex relationship has thus developed, forcing the majority-ruled states to trade with South Africa and sign non-aggression pacts, while at the same time they inveigh against apartheid and call for sanctions.'

And what have we as anarchists to say about all this? For a quarter of a century the pundits have been predicting a bloody massacre in South Africa, and it has not come about. We have no doubt that Nelson Mandela is a courageous and honourable man. We want an end to apartheid but do not view with any enthusiasm the establishment of a liberal capitalist state. We support sanctions against South Africa, and boycotts of goods for three reasons: first, to bring pressure on the regime; secondly in solidarity with South African workers; thirdly because we support anything which will enable the South African workers to discover their own strength; direct action on the economic front as an alternative to violent revolution which can only put a group of power-seeking Africans in charge. The Africans form the majority of the producing class in South Africa; it is they who have potential for revolutionary social change.

We cannot expect too much from a package of sanctions, which because of the realities of international trade are unlikely to be effective, nor do we expect much either from the trade union bureaucracy. For anarchists, not the African National Congress but the workers themselves — and for us in this country this means that we have to work to build up libertarian rank and file organisations ourselves.

CC

See Freedom Bookshop notes page 11.

The 'convoy' STONEY CROSS TO GLASTONBURY

THE self-styled Peace Convoy, a large group who habitually travelled together, was broken up by heavy police action at Nostell Priory, near Wakefield, in August 1984. Since then it has appeared in press reports in May-June 1985 and May-June 1986, but not at other times. This is because the Convoy no longer exists. There are members of small travelling groups, who came together near Stonehenge because they wanted to celebrate the midsummer solstice there.

In 1985 their vehicles and tents, many with children inside, were trashed by police. Some of them moved on to Glastonbury and camped on the land of a farmer called Alison Collyer, until she was prosecuted for permitting an unauthorised camp site.

In 1986 they were advised by the police to leave the Stonehenge area and, not wanting another confrontation, did so. They were then harried from place to place, sometimes camping without the landowners' permission because they were forced to leave places before they could arrange places to go. Eventually a lot of them camped on Forestry Commission land at Stoney Cross, near Lyndhurst, Hampshire. The Forestry Commission obtained a court order for them to move, the judge saying they should be allowed seven days to comply. This they took to mean they could camp for seven days. The judge explained that had not been his intention, and at 4:00am on Monday 9 June they were turned out of their camp by 400 police, and 120 of their vehicles confiscated as unroadworthy.

Editors

IMAGINE being woken up at 4.00 in the morning to hear: 'The police are coming in, you've got about four minutes to get out of bed before we get trashed.' It's a bit of a shock to the system, hiding in the woods watching these men in blue uniforms walking around your home and poking through your belongings, until eventually you realise that their intention is for you to leave your home and disappear with the help of social services buses to take you to the concentration camps (a large concentration of hippies did go to those camps).

But if Mrs Thatcher thought that she could split up the convoy by stealing

their vehicles she could not have bargained for the actual effects of her actions. By losing everything we became free, no longer having material possessions we no longer have any ties or commitments except to each other, and Thatcher's actions made us strong. We'll walk, we said, causing much confusion to the police and the authorities.

So we set off and the first day was very hard, constant harassment from the police, at least 50 people were arrested for absolutely nothing. We all saw one man who was arrested taken to a police transit and then being severely beaten up. Basically that first day was a forced march and we did 25 miles before we were finally given a field to stay the night by a local farmer. But then local support came flooding in and we were inundated by supplies of food and bedding and wood for the fire. We had an amazing party that night, everyone's energy was really high.

This atmosphere continued for the whole walk, we went through a few towns and villages and everyone came out to see us, we talked to a lot of people, schoolkids and teenagers were particularly interested, and we got so many donations no one had to worry about not being able to sign on. The peace convoy on foot has become so much closer to each other, on that walk we had nothing as individuals but as a group we had everything we needed. Since there were no vehicles or enclosed spaces we all got to know each other much better, we walked, ate, slept together and made a lot of music. Barriers were broken down. I've discovered that the peace convoy really is a family even though its sisters and brothers do represent a variety of different interests and beliefs. What I've also found interesting is the kind of communication that goes on between men and wimmin, especially since there are a few wimmin from Greenham travelling with the convoy. Now that we've got such strong wimmin's energy I feel much more confident in expressing my feelings particularly when it comes to talking about things like non violence; I still don't always feel non violent but there are now a lot of other people in the same position who can see that there's no way we can beat

the authorities at their own game, we have to find an alternative.

That walk was definitely an alternative, much more positive than standing outside our homes with a big stick waiting to defend our possessions from the Stoney Cross eviction. I had learned the amazing energy which can be generated by such actions at Greenham but I don't think I ever expected it to be so wonderful with the convoy. So one of the biggest things I've discovered is that the time is now upon us when men and wimmin can live and work together as equals and in harmony, and that our spiritual and psychic strength is our most powerful possession.

Because of all the close physical and emotional contact between the people who walked 75 miles to get here, it seemed like a culture shock to suddenly arrive at a site where the other inhabitants were already established in their own spaces, and where we weren't supposed to be anyway, since there was an eviction notice on us before we got here. The first night on this site I felt really lost and the next day was also a bit unsettled because everyone was running around trying to pretend we weren't really here. It seems we must have convinced someone cos the official word now is that we no longer exist. I'm settling into this place slowly but there still seems to be a lot of segregation between the groups who are involved in the festival at the moment — convoy, rainbow village, site crew, festival 'organisers' and the people who have sussed that now would be a good time to get into Glastonbury festival for nothing. There's not enough communication between us as far as I can see, and far too much organisation. If the people who walked here, the peace convoy, are to stay for the festival, we must have some reason to be here and I think our part in it is to try and present some sort of alternative to the kind of Babylon that usually takes place here over the solstice. But at the moment some of us are having to scavenge to get enough to eat and all the time there's this feeling that we're not really supposed to be here, and do we even want to be here, and we could be jeopardising the position of those who are here legitimately. It's hard to bring up subjects like this at the site meetings cos we're not used to being that 'right on' and sitting in circles holding hands, we're used to getting down to business and arguing things out.

It seems that organisers are having a hard time sorting out which people are to go in what spaces, but I'm sure that there's enough space here for everyone. We never had to fence off little areas of land at Stonehenge, people just decided where they wanted to be and created their own space. Let's have a bit of ANARCHY.

Dawn

Spain

SPANISH OMELETTE ELECTION

OFTEN to excuse some legalised crime politicians will say, 'You can't cook an omelette without breaking eggs'. Traditional Spanish omelettes are more arabic in origin than European, and have always required many more eggs and ingredients.

This year's Spanish election was like that — a bit of something for everyone and plenty of broken eggs. Proportional representation provides a feast of crummy little concoctions — with three sets of Green parties, thirteen minor left groups, two tiny fascist organisations, ten small nationalist movements, and several parties which defy ideological classification. In all *El Pais* listed 39 tiny parties, which between them took 1,236,848 votes and failed to gain a seat.

Banks Back Communists

Despite the varied diet, you would be hard put to salvage any tasty tit-bits from this political omelette. Yet Spaniards are a discerning lot capable of being roused by morsels; after all the tapas (minute particles of food) was their invention. When Herri Batusuna (HB) got five seats (three more than last time) it was said to have sent shivers down the spines of the Madrid politicians. HB is the political arm of the ETA in the Basque country.

Euskadiko Ezkerra (EE), another leftish Basque nationalist party, which doubled its representation from one to two seats, will now form a parliamentary alliance with Izquierda Unida (IU) (United Left group). IU is mainly a front for the official (Russian recognised) Communist Party the PCE and has seven seats. This IU mixture had some very bad eggs in it during the election — one participant was the Carlist Party which fought on Franco's side in the Civil War.

The Communist Party of Spain (PCE) has become as brittle as an eggshell since it was legalised, and there are now four communist parties originating from it, led by four different demagogues. Perhaps the most curious is Santiago Carrillo, the sacked ex-leader of the PCE, and now boss of Unidad Comunista (UC), a party which scored a 'duck egg' in these elections. Carrillo's campaign, in so far as it made sense, was to nobble his rivals and ex-comrades in UI and the PCE. Indeed,

he claimed that the Spanish Communist Party was being backed by a capitalist clique to the tune of £2½ million.

Yet taking money from benefactors and Banks for election campaigns is something all the parties do in Spain, where all election machines operate 'on tick'. Then once the election is over the parties which have won some seats get paid off out of public funds at a rate of 22 pesetas (10p) a vote. Many parties will not be refunded by the state and will not be able to repay the Banks, which expect to lose some 800 million pesetas or £4 million. This represents about 20% of the £20 million used by the big banks to finance parties of both the left and the right.

Spain's Staple Diet

So far we have only discussed the 'sweepings up' — any political cuisine requires some main ingredients. The political staple diet of the Spanish people at present, if we ignore the conservative Catalan Party CiU, the Basque PNV and the small centre party of Suarez the CDS, is the PSOE (Socialist Party) with 184 seats and the Coalicion Popular (CP) with 105 seats.

The CP is a bundle of right wing parties led by Fraga, who I remember as Franco's Minister of Tourism in the 1960s. This party coalition never expected to win the election outright, but could have scored a symbolic victory of it had gained more seats or if the Socialist PSOE had lost its overall majority. Neither happened, and now a comeback by the Suarez Party (CDS) is threatening unity on the right.

Some now see Spain as being ruled by a dynasty of Socialist overlords for the foreseeable future. The PSOE are socialists of a special kind: they pursue monetarist policies with Thatcherite vigour, and Spain has the highest unemployment rate inside the EEC at 22%, a huge black economy, a massive crime rate, and some of the worst pollution in Western Europe.

Nor is their record in industrial relations very clean. During the recent countrywide port workers' strikes against privatisation and redundancies, the socialist union, the UGT, unsuccessfully organised scab labour in an attempt to break the strike. The CNT (anarcho-syndicalist), together with the CCOU and the Organizacion de Trabajadores Portuarios (Port Workers Union) fought a vigorous campaign in May and June against the Socialist Government's threat of closures and redundancies. In an act of international solidarity my union, the Transport and General Workers Union of Gibraltar led by the lifelong libertarian Jose Netto, blacked an attempt to move 500 containers across the border and through the port at Gibraltar.

The policy of the Socialist Government is to control the unions. Recently *Sinews* has shown up their aim to bring all the

independent unions, including the CNT, under the sway of the UGT (Socialist Union) and the CCOO (Communist). Just now they are trying to seduce and bully the big Port Workers' Union into the fold. The SOC (rural union sympathetic to CNT) is under pressure, and as I write, the Union of Municipal Policemen (USPM) has just joined the UGT.

Scandals continue to be reported in the press here. Claims of torture of detainees in the prisons and by the Civil Guards persist. The wife of a Civil Guard has just accused the senior officers of dismissing her husband as a reprisal for reporting 'torture, duress and other crimes' used by the 'service'. Since the election it has been revealed that 1,588 million pesetas were paid by the Socialist Government to Opus Dei (clique of Catholic businessmen) after one of their operators, Ruiz-Mateos, was expropriated in a major business swindle involving Opus.

The Communists say the socialists took a holiday for 40 years during the Franco era. On reflection this may have been an advantage in that the socialists, having less debts to pay to 'heroes' and veterans, has not come to be dominated by pensioners in the same way the CNT and the PCE have. A craze for wills and inheritance rights is often a quirk of the older end, and the wild goose chase by a disgruntled and disinherited CNT over the return of the 'patrimonial' (funds and property held by the CNT before Franco took them), which led to the CNT lawyers taking action in the courts, has disabled the CNT.

What hopes are there for a radical revival of the CNT or the Spanish libertarian movement?

I could say that, however fragmented, a libertarian movement exists in Spain as it doesn't exist to the same extent elsewhere. Or that sooner or later the Spanish people will become sick of political omelettes and broken eggs, no matter who dishes them up. Both views involve some wishful thinking. Yet, after the election a Spaniard told me that few people in Spain ever vote for anything, and that of the 70% who voted, half voted against the 'fascists' and the other half voted against the 'reds'. To ram home his point, he added 'the people of my village still call themselves republicans', which, in English terms, is about as politically meaningful as if the inhabitants of Bury were to describe themselves as 'Roundheads'.

Brian Bamford

Death sentences in Turkey will be commuted to 30 year jail terms under a new Bill. 84 people are affected. In future only the parliament will have the power to impose the death sentence.

Spain

WILL THE REAL CNT...

THOSE of our readers not familiar with the development of political movements in Spain, and especially the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist ones, may have felt at times a little confused by all the different CNT's mentioned in a number of articles and reports over the last five odd years — CNT-U, CNT-V, CNT-PPCC, CCT-CNT, CNT-O, CNT-AIT . . . Our friends of the DAM-IWA, for example, have kindly tried to help by repeatedly telling us 'there is only one CNT and that is the CNT-AIT'.

Only in the CNT-AIT did both the National and International Secretaries of DAM-IWA recognise 'the true face of anarcho-syndicalism', and 'in the others the hand of statism and outside interference', while the General Secretary of the CNT-National Committee (CNT-AIT) wished 'to make it clear that those who steal our initials do not own them and have never owned them' (*Freedom*, August 1984). Because not everybody saw things so clearly, to convince the last heretic, and perhaps also to make sure that 'our historic Patrimony' (estimated by the same General Secretary in August 1984 at 2,500 million pesetas, about £12.5 million) would not fall in the wrong hands, the CNT-AIT and its General Secretary resorted to a very interesting means (true faces sometimes display rare qualities!) — they went to court to help loosen the grip of 'the hand of statism' on 'our initials'.

On June 24th, probably just after all handbills, posters, catalogues, etc. had been printed for the many celebrations of the 1936 revolution in July, the court took pity on the observers, and came to a decision that there is one and only one legitimate continuator of the 'historical' CNT founded in 1910, which therefore has an exclusive right (!) to use the famous initials. This, however, in the court's view is not the plaintiff (the CNT-AIT), but the CNT — Confederate Committee (of Valencia; CNT-V, or Renovados). So for the time being (that is unless and until the decision is overruled by a higher court) only the CNT — Confederate Committee — 'owns' the initials, with all eventual consequences; while the 'National Committee' has to stop calling itself 'CNT' and may add to

the initials AIT (to which no 'historical Patrimony', in a material sense at least, is linked) just something like Spanish Section.

If the tone of these lines seems too lighthearted or even cynical, then I hope at least some may feel that in a matter as dead serious as this there are not many other means of expression left. The claims of 'CNT-AIT' have been supported for years by physical and verbal abuse, from people ('comrades') who never bothered about factual information when they 'felt' justified by whatever sort of dogmatic identification, and who obviously failed to realise that an effort at mutual understanding (though not uncritical) and communication is essential to all forms of anarchism.

While the hope may sound utopian that this 'defeat' may shatter the papal infallibility of some of our comrades, it should also be added that the means employed in this quarrel have caused anarchism and anarchist propaganda to suffer more than enough. Whatever superior courts may decide, this ruling should serve as a call to resort in future, more to reflection and information proper, and less to emotions. H



Women are imprisoned more often for first offences than men and are punished twice as often for disciplinary offences in prison, according to a report by the Howard League. One in four women were given sentences for first offences in 1984, compared with only one in 17 men. 'Unconventional' working class women, ie not living in families, and 'sexually promiscuous girls' are the most severely punished. The most common offences were concerned with theft or drugs.

SWP on anarchism

MARXISM '86, the Socialist Workers Party summer school, was held in London in early July. Nearly 300 meetings were held in eight days and they covered a vast range of subjects — historical events, Marxist theory, the SWP's own Trotskyist politics, racism, feminism, the Labour Party . . . Too many even to mention. Of particular interest were the four talks in the series 'Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism' since they gave an opportunity to see how others see us. Here goes with an attempt to summarise each of the talks.

Anarchists and the Russian Revolution

The two main influences on Russian anarchism were Bakunin, who was anti-semitic and whose opposition to government was contradicted by his advocacy of a secret organisation running society, and Kropotkin, who supported the allied governments in the First World War. During the Revolution the refusal of the Makhnovists to place themselves under the command of the Red Army could only aid the Whites. The Bolsheviks were right to crush the Kronstadt rebellion because to do so was to safeguard the Revolution. The alternative would have been to surrender to capitalism.

Marx and the Anarchists

Marx had disagreements with three contemporary anarchists — Stirner, Proudhon and Bakunin — over the question of the state and over the anarchist rejection of politics. Proudhon was misogynist, opposed to unions and to strikes, and Bakunin's secret society was a plot to destroy the First International. The state is like a gun — good or bad depending on whose hands it is in.

The Wobblies

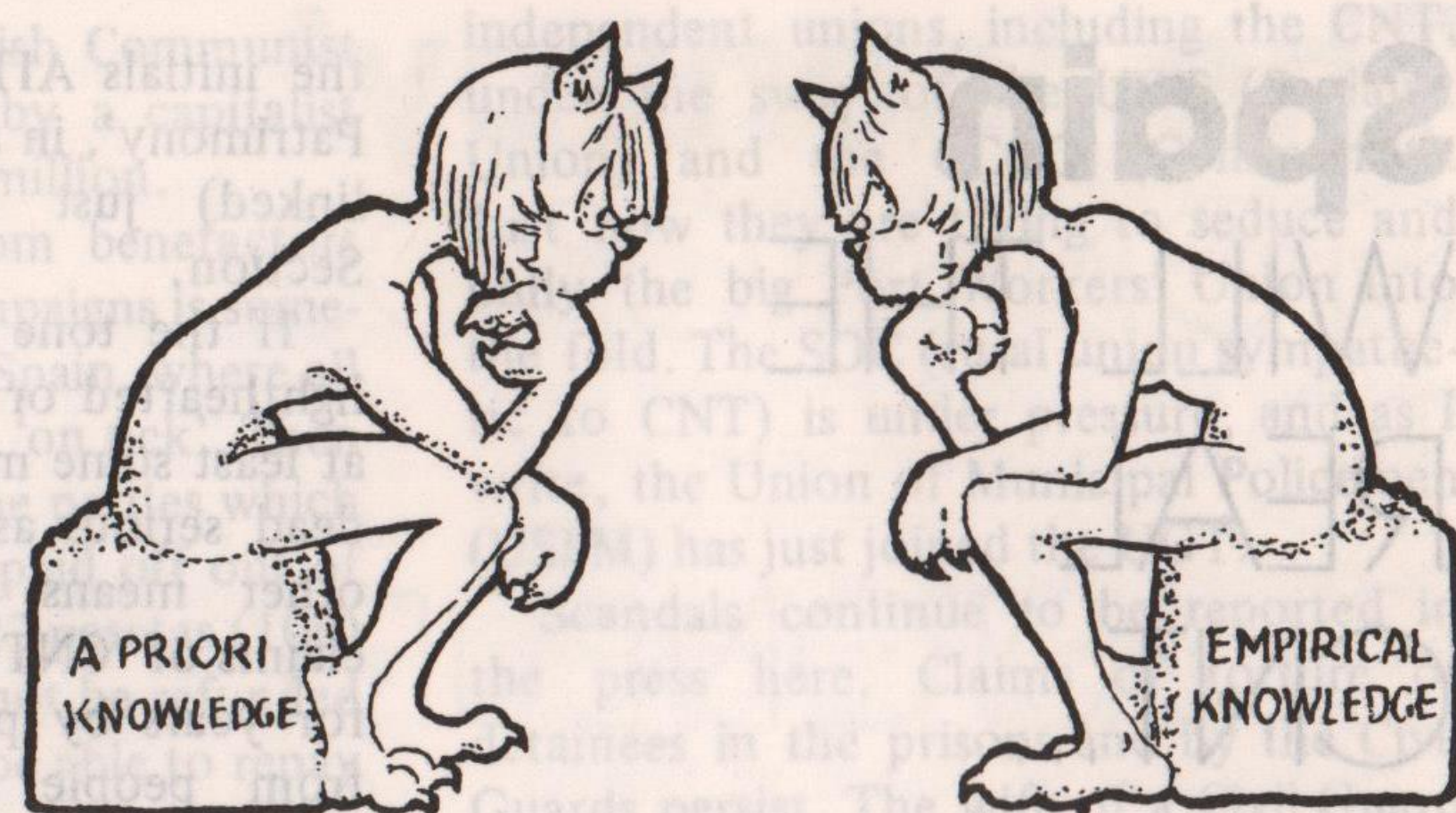
The speaker gave a quick run down on the condition of the working class in the United States at the turn of the century and briefly described the setting up of the Industrial Workers of the World. The sudden decline in the IWW after 12 years of activity, was attributed to their rejection of politics.

Anarchism with a mass base — the CNT

The Spanish Revolution and Civil War were the supreme test for anarchism, and it failed. The entry of the CNT leaders into the Popular Front government was not a betrayal of their anarchism but a consequence of it. Anarchists fail to distinguish between a bourgeois state and a workers state.

Marxism '86 showed that the SWP have a profoundly distorted view of anarchism. It also showed that while the SWP leaders are hopelessly authoritarian, many of the rank and file aren't. Now if we could get them to hear the anarchist case as put by anarchists . . . Mo

Language KNOWLEDGE AND SENSE



DESCARTES, more than three hundred years ago, was probably the first philosopher to produce a theory which broke the long scholastic tradition. He tried to start from rock bottom by clearing his mind of everything about which it was possible to hold a doubt. The thing of course which he could not doubt was that he was doubting. He therefore supposed that if a concept came to him clearly and distinctly without doubt, then it must be true. In other words, knowledge is acquired intuitively or is innate and independent of sense experience. Knowledge of this sort is called *a priori*.

The English philosopher Locke, born about thirty years after Descartes, pointed out many of the obvious defects in this theory, not the least of which is that if two men hold *a priori* concepts which are clearly contradictory, how is it possible to say which one of them is right? Locke held, on the contrary, that it is only possible to obtain knowledge through the senses. Knowledge of this sort is known as empirical.

Although both of these philosophies have undergone many refinements through the years, the same rough division still holds. The *a priori* (or Rationalist or Idealist) philosophers have included Kant, Hegel, Nietzsche and Marx. The empirical (or logical analysis) philosophers have included Berkeley, Hume, Russell, Wittgenstein and Ryle.

Anarchy a moral proposition

As I said at the beginning, this article is a plea for anarchists to adopt an empirical approach. I make this plea for two reasons. First because it is an attempt to cut through the waste of time and space caused by interminable *a priori* arguments which can never be resolved. Second because I believe that an empirical approach is the most valuable one for anarchism.

It must be said at this point that empiricism does not lead inevitably to the adoption of anarchy. Anarchy is basically a moral proposition and we must recognise that moral propositions are at root subjective. That is to say that they have their origins in psychological and sociological factors and cannot be shown to be right or wrong by appeal to

empirical facts. It can however be shown whether they are empirically consistent. For instance it is possible to say that racial discrimination which is based on a supposed biological inferiority of black people is not consistent with empirical fact. If they are consistent, however, there is no reason why we should not hold our moral propositions fervently and act in accordance with them.

Do you communicate?

Of course there are many situations in which it is easy to distinguish between the empirical and the *a priori*. If I go into a shop and say, 'A pound of sugar, please', I am not liable to be misunderstood. The language of everyday affairs is empirical. It is when abstractions from everyday experience are involved that difficulties arise. The *a priori* nature of some supposedly scientific propositions is only exposed after careful examination. This examination consists of trying to find the content of a proposition that may be related to sense experience. To put it another way, a proposition must be examined to see if its assertion is capable of being falsified by reference to sense data. If it is not, then the proposition can be said to be devoid of empirical meaning.

As an example we might ask the question, 'What does God smell like?' Or if this seems too obvious, take the phrase, 'The working class is not revolutionary'. Try asking the question, 'How many legs has the working class got?' In other words, what relation to sense experience does the concept of 'the working class' have, as it is useful in this phrase? (I am of course suggesting that the concept is too ambiguous and too huge a generalisation to have much, if any, empirical content. That is, it is virtually meaningless.)

We are all familiar with the barriers that often arise in discussion, even between people with common interests. Language sometimes seems to be used not as a means of communication but as a means of avoiding it. Empirical language tries to surmount these barriers by using meanings which can be verified from sense. Of course we shan't all be agreeing with each other since our likes and dislikes are determined by factors other

than our knowledge of empirical facts, but at least we should understand one another.

A priori justification of authority

The second reason why I consider that empiricism is important for anarchists lies in the nature of anarchy. One of the basic propositions of anarchy is that men should be free to determine the way in which they want to live, that society should not be forced into a predetermined pattern but should develop in a way that is best suited to the needs of the people who live in it. This is a moral proposition, but there is nothing in it which is inconsistent with empiricism. All political systems, however, all forms of government require at some point the acceptance of *a priori* propositions in justification. They include a dogmatic notion of what society should be like, based on propositions such as historical inevitability or divine right or the superiority of an elite or a law of human nature, all of which are *a priori*. What anarchists do for all justifications of authority is to strip them of their spurious objectivity. Empiricism is the tool for this job.

Fact or fantasy?

There is a temptation for anarchists to try to construct theories of what an anarchist society should be like. This is understandable. People are conditioned to expect to be told what sort of pie will be in the sky tomorrow. I think we should resist the temptation. If people are to be free to run their own lives, it is not possible to forecast what form their lives will take. Blueprints for a future society are not consistent with empiricism. Anarchy is a method not an end. Our methods should be based on empirical fact and not on private fantasies.

Geoffrey Barfoot

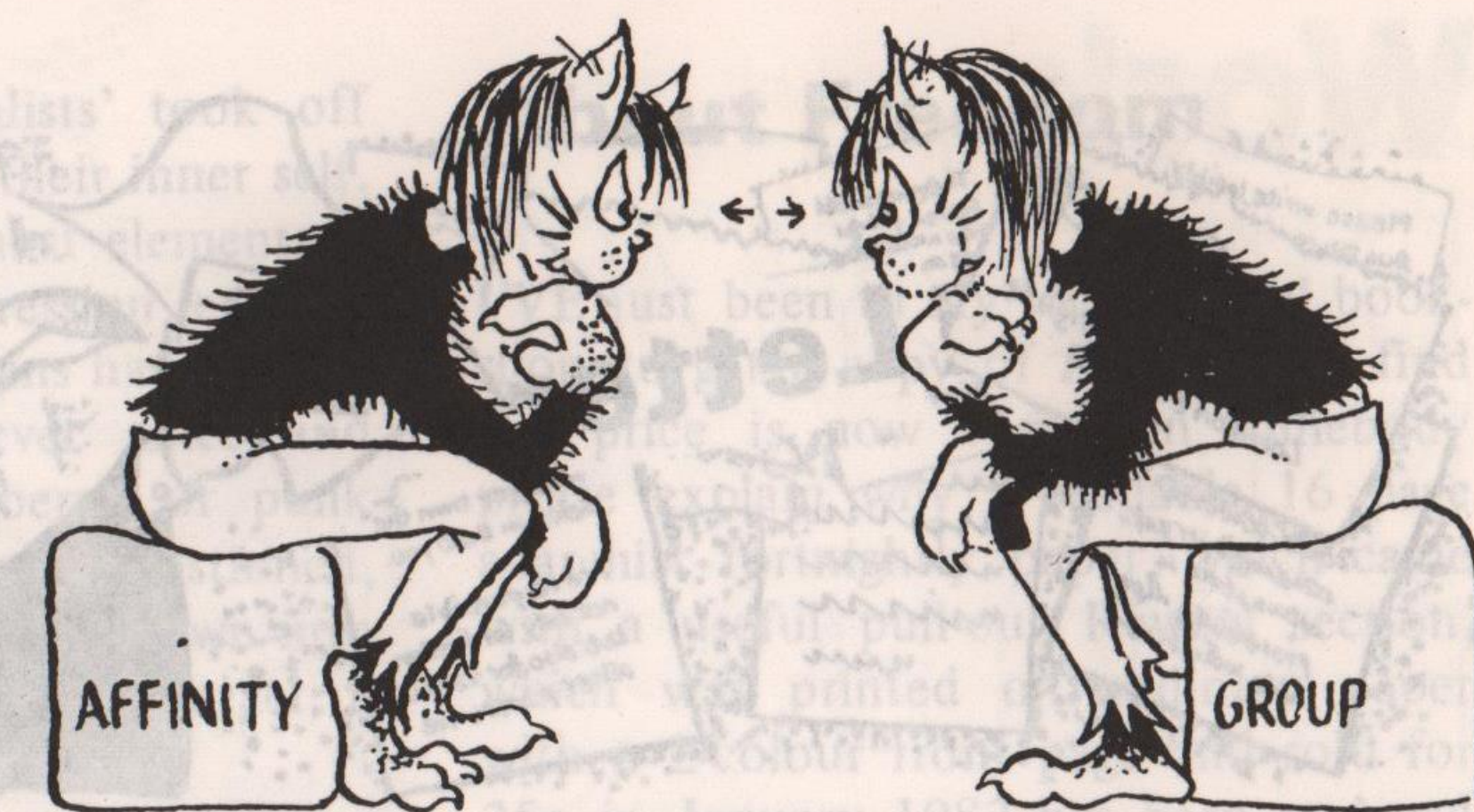
Reprinted from *Freedom* September 1968

Attempts to reintroduce the teaching in schools of all three verses of the anthem Deutschland ueber Alles have led to controversy. Professor Golo Mann says that the controversial words 'ueber alles' do not mean that Germany is superior to all other countries, but merely express patriotic love.

Language WORDS AND FORMS

SOME recent discussions and recent developments of libertarian organisation in the radical peace movement should be seriously questioned on historical and political grounds. The subject of affinity groups is a case in point. Thus Mike Holderness, writing in *Peace News* (24th January) rightly acknowledged that affinity groups originated not in the current peace movement but in the old Spanish anarchist movement, but wrongly dismissed the original affinity groups as 'undercover guerrilla action cells', with the remark, 'I'm told their main activity was assassination!' (This sort of casual sneer, predictable enough from a traditional socialist or pacifist, is really unacceptable in a libertarian paper.) He went on to refer to Murray Bookchin's discussion of affinity groups 'in the 1960s' as if this were a theoretical proposal for the future, but the reference in *Listen, Marxist!* — reprinted in Bookchin's book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1970) — was in fact a practical illustration from the past. Bookchin mentioned the affinity groups which were the basic unit of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), together with the assemblies of ancient Athens and the sections of revolutionary Paris, as examples of libertarian organisations in history which were good models for libertarian organisation in the present, and which were indeed already being paralleled by the collectives and communes of the underground or alternative culture in the United States.

Similarly the collectives, which Mike Holderness said emerged 'at about the same time', not only echoed the name of the basic unit of the libertarian revolution in Spain nearly half a century ago, and of the collectivist anarchists half a century before that, but revived an organisational form which had long existed (as co-operatives or committees) on the radical left. The communes, which also emerged at about the same time, not only echoed the name of the basic unit of municipal rebellion in medieval Europe and revolutionary France and Spain, and of peasant self-management in traditional Russia, but revived an organisational form which had long existed (as colonies or communities) on the radical left. And the principle



that 'the personal is the political', which Mike Holderness attributed to the new 'women's movement', was taken for granted in the old libertarian movement a century ago.

The problem is that, when we think we are adopting new names for new forms of organisation or activity, we generally find that they are actually old names, and that they are actually old forms too. Thus, in the particular context of the radical peace movement, the affinity groups of the present wave closely resemble the committees and working groups of the previous wave, especially in the milieu of the Committee of 100 during the 1960s.

However, while it is important to clarify the historical background of our organisation and activity (and vocabulary) it is more important to clarify the political significance of what we say and do. Here the problem is that the current system of affinity groups has to some extent been forced on the movement, ever since the anti-nuclear actions of the late 1970s in the United States and Britain. Too often they have not so much grown out of activity as been created for activity. For nearly a decade there has been the absurd phenomenon of membership of a group being made a condition for joining some demonstrations which makes theoretical nonsense of the libertarian claims of the demonstration, and even this condition being enforced by individual demonstrators being drafted into imaginary groups, which makes practical nonsense of the concept of affinity. If an affinity group is to mean anything, it is surely a group which emerges spontaneously from the experience of shared thought and action, not one which is deliberately formed to foster such thought and action, let alone one which is artificially invented for a single demonstration. No doubt many people prefer to join a demonstration as members of a group, but many other people come as individuals or couples, and the feelings of both kinds of people should be respected.

Much the same objection may be made to the current emphasis or even insistence on formal training for non-violent direct action. There is obviously much to be said for such training for those who

want to have it, rather than for those who want to give it. No doubt many people prefer to join a demonstration with some such preparation, but many other people find such symbolic activity merely irrelevant or irritating, and again the feelings of both kinds of people should be respected.

Surely the only forms of organisation and activity suitable for a libertarian movement are those which are devised freely by the people involved. Surely the only conditions suitable for participation in a libertarian demonstration are acceptance of the basic principles and general form of the demonstration, subject to the particular decisions of those present. Recent demonstrations which may be joined only by people who belong to registered 'affinity groups' and accept 'NVDA training' seem to me to contradict the spirit of the radical peace movement and to do it more harm than good. And more harm than good is also done by elaborate discussions which are based on historical and political fallacies. What is needed is less rhetoric and ritual and more serious thought and action. NW

Freedom Press Bookshop

Apartheid in Crisis (anthology) Penguin Books 1986. £3.95.

Apartheid: a graphic guide by Donald Woods, with illustrations by Mike Bostock. Camden Press, 1986. £4.95.

Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's war against its neighbours by Joseph Hanlon. Penguin Books, 1986. £2.95.

How to Commit Suicide in South Africa by Sue Coe and Holly Metz. Knockabout, 1983. £3.95.

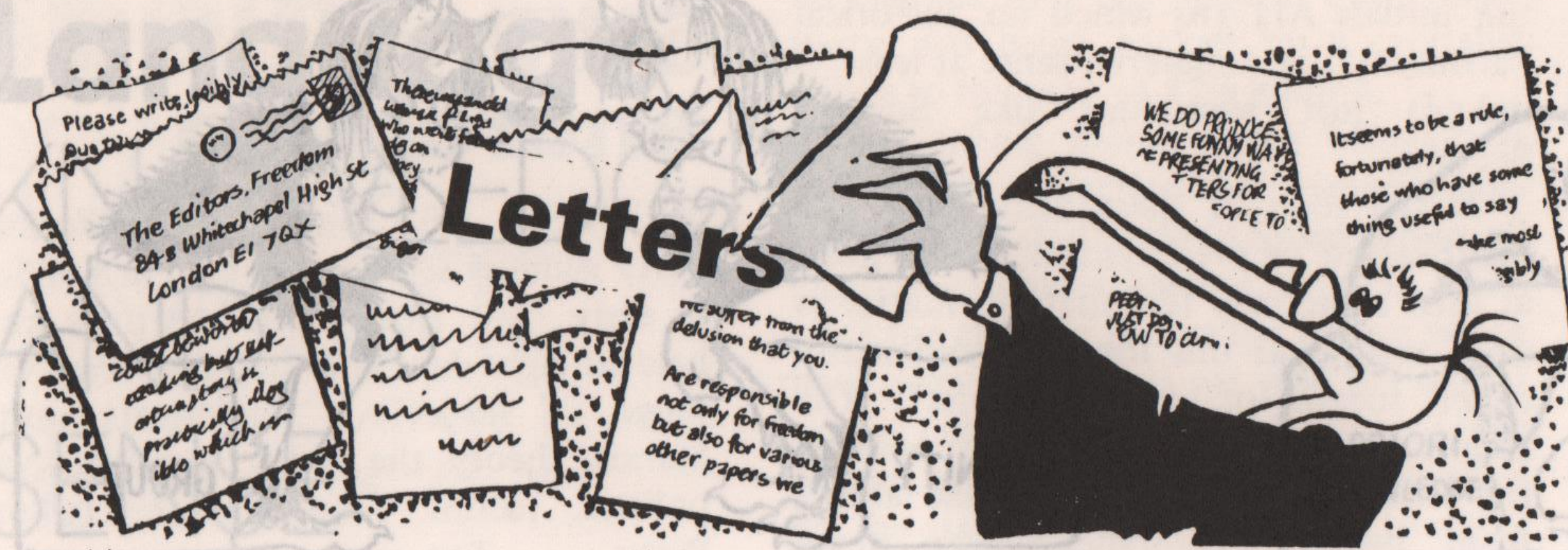
The Apartheid Handbook by Roger Ormond, 2nd edition. Penguin Books, 1986. £3.95.

The Commonwealth Report: the commonwealth group of eminent persons mission to South Africa. Penguin Books, 1986. £2.50.

Nelson Mandela by Mary Benson. Penguin Books, 1986. £2.50.

Part of My Soul by Winnie Mandela. Penguin Books, 1985. £2.95.

If ordering by post, add 10% (20% overseas) postage.



Censorship of Porn

I AM writing to complain about your printing of Tony Gibson's article 'The Censorship of Pornography: An Anarchist View' (July 1986). While I think Gibson displays an astonishing lack of awareness of the power differentials between men and women, uses faulty logic, and makes misleading comparisons, I also think he has every right to express his opinions. Not, however, by resorting to the blatant sexism and anti-feminist bias so apparent in the language and tone of the article.

What sort of language did the poor man use that I could object to so strongly? Take this sentence as a representative example:

'The idea that pornography is designed to excite men exclusively is a particularly silly one, the product of the prudish upbringing of girls in maidenly ignorance.'

I think this is a particularly sexist statement. The tone is one of contempt for women in general and feminists in particular. Key words are 'silly', 'prudish' and 'ignorance'; they are each repeated several times before and after this sentence and form sexist sub-themes that run throughout the article. These sub-themes appeal to people's sexist prejudices and encourage them to dismiss possibly disturbing feminist ideas without thought or argument, thus lessening the threat they pose to the status quo and men's privileged position.

'Silly' is perhaps the most common of the adjectives traditionally used by men to belittle women and their ideas ('shallow' and 'hysterical' come a close second); the allegation that feminists are prudes is also an old ploy. It is a put-down often wheeled out when women question sexual behaviours that benefit men to the detriment of women. And the notion that feminists are ignorant and don't realise how complex the issue of pornography really is is another typically patronising and insulting male put-down.

Another of Gibson's objectionable uses of language is his repeated use of the term 'ultra feminists' (referring to Andrea Dworkin, Susan Brownmiller and other unnamed women), surely a label designed

to encourage the reader to dismiss them as 'extremists'. This is a tactic continually used by the mainstream media to marginalise radicals and provides another way for Gibson to bypass argument and play to people's prejudices.

I'm shocked that a journal that likes its articles to be 'well researched and carefully argued' (same issue, page 17) would allow this sort of sexist language to be printed. I have no doubt that you would have edited racist material more carefully. The language and tone of the article was an insult to all women readers and anyone truly working for freedom for all. I think an apology is in order.

Vivien Sharples
Seattle

TONY Gibson ('The censorship of pornography', July) does not mention one work of Andrea Dworkin which I think useful for a full understanding of pro-censorship 'feminism'.

About a year back Dworkin addressed a Lesbian Pride Rally in New York Central Park, where according to the *New York Times* she told a cheering crowd as follows:

'Being a lesbian means to me that there is an erotic passion and intimacy which comes of taste and touch, a wild salty tenderness, a wet sweet sweat, our breasts, our mouths, our sleeps, our inter-tangled hairs, our hands.'

I think I get the meaning of 'bleeps' from the context, but I do not hear the word with this meaning elsewhere. Maybe Dworkin said a taboo word and the NYT overlaid it with a bleep in the fashion of the BBC, or maybe I lead a sheltered life.

That Dworkin takes a pride in her own bag and celebrates it in explicit words I approve. What I find offensive is that if I now describe the delights of screwing a guy with similar anatomical detail she will say my work should be banned — because it degrades women!

Andrea Kinty

PS. Dworkin is suing Hustler Magazine for \$150 million over a cartoon which implied she is a lesbian.

TONY GIBSON ends his article on 'The Censorship of Pornography' with the assertion that *Freedom* should be a vehicle for encouraging resistance to intimidation and I couldn't agree more, but life is very complex and intimidation comes in many forms. What the best of the feminists are arguing is that the vast bulk of pornography is effectively intimidating to women.

This does not mean that pornography cannot serve any other purpose and simply listing the various different types of it or successfully ridiculing the idiotic exaggerations of an 'ultra feminist' proves very little. We all should know that people come in interesting varieties and it comes as no surprise to discover that there is a pornographic literature to suit all sexual tastes. We should, however, also know that society has patterns and structures which are not random but are the product of such things as the distribution of power and wealth.

Personally I happen to believe that men and women do not have equal power in the society in which we live and that one of the clearest manifestations of the inequality between the sexes can be found in the whole marketplace of sexuality. We are not dealing with a free world in which sovereign consumers choose what turns them on and have their sexual literature written by benevolent anarchists. We live in a society still largely dominated under the control of elderly men and dominated by money and this distorts sexuality in a lot of very serious ways. Though no anarchist would trust the government enough to want to see a ban on pornography it is surely worth trying to campaign against the worst excesses of it and trying to get men to see women as people and not objects.

As for the assertion that the creation of a climate of opinion which opposes pornography is intimidatory and patronising this is particularly difficult territory. All campaigners for any cause are setting themselves up as different and to some extent asserting that they know what is morally right. What distinguishes an open mind from a closed one is the desire to persuade others that you are right rather than to get some powerful body to ban those who disagree, but surely no anarchist has ever argued that we should refrain from arguing for our views in case we might upset someone or make them feel guilty!

Finally a thought occurs to me. We seem to have been debating pornography and censorship for a long time whilst avoiding the whole issue of women's freedom, men's freedom and the relative power of the sexes. Perhaps the time has come to explore the difference between us on these issues.

Andy Brown

Greece

WE BELONG to the anarchist group 'Internationalist'. We would like to develop our relationships and contacts with comrades in other countries in order to exchange ideas, opinions and experiences. Our group is only a few months old. It was started at the beginning of December 1985, a couple of days after the police siege of the Polytechnic School and the assassination of a fifteen year old comrade, Michael Kaltezas, by them.

The core of our team are the comrades who tried to set up the 'Anarchist Federation of Greece' in the summer of 1985. For the time being this has failed to achieve its targets. Our group has developed some activity, leading to the proposition of constituting a Union of the Athens area and suburbs as a type of mini-federation. Basic principles and targets were drawn up and several groups responded. A committee was formed that developed into regular sessions and meetings, but even this effort got stuck somewhere along the line.

In the meantime, we do not forget that constructing a specifically anarchist union in Greece is more than a must. The members of our group are inspired by federalist principles and in the near future we intend to bring up the subject of national unity again. In April, under the initiative of groups from Pyrgos, Amalias and Patras, the first nationwide anarchist meeting was held in Patras. Topics discussed included terrorism, anarcho-syndicalism, ways of becoming involved in social life in the suburbs of the big cities, drugs, etc. The experience we all got was really great and useful, as such an event had never taken place here before.

We must also report some serious incidents that have taken place recently. The anarchists were the first and only ones that mobilised in Athens to protest against the nuclear accident at Chernobyl and generally against the spread of nuclear weapons. Our demonstration was banned by the chief of police and the Minister of Public Order. On May 9th there were clashes with the cops in Athens. On the May 12th the police banned a demonstration by ecologists, leftists and pacifists as well as a demo-ride of scooters, motor bikes, etc. There were a lot of arrests, brutal beatings and many injuries. On May 13th the same scenes were repeated with the difference that this time anarchist and feminist groups were taking part, 5,000 in all. The cops attacked and there were 39 arrests, of whom 13 were detained in custody pending trial on serious charges, in some cases amounting to first degree murder.

Once again the 'socialists' took off their masks and revealed their inner self. They stamped out the most elementary human rights of free expression, even of walking out at night. Athens has literally been a besieged city ever since and youngsters who wear 'liberal' or punk style clothes are busted, questioned, beaten to a pulp and maybe thrown into jail without being able to contact a lawyer.

Our group has come to a decision to change our methods of activity. In September our newspaper will begin to come out regularly with news, comment, etc. The focus of our activity will be the suburbs and the country in general. Also, we will poke into places of work, factories, places of social contacts, etc.

We are asking you to exchange experiences with us through regular contacts. If you produce printed material please let us know how we can subscribe.

Your letters can reach us safely only if the envelope has no mention of 'anarchy' or clues as to its contents!

With anarchist regards:

The Internationalist
Eleftheros Typos Bookshop,
17 Zoodohoy Pigis Street,
10681, Athens, Greece.

Anarchism in bottles



PREFERRING, at least occasionally, to view Thatcher's Britain through the mild anaesthesia induced by red wine, I am a regular purchaser of Bulgarian plonk.

Imagine my surprise when, examining the supposedly dialectically materialistic cork extracted from my latest bottle of Cab. Sauv., I discerned the logo A in the bottom right-hand corner.

Can it be that someone is sending us a message in a bottle — or have the comrades filched our trademark? Even if it's a case of the latter, I'm sure we wouldn't want to invoke bourgeois copyright laws, but rather, would welcome this sign of sanity from the arid stale capitalist wastes.

Yours, if not tongue-in-cheek, then nose-in-bouquet.

Nic

About Freedom

I'VE just been to my local radical bookshop to get a copy of *Freedom* to find the price is now 75p. Can somebody please explain why a readable 16 page anarchist fortnightly paper, which came with a useful pull-out Review section, which was printed on ordinary paper with a 2-colour front page and sold for 25p in January 1982 has been replaced by a glossy, black and white monthly costing 75p? Does this reflect the collective or its perceived readership?

Bill Wells

(Editorial note. All prices rose somewhat between 1982 and 1986, but we share Bill Wells's opinion that the price of *Freedom* is now too high. Theft of our subscription list and other difficulties in 1985 put us in rather a panic. We hope to bring the price down in 1987.)

FOUND the June issue of *Freedom* more readable than usual. I even bought a copy (75p on dole is hard to come by). Most interesting and relevant was short piece 'penal reform'. Well laid out, lots of facts, not pissing about with abstract theories or pretensions. Your editorial on nuke power was surprisingly poor, though. What about Navajoh Indians, Namibians and aboriginals that must mine uranium. 'Coincidental' leukemia death rates in power stations' vicinities and the other accident in the Urals etc etc. A more thorough analysis would uncover more deaths (not to mention exploitation) than 200. And saying 'known' to be the operative word is just not good enough here.

Chris
Aberdeen

Native Americans

THE US Government is set to forcefully remove 15,000 Navajo and Hopi people from the Big Mountain area of Arizona which is rich in natural raw materials.

Further details from Big Mountain Support Group c/o 121, Railton Road, London SE 24 (01-274 6655).

Emma Goldman

THE Moving Target Theatre Company, which recently staged the British premiere of *The Art of Self Defence* at the Warehouse Theatre, Croydon, is interested in staging a new play about the life of Emma Goldman. *Emma*, by Howard Zinn, recently performed in New York and Boston, has not yet been seen here.

Contact Carole Charnow, 16 Digby Crescent, London N4 2HR 01-802 7820) or Alison Sterling, 5 Montagu Place, London W1H 1RH (01-935 3407)

Work

EMPLOYMENT IS THE PROBLEM

WE ARE constantly reminded by TV and the media about one of society's problems — the problem of unemployment, currently around the four million level. However, unemployment is not the problem; the problem is twenty five million (at the very least) stuck in boring, wasteful, mind-numbing jobs, and that's twenty five million people leading servile, unhappy lives. And unfortunately we are conditioned to accept work as the norm, so much that when many people become unemployed or even just retire from work they don't know how to occupy themselves; they become bored and depressed. Many people just cannot handle life without work and just become redundant machines.

Work, of course, is necessary, but jobs and employment are not. If we look at a primitive hunter-gatherer society such as the Kalahari Bushmen, we learn that each person needs to do around three to four hours work per day, and by work I mean activities to keep themselves and their society functioning at the present level. Perhaps it is unfair to compare such people to us, for our (so called) needs are far greater than theirs. But our technology is far greater than theirs and we can use our energies far more efficiently and economically. Also we do not have to cope with a very inhospitable environment. Therefore there is no way that everyone in our society needs to work eight hours a day for fifty years, but *this* is what society dictates.

In Italy, Fiat have a factory where their cars are made almost entirely by robots. Therefore, now that we have such technology there is no longer any need for people to spend a life of drudgery assembling cars. If Fiat can build cars using robot workers, then there is no longer the need to use human workers (certainly no need for large factory floor workforces). This demonstrates the deception. If all our knowledge and technology was shared, if we were less wasteful with our resources and made more effort to re-use our waste, if we realised our *actual* needs rather than those dictated by TV, then much of our present work becomes redundant and unnecessary. And then much more of our

energy and the energies of our communities can be rechannelled.

Since the beginning of our industrialised society, the majority of our workforce have not been working for themselves, their families or communities; they have been working for the rich, the multinationals and the government. For it is they who have always benefitted from our labour. The idea of unemployment as a problem is something they have created to their own advantage through economics and politics.

The Right to Work Campaign and other such campaigns for more employment are conning us as much as the rich and the state are. They are full of crap. The Right to Work is the right to be exploited, to be abused, to be dictated to, it is the right to be a slave, a tool and a prostitute to society's rulers. Such campaigns can never succeed because unemployment is the natural product of an advanced technological society. There can never be full employment again and if we believe that we are only deluding ourselves. And besides, unemployment is a convenient tool of the ruling classes to keep them in power. And they will never let go of that.

The majority of working people (certainly the majority of working men) work until they are around sixty or sixty-five before they stop. In other words, they work until it is too late to stop working. By the time they retire their

health may be failing, they are becoming weaker and cannot enjoy the full scope of their newly found leisure. They have wasted their lives — at work. And if you disagree, ask any working person to name ten things they enjoy doing. It is very unlikely that any of the things they name will be going to work.

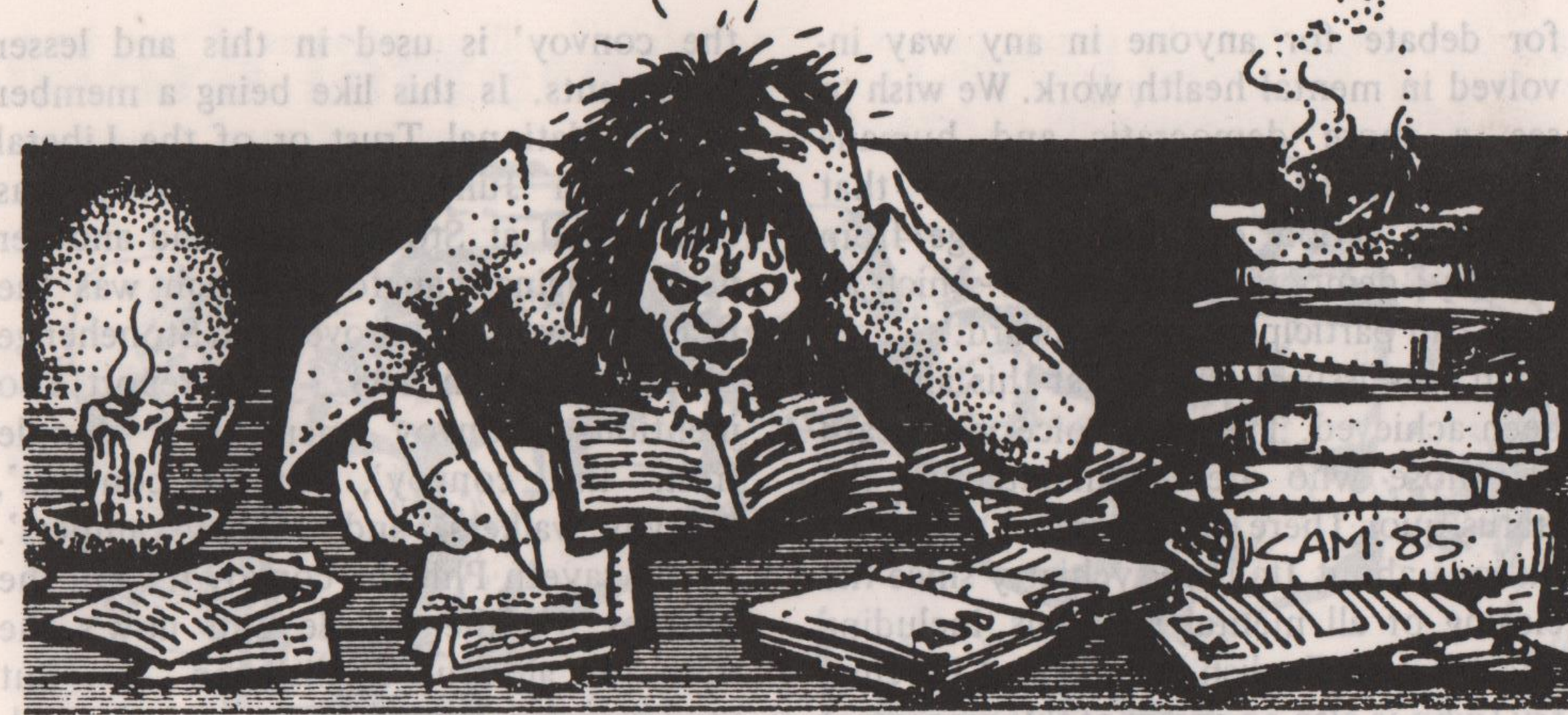
When you leave school or college, if you are lucky (and 'lucky' is their word, not mine) the Job Centre or other employment service can supply you with a job — a role in society that you are required to fill until you retire. They say that they can offer assistance, a service, a choice. Where to toil for the next fifty years? That is OUR freedom of choice.

I am not against work as such, I am against jobs — jobs and employment. Mindless, brain-numbing, unwanted, unnecessary employment. We have to do some work but the real necessary work is nowhere near as much as our current ideas of work. We do not need to spend most of our lives making crap, selling crap, organising crap and teaching crap for our so-called superiors. We do not need to suffer while we make them lazy and rich. They have stolen our leisure, our time and our lives. Surely it is time to steal it back, NOW.

I am twenty-four years old. I have been unemployed for two and a half years. I've done various jobs, my own share of slavery and I hated it all. I have few prospects. My chances of getting a job are small (my desires to get one are even smaller), and I am not very well off. But I am happy; my time is mine, my life is mine and I have more control than most over what I do and how I live. My energies are directed where I want or where I feel is useful, not where I am told to direct them. I lead an active, fulfilling and happy life. So don't offer your patronising sympathy to this section of the unemployed because I don't want to know.

GW

Reprinted from *Tipping the Balance*.



Where's the Justice? A Manifesto for Law Reform

Tony Gifford
Penguin, £2.95

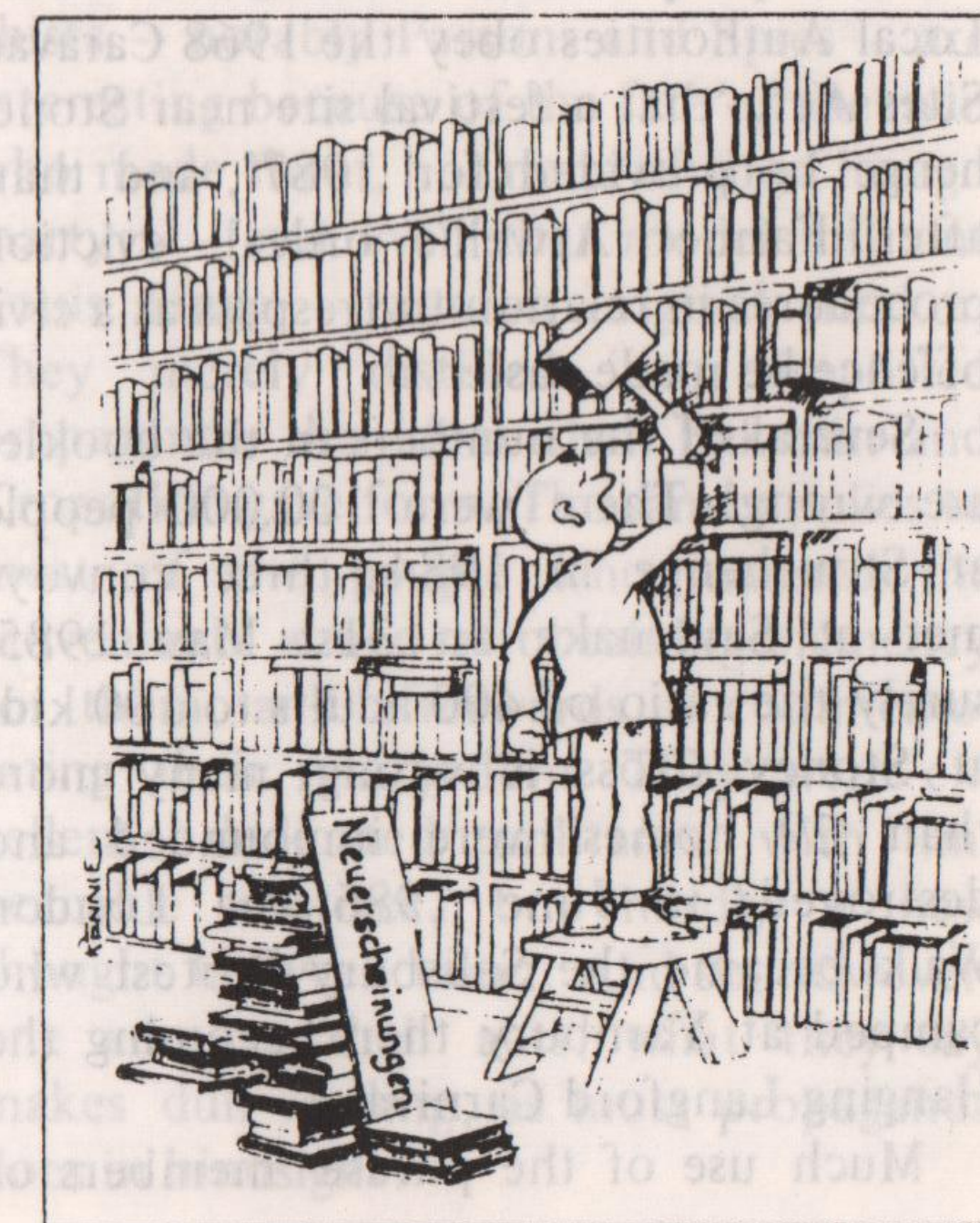
IT IS clearly a great folly to expect there to be any meaningful connection between the law and justice. Yet Tony Gifford's book, *Where's the Justice?*, consists mainly of an interesting analysis of the different parts of the legal system in the course of which he points out some of the more manifest faults of each part and makes some suggestions for reform. In an early section of the book he describes the advantages and improvements he would expect to attend the appointment of a Minister of Justice. This post would take over many of the functions related to the legal system now carried out by the Lord Chancellor. Unlike the Lord Chancellor, the Justice Minister would not necessarily be a trained lawyer or a member of the House of Lords. This proposed change in the administration of the legal system underpins the other reforms that the book suggests, but I must say in all candour that I don't see it making much difference.

Tony Gifford sees the purpose of a Minister of Justice as ensuring that comprehensive legal services are available to all. It is interesting that he bases the suggested form of words setting out this statutory duty on the paragraph in the 1946 National Health Service Act which defined the duties of the Minister of Health as being 'to promote the establishment in England and Wales of a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people of England and Wales, and the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illnesses and to that purpose to provide or secure the effective provision of services.' I believe that a citizen knowing that to be the legal definition of the job of the Minister of Health might take the view that the succession of holders of that office who have presided over a deteriorating health service in recent years had been acting illegally. So I see little hope that a similar form of words will secure something much more vague and elusive of clear definition than physical and mental health — justice.

The rest and main body of the book looks at different parts of the legal system and suggests reforms to improve its working and make the system as a whole fairer and more accessible to the general public.

What I would regard as important defects of each part of the legal establishment are produced for the reader's scrutiny. The whole set up stinks, from the willingness to run magistrate's courts, nominally independent of the police and in which the police should have no more rights than the defendants, entirely in accordance with police wishes, to the near impossibility, in the 1980s, of becoming a barrister without having private means to support one through feeless early years.

Privilege and self servicing are entrenched in all areas of the legal system. Their restrictive practices, if attempted by any TUC affiliated union would have old ladies of both sexes from Cheltenham to Harrogate calling for the re-introduction of transportation. Even the jury system is presently under attack, and thus the basic right of people to be tried by their peers. The problem seems to me to be that the whole thrust of Tony Gifford's suggested reforms is to make the legal system more democratic, accessible and responsive to the needs of the ordinary people who are usually its victims. The principal developments in recent years have been towards



making the legal system more favourable to the interests of the state and its police arm. So while the reforms suggested are worthy and would tend to reform the legal system in a direction I would regard favourably, they are not produced at the most propitious time.

The appearance of grandiosity implied in the section on the need of a Minister of Justice seems to show that the author expects much more of his manifesto of reforms than would really be accomplished even in the unlikely event of them all being put into operation in a five year term of office by a future Labour government. But if we leave aside the author's over-optimism in the results he anticipates from the implementation of his manifesto of reforms, the book certainly offers much useful material on the present working of this country's legal system. It will prove useful for anybody seeking to combat its more destructive and pernicious results. The book's principal lack is any section dealing with prisons. I cannot believe that this omission is due to any lack of people ready to help the author with material on this area.

Peter Miller

The Employment Question and other essays

Denis Pym
Freedom Press, 68pp, £2.50

THE informal economy is important from an anarchist point of view, and I am pleased that Freedom Press, an anarchist publishing house, has just brought out the anarchist interpretation of it. Denis Pym seeks to question the legitimacy of the employing institutions, and the monopoly we ascribe to them of creating wealth.

We already have a dual economy, with on the one side capital, whose object is to do without labour, while on the other side, in Pym's view, is the unofficial, unmeasured and domestic economy, which 'offers people the opportunity to reunite their social and economic lives and use the tools and techniques which suit their personal and social requirements.' Pym's hero is the *bricoleur*, the local fixer, the man or woman who uses resourcefulness to cater directly and reciprocally for human needs in the interstices of the allegedly 'real' economy.

The entrepreneur, the big-time captain of industry and commerce, not the small-time wheeler-dealer, he sees as an ego-centric, bullying, imposing public figure. The *bricoleur*, or *bricoleuse*, the person we know who actually keeps things going — relationships, machines and the natural world — is our warmer, closer, private indispensable neighbour.

Colin Ward

The Russian Tragedy

Alexander Berkman
Phoenix Press, £2.50

The Tragedy of Spain

Rudolf Rocker
ASP, £1.50

THESE are the new editions of classic writings by leading anarchists on two of the great revolutionary failures of the twentieth century.

The Russian Tragedy consists of a series of three pamphlets produced by Alexander Berkman soon after he left Russia — his own essays on the Russian Revolution in general and on the Kronstadt Rising, and his translation of an essay on the Russian Revolution and the Communist Party by 'four well known Moscow Anarchists' — which were published separately in Germany in 1922 and immediately translated into English. They were first published in a single volume by the Cienfuegos Press in 1976, with facsimiles of the texts and the addition of twelve illustrations and a long introduction by William G Nowlin. This edition was later reprinted by Black Rose Books in Canada. Now the texts have been reset in smaller format, without Berkman's prefaces or the illustrations or Nowlin's introduction, and with the addition of a shorter and inferior introduction instead. The booklet is 40 pages shorter than it was, but still not cheap at £2.50 for less than 100 pages.

The Tragedy of Spain consists of Rudolf Rocker's pamphlet on the Civil War, the Revolution and the Communist reaction, written to mark the first anniversary of the war and published in the United States in 1937. Now a facsimile of the text (with altered pagination) has been published, with a short preface by Terry Liddle, to mark the fiftieth anniversary. The pamphlet is well produced, but still not cheap at £1.50 for less than 50 pages.

MH

Asylum — A magazine for democratic psychiatry

c/o 19 Edgware Road, York YO1 4DG
50p, postal sub 4 issues £2.50

THIS magazine is not, nor does it claim to be anarchist. The 'democratic' in the title means power-sharing. However, this is not an easy field for anarchist theory, and some important and relevant issues are addressed.

What makes it new and exciting for me is the range of contributors, people who might not normally be seen in the pages of the same magazine. It is non-aligned, and states an intention to be 'The freest possible non-partisan forum

for debate for anyone in any way involved in mental health work. We wish to see a more democratic and humane mental health service. We know that effective action can only emerge from healthy, democratic debate, in which all sides can participate and be heard.'

In this issue I think that this aim has been achieved. The only voices not heard are those who are for maintaining the status quo. There are a number of contributions about Italian Psychiatry since the closing of all mental hospitals, including one from an English Professor of Psychiatry (who is also an editor of this magazine) and one from an Italian Nurse.

An interview with R. D. Laing mentions the negative aspects of this experiment, although he appears to know little of the training of a young psychiatrist. Things change.

Some articles actively irritated me (not a bad point in a magazine intended for debate). These were mainly some of the contributions from the anti-psychiatry lobby. The obvious ignorance in some of the articles was the prime reason for my irritation. Their anger may be valid, but many psychiatrists can tell of casualties brought to hospital by the despairing anti-psychiatrists themselves.

The problems posed in the care of the mentally ill remain, and probably always will. The arguments which promise to continue in this magazine, are important ones, and I would think that if it continues at this level then it is worth both the attention and the contribution of anarchists interested in the subject.

Clio

Stonehenge

NCCL £1.95

THIS booklet is an authoritative report of the treatment and policing of 'The Convoy' during 1985 and 1986. The report explores the conflict of civil liberties between travelling people and settled people. It recommends that Local Authorities obey the 1968 Caravan Sites Act, 'that a festival site near Stonehenge be provided for 1987', and that, after Farmer Atwell's ordeal, eviction procedures in relation to trespass as a civil offence be made easier.

Several of the numbers in the booklet are wrong! There were 100,000 people at Stonehenge in 1984; three convoys met at Savernake on 31st May 1985; surely the ratio of 400 adults to 100 kids at Stonehenge is wrong; many more than 29 homes were impounded and destroyed; in June 1986 the London Walk became the Salisbury Protest who camped at Yarnbury then becoming the Hanging Langford Carnival.

Much use of the phrase 'members of

the convoy' is used in this and lesser documents. Is this like being a member of the National Trust or of the Liberal Party? In June '85 one convoy was confiscated at Stoney Cross and another near Hanging Langford. Which was the Peace Convoy that drove from Stonehenge to Greenham in 1982? The report also mentions 'convoy members', 'people from the convoy', 'hippy convoys', 'convoy walkers', and 'convoy campers'. Verily sayeth Phil the convoy it's not the vehicles it's the people and now's the time for all true Englishmen... But Stonehenge is global, there were festival-goers from India, Cymru, Canada and the Hopis. Stonehenge is essential to the convoy culture: a fusion of individual enlightenment and collective unconsciousness! Ethnic with three 'f's.

I predict that next summer there will be 150,000 arrests near Stonehenge: a protest against this crazy century.

George Miles

Haymarket Scrapbook

edited by Dave Roediger and Franklin Rosemont. Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company. \$14.95 paper, \$29.95 cloth.

THE centenary of the Haymarket bombing in Chicago on 4 May 1886, followed by the execution on 11 November 1887 of the four anarchists, Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fischer, condemned for what they said and not for what any of them did, has inevitably inspired a revival of interest in the case and in the circumstances surrounding it. Apart from the judicial atrocity of hanging four men who were guilty merely of talking about violence and not of committing it, the case remains important because of its establishment of a precedent that has entered deeply into American political and legal practice although it would seem to be diametrically opposed to the First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of speech. That precedent, which has never been effectively challenged in the United States, involves the condemnation of a person on the grounds of the opinions he expresses rather than on the acts he performs. It forms, of course, the basis of the discriminatory clauses in American immigration laws, which consistently exclude people — writers and others — on the grounds of what they have said or written rather than on the grounds of any actions they may be carried out.

The Haymarket tragedy is indeed one of the symbolic events in American history, since, with the execution of John Brown a generation before in 1859, it marks out the watershed between the early post-revolutionary period when genuine libertarian and mutualist elements were strongly present in American society,



Fielden and Parsons speaking at an anarchist meeting in Chicago.

the age of the hundreds of intentional communities and of the direct democracy of town meetings and similar institutions, and the post Civil-War period, the age of an increasingly militant capitalism defending itself ruthlessly against rising demands on the part of the working class, the age of urban growth, of growing class antagonisms and of the rising intolerance of any kind of radical opinion. Whether or not Judge Gary and the hand-picked jurors who condemned the Chicago anarchists saw it in this way, the execution of these four men, the suicide of Louis Lingg in his prison cell, and the imprisonment of their three associates, amounted to a declaration of total war by the propertied classes against any movement or persons that radically threatened their interests. That anarchists should have been a special target of attack, as happened again in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, executed forty years afterwards, rather than Marxists, shows the recognition by the rulers that rebels who attacked authority were more dangerous than those who upheld it, so that, despite its theoretical anti-Communism, the American ruling class has always been ready to make deals with Communists, as in the case of the wartime alliance with Stalin and the recent friendliness to the Chinese government, but never with anarchists, whose rejection of authority they fear most — and rightly from their own viewpoint.

Conventional scholars have been inclined to treat the Haymarket tragedy as a kind of sport in American history, the work of un-American revolutionaries if they are conservative, the work of an untypically reactionary judge and jury in an atmosphere of unwonted public hysteria if they are liberals. But the extent to which it is a crucial event in the development of modern America has been shown by some of the books that the centenary

has called into being, notably Paul Avrich's *The Haymarket Tragedy*, which appeared two years ago, and now the remarkable compilation called *Haymarket Scrapbook*, edited by Dave Roediger and Franklin Rosemont, and published by the century-old non-profit cooperative, the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, which itself was founded in the atmosphere of radical enthusiasm, bourgeois fears and official brutality that characterised Chicago in the fatal year of 1886.

The *Haymarket Scrapbook* is a massive volume and a genuine scrapbook of the times, with literally hundreds of items. There are modern analyses of the various aspects of the events of 1886 and small biographies of the active figures of the time, together with contemporary material relating to the tragedy and those involved in it, and a fascinating collection of almost 300 photographs, caricatures and other visual materials relating to the eight-hour day movement from which the tragedy directly arose and related working-class and libertarian movements.

Inevitably, in such a collection, the quality and relevance of the items vary. The writings of the condemned anarchists — notably Parsons and Spies — are interesting because of the fate of the men who made them, but none of the Chicago martyrs — not even that model militant Louis Lingg — was an original thinker. They merely distilled into simplified propaganda the ideas that Bakunin and Kropotkin gave form. The same applies to most of the people who manned the movements aimed at obtaining clemency for them, and afterwards at commemorating their martyrdom. They were excellent, dedicated militants with impeccable motives, but hardly a new thought between them. And so, however one admires their acts, what they say makes dull reading, as most propaganda does in hindsight.

The poets — Kenneth Rexroth, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay and Edgar Lee Masters among them — shine more brightly. And the essays written especially for the book are often interesting for their research into the ramifications of libertarian thinking in the United States even as late as the 1880s, and the ways in which the Haymarket events tend to bring into the open — often for the last time — radical movements or individuals that represented the native traditions of American anarchism or near-anarchism. In 'Dancing and Picknicking Anarchists? The Movement Below the Martyred Leadership', Bruce Nelson presents a fascinating study of anarchism as a grassroots movement among immigrant workers, Alan Dawley is good on 'The International Working People's Association' (the old Black International stemming from the 1881 London international anarchist congress) and Dave Roediger on 'The Black International and Black America'. There are useful pieces on the varying roles played by different groups of the Knights of Labor, on anarchists and the plight of American Indians, on Czech and Polish workers' groups in Chicago in 1886, and on the role of women at the time, but, for me at least, the most interesting piece of all was Franklin Rosemont's fine long study on 'The Image of the Anarchist in Popular Culture'.

As documentary most of *Haymarket Scrapbook* is valuable; it fills out the picture of the American anarchist movement's past and its relationship to other radical movements. As historical commentary much is useful and stimulating, and the abundance of visual material gives interest even to the pages one skims most quickly. All students of anarchist history should have it on their shelves.

George Woodcock



Nonviolent Revolution in India

Geoffrey Ostergaard

Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi.
distributed by Housmans, £19.95

GEOFFREY OSTERGAARD is one of the few libertarian academics in Britain, being at the same time a senior lecturer in political science at Birmingham University and a veteran contributor to anarchist and pacifist periodicals (and a former trustee of both *Freedom* and *Peace News*). His non-academic writings have concentrated on the relationships between anarchism and syndicalism and between anarchism and pacifism. For many years he wrote in *Freedom* and the old *Anarchy* about anarcho-syndicalism and workers' control. He contributed an essay, 'Resisting the Nation State: The Pacifist and Anarchist Tradition', to the symposium *The Nation State* (1981); a version of this was published by the Peace Pledge Union as a pamphlet in the *Studies in Nonviolence* series (Number 11, 1982).

His academic writings have concentrated on the Gandhian movement in India, on which he has become the leading authority in the English-speaking world. With Melville Currell he produced *The Gentle Anarchists* (1971), a major sociological study of the movement during the 20 years following Gandhi's death in 1948; he contributed an essay on the same subject to the symposium *Anarchism Today* (1971). Now he has produced *Nonviolent Revolution in India* (1985), a major historical study of the movement during the next 15 years.

The book begins with an introduction discussing the general idea of 'nonviolent revolution' and describing its particular application to India. As Ostergaard says, 'it is an ideological hybrid', combining the traditions of pacifism and of social revolutionism. Most pacifists have not been revolutionaries and most revolutionaries have not been pacifists, but some followers of each tradition have approached the other — among pacifists, believers in non-resistance (especially Tolstoy and the Quakers), believers in nonviolent resistance (especially radical opponents of slavery and war), and believers in nonviolence as a way of life (especially Gandhi and his followers); and among revolutionaries, believers in nonviolent anarchism or libertarian socialism.

The convergence of the two traditions,

says Ostergaard, 'may be seen in part as a process of mutual education in which pacifists learnt from libertarian socialists and vice versa' — a process which occupied roughly half a century, from the First World War, through the Gandhian campaigns in South Africa and India, the Second World War and the Cold War, to the campaigns against nuclear weapons, colonial oppression, racial segregation, the Vietnam War, and so on. The double tendency towards anarchist pacifism increased in the West during the 1960s but has subsequently subsided, though it is still actively promoted by both anarchists and pacifists. 'However', says Ostergaard, 'there is one country in which nonviolent revolution has been elaborated at the conceptual level and also actively promoted by a coherent social movement at the practical level' — India: and the next 400 pages are devoted to the developing theory and practice of non-violent revolution there.

The story begins, of course, with Gandhi himself, and Ostergaard briefly describes his idea of nonviolent revolution and his foundation of the non-political Constructive Programme alongside the political Indian National Congress in the struggle for independence. Gandhi saw political independence as the beginning rather than the end of the social revolution and between its achievement in 1947 and his assassination in 1948 he proposed that Congress should be dissolved and reconstituted as a non-party and non-parliamentary organisation to promote genuine revolution. When this proposal was predictably rejected and India became a conventional nation state, his followers formed a federation of organisations called the Sarva Seva Sangh in 1949, which together with some independent organisations became the framework of the formal Sarvodaya movement. (*Sarvodaya* — 'welfare for all' — the word Gandhi had used as the title for his translation of John Ruskin's book *Unto This Last*, became the title for the Gandhian movement in India.)

Gandhi has had an ambiguous response from anarchists and pacifists in the West, partly because of profound differences between Indian and European traditions, and partly because of profound ambiguities in Gandhi's politics, with his confusion of revolutionary and reactionary elements. The same ambiguity attends the Sarvodaya movement, reinforced by a general ignorance of its nature and activity, and the great value of this book is that it provides a great deal of factual information on which serious discussion and proper judgement can be based.

Post-Gandhian Sarvodaya became important with the Bhoodan movement, beginning in 1951, and the parallel Gramdan movement, beginning in 1952, which involved respectively the voluntary

transfer of millions of acres of rural land to landless people and the voluntary transfer of thousands of rural villages to common of equal ownership. The main leader was Vinoba Bhave, a non-political Gandhian traditionalist, but he was soon joined by Jayaprakash Narayan, a more political westernised intellectual. They were both inclined to libertarian populism but while Bhave consistently tried to stay out of political conflict, Narayan eventually plunged into it. The movement generally avoided violence, but how far it approached revolution is a difficult question which cannot be answered here.

During the 1950s and 1960s the Sarvodaya movement held together and kept out of conventional politics, remaining as Ostergaard says 'non-statist' rather than 'anti-statist' and maintaining an ambiguous relationship with the Congress regime. But during the 1970s it was drawn into the political arena by the intensifying national crisis, and Narayan moved from advocating 'partyless democracy' to proclaiming 'total revolution', becoming the most respected opponent of Indira Gandhi and the first detainee in the Emergency.

Ostergaard describes in detail the complex developments from Bhoodan to Gramdan to the politicisation of Sarvodaya, from the resistance to Indira Gandhi to the Emergency of 1975-77, from the victory of the Janata party to the return of Indira Gandhi in 1980. (He stops in 1983, before her assassination and the further national crisis.) He discusses the work of Bhave and Narayan, the situation following their deaths (in 1982 and 1979), the many individuals and groups in the movement, and its recent position. The more Gandhian aspects of Sarvodaya, represented by Bhave, may be less interesting to Westerners than the more libertarian aspects, represented by Narayan. His ideas of partyless democracy and total revolution, and his forms of Citizens for Democracy (1972/1974) and People's Committees (1977), have significance far beyond India. The problem remains how far social revolution can dispense with politics and political revolution can dispense with power.

Neither Bhave nor Narayan, nor Sarvodaya in general, can properly be considered either anarchist or pacifist, but the history of the movement has many important implications for both anarchism and pacifism, which Ostergaard draws clearly and carefully, and *Nonviolent Revolution in India* is a valuable addition to the historiography of the two world movements for freedom and peace.

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Individual copies available for £10 post free in advance from Dr G N Ostergaard, POLSIS, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, B15 2TT.

More letters

Don't dodge problems

ONE element of anarchist theory which all anarchists would agree upon is the desirability of the abolition of the state. However, it is my opinion that many anarchists underestimate the practical consequences of the abolition of government.

It is not merely a question of liberty and freedom or the lack of them. If we are to gain popular support for this aim, and if we are to be successful in carrying it out, we will have to ensure that all socially useful and necessary services currently carried out by the state or its agencies are returned to the community to meet the real needs of the community. This is no small task.

Colin Ward in his book *Anarchy in Action* illustrated numerous libertarian alternatives to functions and services carried out by the state. These exist now, and are practical, but, they are usually of a small scale compared to those provided by the state. To deny this problem is not to remove it.

To look at just one area of local government — namely social services — leaving aside the issue of whether social work is merely 'soft' policing, there are many support services whose purpose is to enable people to live with dignity in their own locality. The local authority for which I work has some 1,600 residential care places. This includes old peoples homes, group homes and hostels for the physically and mentally handicapped, the recovered mentally ill and children's homes. In addition it provides such services as nurseries, family centres, social centres, home helps, adult training workshops and sheltered workshops for mentally and physically handicapped people.

Freedom, if it means anything, has to include decent living conditions for all. This includes those who for reason of age, infirmity, physical or mental handicap, cannot live unsupported within the community.

One area of social services which is fraught with controversy is the area of childcare. Anarchists oppose the use of law to solve social problems, but we have to reconcile this in practical terms with the rights of children to a safe, secure life. There are children at risk from child abuse. How, in a libertarian society, are we going to protect their interests? Violent behaviour and family problems are not going to disappear overnight.

To provide a similar level of support and care to that currently provided, even if in a less than satisfactory way, by the state will require a huge reassertion of mutual aid, concern and active caring.

What happens if this does not occur to the necessary degree? I believe that there remains the need for some form of democratised community client and worker controlled social service.

Even the achievement of this aim would require a very different set of priorities from that which currently govern social services departments.

However, if anarchists are serious about the abolition of the state, these problems have to be faced.

Jonathan Simcock
Bedford

More about Freedom

IF EVER Anarchism, i.e. that ideal state of affairs where no authoritarian and hierarchical leaders exist because they are not necessary, is to be put into practice universally, the first thing which its proponents must do is broaden its appeal as a theory of organisation — beyond that narrow band of people which it seems only capable of attracting at the moment, i.e. anti-everything punks and middle-class drop-outs! One of the ways in which I think this might be done is by papers such as yours encouraging the writing and publication of suitable articles which would interest a wider audience because not only do they show Anarchism to be a valid and justifiable criticism of the status quo but also a more appropriate way of organising all of our lives. Such articles, therefore, whatever form they might take, should try to explain in more detail exactly what's wrong with all the various aspects of modern-day living and lifestyles AND put forward viable and more desirable libertarian alternatives. Then, perhaps, Anarchism, its principles more clearly understood by the 'public at large', will begin to win the kind of support that it will undoubtedly need if ever it is to replace completely the repressive and unhealthy regimes of imposed order under which the majority of us are now forced to live, i.e. the support of people from all walks of life and different levels of present-day society, be they at the moment those who govern or those who are governed.

To be more precise, the kind of articles which I would like to see in *Freedom* — in addition to historical items and contemporary comment — would be those that contain descriptive and imaginative accounts of Anarchism in action today. For example, I would like to read first-hand reports (warts and all!) by people who have tried to break the mould in their every-day lives by organising their

affairs either at work or where they live according to sound anarchist principles, such as in a collective or an enclosed community. I would like to read essays by people who have tried to envisage what it would be like to have anarchist principles operating within their own particular field of activity, wherever that may be below, on and above the ground, e.g. on the farm, in the factory, at the office, in the shop, at the school, in the station, at the hospital, in the 'media' etc and/or in their home, their neighbourhood, the surrounding country-side and beyond. And, of course, in every case (real or imaginary), I would want to know the reasons for introducing such changes. But more than this, I would like to read modern-day anarchist stories (fiction and non-fiction), plays (drama and comedy) and poetry (rhyming and otherwise). I would like to know where I can hear anarchist songs and music (old and new) and view and touch anarchist works of art. In short, I would like to see the positive and constructive, not just the negative and destructive, side of Anarchism given more prominence in your columns (and anywhere else for that matter) where it can draw the interest and gain the approval of 'the public eye'.

I would like to see all this happen because I feel that a situation is facing Anarchists similar in many ways to that which existed only a few centuries ago when the majority view was that the earth, and not the sun, was at the centre of the universe and everything else revolved around it. To change this incorrect view of the world (physically) a huge shift in perception was required by almost everyone who was alive at that time. In my opinion, a shift in perception of equal magnitude is now required in order to shake the majority out of their mistaken view of the world (socially) that the only way to organise our lives is through enforced control. One of the main tasks, therefore, of papers such as *Freedom* must be to convince people from 'conventional society' that it is the principles of libertarianism, not the commands of authoritarianism, which should be at the centre of all human affairs, that it is voluntary association and mutual aid, not popular slavery and ruthless competition, which is the natural order of the world, and that it is through Anarchism, not imposed rule, that real freedom will be achieved for all people everywhere. This it can do by providing not just an outlet for timely reminders of the movement's glorious past and damning critiques of the present but also a platform for radical suggestions and creative ideas which, when accepted for good reason and put into practice universally, will bring into existence a better world.

Colin Millen