

continued from page 15

The advance of 'radical' over 'liberal' critiques of science may be summarised as a move from consideration of effects to causes. The liberal approach is based on use/abuse, we should monitor problems. What are pesticides doing to wildlife? Let's make sure that nuclear technology is clean. The radical analysis aims to reach the core. How does the ideology provide that gloss and underpinning?

These essays attempt such analysis. Overall, they provide many insights. Reaching them does need some perseverance. The accessibility of these articles varies, which approaches a recommendation of the book. Radical Science philosophy has progressed since then. It has now achieved incomprehensibility to mortals. An early triumph of this approach is 'Science as Alienated Consciousness' by Alfred Sohn-Rethel, complete with a careful critique by the collective. I suffered alienated consciousness in the foothills. Other contributions try the patience of anyone with short tolerance for Marxian.

It is often said that the way to avoid losing readers in abstractions is to begin with the concrete and to build from there. Charlie Clutterbuck on hazards in the plastics industry does his best to apply a 'radical' approach to this truism. It is tempting to fall back on cheap punning on his name in order to describe the mass of concrete detail he provides. The essay on biology research is a better example of the approach. However, to give some irony, it is better appreciated by its over-

laps with one on, of all things, the ideology of mathematics.

One final quibble. The editorial choice of the order of presentation is off-putting i.e. determined by the original issues of the journal. This would be fair enough if it was presented as a straight reprint. As a book, freestanding in its own right, I wouldn't have David Dickson on 'Technology and the Construction of Social Reality' and Jack Stauder on the colonialist origins of anthropology as openers. (As someone who helped plot the *Freedom* centenary issue largely on the basis of which pairs of line counts made neat two-page spreads, I don't want to hear any clichés about glasshouses.)

The remaining essays are on Managerial Science (or how to convince the proles we are all rowing together), the politics of abortion, as filtered through doctors' preconceptions, the ideological basis of 'IQ', Einstein on why he was a socialist, to link with the cover. Much of the book is valuable (possibly even Sohn-Rethel, although I am still not sure for what). If only 'radical science philosophy' had stayed like this, needing only a deep breath, instead of converting itself into another field for 'experts', needing breathing apparatus.

(The remainder of *Radical Science* is available as a continuing series from Free Association Books. Don't be put off by the name of the publisher, it has no more connection with similar sounding associations than we have.)

DP

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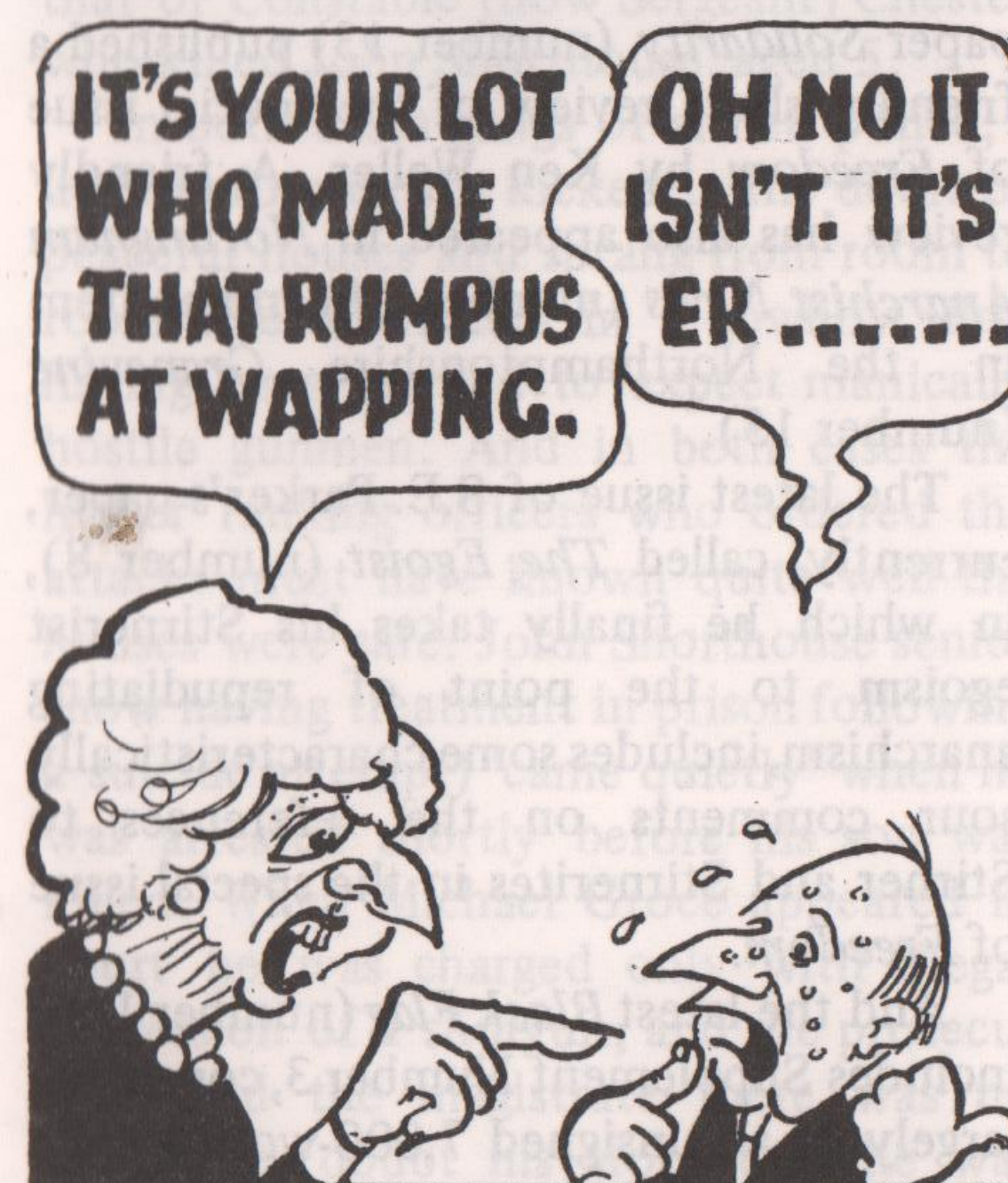
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# FREEDOM

50p

ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

Vol 48 No 2 February 1987



WHILE we were pleased to learn that anarchists were at Wapping on Saturday 24th January, modesty forbids us from claiming all we were credited with by police, press and parliament. The mass picket held at Rupert Murdoch's News International plant was on the first anniversary of the dispute over the sacking of 5,500 employees, members of Sogat '82 and the National Graphical Association, and exceptionally large numbers were present — about two pickets for every man sacked. As television viewing voters saw, there was also a massive police presence. One half of one per cent of those present were arrested, and over a year the dispute has involved 1.2 million police man hours at a cost of £5.3 million. Police made allegations of missiles thrown, unions claimed police provocation with mounted police launching an unprovoked attack on demonstrators.

And why were the police there? To uphold 'law and order' — that is government legislation. Since Mrs Thatcher has said that she believes the majority of trade unionists agree to her legislation, that 'they themselves didn't like the power of the trades unions over individual members, they don't like the closed shop', it becomes necessary to deny that militants are ordinary trade unionists, to drum up scenes of 'violence' and then blame it on 'extremists'.

After Monday's verbal aggro in Parliament the press had a field day on Tuesday 27th. The Conservative *Daily Mail*, which gave its front page to a report that Mr Terry Waite was 'in the hands of fanatics'

# ANARCHISTS AND FANATICS

in Beirut, on its second page headed its report: 'Fanatics behind the Battle of Wapping', and reported: 'the frenzy of violence which tore through the streets of Wapping was whipped up by revolutionary fanatics intent on discrediting the police . . . Tory and Labour leaders united in their bitter condemnation of Saturday's ugly scenes and made it plain they believed small groups of extremists were behind the trouble . . . Foreigners who joined the march included a group of Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot left-wingers.' Not a word about the causes of the dispute and the fact that most of those present were British trade unionists.

We read that police defended the use of horses as an alternative to employing tactics such as plastic bullets or CS gas. Deputy Commander Wyn Jones said: 'At present there is no need to consider the use of gas or baton rounds because the violence can be controlled by mounted officers. We would use no more force than is necessary.'

So there we have it. At the moment it is sufficient to use mounted police, but if necessary baton rounds, plastic bullets and gas will be employed, and if the television-watching voters think this is not quite British the necessity can be blamed on those dreaded anarchists and foreigners.

Mr Douglas Hurd, Home Secretary, intends to use powers under the new Public Order Act to control further demonstrations at Wapping: from April 1st there will be clearer grounds for arrest and a new hierarchy of offences.

Riot (ten years maximum penalty), violent affray (five years), affray (three years) and provoking fear or violence (six months). Much of the powers are already contained in common law but from April they will become much more specific. In other words, the police can already do what they like but soon we can expect easier convictions and harsher penalties.

Mr Hurd urged the opposition to denounce the London Labour Councils who oppose the police 'because there is undoubtedly a connection with these activities', to which the *Daily Mail* comments: 'the same anarchic hatreds cross-fertilize both'. But anarchists want to abolish the police, whereas the Labour Councils want political control over the police, so why the attempt to link the Left with anarchists? In Parliament the Tories, for all their humbug about 'violence', found it a convenient stick for attacking Kinnock and the Labour Party (so that Mr Kinnock had to join with 'politicians of all parties, and Mr Norman Willis, general secretary of the TUC, in condemning the violence'). Kinnock left Gerald Kaufman, Shadow Home Secretary, to deplore the 'violence' but blame the Tories — but did he pledge his party to dismantle anti-union legislation? Not he.

Mr Kinnock is trying to win a general election. He leads a party which was founded in 1900 to put working class representatives into parliament to bring about socialism, and which relies on a

continued on page 2

INSIDE: ANDERTON SPAIN TU ELECTIONS UNREST IN JERUSALEM ELECTION YEAR? REVIEWS CARTOONS



# FREEDOM

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Where is it??

## The Raven

SORRY our theoretical magazine *The Raven* is having some technical problems taking off. We are assured the bird will be flying soon.

Thanks to the majority of subscribers whose renewals were due in January, for renewing so promptly. Please note that anyone who does not renew by the end of February will not be sent the March edition (unless we come to some other arrangement).

### ANARCHISTS AND FANATICS continued from front page

solid working class vote. But 'violence' in industrial disputes favours the Conservative Party. Yet he can't condemn the militants since these are the very people on whom his party relies for grassroots support, so he joins with the Tories in condemning 'extremists' and equivocates on industrial legislation.

The Home Secretary said that the police were there at Wapping 'upholding the freedom of those who work there' — the Tories have always claimed to support the liberty of the individual.

I am reminded of the man at the political meeting who asked, 'These people you call "blacklegs", who want to work — if there were no police how could they exercise their rights?' And the old shop steward who replied, 'If there were no police, there'd be no bloody blacklegs.'

And without the police, there'd be no bosses, and no politicians, Right or Left, there'd be workers' control, and no violence because there'd be no need for violence — in other words we would have anarchy.

CC

## As others saw us

THE special Centenary issue of *Freedom*, which appeared at the end of October 1986, aroused a certain amount of comment in the press during the following months.

On 17 October *New Society* published an article by Colin Ward discussing the long survival of *Freedom* and the Freedom Press alongside the recent collapse of the (Marxist) Pluto Press. On 3 November, the *Guardian* published rather mangled versions of three items from the centenary number of *Freedom* on the Agenda page; this brought several hundred inquiries, which seems a lot until one remembers that the *Guardian* has a circulation of half a million.

In November *The Freethinker* published an anonymous article on the centenary and the special issue, stressing the connections with the freethought movement. On 5 December the *New Statesman* published a short illustrated review of the special issue by Martyn Everett. On 12 December *Peace News* published two articles, by Dennis Gould and Rich Cross, the former stressing the connections with the peace movement. On 19 December *Tribune* published an article by Nicolas Walter on the centenary, stressing the connection with the socialist movement.

On 27 December — during the lost weekend between Christmas and New Year — the *Daily Telegraph* published a long article by Martyn Harris which was

friendly but ignorant, and aligned to the prejudices of its Conservative readers. The Winter issue of the libertarian socialist paper *Solidarity* (number 13) published a friendly short review of the special issue of *Freedom* by Ken Weller. A friendly review has also appeared in *Nottingham Anarchist News* (number 11) and an item in the Northamptonshire *Grapevine* (number 15).

The latest issue of S.E. Parker's paper, currently called *The Egoist* (number 8), in which he finally takes his Stirnerist egoism to the point of repudiating anarchism, includes some characteristically sour comments on the references to Stirner and Stirnerites in the special issue of *Freedom*.

And the latest *Black Flag* (number 166) includes Supplement Number 3, consisting largely of an unsigned 7,000-word article by Albert Meltzer called 'Liars and Liberals', which reached an even more malicious and mendacious standard than usual and which may be read according to choice either as a powerful satire on anarchist propaganda or as a rather alarming symptom of abnormal psychology. We can't imagine what outsiders might make of it, but we insist that virtually every single factual statement about *Freedom* and the Freedom Press is completely false. The only bit we agree with is the advice to 'call in at 84b Whitechapel High Street and find out for yourself.'

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## Enemy in our midst

AS WE predicted, Inspector Lovelock was acquitted of maliciously wounding Cherry Groce, his case closely resembling that of Constable (now Sergeant) Chester who killed John Shorthouse, aged 5.

In both cases gangs of armed police, a little before dawn, kicked in the doors of peaceful houses and sprang from room to room like characters in a cowboy film, having been warned to expect manically hostile gunmen. And in both cases the higher ranking officers who ordered the attacks must have known quite well the houses were safe. John Shorthouse senior (now having treatment in prison following a suicide attempt) 'came quietly' when he was arrested shortly before his son was killed. When Michael Groce appeared in court he was charged only with illegal possession of a shotgun, and the prosecution told the magistrate there was no reason to doubt his story that he was keeping it for someone else. If we assume for the sake of argument that police intelligence is hopeless, and the top brass really thought the houses were full of armed desperados, why did they not surround the house and shout ultimata through loud hailers, instead of behaving as if there was a war on?

It emerges from the Broadwater Farm murder trial that something resembling a war was going on when Constable Keith Blakelock was killed. The news media at the time of his death, presumably working from police briefings, gave the impression that he was standing quietly near a working fire engine, waiting to deal with any sightseers, when someone stabbed him to death in cold blood. Now it turns out that he was one of a police detail of two hundred, in full riot gear, who came into conflict with about the same number of citizens and ran for cover, neither

group taking much interest in the nearby house fire. Blakelock was caught and killed in the heat of battle.

This is of course no excuse. We do not share the *Boys Own Paper* attitude, that killing in cold blood is villainous but it is alright to kill in hot blood for a good cause. However, when Constable Chester and Inspector Lovelock acted with murderous violence in the heat of battle they were found not guilty, because the jury could understand the emotional state of people whose bloodstreams are full of adrenalin.

We do not know how many pre-dawn armed attacks were made on peaceful houses in the autumn of 1985, only that two out of whatever number went tragically wrong. A hint as to the reason for them may appear in an article by James Anderton, the flamboyant Chief Constable of Manchester, in November 1985 in the *Police Review*:

'I see in our midst an enemy more dangerous, insidious and ruthless than any faced since the Second World War... a long term political strategy to destroy the proven structures of the police... In recent times there has been a most determined and sustained assault, hardly disguised, upon the independence and status of Chief Constables in particular, and the integrity of the service as a whole.'

Perhaps the unnecessary armed raids were live training exercises getting ready for the proper armed conflict between police and citizenry. On a Radio 4 'Any Questions' programme in 1979, Anderton predicted that the main task of the police in the 1980s would not be against crime, but against subversion, against those who sought to overthrow

democracy. By the end of 1985, evidently, he identified subversion against democracy with the efforts of the Manchester Police Authority and others to get the police back under democratic control.

He once hinted (in an interview with John Mortimer for the *Sunday Times Magazine*) that he might be a reincarnation of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell protected the Commonwealth by overthrowing the institutions of the Commonwealth and setting up a military dictatorship. Anderton is anxious to defend democracy, and apparently intends to defend it by overthrowing the institutions of democracy and setting up a police state.

Recently, with his remarks about AIDS being the vengeance of God, on homosexuals and drug addicts 'swimming in a cesspool of their own making', and his assertion that God commanded him to make those remarks, Anderton has appeared something of a buffoon. But we should not laugh so much we forget to be frightened of him. Flamboyant as he is, he has been elected chairman of the Association of Chief Police Officers, by his more discreet but equally power-hungry colleagues.

A gay pub in London, which had a magistrate's licence to stay open until 1am, was forced to close at midnight by a large band of police officers wearing surgical rubber gloves, and nine of those present were arrested for drunkenness. I think of being drunk in a pub as an offence similar to passing water in a public urinal. Perhaps gays will not even be allowed to do that, now that God, speaking through Anderton, has damned them again. Plod

Acknowledgement: the quotes from Anderton are borrowed from Martin Walker's *With Extreme Prejudice: an investigation into police vigilantism in Manchester*, Canary Press £3.50.





# Capitalist Spain knuckles under

IN A year in which the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) tightened its grip on mental power, and the right-wing opposition crumbled to dust, shares on Spain's Stock Exchange hit a peak, more than doubling in value. One stock market pundit now rates Spain as 'the most successful of all the world's stock exchanges'.

Nationally unemployment remains at one in five of the active work force, and at 30% in some depressed areas of the rural south. Yet no real radical alternative to state 'socialism' has developed on the left of Spanish politics. The reported successes of the communist unions of the CCOO in the union elections are thought to be confined to the declining heavy industries, and investment managers shrug off their strength. In any event only about one Spanish worker in eight bothers to belong to a union.

The Spanish economy is dominated by the big banks, and even the Communist Party fights its election campaigns with the backing of bank loans.

Crime and corruption still loom over Spanish society. The socialist government had no qualms about playing sugar daddy to the socialist trade union the UGT, and paying it a little over £21 million just before the union elections in October last year. This was not a sly backhander in the English style, but a jackpot discharged with all the publicity of a one-armed bandit. The excuse for this hard-faced pay-off is that the money forms part of the *patrimonio historico* - funds taken by the Franco government from the anarchist and socialist unions after the Civil War, which is to be returned.

The anarcho-syndicalist CNT was also awarded a refund - about £1 million - but this is frozen until the Courts decide which of the two rival CNTs has the rightful title. This will keep the anarchists occupied in litigation for years to come, and is seen by some as a smart trick by the socialists.

## Contaminated elections

The union elections, recently completed, have been marked not only by the convenient government pay-offs to their supporters, but also by a series of electoral scandals. These *elecciones sindicales* decide the political and trade-union complexion of factory committees throughout Spain for the next four years. Past elections have been dominated by the socialist UGT (49.8% of the vote in 1982) and the communist CCOO (37%). This time the CNT (Renovado) is competing, and *El Pais* has said they represent

the biggest danger to the CCOO in terms of lost votes. An opinion poll conducted for *Cambio 16* just before the start of the elections (6 October) put the CNT in third place.

The CNT-AIT actively campaigned for a boycott of the elections, and the policy difference between the two CNTs clearly reduced the effectiveness of the anarcho-syndicalists. Now the elections are over it may be possible to assess the usefulness of the rival tactics and decide on a joint policy for the future.

For the 1986 elections however, the CNT was a sideshow, and the grand spectacle has been the unashamed dirty contest between the two main parties. The socialist and communist union bosses have published vile personal attacks on each other in the media. A UGT activist in Gijon was arrested by the communists accused of electioneering fraud, and the socialists in Malaga retaliated by charging the CCOO with theft of ballot boxes.

The leftist press in Britain tends to play up the spirit of the Spanish working class as being somehow superior to that of the British. This is a myth that can only be sustained at a distance. Only 13.8% of Spanish workers belong to a the CCOO found that only 6.9% think open conflict with the bosses is a useful industrial tactic. The vast majority favour negotiation with the boss as the way to resolve problems. Only 5% want a system of economic equality. More than half think that workers' interests can be defended without union membership.

This docility probably has much to do with the 20% unemployment and one of the longest dole queues in Europe. 51.1% of workers said they had lost confidence in the unions because of the unions' failure to deal with unemployment.

Yet paradoxically, well over half the workers in another sample (*Diario 16*, 29 September) saw bosses as exploiters and enemies of the unions, and 60% saw the economic system as unjust.

In the 1930s the Hungarian anarchist Partos was told by some CNT militants that the Spanish people would never surrender to dictatorship as the Russian people had; Spanish virility would carry them through against all adversity. Well, if the dictatorship did not succeed in making the Spanish workers docile, then state socialism with its web of industrial laws and bureaucratic procedures seems to have done the trick, at least for the time being. Knuckling under has become the Spanish disease.

## Boycott or not

Ought anarchists to boycott union elections?

In England we participate in elections to become shop stewards and serve on shop steward committees, and I can see no moral reason for the CNT refusal to participate in the *elecciones sindicales*. The Direct Action Movement in the UK has been given a dispensation by the IWA (AIT) to play a role in factory committees. Consequently, it is hypocritical of the CNT-AIT to state in their leaflet *Abstencion - Elecciones Sindicales* that such activity is 'politically contrary to the essence of anarcho-syndicalism'.

However, although the moral grounds for a boycott are doubtful, it may have been wise tactically, to stay out of what has become a shabby farce. No doubt many will now abstain from what is widely seen as a discredited contest, increasingly resembling a dog fight, between the UGT and the CCOO.

The CNT (Renovados) has chosen the alternative of contesting the elections, and fought a dignified campaign with responsible policies:

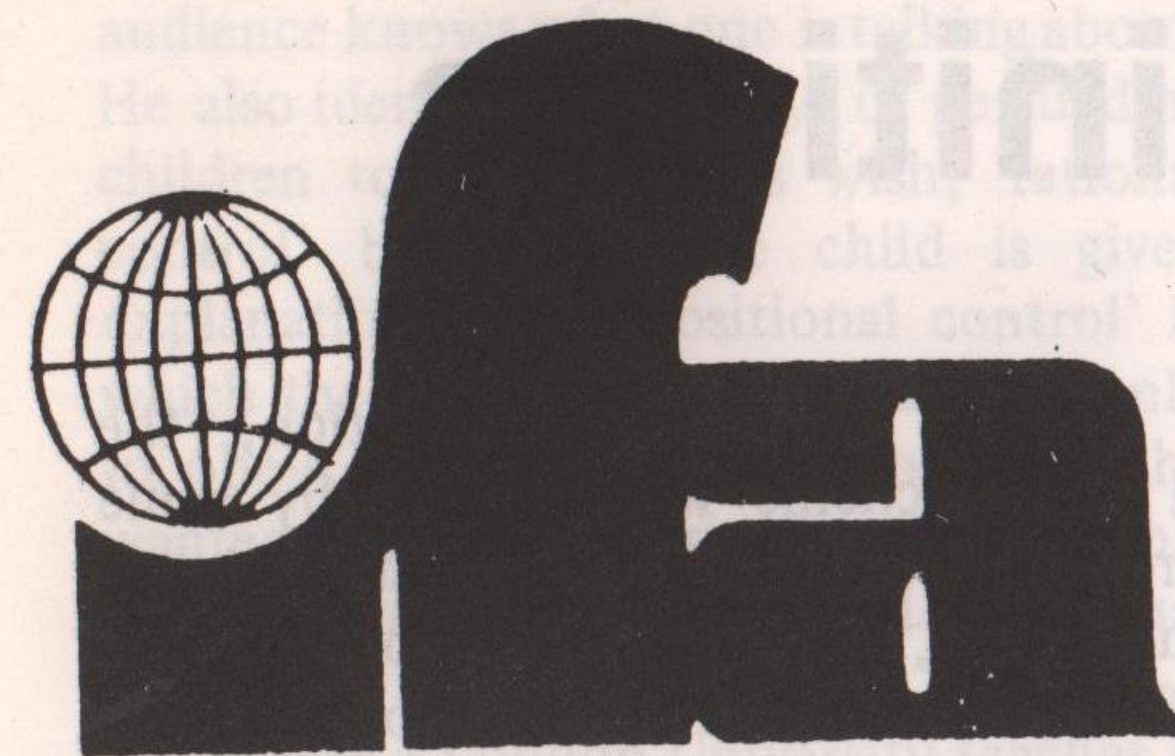
- i. to develop the struggle against unemployment,
- ii. to reduce the working day,
- iii. to reduce pay differentials,
- iv. to promote workers' control of new technologies.

In the Election Special of *Solidaridad Obrera*, the CNT (Renovado) states its aim as 'Without the assistance of political tutors the CNT seeks to defend trade union autonomy against laws to centralise the unions, through direct democracy and the federalist concept of society'.

Both the abstentionist and electioneering approaches seem valid in anarcho-syndicalist terms. There seems little ground for moral dogmatism. But if the Spanish working class is to be offered any real alternative in future, either the CNTs, or some other libertarian organisation, will have to get its act together.

Brian Bamford  
Cadiz

A survey published by the Catholic Church in Spain shows that, contrary to popular belief, less than half of Spaniards are Catholics. Less than 20% attend Mass regularly. 39% said that they are believers but did not practice religion. 5% are atheists. 7% would be willing to die for their faith.



THE fourth congress of IFA, the International of Anarchist Federations, was held in Paris on the first three days of November 1986. Participants and observers attended from Western Europe, Canada, Mexico, Bolivia, Chile and Japan (but not, as far as we know, from Britain; this report is compiled at secondhand from European papers).

At the individual level, as a gathering of comrades from different places, the congress seems to have gone very well. As a delegate conference, it appears to have been less successful. IFA currently has several affiliated federations. Three of them - FLA of Argentina, AFID of Denmark and ANORG of Norway - did not send delegates this time. The four represented were the Italian FAI, the Spanish FAI, the Bulgarian UAB (in exile) and the French FAF.

By far the largest of these is the FAF, with 80 affiliated groups, a weekly newspaper and a radio station. CRIFA, the contact committee of IFA, has Italian officers but uses Paris address of FAF. The Bulgarian Federation is largely located in France. The Spanish FAI, closely associated with the CNT during the Spanish Revolution, was not re-legalised like the CNT after the death of Franco, and is forced to use French accommodation addresses.

One of the conference themes announced was 'Labour struggles, unionism, AIT/IWA'. Delegates from the Spanish and Bulgarian federations proposed that national affiliates to IFA should each support the corresponding section of the International Workers Association, the syndicalist international. French and Italian delegates proposed to keep contact with the IWA sections and try to influence them in an anarchist direction. The question was adjourned to the fifth IFA congress, which it is hoped will take place in two years time.

On the subject of 'The IFA position dealing with the great issues of today: wars of national liberation, colonisations, etc, etc,' a resolution was passed that each affiliate federation should decide its own attitude. And on the topic of 'Prospects of social change and anarchist struggle' there was no agreed resolution, but a communique in which each national delegation made a short statement.

It is somewhat paradoxical for anarchists to allow others to speak and make decisions for them. The preferred anarchist organisation appears to be the group (or collective, or federation of individuals) at whose meetings individuals speak and participate in decisions on their own behalf. Groups are known to be effective internationally through direct contact. The splendid anarchist congress in Venice in September 1984, for instance, at which hundreds of comrades from all over the world were accommodated and fed and held meetings, demonstrations and parties, was organised by three independent groups, in Milan, Geneva and Montreal, working together for that one event.

Federations, within whose meetings delegates speak and make decisions on behalf of groups, tend to be either less anarchist or less effective than groups. In the less anarchist form they become like political parties, the delegates acting independently but claiming to have mandates from the members. In the less effective form the delegates feel unable to change the views they have been delegated to express, and discussion gets no further than showing them the extent of pre-existing agreement.

IFA compounds the problems of a federation, because it is a federation of federations. It was formed in 1968, during the French uprisings, and its first congress in Carrara (1968) was dominated by excited young people who found discussion not to their taste and alienated some other delegates. The second congress in Paris (1971) was much influenced by French anarcho-Marxists (a self-contradictory doctrine attempting to regularise the easy-going use of both Marxist and anarchist slogans by the insurrectionaries of 1968). The third congress, in Carrara (1978), was the first to pass resolutions, and gave a considerable boost to international anarchism. Perhaps the fifth congress will again be successful.

Although international anarchist meetings are fairly frequent, most are organised as one-off events. Attempts to found a permanent international organisation, as in 1907, 1949 and 1958, have mostly collapsed after a couple of years. It says much for the enthusiasm of IFA's organisers that it has kept going for so long.

M McM

A Home Office report suggests that courts should be allowed to remand defendants in custody for up to four weeks. This would save £3 million a year in 'unproductive' hearings.

## IN BRIEF

A verdict of unlawful killing recorded by a coroner about the death of John Mikkelsen has been quashed and a new inquest ordered. Mikkelsen, a Hell's Angel, died after a struggle with police and being left, injured, on a police station floor without treatment.

Amazing statistics, an occasional series:

1 Most people in Britain believe in God but only 11% attend church regularly (Marplan). Amongst 1,500 'nominal' Christians, 79% said they were believers, with 4% 'don't knows'. 43% blame such decline on television.

2 Ambulances in Bavaria are four times more likely to have accidents whilst using flashing lights and sirens. It is suggested that they drive faster.

A committee in Sudan has delayed releasing its findings. It is rumoured to have found cases of fraud in the central bank so big that out of court settlements shall have to be negotiated to avoid undermining the economy. A figure of \$400 million is suggested.

Blood and human remains have been leaking into an ornamental lake in the centre of Canberra, Australia, for thirty years. The drains from the city morgue had been wrongly connected to a storm water system.

A Spanish prosecutor is demanding a six month prison sentence for a woman who was careless enough to get raped before abortion was legalised.

A woman who kicks policemen has been released from prison in order to undergo hypnotherapy. Gail Robinson wanders around York late at night. If stopped by the police she kicks them in the shins. Her lawyer says that, 'There's obviously some deep-seated reason'.

Another March Against Police Repression took place in Hackney on 25 January. A reader tells us that police along the route told shopkeepers it was a National Front march.

Detective Constable Rex Sargent, who cost the force £3500 in 1980 when he was successfully sued for ill-treating a young black man in a police station, but redeemed his honour by helping to get confessions out of the Broadwater Farm defendants, is not to appear in court any more as he is mentally ill.



# Working Class : four definitions

**Oxford English Dictionary:** The grade or grades of society employed for wages to do manual or industrial work.

**Basil Bernstein:** The class of people who take no apprenticeship or other course of training or education after compulsory school leaving age.

**All-embracing:** The class of all those who will permit the term working class to be applied to themselves.

**Ideological:** Not any category of people, but a collection of political ideas, or an (imagined) army dedicated to putting political ideas into effect.

'WORKING Class' sounds like an occupational category, the class of those who work, who may be either oppressed or free. But according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term 'working class' or 'working classes' has been used since the early nineteenth century to mean the 'grade or grades of society'... not an occupational category but a social rank, oppressed by definition. There are the upper classes, the middle classes, and the working and destitute classes who together make up the lower orders.

Eddie Shaw, the great Glasgow anarchist orator, defined 'work' as the occupation by which the working class is identified, 'something you don't like doing, but you have to do it to live'. Himself a sheet metal worker by trade, he did not see the practice of his craft as work, except when he would rather be doing something else. He emancipated himself from work (as he defined it) and from the working class (*OED* definition) by becoming a self-employed panel beater, supplying a service to garages.

*Freedom* has always numbered working class people (*OED* definition) among its readers, writers, and (often) editors. A questionnaire sent to *Freedom* subscribers in 1960 included questions about work, and of those who actually responded,

Researchers in China claim to have developed a breathalysing device which automatically turns on a vehicles' rear view lights after detecting alcohol on the drivers' breath. This sounds ingenious, but, presumably, many such offences occur after dark anyway.

The Zimbabwe government last year sacked 173 teachers from state schools, most for having love affairs with their pupils. Most of the other cases were for stealing school funds.

some 20% (96 out of 470) stated occupations which are unequivocally working class. To judge from the answers on education, many of those in middle class occupations like journalist and teacher came from working class families and had taken the opportunity of social mobility through education.

There is a 'moral explanation' of social rank, which was dropped in this country about the Second World War, but is still used by the privileged in some other countries. Working class people, it is said, are poor and oppressed by reason of being feckless, indolent, and dishonest. (Norman Tebbit's 'on yer bike' speech may appear to revive this explanation in the case of the unemployed.) Prudence, energy, and general saintliness were never very evident among the rich, but the Victorians could point to some notable examples of people who had started in the working class and risen in rank by their personal qualities, such as the statesman Benjamin Franklin (an American statesman but he served his craft apprenticeship in England), the paternalist model employer Titus Salt, and the scientist Michael Faraday. Even the Scottish-American scoundrel Andrew Carnegie was said to have made his millions by honest hard work. Such examples were used to 'prove' that people could better their status if they tried; the need for opportunity, as well as personal quality, was overlooked.

In the Empire, of course, there was an additional barrier to advancement, which was that the working class had darker skins than the upper and middle classes. Some thought this difference was not only in the colonies. The gentleman who was made responsible for soldiers' welfare in World War One was taken to a French brewery, where the disused vats had been filled with warm water and hundreds of soldiers were bathing; bemused, he remarked that he 'had not known the lower orders to have such pale skins'.

More recently the moral explanation of rank was replaced by a genetic explanation. Working class people, it was believed, not in all cases but on average, were intellectually inferior to middle class people by reason of their hereditary constitutions. Many contributed to the idea, but today it is remembered as largely the work of Professor Sir Cyril Burt, who could assess a person's IQ in a short conversation, using 'experience'. As it later turned out, he had an intuition the people with expensive suits and posh voices were more intelligent than people with flat caps and regional accents, and supported his intuition by means of invented data.

Largely at Burt's suggestion, the '11-plus' scheme was adopted by some progressive local education authorities in the 1930s, and over the whole country after the war. Children of those wealthy enough to pay school fees were assumed to be clever enough to benefit from education. Children at state schools were divided by examination at the age of eleven, into a minority of clever ones and a majority of thickies who were sent to 'Secondary Modern Schools' where they were taught to be useful. Of course, not all children in the state primary schools were poor. Richer pupils, if they were found to be clever by examination, would move up with the clever poor to the state grammar school. If, on the other hand, they were found to be thick, they could transfer to a fee-paying school and be clever that way.

The theory behind the 11-plus contradicted everyone's anecdotal experience. Every teacher could see a wide range of ability in the school they knew personally, whether it was Eton or Bash Street. But Burt's con was so successful, most thinking people assumed the schools they knew were statistical exceptions to the general rule. A writer in *Freedom*, arguing for social equality, pointed out the fact of the middle classes being more intelligent did not mean their needs were greater than those of the working class. A lecture to the London Anarchist Group complained that the 11-plus system was depressing the working class by robbing it of its intelligent members. I thought at the time the speaker had a cheek, because I had passed the 11-plus exam, whereas he had run away in his youth from a boarding school where the fees per pupil were more than my father's wages.

Few people now believe in 'intelligence genes', except for wealthy thickies consoling themselves with their class superiority for their individual stupidity.

The *OED* definition of the working class is still the only one in many contemporary dictionaries, but several other meanings have come into use since the *OED* was published. One of these is a prescriptive definition by the social psychologist Basil Bernstein. A prescriptive definition is where a writer says 'When I use the term working class (or whatever) in this work I shall mean so-and-so'; it is distinct from a dictionary definition, where people use a term undefined and the dictionary writer has to analyse what they intend by it.

Bernstein identified two modes of speech, 'elaborated code' where one mentions what one is talking about, and 'restricted code' where one assumes the

audience knows what one is talking about. He also identified two ways of persuading children to do as adults wish, 'rational control' by which the child is given explanations, and 'positional control' in which the child is simply required simply to obey. For reasons I do not know, he wanted to say working class people only use restricted code and positional control.

He was a London University teacher in the 1960s. Some of his students would have been children of working class parents (*OED* definition) and would have advised him that working class people are quite articulate. Rather than abandon his thesis, however, he sought to make it true by redefining the working class. It must have appeared that all his pupils of working class origin had parents who had served apprenticeships, so he defined the working class as those who have never undergone apprenticeships or other training or education after compulsory school leaving age. (Of course I am guessing what went on in Bernstein's mind and my apologies if I have got it wrong.)

Even with the new definition, Bernstein's thesis is contradicted by experience. But the definition itself should be included in modern dictionaries as an alternative to the *OED* definition, because it corresponds to what many people mean when they speak of the working class without defining it. Furthermore, it identifies an important social class, roughly corresponding to Marx's 'Lumpenproletariat', the people who for whatever reason do not have the benefit

of education and training.

These days the need for 'manual and industrial' workers is shrinking and the need for educated people growing in the advanced economies. It is possible through education to get out of the working class (*OED* definition) but the working class (Bernstein's definition) are stuck, barring some unlikely event like a big pools win. Ill-paid, in stressful jobs and most liable to unemployment, they are the most oppressed of the able-bodied in our society, and so numerous that a social revolution is unthinkable without them.

We know many of our readers are working class (*OED* definition) but we doubt if many regularly take the *Sun*, which is the main daily paper of the working class (Bernstein's definition). The *Sun*'s only policy is to maximise sales, but in passing it promotes patriotism, royalism, xenophobia, and the lie that anarchism is mere destructiveness.

A person who detested school because of its longwindedness (it is not the only reason for detesting school but it is one), is unlikely to be diverted from the *Sun* by a long-winded article like this for instance. I do not suggest changing *Freedom*'s aim; our target audience is also important. But we should commend our contemporary *Class War* for trying, at least, to present anarchism to the *Sun* type of reader.

The all-embracing, fuzzy-at-the-edges definition of the working class is quite recent. George Orwell in the 1930s expressed his sympathy and respect for the working class by wearing a cloth cap and hobnail boots for his job as a BBC

researcher, but he would not have classified himself as working class because of his particular job. These days, a person of his sympathies would not hesitate to call himself working class; if challenged, he could call on some definition of the working class such as those who lived by selling their labour, and say that it is how he lives. I think the fashion was started by people like me, children of working class families who managed to become teachers, advertising designers, one-person businesses and other kinds of people traditionally regarded as middle class, but wanted to identify with their roots. Sympathetic people of middle class origin, in the same kinds of occupation, then had the option of calling themselves working class if they wanted to. A harmless affectation, so long as we all know what is happening.

Finally, there is a usage of the term 'working class' which does not refer to any category of people at all, but to a category of ideas or the pursuit of those ideas. An actual example of this usage, from a little pamphlet called *Capitalism and its Revolutionary Destruction*, a statement by Wildcat, goes as follows: 'At all times - before, during, and for as long as is necessary after the revolution - the working class must be prepared to use whatever violence necessary to drive its struggle forward and seal its victory. To those who deplore the need for bloodshed, we reply: there is no alternative.'

This means roughly that the ideological army must fight until the anonymous author's aspirations have been achieved.

DR







Graffiti on the walls of a building at Mount Scopus, University of Jerusalem, put there on 14 November 1986. Student jokes like 'Hang the architects of Mount Scopus', trite slogans like 'Palestine' in Arabic, but just the act of painting slogans is unusual enough to be worth a photograph in The Jerusalem Post.

## This is not Belfast

### Report from Jerusalem

FOLLOWING the afternoon of Saturday 15 November when a young man was brutally stabbed to death in a quiet street, there were riots in the city every evening for a week. It began with groups of hooligans hurling stones and rocks at passing cars on Sunday evening, and by next morning there had elsewhere been attacks using petrol bombs, molotov cocktails and acid. Several families, victims of arson or sheer intimidation, had been terrorised from their homes. Next evening a live round was fired at riot police, and more Army and militia units were moved in, provoking further stoning. Tear-gas was fired and there were several arrests. A meeting was held at the original trouble spot next morning to try to calm the situation. The Mayor appealed for calm between the two communities. Blazing tyres and barricades went up that evening and trouble spread to a third neighbourhood with an isolated arson attack. On Wednesday another demonstration was held. The following night, a member of parliament was coshed with a nail-studded stick. People were again injured as rocks hit their cars, but an enormous police and army presence prevented serious trouble. Next day the Prime Minister appealed for calm. 'This isn't Belfast' he said.

Indeed, this is not Belfast. It's nothing at all like Belfast, and the weather is much better. This is Jerusalem of Gold, the Holy City, whose very name — the

Canaanitish 'Ur u-Shalem' — means 'City of Peace'.

The rioting was not actually inter-community, since the Arabs failed to retaliate to the arson, stonings and attacks; were they to do so they would be defenseless against reprisals from the (virtually all-Jewish) police and Army.

What caused the rioting was the stabbing of a Jewish lad going to the Yeshiva (religious seminary) where he studied, by three young Arabs. Arguably none of four should have been there at all. The Shuvu Banim Yeshiva is provocatively sited in the Moslem quarter of Jerusalem's crowded Old City, in what was Jewish property before Jordanian occupation in 1948 thus justifying its position there (although claims to former property by Arabs displaced from the Jewish quarter carry no weight.) The Yeshiva students have been tolerated by their Arab neighbours despite occasional bouts of despicable behaviour, and this was not a motive for the murder. The three attackers were not even from Jerusalem, but from Jenin in the West Bank, and their purpose in the Old City was simply to kill a Jew in revenge for a jail sentence one had recently completed for membership of the illegal PFLP. They used traditional knives; this was not a bomb or bullet attack such as Jerusalemites have come to expect. However, it follows two recent stabbings in Gaza which led to small anti-Arab disturbances. The stabbed

student, Eliahu Amedi, died; his assailants were arrested soon after.

Despite a heavy Army and Border Police presence in the Moslem Quarter, Jewish attacks on Arabs and their property continued. The influence of extreme rightists of Rabbi Meir Kahane's 'Kakh' movement became clear. Families were burned out or fled temporarily; some refused to leave, on principle. On Tuesday 18th, the area's residents held a General Strike to protest at the lack of police protection.

By Sunday 23rd the violence had spread to Sanhedria and the Shmuel HaNavi neighbourhood, where Amedi's family lives. The area is a byword in Jerusalem for social problems, deprivation and trouble. For years funds and social workers have been thrown at it in hope of improvement, with little success. The problem is more deep-rooted than that.

When the State of Israel was established in 1948, the dominant group within Palestinian Jewry based itself on Zionist principles, derived from European ideas of nationalism, socialism and secular liberalism. The majority of 1950s immigrants, however, were not Westernised, European Jews of the Ashkenazic religious tradition but North African and Oriental Jews of the Sephardic tradition. Their background was a traditional, religious way of life; their outlook Middle-Eastern; in language, dress and appearance they were indistinguishable from Arabs. In the desperate economic and military situation of the time, the new State had no desire for individuality, piety or cultural pluralism, and aimed to mould these people — by 1960 55% of the Jewish population — into secular, modern Israelis. Acculturation has occurred, but only partly. The politico-economic power structure remains firmly in the hands of Ashkenazim. The Sephardim form the so-called 'Second Israel'. Socially, economically and politically inferior to the Ashkenazim and refusing to compete for unskilled, low-paid work with Israeli and West Bank Arabs (considering this to be 'Arab labour' and infra dig), they have it bad both ways. A classic Marxist approach would advocate unity with the Arab 'masses' against common exploitation, but this won't happen. A huge march, through Arab areas to a memorial service on 23 November shouted 'Death to the Arabs!' and demanded their expulsion from Jerusalem. Troops trying to protect Arabs were attacked with bottles.

For Oriental Jews (many of them now obtaining middle-class jobs and housing) what matters is maintaining their status and superiority over the Arabs. Thus feelings of religious and national solidarity count most, especially when one's neighbour has been stabbed to death by Arab terrorists. The Police, themselves

largely Shephardi, have been handling the situation with kid gloves but are increasingly worried, particularly about hidden arms caches in Jewish parts of the Old City.

What is at stake for Israeli Jews is not merely their status but the survival of the State and their own physical survival should it be crushed. Religion, nation and State are intricately interwoven here. The Jewish community is an armed laager with a siege mentality reinforced by the rigidity of thinking and unquestioning obedience to orders instilled into every Jew by three years' compulsory military service. There is a notable lack of interest in citizens' rights here; complete submission to authority is widely accepted in the interests of 'national security'. There are, however, small but significant groups fighting this tendency, such as the Citizens' Rights Movement, Peace Now, MAPAM and others, who argue that there are ways of preserving Israel other than the present American-backed military supremacy, such as a more flexible approach involving dialogue with the State's enemies. The riots overshadowed what would otherwise have been the news of the week — a meeting in Rumania between Israeli 'doves' and PLO leaders. Their departure was a fiasco, the truncated meeting a partial failure, and the point being made (against a new law forbidding meetings with 'terrorist organisations') speedily forgotten.

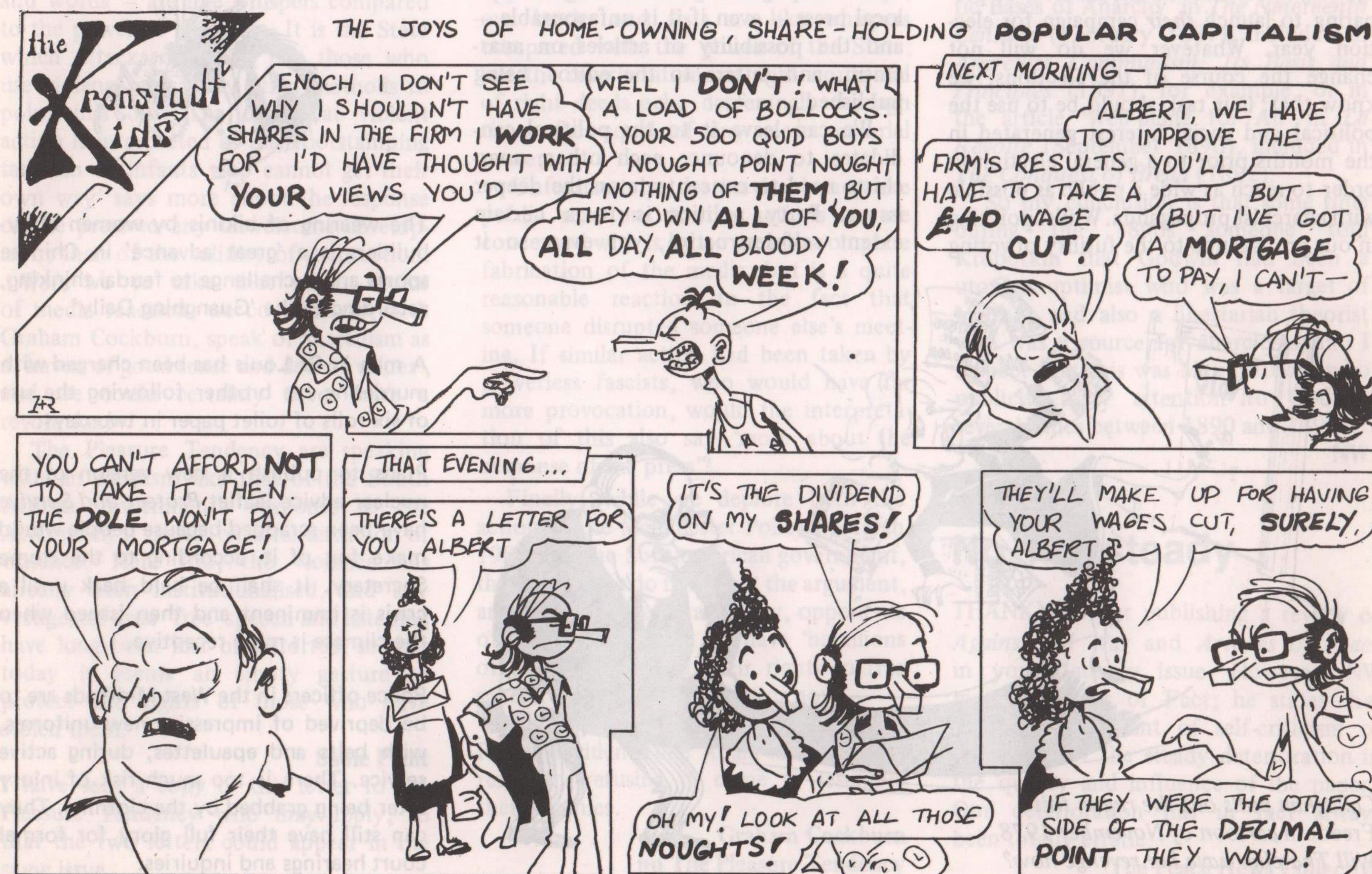
Another newsworthy item swallowed

up was the Vanunu affair. The day before the Amedi stabbing, a small group of Anarchists at Hebrew University spray-painted pro-Vanunu graffiti on the Humanities Block walls (adding the praiseworthy suggestion to 'hang the architects of Mount Scopus'). The Vanunu affair is seen here as a massive embarrassment for the Security Forces and Shin Bet (secret service). The major interest of the long trial in camera is whether the Treason laws can be stretched far enough to permit hanging, rather than life (and it will be) imprisonment in a 'shoebox' in a maximum-security jail. Perhaps the only hope now for Vanunu — a pacifist Christian with a social conscience, who has been horribly exploited by his supposed friends in London — is for someone to take a prominent Israeli hostage and demand his release in exchange. The question of how Vanunu came to arrive in Israel (and why if done legally the authorities won't tell the British or Italian Government) seems to have been dropped; what's important now is the damage done to the all-important 'security'.

One wag suggested the crate used to smuggle Vanunu in could now be used to export Akram Haniye, editor of the Arabic newspaper *Al-Sha'ab* (*The People*), currently in jail contesting his deportation without trial for his political views. The newspaper, subject to Israeli military censorship, frequently cannot publish its editorials and often does not appear at all.

Israel's democracy is severely threatened by the security situation, and the belief of many of her citizens in liberal values is clearly shaky. The process of dialogue and conciliation to reach peaceful compromises or solutions appears to be receding in the face of street violence, censorship of the Arab press, militarism, and now a law forbidding private meetings between Israelis and PLO members. In these circumstances, one wonders how long freedom of speech or even a semblance of democracy can survive, when so few Israelis are prepared to put individual rights and freedoms before the great God of 'national security'. **Katy Andrews**

The Market Research Society has issued identity cards to 'more than half' of the 25,000 researchers who work for research companies and academic institutions. The aim is to dispel public anxiety about being mugged on their own doorstep or being sold double glazing under the impression that they were helping to thrust back the frontiers of knowledge. The effect is undermined by the, presumably almost half, uncertified questioners, apparently including MORI polls. We are also reminded of our old friend Miguel Garcia who was always mystified by liberal concern about compulsory identity cards. He always thought, reinforced by his own skills as a forger of fascist party cards in Spain, that they gave great opportunities for establishing credibility.





# Election this year?

SOME time this year there will probably be a general election in this country. That the government has been giving signs of expecting one does not mean there will be one; the Labour government in 1978 gave every sign of an imminent election, inducing the Tories to spend a million pounds on an advertising campaign and even more money elsewhere, then announced the election would not take place that year. On the other hand, the publication of Peter Wright's memoirs may reveal embarrassing facts calculated to have an adverse effect on Tory votes, so there may be some urgency to get the election over quickly.

In any case the actual date is a matter to be decided by the Prime Minister, and one can only assume that she will choose the moment when the popularity polls show the government and the Tory Party are on the up-grade. Recent bye-elections have indicated that the government is losing rather than gaining ground, but opinion polls show a Tory lead, and if this were to continue for a week or two one could expect an early election; on the other hand it could equally be argued that the government, with its huge parliamentary majority, will remain in office for the full term of five years — that is until mid 1988 — in the hope that a vote-catching budget will do something to increase Tory support in the country.

Whether earlier or later doesn't really matter, for anarchists should now be preparing to launch *their* campaign for election year. Whatever we do will not change the course of the elections; we know that. Our task should be to use the political and social interest generated in the months prior to a general election in order to reach as wide a public as possible with anarchist propaganda. Whilst pointing in our propaganda to the futility of voting

we must not forget that what is more important is to convince people of the validity of the case for anarchism. Only convinced anarchists can see the futility of voting and be expected to act in accordance with their convictions. Those who do not vote because they are politically and socially apathetic, are not anarchists and much less likely to listen to us than are active supporters of the political parties.

Obviously every anarchist will do what she/he thinks best, and is able to do, but it seems to us that where possible the anarchist's propaganda efforts during this election year should be in concert and co-ordinated. Our limited 'manpower' and means could probably be best used in the big cities if we concentrated our campaign on one working-class district rather than token efforts here and everywhere. The kind of propaganda that will extend our field of influence must go deeper than mere slogans, telling though they may be.

One of the advantages of selecting a district, say in London, is that a small team of propagandists can make their presence noticed continually during the election campaign by leafleting, by attending meetings both to distribute literature and to 'quiz' the candidates, as well as holding their own meetings to explain 'Why anarchists don't vote'. A concentrated local campaign will more than likely get a good coverage in the local press — even if it is unfavourable — and the possibility of articles on anarchism, and letters to the editor, being published.

We can leave it to the political candidates to denounce each other; anarchists need to concentrate on the deeper issues. Party politics is to a certain extent self-destructive, yet even so it

never destroys the 'image' of a governing elite; the need for the capitalist system; the inevitability of class distinctions and economic inequality ... in a word all the trappings of the authoritarian society which must eventually be destroyed if society is to move in a libertarian direction. So long as the overwhelming majority of the people believe in, or accept as inevitable, the regulation of human affairs from above, anarchism can make no real headway, nor make a positive contribution in the direction of a libertarian society. Everything we do now, whether by the written or the spoken word, by public demonstrations or by acts of civil disobedience serves as *propaganda for an idea*. Action will only be possible when our propaganda, our ideas, have reached and convinced a large number of people in all walks of life of the need to struggle for their freedom.

Those of us for whom anarchism is more than 'a beautiful ideal' must be willing and prepared to make propaganda, in all its forms, an integral part of our daily lives. Ideas do not make their own way, and anarchism is no exception to the rule. Everyone calling himself an anarchist must play his or her part if our propaganda is to develop. And Election Year is a propitious time to prove to ourselves what can be done if we all put our minds and energies to the task on hand.

CDDF



The wearing of bikinis by women body-builders is a 'great advance' in Chinese sports and a challenge to feudal thinking, according to the 'Guangning Daily'.

A man in St Louis has been charged with murdering his brother following the use of six rolls of toilet paper in two days.

Plans to publish a new version of the nuclear advice leaflet *Protect and Survive* have been scrapped because people would make fun of it, according to the Home Secretary. It shall be held back until a crisis is imminent and then issued when the climate is more receptive.

Police officers in the West Midlands are to be deprived of impressive new uniforms, with belts and epaulettes, during active service. There is too much risk of injury after being grabbed by the clothing. They can still have their full glory for formal court hearings and inquiries.



## Free Speech

GRAHAM Cockburn, on behalf of the Pleasure Tendency, writes to uphold free speech (*Freedom*, Nov/Dec). His sentiments were formulated by Voltaire: 'I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it'. A banner bearing these words hung over Leon Brittan's head when he visited Manchester University in March 1985. His invitation upheld the right of free speech over the Union's no platform policy. The events of that night have led many to question whether they really are willing to die for a Home Secretary's right to free speech. A demonstration against his visit was attacked without warning or provocation by TAG police. Dozens were arrested and badly injured, and subsequent police activity has grown more intimidatory and violent. A graduate has fled the country as a direct result.

I accept that this case differs from those of Bristol and Leeds to which the letter refers. But the Manchester incident sheds some light on the validity of talk about free speech in each case. Opponents of the establishment do not have battalions of police to defend their rights to free speech; their bricks and fists — and words — are like whispers compared to the power of the State. It is the State which attacks freedom, not those who use violence and many other methods to point this out. The fact that violent action is interpreted as the 'footstamping tantrum of infants who cannot get their own way' says more about the response of the press to any unwelcome development than of the validity of such action.

Were we to take that much notice of media reaction, we could never, with Graham Cockburn, speak of anarchism as a 'haven of good sense and decent values', and we could certainly never have a revolution!

The Pleasure Tendency are speaking with an idealism like that of the South African government's response to the ANC when it insists on a renunciation of violence. Here too, the violence has already been institutionalised, and any vestiges of true 'free' speech and listening have long been lost or distorted, so that today it seems an empty gesture to protect the rights of those who have stolen them.

Sadie Plant

I have sent a copy of this letter to the Pleasure Tendency who may reply, so that the two letters could appear in the same issue.

IN HER reply to our letter, Sadie Plant advances the usual defence for the disruption of opponent's meetings, that of the powerless not having to respect the rights of the powerful. Unfortunately, being powerless does not relieve those in opposition of the obligation to observe those principles for which they are fighting. How many more times need it be said that someone forfeits the right to say that they are in favour of something when they casually act as if they were against it? This government, for instance, cannot be in favour of freedom because the methods it uses militate against freedom, no matter what it says it is doing. The means someone uses are useful in evaluating whether they are sincere about their ends. You simply cannot break a rule for the sake of that rule and still expect people to believe you are upholding it.

This is true regardless of the position you hold with respect to power. Indeed, those in opposition are if anything obliged to hold to their principles, since they have to excel where their enemies fall down, and people will take their behaviour now as an indication of what they will be like when no longer in opposition. Indeed, as Sadie Plant says, our bricks and fists are like whispers compared with the power of the State; but the reverberations of right words and of right deeds echo deafeningly through time, the equal of any mere material power.

Unfortunately, the inevitable negative public reactions to the actions we are concerned with is by no means a complete fabrication of the media, but is a quite reasonable reaction to the fact that someone disrupted someone else's meeting. If similar action had been taken by powerless fascists, who would have far more provocation, would the interpretation of this also say 'more about the response of the press'?

Finally, while we deplore both the action of the Manchester Police in March 1985 and the South African government, these examples do not affect the argument, and for the sake of accuracy, opponents of the establishment do have 'battalions of police to defend their rights to free speech' whether they like it or not.

We can look for our inspiration to Polish dissidents like Adam Michnik who resist by refusing to come to resemble their enemies.

Graham Cockburn  
pp The Pleasure Tendency

## Correction

A YEAR ago I argued in an article on William Godwin (March 1986) that he wasn't known to Peter Kropotkin until a relatively late stage. One of my points was that Kropotkin didn't mention Godwin until 1901. It has been pointed out to me that he did in fact mention Godwin a couple of years earlier, in the section on 'The Possibilities of Agriculture' in his book *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899).

This correction of my careless mistake alters my detailed point, but actually supports my general argument. In this passage Kropotkin, attacking what Thomas Malthus said about the inevitable pressure of increasing population on resources, mentions in passing that Malthus was writing 'in reply to Godwin'. But he doesn't mention what Godwin said about population, or indeed about anything else. Any reader of Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798, 1803) will know that it contains many references to what Godwin said about population, and also about many other things. Yet the original version of Kropotkin's passage, which appeared in an article also called 'The Possibilities of Agriculture' in the American magazine *The Forum* in August 1890, contains no reference to Godwin at all. Nor are there any in Kropotkin's other attacks on Malthus at that time — in the article 'The Scientific Bases of Anarchy' in *The Nineteenth Century* (February 1887), included in *Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles* (1891), for example, or in the article 'Well-being for All' in *La Revolte* (September 1890), included in *The Conquest of Bread* (1892).

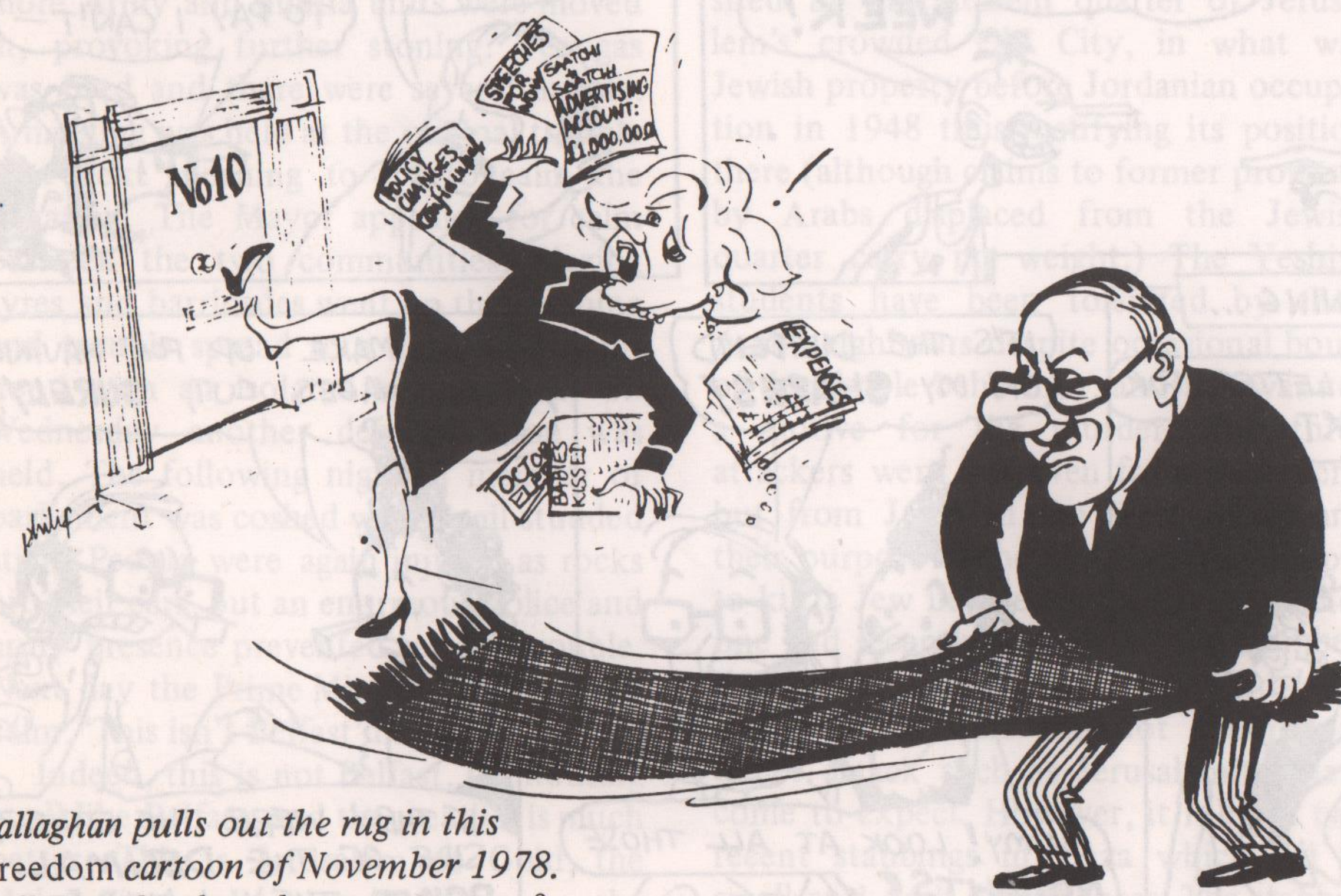
So my conclusion is that some time during the 1890s someone told Kropotkin that Godwin had been a utopian optimist who was a target of Malthus and also a libertarian theorist who was a source for anarchists; and I suspect that this was Max Nettlau, who publicly drew attention to Godwin several times between 1890 and 1897.

NW

## No, not steady

THANKYOU for publishing a review of *Against All War and Articles of Peace* in your January issue. However, NW made an error of Fact; he states that 'there is little hint of self-criticism or realisation of the steady deterioration in the quality and influence of the paper'. Our deterioration has in fact always been totally erratic.

The Peace News Collective



Callaghan pulls out the rug in this Freedom cartoon of November 1978. Will Thatcher have her revenge now?



## Poetry now

I WAS delighted to have a poem included in *Freedom's* centenary issue, but 'Patrick' (*Freedom* letters, January '87) should understand that I had a hard battle to get it in. I was delighted, too, that the lyrics of a Crass song were also published, but I still felt that the vibrant underground of anarchist song and poetry was under-represented.

*Freedom* editors always argue that if they printed one poem they'd be inundated with poetry and so they've made an inviolate rule that there will be no poetry. In the Nov/Dec 1986 issue an editorial comment defending the exclusion of poetry argues 'We have neither the time nor the talent to judge the literary merit of contributions...'

In the January issue *Freedom's* 'Literary Editor' answers 'Patrick's' letter with a critique of the Arts Council and the bardic tradition, dismisses Shelley, bluntly asserts that 'English poetry has lost its prophetic function' and reiterates 'why we do not publish poetry'. Finally, he or she signs off with the slogan 'An anarchist society is one in which there is no State, not one with no standards'.

This letter is neither a demand or a plea for poetry to be included in *Freedom* but I do feel that there is some kind of contradiction in editorial attitude which warrants an answer.

1 If *Freedom* was inundated with poetry it would simply show that many or most anarchist writers prefer to write poetry than prose. If this is so why shouldn't *Freedom* reflect that fact?

2 This extraordinary claim that *Freedom* editors have no time or talent to judge poetry. They have time and talent to judge prose, criticism, reportage, book reviews, historical surveys, cartoons, art work and reminiscence, so what's so special about bringing the same judgement to poetry?

3 I didn't know *Freedom* had a Literary Editor until the January issue, yet what kind of literary editor is it who has neither the time nor talent to judge literary merit yet at the same time appears to link the exclusion of poetry from *Freedom* with the maintenance of anarchist 'standards'. And as for the British Government being 'the biggest (and most liberal) patron English poetry has ever had', surely what we are discussing is *British anarchist poetry* — a different thing altogether. How many anarchist poets are copping handouts from the Arts Council, I wonder? However, what anarchist poets and songwriters have *not* done is to desert the prophetic function of poetry as the recently published *Voices of Dissent*, edited by Farquhar McLay (Clydeside Press, £1.95) will immediately demonstrate. Listen to Christine Cherry, for example: 'Will we

dare have the courage of our convictions / to run for our lives in the right direction / now the carnival is over, they've spoiled all their chances / someone's got to teach new dances / and it's our turn now, it's our turn now / it's our turn NOW.'

4 The local poetry mags, fanzines and broadsheets are full of prophetic and anarchic voices, as are the songs on independent records and tapes. Bands like Chumbawamba have been inspired into existence by Crass and they too publish their words and poems on paper as well as on record and tape. Here in St Albans, local anarchist band Medical Melodies are doing the same thing and individual women and men are performing their poems and songs wherever and whenever they get the chance. What they have in common is that they exist *outside* the world of litcrit, posh academic magazines and commercial record companies. Could it be that their words are excluded from *Freedom* simply because of a collective editorial dislike of poetry?

Jeff Cloves

## Ageing gracefully

TONY Gibson, in a witty article, points out that retirement is compulsory at a certain age and that the proportion of the population over this age is increasing, and increasingly healthy.

But it's one thing to have to retire from an enjoyable career job, quite another if one has spent one's life working only for the material rewards, which the majority in our world are fated to do, and having to strive for a decent standard of living and a decent pension. To many such, retirement comes as a relief, and a new lease of life is gained from time to pursue one's leisure interests (important to most working class people). In the old days it was work till you drop, or the work-house.

I was a carpenter, and proud of my craft, but at fifty was glad to take lighter work with job security as an office messenger (but always a union man), and when we were bringing up a family my wife worked part-time driving a fork-lift truck in a biscuit factory, where she had some laughs but is glad not to work today. We always shared the housework and said in sensible families everyone mucks in, so I don't understand what some women complain about today.

As for me, I don't want a sexual relationship with a girl in her twenties, a few wrinkles are what I like, and a relationship is best with a partner of one's own generation with shared interests and background. But I agree we shouldn't be prejudiced.

I think Tony Gibson enjoys stirring things up in your columns, and I would

like to hear from other septuagenarian comrades on some of these matters.

Bill Phillips  
London

## Please cancel

Tyneside libertarian Books received 5 copies of *Freedom* vol. 48 no. 1 Jan '87 as part of the usual order of your magazine. We found the Article entitled 'The day I became a nigger' extremely offensive in several respects, particularly its Unbelievable racism (not least the title). We were going to write down a list of specific phrases, sentences etc. that we found especially offensive, only to realise such a list would be far longer than 500 words.

We hereby cancel our order and would only consider ordering *Freedom* again if we were satisfied that your editorial policy had changed so that it would be impossible for such articles to be printed. Yours

TLB

*This letter is set exactly as written, We interpreted the article as meaning that victims of ageism have similar experiences to victims of racism. Is it possible our correspondent got no further than the title?*

## Why anarchists should support Thatcher

PRIVATISATION is glorious for two reasons. Firstly it hugely increases the number of people who fail to have their needs met, and thus come to recognise government as their enemy. Secondly, it provides opportunity for alternatives in agriculture, communication, energy, medicine and lifestyle. The problem is that Mrs T has not carried things far enough. Imagine the privatisation of the DHSS, the military, the fuzz and the courts. Of course this would only increase the power of the multinational at the expense of national government; but why shouldn't we set nationalists at the throats of capitalists and thus divide the Right wing.

And let us encourage her to spend all her money on nukes, so that she has none left for Falklands-type episodes, or the troops in Northern Ireland, or law and pigs in this country. The more nukes, the sooner a guerrilla group will get hold of material for their own bombs.

Think about her other policies, and how they further the anarchist cause. Of course I am not suggesting you vote for her; anarchists do not vote. But think what a few black flag carrying canvassers would do for her image. She deserves our very visible support.

John Myhill

## Tolstoy is coming

IN YOUR recent article on Crass, one line mentioned Penny Rimbaud's intention of publishing 'some of the more obscure works by Tolstoy'. In fact, the book in question is aimed to be a companion volume to the *Freedom* Press's *Anarchist Writings of William Godwin*, Titled *From a Russian with love — Tolstoy on anarchism and pacifism*, the compilation will bring together all of the most important of Tolstoy's anarchist writings from the period 1900-1910, covering such topics as anarchist territories, the State and militarism, the industrialisation of Russia, the 1905 revolution, Tolstoy's efforts in libertarian education and a critique of the various anarchist thinkers of the 19th century. Many of these essays have remained unpublished since Tolstoy's death in 1910, and, as such, should be of interest to anarchists, pacifists and academics alike. *From a Russian with love* should be published by the Existencil Press this spring.

David Stephens

(Editor, *From a Russian with love*)

## Not untainted

WHILE recently in Spain I was shown a copy of a letter sent by Jose Velasco, general secretary of the CNT-AIT's branch for finance, to the association of bank owners in Spain, the AEB.

In this letter he asks for members of the CNT-AIT who work in banking to be given paid time off by the AEB in the run up to the union elections, so they can carry out a campaign in favour of abstention by the workforce at these elections. As a result four members of the CNT-AIT in Madrid were each given about a month off.

As all other unions (including the CNT-U) were given a similar treatment so they could encourage workers to vote for them, this was in some ways only fair. However, it is the height of hypocrisy for the CNT-AIT to portray itself as untainted by involvement in the union elections (which the CNT-U says it is standing for with the eventual aim of undermining them), then send such a letter.

This is not a major incident, but for those who still see the CNT-AIT as purer than the driven snow and incapable of deception, I hope it will help them develop a more sceptical attitude.

I enclose a copy of the document concerned and will happily forward the various pages of correspondence involved to anyone who sends an SAE and three 13p stamps to me.

Mick Larkin

Spanish Information Network  
37 South Terrace, Esh Winning,  
Co Durham DH7 9PS

## What I meant to say...

I AGREE with just about everything Ros Gill says. If she thinks we disagree, this is because I did not put points clearly enough in my *Freedom* centenary article. I like her quotation from Ruth; I did not use any in my piece and use none here, but I confess to being heavily influenced by Irma Kurtz and Janet Ratcliffe-Richards.

I do not say intuition is either lazy or in conflict with reason. I say it is unreliable, and therefore should be checked where possible, against data and logical deduction. I have met the attitude, reasoning is the masculine way and intuition the feminine way of thinking, therefore women should avoid reasoning and always go by intuition alone. It is this attitude, not intuition itself, which is either lazy or crazy or both.

Okay, girlie magazines are offensive and getting angry is not advocating censorship. My point is, if men are offended by 'romantic' pulp they sneer and laugh, but women offended by girlie magazines often feel anxiety. The models pose as ready to enjoy sex but anxious women perceive them as vulnerable to attack. They lack the self-confidence to sneer and laugh, which is evidence of their oppression and also a partial cause of the oppression continuing. I say women's groups exist to raise self-confidence, not to mobilise anxiety.

'Heterophobic' is a word coined by me on the analogy of 'homophobic', a word used in the States and, I assumed (mistakenly?) in Britain, in lesbian/gay propaganda. 'Homophobic' does not characterise heterosexuals in general, but those heterosexuals with an implacable hatred of homosexuals. I use 'heterophobic' not to characterise lesbians in general, but those lesbians who denounce straight women as traitors for associating with men. Lesbians in general are often militant feminists and mostly an asset in women's groups. Heterophobic lesbians are a pest.

Finally, I regret using the word 'irrational' gratuitously. Please delete it. This will make the one sentence where I use it (twice) both shorter and clearer.

Andrea Kinty

## ...I still have my doubts

IN REPLY to Eddie May's letter (January), I said in my letter (December) that Andrea Kinty (October) didn't sound or write like a woman, not to question anyone's sexuality but someone's identity. What I meant was;

- 1 The name doesn't sound like that of a real woman. Andrea means 'male', and Kinty looks more like a character in *Roots* than a real person;
- 2 The article doesn't read as if it were

written by a woman, but as if it were written by a man on behalf of women.

Hence, perhaps, the criticisms in Ros Gill's letter (January).

I don't dismiss what was said in the article, most of which I agree with, but I do doubt whether it was written by a woman. Not that it really matters, except as an illustration of my original point that hardly any women contributed to the centenary issue of *Freedom*.

Chris Hartwell

Leighton Buzzard

## Unpardonable

IT IS unpardonable for an anarchist journal to print personal insults and insinuations devoting a full page and a half insultingly titled 'Dolgoft Rides Again' by Vernon Richards. This kind of invective so popular in scandal-sheets should not be indulged in by *Freedom* nor by Vernon Richards' infamous, libellous diatribe. I gladly submit what I DID WRITE in my critique of Richards' remarks on the Spanish Civil War and Revolution to the judgement of the readers of my *Fragments: a memoir* and suggest that *Freedom* reprint it. I must emphasise that I am deeply offended and disappointed. This filth does not merit a reply. Publication of my protest will be appreciated.

Como semper por Anarquía

Sam Dolgoff

## Sabotage

HAVE readers ever gazed on with dissatisfaction at the organised, de-individualised demonstrations and marches of the Left (crocodiles of SWP all with the same banners, the same *Socialist Worker* headline on display to passing 'citizens', the same look — and with a clone with a megaphone in front to ensure they all beat in tune) and Right (Union Jack waving FCS idolising *Militant's* 'Leninist Discipline') and wanted to do something about it?

What about this for an idea — instead of trying to steal up to the head of the march, or jeering from the sidelines, why not infiltrate the crowd carrying banners announcing 'War is Peace', 'Slavery is Freedom', 'Ignorance is Strength', etc, which seem to work just as well whether the demonstration is of Left or Right? Imagine the demonstrators horror when they hurry home to watch themselves on the evening news and witness this scene of mocking Orwellian parodying their efforts beamed into every home in the country!

Yours for people's power and personal autonomy.

P.N. Rogers



## BOOK REVIEWS

### China Correspondent

Agnes Smedley

Pandora Press, 1984. £3.95. (originally titled *Battle Hymn of China*, 1943). pp365.

ROSA Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin called themselves, with some justice, the only 'men' — ie, authentic revolutionaries — in the male-dominated German pseudo-revolutionary German Social Democratic party. (Not for nothing did Rosa after August 1914 call 'social democracy' a 'stinking corpse'. In fact, death and galloping putrefaction had already taken over by 1848, as Marx stressed.) In the history of the professed and real revolutionary left, a revealing symptom of its intellectual — political — health is the virtual non-existence of the contribution of a number of outstanding revolutionary women. (In this, as in every other domain, the famous and the known stand for the remaining iceberg-totality of the unnamed, unknown.)

Each person can suggest their own embarrassment of favourites for inclusion in this symbolic First Eleven (whatever arbitrary figure one fancies). While Rosa and Clara, together with Mother Jones, Louise Michel, Angelica Balabanoff, Maria Spiridonovna and Emma Goldman would doubtless feature on many people's lists (together with authentic counter-revolutionaries like Kollontai, Passionaria, Federica Montseny and Jiang Qing), the name of the North American freedom-fighter Agnes Smedley (1892-1950) is almost unknown today.

Smedley, despite the extreme poverty of her childhood (depicted in her excellent novel, *Daughter of Earth*), struggled with outstanding courage and passionate dedication for the Indian and Chinese victims of British United States and Japanese imperialism. Emma in her autobiography describes her first meeting with Smedley, by then an authentic communist fellow-traveller, during her 1920-1 traumatic return to the 'Soviet Union' (sic): 'She was a striking girl, an earnest and true rebel, who seemed to have no other interest in life except the cause of the oppressed people in India.'

A constant in the lives of revolutionary women is their unfulfilment, their repression, at best sublimation (the many dog of repression with rose-tinted fleas) of Erotic energy into one or other revolutionary cause. Clearly, the roots of the problem of revolutionary repression transcend the problem of sexism. The root contradiction is how to be what one is for in every domain without succumbing to the warping effects of existing non- or counter-revolutionary conditions. Not surprisingly, even remotely unalienated

revolutionaries (any sex) are rare-to-non-existent. Equally obvious is that prevailing sexist norms exacerbate the problem for women. Smedley's life well illustrates this.

It was her anguish-filled relationship with the revolutionary purist Indian nationalist leader Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, first in the United States, then in Berlin in the 1920s, which resulted in Smedley's career as an outstanding observer-participant during the heroic pre-1949 period of the Chinese revolution. *Daughter of Earth* and *China Correspondent* describe this relationship, which drove her to the masochistic edge of madness and suicide. Smedley broke from Viren in 1928, the same year as her appointment as special China correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* a post she held until Hitler and 1933. Viren 'had tried to all subjected Asian people behind the



Chinese revolution'; and though Smedley visited Lenin's and Stalin's Russia on a number of occasions, it was in 'the Middle Ages' of poverty and oppression racked China that she sought sublimated political if not personal fulfilment.

Smedley's work belongs together with that of fellow non-Communist Old China travellers Ed Snow, Nym Wales, Jack Beldon and (after the War) William Hinton in capturing the essential features of the pre-1949 opposing forces of historical and political reaction and revolution. The dedication in Smedley's book, originally published in 1943, under the Japanese occupation, reads: 'To the soldiers of China: poor, glorious pioneers in the world struggle against fascism.' From the outset, Smedley placed her revolutionary passion on the side of the efforts by Mao and his Old Guard to lead the peasant victims of Chiang Kai-shek's 'feudal'

oppression to liberate themselves through radical land reform and armed struggle. The Japanese occupation merely doubled the counter-revolutionary difficulties; the goals remained constant.

Much of Smedley's best reporting is based on her first-hand living and travelling with Mao and his Communists on both fronts. After more than forty years, the writing retains a freshness and immediacy worthy of its subject.

Philip Knightley in his history of war reporting, *The First Casualty*, focuses on the contradictions between truth-telling, revolutionary propaganda and commitment among 'field' journalists. How did Smedley live the contradictions? Appalled at the suffering of wounded Chinese soldiers because of the non-existent ('united front') Army medical system, she writes:

Over this problem of the Chinese wounded I used to torture myself ... Should I write the truth, or should I throw a romantic veil over China's heroism? Sometimes I would say to myself: 'Listen! If you write the facts, the neat little souls of Americans and Englishmen will be so shocked that they will give no money at all for relief; they will just go to another movie in which Love solves everything.' Then I would answer myself, 'Think of the wounded soldiers. Did any government in history ever take one step forward unless under the lash of public criticism? If you soft-soap the Chinese Government, even when it is in difficulty, it will stagnate. Tell the truth, be hounded out of China if necessary. But be loyal to the soldiers who are giving their lives while you give little or nothing.'

In fact, Smedley left China in 1941 to suffer alienated exile, illness and persecution in Truman-McCarthy America before her tragically early death in England in 1950. Wilfred Burchett believed falsely in his memoirs that Smedley committed suicide. It is not far-fetched, however, to suggest that she died of a broken heart, the accumulation of a life spent struggling in revolutionary love of and for the victims of injustice and oppression without ever receiving the same — which she so deeply needed — in return. As her life and work testify, Smedley gave selflessly without end to the cause of revolution. But self-sacrifice is just that. Until revolutionaries, male and female, can, in work and love, creation and re-creation, private and public, overcome the warping pressures in being what one is for, there can be no revolution. Better: the unalienated living of these contradictions would be the human revolution so desperately needed in our inhuman time. Agnes Smedley is a moving symptom of the problem.

Patrick Flanagan



### The Future in the Present

#### No 1: Critical Anarchy

Libertarian Organisation and Structure, Durham. 60p

A YEAR ago we published a communique from Libertarian Organisation and Structure which began; 'LOS was set up with the intention of understanding some of the things which prevent groups with basically anarchist intentions from achieving them', surely an admirable intention. They note that many groups of people, such as miners' support groups, can adopt anarchic ideas, such as mandated delegates, 'although they would never dream of calling themselves anarchists'. Yet authority can develop in subtle ways, and people may act from unconscious motives, and they set out to examine structural problems in groups, why they happened and how they could have been avoided.

They have now produced their first publication, a fat 64-page pamphlet entitled *Critical Anarchy*, which is the first number of a serial publication, *The Future in the Present*. It comprises of five essays, each by a different member of LOS, and each is the responsibility of the individual author and not collectively agreed: 'For example, one member strongly disagrees with the interpretation of the recent history of the CNT given in "non-rational politics".' This seems a healthy sign.

The first chapter, 'Moulding the Break: failure in libertarian organisation', describes a series of historical episodes; Russia 1917, Spain 1936, Hungary 1956, Paris 1968, Czechoslovakia 1968, Portugal 1974, Poland 1980, and notes some of the ways in which authoritarianism and prejudice develop which enables the state to win and prevent a libertarian revolution. The other chapters discuss various aspects of this process.

'Market Place Politics: competition amongst radical groups' analyses 'the way groups derive their political aims and tactics' and deals in outline with infrastructures, cultural factors and short-term conditions, and in detail with one factor — the multiplication and diversifi-

cation of political effort, which has led to 'a stagnation rather than a flowering of political struggle', an analysis which the author disarmingly admits is somewhat abstract.

Move down-to-earth, the third chapter, 'Practical Anarchy: the way forward', signed by Mick Larkin (all the other contributors are anonymous) tries to work out what organising along anarchist lines means, and what we are aiming for as anarchists. There is a lively series of suggestions as to how to deal with anti-social behaviour, or how to resolve disagreements. He has even invented a new word: 'Minarchist' ('a minarchist is someone who, like an anarchist, fights against all forms of authority, but also realises that they can only be minimised, never abolished'). This chapter will, I think, be of special interest to anarchists who work in groups, many of whose members may be far from anarchist.

The fourth chapter is 'Non-rational Politics: emotion in groups'. Groups usually say quite a lot about what they are doing, what they mean and want. Why is it that what they do can seem so different when you observe it close up? Why indeed? After a general consideration case studies are given: the CNT, the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union since the 1970s, and those who left it, the 'CND and other liberal messianic movements', fascists and so on; and there is a consideration of the possibilities for British anarchism. Is there a place for 'a loose federation of class-conscious anarchist groups'?

The final chapter, 'Ritual Anarchy', deals with the relationship between the individual and the group in terms of the concept of Praxis; and develops a theory of the function of ritual, and how the individual can become a passive member of a hierarchy.

I found this pamphlet a challenging one, sometimes difficult to follow, often sociological, in places a little Marxist. I have reviewed it hastily and sketchily, and I hope the contributors will forgive me if I have misinterpreted them, but my purpose in outlining it at length is because it is an honest document which deserves

to be brought to the attention of all anarchists and libertarians who are concerned with the question of organisation, not as providing answers but as providing a platform for open discussion; and because LOS may become a significant new presence on the British libertarian scene; but this will depend on the response it gets, so finally, it should be noted that LOS welcomes criticism, contributions and correspondence from all its readers.

CC

### Radical Science Essays

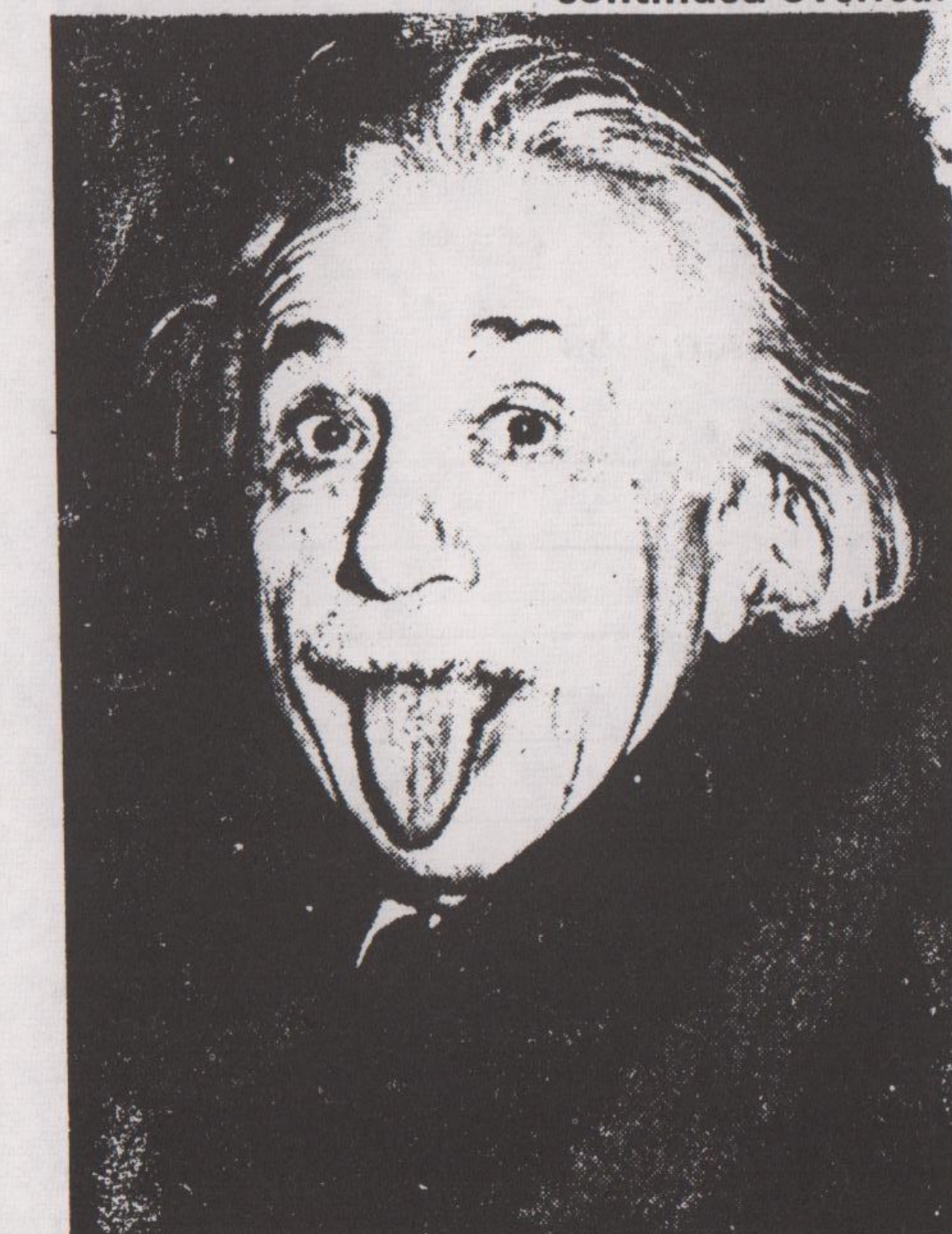
edited by Les Levidov

Free Association Books, 26 Freegrove Road, London N7 9RQ. 230pp, p/b, £6.95.

THE ideology of science has a remarkable dual role. It serves both as the stereotyped coat of paint, covering a multitude of sins, and as a structure, underpinning much of conventional reality. It deserves close attention.

These ten essays are, more or less, the contents of the first four issues of *Radical Science Journal* (1974 onwards). This grew out of dissatisfaction with established science societies. The establishment of British science has long been the British Association. It has learned a bit of circus technique, mainly for its annual conference, but remains stultified. Reaction produced the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science in the early 1970s. This quickly polarised between liberal academics and radical critics. Some of the latter became *Radical Science Journal*. (BSSRS itself split, as the liberals left. It produced the magazine *Science for People* for some years. It is now at BSSRS, 25 Horsell Road, London N5 1XL. Tel; 01-607 9615.)

continued overleaf



On his 72nd birthday, photographers asked Einstein to 'smile for his birthday'.