

Anarchist CONTACTS

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Want to have fun without losing your anarchist ideals? Join the London D.I.Y. alternative to the stereotyped social club scene.
The Group, c/o Tony Baker, 4 Park View, Collins Road, Highbury, London N5 2UB
Tel. 359 5969.

Anarchist Picnic
Sunday 7 June 1987 on Parliament Hill on Hampstead Heath. Ah, and bring kids and kites. n.b. organised by no-one.

In September 1987 the second **International Anarchist Meeting** will be held in the Netherlands. For more information write to:
I.A.B./S.W.P.
Postbus 19230
Utrecht
Netherlands

Jobs!
Cambridge Free Press needs two new workers. We are a small, mixed printing Co-op, working with local and radical community groups. Printing experience preferred, but not necessary.
Further details from:
Cambridge Free Press Workers' Co-operative, Unit 6, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge. Tel. (0223) 316403.

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Rainbow Marches
Faslane Peace Camp is holding a series of marches from the places playing a major part in the Trident programme in Scotland to Faslane where the trident fleet is to be based.
The marches will be leaving from:
April 18th Torness the latest nuclear power station starting up in May.
April 20th Glengarry the site for the E.L.F. transmitter to communicate with the Trident submarines.
April 24th Chapelcross the nuclear power plant that produces the plutonium for nuclear warheads.
April 30th Glasgow from the M.O.D. buildings on Argyle Street.
Scotland plays a major strategic nuclear role in NATO, the Clyde is the most militarised area in Europe, so we hope that people 'south of the border' will come and show their support for the peace movement in Scotland.
For more details contact:
Rainbow Marches, c/o Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire. Tel. (0436) 820901.
Next issue. Sellers wanted.
We intend to have the May *Freedom* ready for sale at the nuclear disarmament rally in Hyde Park on 25 April. Comrades and friends willing to help with sales, please telephone the bookshop. A small discount on sales will cover travelling expenses.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR 1987

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FREEDOM 50p

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GENOCIDE

THE ruthless repression waged by the regimes of Iraq, Turkey, and Iran against the Kurdish people has escalated in recent weeks, and seems to have turned into a genocide campaign, aimed at the actual extermination of the Kurds.

The Kurds have inhabited the Zagros Mountains region since prehistoric times (they are first recorded there in 401BC). After the first world war the proposed treaty made Kurdistan a separate country but the one eventually ratified made no mention of Kurds, and put the borders, of Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, through their territory, making it impossible to continue the annual migrations of their sheep and goats. Since then they have kept up a war of independence in three directions.

On 5 March Turkey, with the consent and co-operation of the Iraqi regime, launched a savage air attack, using 30 planes, against civilian villages 5 km inside Iraqi Kurdistan. During February, the Iraqi air force bombarded Kurdish villages for four days, and also bombed villages in the Iranian part of Kurdistan. Over 2000 are reported dead from these aerial operations.

In January, the Iraqi authorities returned the bodies of some 150 young people (aged 14 to 23) to their families in the city of Sulaimaniya, after payment by the families of 'execution and transportation' fees. Amnesty International published the names of 29 of the dead (AE Report of 25/2/1987) and identified them as among 300 young Kurds arrested over a year ago for the alleged political activities of their relatives. The returned bodies had marks of torture, some had their eyes gouged out, and some were drained of blood.

Our society urges international condemnation of these heinous crimes and support of the struggle of the Kurdish people for self determination. We call for urgent letters of condemnation to the Turkish and Iraqi regimes demanding an immediate halt to the massacre of the Kurds. We ask that our national day, 'Nawroz', the 21 March, declared an annual day of international solidarity with the struggle of the Kurdish people.

Kurdish Students' Society in Europe
BM Box 285, London WC1N 3XX

THE RIOT

What did it achieve?

THE first achievement of the Broadwater Farm riot was expressed by a local councillor, 'the police got a bloody good hiding'. This of course is not a long-term political achievement, but neither is a riot a long-term political campaign. A sudden spontaneous uprising can only have immediate, simple objectives, and at Broadwater Farm the objective was attained — to take revenge on the bullies.

Victory could easily have gone the other way. Low-ranking police officers have complained during the trials that their commanders were indecisive, and made errors. For instance, the man who sent in the 'serial' to which PC Blakelock belonged thought they were a trained 'tactical support group', whereas they were ordinary beat bobbies dressed in riot gear.

The worst bullies among the police may not have been involved; they were probably plainclothes men anyway.

Blakelock, the one who happened to be caught and killed, had no reputation as a notorious bully, and for all we know had objected to the outrageous behaviour of some colleagues in the privacy of the police canteen. But it emerges from the trials that the police in Tottenham have great solidarity, and a collective 'them versus us' antagonism towards the various denizens of the Broadwater Farm estate.

The accidental, long-term achievement of the riot is that judges and legislators have come to recognise that their power is being usurped by the police, who are supposed to be their servants. Already the Metropolitan Commissioner, who at first blamed the riot on 'anarchists and Trotskyists', has sent officers from other London divisions to investigate the methods used in Tottenham to get confessions. Already there has been a discernible diminution of police power in

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The Raven

AT LONG last *The Raven* is about to take off. The editors are determined to produce four issues in 1987 and this means that there will be no definite publishing dates this year, though we can say that No. 2 should be ready sometime in May.

The contributors to Number 1 of *The Raven* include Heiner Becker, Bob James, Denys Pym, Nicolas Walter and Colin Ward, and there are eight pages of illustrations.

London Anarchist Forum

London Anarchist Forum

meets every Friday during college term time at 8pm. Next meeting (after the Easter vacation), 1 May: talk by the Anarchist Communist Federation.

Often there is no formal agenda, but the standard of discussion is always good. The centre is open until 10pm, after which the group often adjourns to a pub.

Mary Ward Centre
42 Queens Square, Holborn WC1

Calling Pascal Bertand

We would like to use the letter you sent in January as part of a longer item. Please write again, this time with your address.

Sorry about the weird spacing in part of this issue. The typesetter is on the blink.

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY



THE first titles in Freedom Press's ambitious Spring list are now ready. They are new editions of two anarchist classics by Kropotkin:

The State: Its Historic Role 64pp £1.75
Anarchism and Anarchist Communism, with notes and introduction by Nicolas Walter. 64pp. £1.75

Inland post free; Abroad 39p single copy; 57p for 2 copies.

More new Freedom Press titles next month!

THE CND London demonstration on April 25 is an excellent opportunity for introducing *Freedom* to new readers. Readers who would like to help in this work please contact Freedom Press as soon as possible. The May issue of *Freedom* will be on sale before the April 25 demo and will contain articles specially relevant to the occasion. Readers in the provinces who will be coming with coach parties could do some good propaganda en route. We can post supplies of *Freedom* at 25p a copy, sale or return, on request. It is essential that we should hear from readers who want to take up these offers not later than April 10th so that we can get an idea of how many extra copies to print.

OUR campaign started last September to get our mailing lists up to date is now completed. It involved major surgery - nearly 300 readers were sent a first exploratory circular asking them to confirm that their subs were much in arrears or to tell us when they last renewed their sub. We got back several brickbats from indignant readers who were fully paid up, but we also got about £1,500 from those who agreed with our records. Many did not even reply in spite of three reminders, including the last which said that if they could not afford to pay the outstanding subs why not send in a sub for 1987 and we would forget about the past.

The lesson we have learnt from this experience is that readers who do not respond to three reminders will be automatically removed from our mailing lists as they are obviously uninterested in our journal. There are still about 100 readers who have not responded. We have never refused to send the paper to any reader who writes to say he/she cannot afford to pay, but if they don't get in touch how are we to know?

Allotments and anarchism

FRED Miller (see his article elsewhere in this issue), is researching allotments in Huddersfield, and keen to hear opinions and accounts of actions anywhere, on the relationship between allotments and anarchism from the point of view of access to land. Please send information to: **Fred Miller, 16 Cecil Avenue, Bradford BD7 3BP.**

Nieuwenhuis Museum reopened

THE anarchist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis was most important in the Dutch labour movement, and a museum of anarchist relics was founded in his memory, in Amsterdam. The museum reopened on 28 March 1987, after a closure of some time. The address is

FDN Foundation, Transvaalplein 20, 1092 hw Amsterdam.

Open during school term time 10.00 to 16.00, and by appointment, telephone 020 - 225496.

Hastings anarchists raided

SIX people were arrested in Hastings on 26 March 1987 by some thirty police, in raids on three houses at 7.30 in the morning. Armed with warrants which specified only material in connection with intent to incitement to commit criminal damage, they took away vast amounts of material including many back numbers of *Poison Pen*, the local anarchist newsletter (recently back on the streets after a year's absence), and other material relating to the activities of other local activists. Also seized were a duplicator and two typewriters, diaries, photographs, two pairs of scissors and a beret.

The police appear to have lost their marbles on this occasion, as they took away a bag of those, too.

No charges have been made yet, but all six were bailed to reappear at Hastings police station on 22 May.

Anarchism: Theory and Practice, Past and Present - fifth series of talks by Nicolas Walter, followed by discussions. Tuesday evenings, 28 April to 2 June 1987, 6-8pm, at Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AJ (tel: 01-831 7711). Fee £8.50 (concessions available), inquiries to Mary Ward Centre.

THE RIOT

continued from front page

Tottenham, not by the passing of new laws to limit their activities, but by the pressure on them to keep their behaviour within the existing legal limits.

Again, things might easily have gone the other way. If the evidence produced by the police in court had not included the facts of blatant illegality, the net result might have been a legal increase in police powers. Evidently, however, the police, and strangely the prosecuting lawyers, assumed that judges and juries would share their opinion, that the murder of a policeman exempted the police from the legal restrictions to which they usually pay lip service. At one point in the murder trial, the judge sent the jury out, the better to give the man in charge of the investigation a piece of his mind. *Why were suspects, particularly juvenile suspects, denied access to a solicitor while they were being interrogated? Was it to make it easier to get a confession?* Oh no, m'lud, that would be illegal. *Was it because a solicitor might advise a suspect of his right of silence?* Not that either. *Why then?* Well m'lud, solicitors might wittingly or unwittingly find themselves passing messages to people outside which could lead to the destruction of evidence or the disappearance of other suspects. Some solicitors are not above conspiracy to pervert the course of justice. *A solicitor, an officer of the high court? Would you care to give an example of such disgraceful behaviour?* Well sir, it's a well-known fact, though I can't think of an example offhand.

Another policeman testified that he had banned a social worker from sitting in on an interview, after the social worker told him he would advise the juvenile suspect

of his right to silence. It was clearly part of Haringey council's campaign against the police, he said.

If one says to a three-year-old, 'you went to the seaside yesterday, didn't you', the child may agree, whether they went to the seaside yesterday or not. Remembering in fragments from my own childhood, I think the child reasons somewhat as follows: 'None of the activities I engaged in yesterday are such as I would hitherto have characterised as going to the seaside, but it appears from this grown-up's attitude that I did go to the seaside, so I must have been to the seaside and perceived it as something else.' If then pressed to say what happened at the seaside, the child will probably invent some details. Young children are too little acquainted with the world to make good witnesses.

There were no very young child witnesses in the Broadwater Farm murder trial, but some of the defendants were pupils at a special school for slow learners. The story which most excited *The Sun*, that the attackers of Constable Blakelock intended to cut off his head and stick it on a pole, was originated by a thirteen-year-old boy said to have a mental age of five.

This confession also stated that he had been commanded by the leader of Blakelock's attackers to 'cut' him, and he had cut him on the chest and the leg. Blakelock's colleagues who saw the murder testified that his killers were attacking 'like vultures', nobody taking time to give orders to anybody, and the pathologist testified that there were no cuts on any part of the body below the neck. The whole tale was plain fantasy. Yet the child was on remand for 17 months (in the care of the local authority since he is too young for prison) with no evidence against him except his ridiculous 'confession'.

Unsupported confessions are in fact the whole evidence against most of the defendants. Winston Silcott, now identified in the press as the 'leader of Blakelock's killers', was convicted solely on an alleged statement by himself, which he refused to sign.

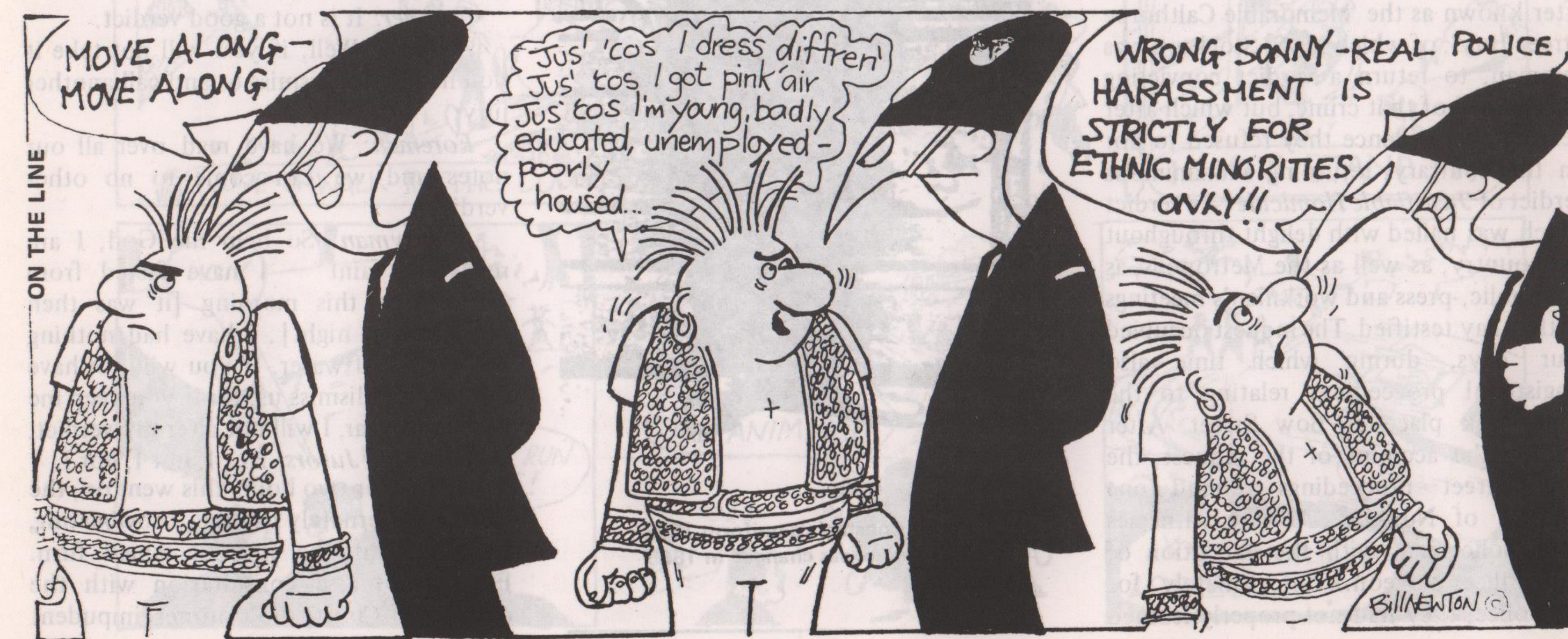
Much has been made in the media of the fact that Silcott, a violent young man, was on bail charged with a different murder at the time of Blakelock's death. One might imagine a conversation in the police station: *Blakelock was one of ours, and I want his murderers found.* Yessir, but the whole estate's clammed up. *Well bring that bastard Silcott in for a start. I daresay he started it.*

Apart from the confessions, the evidence of Jason Cobham has been successful against some, including one who got seven years. Cobham, financially supported by the police, was completely discredited by cross-questioning at the murder trial. (A policeman told David Rose of *The Guardian*, 'Your coloureds make notoriously bad witnesses'.)

Of the thirty prosecutions already brought, ten have been lost because the jury did not believe the confessions, and two are to be retried because the jury could not agree. Some of the eighteen convictions may be quashed on appeal, especially those resting on Cobham's testimony. Forty-two more cases are still to come, unless the prosecution now decides to drop some.

Rioting is seldom, if ever, deliberate; it is a kind of lashing out in communal anger. Often it is counter-productive, resulting in quick defeat at the hands of the authorities and even more oppression. This time it was the authorities who lost at the time, and although there have been harsh prison sentences for some, the result for those not in prison may be a measure of relief. We hope so.

Plod



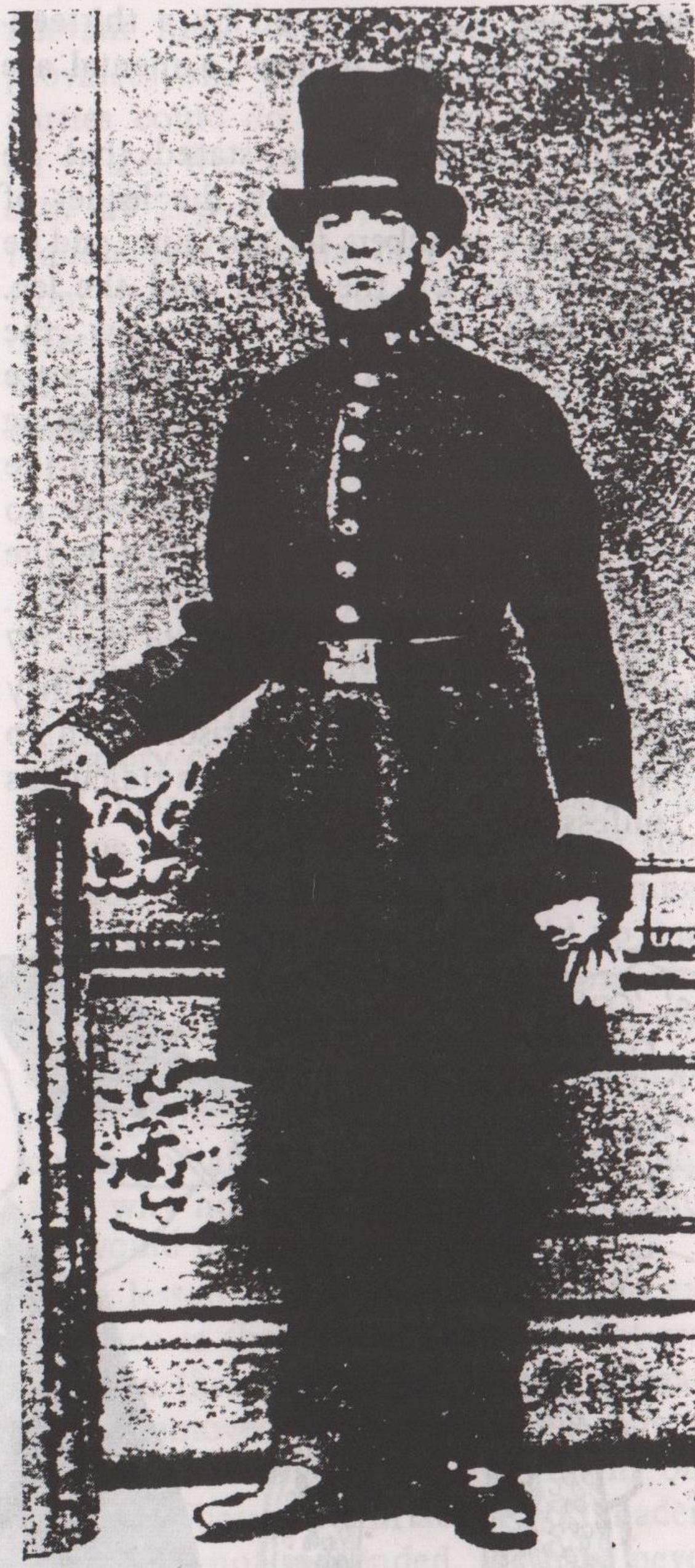
'Justifiable homicide' of policeman

The death of PC Keith Blakelock being so much in the news lately, we think readers may be interested in this account of events following the death of PC Robert Culley in 1833. It is reprinted from Freedom, April 1912.

THAT both police and military systems are brutal in their nature and a constant menace to real freedom is patent to all thoughtful individuals. Of course we are constantly told that 'We have always had them' and 'could not get along without them', both of which statements are totally untrue. The present police system is not eighty years old. It was one of the first acts of the Whigs when they came into power. It met with the most strenuous opposition by the working class. Subsequent events proved that the people were justified in their opposition.

On Monday, May 13, 1833, an open air meeting was attempted to be held in Coldbath Fields by a number of the working classes, to discuss their grievances. The Government were determined to put down the meeting, and by aid of organised bodies of the then new police, a fearful onslaught was made upon the populace, men, women and children being knocked down and maltreated by the police bludgeons. In the melee, one of the aggressors, Robert Culley, a policeman, was killed by a stab; and the man supposed to have inflicted the wound being taken into custody on a charge of murder, every attempt was made by the Government to induce the Coroner's jury, ever after known as the 'Memorable Calthorpe Street Jury', of which Mr S. Stockton was foreman, to return a verdict convicting the accused of that crime, but which after hearing the evidence they refused to do: on the contrary, returning a unanimous verdict of 'Justifiable Homicide' - a verdict which was hailed with delight throughout the country, as well as the Metropolis, as the public, press and workmen's meetings of that day testified. The inquest occupied four days, during which time also magisterial proceedings relating to the same took place at Bow Street. After reading the account of the inquest, the Bow Street proceedings remind one strongly of Nupkins. All the witnesses were policemen, with the exception of the police surgeon. Unfortunately for the police, they had not properly learned

their lesson. One could not remember where he had taken his prisoner after capture! Nothing in the nature of defence was heard, and the one charged with murder was sent down to the cells, and so were the others, for the magistrate demanded such excessive bail that it was impossible for poor working men to obtain it. However, at the inquest, proceedings did not go so smoothly (for the Government) since both sides were heard. It appears the meeting had been proclaimed by the Government. No name was on the bill, it was merely signed 'By order of the Secretary of State'. These bills were not posted up until the day after the meeting. The meeting was attended by about 300 people. No sooner had the meeting commenced than about



Police Constable's uniform 1833
The design was changed in 1865

300 police came on the scene, closing up every avenue of escape, and commenced an indiscriminate attack upon the crowd, which continued for an hour. A reporter who was present stated in evidence that the ground was covered with men, women and children, lying in all directions. Two girls who were standing on a doorstep were both struck down. He goes on to state 'I saw a policeman beating an elderly woman who was screaming loudly for mercy. A gentleman with me said to me, "Courtney, we can't stand this". We went to the police, calling "Shame, shame", when he called out, "You b---y b---r, you shall catch it too", and he raised his truncheon to strike me, but my friend caught his arm.' Throughout the whole of the proceedings at the inquest, the members of the jury took the keenest interest and questioned the witnesses considerably, to the annoyance of the Coroner, who finally directed the jury to return a verdict of wilful murder. The whole of the police evidence was utterly discredited. On the fourth day, the jury begged for a further adjournment, which the Coroner refused. When they returned a verdict of 'Justifiable Homicide' the Coroner was dismayed and tried his best to browbeat them into recalling it, but to no effect. The following is part of the dialogue which took place:

Coroner: I shall strike it out.

Foreman: I cannot agree to that.

All the Jury: Nor any of us.

A Juror: If you record any other verdict it will be a false and untrue verdict.

Another Juror: It will be his verdict and not ours.

Several: You had better dismiss us if you won't take our verdict.

Coroner: It is not a good verdict.

A Juror: Well, if you will not take it you had better dismiss us and call another jury.

Foreman: We have read over all our notes and we can come to no other verdict.

A Juror: So help me God, I am ready to faint. I have fasted from 10 o'clock this morning [it was then nearly 11 at night]. I have had nothing but a glass of water. If you will not have our verdict, dismiss us, for if you keep me here for a year, I will not alter my verdict.

The other Jurors: Nor I, nor I, nor I.

And so for two hours this went on, the Coroner alternately cajoling, browbeating, bullying, but the jury remained firm. Finally, after a consultation with the officials in Court, the Coroner, impudent

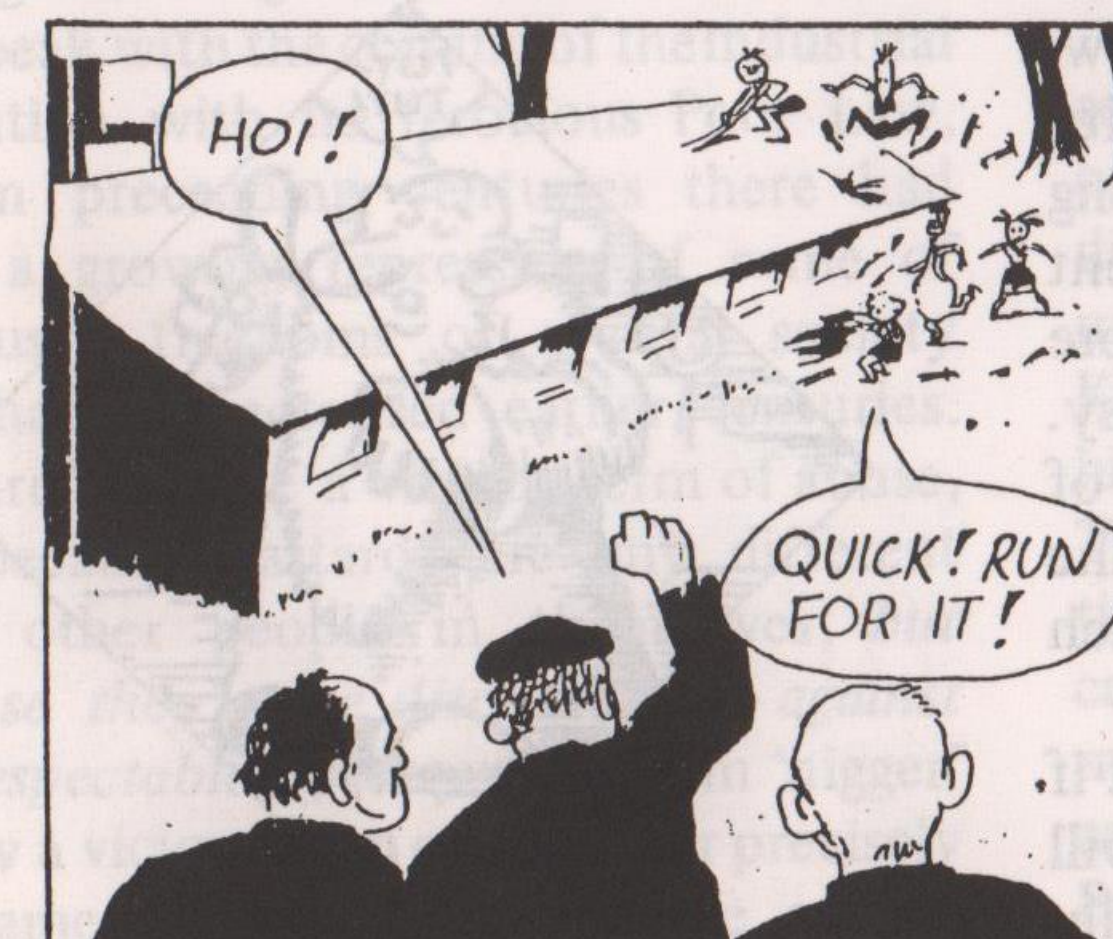
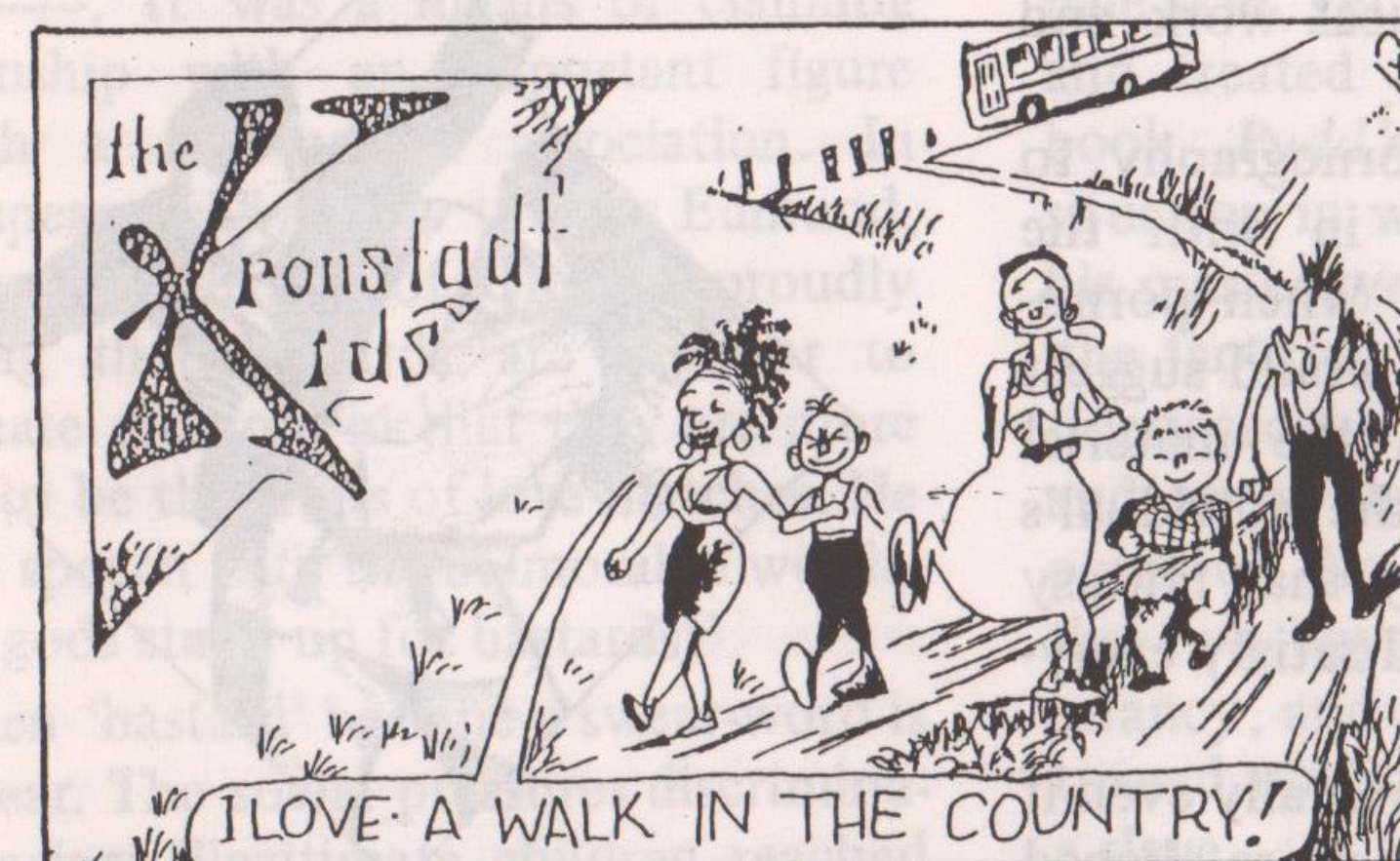
to the last, recorded the verdict and dismissed the jury, with 'Gentlemen, I consider your verdict disgraceful to you'. It was close upon midnight when the proceedings terminated, and the jury men met with a most deservedly cordial reception from the vast crowd that remained to the end.

The press appeared unanimous in its laudations of the jury, and it was proposed that 'some public mark of respect should be paid to a jury which had so nobly interposed its shield between the people on the one hand and a would-be police tyranny on the other.'

In the following July a monster procession and demonstration took place in London, marching through the proclaimed district to London Bridge, where a chartered steamer conveyed the jury and 600 supporters on a marine excursion down the Thames to the Medway.

On May 21, the following year, a banquet took place in honour of the jury, when about 500 sat down to the tables. The seventeen jurymen were each presented with a handsome silver cup, with an inscription which bore testimony to the 'glorious verdict of "justifiable homicide" on the body of Robert Culley, a policeman who was slain while brutally attacking the people when peaceably assembled in Calthorpe Street'. Nor did it end here. Medals were struck in honour of the verdict and frequent meetings were held in commemoration of it. As late as 1861, fifty persons dined together with the foreman, and as many of the jury as could be found, when a clock was presented to Mr Stockton, the foreman, as a recognition of his services on behalf of the poor.

Ambrose Barker (1859-1953)



Switchboard to close?

A YEAR ago, The Anarchist Switchboard in New York hosted a weekend symposium on Women and Anarchism. This event, one of the largest anarchist gatherings held in New York in recent years, saw upwards of 200 people come by during those two and a half days. (this is particularly significant in that the space occupied by The Anarchist Switchboard can comfortably hold about 25 people.)

But this event, while certainly the largest project we have undertaken, was by no means the only one. Over the past year and a half, we have featured lectures by such people as Sam Dolgoff, Jack Frager, Mel Most, and others. A wide range of topics have been presented and discussed, including the Spanish Revolution, the pygmies of Africa, and the housing situation in San Francisco's Mission District.

We have also been host to several ongoing open discussion groups. One is concerned with various aspects of anarchist theory and practice. Another is the Anarchist Great Books Discussion Group. A third, recently formed, is a discussion group on fascism. Also at The Anarchist Switchboard, poetry readings happen, performances happen, music happens. Artists have included Protean Forms Collective, Janet Restino, Audioleter, Tony Vaughan, Nancy Ancrom, and Gargoyle Mechanique; and the Improvisor's Network presents some of the most innovative new music once a week.

The Switchboard is also a community resource space, available to like-minded people and groups to use for their own events, such as meetings, rehearsal space, etc. (interested parties should feel free to give us a call). The most important thing about The Anarchist Switchboard though is not the specific things that go on, but the fact that it offers one of the few public anarchist spaces in North America. We don't operate from a post office box or from somebody's apartment. We operate from the Switchboard, and it is available seven days a week, 24 hours a day.

Maintaining that space has never been easy. Income generated by events has never been easy. And now we find ourselves in a financial crisis that threatens the existence of the space. We are behind in everything: rent, phone, and electric. Our plans to renovate and paint have been put on hold. We do not know how long we can hold on, before we are faced with eviction proceedings.

For the first time, we are forced to appeal to friends and comrades for help. No formal admission charge has ever been requested and we do not want to change this policy. We have always relied on voluntary donations. Users of the space have always been generous and we are asking them to be generous once again. It's our only guarantee that we can continue.

The Anarchist Switchboard
324 East Ninth Street,
New York, NY 10003
telephone (212) 475-8312

Pornography: is it really *only* offensive?

THIS article is not primarily about the issue of censorship. It deals with pornography itself — its purpose and its effects.

Arguments on pornography, and on censorship, are frequently simplistic, with protagonists merely spouting the party line. Toby Gibson's *Freedom* article on censorship was refreshing in its thoughtfulness. However, it completely ignores the power positions of men and women. In this I felt Gibson seemed not so much anti-censorship as frankly anti-feminist, since he ignored not only the difference in physical strength between most men and most women but also, more importantly, all the work done on the study of patriarchy. I hope no self-respecting anarchist would ignore this intentionally.

In practice for a man to be beaten by a woman as a sex act he must actively desire and allow it. I would not call pornography showing this activity 'anti-man'. In contrast a woman can be physically subdued and beaten by a man against her will. This is frequently depicted in pornography and is certainly 'anti-woman'.

Pornography is a wide ranging subject. It can be loosely defined as anything used to aid or guide masturbatory fantasy. I will concentrate on that part of pornography which depicts relations between people. Browsing — very broadly — this kind of porn divides into that which depicts mutual enjoyment, and that which depicts exploitation. This, I think, is an important distinction — more important than the issue of violence. Most people (I have found) will only admit to a predilection for mutuality. But clearly exploitation and sex are closely linked for many people, otherwise the exploitation material would not sell.

Who reads what, and does it matter? Research into the effects of pornography on populations reveals little or nothing. The variety of individual response gets lost in statistical data. Yet the effect on particular individuals is more important.

A colleague of mine, for her MSc thesis, studied arousal in male sex offenders in Broadmoor, and compared this with arousal in the male nurses. The patients responded, on the whole, more to the violent exploitative material, than to the mutual material. They also responded more strongly to the former material than did the nurses. (Arousal was measured by direct physical means). This could indicate an unsurprising connection between actual sex practice and masturbatory fantasy. The patients, who were clearly aroused by violent material, had indeed carried out violent attacks.

Before proceeding I think it is important to discuss the concept of fantasy escalation. Material which might considerably arouse a 15 year old, may be considered tame by the same person when they reach 30, that is to say that a man who at 20 masturbated over *Playboy* magazine might well in time find it ineffective and start using more 'hard core' magazines instead. Leaving aside the issue of possibly degrading women, this does not in itself harm or exploit any third party. But there is evidence that, with some individuals, actual practice escalates in the same way as fantasy.

Escalation appears to take place with violent, exploitative fantasies no less than mutual enjoyment fantasies. An article in *British Journal of Psychiatry* interviews thirteen sex offenders who describe just such escalation, and whose actions escalated in a similar way to their fantasies. One example is a man convicted of stealing car keys; a harmless enough offence in itself, but it related to a fantasy about breaking into a woman's car and raping her — which he later did. Taking the keys sufficed him sexually only for a period of time — then he needed to escalate the behaviour to have the same effect.

Where does pornography fit into this? I can only pose other questions and my own tentative answers.

Does pornography increase the rate of fantasy escalation in vulnerable individuals? Can it subtly alter the direction of fantasy development? I would answer yes to both these questions. I admit I have only hunches to go on, but I base these on a background of clinical work and wide reading on the subject.

It seems obvious that pornography, to be effective, has to tie in with the individual's fantasy world. When pornography is used, however, I would suggest that other associations in the material could be incorporated into the individual's fantasy. And it is unlikely that fantasy and pornography alone will satisfy everyone.

Rape is a sadistic act, mentally even if not always physically. It is more aligned with power than with sexuality. However, as I said earlier, power and sexuality are very close for some people. Among these are the people for whom a violent sexual act may be very much more satisfying than a violent sexual fantasy. Perhaps it is not so much a question of which comes first (the fantasy, the pornography, or the act) but of how each can modify or escalate the others.

What can we do about this? I doubt if simple censorship of pornography will accomplish much. It is crude, and usually

unsuccessful. Many individuals ask for help. The fantasies they have may be very distressing to them, and for some the fear of acting out the fantasy may be very great. There are clinics (e.g. The Portman) especially to help people with just such problems. Their distress needs to be taken seriously.

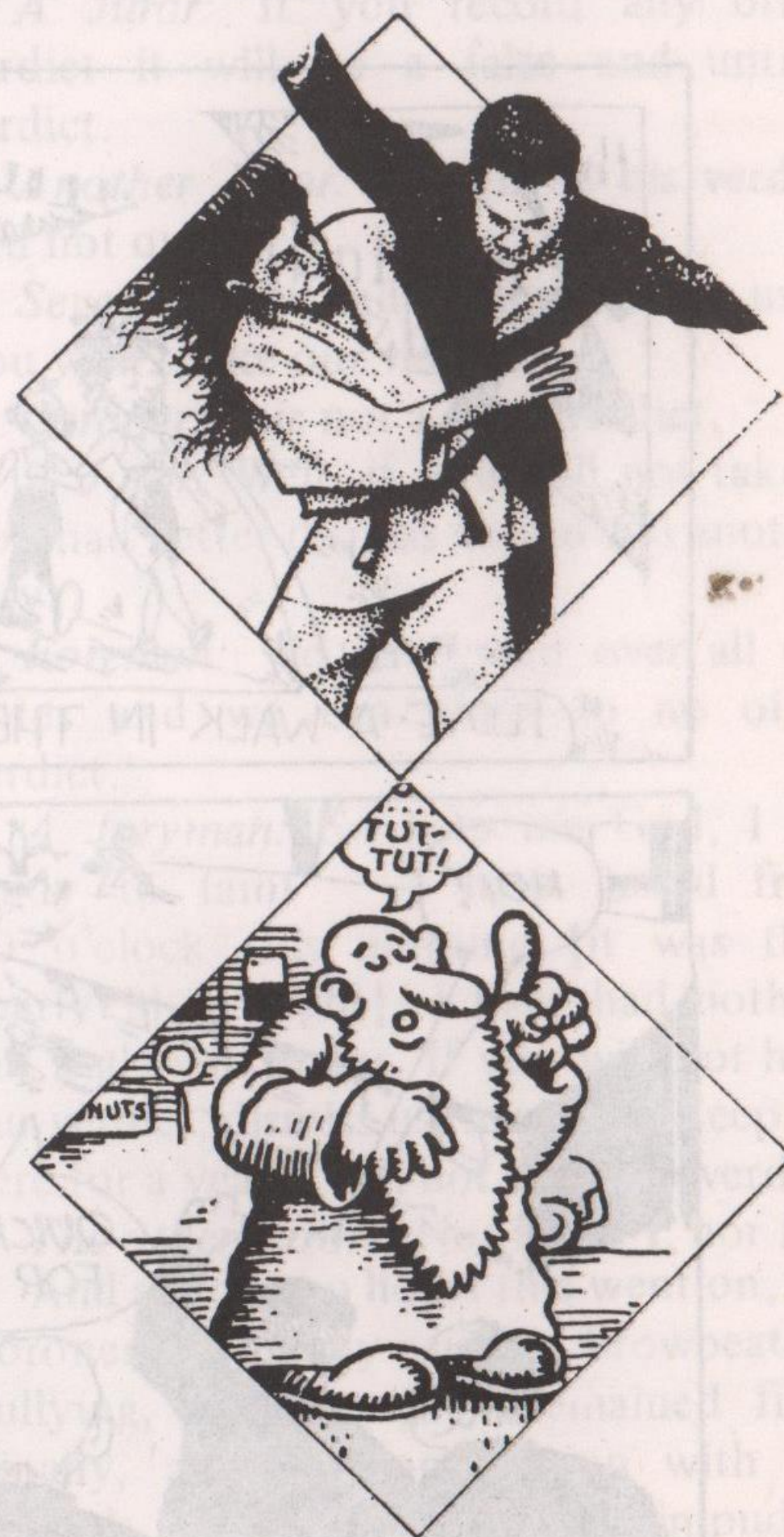
I have begun by asking the question 'does pornography do harm?', and I think I have answered 'yes, it can, but the roots of sexual exploitation and violence go much deeper'. Surely a violent exploitative society will throw up some violent exploitative people, and many more with the capacity to become such.

I certainly have no ready non-utopian answers to this problem. I believe the only way we can change society is in the way we respect people from the day they are born. But I would certainly be interested to hear further thought on the matter.

Clio

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Swear-words as indicators of social injustice

RECENTLY I published an article in *Freedom* which contained a swear-word in the title, and this provoked some strange letters from Tyneside abusing the Editors for publishing the article. The Editors dealt with their critics very well. The argument of my article, which was strongly anti-racist, was not attacked by the critics; it was the use of the swear-word they attacked, even though I applied it only to myself. Such might have been the reaction in the worst times of Victorian prudery if such a word as 'bastard' had appeared in the title of an article, even though the article was a humane plea against discrimination on grounds of illegitimacy. It is therefore highly instructive to consider why certain words have so strong an emotional impact on irrational people, and how they reveal the raw stresses of the injustices in our society.

The nature of swear-words

The essence of a swear-word is that it has a *double* meaning. The first meaning of 'bastard' is merely descriptive; it means someone born out of wedlock. In its second meaning it is abusive, implying someone who merits hatred — it is a swear-word. Originally the word had only the first and innocent descriptive sense: you could not insult a person by calling him a bastard, and some people proudly referred to themselves as the Bastard of ———. It was a means of claiming relationship with an important figure through a non-marital association. In Shakespeare's *King Lear* there is Edmund, the illegitimate son of Gloucester, proudly claiming that bastards are superior to legitimate children in that they are more likely to be the fruits of love-matches. He ends a speech with the memorable words, 'Now, gods stand up for bastards!'

When 'bastard' became a swear-word is not clear. The social pressures discriminating against illegitimate children reached their peak with the coming of the industrial revolution with its ferocious Poor Law, but in preceeding centuries there had been a growing repression of some of the lusty freedoms of a rural society that had characterised earlier centuries. 'Bastard' became a vicious term of abuse, not because bastards are any different from other people in themselves, *but because they were discriminated against by 'respectable' society*. The term 'nigger' is now a vicious term of abuse for precisely the same reasons. Negro people are no

different from people of caucasian or mongolian stock (the three categories are both vague and imprecise) in any respect relative to their human worth, but since the days of slavery in America and the West Indies *they have been discriminated against*.

The paradox of victimisation and abuse

Here we come across the grim paradox that some words of abuse owe their force not to any negative characteristic of an identified group, but because that group has been *victims* of society's mistreatment of them.

If someone is referred to as a 'damned Methodist' they may shrug it off because the term has little force as an insult; for Methodists have not been specially victimised. But if someone is called a 'damned Jew' he is likely to react strongly, for the insult has considerable force as it calls up all the centuries of victimisation and persecution of the Jews. The term 'nigger' is a swear-word nowadays with precisely the same force, for it refers to the enslavement of African people in the West. Originally it was a corruption of the non-emotional word 'negro' by the slave-owners in the southern states of America. In the USA it eventually came to refer not to a black person but to a person of a certain *status*, that of a slave. A person could have a completely pale skin, yet still be regarded as a 'nigger' and treated as such. Mark Twain in his book *Pudd'nhead Wilson* describes a situation in which a slave was as white as his master, yet owed his 'nigger' status to the fact that he was supposed to have one thirty-second part of negro blood in him and to be the son of a slave. The whole point of the book rests on the fact that the two boys had been swopped over in infancy, and it was the white master who turned out in the end to be a 'nigger' and a slave.

We have witnessed a relatively sudden revolution in attitudes due to the upsurge of black people asserting their rights and dignity, largely stemming from the movement initiated by the late Martin Luther King, and hence the term 'nigger' has been highlighted in its swear-word potential. This is comparatively recent; for a long time in the USA the term was used casually with no evil intent simply to mean a black person. The American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman used the word thus in their

autobiographies (*Living My Life* and *The Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*), yet they were fighters for freedom and human dignity.

What of the future?

Looking to the future we may wonder what other words that are in casual and common use today will become swear-words in the future as other groups who are unfairly discriminated against by society rise up against their victim status. Will such terms as 'dotard' become such taboo swear-words that cowardly people dare not even mention or discuss them for fear of being attacked for seeming to foster prejudice?

If we are to struggle for human dignity we must have the courage to examine swear-words and their meaning in order to lay bare the dynamics of prejudice. I am reminded of the fact that Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang*, published in the 1930s, a very learned volume that examines the etymology of slang words, was not permitted to print some of the very words that were being examined, but had to resort to evasions such as f***, such was the power of taboo. There will always be those who actively resist the free examination of ideas, who think in slogans, and who object to the very printing of words that force us to *think*, and to examine the very basis of social attitudes. The point of 'newspeak' in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the impoverished new language, was to prevent people thinking any thoughts other than those approved by the totalitarian state. Examples of 'newspeak' being forced upon people today by the sillier sections of ultra-feminists, and the authoritarian Marxist left, are not hard to find. We must stand out against these attempted encroachments on our liberty of thought.

Tony Gibson



Allotments and Anarchism

WHAT have allotments to do with anarchism? Quite a lot, for they are the nearest we have to a right to some land, apart from the occasional common rights.

Access to land is an important requirement for liberty. It enables local, shared control, as well as a more diverse life incorporating small industry with cultivation of the land.

Allotments represent a 'right' to land in the sense that the Council is legally obliged to provide them, as long as there are more than three people who demand them. However, there are often long waiting lists, so it seems that Councils don't feel obliged to provide them to all applicants.

Allotments are a way of becoming more independent of the system. Growing your own vegetables, and becoming involved in the local informal economy by exchanging produce and skills represents a potentially undermining independence from the system. It needs us, and if we reduce our dependence on it, it may flounder.

More individual access to land would greatly facilitate small scale organic agriculture. This type of cultivation can produce more food per acre and more people can be involved in it, as opposed to the 3% of the population now engaged in agriculture, for it replaces with human effort what is currently dragged from the soil with oil-dependent chemicals. This very dependence on oil sets a time limit on modern agriculture, as does the irreversible damage to is doing to our soil through erosion and humus depletion.

Having the use of some land has been a symbol of freedom for a long time. For many this freedom was lost when the enclosures turned land into a commodity to be bought, sold and owned. They became dependent on landowners or mill bosses for an income. Those who retained some land were strengthened in their fight for working rights, for they had some sustenance to fall back on. Land could confer an independence and strength which was later to come from the unions to a certain degree.

Brief history

There is a complex history to allotments of which just a poor glimmer will be given here.

Allotments started as a rural 'dole' in the early 16th century. They were charitable allocations to those people who, after the enclosure of the village

open fields, ended up with virtually nothing, even though the enclosure commissioners professed to be doing a fair job.

Allotments were encouraged in the 19th century by liberals as well as the defenders of property interests. The latter sort of proponent used the argument that if the labouring population had some property, then they would respect the vast properties of the ruling classes more; they would have an interest in the sanctity of property. Also it was good for the labourers' moral well-being that they should be cultivating in their leisure hours. This would keep them out of mischief, and the independence that land could give them would be strictly limited by keeping the amount small to which they had access; so that there would be no fear of them not needing the wages of the employers.

The liberals encouraged allotments because they could compensate for low wages, they enabled more independence and were an antidote to the cramped and unhealthy urban existence. Some heated politics revolved around the provision of allotments at the end of the 19th century, with some areas electing 'allotment candidates'. Arch-capitalists said they represented intervention in the free market and so were bad.

The Small Holdings and Allotments Acts of 1907 and 1908 mark the start of the increased urban provision of allotments which rapidly gained ground during the First World War, during which 50,000 acres were requisitioned by the government and the number of plots reached a peak, in 1918, of 1.4 million. Roughly 10% of the country's food was produced in this way. This was essential in order to overcome the German Blockade of the cheap food coming in from Britain's empire on which it was completely dependent.

Some people were talking about the desirability of a movement back to the land: an urban exodus as opposed to the rural exodus that was leaving the countryside depopulated and agriculture depressed. F.E. Green in *Contemporary Review* (1918) said that this could 'relieve the frightful congestion of our urban slum areas... and weld into an organic whole the dwellers of the towns with the dwellers in the villages'. In order to facilitate this, s/he suggests that the people cultivating the allotments during the war and who effectively 'saved' the country should have a right to that land after the

war or at least to equivalent bits of land. But of course most of that 50,000 acres went back to the landowners.

From about 1923 to the early thirties there was a decline in the amount of land under allotments for many reasons. Several organisations arose to protect them, and these, along with the Agricultural Land (Utilisation) Act of 1931, stemmed the decline. This legislation enabled the provision of plots for the large numbers of unemployed. In the minute books of allotment associations there are many instances of plot holders paying the rent for their unemployed comrades. Also during this period, the idea for keeping livestock was encouraged to complement vegetable and fruit production by providing manure.

The Second World War saw a massive increase in numbers of allotments. The country once again found its own food production woefully inadequate to supply its needs. The Dig for Victory campaign was so successful that it resulted in more than 1.4 million plots being dug on 143,000 acres, with local authorities digging up parks and playing fields. In 1941 the total annual production from allotments (not including the thousands of gardens turned over to food production) was estimated to be 1.3 million tons. These figures are given to demonstrate the potential that allotments hold today.

Perhaps the next upsurge in their popularity was in the mid-seventies when self-sufficiency ideas were popular and vegetable prices were soaring. At this time Friends of the Earth had some successful campaigns to get urban waste land turned into allotments. The arguments used were the high demand for plots and the vast amounts of spare land in cities which could be used to improve the urban environment.

Since 1976, vegetables have got cheaper and there seems to have been a decline in demand and increasing numbers of vacancies, though many sites have waiting lists and there are dramatic differences from place to place.

Towards a free society

It seems that in preparing for liberty, the spare allotments and the areas of derelict land in cities (harder to cultivate, of course), could be a spring board for the decentralisation and local control of food production and, ultimately, all activities.

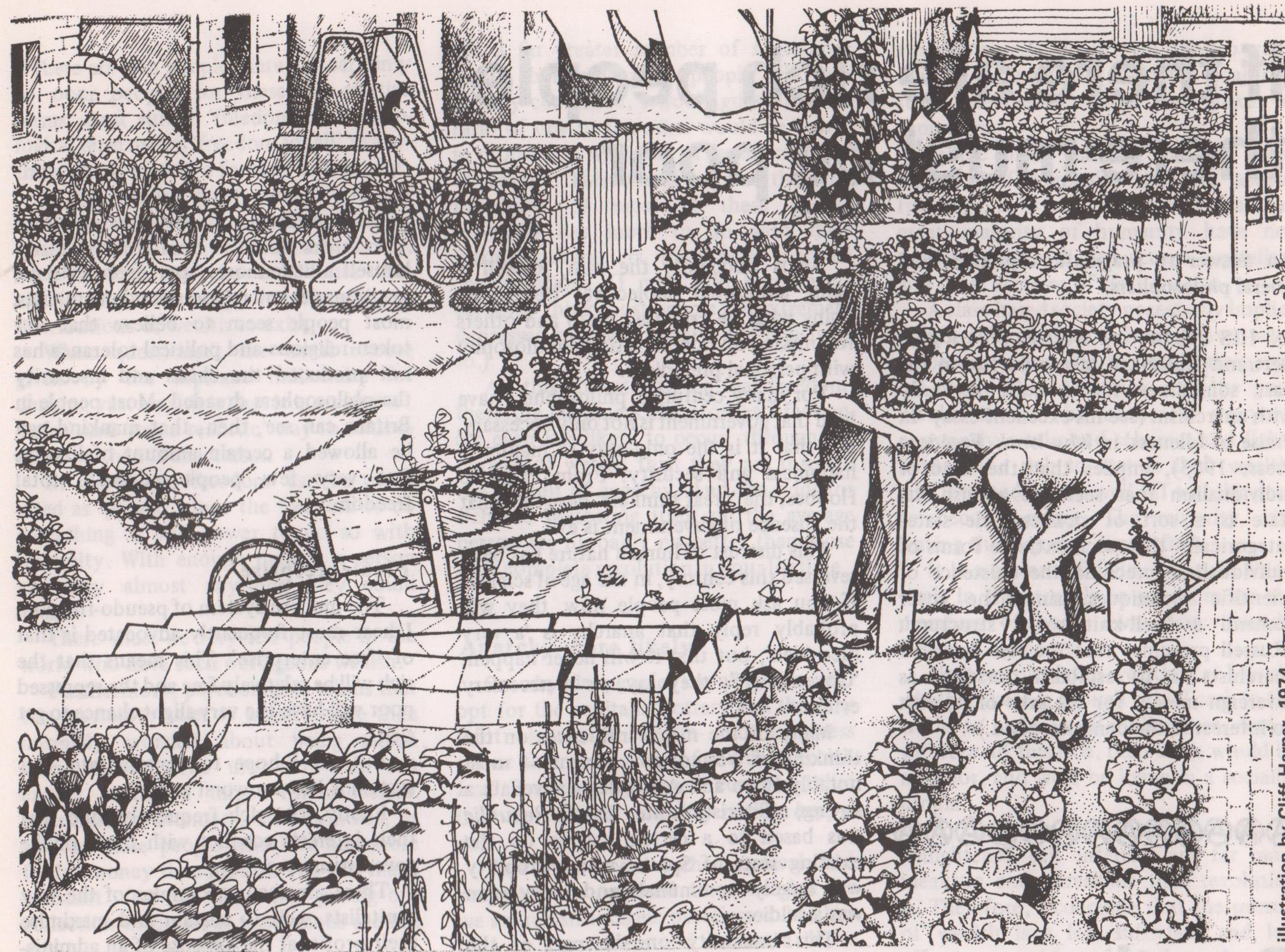


Illustration by Cliff Harper, 1974

There are numerous obstacles in this sort of process, like: is there enough land, could enough food be produced? But there has been lots written about this: and I am sure it is the right way to go.

There is 'anarchic' movement amongst allotment holders themselves. In several areas they have what is called 'self-administration', and in others they are fighting for this greater degree of self-determination. It involves only paying half the rent to the Council and doing some of the Council's work for them; that is, they collect all the rent and pay them as a lump sum for that particular site. They keep the other half of the rent to be used for whatever they want as a group. In order to get the agreement of the Council for this, they must have an association with a specified constitution and democratically elected officers. In addition, they also have the power to throw people off who are not cultivating their plot, and to make other decisions which otherwise have to go through the bureaucracy of the Council. Of course this is still very much at the discretion of the authority, which is why allotments have only some potential for helping liberty arrive.

This potential could be realised, however, and taken further if people

rented some of the numerous spare plots. Often several of these exist adjacent to each other and they could be taken by a group and cultivated collectively as a small holding. It is not difficult to recoup the rent, which in Bradford is £14.50 and in Huddersfield is £6.50 a year, per plot (these being the only two areas I know). There is a contradiction in paying for a right, like paying for the air we breathe, but it does not jeopardise the long term hope that land should not be owned. Frequently, all that the rent seems to be paying for is the water. There's a site in Oxford which has wells; using ground water in this way could be a way of increasing the degree of independence.

Although it goes against the sometimes rather competitive nature of gardeners and the 'compare-my-patch-with-yours' mentality, it is not impossible to envisage a whole site becoming collectivised as a little farm with everyone working together. This would probably enable more food to be produced as the example of the greenhouse will show. If one or two big greenhouses are built with the same materials that constitute the existing swarm of little ones (each to a plot) a total volume will be enclosed by glass which has a much lower surface area and hence a lower heat loss. Similar physical economies could be made with other

things: but let us beware of the economies of scale that have justified the increasing scale and concentrated control of human activities. As long as that little collectivised farm remains diversified and organic in nature, re-using its own residues, and providing for the workers and the local needs, there will be no danger.

The recycling of materials is already quite a tradition on allotments, ironically brought about by the low level of maintenance and resources that Councils have been prepared to put into this 'leisure' pursuit. See the old doors, bedsteads, bath tubs and compost heaps, inspiring to the heart yet so offensive to the eye of the precious condemners of allotments, typified in the attitude of the writers of the 1969 Government report. Though already quite a tradition in the site itself, there is ample room for the extension of recycling into the surrounding area. Leaves can be swept from the street to make compost, as one man does in Huddersfield, and the gone-off vegetables rejected by the greengrocer collected for the same; local sewage can even be composted.

A lot of skills in the community can be tapped and vegetables exchanged. Let skills and knowledge converge and vegetables disperse.

There is potential.

Fred Miller

If there are rich people, there must be poor

An answer to pragmatic capitalists and liberal philosophers

IN HIS *History of Western Philosophy*, Bertrand Russell, a man who has in the past sometimes flirted quite seriously with anarchism (see his excellent essay 'In Praise of Idleness' in *Why Work*, Freedom Press, 1983), implies that the kind of individualism that seeks to abolish the state is a sort of sickness. He states categorically that such extreme forms of individualism preclude the existence of scientific techniques, since the latter demand a 'well-knit social structure'. (Russell presumes that the sole desire of anarchists is to establish ourselves as sovereign merely for the sake of it, with no interest in the common good.)



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February Total = £76.50
1987 Total to Date = £200.81

As is frequently the case, Russell is being somewhat subjective. He is just doing what he criticised Plato and others for; mixing up honest, rational philosophy with personal prejudices.

For many centuries, philosophers have held that government is not only necessary, but that it is the only way to maximise happiness and security. From Plato to Hobbes, the 'great thinkers' have said that the absence of government is evil.

This distrust of human nature has been reversed this century, in the age of science. If you ask most people now, they will probably reply that anarchy is 'a very nice idea', but that it will never happen. 'Government', they say, 'is a necessary evil'.

Many of the major influences on the thinking of Western governments — most notably Plato and Aristotle — advocate a strong, militaristic state. Plato's *Republic* was based to a certain degree on the existing state of Sparta, where property was largely communal, and every man was a soldier.

This insecurity on the part of the ancient philosophers appears to have been a product of the then prevailing social climate. Plato, for example, lived in Athens which was constantly being attacked and defeated by other, stronger, city states.

Plato believed that the intellect is a better judge than the senses. Yet it was only Plato's eyes that told him that a strong, aggressive state is a secure and relatively happy one. So he sought to promote this ideal as an answer to the problems of his own state.

Plato's *Republic* is unashamedly totalitarian, for this, he believes, is the most efficient and practical way to run a state. It was the barely concealed dogma and intolerance of Plato and Aristotle that contributed to the intellectual stagnation of what we now call the Dark Ages (approximately 600-1300 AD) where in the West any honest or questioning philosophy was condemned as heresy by the religious authorities.

Centuries later, most people in the West believe in democracy (a concept that Plato despised, incidentally). They equate democracy with freedom, (and I must admit that there is certainly more room for movement and thought in the current British system than there would be in the ideal states of many of the 'great philosophers').

Mankind, then, has learned to trust

himself a little more. Apart from extreme reactionaries and religious fundamentalists, most people seem to believe that our token religious and political tolerance has not produced the chaos and insecurity the philosophers dreaded. Most people in Britain can see, then, that mankind can be allowed a certain amount of liberty. But very few people advocate total freedom.

'Free enterprise'

The modern system of pseudo-freedom I hear most frequently advocated is that of 'free enterprise'. This means that the rich will be relatively free and the repressed poor will have the very slight chance to get rich.

But, as I hope to demonstrate, this system is its own worst enemy.

Firstly, the rich frequently find that their interests conflict with those of the government.

There are many examples of the way capitalists seek to sustain and maximise their profits at the expense of an administration that itself believes in capitalism (e.g. Fleet Street newspapers who print politically damaging stories about the government solely to make more copy). It is in the nature of capitalism to live parasitically on the state, often undermining its host's economic foundations.

Basically, of course, the government and the rich work together to make themselves and each other personally irremovable. But even the most pro free market capitalists in the present administration have done relatively little to de-regulate the freedom of large corporations (the Monopolies Commission, for example, which still exists to prevent true capitalism from finding its natural boundaries).

The continued existence of capitalism (even in its somewhat adulterated Keynesian form) is partly owed to the fact that so many people still want the chance to be rich. Statistically, they probably have more chance of being hit by a bus.

Most people are certainly not devoid of compassion. Few people find any comfort in the sight of the sufferings of the impoverished, especially in the Third World. Yet still they desire to become extremely rich themselves, no matter what the cost to others.

Basically most people want more freedom, if not absolute freedom. Being rich is promoted as a key to freedom. Yet

if there are rich people there will certainly be poor people, for these are relative terms. And surely 'freedom' as a sociological term means 'freedom for all', as anything else is merely a form of aristocracy.

If you desire great wealth you are surely an advocate of capitalism, mercantilism or some kind of feudal aristocracy. Such systems are the only ones that enable and encourage hugely unequal distributions of wealth to exist.

When questioned, the usual excuse given by the aspirant millionaire for desiring vast wealth is that it is an 'easier', 'safer' and 'more realistic' way to achieve freedom than is anarchism.

In this sense, 'freedom' can be translated as 'power', since the freedom to do something is the power to do so with impunity. With enough money, a person can buy almost anything they could desire.

There must be very few people in the world who have such outrageous wealth.

Furthermore, psychologists tell us that the inveterate thief is usually more than normally worried about being stolen from himself. The ultra-rich man can expect to be a target for robberies, assassination attempts, and swindles, as well as those people who love him more for his money than his self. The rich man's constant fear is that his prodigious collection of precious possessions are not safe.

Of course the advocate of capitalism will cite several good examples of extremely happy and fulfilled rich persons. I might quite properly reply that there

are a far greater number of sometimes quite abysmally poor people who are equally contented. I would guess that the ratio of one to the other would be nearly in proportion with that of the distribution of wealth. This would suggest that the happiness of most of these people probably has more to do with their intrinsic characters than with material considerations. (I must add here that I certainly think most people are extremely depressed by their poverty, and rightfully so.)

All this indicates to me that freedom, therefore happiness, therefore satisfaction, are even less likely to occur through the pursuit of wealth than they are through the pursuit of anarchy. And the odds for richness bestowing itself on the average person are probably no better than those for a complete revolution in your lifetime.

Anarchy more likely

So why do people, knowing this, still opt for the capitalist lottery and the very faint chance of wealth and happiness rather than some form of anarchist socialism? Because they are still convinced that they *can* be rich and they *can* be happy rich.

This may seem rather cynical and pragmatic as opposed to principled (as we anarchists imagine ourselves to be); but it is no less sincere and earnest a desire for freedom that ours is. We must not forget that the aspirant rich probably do not directly or consciously wish for the suffering of others any more than

anarchists might do. It is up to us to prove that it is inevitable that the majority suffer needlessly under the yoke of capitalism.

People often tell me that the great majority of humanity will not accept freedom. It is my contention that the great majority of humanity have not accepted and will not accept capitalism and other systems of class division.

A class-based society necessarily implies one of struggle. The rich rarely ever want to become poor. But the moderately well off would like to be rich, and the poor would like to be both. So everyone constantly works and schemes and fights harder; the rich to sustain their wealth, and the moderately well off and the poor to become richer. The minority win, leaving the majority dissatisfied.

It is a system of divide and rule. One's rivals in the struggle to get more are the members of one's own class: friends, family, neighbours.

Most people desire wealth. Yet I doubt whether there is enough actual cash in the world to make us *all* millionaires. And if we *were* all this rich, then there would be no poor, and we'd be living in a socialist utopia.

To my mind, concepts such as 'enlightened self interest' are far more idealistic and unrealistic than revolution is. Therefore, I conclude that the pursuit of wealth is a less sufficient and less effective provider of freedom than the pursuit of anarchy, aside from any of the moral considerations.

Johnny Yen



LAND NOTES

The Yuppies become the Yappies

THOSE that aspire to become members of parliament all seem to be members of the non job professions – market researchers, merchant bankers, lawyers, and other assorted people who have never engaged in productive work of any sort. Except perhaps the women who have been mothers. But then rearing children has never been regarded as a prestige occupation and those who aspire to political power soon abandon it for more profitable activities.

In this the most rural of countries an election facilitated by the death of David Penhaligan, who was popular because of his Cornish connection, was competed for by three gentlemen of the above category, and won by the youngest of them. All three gentlemen emphasised their claim to be Cornishmen. One claimed to be a farmer although I doubt whether he actually works on a farm. None of these fellows engaged in traditional Cornish occupations like fishing, farming, china clay digging, or tin mining. One of them has a mother who owns a holiday home. This probably is Cornwall's biggest industry, since wrecking and smuggling died out. The last two or three years have been so wet, that the yuppies and upwardly mobile working class have high-tailed it to warmer climes leaving the Cornish economy in a parlous state.

This up till now has not affected the big farmers who, like their comrades everywhere, just piled their unwanted grain and milk and, exempted from the so-called market economy, got paid anyway. They are now being encouraged to sell land to speculators no doubt for second homes for the upwardly mobile yuppies, while the downwardly mobile inhabitants find it difficult to get reasonable accommodation. They are also being encouraged to afforest the land with serried rows of conifers with adverse effects on weather and wildlife.

Political solutions are always short-term and create new problems as fast as they solve the previous ones. It is not as though the world food shortage has been solved. There is, of course, a revived interest in organic farming as the cost of industrial

farming becomes more apparent. HDRA Sales Ltd have just published a book called *The Zinc Solution* by Professor Derek Bryce-Smith and Liz Hodgkinson (National Centre for Organic Gardening, Ryton-on-Dunsmore, Coventry, CV8 3LG, £3.50). Professor Bryce-Smith was the man who pointed out the dangers of lead in petrol. In this book he points out the dangers of the deficiency of zinc, particularly in vegetarian diets where the provision of properly grown food is of crucial importance. The professor attacks conventional agriculture which 'puts short-term profitability before provision of nutritionally proper food'. This is, of course, the crux of the matter; modern capitalist society does not engage in activities other than those which make financial profit. The cost of this short-term attitude is paid by the community through the health service, water rates, etc., and does not appear on the balance sheets as a cost to the financial operators.

As I wrote in *Anarchy* 41 (July 1964), 'Anarchist society would, I hope, start by asking the right questions: Does it feed? Will it sustain a vigorous and healthy society? The question: Does it pay? except from an ecological point of view, would be dropped from the vocabulary. Exploitation and parasitism would have to cease in relation to the soil, as with people. Techniques of farming would have to suit climate and situations and machines devised to help with the conservation of soils. Countries where the soil is seriously eroded would be assisted with reforestation and irrigation and supplied with other sources of heat and power so that dung is not burnt and hillsides denuded of their cover.'

As I have pointed out also in this article and as *The Zinc Solution* confirms, if you put highly soluble chemicals on the soil, which promotes quick and deficient growth, the soil solution becomes saturated and impedes the take up of less soluble trace elements.

Alan Albon

IN BRIEF

The government has confirmed that it has agreed to security checks by US officials on British companies. It had been suggested that this would only apply to those involved in the offset deal for the AWACS aircraft orders. It turns out that about 1,000 companies may be involved. The Industry Secretary insists that the government does not accept the US claim to 'extra-territorial jurisdiction'; they are only being helpful.

By decisions of South African race courts during 1986, 506 coloureds, 14 Malays, 9 Indians, 7 Chinese and 1 Griqua were reclassified as white. 40 coloureds, 2 Griquas and 1 'other coloured' were reclassified as black. The total number of reclassifications was 1,102. There were no changes from black to white, or white to black.

Three men have been acquitted of attacking the 'moving statue of Ballinspittle' in Ireland. The judge directed that the prosecution had failed to prove that the statue was a place of divine worship. People praying there is not enough. The men were not godless rationalists. They were upset by Roman Catholics adoring false images and breaking the First Commandment.

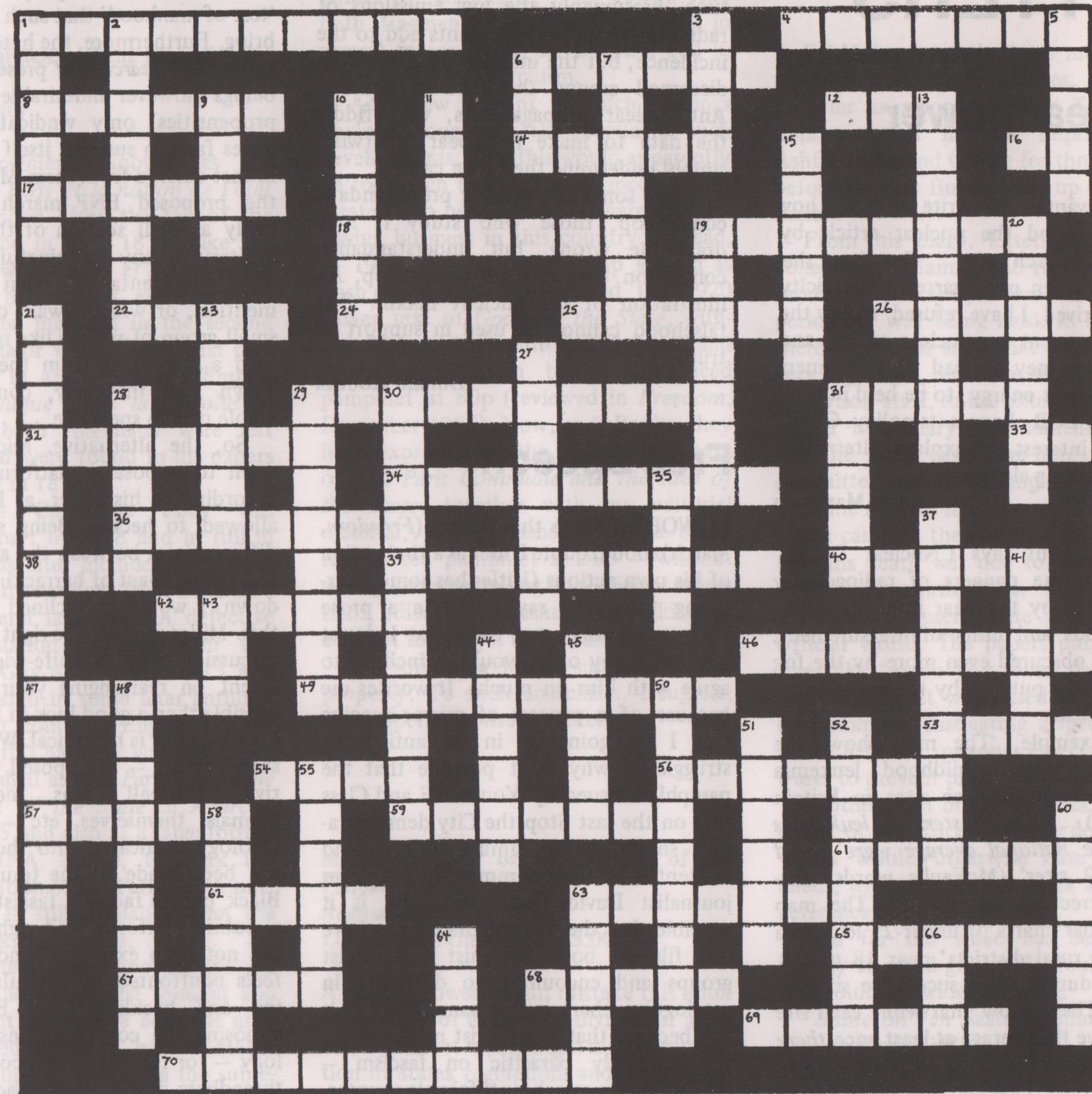
The West German pig, which was promoted from police helper to civil servant for sniffing out drugs, is 'retiring to raise a family', according to the press reports. That is, it is being got rid of and sent for breeding.



illustration from The Pacifist

ANARCHIST

CROSSWORD



ACROSS

- 1 (see 45d)
4 Albert's Surname (see 12) (7)
6 Survivor of the Commune (6)
8 Married Emma Goldman (6)
12, 70, 33, 36. Opened by Stuart and Albert (3, 10, 2, 7)
14 Wandering American (5)
16 (see 17)
17, 16, 47 Divided We Fall (6, 2, 5)
18 Anarchist Historian (7)
19 Saw The Guillotine at Work (8)
22 Not False (4)
24 Sir Herbert (4)
25, 53 Bernard was his middle name (6, 4)
26 Makes Nationalist more Anarchist (5)
29 Togetherness and Paper (10)
31 Media's View Of Anarchist (5)
32 The People Armed (7)
33 (see 12)
34 Anarchist , Class Struggle (see 12) (9)
36 Crash... (3)
39 Worker's Councils Author (9)
40 Early Freedom Editor (5)
42 Mexican Revolutionary (6)
46 Danny and Gabriel's type of Communism (8)

DOWN

- 47 (see 17)
49 Contemporary Nottingham Paper (10)
53 (see 25)
54 Red Danny's first surname (4)
56 and Survive (7)
57 One Of Sam's Enemies (5)
59 Of The Spectacle (7)
61 Edited 'The Anarchist' (6)
62 Prison (4)
63, 19d Starters Of MayDay (7, 7)
65 Reformist Con Party (6)
67 Marx's Kind Of Socialism (5)
68 Pet Name For Berkman (5)
69 Instrumental in the Match-girls Strike (6)
70 (see 12)
13 How Wildcat Spain Came Across Democracy (9)
15 Took L.S.D. and found a New World (6)
19 (see 63a)
20 Long Standing Paper (7)
21 Anarchist Sci-Fi Classic (3, 12)
23 Author Of 21's First Name (6)
27 Terror Or Love (7)
28, 43, 5 Ethel Mannim's Blueprint (5, 3, 5)
29 Upton, Boston Novelist (8)
30 Long Standing Revolutionary Who Died In '42 (4, 7)
31 Shot By Berkman (5)
35 Not For Anarchists (4)
37 Serious (9)
41 Set Used For Layout (5)
43 (see 28)
44, 1a Kropotkin, The Great. (6, 10)
45 Victor (5)
48 Anti-parliamentarian (9)
50 Anarchist Papers Don't Have (9)
51 Industrial Syndicalist Editor (6)
52 Ethel Mannim's Friend (8)
55 Knows Everything (6)
58 Irish Anarchy (7)
60 Editor Of 'The Word' (6)
63 Half Of The War To End All Wars (5)
64 Watchmaking Area And Fed. (4)
66 Try To Stop (3)

contributed by Andy of Sheffield. answers on page 15

LETTERS

Nuclear power

I JUST wanted to write and say how extremely good the nuclear article by K. McFaul (March) was. For about the last year, when my quarterly electricity bill has arrived, I have refused to pay the percentage spent on nuclear energy and sent that money instead to Consumers against nuclear energy, to be held in trust until the CEGB changes its policy. CANE uses the interest to explore alternative ways of making electricity.

Olive Markham

AS K McFaul says ('Nuclear Danger' February), the dangers of radioactivity are obscured by the near impenetrability of methods and units of measurement. They are obscured even more by the fog of half-truths put out by the anti-nuclear propagandists.

For example, 'The map shows the findings of two childhood leukemia surveys around nuclear sites in Britain (1968-84) . . . Clusters of leukemias above the national average were found at all 19 sites' (McFaul's words, misprint corrected; my italics). The map includes bar charts of under-25 leukemia deaths 'in rural districts' near 18 of the 19 sites, during three successive six-year periods. These show that while each site went above the average at least once, *there was no one period when all the sites were above average.* (Taking the whole period of 18 years, four at least of the sites were below average.)

Why 'rural districts' instead of just 'districts'? I consulted one of McFaul's sources (*SCRAM Journal* 57) and found that within 12½ km of one particular nuclear power station, Springfield, there were 60 deaths against an expectation (on the null hypothesis that the nuclear station has no effect) of 56.44; the difference is insignificant. However, when the whole area is divided into 'urban' and 'rural', a highly significant excess of deaths appears in the rural area (and consequently a highly significant *short-fall* of deaths in the urban area, but this is not mentioned). It seems the rural/urban dichotomy is made for the same reason that the period is divided into six-year periods, 'to bring out significance', in other words to keep working over the figures until you find some support for your contention. This is the kind of 'reasoning' by which it is proved the dimensions of the Great Pyramid predict the history of Western Europe.

Leukemia is such a rare illness its

incidence is bound to be scattered unevenly, both geographically and in time. Presumably the low emissions of radiation from nuclear plants add to the incidence, but the increase cannot yet be discerned among the random clusters. Anti-nuclear propagandists, who fiddle the data to make it appear otherwise, simply undermine their own case.

When some anti-nuclear propaganda is codswallop, those who study it may draw the wrong, but understandable, conclusion that it is *all* codswallop. An illustration of the ancient maxim that falsehood cannot be used in support of truth.

Donald Rooum

Free speech

IT WORRIES me that Midge (*Freedom*, March) should quote Hitler as a vindication of his own actions (Hitler has some interesting things to say despite a prose style worse than my own, but I doubt whether many of us would be inclined to agree with him on much). It worries me because of a process of mirror-imaging that I see going on in the anti-fascist struggle — why is it possible that the pamphlets issued by Youth NF and Class War on the last Stop the City demonstration should be so similar in tone and content as to merit comment by *Guardian* journalist David Rose, and why is it possible that the Special Branch can have one file on both anarchist and fascist groups and encounter no difficulty in cataloguing them in the same way? Is it not because that anti-fascist movement is fundamentally parasitic on fascism — where fascists march, anti-fascists counter-march; where fascists attempt to speak or sell their 'literature', anti-fascists attempt to stop them doing so; where fascist violence and intimidation is matched in kind by anti-fascists? More disturbingly, the parallels between fascism and anti-fascism extend to the way they see each other: just as fascists scapegoat Black people as bestial subhumans intent only on interbreeding with blonde Aryan maidens, etc, and Jews are seen as wily conspirators bent on world domination, so *Searchlight*, the Bible of the anti-fascist movement, divides fascists into goons and strategists, the former mindless, murdering and tattooed thugs and the latter conspiring to corrupt the existing order and dominate it, as architects of a new and worse one. (For anarchists, an interesting variation on the latter theme is that the goons are those outside Parliament and its strategists are those in it.)

Naturally, this interrelationship displeases me. Midge must surely have heard of the fascist 'strategy and tension', something continuous confrontation on the streets only feeds. During the 1970s,

the ICF apparently used to turn up at fascist marches eagerly awaiting the 'test of manhood' that such clashes would bring. Furthermore, the hate-filled stereotypes that *Searchlight* presents as human beings (however undesirable their political propensities) only vindicate the stereotypes fascism sustains itself with, and are in fact derived from them. Midge mentions the proposed BNP march in Bradford (only a small section of them are paramilitary in any meaningful sense of the word, incidentally): what he fails to mention, or was unaware of, was that a small group of people like myself were to read a statement from the steps of the Town Hall that day, condemning the whole macho spectacle.

So, the alternative. Midge does not seem to oppose a platform for fascists, according to his letter, as long as one is allowed to heckle. Being someone that differentiates between the art of heckling and the mob-act of barracking the speaker down, I would be inclined to agree with this. Midge may well be right that reasoned discussion with 'a knife-wielding fanatic intent on rearranging your face' is less sensible than a good kick in the groin, but his metaphor is hysterical. What motivates such attacks — as opposed to attacks on rival football fans, neighbourhood animals, themselves, etc — is a fascist ideology incalculated into the thug. Much has been made of the trauma felt by a Black person facing a fascist ideology on a public platform, and rightly so. What has not been explored is how the fascist feels confronted by articulate questioning and heckling from Black people exposing the contradictions of his ideology — for fascism is still convoluted and threadbare despite the impact of Strasserism. It is surprising what a terrible crisis of faith is experienced by such fascists when their experience of Black people as stereotypes, neatly contained between the pages of *Nationalism Today*, is confronted with the human reality. Baffling the head of the serpent, as one might say, can work wonders paralysing its tail.

But here too, we must be prepared for dialogue. Of course we assume ideological superiority over fascism, but doctrines of the primacy of subjectivity and its relationship to power are eminently useful for the anarchist movement, once they are stripped of their post-German Romanticist nationalism.

What weakens us both as individuals and as a movement is our willingness to shy away from others different from ourselves — to see them as categories and roles and not as people. Our role as anarchists should be to unite as free individuals, not dominate by power of the boot.

P.N Rogers
Bradford

REVIEWS

The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State

Michael Bakunin

Bakunin's fragment known as *La Commune de Paris et la notion de l'état* was written soon after the fall of the Paris Commune in May 1871. Like the fragment known as *Dieu et l'état*, which was written before that event, it was intended to be included in the second part of the major work whose first part was published in April 1871 as *L'Empire knouto-germanique et la révolution sociale*, but both fragments were left unfinished and were found in his papers after his death in 1876.

The Paris Commune essay was published in part in 1878 and in full in 1892, and was later included in various editions of and selections from Bakunin's works in several languages. A defective English translation by Karl Lahr was published by Guy A. Aldred in 1913, and extracts appeared in some later anthologies. The first complete English translation, by Geoff Charlton, was edited by me and published as *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State in Anarchy* (New Series) 5 and also as a large-format pamphlet (CIRA, 1971), to mark the commemoration of the Paris Commune. This edition is still available from the Freedom Bookshop at 25p.

Bakunin's text is an important item in his late genuinely anarchist thought and has permanent value. The editorial note which I added in 1971 has inevitably been partly superseded during the subsequent sixteen years. Thus significant new editions of both fragments have been published — English translations of *God and the State* (in the 1910 Freedom Press version) and *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State* (in the 1971 CIRA version) were included in Arthur Lehning's convenient edition of Bakunin's *Selected Writings* (Roots of the Left, Cape, 1973), and the original French texts were included in Fernand Rude's convenient edition of Bakunin's writings in the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, *De la Guerre à la Commune* (Anthropos, 1972) and then in their proper context in Arthur Lehning's

Regrettably we set Howard Moss's letter wrong in our March issue.

The final paragraph should actually read:

The so-called 'middle class' is just another of those fictions well beloved of the powers-that-be inducing workers to make status and wealth distinctions between one another and camouflaging their common class interest.

definitive edition of *L'Empire knouto-germanique et la révolution sociale* (Archives Bakounine, Brill, 1981). And both fragments have been discussed in several recent books on Bakunin and in other books on anarchism.

Any new reprint of such writings obviously ought to take account of such developments, but this would apparently be too much trouble for the incompetent pirates who now infect the anarchist publishing business in this country. Instead, in 1985, the Sheffield group known as Bash'em Books expropriated the 1970 Dover text of *God and the State*, without Paul Avrich's editorial material, and published it as a badly reproduced pamphlet at 80p (reviewed in *Freedom*, December 1985). Now, as B Books, they have expropriated the 1971 CIRA text of *The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State*, together with my editorial material, and published it as a badly reproduced pamphlet at 30p — without asking or even telling the original translator, editor or publisher, and making no attempt to bring it up to date.

For some anarchists, I suppose, theft is property. To such anarchists, I suggest, the proper response is contempt.

NW

Might is Right, or the Survival of the Fittest

Ragnar Redbeard

Loompanics Unlimited, £3.00

A casual browser might mistake this book for a work of extreme individualist anarchism, since it is forthright in its denunciation of states, regulations and 'policeman-ised populations'.

Ragnar Redbeard might have approved of the Nazi state. What he objected to, in the America of 1896, was the state's claim to treat all men as equal, and to protect the cowardly from the warlike, which if the claims could be fulfilled, 'would be insanity, utterly unnatural and immoral'.

His work is a classic of 'Social Darwinism', the doctrine which took 'the survival of the fittest' to mean 'down with weaklings', and made it into a moral precept. But he differs from some other social Darwinists in limiting 'the fittest' to the North European race. The book is metaphysical (demanding obedience to an ineffable entity called 'Nature'), racist, contradictory. Its vitriolic, tub-thumping style would make lively reading for a page or two, but gets boring.

The best part of the present edition is a critical article by S.E. Parker, which is added as an introduction. For those who might like to read it, the article was published in *The Storm!* 13 (Winter 1982/3).

DR

Shine on Jim

A FILM has recently been made about the poet James Heather-Hayes.

After an arson attack on Teddington police station he was imprisoned in Ashford Remand Centre for three months before his case finally came up at the Old Bailey.

From his diary, letters and the recollections of family and friends we have produced a drama/documentary of the period he was being held. In his letters there were clear signs that he was feeling very depressed, but these were ignored by the prison staff, to the extent that he was placed in solitary confinement the day after his court case. Five hours later Jim committed suicide by hanging.

Some months later there was an inquest which came to the unprecedented verdict that his death was due to 'lack of care' by the prison authorities.

Jimmy caused quite a stir in the official world. The papers put up headlines like 'Arson boy found dead in cell' and his inquest was raised in the House of Commons, instigating a special report into Ashford prison, especially procedures to prevent prison suicides.

Nothing can bring him back, but now a side of the story has been documented which would otherwise have remained silent, with government-speak as the only reference to a tragic story.

So far the video has been shown mainly to small groups. It would be great if it could get wider showing.

Shine on Jim lasts 35 minutes and is available on VHS only. It is sold at the genuinely low price of ten pounds, from Phil Stebbing, 20B Kellett Road, London SW2 1EB.

Answers to crossword puzzle

ACROSS: 1 Revolution, 4 Meltzer, 6 Michel, 8 Cotton, 12 The, 14 Nomad, 16 We, 17 United, 18 Nettlau, 19 Krimoff, 22 Tre, 24 Read, 25 George, 26 Inter, 29 Solidarity, 31 Friend, 3 Durruti, 33 OF, 34 Communism, 36 Anarchy, 38 Zapata, 46 Obsolete, 40 Krell, 42 Rapata, 49 Resurgence, 53 Shaw, 47 Stand, 49 Resurgence, 53 Shaw, 54 Cohn, 56 Protest, 57 Syria, 59 Society, 61 Nicol, 62 Nick, 63 Chicago, 65 Labour, 67 State, 68 Sasha, 69 Besant, 70 Floodgates. DOWN: 1 Reclus, 2 Valliant, 3 Seed, 5 Roses, 6 Man, 7 Commune, 9 Opec, 10 Berner, 11 Most, 13 Encounter, 15 Huxley, 19 Martys, 20 Freedom, 21 The Despatch, 23 Urista, 27 Banmann, 28 Bread, 29 Sinclair, 30 Lucy Parsons, 31 Frick, 35 Idol, 37 Realistic, 41 Letra, 43 And, 44 French, 45 Serge, 48 Anarchist, 50 Copyright, 51 Bowman, 52 Reynolds, 55 Oracle, 58 Antrail, 60 Aldred, 63 Class, 64 Jura, 66 Ban.