

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

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Freedom Press

IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
LONDON E.1

Groups

ABERDEEN Libertarian group. Contact c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberystwyth.

BELFAST Anarchist Collective, c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM. Meet Sundays, 8.30pm at the Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. B'ham or Ring Joanna 440 5132 also Anarcha Feminist Group

BRISTOL CITY. 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

BRISTOL Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8
CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY. Alternative Research Group. Contact Wally Barnes, Eliot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.

CARDIFF. Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

CHELTENHAM Anarchists see street-sellers, 11.00-1.30 Saturday mornings at Boots corner, High St.

COVENTRY: John England, Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

DERBY: Collaborators welcome, contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Wetleigh Ave, Derby DE 3 3 BY, tel 368678. No connection with some of the graffiti appearing in the city centre!

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EDINBURGH Anarchists meet at 8 p.m. on Monday at First of May Bookshop, Midrie St.

EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter.

GLASGOW Anarchist Group. Initially, weekly meetings. For further information contact John Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue, Castlemilk, Glasgow G45.

GREENWICH & BEXLEY. Any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group please contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, SE2 9 TU.

HASTINGS Anarchist Group. Solstice, 127 Bohemia Rd, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex. Tel: 0424 429537.

HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.

HUDDERSFIELD. Meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic Students' Union).

HULL Libertarian Collective. Pete Jordan, 70 Perth St, Hull, East Yorks.

LEAMINGTON & WARWICK. c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. 29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

LEICESTER. Anarchist group. Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days). 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop. Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896. Libertarian Education. 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

LONDON

Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av, Tel: 359-4794. Before 7 pm.
Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1, Tel: 247-9249
Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.
London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042
Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd).
West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

MALVERN & WORCESTER area. Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrridge, Malvern, Worcs.

MANCHESTER. c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

MID-SUSSEX Anarchists. Contact Resources Centre, North Road, Brighton

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE. Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

NOTTINGHAM. c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av. Hyson Green (Tel: 708302).
OLDHAM. Anyone interested in forming anarchist group in Oldham area, contact Nigel Broadbent, 31 Cooke St, Failsforth, Manchester. (Activities to be decided on formation).

OXFORD. Danny Simpson, Room 1, Turf St, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH. Caroline Cahm, 25 Albany Road, Southsea, Hants.

READING University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

SALFORD; MOVEMENT FOR ANARCHY Experimental Group 2. Contact SNOWY at 22 George Henry St, Salford 5.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative. John Creaghe Memorial Society.

SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (Tel: 062 2974).

WESTON-SUPER-MARE. Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

WILTSHIRE. Comrades in Swindon wish to start anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton. Swindon. Wilts.

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FEDERATIONS

KENT

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd
Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourn Rd.

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST
FEDERATION**

c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

Groups are:

Burnley Anarchist Group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.
Lancaster Anarchist Group, 41 Main Rd, Galgate, Lancaster.

Manchester Anarchist Group, c/o Grass Roots

Manchester Anarchist Organisation, c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth St, Manchester M13.

Manchester Syndicalist Workers' Federation, c/o Grass Roots.

Newsletter & quarterly meetings, Contacts in other areas.

MIDLANDS FEDERATION: Groups in the Federation include Birmingham, Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield.

**NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST
FEDERATION**

Secretariat: c/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION
Contact: Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St (Top R.), Dundee. Tel: Dundee 814541

'**SOLIDARITY:** a libertarian communist organisation which publishes the journal **SOLIDARITY For Social Revolution**
Local Contacts: Aberdeen c/o 167 King St, Aberdeen. Dundee: c/o N. Woodcock 74 Arklay St, Dundee. Manchester: c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1. Oxford: c/o 34 Cowley St, Oxford. London c/o 123 Lathom Rd, London E6., and members in many other towns.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION

(Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own newspaper Bread and Roses). Local contacts:

London: Danny Jakob, 88 Speedwell House, Cornet St, Deptford, SE8.
Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, BG.

Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill.
Glasgow: Dave Carruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4

Desires

PRISONERS ACTION GROUP

John Nightingale, P.O. Box 82, London E2.

Comrades in the North and West London area who would like to meet an anarchist who is feeling rather isolated please contact Bob Mander, "Viva Zapata", High Line Mooring, Rowdell Road, Northolt.

Any gay person in trouble with the law because of their homosexuality and who needs practical and personal support, or who wishes to join East London Gay Liberation Front and fight anti-gay discrimination in the area write to:-

ELGLF

c/o QMC Gay Liberation Society, Students' Union, Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London E1 4NS

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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It is a well-known fact that we here in Britain have the best Police Forces that money can buy. In return for contributions from both public and private funds which are not more than exorbitant, our boys in blue have made it safe for us to cross the road with old ladies without getting mugged, taught us how to ride bicycles at an early age, supervised the growth of crime and protected the strong from the weak with admirable partiality.

Nor are they content to rest on their laurels. Ever seeking new ways to serve their masters, like the good public servants they are, they have now come forward with good advice on how to cope with social problems. As well as the muscle we are now getting the mouth--plus morality. Admittedly there's not a lot of brain behind the mouth--but who needs brain when you have a length of rubber pipe filled with lead shot or an iron bar?

Is it coincidence or is it a strong hint of things to come that in the past fortnight two of the countries most influential police chiefs have uttered strong words in defence of strong action by the forces of law and order? We have already quoted elsewhere the Metropolitan Police Commissioner's defence of the Special Patrol Group and the Chief Constable of Manchester's call for penal work camps for hooligans who "have no right to be regarded as rational, responsible people".

Both the present Met. Commissioner, David McNee and Manchester's James Anderton are building upon the work of ex-Met. Commissioner, Robert Mark (now selling tyres on the

telly) who said in 1975: 'If the use of force by police officers appears to be the only way of securing the Queen's Peace, it is plainly the duty of the police to use or to authorise the use of, such force as is needed and is lawful, and not to be inhibited from doing so either by the fact that the aims of the demonstration are political or by the inevitable claim that any force used by the police is brutality.'

Mark's great crusade in the Metropolitan Police was to clean up corruption within the force. He retired defeated, but his groundwork in the defence of brutality continues, as the aftermath of Southall shows. Following the death of Blair Peach witnesses have specified that members of the SPG were seen beating him unmercifully; unofficial 'souvenirs'--like rubber coshes--were discovered in the lockers of SPG members, while pathologists have said that Peach's injuries could not have been caused by a regulation police truncheon, but by a rubber cosh. Five members of the SPG were transferred to other duties;

one was detained for a few days and then released. Wllf Gibson, Assistant Commissioner 'in charge' of the SPG has said that he 'didn't know of any officer in the group who had been chosen because he was rugged or brutal'--but the SPG are referred to by other Metropolitan Police units as 'Rent-a-Thug'.

When all this is added to the various incidents of violence by prison officers in the past few years, like the Hull beatings, the beating of Irish prisoners in Winston Green prison after the Birmingham bombings--for which prison officers were tried and found not guilty, and no further enquiries made--it becomes clear that an acceptance of brutality, whether Robert Mark likes the use of the word or not, is widespread in fact among the forces of law and order.

We have used the term 'creeping fascism' before and this--along with all the 'social' bureaucracy which is laid on us--is what we mean by it. We have always maintained that the real threat of fascism

in this country comes not from the goons of the National Front but from the authoritarians who wield the real power.

The pathetic results scored by the NF in the recent general election showed how little appeal it has for the general public, in spite of the hysteria whipped up by the SWP and the ANL. Two sides of the same authoritarian penny, the NF tries to use the blacks as bogeymen to get support through fear--and the authoritarian left tries to use the NF as bogeymen to get support the same way. Both sides are so unattractive to the general public that they score derisory results in elections and muster support only from similar types of bully-boys wanting punch-ups. With the inevitable result that they give ample excuse to the State to increase its repressive strength--which the authoritarians do not really mind since their ambition is to take it over anyway.

It all paves the way to the police state. Messers McNee and Anderton are only doing their job.

REVIEW

ONLY CONNECT...

THE growing animal liberation movement now has its first major magazine. *The Beast*, 'the magazine that bites back', was on sale from last week with an initial print-run of 5000 copies. It is produced on a voluntary basis.

The first issue announces coverage of 'endangered species, oiled birds, smoking beagles, whale wars, deer hunts, fox intrigues, shocked pigs' and has an item on 'how to invent an alien'. There is also news of sabotage in New York, inspired by the work of the ALF in Britain, and a network section. This lists animal lib and/or welfare organisations, including the Hunt Saboteurs and the Thunderbolt Federation of New York which sees 'a near future of unusual anarchist activity, theatrical, dramatic and even civil disobedience, as the expressive mode to gain worldwide attention to the oppression of animals...' Friends of the Earth is rightly described as valuable for information but 'largely non-activist, preferring to work through established systems', a remark which indicates the more militant, and absolutist line that *The Beast* intends to contribute to animalist politics.

The front cover of this first issue is a photograph of 'Guy the Gorilla 1945-1978'. The editorial explains that the magazine 'began with a badge, produced to commemorate the death of Guy the Gorilla who died on the operating table, his teeth rotted by tourists' sweets.

'This in turn led to the production of more badges and two prototype issues of *The Beast* as supplements to *International Times*... The demand was such that we decided to take the next logical step and bring out the magazine that you now hold in your hands...

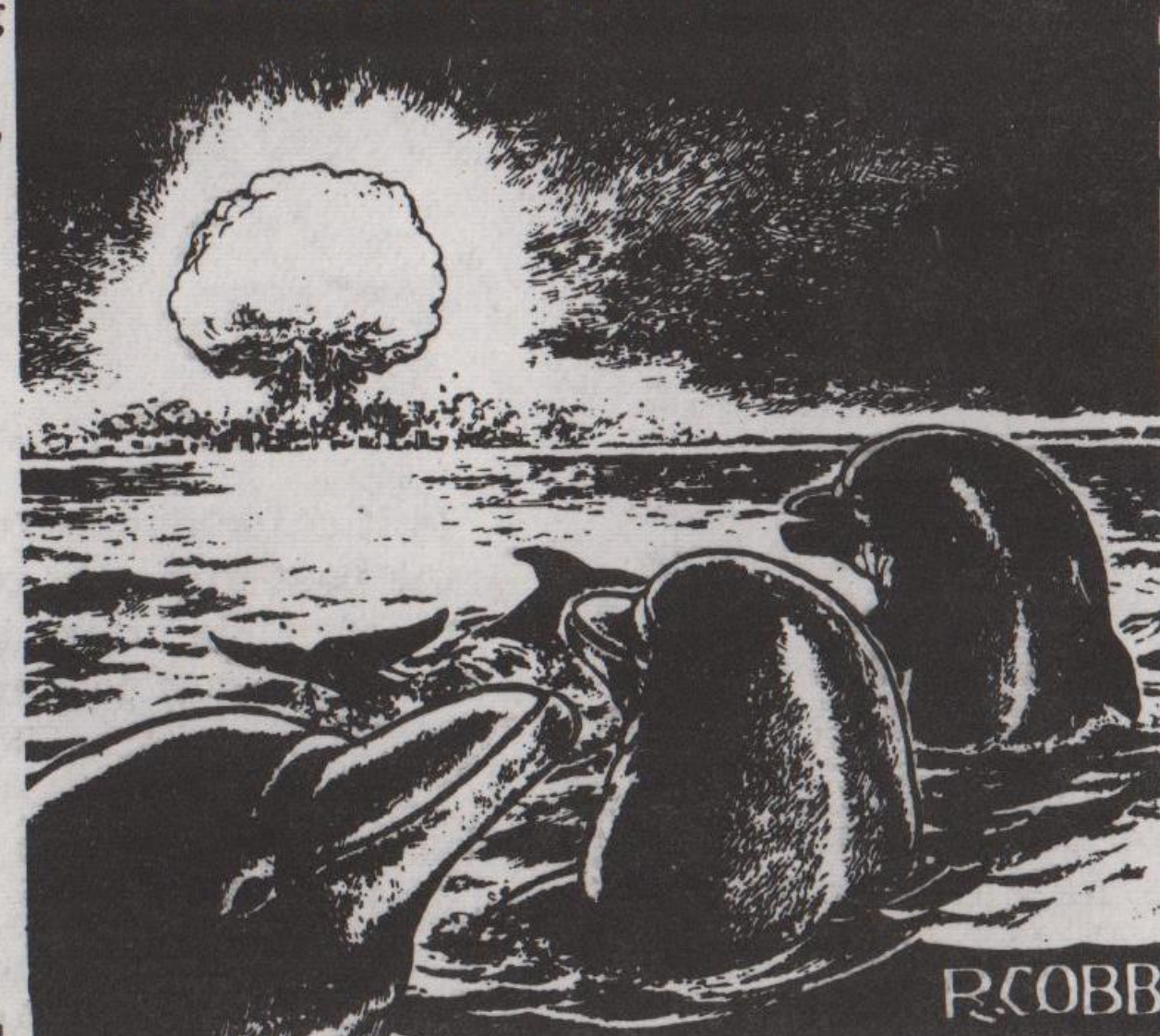
'*The Beast* will provide a much-needed

overview (of the movement) by covering the activities of all animal liberation and allied groups. We hope that the magazine will serve as an information exchange and as a forum for discussion of the issues, tactics and philosophy of the movement'.

As an anarchist who is a supporter of the feminist and gay causes, as well as a contributor to *The Beast*, I can't help feeling that if the implications of sexual liberation are wide (as they effect the future of the nuclear family, the institution of the couple, the development of more communal life styles and so forth) the implications of animal liberation go wider still in their potential for social revolutionary change.

This view is undoubtedly perverse and

BLESSED ARE THE MEEK: FOR THEY SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH.



PCOBB

bizarre not only to the traditionalists who have just begun to admit there could be something in feminism, but to some ardent feminist and gay militants too. As well as the need to change the way we live together and how we use language, however, animal liberation involves the need to change what we eat and wear, how and why we practice scientific research (behavioural research, for instance), how we practice medicine, how we farm and all the implications for the economic structure, the ecology, the landscape etc. that this entails.

Animal lib is no soft touch. It is the natural consequence of the older liberation movements; it represents the toughest and most demanding challenge yet to those who take their social revolution seriously!

To my mind, anarchists are the logical political champions of this movement and I hope that *The Beast* will find support among us. It costs 40p. It will appear every two months, and a yearly subscription of £3 can be sent to 2 Blenheim Crescent, London W.11, from which badges are also available. (Tel: 727-4712).

GAIA

'If all the beasts were gone, man would die from great loneliness of spirit, for whatever happens to the beast happens to the man. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth' (Chief Sealth)

'That's my private ant. You're liable to break its legs'. (Albert Schweitzer to a 10-year-old boy).

TORNNESS CONTROVERSY

Newcastle.

Dear comrades

Alan Albon's report on the Torness gathering ('Anarcho-catalysts', in *Freedom* 8 & 9) was misleading, and even dishonest, in several important ways. Alan is a good friend and will (I hope) continue to be, but I really have to register my protest at his version of what happened at Torness.

It is dishonest to suggest that the Anarchist Workshop on Saturday afternoon was an 'unofficial Torness Alliance meeting', when most people on the two sites didn't even know it was taking place. And it is dishonest to suggest that the Gathering received press coverage only because a few people broke into the machinery compound - a lot of press coverage only noted in passing that anything had happened at the compound at all.

This incident at the compound raises much broader issues. Maybe Alan and others are not aware just how pissed off a lot of people were about what happened at the compound. Maybe they just saw themselves as autonomous innovators, but a lot of people saw them as elitists, intent on dividing the movement and ignoring collective decisions.

If the Torness Alliance was a bureaucratic, hierarchical set-up, then I'd be delighted at any constructive alternatives which developed. But the Torness Alliance has in fact a rough & ready libertarian structure, and certainly over the weekend that structure was functioning pretty well. We anarchists are always prattling on about affinity groups and mandated, recallable delegates - well, at the Gathering we had them. Decisions over that weekend were made collectively, by consensus if possible, on the basis of delegates (spokes) from affinity groups. Now it seems to me that this is a test case for anarchists. Are we actually prepared to get down to it & work within libertarian structures where they exist, even if a lot of the other people are not avowed anarchists? Or do we prefer to retain our 'purity' - and our irrelevance - and stay outside all structures?

Unfortunately, there was no suggestion in Alan's article that this libertarian decision-making structure even existed, or that long meetings were held in which fundamental issues were thoroughly discussed.

It's ironic that the label 'anarchist' is used to refer to two, fundamentally opposed, political styles. On the one hand it can refer to libertarian socialism, emphasising open, grass-roots-democratic, syndicalistic forms

of organisation. And on the other it can refer to individualist opposition to all organisation. The first is a way of working to change the world; the second never gets beyond symbols and gestures of protest.

Those anarchists who broke into the compound at Torness were anarchists of the second type. They either didn't care, or didn't bother to find out, that collective decisions had been taken at a long spokes meeting the night before, concerning the nature of the action on Sunday. These decisions centred on the idea that damage to property would be avoided if possible. Now we can disagree with the particular decision - as I do - while respecting it as an overwhelming majority sentiment, arrived at after long discussion. There's no way anyone can claim that the 'no damage' commitment was foisted on us by a manipulative minority. So, while disagreeing with the decision, I believe that anarchists should have respected it and abided by it, in recognition of the open and libertarian way in which it was reached.

Some comrades may feel strongly that they disagree with the Torness Alliance's 'non-violent' stance - but if they feel that strongly, why did they come to the Gathering in the first place. Some comrades may feel strongly that sabotage is the only way to stop nuclear power - in which case why wait for that particular weekend in order to start the sabotage campaign. In fact I got the distinct impression that those individuals who talked most vociferously about the need for sabotage were more interested in posing as 'militant', than in working to stop nuclear power.

Overall, I enjoyed Torness. But at times, I actually felt quite ashamed to be an anarchist. A lot of people whom I like and respect identified the compound incident with 'the anarchists', and identified 'the anarchists' as a bunch of immature elitists. I feel that the compound incident simply reinforced the traditional stereotype of anarchism in a lot of minds - that it's about disorder and chaos, irresponsible minority action, and opposition on principle to organisation and unity.

I want to see the anti-nukes movement taking a radical libertarian socialist direction. The way for that to happen is for anarchists to work in their local anti-nukes groups, and in the Torness Alliance, arguing for their ideas and responding sensitively to the points of view of the many other people who are involved. The way it won't happen is if people reject all forms of organisation

and collective decision-making, and go off on a series of meaningless sporadic adventures. Posing as a militant minority may be good for a few egos, but it won't stop nuclear power.

MARTIN SPENCE

A REPLY

I've just read this letter whilst dropping into *Freedom* for a couple of hours, and I must add a footnote as it has made me really angry. I was at Torness, with my affinity group, and we have always participated in the Alliance, both regionally and nationally. The May weekend was specifically for direct action against the construction site, and that was the reason for travelling 800 miles, NOT just to put on a show for the media. The fact that Martin joins in the general obsession with attacking the 400 of us who carried out this successful action, shows that he has fallen for the media/liberal crap of 'protest politics - but don't rock the boat'.

As far as consensus decision making goes, how can a consensus have been reached which tried to suppress the desires of 400 of the 1500 or so who actually occupied the site. Such a consensus can only result from the imposition of dogma (non-violence) co-optation (smile at the journalists & TV, we need a good 'image') and collective bureaucracy (decisions of delegates will be final and adhered to by ALL).

My affinity group supports the Alliance - an alliance of differing strategies, groups and beliefs - as an instrument to co-ordinate and facilitate opposition to Torness for all those active through it. It should not be imposing a particular belief or strategy on its members.

People at Torness expressed opposition to nuclear power in many ways, and rather than each group to harangue the others, saying 'Stop it', do it MY way', it is far better that we give each other solidarity and respect. In my group's opinion, climbing over bales of hay, instead of going through a cut fence, or having buddhist monks leading a march (thankfully not at Torness this year) is BAD publicity. However we defend and support people's right to do as they wish, as long as they do not oppress us. It is our contention that an unrepresentative Alliance bureaucracy is developing (witness instant statements to the press, deals with the police etc.) which must be opposed. The 400 or so 'elitists' were acting in the spirit of the movement while the others were either taking

continued on p. 5

Anarchy in the 80s

IT IS IMPORTANT that we immediately open a debate about the role and nature of the anarchist movement, especially in respect of its development and direction during the next few years. Capitalism is in a state of crisis - self-induced and deliberate it may be, but nevertheless this crisis is a response to a number of very real problems, including:-

- (1) The global ecological crisis
- (2) The intense nature of class struggle, which, although it may assume a different form and priorities in different parts of the world (and at different times) is now truly international

We see these problems reflected in the dilemma facing 'our' own ruling class - a dilemma in that it is itself in a state of paralysis, divided between the representatives of old and new forms of 'capital' - the owners of wealth v. the controllers of knowledge and information. Of course, these two groups still have many interests in common, but there is a small and increasing divergence.

The straight left (IMG, SWP etc) has been unable to make any real headway in this situation, and remains small and insignificant. We should not, however, underestimate the importance of the part played by these groups in the creation of both the Anti Nazi League and Rock Against Racism. There's been too much rubbish written by libertarians about the weaknesses of these two organisations (for example the International Communist Current article in World Revolution, and the leaflet put out by the Capitalist Worker Party from a box no. at Rising Free) and no attempt to understand or learn from their strengths, both have come close to the creation of decentralised mass movements, and have captured the imagination and support of large numbers of working class kids in a way no-one else has been able to. As an incidental by-product an enormous street-level interest in anarchism has also been generated.

If the straight left is small, the anarchist movement is tiny, spends far too much time preaching to the converted and re-fighting the Russian Revolution and the Spanish Civil War/Revolution. Of course we can learn from history, but that's no reason why our theory and practice should remain rooted in the past. It is surely no accident that the single most comprehensive introduction to anarchism in pamphlet form remains Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism*, which was written in the 1960s and consequently (through no fault of the author's) gives little consideration to the women's movement or the ecological crisis. There is also a distressing tendency for anarchists to isolate themselves from potential allies. For example, the Anarchist Workers' Association was subjected to quite bitter criticism in some papers, including *Black Flag* and *FREEDOM*, which surpassed that direct-

ed against the Tories. OK, we may disagree on matters of tactics and organisation, but our revolution cannot be made without allowing people to choose the tactics and methods of organisation most relevant to their own needs. Small wonder that the Libertarian Communist Group (formerly AWA) felt more at home with Socialist Unity.

Our immediate need, however, is to create a revolutionary movement, using those slender resources we have effectively. The major weakness of the movement is an almost total lack of any means of mass communication, and yet if the theory mentioned above (i.e. the control exerted over knowledge and information by the ruling class) is correct, then the obvious role of any revolutionary organisation is to break down this monopoly. What kind of mass communications? Well we could try improving the methods we already use - producing a wider variety of anarchist stickers and establish a pool of leaflets and posters around a series of particular themes. There are real problems in trying to achieve a mass circulation monthly or weekly anarchist paper, even if Zero nearly made it, but there's no reason why we couldn't try to strengthen the precarious position of the libertarian papers produced in different towns (eg. Big Print, Grapevine, Glasgow People's Press, Leeds Other Paper etc) or start papers if they don't already exist - even if they're 'only' duplicated scandal sheets like *Poison Pen*. (I don't intend 'only' to be derogatory in any way - it's a good publication).

There's also cheaper methods of communication such as radio. Anarchists in France and Spain are already involved in pirate radio, while the whole autonomous movement in Italy is organised around radio stations. Basic equipment isn't expensive, only about £100 for a suitable transmitter, and the potential audience is enormous.

Of course, direct action remains our strongest weapon and our best means of communication. Actions like those at *Torness* speak volumes, and the construction of real alternatives to existing institutions demonstrates precisely what is possible - although we need to raise our sights a little. After free schools what about free 'universities' and learning exchanges? They should be easier to organise, in fact, and the possibilities created by cut-backs in the straight system shouldn't be ignored. From squatting houses we need to move on to include squatting land and erecting our own structures. From campaigning against arms exports and militarisation we must go on to sabotage - small scale, the kind of thing anyone can do: leaking documents, brick-through-window, the war of the flea.

We also need to look again at organisation: our inability to organise even a small industrial organisation is a major

weakness, but might reflect on the type of organisation we should create. Similarly, the failure to develop even a rudimentary federation of groups poses serious problems, which might be overcome with a little imagination and effort - perhaps we could learn from the women's movement here?

All the conditions that we require exist; the parts are all around us, and wait only to be put together. In spite of a massive increase in empathy with anarchist ideas, we're in danger of spoiling it. We need to do three things immediately:-

- (1) create an open flexible anarchist movement
- (2) develop a variety of means of mass communication
- (3) isolate a series of tactical priorities for the future

And just remember, one tube of super-glue can shut a bank for an hour or two: what can you do with a boxful?

MILLIE JACKSON

Note: see also Paul Buckland's remarks on organisation, *Review*.

DDs DISCHARGED

First victory against the cops and the obstruction laws! The Nine Clowns of Demolition Decorators were given absolute discharges at Wells Street Magistrates Court on 12 June after two and a half days' hearing spread over nine months. It was proved that the 'obstruction' was caused by the police, not by the marching demonstrators. The fuzz asked them to stop, so it was their fault as technically in law an obstruction cannot be caused by anybody or thing in motion. We have other obstruction cases pending and would welcome support at any of the following court appearances (including DD lunchtime street show outside the court):

- The T-Bone 3, 2 p.m. Bow St Magistrates Court, Thursday 5 July. Arrested when giving out free food in support of *Garners* strikers.
- The Leicester Square 4 - (what again?!) 10 a.m. Wells St, Magistrates Court, weds. 22 August. Arrested while performing in protest against the previous arrest of other street performers.
- The man in the Tube-2pm Horseferry Row (Victoria) Magistrates Court, Weds. 26 Sept. Arrested during 5 day vigil outside London Transports H.Q. in protest against L.T.s byelaws against buskers.

PRU.

NEW WAVE OF REPRESSION IN ITALY (WITH CP HELP)

SINCE the Moro murder last year state repression in Italy has risen to a new level. In itself this is not surprising. Moreover, the murders of Buback and Schleyer in West Germany in 1977 provided a perfect example of the alacrity of politicians and judiciary in clamping down on the activities and publications of extra-parliamentary left wing groups and anarchists. The 'Buback obituary', Agit printers and Nuremberg prisoners' group cases (all reported on in previous issues) are only some of a great many to affect free speech in West Germany after the RAF commando attacks on the regime's top brass. And the process continues.

But while in Germany it has gone to absurd lengths against numerous small groups of students, 'extremists' and 'sympathisers', in trying to prevent the free flow of discussion about urban guerrilla warfare and the nature of the 'freest regime in German history', in Italy the whole left academic, anti-establishment Establishment is being drawn into the judicial net. And while one can always expect a level of state repression in proportion to the amount of active resistance to it (greater in Italy than in any other West European country except possibly Spain), still the extent and sheer nerve (or desperation?) of this new state offensive has taken the breath away. One left-wing magazine in this country remarked that it was like arresting the whole staff of an Oxford college.

The simile is not really apposite; in no way can Oxford academics be compared to the Paduan professors in question. Antonio Negri, Oreste Scalzone et al worked as militants and ideologists of the street-warrior Autonomia movement which blossomed forth in the insurrectionary period of 1977, and for years previously were active revolutionary communists and members of the workerist Potere Operaio (Workers' Power) which grew out of both the students' movement and the Fiat struggles of the turn of the decade. Unlike any academic in Britain they are thus part of a substantial (if complicatedly fragmented) left wing revolutionary movement - a movement fertilised by 30 uneasy years of Christian Democrat rule, nourished by the lack of any pretence at parliamentary opposition after the formation of the CD/Communist coalition of which Moro was architect. (Only the Radicals remain as a tiny if growing irritation on the body politic).

Toni Negri, professor of State doctrine at Padua University, and eight colleagues, were arrested in April 1979 and charged with 'subversive association' and 'participation in an armed band', the usual charges against alleged terrorists. The basis for these charges, in Negri's case, seems mainly to be the tape of a Red

Brigade phone call to Moro's wife, identified as bearing the voice imprint of Negri. (The tape has been tested on the Wiesbaden computer in West Germany and has been sent to the USA for further examination). Negri is also said to have provided the ideological inspiration of the Red Brigades, and Autonomia, in which he was involved, to have given them their 'legal base'.

In relation to these arrests there are several points to consider. In listing them as follows I make no pretence at giving anywhere near a true picture of all the complex issues involved.

- After the murder of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades, the governing parties and political system in general sink still lower in the public's estimation. Shock and sympathy generated by the death give way to contempt at the failure to land a big terrorist catch. The elections approach, and it could boost the coalition usefully if the ringleaders were rounded up beforehand. The investigating judges therefore insist that Negri, Scalzone and the rest were not only the leaders of Pot-op (despite Negri's apparent denial that a leadership structure existed) but by extension the leaders of the Red Brigades too.

- The arrests serve to conveniently link the various different political groupings to the left of the Communist Party, including or as well as (it depends how you see the position) anarchists. * At one blow the whole of Autonomia, with its several different currents, various independent guerrilla groups, the Red Brigades, themselves torn with dissension, and the Red Army Fraction are together involved in the Moro affair. Latest ploy in the attempt to make them all co-conspirators is the testimony of a suspect that two alleged Red Brigadiers, Adriana Faranda and Valerio Morucci, recently arrested in Rome, were recommended to her as lodgers by a comrade of Negri's, Franco Piperno).

- As in West Germany, the extra-parliamentary opposition has virtually been charged with 'spiritual terrorism' through these arrests. Although Negri's writings have strategically criticised the Red Brigades for their authoritarianism and statism, as opposed to support for mass sabotage and a more socially diffused guerrilla activity, investigating judge Calogero and his friends insist that these writings served as the ideological springboard for terrorist activity in Italy, and are as such evidence of conspiracy.

- The role of the Italian Communist Party should not be underestimated. In Italy many of the judges, Calogero included, are known Communist Party members. The hostility of the CP to any-

thing on their left is common knowledge. The CP can now fairly be described as the law-and-order party in Italy today, particularly since the events of Bologna and Rome in 1977.

- Quite simply, nothing concrete (with the highly dubious exception of the taped phone conversation) has emerged from the investigations so far.

So, what do these points add up to? Well, they are self-explanatory, and it is not for us to speculate as to the 'guilt' or 'innocence' of the accused. But apart from noting the lack of solid evidence so far, one overwhelming conclusion can be drawn. The Italian state is making its most determined bid yet to silence and destroy the revolutionary left and revolutionary libertarian movements. It is a bid at least as determined, and as desperate, as that of Piazza Fontana when a group of anarchists were made the scapegoats for a massacre carried out by neo-fascists in conjunction with the state security force, the SID.

And if we dedicate an occasional column or two to the progress of the Moro affair, it is not because we fear above all for the welfare of people like Negri, already well-known and thus at least well defended by the intelligentsia of Italy and France; it is because of the implications of these arrests for those persecuted and imprisoned in a country where they have become increasingly isolated and forgotten and who have only the likes of us to speak for them.

GAIA

* The anarchists of Azione Rivoluzionaria will be the subject of a separate article.

TORNESS

continued from p.3

other forms of action (building a croft, planting flowers, digging holes, constructing signs etc.) or were being shepherded together by would-be leaders and given a lecture. This lecture warned of 'extremists, wreckers, not in the Alliance, going against the spokes' decisions, we must tell the nice journalists and police immediately to CONDEMN them". I enjoyed *Torness*, as did my colleagues, and respect all the activities and personalities I encountered there. But I will NOT be CONDEMNED by anyone. That is the State's function, which is why I am an anarchist. Down with *Torness*. The struggle is just starting! Solidarity to all those opposing and publicising nuclear power'. Beware of Greeks bearing gifts'. DAVE MORRIS

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

"Couldn't manage a piss-up in a brewery"-a very common comment by a worker usually occurring after seeing a hard day's work arbitrarily scrapped due to a "change of plan". What plan?

What is the role of a manager in the present set-up? S/he will tell you that it is the efficient use of:

a) **Manpower**. By this s/he means that s/he is not only going to get sweat out of you and Charlie... s/he's also going to get Blood. S/he also means "Why employ Charlie... you can do his job as well, for the money you're getting now."

b) It is the efficient and economical use of money. Now here, he really means what he says. To keep his job in the hierarchy he must be able to show the directors a bloody good reason why he had to spend money that could have gone into their profits.

This not only means cutbacks but also means short cuts, which often means antiquated tools and machinery, lack of facilities (canteens, rest rooms, lockers etc) and the employment of dangerous practices which are designed to exploit the workers' ignorance of Fire, Health and Safety Regulations, often hovering on the very edge of the legality which offers some protection under the Factory Acts.

c) The efficient and economical use of materials. Here it is not the productive worker who suffers directly so much as the "connedsumer" when s/he has to buy the shoddy product... once again often kept barely within the limits of the so-called Consumer Protection Act. There is however another side more directly affecting the worker, through the practice of which s/he is denied the gratification and sense of achievement that craftspeople once had... the dehumanising methods of mass-production.

d) This brings us to the last claim of management: the efficient and economical use of space and time. (No, Although each believes him or herself to be a genius, they are not making pretensions at being budding Einsteins-for most of them would be hard pushed to mend a fuse.) By this they mean that they claim they can work the arse off twenty of their workers standing in a cardboard box.

Now, let us see how they achieve all this economic use and efficiency. They must:

a) Give the workers the impression that they know the whole process from A to Z. Actually in most cases they haven't a clue and would probably balls up any job if they tackled it.

b) Exercise all the authority their job gives them, but be careful to sidestep any responsibility it entails, making sure the buck is passed down the line to the appropriate fall guy.

c) Win approval by getting maximum labour power with minimum labour costs-that is employing as few workers as possible under intensified production.

d) Develop the art of ambiguity, always leaving a get-out clause allowing for future use of such phrases as "Why wasn't it done? Must I tell you everything?"

e) Appear to be reviewing the progress of the job. This is to keep the worker in fear of losing his or her job by dropping little hints like "Do we really need all these people to do such a simple little thing?"

f) Emphasise the control of cost again and again and again. This helps to deter the worker from asking for a rise.

g) Be expeditious in the use of overtime, avoiding weekends, when workers get time and a half or double time. It can also sometimes be used to pit worker against worker and therefore break up solidarity.

h) Always be disappointed with results. "Pity-I thought we were going to get more done, etc."

i) Encourage the crawlers even from other departments. It might give you a 'one-up' on another manager in front of the Directors.

j) Do not give out information ad-lib. If other managers get it, they might beat you to the punch and if the workers get it they may realise what's going on. For this reason never tolerate an underling who is too bright-s/he could be a threat to your job and may show up your ignorance.

k) When talking to visitors about a job, remember to use words like 'we' and 'our job'. An occasional 'Bill' or 'Jean' goes down well, too... but remember that you are always 'Sir' or 'Mrs'.

l) Get workers to submit ideas for improving production and techniques (after all, they're the only ones who know what the

hell is going on) and you may be able to pass them off to the board as your own. m) Although it is a good thing in general to select a worker for having an ability or training in a specific job, nevertheless the more universal their usage the better, insidious little extras can be added, often without their noticing.

n) Remember that a round of golf or "One of my men will fix your car" will oil the wheels that carry you upwards, but never socialise with those below you-unless it is purely tactical and known to be so by your superiors.

If these general guidelines are carried out by a manager (or supervisor aspiring to become a manager) they will enhance his/her chances of climbing, especially if the right social background has been provided, through the public school, family connections, Guard's Officers' or Old Boys' Club, Freemasons etc

You can even be on the right wing of the Labour Party and still be accepted. Right connections and right tactics and you too could become a Scientific Managing Bastard, such are the opportunities that exist in the prostitution we call industry.

Remember that good old Wobbly quote "It's not that no man can serve two masters, it's that no man should serve one master."

Bob Mander

LETTER

ANARCHIST CERTAINTY

Dear Editors

Writing as one of those anarchists who did not attend the seminar on 'Anarchism and Law' at Erasmus University, Rotterdam in January, I must protest that Thom Holterman in his report is being disingenuous when he claims that there is no certainty as to who exactly is an anarchist. There is quite clearly a main body of anarchist ideas and attitudes inspired by, and developed from, the writings and activities of people like Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta and this corpus cannot be closely identified with all forms of libertarianism. It may be that to pass judgement as to who is a real anarchist and who is not smacks of intolerance and arrogance foreign to the true spirit of anarchism - but it is nonetheless true that it is nonsensical to conclude that because there is "no finite number of unshakeable criteria for determining whether one is an anarchist or not", that anarchism is only a vague field of thought where there is no real difference between mainstream anarchism and 'fringe' anarchism. My misgivings about the seminar arose from the fact that mainstream anarchism did not really seem to be adequately represented in the papers prepared for it. Obviously this was not the organisers' fault, but Thom's insistence that you can never be really sure as to who actually is an anarchist does not really help!

Nevertheless, I feel anarchists should have made more of an effort to take part in the seminar at Rotterdam - including myself. After all, an attempt to organise a serious discussion of anarchism is a rare event in academic circles, indeed no academic institution in this country - least of all a department of law - would touch such a project with a barge pole!

As a matter of fact the papers produced by Thom Holterman, and the professor of law in Rotterdam - Henc van Maarseveen, were very interesting and it is to be hoped that they will be made more generally available in the near future.

CAROLINE CAHM
Southsea, Hants.

DONATE!
EVEN YOUR THOUGHTS MIGHT
BE INTERESTING TO
SOMEONE!

THE DUAL APPROACH

Dear friends

A reply to your responses to my letter (FREEDOM vol. 40 no. 5). First, I did not seek to suggest that anarchists are inactive and irrelevant in Britain today. I know this is not true.

Secondly, while being aware of Marxist ambiguities on the state, I am also very much aware that revolutions tend to stem from DIVISIONS IN THE RULING GROUPS. Such divisions occur because of the presence of various kinds of radicals within the systems and structures where the revolution occurs. I don't know of a revolution that has happened without this situation although I am open to correction on this. It follows that participation within the system can lead to revolutions because of incompatibilities of views of those working within the state. Promoting revolution in the heart of the Leviathan of the state may be an unpalatable idea to anarchists but I believe that people can work within the state without totally subscribing to all that such participation implies in the anarchist understanding of the state. The revolution libertarians carry is akin to a social disease - it can only be spread by intimate contact. The Young Liberal Movement is open to the participation of people who seek to improve the libertarian understandings of Liberals. Equally, the Labour Party Young Socialists, the senior Labour Party, the trade unions and the Socialist Workers' Party can be entered without too much difficulty. The experience may not be pleasant but it will provide both practical understanding of the internal workings of political parties and unions and thus render anarchist critiques far more relevant to politically active people. I am reminded of Christian missionaries seeking to spread the gospel among cannibals! Nevertheless, to oppose

a structure requires that its weaknesses be exploited. The weakness of the above organisations is that they are open to anyone's participation - this is a gift that really should not be ignored.

I said above that I recognise the anarchist contribution to politics in Britain. I also feel that contribution could be far greater. A strategy as outlined above would have the following effects:

ONE - It would become necessary for all kinds of political groups to acknowledge the existence of anarchism and produce criticisms of it.

TWO - The distribution of anarchist/libertarian books, pamphlets and journals would rise dramatically and the commercial publishers would respond to public demand.

THREE - One would be able to enjoy the curious spectacle of hearing people call themselves anarchists in a wide variety of groups - with effects on those groups that may be imagined!

The immediate response of many anarchists to the above suggestions will be that, for the anarchist, to participate in such organisations is to sustain them and the state and that this is bad. To this I counter, the ideas of anarchism have always achieved most when in confrontation with the forces of the state. What better way, as an idealist, to conspire against society than by using some of the props of present society as a vehicle for fostering libertarian social change? I think the revolution is something we ought to hurry along rather than wait for the structures to fall by lack of participation. Such a method suggests we have the time to wait for people to turn to libertarian ideas and practices. The slow corruption of our environment, the arms race and the steady extensions of state power cry out for a fresh approach that recognises the power of the state over its participants and seeks to 'split the mind' of the State. The Young Liberals have had such an approach for many years that only lacks supporters for it to be made effective. This we call the DUAL APPROACH - working within the system to create trends towards decentralisation and liberalisation - working outside the system to encourage the development of new organisations based on libertarian ideas which will replace existing repressive structures. Without a large body of active supporters, Young Liberal attempts to operate this principle of politics have been small, insignificant ventures. Many people of libertarian views have left the Young Liberals because of failures to put ideas into practice - in their place have come people who know nothing of libertarian thought and whose politics vary little from the traditional liberalism exemplified by the vote-chasers who represent the Liberal Party in Parliament.

The restricting effects of long tradition are likely to prevent all but a few anarchists from accepting ideas like those expressed here - I think they confuse issues by failing to accept the challenges offered to them by the existence of structures such as political parties. One can oppose the state from within by forcing libertarian ideas to the attention of people within statist organisations. Such people will always be more responsive to those within their organisation than to those without. Throwing stones at a distance may be easier for the thrower than smashing the glass with the aid of a boot but which is more effective?

JOHN GOLDEN

Reply:

This is the equivalent of the Trotskyists' tactic of 'boring from within' the Labour Party. We can only say 'good luck' to John Golden and hope he doesn't get bored to death in the process!

icently concerned about my neck to use an alias.

However, comrades, don't take any notice of exaggeration. No matter the source, check out the source first.

Faternally,
MICHAEL CHRUSZCZEWSKI

Surrey

REFRESHING!

Dear FREEDOM

As I have said before I think your paper is a refreshing contribution to radical politics, and although I cannot support all the aims of the anarchist movement, I believe FREEDOM is an excellent publication and as long as I can afford to do so I will keep up my subscription...

Yours radically
CHRIS HARE
Goring-by-Sea, Sx.

**SUBSCRIBE! WRITE!
GIVE!**

DON'T EXAGGERATE!

Dear comrades

I refer to your review of 'The Lovely Years' by Rainer Kunze. The first thing I would like to say is that either your reviewer is distorting life in the GDR or the author is. Or the translation of the original manuscript is rubbish.

The reviewer/author cites a 'case' of a 6-year-old boy sticking pins through toy soldiers. Wrong though this may be it's not a trait peculiar to young boys living in the GDR. All young kids play war games and they very often take the form described in your paper. The enemy merely changes at the borders of the German states.

Let us now consider the case of schoolboy N who is expelled from all schools in the state for refusing to become an army officer cadet. Is this the normal reaction of the state? No. I know of similar cases in the GDR, where the state's only react-

ion has been to defer conscription until the person reaches his mid-twenties.

As for the Christian schoolboy killing himself, people in the GDR kill themselves at an alarmingly high rate. However, lack of religious freedom isn't, except in rare cases, one of the reasons. In fact religion in the GDR isn't discouraged nearly enough.

As for the Hitlerian teachers, in the USSR they are Stalin worshippers and in the UK neo-fascists. No matter the political cloak, they have the same face and get the same beatings from the kids after dark.

Someone's creating false impressions regarding the GDR. The GDR is certainly one of my least favourite places. However, the tentacles of the state don't stretch as far as some think. Simply because the people are apathetic and the state is getting lazy. The only people they bust are 'ordinary' criminals and politicians and I'm suff-

INDUSTRIAL PEONAGE

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This technologist stratum, like its kindred caste, the executive, does certainly come to the labour market treating with the capitalists on equal terms. It is constantly on the look-out for sideways promotion, and thus does sell its labour power, by preference, for restricted periods. It can afford to move house, may even be able to insist that the new boss pays for that move, at frequent intervals. Thus the very sections of the 'proletariat' that are least likely to recognise themselves under the label of working class, the very section that is the least alienated from power over its own life-styles, the least deprived of the comforts of life, is the only section that does in fact retain long-term ownership of its labour power, selling it merely in the short term.

The majority of the working class, menaced as it is by unemployment, sells its labour power, as far as it is able, for lengthy periods, or indeed for life. It hopes to achieve a pension at the end of its days; in order to qualify for council house or mortgage it needs to stay some years in the same place, and the growth of monopoly makes its choice of jobs smaller within any given area. In order that its children will have a relatively undisturbed education, it again resists pressures - from the capitalists - towards mobility of labour.

Indeed, this is not the only sign that many workers have fallen below the essential conditions Marx set for the proletariat - and I do not here refer to the unemployed, let alone the lumpen-proletariat - for in many industries (notably construction) there are sub-contractors responsible for hiring and firing, for providing the site-employer with the necessary staff. The workers sell their labour power permanently (and thus themselves) to the sub-contractors and those sub-contractors sell the same labour power as a commodity (on which they make a profit) like any other commodity to the employers. Temporary agencies for clerical workers frequently operate on this basis and there is a tendency for the more bureaucratically corrupted trade unions to do the same. Moreover, in many modern states, originally in the form of fascism, but since under war emergencies, successive industrial regulations or social contracts, 'corporatist legislation' has increasingly undermined the normal control of the workers over the daily sale of the commodity of their labour power. Striking, the only remaining control most workers retain over their labour power sale, is under threat and has actually been renounced in some industries.

Thus we have, in large measure, a mass industrial peonage; a class that sells its labour power on a permanent basis, thus selling not its actual power but its potential. It is a difference equivalent to that between the old artisan weaver who sold some cloth but retained the right to make more and sell it elsewhere, and the later artisan who sold to the outwork capitalist the right to buy his/her products on a permanent basis, thus making the first step to becoming a proletarian. Obviously there are factors limiting this - for instance, the widespread practice of moonlighting - but the very fact that calls are so frequently made to regulate it (another example of the capitalist class in its corporate interests introducing regulations that will inconvenience individual capitalists) testifies to the growing belief that workers' work is not something they are freely selling, but something they are duty bound to provide and that they therefore owe their employer loyalty and not merely the labour power actually sold during working hours, but any capacity for it they may retain outside those hours. (Indeed, even executives are not free of this sort of interference, as firms increasingly demand the right to vet the domestic behaviour of their employees, and the wives of aspiring company directors are interviewed before appointments are made).

It may be that from the beginning Marx painted an unduly rosy picture of the proletarian lot, at least in this aspect. But since in his day the pressure taking the worker into the proletarian condition was mainly that of hunger pangs, the fact that independent artisans had to work even longer hours than factory workers in order to compete with mechanised methods (hunger no doubt supplemented by Wesleyan and evangelical insistence on the divinely ordained character of the class system or sanctity of hard work, temperance, etc), and since it was then in the interests of the capitalist to be able to lay the

same worker off at a day's notice, it is reasonable to assume that the labour free market was as universal as he said.

No doubt the modern industrial peon, is such s/he be, is economically far more affluent than h/is proletarian ancestor - though this may well be true only of the Western European and North American workers. Reports of the conditions of the Japanese working force, according to which children while still at school compete to be taken on the potential labour force of large companies, their rank in the companies being decided by their eventual school results, and usually remain in such companies until death, testify to a peonage that is worse than classical proletarianism both in terms of material conditions and in terms of residual ownership of their labour potential.

Moreover, the fact that the material conditions of many chattel slaves were less harsh than those of the nineteenth century proletariat has never been denied. But it has always been a central tenet of both Marxist and anarchist writers that the proletarian lot was a significant improvement all the same, because freedom was more important than affluence.

Undoubtedly, in terms of gross industrial production collectivist capitalism is a more advanced economic system than its laissez-faire entrepreneurial predecessor; though arguably a smaller proportion of what is produced is needed, and we have moved appreciably further from production for need and use and towards an ever more irrational production for profit. Yet, contrary to the general pattern of historical development as Marx conceived it, the lowest class in production and society is qualitatively worse off than the proletariat of capitalist society, in non-material matters.

L. O.

NOT WHAT YOU SEE

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with nude girl children, and as a painter he was a leading light in the Piccadilly gallery and a front runner of Peter Blake's Ruralist painters and I hope that he gets away with the great photographic con game if he is in any way involved for I love to see the rug pulled from under the feet of the experts and the Lordly Ones doing prat falls down the marble steps of the State Galleries and of the current NPG exhibition of photographs! They cannot be faulted for all photographs are but records of the dead and the photographer lies and the artist lies.

On the walls of the NPG no. 24 is an 'albumen print, 30 July 1873' of 'Beatrice Hatch' and can one say it, it is the inevitably study of a nude girl by Lewis Carroll before he began to worry about public opinion, and on press day I maintained that it was no more than an extremely good watercolour and not a watercoloured albumen print for to my thinking it is on drawing paper and the washes are too fine for it to be anything else. I can be wrong and if I am right it is not that important but it is pleasant to read in a national press paper a day or so later that the only watercolour in the photographic exhibition is ! Guess? It is a sad harsh world for the popular entertainer and like it or nay comrades that's all Disney and Leonardo da Vinci were and when the critics and the public bare their teeth then there is cause to check up on the Post Office savings and of saying good morning to the landlord. I have always enjoyed Allen Jones sculptures and his brash gaudy paintings way back to the Tooth Gallery Bond Street exhibitions in the early sixties but the Great White Father of the national press gave poor Alan a truly savage typewriter beating regarding his exhibition at the Serpentine Gallery in Yvonne's Royal Park. Like Bruce Forsyth, Allan Jones was clobbered from all angles and I think it was an unfair attack on a minor artist for Jones specialises in the Page 3 pull-outs for wealthy nutters. Three or four life size long legged high breasted nudes. Life size female nude sculptures on all fours to act as supports for glass table tops brothelwise slave-girlwise schoolboy eroticwise is a giggle but artwise Allen your work is getting worse so study Hockney and limited it limit it ... moneywise.

ARTHUR MOYSE

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"All power to the board of directors!"

INDUSTRIAL PEONAGE

"He (the proletarian) and the owner of money meet in the market and deal with each other on the basis of equal rights, with this difference alone that one is buyer, the other seller; both therefore equal in the eyes of the law. The continuance of this relation demands that the owner of the labour-power should sell it only for a definite period, for if he were to sell it rump and stump, once for all, he would be selling himself, converting himself from a freeman into a slave, from an owner of a commodity into a commodity".

(Capital, 1909 Glaisher edition, pp. 146)

THE heirs of those anarchists (and they include Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and the founders of syndicalism and council communism) who in the last century accepted Marx's analysis of the then existing class society, for the most part argue that the nature of the ruling class has changed - whether to give a state capitalist, managerialist or bureaucratic collectivist new elite; that indeed it would be contrary to the whole historic methodology of Marx to expect it to have remained static. (Most so-called Marxists of course do assume that it has so remained but one can hardly expect Marxists to read Marx, or to know that the changes in the technology and mode of production since the last century must be - according to Marx's theories - reflected in changes in economic and social relations). One should, however, concede that some of the best analytical statements of changed class analysis have come from people who regarded themselves as Marxists - at least when they started out to look at the modern world - and that the most significant contributions to come from the pens of anarchists in the thirties - those published in *Revolution Proletarienne* by the Monatte-Rosmer group - sprang from that group's association with Left Opposition Marxism.

Most of the analysis so far made has, however, been in terms of the change of the ruling class's grasp on power. It is not difficult to see that the progressive introduction of the conveyor belt, of automation, cybernetics and unimation; the changes in the means of communication (the second edition of

Capital was published three years before the invention of the telephone) and travel, outdates the scale of capitalist enterprise of which Marx talked. It is not difficult to appreciate, therefore, that the planner usurps the function of the entrepreneur within the capitalist spectrum, and that the best interests of the capitalist class as a whole can no longer be assured by the free workings of the capitalist market (since it is inherent in the principle of the declining rate of profit that older established industries are less profitable than new ones, and since in many cases - fuel and transport - older industries are essential to the overall running of capitalism). It thus becomes necessary for the health of capitalism that the capitalists themselves, in their collective interest, but contrary to their individual interest, be compelled to subsidise certain industries and to pay for a literate and moderately healthy working class.

It follows from this that similar changes are made in the exploited class or classes. It is obvious that technologists have become vastly more common. As little as 50 years ago the firm of Mertz & McClellan (I hope that's the right spelling, my father was in it but my knowledge of it is purely oral), with two or three dozen consultant engineers, would advise on electrification of railways all over the world, supervise early hydroelectric plants, design domestic appliances, all for hundreds of different firms. Today no multinational would be content with such a small research team, and would certainly not call in consultants for such roles; this is repeated in every research field and there are far more of these than there were). This is a class that Marx would have described as intellectual workers. Whatever the theory, it was not for the most part a class that saw itself as part of the proletariat - even its upper echelons - however true it may have been that the capitalists did in fact extract more surplus-value from the work of the technologists than from that of ordinary workers. Its ranks were, in the past - right up until the thirties - recruited from the old learned professions, a caste whose subjective consciousness varied from the 'petit-bourgeois' to the smaller landowners, whatever its exact objective status. The enlargement of this class, partly by dispossessed petit-bourgeois, partly from the higher ranks of the labour aristocracy, has emerged to enormous potential power.

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IT'S NOT WHAT YOU SEE

I WAS NEVER more conscious of my dislike of the English Country Gardens until I made my walk-about in the Victoria and Albert's major homage to the dead the exhibition 'The Garden'. The images that float to the surface of the mind of potted plants in regimental rows on neat cemetery lawns, suburban roses vying with the Jones. Spacious lawns, weeping willows, ancient elms and ordered rows of flowers each standing to attention behind their plastic marker.

And gentle and elderly men and women trod the floors of the V & A where no grass grows and peered at the coloured photographs and the massed bands of imprisoned flowers loveless in a silent world by the very nature of a building given over to the permanent adulation of the dead. I love the wild flower and the flowering weeds in hedgerow, bomb site or gracing the banks of stinking canal or rambling stream and to his credit Shakespear agreed with me for he knew a bank where the wild thyme blows, where oxlips and the nodding violet grows; quite over-canopied with lush woodbine, with sweet musk-roses, and with eglantine but not, I'm afraid, within the V & A. But a room or so away within the V & A is the exhibition of Royal Doulton products of their commercial Lambeth pottery for for over a hundred years the Doultons provided everything, claywise, from the loo to the living room. The exhibition is all terribly camp for every thing was over decorated, to garish, vulgar and in bad taste yea even to the Pedestal wash-down closet no. 297 H but the Doultons functional products be they drain pipes, lavatories, cups or washbasins fulfilled their social purpose. Time has wiped off the sophisticated smiles and these overdecorated tiles, pots and clumsy figurines now find a new audience and collectors whose wealth will allow them to place them alongside their CND posters, their Hockney prints and their Paris '68 Student Revolution posters, framed and numbered by the dealers. Doultons could produce fine work as with their 1906 short ranged tea and coffee service with its straight lines and undecorated flambe glaze but their great commercial enterprise lacked the economic discipline that produces the country labourers' beautiful simplistic pottery of their cottage industry. Doultons pandered to the market of the day but for all that they sold much pleasure and the V & A is to be congratulated on a worthy exhibition. One should not, dare not, cannot say this of the USSR Exhibition within London's Earls Court. In my sad and sullied youth I worked in too many exhibition halls and now each exhibition gives one that slight sense of deja vu for to misquote the late Gerty Stein a stand is a stand is a stand.

Outside on the stones members of the Council of the European Liaison Group handed out well printed and illustrated propaganda sheets and when I interviewed a 'spokesman' he said that they were a right-wing group who supported a capitalist society and 'Mrs Thatcher' while at a distance the '35. Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry' handed out their duplicated leaflets protesting the treatment of the Russian dissidents Vladimir Slepak, Ida Nudel and Sharansky. Within the exhibition there were bad paintings, happytime folk art, full size models of space crafts and vodka for the press. Within the press conference room sat half a dozen or so solid tough looking Russian politicians and an interpreter and about a dozen members of the press and the same tired questions float back and forth on fraternal technology and all the old ham from those who would wound from a safe office distance. I rose and asked what was the position of a Russian worker who would not join the 120,000,000 membership of the Russian State trade union and my question was translated and a tough Russian who was called upon to answer the question looked at me for a few seconds and then with an indifferent air gave a platitudinous answer but still I stood and insisted on know-

ing what would happen to a Russian worker who insisted on making a fucking nuisance of himself in relation to the Russian State and the State union and the worried translator translated and the tough Russian politician drawled out the inevitable answers that in all State or Company unions everyone loves everyone even the trouble makers, as long as they don't make trouble. And I picked up my plastic bag of press bump and left and drank deep of the free vodka and tried to weep over the 40,000 year old mummified remains of the baby mammoth and there outside on the stones they were still handing out the leaflets.

There was no such problem at Shirley Conran's Superwoman Party within the Park Lane Hotel. One drank the gallons of cocktails, gazed in awe at Lord Longford, Alan Brien, Esther Rantzen, the fashionable TV Logical Positive philosopher and a tall male with blue dyed hair and thumbed through Shirley's books Superwoman in action, Penguin £1.50 and Futures, S & J, £7.95 and like the party it seemed so much useless valuable information dated but enjoyable to be remembered with Oz and IT. God knows one misses the Antique Fair at the Park Lane Grosvenor Hotel. So many lovely artifacts to be seen, beauty as an end in itself but outside on the stones stood the striking chambermaids, most of them with charming southern European accents and one stood and talked but did not cross their small picket line not even to ask the Grosvenor press officer for further information.

That is the way that the art of the hour and the fashionable culture of the day operates for jungle wise one must always seek it out for comrades it will never come to you except as an anatomy exercise in the dissecting theatre of the Sunday Supplements. And there are nail biting times for those collectors and galleries who deal, exhibit or wheelerdeal in ancient and dated photographs.

The National Portrait Gallery who have hung many a wall and given many a civilised glass of red or white are exhibiting their 'People in Camera 1839-1914' and the Town and his Kodak clicking frau exchange sly glances as they sip their wine for waiting on the Law's books is the matter of Graham Ovenden. A brilliant painter given too much I feel to painting small girls in the nude, he now waits for the outcome of a sale of 'Victorian' photos that were taken in 1974 by Howard Grey. Seven photographs of Victorian orphans were included in the 1974 exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery of Barnado children as Victorian photographs and Graham Ovenden submitted them. Supposed to have been taken by a non-existent Francis Hetling they even made the ultra-fashionable Colnaghi Fine Art Dealers in Bond Street and with prices for collections in the £50,000 range finger biting nailwise is the order of the hour.

Even Ovenden's 'Victorian' erotica is now suspect as being not the genuine nineteenth erotic nude studies of young girls and now the Town and his Thorpe trial saturated frau are waiting to see which fashionable dealers end up with egg on their mush. Ovenden is a brilliant painter, too obsessed for my liking



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Swallows & Anarchists

HERE'S a teaser then.

What famous English author of children's books wrote a life of Oscar Wilde, was taken to court by Lord Alfred Douglas, was an eye witness of the Russian Revolution, interviewed Lenin, married one of Trotsky's secretaries and was present at Kropotkin's funeral?

By the age of nine I'd read all his children's books and several of his grown-up ones, and as a writer and illustrator he was one of my first and abiding loves. He was born in 1884 and by the time he died in 1967 he'd written 33 books of stories, essays, folk tales, travel and children's adventure stories - amongst them *Six weeks in Russia* in 1919 and perhaps his most famous book, *Swallows and Amazons*. His autobiography * was published last year and, for those still in doubt, the name is Arthur Ransome.

His book should be of great interest to anybody who read his stories as a child (or adult) and to those who believe a partisan eyewitness account is worth any amount of supposed objective history of the Russian revolution. I say partisan, not because Ransome was a socialist, let alone an anarchist, but because his sympathies could not fail to be stirred by the revolutionaries and this reflects both in his newspaper reportage of the time and in his essays.

But, in truth, he was an English gentleman of letters. A liberal, in the broadest possible sense, his knowledge of Russian literature and the fact that he was almost the only European correspondent in Russia who could speak Russian, gained him an entree into Bolshevik circles denied to the others. It was thus he met Evgenia, his second wife, and thus that he became a close friend of Karl Radek and Bukharin. It was Radek who introduced Ransome to the leading Bolsheviks and who later defended his *Six days in Russia* to Lenin. In 1924 the book was published in Russia, with an introduction by Radek, who was by this time falling out of favour - he is believed to have died in an Arctic labour camp in 1939; Bukharin was shot in 1937.

When Ransome returned from Russia in 1919 he was met at Kings Cross and conducted to Scotland Yard ... "Sir Basil (Sir Basil Thompson, head of Scotland Yard) extremely grim, looked hard at me. After a moment's silence, he said, 'Now, I want to know just what your politics are'.

'Fishing', I replied.

He stared. 'Just what do you mean by that?'

I told him the exact truth, that in England I had never had any political views whatever, that in Russia I believed that this very fact had let me get a clearer view of the revolution than I could otherwise have got, that I now had one clear political opinion, which was that Intervention was a disastrous mistake, and that I hoped it would come to an end and so release me to turn to my ordinary interests.

'Fishing?' he said.

'We are very near the beginning of the season', I replied."

In 1915, by chance, Ransome had become war correspondent for *The Daily News* - he was in Russia researching folk stories - in 1919 he joined the *Manchester Guardian* as their Russian correspondent and for many years wrote on fishing too. In 1929 he gave up full-time journalism and by 1932, when his book ends, his first three children's books in the *Swallows and Amazons* series had established him as a full-time author.

In many ways Ransome remained an Edwardian all his life. Talented and well connected, he acknowledges that somehow everything seemed to work out for him in the end. In his early years he led a bohemian, but not too deprived, existence in Chelsea - where somebody or the other seemed to have an 'at home' or salon every day of the week. It was during this time that he failed as a poet but made the connections which led to reviewing, editing and his first books of essays.

I loved his books as a child (still do) since they were concerned with entirely credible open air adventure - fishing, camping, climbing and sailing - they were educative in the very best sense. All of them were set in an Edward-

* Cape £5.95



ian England of long holidays, hampers, nannies and kindly but distant parents. A far cry from my own wartime working class childhood, but I understood and accepted this - and the books had no side.

In some mysterious way Ransome, then 11, was taught to skate by Kropotkin during the great freeze of 1895. This was the year Lake Windemere froze - an event he used 40 years later in his book *Winter Holiday* - and in 1901 he read McKail's life of William Morris and thence Morris's own works, among them *News from Nowhere*. He was much taken with Morris, and if he wasn't inspired to become a socialist (there is not a single reference to the General Strike of 1926 in his book!) he was inspired to become a writer and marks the discovery of Morris as a decisive event in his life.

Despite these early portents his autobiography records no meetings with anarchists in Russia, but this doesn't prevent him from making a harsh distinction between Kropotkin and his followers when he attends the old man's funeral in 1920; and he also advances his odd theory of Kropotkin's nose. There is much in this book for anarchists as well as for those who were brought up on the books of this curious and likeable man, but I would dearly like to read his *Six days in Russia* in 1919 - it would fill in some of the gaps and surely might do well as a reprint.

But to finish, this extract from his account of Kropotkin's funeral will give a little of the flavour of his idiosyncratic reportage. Watch your noses comrades!

"Then, as now, my attention was caught by his nose, so finely cut, so proud, the very index of the old fighter's character. Close behind the coffin came half-a-dozen of the chief mourners and then a mass of his Anarchist disciples. There were some who had imitated his hair, some who had grown beards

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ANARCHISTS COME TO JUDGEMENT

WHEN I entered the anarchist movement some time ago, armed only with bright eyes and a degree, I thought I was joining the class struggle. I shook off taunts of 'petty bourgeois' with ease and felt right at home with the sixty eighters and their alternative lifestyles.

I talked about freedom, the community, cannabis, past revolutionaries, situationism, the lost history of John Quail and 'when WERE we going to start the revolution'. I had a jolly time.

Until one day I met a man. He was a worker. He said, 'When you get married and have kids, you don't have time for socialism and Marxism. It takes all your time to make ends meet'. I thought, well anarchists believe in workers' councils or committees or something, so that people wouldn't have such problems.

And I thought a lot more. How many anarchists do I know who work in factories or in industries? How many live on council estates? How many have ever been on strike?

And as you might have guessed, I couldn't think of any. I couldn't find any anarchist books, pamphlets or news articles about anarchism and industry. I thought the miners have the power to bring the government down, the lorry drivers the power to bring the country to a standstill, the firemen the power to make the army do a useful job for once, and so on. And what did we anarchists have to say about it all? Where were we when all this class war was going on? We were out on the streets asking the government if it would be as kind as to release various people from its prison camps around the country and reverse overnight the energy policy it's had for the last 30 years.

And finally I reached a conclusion: When the revolution starts to occur, the vast majority of people calling themselves anarchists will be totally irrelevant. How can a serious international political group hoping to be influential in a world revolution have as its economic policy 'the workers should organise however they want to'.

To the middleclass work-shy hippy/student/dropout who predominates in the movement, that may be the only answer they need to combat the libraries of marxist and capitalist theories. However, to anybody actually involved in the class struggle that's not just a joke, it's an insult.

To most people these days, life is about getting up in the morning and going to work. Working and coming home. Having tea and either slumping in front of the TV or going in the pub. You must communicate to them on that basis and not try to show them how life could be wonderful if they worked in a healthfood shop rather than a factory. Such ideas can only be meaningless to people who have been brought up to have to work for a living.

I glance now and then at my 'anarchist theory and history' section of the books hung forlornly on my wall. I read endlessly of syndicalism and Maknovists in the Russian revolution; of the syndicalists in Mexico; of syndicalism in Britain and America' of the CNT in the Spanish war; and of workers' councils in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. I read about the syndicalist theories of Bakunin, Sorel, Rocker, and about Berkman shooting Henry Clay Frick during a strike.

And then I find some recent stuff, and I read about students and dropouts being betrayed by the workers who continue to build nuclear bombs and power stations because they 'have no alternative'; and the workers who refused to join the street riots in Paris because they were not told to, and the young workers who flood into the NF because it is the only viable form of rebellion and the NF cares about them.

I could go on and on, but I think people will have got my message by now. I could also be very diplomatic and suggest people listen to my ideas and what I think we should do and have endless debates for the next twenty years. But I can't be bothered, as many people who will be reading this are self-centered idiots who don't know what anarchism is and simply ARE NOT ANARCHISTS as defined by a century of anarchist theory and practice.

Individualists and egoists are not anarchists. They are individualists and egoists. Anti-organisationists and those who believe it is forbidden to forbid are not anarchists. Anarchism is not pacifism (although the reverse may be true). Anarchism is not the freedom to do whatever you want to do; it is the freedom to not have to do what you do not want to do.

How many times have you heard the media screaming about anarchy in the factories, anarchy in the hospitals, anarchy in parliament and just about everywhere when ever there is a bit of disorder.

The media discredit the word anarchy by constantly using it to mean chaos and disorder. Anarchy, they say, is a situation where people will go around shooting each other, stealing everything; the survival of the fittest because there is no social organisation to control people.

I used to think there was some conspiracy in the media to make sure people got the wrong idea about anarchism. However, the more anarchists I meet, the more I realise that they are telling the truth. Many anarchists' ideas about a free society would lead to chaos and disorder with the survival of the fittest being the only rule.

So it is not the media which are the worst enemy of anarchism, it is the infiltrators of the movement who claim to be anarchists and cripple the movement by telling the true anarchists that they shouldn't organise and have structure.

Anarchism is the highest level of organisation. Non-bureaucratic, non-hierarchical, non-exploitative, non-oppressive organisation. Anarchism since the war, in this country, has been almost entirely social anarchism (with a few syndicalists in the frozen north). Community politics are impotent. So is equality for repressed minorities. Equally important is not having nuclear bombs or power stations or political prisoners or any prisoners. And some sort of revolution must take place around these reformist issues. As indeed it did in the sixties. But that withered away because the students had no power to change anything other than themselves. The Shit of Iran was not brought down because a million people were in the streets. He was brought down because a million people were not at work.

Power does not lie in the streets or in the community. Power in this country still lies in the hands of the working class in the forms of industry, production and distribution. That is where we should be concentrating our efforts and aiming our theories and propaganda because until the workers take control of industry, all our other desires are just pie in the sky.

Most anarchists don't work in industry. Because repressive working conditions ~~are~~ (anarchists dislike) they get out of such as soon as they can, or in most cases never do such jobs. They don't have to, the state allows anyone who doesn't want to do an important job, to drop out of the system.

In the times when there were revolutions going on around the world, people had no choice about where they worked. It

was either do as you're told or starve. Most people did as they were told. The others were revolutionaries.

The people who could see how the workers were being exploited and how things could be changed for the better, worked alongside the unenlightened. To have a better life for themselves they had to change the whole of society by stirring up a revolution.

If they caused a bit of trouble, the state had to tread warily because being too heavy handed with the militants would show the true nature of things to those who had listened to, but not heeded, the talk of revolution.

Nowadays, the state knows better. It doesn't want trouble, so those who don't like oppressive work or who see what's going on are encouraged to dropout of the system. The state subsidises them to live easy lives so that they won't disrupt the real work. If they cause trouble outside the system, they are ignored by the workers, as they can be shown to be scroungers and parasites. People who refuse to do productive work can only be parasites on the back of the workers, and as such can not expect any sympathy for themselves or their theories.

By dropping out of the exploitative system they are not only taking the easy way out, and leaving the class struggle, but they are playing into the hands of the state.

A NATIONAL ORGANISATION

If anarchism is going to be anything other than a minor current in the marxist left it must have more national cohesion. The main bulk of our propaganda, the books, papers, pamphlets, etc, is produced by a handful of people nearly all in London. Not only is this rather centralist, but very dictatorial. No-one, it seems, outside of the respective editorial groups, has any say in what goes into any of the papers or journals. We get pleas for money and material but few pleas for editorial advice. The views of individuals or groups can be (or are being!) totally censored by the cliques involved. Also the specific views, theories and outlook of these groups totally dominate in the anarchist press and thus are presented to the world as 'the anarchist line'. And it is not simply what they say but the amount of it they say. Strong emphasis on some subjects while just paying lip service to others is just as effective at giving a certain impression as total censorship is.

There is little political infighting in the anarchist movement because as stated above, small cliques already have total power and are not likely to relinquish it without a fight. It is usually anarchist policy not to try and reform existing institutions by joining them but instead to form totally new ones to replace them.

This is what we now have to do.

Various national organisations have existed in the past but have all fallen through after achieving little. The reason is obvious. Any loose knit group of individuals who, politically, have very little in common cannot hope to achieve anything on a purely political level. It's like expecting the Tonnage Alliance to produce a consensus manifesto on economic strategy. At the various national conferences, and local ones, there are always a few individualists and antiorganisationists who impose their will on the rest and tyrannise those who want to organise into thinking they must be neo-trotskyists like the Libertarian Communist Group (sic) or something.

People who do not believe in organisation are not anarchists and it's about time we stopped allowing these people to destroy the anarchist movement by forming an organisation which excludes them.

And so we are getting to the point.

We need an organisation which actually does something with relevance to the class struggle.

It needs its members to pay regular dues so that it has money to publicise its existence and its anarchist principles and views.

It needs an address which isn't going to change every month.

It needs a secretary who isn't going to change every month.

It needs a list of aims and principles which aren't going to change every month and will give a casual reader some idea of what the publishers of its propaganda believe in.

It needs a few rules (yes, rules) so that half of every conference isn't taken up with discussion about whether votes or consensuses are taken. It needs to translate anarchist thought and theories into a 1980s context and publish them. It needs to promote anarchist ideas about workplace organisation in the workplace as opposed to the university or squat.

It needs a bit of life.

It needs a bit of commitment.

So why don't we form an organisation like that? we did.

Feel free

Heed not the sound

Of concepts crashing to the ground
-PAUL R. BUCKLAND.

Direct Action Movement

28, Lucknow Drive,
Sutton-in-Ashfield,
Nottinghamshire.

Subs are £1 per calendar month or minimum rate of 10p a month for the unwaged.

The next conference is in Leeds.

30th June 12.00--3.30 pm.

1st July 11.00--2.30 pm.

Leeds Trades Council Club, Saville Mount (off Chapeltown Road)

Minutes of last conference and list of provisional aims and principles are available from the secretary at the above address.

Overnight accommodation available at conference but let us know as soon as possible.

A GOOD DAYS WORK FOR A
GOOD DAYS PAY-OR-DO YOU
STILL THINK YOUR VOTE IS FREE?



REINVENTING ANARCHY. WHAT ARE ANARCHISTS THINKING THESE DAYS?

Reinventing Anarchy Edited by Howard J. Ehrlich, Carol Ehrlich, David DeLeon, and Glenda Morris (Routledge & Kegan Paul £5.95)

THIS is not so much an impartial review of the most recent English-language anthology of anarchism as a personal reaction to it by its only British contributor.

The editors of *Reinventing Anarchy* are four American teachers based at Baltimore, Maryland. They have been involved since 1971 in Research Group 1, a collective producing libertarian pamphlets, and since 1972 in the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, a collective producing libertarian tapes. According to the introduction to the book, "We began talking about the need for a good collection of anarchist materials in early 1973". They say that they were "not satisfied with earlier anthologies that excerpted long-dead anarchist writers or mixed together liberals and libertarians, socialists and capitalists", and that they "wanted to bring together the work of living, working anarchists".

After three years' work they felt ready to prepare the anthology, and they circulated their proposals in summer 1976. The only British anarchist groups or individuals approached were the Freedom Press and the Cienfuegos Press, Albert Meltzer, Colin Ward, and myself. The only British items in the draft contents list were some American articles from the old *Anarchy*, Albert Meltzer's pamphlet on *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, Bill Watson's contribution to the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance pamphlet *Disruption*, and my pamphlet *About Anarchism*. We were all asked to give permission for our contributions to be included without charge; I and the Freedom Press said they could use our material provided they let us have some free copies of the anthology.

A year later they again circularised potential contributors to report progress and to say they had found a publisher, Routledge & Kegan Paul, the most reputable major independent firm left in Britain. I replied that if the anthology were being published by a commercial company, a reproduction fee should be paid to the Freedom Press for my material; and the Freedom Press replied that they would take free copies instead. They replied that there wouldn't be enough money for a fee or its equivalent, so we replied that we would waive any claims except that we would like a total of six free copies of the book.

In March 1979 they again circularised the actual contributors to report progress and to say that the book was about to appear. They praised the production and complained about the price. (They also said that contributors' copies would soon be distributed; the Freedom Press has never received one, and I got mine only by telephoning Routledge myself). Meanwhile they have been making plans for an occasional anarchist magazine, to be called *Social Anarchism*, edited by Howard and Carol Ehrlich. *Reinventing Anarchy* was published in April, and the only British item in it is two sections from *About Anarchism*; otherwise it is pretty close to what was first planned.

Reinventing Anarchy was described in the original prospectus three years ago as "the most exciting anthology of readings in contemporary anarchism that has ever been compiled"; in fact it is the only one. It is described in the introduction as "a new synthesis of anarchist ideas" and in the blurb as "probably the best single statement of the principles of social anarchism yet produced", and the introduction adds that "we have come closer than anyone, or any collection, to articulating a theory of social anarchism" and that "we have generated a new paradigm - a new way of looking at anarchism and the world"; although I am one of the contributors I must say that I don't know what all this means, and I see the book simply as an interesting but disappointing collection of almost contemporary, almost completely American writings about anarchism. It is cer-

tainly well produced and certainly highly priced, but it really isn't as good as the editors seem to think.

There are some other editorial remarks which puzzle me. According to the introduction, "all but one of the articles are less than ten years old"; but, as well as several being exactly ten years old, two are actually dated 1962 and 1966 - not that it matters, but it seems odd not to read the book one has produced! "The articles had to be in English"; but one was written in French, and it is badly translated. "We included only articles that were reasonably well written and that offered new ideas or a new synthesis of old ideas"; but some are very badly written, and several contain nothing new - indeed the contributions of Fred Woodworth, former editor of *The Match!* and myself stand out as being straightforward summaries of traditional anarchism. They complain about "how much sexist language forms still pervade anarchist writings", mentioning the use of men to mean men and women or of he to mean he or she; but, from my own point of view, it is surely less offensive to use the traditional forms at times rather than to twist the language to avoid them. They add that "sexism in language can be easily avoided" and "perpetuates an insidious form of male domination"; but I find their pompous remarks about "good anarchist practice" much more irritating - though I might feel different if I were a woman!

There is also a curious paragraph about what isn't in the book. Perhaps it isn't surprising that there is nothing on popular culture or economics, since anarchists tend to ignore such topics; but it is surprising that there is nothing on ecology and technology or education. They say they "looked hard to fill these vacancies"; but then actually mention that they have nothing from Murray Bookchin or Colin Ward, who have of course written so much about them. They even say that they found it as difficult to find anything about education as Francisco Ferrer did eighty years ago; but there is a great deal of such material easily available, say in the books of Paul Goodman, or in the issues of the magazine *Libertarian Education* which has been appearing throughout the past decade.

But what about what is in the book? After the introduction, the first section is a general survey, with some questions and answers by the editors, followed by extracts from the pamphlets by Fred Woodworth and myself. The second section on the state and society contains three bad articles. The third section on the old and new left contains four bad articles. The fourth section on the liberation of self contains several bad items, and extracts from the Strasbourg Situationist manifesto of 1966. The fifth section on anarcho-feminism contains a mixture of good and bad items, the good being available as pamphlets published in this country by Black Bear. The sixth section on labour contains two bad articles. The seventh section on "reinventing anarchist tactics" contains a few good items by such veterans as David Wieck and Judith Malina, plus a further mixture of good and bad, but nothing novel. There are some very good drawings, and some very bad poems. So my general feeling is one of great disappointment, especially that the most traditional items seem to be the most interesting, and that the evidence for a "new synthesis" or a "new paradigm", for something called "social anarchism", seems to be missing. I can't avoid the conclusion that most of the book's 380 pages are wasted, and that six pounds would be wasted too.

Perhaps this reaction is just a matter of age. I found that I was the youngest contributor to another recent anarchist anthology, George Woodcock's very traditional *Anarchist Reader*, which was published in 1977 by the Harvester Press and Fontana Books (and which did bring the Freedom Press some money). I must be one of the oldest contributors to *Reinventing Anarchy*, and I think it shows. On the other hand I think that there is a great difference between most American and British writing on anarchism, and that I would feel different in company nearer home. Whatever

Book
Review

THE MUTUALIST & THE MORALIST

Libertarian Broadside No 7; Selected Essays by Laurence Labadie, introduction and appendices by James J. Martin \$1.50; Libertarian Broadside No 8: Uncivil Liberty by Ezra Heywood. Introduction by James J. Martin \$1.00. Published by Ralph Myles Publisher Inc., Colorado Springs.

When Benjamin Tucker left the USA in 1908 and went into self-imposed exile in Europe, propaganda for his brand of anarchist mutualism did not cease. Articulate associates such as Clarence Lee Swartz, John Beverley Robinson, E.H. Fulton, Joseph A. Labadie and others kept up the work he had begun over thirty years before. By the 1930s, however, old age, death or disillusionment had silenced them. They had no successor - except one: Laurence Labadie (1898-1975), the son of Joseph.

A self-taught industrial worker, Laurence Labadie issued a series of pamphlets and leaflets which he printed on the small hand press he inherited from his father. In addition, he occasionally managed to get articles published in such libertarian journals as *Man!*, *Resistance*, *A Way Out* and *The Indian Libertarian*. Towards the end of his life he even made the columns of a university publication called the *Journal of Human Relations* - a somewhat ironic event in view of his often expressed scorn for academics.

Like other Tuckerians, Labadie was a firm believer in the mutualist economics promulgated by Proudhon and Wm. B. Greene. Communism, even of the "anarcho" variety, he regarded as a species of infantilism. The only economy worthy of free individuals was, he thought, one in which private property and free competition prevailed: "When all forms of private property are abolished, exchange hampered or prohibited, competition wiped out, and money forbidden, the liberty and independence of the individual is gone, and there remains a tyranny as totalitarian and despotic as can be imagined." (*Reflections on Socio-Economic Evolution*) Economic exploitation did not come from private property, but from monopolies created by the State. The three main forms assumed by these monopolies are "the control of the circulating medium - money and credit, private property in land not based on occupancy and use, patent rights and copyrights, and tariffs." (*Anarchism applied to Economics*) Abolish the State, establish freedom of credit and competition and an anarchist society would result.

Such a society would not, however, be equalitarian, for Labadie regarded inequality of ability as inevitable and any

attempt to artificially produce equality as tantamount to authoritarianism. The only "equality" he saw as both possible and desirable was "equality of opportunity". He subscribed to Proudhon's view that communist egalitarianism might well do away with the exploitation of the weak by the strong, but only in order to substitute the exploitation of the strong by the weak.

Laurence Labadie was a little-known figure during his lifetime. This first collection of selected essays, which fittingly appears in the *Libertarian Broadside Series* edited by his friend James J. Martin, should serve as a means of introducing a wider public to this pungent and provocative advocate of anarchy. Dr Martin also contributes a fascinating memoir of Labadie, together with one of their mutual friend Agnes Inglis, for many years curator of the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan.

Ezra Heywood's *Uncivil Liberty*, first published in 1873, has a certain curiosity value as an example of an early tract advocating woman's suffrage and equality of legal rights. However, its overblown rhetorical style, heavily charged with appeals to abstract and unverifiable principles, its irritating moral meanderings which almost qualify the author as the Mary Whitehouse of "free love" (at one point he denounces women who have abortions as "perverted"), do not endear it to this reviewer....

S.E. PARKER

Shallow Anarchists

continued from page 11

like his, but no one had a nose worth looking at. Kropotkin was greater than his theories, but these little showy creatures were nothing in themselves, raised as it were spuriously, clinging to his theories like sparrows to telegraph wires. That mob of noseless disciples was an ironic comment on the proud old man being carried before them through the Moscow sunshine to his grave in the cemetery by the river opposite the Sparrow Hills. They (who were let out of prison to attend the funeral*) carried banners inscribed 'Anarchists demand liberation from the prisons of socialism' and 'Where there is authority there is no freedom', but they reminded me of an old cartoon of the funeral of Peter the Great, representing the burial of the cat by the mice. Kropotkin and his disciples belonged to two different worlds.

"After the Anarchists with their black flags came the red banners of non-anarchist mourners, expressing their respect for the old veteran who, by being so much greater than his theories, had taken his place above the programmes and become one of the great revolutionary figures of his century. Last of all came half-a-dozen horsemen, police troopers, symbols of the very authority of whose passing Kropotkin had dreamed. They were led by a fat man in a red fur coat, worrying with his spurs a very fine horse. Jonas Lied told me that he was one of the chiefs of the Extraordinary Commission. His presence was as unnecessary as his spurs. There was no disturbance, nor any idea of disturbance. The Anarchist movement will not deserve such respect until among its disciples it can show men with such noses as that of the dead leader".

* My note

JEFF CLOVES

REINVENTING ANARCHY

the reasons, I feel that when asked to recommend an anthology of Anarchism for new readers I am much happier suggesting the *Anarchist Reader* than *Reinventing Anarchy*. Incidentally, the latter (like the former two years ago) has hardly been reviewed in this country, though polite things have been said by Bernard Crick in the *Guardian* and Colin Ward in *New Society*. I feel sad about having to add impolite things, but I think that to do otherwise would be dishonest.

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N.W.