

ANARCHIST
BOOK FAIR

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at the... **TONBRIDGE CLUB,**
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(NEAR KINGS CROSS)
TO BE FOLLOWED BY A
SOCIAL UNTIL 10.00 pm.



PAINT

ANARCHIST

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FREEDOM



**Dangerous Illusions Debate
Anarchism as an Ultra-leftist Stunt**

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THE FREEDOM DEBATE

Please note that, as we warned in the previous *Freedom*, this is the last time we are going to publish the very long 'debate replies' that come in. The reason is simple . . . they are incomprehensible to anyone who hasn't read the original article to which they often bear precious little real relation.

We do welcome genuine articles that

stand up by themselves [preferably under 1,000 words, above which they have to be exceptionally good]. For the moment we wish to continue the debate under the broad title of Organising Anarchy.

What we're after are thoughtful contributions on tactics, principles, actions and, most importantly, practical and realistic anarchist solutions to organising economic, social and political

life.

Critical replies will now be treated as letters. They will be welcomed and published provided they are short [under 300 words], reasonable, rational and comradely, and clearly deal with what the original author actually said rather than the more usual dogmatic attempt at long-distance mind-reading.

the editors

LETTERS

Dear Freedom,

I was fortunate enough to come across a copy of *Freedom*, and I have shown it to my work-mates as well. Your in-depth coverage and analysis of the miners' strike has been excellent and I've learnt a lot in the last few months. I can't help but support your ideas, especially your criticism of leadership in general, and of Arthur Scargill in particular. Your condemnation of the Labour Party as a supporting body in this strike, and in a number of recent union battles, is not, I think, without good reason. During this dispute they seemed to wash their hands of the miners, simply over the question of the use of retaliating violence, which Arthur Scargill continually refused to openly admit. If he hadn't acted so underhand over this and explained the justification of violence in such a struggle, much more support from the public would have come forth. After all, we've experienced the inhumane military-like policing in Britain today. Reading your newspaper has shown me that there's more realisation of the true Britain we're now living in. I shall continue to show my support for your paper in the future. We all have a lot to learn from libertarian thought.

Bill Mickelthwaite
 Blidworth NUM

Dear Freedom,

I don't know if you've realised yet but my article in the last *Freedom* was totally cocked up at the layout stage, so much so that the main point has been lost completely. Obviously a very unfortunate

accident (see, I'm not paranoid) but is there anything we can do about it at this late stage beyond a brief note explaining that I've not cracked up under the strain? What I would most favour is for it to be reprinted, leaving out the last third about the CNT to save space, but this may tax your readers patience I suppose.

I've enclosed an appeal from *Strike* which you may be able to give some publicity to (it would be a great shame to lose it). Similarly, your readers may be interested to know the result of the DAM ballot was 31 to 10 in favour of my expulsion. Speaks for itself really . . .

A bit of feedback . . . I can't believe how good *Freedom* is these days, but the tendency towards front covers which show Thatcher grinding people into dust etc, is at the very least a bit depressing. See yer soon.

Mick Larkin

[Actually the cut was deliberate. How do you think the copy fits the pages so neatly. The mix-up was a mistake. Take it as a warning not use the word *finally* several times!]



Comrades,

I think that the editing job that Bella did on my article was fine. I'm not unknown for my verbosity, and she managed to distil the essence of what I had to say without brutalising my ideas. Even the number of typos in the article were minimal, and didn't interfere with the sense of the article (unlike the typos in

the *New Anarchist Review*, which I think may have set new standards). I find the new format stimulating, easier to read and the contents a lot more interesting than in the recent past.

I was glad to see Stu's article on power. A tentative beginning to what I hope will become a more thorough exploration of anarchist attitudes towards and solutions to this most difficult social form. I do think that one of the most salient factors missing in Stu's article was the omission of consideration of the physical structure of society. I think that if anarchists try to solve problems of power in the format of our large metropolitan organised societies, they will find the problem insoluble. I think that we must address first things first, and the need to decentralise the social structures of society and thereby simplify the discovering of non-authoritarian forms of function, is the horse before the cart of society. I hope that Stu's challenge (if formulated in a somewhat abrasive style) results in a lively discussion. When I was in Venice I met a group of young German comrades who were saying much the same as Stu, except that they thought the great failure of anarchists was in developing a coherent theory of economics. There is a rebirth of interest in Benjamin Tucker in Germany because they find in him and in Proudhon an attempt to deal with the realities of economic structure.

Lastly, about 'Growing from our Roots . . .' I think that it is pretty clear in my article that I believe in cutting off only those roots that, in my estimation, haven't nourished our ideas, and those that are moribund and suck our vitality.

David Kovan
 USA

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Britain's largest selling regular anarchist publication for many years now, the *Freedom* tradition started in 1886, then as *Spain and the World* (1936-39), then as *War Commentary* (1939-45), and as *Freedom* again since 1945, and still going strong.

THE FREEDOM EMPIRE

There are three very autonomous parts to the *Freedom* organisation. *Freedom Press* the book publishers is entirely run by Vernon Richards. *Freedom Bookshop* which is run by Chairman Mo, and *Freedom* the paper run by the editors. It helps if you write on separate bits of paper for each part.

Freedom is edited by David Peers, Colin Johnstone, Bella Melville, John Anderson, Stu Stuart, Nick d'Nib and Cam.



Articles give the individual opinions of their authors. Only articles specifically signed 'the Collective' reflect the shared view of the Freedom Editorial Collective.

We have now restored the old tradition of informal meetings EVERY THURSDAY at 7:00pm here in Angel Alley, 84b . . . alternating helping A Distribution, the Bookshop and *Freedom* one week with friendly chats the next. It is from the regular Alley Angels, as we call them, that people are invited to join the *Freedom* editorial collective, if they so wish.

Hello Freedom Collective,

Hope everything's going okay. At the moment we're in the process of being evicted by the council from 6 Winchester Court again, from which some of us live, provide a crash pad for other people, info, advice, mutual aid, etc. We intend to resist the eviction through an Alarm Network, barricade (if need be), distributing info on what's happening and the ideas behind the action we're taking. Messages of protest can be sent to Mr Rudd, Senior Housing Officer, tel: (1625) 21955, ext 311.

Chris

Macclesfield Squatters Aid Group,
 c/o 43 Lichfield Court,
 Victoria Park flats,
 Macclesfield, Cheshire.

Dear Freedom,

Readers of *Freedom* might like to know that someone at the telephone exchange seems to be monitoring calls made to the bookshop. Imagine my surprise, when on Saturday 2nd March I rang *Freedom* only to be connected to the *Morning Star*! I tried to obtain an answer from *Freedom* a couple of times but ended up talking to the same bemused communist. The Special Branch must have got their lines crossed. You'd think they'd have sorted out things like that by now.

Colin

[Stu note: Indeed. They had my private line crossed with 50 other people for a whole day . . . all of whom were involved in miners' support groups. We left a message that we would all write letters to the Prime Minister's office complaining about the amateurish standards prevailing at MIS. All lines suddenly became super-silent standard-tap half an hour later!]

Dear Freedom,

December's issue of *Freedom* contained a short letter detailing the state of an anarchist group in Durham. Two of us here in college are desperate to make contact with such a group — we're stifled by the narrow outlets existing within the university for political expression and discussion. We're both philosophical anarchists with a bit of practical experience (Stop the City, etc . . .) so we think we've got something to offer the group.

Anyway, the author of the piece, Mike, failed to give a contact address so I decided to write and see if you could be of assistance. Thanks a lot.

Patrick Nicholson
 Hild/Bede College, Durham, DH1 1SZ

Ah! The Durham address was one of several new ones that I carefully typed out and then left behind in a pub somewhere in Hackney when getting drunk with someone from *Class War*. Could you, whoever you all are, send 'em in again?

Stu



Dear All,

A new book with the working title of *Obedience is a Sin* is being compiled by myself, Sarah Hopkins (co-editor of *Greenham Common: Women at the Wire*) and Rachel Pinney (founder of Creative Listening, Children's Hours and author of *Bobby — Breakthrough of an Autistic Child*).

Contributions dealing with instances of obedience and disobedience are welcomed.

Please send ideas and contributions to: Sarah Hopkins, Kinghurst Farm, Holne, nr Ashburton, S Devon. (SAE for acknowledgement please). We are also both happy to see and talk to anyone in our own homes either in London or Devon. Thank you for your interest.

Sarah and Rachel

Dear Freedom,

The idiots who went on the rampage in Edinburgh on December 20th (*Freedom*, March 1985) probably did more damage to the cause of anarchism in that one day than all its enemies manage to accomplish in a year.

John L Broom
 Scotland

[Eds; We are beginning to feel you are right!]

Dear Freedom,

I am just writing to congratulate you all on your forthcoming centenary in '86, and I agree with John Griffin of the Mary Ward Centre that the sooner we organise and fund the coming event the better. It is no mean achievement for such a paper to survive the ordeals and obstacles imposed on it by a capitalist system.

Berni
 W Sussex

The Mary Ward Centre

Meetings will continue after the Easter break from 26th April. Fridays 8:15pm. 17th May: Ken Weller on 'The struggle against the First World War in London'.

ANARCHISM: THEORY AND PRACTISE — PAST AND PRESENT. Third series of six weekly talks by Nicolas Walter, followed by discussions, begins in Central London on Tuesday evening, 23rd April 1985. Information from the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AQ.



We, the Hamburg group of the FAU (German branch of the IWA) agree with Clem (*Freedom* February 1985), that the faction fight in the pages of *Freedom* is boring. But we are also fed up with the continuous accusations, allegations and lies concerning the IWA. Therefore we would like to comment on Rob's letter (we don't know him) of the same issue: 1 We have no knowledge of the opinion poll he mentions but that 'over 150,000 Germans consider themselves anarchist/anarcho-syndicalist' is wishful thinking. Many kids here are wearing black and red buttons and when being asked why they reply, 'it's only for fun'.

2 We changed our name from I (Initiative) FAU to simply FAU two years ago. As Rob doesn't even know this, how can he know the present number of FAU members?

3 Yes, the Swedish SAC should be kept out of the IWA, as the SAC is a reformist organisation without any anarchist pretension. They co-operate with the state quite happily. What do you think of a trade union which tries to attract new members with the argument: Our membership fees are lower than those of other unions. Why not invite the TUC to join

the IWA?

4 The Swedish IWA members are compelled to work within the SAC. Otherwise they would have no chance for open political work under the reactionary Swedish laws.

5 CNT-worship: Yes, we cannot deny that there is such a tendency in the IWA but note, we are only human and we certainly should oppose this tendency. (We in Hamburg do!)

6 Rob claims that most anarchists do not join the IWA. Rightly so! If they would it would be a disaster. We are not an anarchist organisation, we are a voluntary federation of anarcho-syndicalists. There are various ways of fighting for a better society, for anarchy. Each way has a right in its own (oh, another 'stamp of approval' from us?). We concentrate our efforts on the workplace, on economic conditions, on class struggle, as the majority of the population is either suffering from exploitation or from unemployment and for the creation of a new society we need the majority of the ordinary workers in factory or office. This field has been neglected by anarchists for a long time. If this is 'workerist dogmatism', we cannot prevent Rob

from using this label.

As we said, we are not an anarchist organisation. British comrades will remember the bullshit the Anarchist Federation of Britain was. In Germany we had the same experience with various short-term anarchist national organisations or groups during the last 20 years and we certainly do not want to 'co-ordinate all kinds of groups'.

But we are willing to co-operate with other anarchists on the basis of mutual respect, aid, solidarity and tolerance. If so, is this 'elitism'? Why don't other anarchists let us try our way?

May we end this much too long letter (sorry) with a bit of criticism: We admit that the IWA is not very efficient at the moment. Our group is collecting money for the miners and we are depending on continuous information about the strike. This information should be supplied, at least this is what we think, by the IWA, its International Secretary, its Northern Secretary and the DAM. But: nothing comes in, so we have to rely on trotskyst and marxist papers and, many thanks to the comrades from Angel Alley on *Freedom*. A letter from our group to Manchester DAM of 19th January 1985 remains unanswered. So much for international co-operation within the IWA.

Jürgen
on behalf of FAU-Hamburg

[Nationally, DAM has less than 5 members. Don't expect too much of them.]

is the reason why groups all over the place (we've even heard of one in New York) are so keen for recognition by the CNT-AIT.

If *Freedom* readers are not inclined to believe this version of the truth, they should try asking themselves the following questions:

- 1 Why did the South and East Londoners (some of whom never have been and never will be anarcho-syndicalists) join DAM in the first place?
- 2 Why have they mounted a campaign against Mick Larkin, when all he's done is direct a few criticisms against the CNT-AIT?
- 3 Why have the South and East London damned taken to signing everything they do 'DAM-IWA' (IWA being the English equivalent of AIT)?
- 4 Why did a group of DAM members in London produce a totally pointless paper called *New World* aimed at 'international' anarcho-syndicalists?
- 5 Why is South London DAM so furious when letters to the Spanish comrades are not sent through the London-based International Secretary?
- 6 Why did South Londoners organise a package holiday to a Spanish conference last year, and then address CNT

members on 'behalf of the British working class'?

- 7 Why do individuals who express an interest in DAM find themselves suddenly heading regional branches which only exist on paper?
- 8 Why are the 'mafia-style intimidations' in the CNT in Spain, which Mick Larkin has reported on, happening in the first place?

The answer to John Andrews' letter to *Freedom* ('What are they so frightened of?' Jan '85) is simply this . . . they're frightened they might not get their grubby hands on the loot.

Friends of Durruti
(Copies sent to CNT-AIT)

[Eds: We keep getting lots of letters like this, so let's have a rational pause for thought for a while, okay? Anyway, anyone who thinks that a government is really going to hand over huge amounts of money to any anarchist group whatsoever has clearly understood nothing about the world we live in.]



International News

FRANCE: COMRADES ON HUNGER STRIKE

The beginning of this year has seen a burst of activity on the part of the French authorities against those refusing to wear a uniform and do their military service. Six people are currently in prison. Of the six, Thierry Maricourt and Serge Beausoleil are in solitary confinement and have now been on hunger strike for over a month. They have lost over 10 kilos. Thierry is having kidney problems and Serge has pulmonary complications. They have both been sentenced to six months imprisonment.

Thierry gave himself up for the first time on 19th March 1983 accompanied by about fifty comrades with black anti-militarist flags. At two subsequent trials the court was packed with comrades and Thierry read out statements condemning the State and the French arms industry, reaffirming his refusal to wear a uniform.

Of the other four, Patrick Aguiar has been in prison since September 1984 and

was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment on 23rd January of this year. Fabien Duplaa was arrested on 3rd February and sentenced to 15 months imprisonment three days later. Guy Uet and Dominique Seel were both arrested on 25th February.

All of them, and especially Thierry and Serge, need all the support we can give them. Send letters and encouragement to them at these addresses:

Thierry Maricourt,
ecrou no 743.658.1/88

Serge Beausoleil,
ecrou no D2/216.743.769

Patrick Aguiar,
ecrou no 738.387, 3^e division, cellule 442

Maison d'arret de Fresnes, 1 avenue de la Division-Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes cedex, France.

Fabien Duplaa, Maison d'arret de Gradignan, 17 rue de Chouiney, 33170 Gradignan, France.



Dominique Seel, Maison d'arret de Dijon, 72 rue d'Auxonne, 21033 Dijon cedex, France.

A silent vigil is being held in front of the Ministry of Justice in Paris every Saturday. For more information write to: Comite de soutien aux insoumis, 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.

ITALIAN ANTI-MILITARIST INITIATIVE

An Anarchist Committee for Anti-militarist Initiatives (CAIA) has been formed in Palermo, Italy. The committee is designed to underline the specifically anarchist position in relation to unilateralism. It is, however, open to all anti-militarist and pacifist groups who may be interested in participating in anti-militarist actions.

A demonstration is being held in Bergamo on 23rd March. In Palermo, the CAIA will be encouraging children in schools to release balloons with an anti-militarist message. We hope to have a report in the next issue.

The committee hopes to enlarge the area of discussion in this field and to encourage the formation of groups in other areas. Groups are already being formed in Padua and Perugia.

There is no reason why this initiative

should not extend itself beyond Italy and assume an international character. This would provide an opportunity to break CND's monopoly of the peace movement and promote a specifically anarchist message.

One should note the use of the term 'anti-militarism' which goes beyond a simple opposition to nuclear weapons. It implies opposition to war as such and includes opposition to conventional forces as well, and the institutions and attitudes (such as nationalism) that sustain them. To many 'pragmatists' this will appear utopian. It is, however, the anarchist position and we should be shouting it out loud and clear. How about an initiative from us?

The address of the CAIA is: CAIA, Piazza Meli, 5-90133 Palermo, Italy. (Sources: *Umanita Nova* and *Rivista A*).

GERMAN ANARCHIST PRESS UNDER THREAT

- 1 Every soldier is a representative of an organised power.
- 2 The military profession consists of killing people.
- 3 Every soldier is a professionally trained killer.

Horst Stowasser, a German anarchist, has been ordered either to pay a fine of over £250 or face 35 days in prison for having written and published these simple truths. Horst Stowasser, who is a journalist and printer, as well as founder of the Centre

for Anarchist Documentation in Wetzlar, has chosen to go to prison. He will also have to pay costs to the tune of £3,000. If he fails to pay, the printing press, of which he is co-owner, will be confiscated and the press will be forced to close. The press produces a good part of German anarchist literature.

Stowasser was tried for the same 'offence' in 1980. On that occasion the magistrate let him off. This time he hasn't been so lucky.

Stowasser printed his three home truths after conducting a series of interviews

The following anti-militarists are in prison in Italy. They have been sentenced to 12 months for refusing military service.

Mario Terzi (anarchist)
Giancarlo Tecchio (anarchist)
Sandro Ottini (Radical Party)
Marco Camagni (conscientious objector)
Luigi del Negro (Hindu-Shaivite anarchist)
Pippo Scarso (anarchist)
Mauro Ambrosini (details not known)
Bruno Pois (details not known)

National Service was abolished in this country after the war, otherwise many of us would probably be in prison now. Our comrades in other European countries are not so fortunate and anti-militarism is a vital aspect of their struggle. We hope to have an article on the subject soon. (sources: *Le Monde Libertaire* and *Umanita Nova*).

with officers of the German army on the anniversary of Hiroshima. He asked them all a simple question: 'If you were ordered to drop an atomic bomb, would you do it?' No-one said they would not.

A national committee, made up of writers, journalists, greens, etc, has been started to support him. A number of universities have also invited him to speak and have paid him to help him pay legal costs. A fund-raising campaign, which has raised £1,000 so far, has also been started. (source: *Rivista A*).

JA

This Lot Should Change Their Name Confused? you will be . . .

Liverpool Anarchist Group has ceased to exist. In the two and a half years it was going, since being started in April 1982, it had never really progressed beyond being little more than a discussion group — although that's not to say that much of the discussion wasn't worthwhile.

In that time many people's opinions (including the writers) changed, many drifted away never to be seen again, and the more pacifist-inclined people seemed no longer to wish to be involved — which meant that by the end last November it was, in the main, members of Liverpool Direct Action Group who were left holding the fort, which seemed a bit, pointless seeing as we all met each other at our weekly meetings anyway.

One copy of a monthly newsletter was produced in an effort to get interest going again, this had little effect so in the end those of us left decided, for the time being at least, to call it a day.

During its time, many people criticised it, often for very valid reasons, but often many of the same people made little or no effort to get something going themselves and, if nothing else, it did at least

succeed in bringing together a lot of people, many of whom have since gone on to do other things.

Liverpool Direct Action Group still carries on — many of our activities of late have, like a lot of others, centred round the miners' strike, producing and fly-posting our own posters, organising benefit concerts and jumble sales, going down picket lines, and a few individuals have also been involved in the various local miners' support groups. We produced one issue of a paper, *Renegade*, last November, which we re-named *Agitator* after the new year and which has appeared regularly since February. LDAG is not part of the DAM, although some of us are DAM members; it is a broad-based class struggle anarchist group with its own separate aims and principles.

Members of Liverpool Direct Action Group have also been involved in other areas: the Black and Red, feminism, prisoners' support, etc. Some people are also involved in the peace and animal rights movements. Recently, the DAM members, plus other local DAM members not involved in LDAG, have formed our

own separate DAM group — hopefully this will end the confusion, and rumours.

The Black and Red has, since Christmas, been having a break — until then, and particularly towards the end of 1984, we had put on a number of gigs featuring both local and not-so-local bands and performers. The larger ones of these were benefits — for the Merseyside Peace Bus, Liverpool Direct Action Group, News from Nowhere Bookshop, Parkside Miners, etc. Most raised a fair amount of money, many lost (which came out of our own pockets seeing as no-one makes any money and everyone, including helpers, pays to get in).

Until just before Christmas we had regular weekly gigs in the backroom of The Mitre, a city centre pub — this fell through when it had to be closed for renovations. Our last gig was a benefit for the Murrys' which lost money. Following this, and amid a general feeling of people involved that some of the acts we'd put on of late, especially at The Mitre, weren't people we particularly wanted to be involved with, we decided on a rest. We shall be back. **Gjon**

(eg George Woodcock, Paul Avrich, Arthur Moyse, Jay Kinney). Yet it also features a lot of unknowns who deserve attention. More importantly, it gives a pretty good perspective of what has been happening on this side of the Atlantic (eg Ken Deyarmond trial).

A must for the anarchist movement is a constant source of information and a periodical that can serve as a reference point. Hm — I'm tired — that didn't sound quite right whatever. This was a spur of the moment thought to write to you as I had just received an appeal myself.

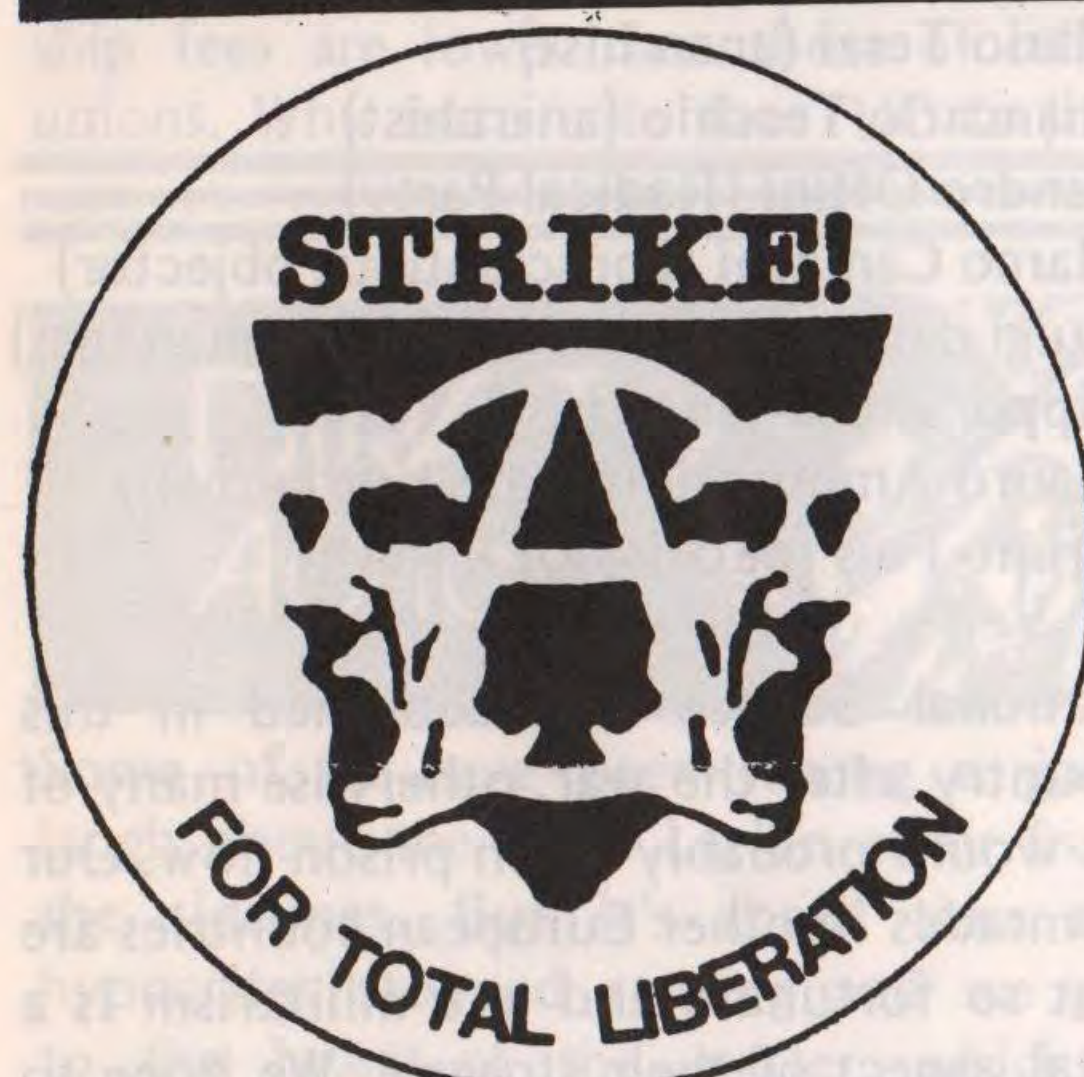
The point is that this paper needs help (editorial as well as financial, actually more of the latter, but . . .)

For those who do not know their address, it is: **PO Box 284, Main Station, St Catharines, Ontario, CANADA L2R 6T7.**

I repeat, this is of my own initiative. Hopefully you can mention their plight somewhere in the next issue. Pensive and Supporting . . .

**Martin Toews
Canada**

[*Strike!* is indeed an exceptionally good anarchist paper very worthy of your support. We have had many such letters from other readers both in Canada and the UK.]



What is about to be made is an appeal that is from only a concerned supporter of *Strike!*

As you people may or may not know, *Strike!* is in the middle of a fund-raising drive that as of yet has not been overly successful. Now that another Canadian radical paper, the *Clarion*, has folded, the paper also faces the task of doing its own typesetting (a financial challenge at the moment in itself).

I feel that this paper deserves a lot of support, not mentioning more readers. Why? Because it is one of the few (if any others exist) papers that is printing on a semi-monthly basis in North America. It has recently changed from an eight-page format to a twelve-page setup. As well, it has enlisted an impressive list of writers

Doe Lea 22

The miners' strike may be over but a miners' strike goes on. It is carrying on at one small private pit on the Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire border. When the national strike was called the twenty six National Union of Miners members at the privately owned and run Doe Lea Colliery came out in solidarity with their trade union brothers and sisters.

Two months into the strike the company that operates the site, Hampton Gold Mining, sacked all those on strike. Four of those sacked have since found other jobs, but 22 remain in dispute and are still picketing the mine. Even if there is an amnesty by the National Coal Board these men will not be covered.

These people have lost their jobs for showing solidarity. They are getting no help from the local union.

We know that everyone has worked hard to support the miners over the past year and great results have been achieved. We ask that you continue this support for these workers in struggle.

Please send donations/messages

c/o Clem Turff
28 Lucknow Drive
Sutton-in-Ashfield
Notts NG17 4LS

(Enclose SAE for receipt please)

Social Sickness

IMPRESSIONS OF A FOREIGNER (Britain 1985)

So this is the country where George Orwell lived when he wrote 1984. And now it's 1985 and I'm here to live for a while with the 10 million people in this city of London, and 1985 is a year that is making me angry.

I have been here two weeks now, and I have just got back from two days in Molesworth to see the terrorist IRA and 'Hill Street Blues' on the television. All around me I see and read things that are stirring up an angry activist.

Three weeks ago they trampled with heavy army boots over the corn being grown for Ethiopia, and herded the peace campers off their soil. The soil then was green and earthy and growing, and now it is smothered with the mud of policemen's boots and those of the NATO fence builders. Heseltine stood there in his khaki army jacket in the field engulfed by reporters to oversee this MoD invasion, and overnight 2,000 men built an ugly razor wire fence. Three weeks later and the main fence (two bodies high with more NATO-barb at the top) inside this 'little' one is over half built. Uniformed servants of the state drive in and out of the gates, and the policemen drink tea and chat in the peace chapel, protecting us from them by the regulation razor wire. Always at least 20 of them there by that one gate, sometimes (once a day maybe) that number of us together outside. Standing or sitting by the fire, drinking tea and cooking toast, talking

and watching, thinking and listening. And the fence is nearing completion, all £5 million of it, to keep us threats to national security with our bombs and violence out. The government has so far given £19 million in aid to the people in Ethiopia. It is also planning to spend £11 billion on Trident submarines (more or less depending upon the relative health of the pound in this almost 53rd state of the US over the next 20 years).

It cost me £6.80 to go by train on the ¾ hour journey from London to Huntingdon, near Molesworth. Great if I'm on the dole and getting £25 per week. Great that I met some amazing committed people there, two of whom gave me a free lift back in their van.

They're still there, some of those who grew the wheat for the starving in MoD fields and lived for two years in their garden at Molesworth. They sleep now in their caravans here and there, depending on the tactics of the courts and police at the time. They're still there, and now I'm back in London where 15% are unemployed and most people watch their colour tellies at night. Tellies that show them the IRA killing police and the violence of a dying miners' strike, and of course 'Dallas' and 'Dynasty' for a glimpse of the dreamed-of life, or music and stars on videos for the young. They wouldn't let us see the film recently made about the MI5's illegal 'surveillance' activities.

By the way, of course top CND

officials and Arthur Scargill are having their phones tapped, should anyone doubt this. We could have known that ten years ago. I have yet to hear any daily newspaper or television journalist try to connect the 'Thought Police' with the hundreds of people living in or associated with peace camps, magazine writers, socialists and anarchists or anyone 'they' see as opposing them. These people have their letters opened and their phones tapped too, and many of them are in prison.

But from the lips of Thatcher and Reagan, together in Washington two weeks ago, came the usual preachings with the thinly veiled doctrines: War is Peace, Ignorance is Strength, Freedom is Slavery. We leaders are the peacemakers they say, and it's essential for national security that we can't tell you about MI5 and the GCHQ or what they'll do with their £1,000 million budget next year. And the more missiles and men in uniform there are for us to worship, the less likely it is too that evil commies will think of taking away our precious 'freedom'.

So this is the reality of Orwell's 1985. I can see now how so many social revolutionaries have developed their thoughts in this land of increasingly blatant oppression and social sickness. There is much struggle ahead.

**Philip Rasmussen
London N8**



Dangerous Illusions

CND — NON-VIOLENT, INDIRECT AND INEFFECTIVE

One of the things which has been most frustrating about the recent re-emergence of CND has been the way that many of the mistakes of the old CND have simply been repeated without anyone much bothering to honestly ask themselves why the old CND declined so drastically in the late '60s and early '70s. Failure to seriously consider the collapse of the earlier wave of CND activism leaves the current movement wide open to a similar rapid decline which would probably prove terminal this time.

At the core of the problem lies the CND's faith in moral pressure and non-violent direct action. Whether its leaders really believe it or not I don't know but CND leaders *act* as though they believe that if enough respectable people express their wish to get rid of nuclear weapons in a well argued and dignified way through the proper channels then a government will be elected which will remove those weapons.

This leads the CND central bodies to welcome as much support as they can muster from such people as church leaders because they believe that they will have to be taken seriously if they can be seen to attract support from such sources (they also appear to believe that one bishop is worth twenty students, two actresses or ten teachers).

Such thinking is, of course, nonsense for a number of reasons. Firstly, any 'respectable' person who adopts a position of opposition ceases to be treated as respectable by the press and this largely neutralises the effort to become respectable. Consider, for instance, the way church leaders were treated when they tried to pray for dead Argentinians during the Falklands victory celebrations — the impression was given that the Church of England has always been a hotbed of Marxism.

Secondly, it means that you have to accept a lot of garbage from the 'respectable' leaders which ends up lending credibility to highly dubious ideas and leaves you wide open to being ditched by the respectable faction when circumstances change (consider for example the way the Catholic Church in Poland has been willing to quieten down whenever it is offered a deal regardless of whether it does anything for the rest of society there). The sort of garbage I am talking about here can best be illustrated by recalling the speech of one religious person at a recent large CND rally when it was announced from the platform that the battle to save lives from being lost to nuclear war was just as important as the battle to save lives from being lost through abortions. Surely there is no point in

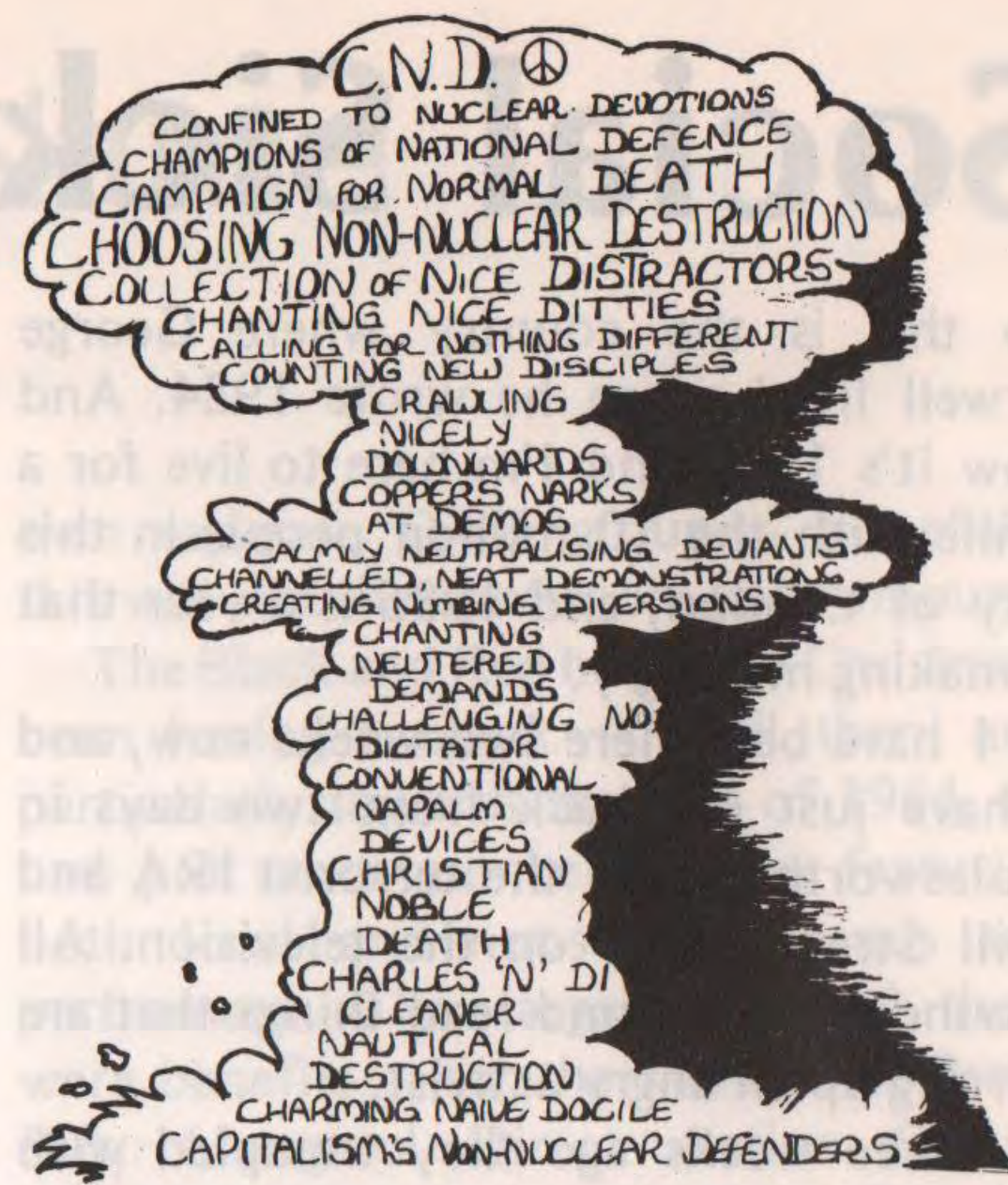
sacrificing one set of objectives (ie, the fight for women's right to choose) to another (the desire to scrap nuclear weapons) and we are entitled to ask who is using who to gain credibility and at what expense.

The most important error in such thinking is, however, that it lends weight to the cosy but inaccurate idea that the government actually exists to represent the majority view and will change its policies when that majority view changes.

The whole history of the nuclear movement offers directly contrary experience. Opinion polls have regularly shown wide public support for abolition of nuclear weapons — governments regularly proceed to ignore the polls. Labour Party conferences have passed resolutions calling for the weapons to be banned and yet Labour leaderships have in the past simply ignored such resolutions and the record of the Labour Party in office shows that they were the Party that introduced the weapons into Britain in the first place and they have never made the least move to abolish them. This is not to say that it is impossible to conceive of circumstances in which a government would find it in its interests to get rid of such weapons — such a move is quite possible, particularly if new weapons were devised or if larger standing armies became viable — it is simply to assert that people in authority take such decisions when it is in their own interests to do so not when they are impressed by the moral force of an argument.

Failure to recognise this can lead to some almost comical results. At the last rally of the miners' strike CND type activists were constantly encouraging us to sit down as we stood in the Mall refusing to move until the police freed some people who'd been arrested. They continued advocating this tactic right up to the point when the police drove a wedge into a crowd which contained children and no doubt would have gladly lain down in front of the police horses when they charged the crowd. They obviously hadn't been watching the news lately or been near the picket lines. The horses wouldn't have stopped — they'd have kept going and their riders would have laughed about it as they counted their overtime.

Faith in the fundamental decency of law enforcement agents can only come from people who have no idea of how far they will go. What is the good of non-violence in, say, South Africa or on the way to Auschwitz? The police in such regimes aren't put off by the dignity of a non-violent protest. Many of them so hate the black population that they



would gladly shoot them all if it wasn't for the servant problem it would create (recently a maid who was putting out the rubbish for her white master was killed by the house guard dogs — hundreds of people wrote in asking to buy the dogs). Non-violent treatment of an extreme racist is useless since the person has decided to redefine a particular race as non-human, considers all actions against them legitimate and despises liberals who mouth protests. Equally non-violent treatment of a scab in a strike is exactly what the authorities want and is quite useless because the person in question has already decided to ignore moral pressure and is primarily motivated by self-interest.

CND are therefore relying on moral pressure being brought to bear on people who are not really interested in the morality of their actions. They are also seriously underestimating the size of the task they have set themselves. If it was necessary to think of the hardest issue on which to win a demand for a reform then the demand for the removal of nuclear weapons would surely be it. Mobilising large numbers of people to win better housing or health care might have won significant reforms, but both the last wave of CND activism in Britain and the current wave have wrested not one single reform out of the British authorities which is of any use to any of us. Such a failure demoralises people and if we are not careful the current wave of CND will simply serve to teach people they are powerless in the face of authority when the truth is that collective activity can be enormously effective.

The final point which should be made is that in the one real war situation we have had CND was totally split and proved totally useless at doing the one thing it ought to have seen as its main priority — stopping the war. During the Falklands war the CND had fortuitously called a rally which attracted over 100,000 people. Yet that rally had no impact on the course of the war and didn't even cause the government to waver in its resolve because the CND leaders were

scared that opposition to a real war would split the movement and cost them support. In other words, in an attempt to preserve the anti-war movement they refused to use it to oppose a war. It preferred to be opposed to theoretical wars rather than one which was actually going on!

CND is, then, useless in practice, it promotes dangerous illusions about how we are governed, it promotes types of activity which the government can comfortably deal with and it wears people out in campaigns for reforms which are unlikely to be successful. Small wonder the late '60s activists lost patience with it and moved on to more fruitful activities. We can but hope that the present wave of enthusiasm for non-violent direct action passes as quickly and as painlessly as possible and that it can be replaced by some useful political activity before too many people have been worn into inactivity.

Andy Brown

PS Since when I wrote an article attacking 'terrorism' I got compliments on my passivist attitudes, could I save the 'terrorist' faction the trouble of writing in — in most situations bombing campaigns are totally counter-productive.



Thinking About Anarchy

WHAT ABOUT VIOLENCE

THIS ARTICLE IS REPRINTED FROM *WORKERS SOLIDARITY, IRELAND'S ANARCHIST PAPER*.

The hijacking of a Kuwaiti jet to Iran and the murder of two hostages brought the terrorists back into the news. This was followed at Christmas by the fascist train bombing in Italy.

The newspapers were soon falling over themselves with talk of 'anarchy' as if it was the same thing as mindless violence. Of course, none of them bothered to ask the anarchists what their policy is.

To set the record straight, we do not support hijackings, the talk of hostages or kidnappings. We are no more violent than anyone else, in fact we are a lot less so because we do not regard people as mere pawns to be moved around a political chessboard.

So why is anarchism often confused with the antics of loony terrorist gangs? There were a minority of anarchists, mainly in the 1890's, living in violent countries like Tsarist Russia who resorted to avenging the violence of the bosses against the workers. In almost all cases this was the work of lone individuals acting on their own initiative.

None the less, it gave the ruling class the opportunity to give anarchism a violent image. Soon they were claiming

that all sorts of thieves and murderers were anarchists. In England, Scotland Yard had a field day stirring up black propaganda. They put it about that anarchists were talking at length about poison, bombs and 'war to the death against society'.

They were even supposed to be studying the culture of dangerous germs so as to be able to infect some of the poorest and most squalid areas of the East End of London. The Yard went as far as claiming they were plotting to start an epidemic by collecting the clothes of cholera victims and bringing them to London. Of course all this was utter rubbish, but it served those in power by casting a cloud over the anarchist movement.

Anarchists all over the world have always said that secret armies and conspiracies cannot change the world for the better. Usually they are ruthless, not caring about the innocent casualties of their self-declared wars. They are elitist, under absolutely no control but their own, yet saying they act 'for the people'.

While we are opposed to these methods we are not joining up with Reagan's hysterical campaign against 'the terrorist threat'. That man gets my nomination for 'Hypocrite of the Decade'. The American

government finances coups, death squads, corrupt dictatorships and mercenary gangs like the one now murdering peasants on the Nicaraguan border.

We can understand why in desperation small groups can turn to militarist means. Injustice is found everywhere and there are always those who look for a quick solution. We have to state clearly that killing individual rulers, bosses or their police will never overthrow the capitalist system. They are all replaceable.

It can only happen when the job is taken on by a strong and politically aware working class movement. Only such a movement will be able to build a new society of justice and equality where people will come together to manage their own affairs.

In this situation there is likely to be some violence as it is impossible to see the bosses giving up their wealth and power without a fight. The gains of the new society will have to be defended but this will be done by popular organisations which will be democratically controlled. It will not be done by tiny groups of self-proclaimed 'liberators' who are answerable to nobody.

Alan MacSimoin

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Anarchism as an Ultra-leftist Stunt

VIOLENCE, ENDS AND MEANS

I find it strange that the Bedford Anarchists should find so much glee in making a 'shambles of Bedford'. What they did was as action by only a few people in the tradition of propaganda by the deed. Such actions by small numbers are only useful in as much as the concrete effect they have, such as the squatting of a field of ecological interest to prevent it being destroyed.

The practical results of the Bedford Anarchists actions are nil. The hope to build a larger campaign out of the arrests is extremely optimistic. They may have strengthened the view of anarchists as only being good for stunts, but little else is likely to come of this action.

If the Bedford Anarchists persist in such actions they will have an in-built marginalisation of their group. The reason for this is quite simple; their praxis is too far beyond that of ordinary people. It would be much better to start at the grievances people already have with their environment and use them to develop campaigns. By giving practical solidarity and providing sensible ideological agitation to struggles people are already engaged in is far more beneficial.

It is commendable to want to do something to prevent nuclear waste being dumped, but I don't think this is the correct approach. I have no objections to direct actions, but on an issue which affects a larger population such as this, it is only useful if it is performed by a much larger number.

I mentioned earlier what I called sensible ideological agitation. By this I meant ideology that is not ultra-left. One of the problems I see with anarchists is a horrendous degree of ultra-leftism that is quite simply unrealistic. Perhaps an obvious case of this is producing agitational leaflets on why revolution is necessary. The essence being that you tell other people they ought to revolt, since reformism doesn't work. Another example would be to tell workers to ignore their unions because they are manipulative, bureaucratic, etc. Yet another case, as in the miners' dispute, is to call for a general strike, which is ludicrous considering the lack of solidarity the miners were getting from other workers.

The approach should be what I would term grassroots reformism, to discriminate from reformism from above (the parallel being revolution from below or from above). Anarchists should be encouraging and helping people to obtain gains for themselves collectively, eg, helping the miners. In the case of unions, it is important to point out their deficiencies and the necessity for organisation beyond them, but to suggest workers ignore or do without them at this stage would be to condemn these workers to isolation as a small minority as the time is not right. In a general strike for instance, it would be quite correct to encourage workers to do without the unions.

In short, if a small group goes too far beyond the position of the people, it

condemns itself to isolation and is ineffectual. Spectacular actions may be good fun, but the sad fact is that lots of boring tedious work needs to be done before we can *take part* in such action.

In David Kovan's article he spoke of something which he claims is rooted in anarchist philosophy. He says, 'ends must be commensurate with means', and poses it against what he implies is its opposite, that 'ends justify means'. I don't believe either of these are true all the time. Suppose you want to live a life of luxury. Presumably you will have to do some kind of work to obtain the consumerables for this. It is quite clear that collectively humanity must work in order to enjoy its produce. The means certainly are not commensurate with the ends. Suppose the necessary work has been done, then you must perform whatever actions are necessary for luxury. The means, now, are commensurate with the ends. As a general principle this is an extremely silly one.

The other principle David Kovan gives us is that the 'end justifies the means'. This is not the opposite of the prior principle, it is a value judgement. It is rather strange that this principle should be a phrase used so often by supposedly scientific marxists. It may be true that if you are in a certain position and want to get to another you need some method, a means of achieving this goal. Whether or not the end justifies the means depends entirely on their relative merits, it is not a

general principle.

David Kovan's suggestions of non-violent revolution is as groundless as the generality of his principle. Pacifism is simply a theoretical standpoint that asks the state to walk over it. Coffee table discussions of pacifism are a little out of place if a policeman is hitting you with his truncheon.

The antipathy pacifists have for what will inevitably be a violent revolution stems from a view that violence begets violence. It seems odd to hold this theory and believe that peace has followed war, since it is impossible.

Violent revolution is a sad inevitability.

Scargill as Pope Again

Stu's piece on the defeat of the miners deserves a response. In the misery of yet another defeat — no confrontation with the government since Mrs Thatcher became PM has been won — it is useless to hit out in all directions and to pin most of the blame on an easy scapegoat. Mr Scargill is exactly what he is — a charismatic trade union leader with human and political flaws. We all knew that *before* the strike started and it's useless to blame its failure on the mistakes of one man. In my view his commitment to the striking miners was undeniable and it's rather pointless to criticise an authoritarian socialist for not being an anarchist.

We all know too, that for a Conservative government to be elected, the majority of working class voters must vote for it. The hearts and minds of conservative-voting trade unionists were hardly likely to be won by a miners' strike and the reasons for that are more complex and long-standing than Mr Scargill's leadership.

Of course I wish the strike had also been about scrapping the NCB and taking the pits into *locally organised workers' control*, but this is crying for the moon. Unfortunately anarchism is *not* the ideology of the working class movement of this country and we need to examine why — since the last war — almost the only struggle which has found

I'd quite like pacifism or reformism to work, but they do not. For David Kovan to claim that all revolutions lead to more repressive regimes demonstrates a distinct lack of empirical knowledge and an inability to work out the logical conclusion of his own views. If he were right, then history would be the progression of more dictatorial regimes.

To accept the necessity for violent revolution does not imply an acceptance of *Class War's* glorification of violence. There is nothing of intrinsic value in class violence. The only value it has is extrinsic, it is a means towards an end, to be justified by its actual achievements, to

our ideas attractive is the peace movement.

However, St Albans Miners' Support Committee has raised over £30,000 so far in support of striking Nottingham miners and, coming from a middle class stronghold like ours, that must have *some* significance. In fact, the committee, which was set up at the initiative of the miniscule local CP, was vigorously supported by men and women from the SWP and the Labour Party *and* by an unexpected and welcome influx of young anarchists. The committee was surprisingly united — the committee was the *whole* group — and street collections revealed just where most support was coming from; viz, middle-aged and elderly people in my experience.

All I can say is that those in support of the strike struggled and fought as hard as they could but without the *active* support of the *whole* labour movement it never quite looked as though the strike could be won. Even Eric Heffer, when he spoke locally, declared himself at odds with Arthur Scargill over the issue of workers' control (Heffer was for it). But when so many people I spoke to still thought, after a year-long strike, that it was about higher wages such politically sophisticated ideas as workers' control seem beyond the general level of political awareness.

When the miners went back on that

be avoided wherever possible.

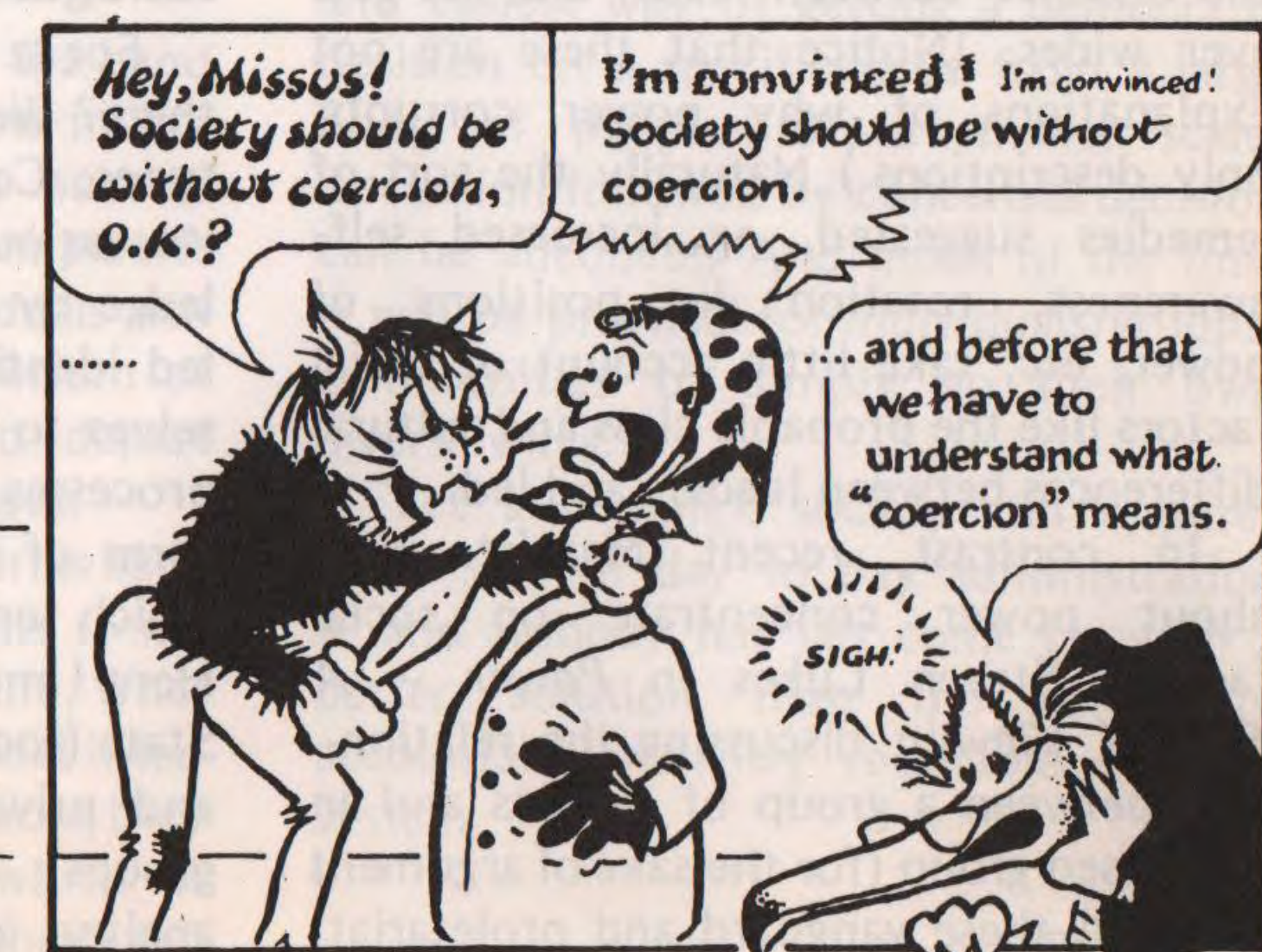
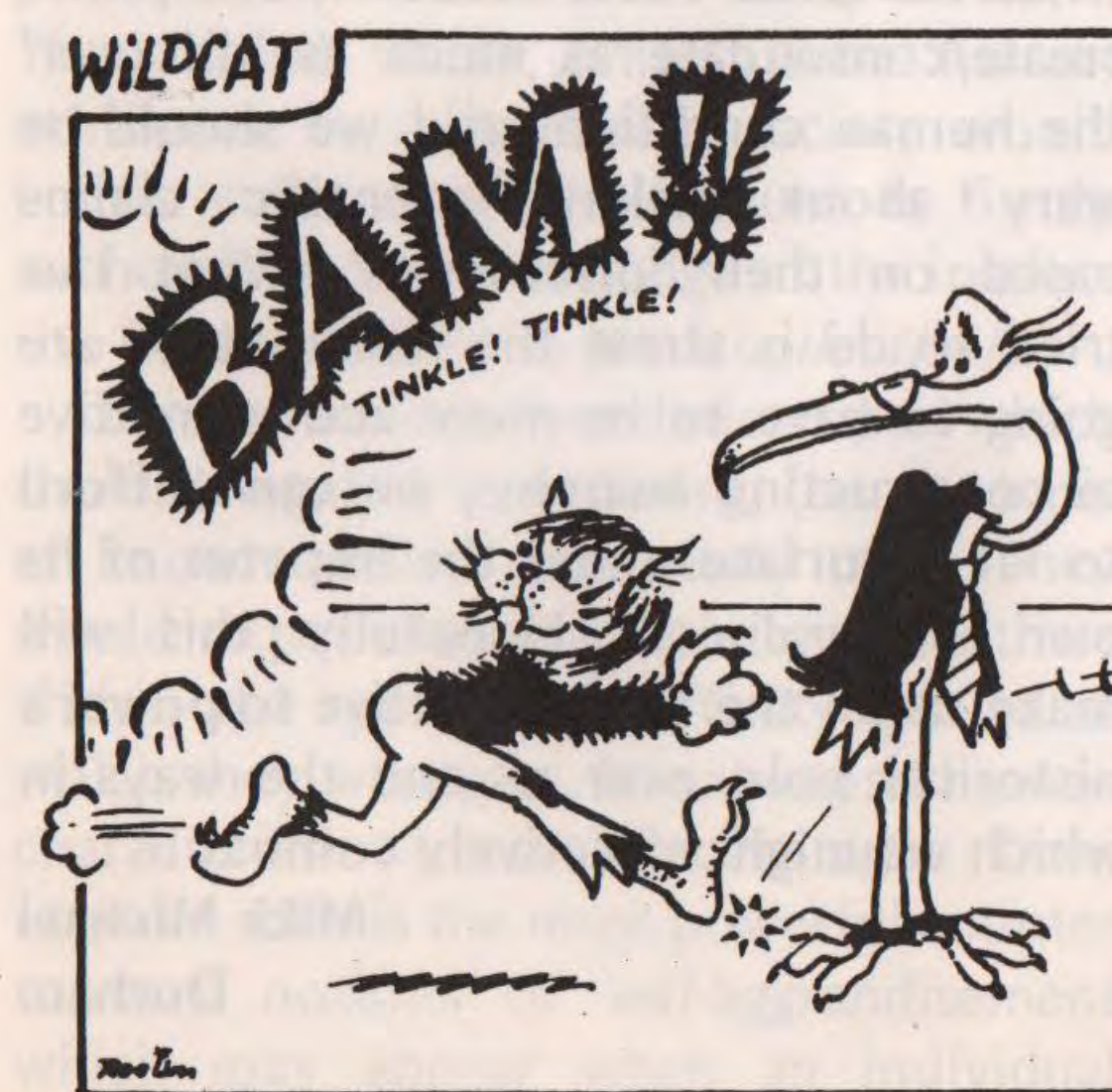
Phil Halsall
York

PS The 'Why Work' brigade may recoil in horror at this. Maybe we can eliminate a great deal of toil with modern technology, exactly how much is impossible to gauge. Before this occurs, a lot of work needs to be done, though. Work that may well be tedious and difficult. The logical conclusion of Kovan's principle, deliberating over the reduction of toil in a future society and the situationist's hedonism is that we shouldn't bother collecting for the miners because it's boring, and often done in bad weather.

awful black Tuesday I felt shame and despair and the sight of miners wives, as well as miners, in tears was too much to bear. In the teeth of the might of the State and the indifference of large sections of the population the best organised and most bitterly fought industrial struggle of my lifetime has ended in absolute defeat. It is no time for us anarchists who stand outside the industrial struggle to point the finger or recrimination at Mr Scargill. To do so is to patronise the strikers and their wives who used their minds and their bodies as they thought best and were ultimately left to fight alone.

Jeff Cloves
St Albans

Stu replies: For a year I argued in print that Scargill's authoritarian tactics would lose the strike. I have been consistent and regrettably, right. That anyone who claims to be an anarchist objects to criticism of a Stalinist, Communist Party, President-For-Life bureaucrat (however popular amongst leftists) is something I find deeply worrying. It is you who are insulting the miners and their families by insisting that we should hide the truth from them. They are more grown up than that. I wish you were. Life is harder and more demanding than you appear to recognise.



COMMENT ON THE REPLIES TO DELEGATING POWER

I meant to put in a little warning introduction to my delegating power article to the effect that it contained a genuinely new way of looking at *social structure* and it would be as well to think about it for a few weeks before sending in your critics. However, pressure of space . . .

Talking of space, this lot of replies are *far too long* for what they actually say and I wish at least one of them had understood the original argument I made before they put pen to paper. It was pretty straightforward . . . but new. John Griffin in particular commits the sin of criticising the article I didn't write. John (and everybody else), you could fill a library with things I didn't say. How can you possibly know what my views on

Debate Replies

SOME THOUGHTS ON POWER

In his article 'Delegating Power' Stu says that Marxists don't have a theory of power. The fact is that even in Marx's time they had one — the problem was that it was wrong, uncritically absorbed from the authoritarian society in which Marxism developed. In essence, power was seen as a means to an end, like any other tool, when the job was done it could be set aside. Hence the 'withering away of the State'. As we are all aware this sort of drivel still enjoys a lot of currency. However, there is an increased awareness amongst some statists of the ways that power can corrupt.

For example, if we look at social psychological theories of power we find that the focus has moved away from justifying power in terms of the leader's charisma or expertise towards analysing the way in which power-holders can be corrupted. The sort of things that have been 'discovered' are that: Access to power usually means that it will be used irrespective of whether it's necessary; 'superiors' start believing that they control their subordinates' actions and begin to take all credit; they devalue 'inferiors' and elevate their own self-esteem so that the distance between leader and led gets ever wider. (Notice that these are not explanations of why power corrupts, only descriptions.) Naturally the sort of remedies suggested, eg increased self-awareness, rotation in positions of power, etc, take little account of social factors like the probable class and cultural differences between leaders and led.

In contrast, recent Marxist ideas about power concentrate on social factors. Steven Lukes in *Power — A Radical View* in discussing the relationship between a group of experts and an oppressed group (for the sake of argument let's call these vanguard and proletariat)

the relationship between social structure and culture are when I haven't put them in print?

If you want to debate ideas with people you have to deal with what they say properly and argue your case, not just assert it! Why, for instance, is 'some form of delegate system . . . inevitable'? You give no reasons. Even so, that doesn't touch my analysis of delegate democracy as a hierarchical system, does it? By the way there's nothing Empirical about Kropotkin's work. As Malatesta pointed out, there was something profoundly unscientific about his approach, namely that he only saw what he wanted to see. Rather like too many anarchists since.

Stu

outlines two alternatives. On the one hand the vanguard might exercise a short-term power over the oppressed group so that it comes to realise its real interests (ie workers councils, abolition of capital and State, autonomy, etc). From this it follows that power is self-annihilating. On the other hand, there is an anarchist defence which states that the oppressed groups' autonomy is itself a fundamental interest and any exercise of power becomes an attack on that interest. Lukes chooses a 'compromise' whereby the oppressed group determine their own interests independently of the vanguard, through democratic participation. I take this to mean that there is a sort of mutual education between intelligentsia and 'masses'. Tellingly, Lukes doesn't go into the mechanics of this arrangement. In other words, he ignores the temptations of power that were described above. So, in both social psychology's and Lukes' versions of power is seen as acceptable under the appropriate circumstances. As anarchists we know better. At least we are aware of its tendency to infest everything. The problem is that we've got stuck in a groove. Slogans like 'Power Corrupts' don't help in distinguishing between different sorts of power and corruption.

For a start: what sorts of power are there? We're all familiar with the obvious types: Coercion or threat of coercion in its various guises; monopoly of knowledge by experts; 'charisma' whereby the led identify with and subordinate themselves to the leader. And of course these processes permeate everyday life in the form of subtle insinuating micro-powers which serve to shape us as human beings. Here I mean those methods used by both State (social services, medicine, education) and private (family, close relationships, groups) agencies to measure, watch, analyse and treat us. For example, the

arrangement in classrooms or rigid rows facing towards a teacher conditions not only the way we regard expertise (as active, creative) but also how we view and treat ourselves (as silent, passive receptacles). These methods have a profound effect on what we are and how we perceive ourselves. We can't, however, simply offload them — they have to be replaced. Sitting around in circles as opposed to rows still involves the deployment of micro-powers, libertarian ones.

Does this argument apply at levels of wider social organisation? When Stu says that 'corruption will show up in absolutely any body of humans with the power of decision over other humans' we can translate this as meaning that power makes people want more power because we are in some way receptive to it, that is, derive pleasure from it. However, is it necessary to assume that this receptivity is biological? Some feminists, for instance Shulamith Firestone, reckon that authoritarianism really took off in prehistory when men, on realising that they were necessary for procreation, began oppressing women. Under conditions of scarcity the subordination of women links the exercise of power to the experience of pleasure. From these beginnings developed all the other forms of power and oppression we've seen in history. Now this might be a bit simplistic, but at least it points to the possibility that power-lust is not innate. It then becomes conceivable that we can have individuals who under the right social conditions develop (are 'constructed' to experience) a deep disgust of power whether it is exercised by others or by themselves. (And in fact Pygmies are well-known for their compulsion towards collective decision-making.) Such people would be psychologically incapable of accruing power. In the same way that we are partly resistant to autonomy, such individuals would be resistant to power.

All this doesn't make the exercise of power any less unacceptable. However, it does acknowledge that the anarchist abhorrence of power is largely a *moral* abhorrence, not one simply based on social, psychological or anthropological or whatever facts. These academic disciplines create/consolidate as much as 'discover' the human condition, and we should be wary about making scientific claims based on their 'discoveries'. What I've tried to do is stress the fact that we are going to have to be more active/creative in constructing anarchy; we can't afford to let it surface under the impetus of its own 'naturalness'. Hopefully this will make us all the more sensitive to power's historical hold over us and the ways in which we might effectively combat it.

Mike Michael
Durham

SHARING RESPONSIBILITY

Stu's article 'Delegating Power', published last month, concluded that direct ballots alone ensure that decisions flow from the *bottom* and that a delegate system is sure to produce a governmental hierarchy. Given the almost Hobbesian reference with which he begins, his conclusions must be correct, but is this not a peculiar starting point for an anarchist?

No mention is made of the influence of a libertarian culture, which we must assume exists, otherwise the revolution would never have been successful in the first place. I can't envisage a libertarian society in which at least the majority have not unlearned bourgeois attitudes and embraced the concepts of mutual aid. The tendency towards mutual aid, I believe, is instinctive though often latent in all humanity. Empirical support for this can be found in Kropotkin, and more recently in the writing of the anthropologists Leakey and Lewin.

Stu rightly points to the need for anarchists to understand where they are going before overthrowing capitalism, but ballots are not a practical solution for *all* of the decisions which a complex technological society demands. They are relevant to the most broad issues, and I fully agree with this.

Decisions at the workplace of a day to day nature can be taken by all of those involved, but what Stu fails to explain is how a series of ballots can *co-ordinate* the efforts of workers in *diverse occupations and geographic locations*, (perhaps this is where the market economy comes in). Some form of delegate system seems to me inevitable, although I acknowledge the danger of a possible re-emergence of hierarchy.

My starting point is in an acceptance of the diverse range of abilities which humans possess. Some are gifted engineers, musicians, doctors, artists, etc. Others with few *practical* abilities make good organisers. These differences provide the basis of hierarchical structures *within competitive cultures synonymous with capitalism*. The organisers are to be found in management, and the rewards which go with these positions legitimate managerial power over those who do the spade work. The thread which unites these human attributes in a libertarian society would be *its* culture, which in turn is firmly anchored in the knowledge of the instinctive human ability to work *collectively*.

This is the firm foundation upon which those delegated to organise, (on the basis of known ability) ultimately rests. They would experience the opinions of others within the community affinity groups of which they were part. It is a natural human characteristic to seek acceptance from others — this is the most powerful counter to any notions of self-aggrandisement which may appear when an individual



takes on such a role. If that person cannot respond to comrades' wishes, the chances are that *within a libertarian culture*, s/he will resign without even being asked — if not s/he is recallable.

The key to ensuring that all decisions flow from the people lies in the fusion of those who organise at workplace, local and national levels, with their own community affinity groups. Stu I suspect is afraid of the organisers forming *their own* friendship networks, which become reified from those who work with their hands, thus forming a hierarchy.

I believe that the organisers will see the advantages of remaining embedded within the community, because the hand workers can provide suggestions to improve methods of working based on invaluable *direct* experience. The organiser is assisted by this process, just as the hand worker can expect improvements in life style and productivity. When success flows from *mutual* arrangements *all* parties are happy and fulfilled — individuals will be unwilling to risk the opprobrium of their comrades if they try to depart unilaterally from proven techniques.

Stu's thinking, (reflected in terms such as 'bottom' and 'upwards') seems to me to be of an essentially linear nature. What I have described is a form of social interaction between the people and those they have delegated to organise, which is *circular* — an 'equality of unequals'.

(Bookchin) I seek not to "delegate power" but to share responsibility in a common cause.

For me natural human attitude, given full expression through a libertarian culture, are the very guts of anarchism — leave them out and you're in a terrible mess.

John Griffin

SHORT COP-OUT

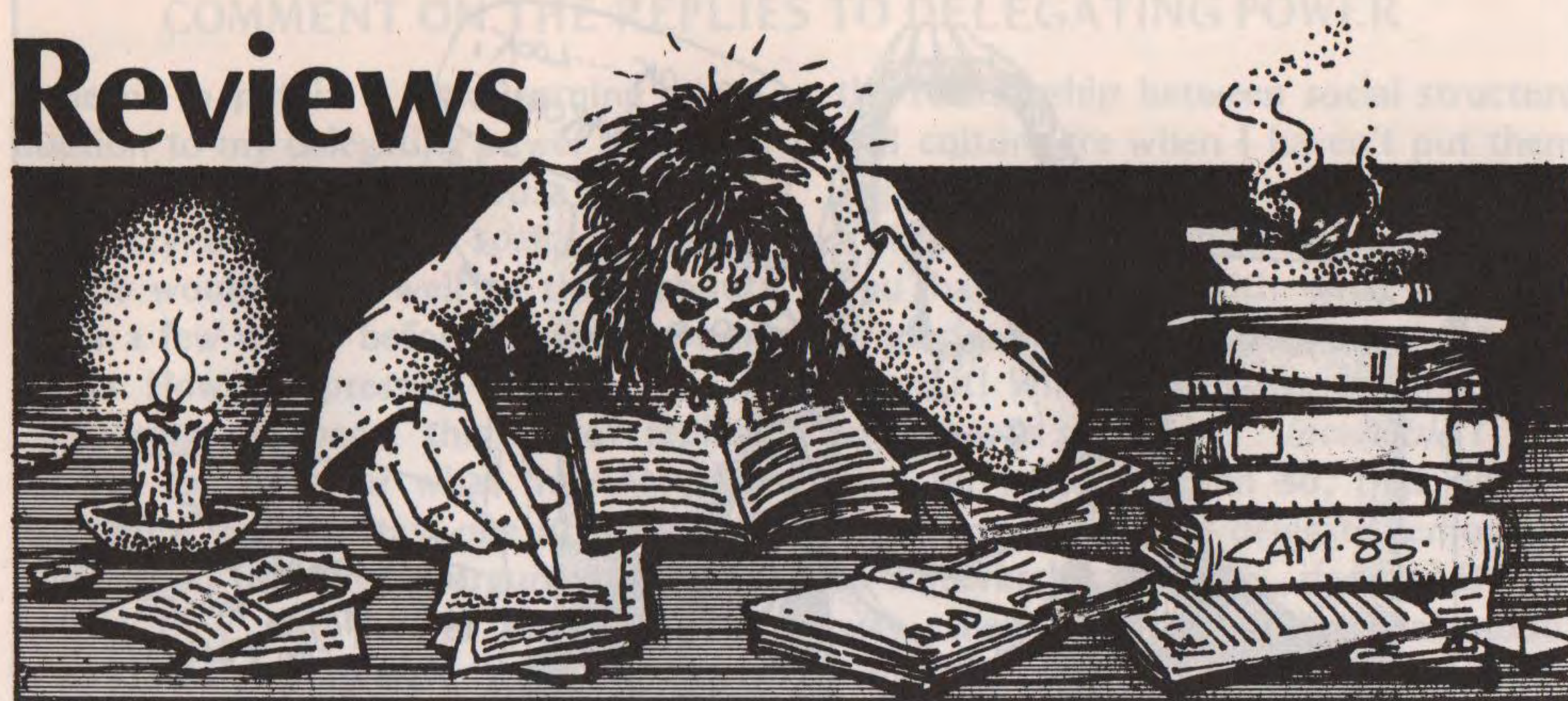
Stu Stuart's article on 'Delegating Power' in the February *Freedom* was a welcome opening to a debate which has been avoided for too long. However, whilst I agree with the questions asked and the basic analysis, the fundamental answer given (direct ballot) is not a wholly realistic panacea.

Direct ballot is, I agree, the fairest and easiest way of getting a democratic decision on a specific issue from a large body of people. On a smaller scale, discussion followed by consensus decision can be adequate. And much of the time it will be practical for individuals/groups/communities to simply go their own diverse ways.

Yet a complex society still requires some sort of day to day administration — and nobody has yet come up with a better solution than the constantly accountable/instantly recallable delegate system.

Chris
Streatham

Reviews



Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life

Alice Wexler (Virago Press) £5.95
The great Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman wrote a long autobiography, *Living My Life* (1931), which has been reprinted in paperback several times. Richard Drinon wrote a good short biography, *Rebel in Paradise* (1961), which has also been reprinted in paperback. These have been found adequate for most people who want to know about the subject. But since the 1970's Emma Goldman has been taken up by the American women's movement and a great deal has been written tending to emphasise her feminism rather than her anarchism and her private rather than her public life — including some books, from Alix Kates Shulman's *To the Barricades* (1971), to Candace Falk's *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman* (1984). Alice Wexler's *Intimate Life* is the latest, published in the United States last year and now published here by the feminist Virago Press. It has had many reviews, praising or patronising Emma Goldman, mostly by people who knew nothing about her.

In fact the book isn't nearly as bad as its background might suggest. Wexler

generally follows Emma Goldman's own account of her life, though she adds a great deal of material drawn from archives on both sides of the Atlantic. The most dramatic (and 'intimate') of this material is the correspondence between Emma Goldman and her late lover Ben Reitman, which emerged only during the 1970's. But the picture we already have of the great anarchist feminist enslaved by her sexual feelings is not altered, only intensified. If you want to learn about Emma Goldman's personal as well as her political activities, this is a suitable book to read, though it isn't entirely reliable on matters of fact.

The one really major defect of the book is that Wexler stops short without any warning in 1919, when Emma Goldman was deported from the United States to Communist Russia. Perhaps her 'intimate life' ceased to be interesting at this point, when she reached the age of 50; but her life continued for another 20 years, and included such significant episodes as her work for the new regime in Russia, her disillusionment and emigration to Western Europe, her campaign to expose the true nature of communism, and later her work for the anarcho-syndicalists in the Spanish Civil War. For a proper view of Emma Goldman's life and work, it is still necessary to go back to what she wrote herself and to books like Drinon's.

NW

The Mole

8pp, 20p, c/o Bedford Anarchist Collective, Polhill Site, Bedford College of Higher Education, Bedford.
Neatly produced and printed. A mixture of short items of news, polemic and graphics. Entertaining, not least for the high quota of spelling/typing mistakes.

Against the Wall

vol 13, no 1, 4pp A4, no price/postage quoted, PO Box 444, Westfield, NJ 07091, USA.

This issue of the 'magazine of self liberation and voluntary alter-negatives' is given over to the argument that the MX is a wimp, something all self-respecting Americans would want nothing to do

with. Let them have the nuclear winter, we'll take the cleansing fire.

DP

Sabate — Guerilla Extraordinary

Antonio Tellez, £2.95, paperback, 208pp Refract Publications/Anarchist Pocket-books no 1, Elephant Editions, BM Elephant, London WC1V 3XX.

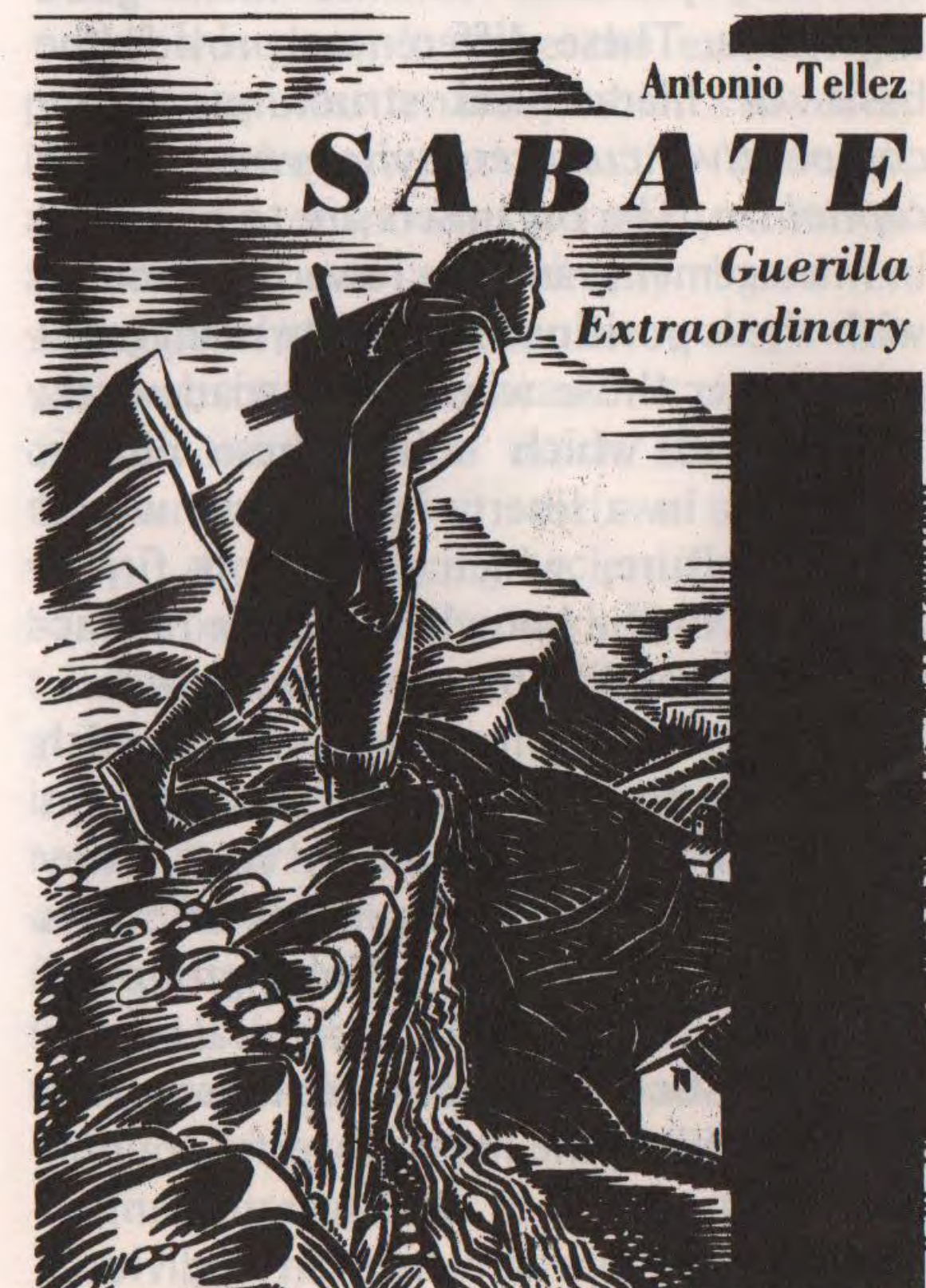
Francisco Sabate was the best known of the generation of Spanish guerillas who continued the struggle against fascism after the formal end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Other political groups considered armed struggle, but quickly put their faith in a victory by the democracies in the World War, the same democracies that had failed to support the republican side in Spain. Anarchists continued to fight for many years. The death of Sabate in January 1960 is usually taken as the end of this phase.

The courage and dedication of these militants provided inspiration for the Spanish working class, suffering under the Franco regime. They were, of course, vilified as criminals and bandits by the regime. Their 'official' organisation, the CNT in exile was deeply split and tended to disown them. By the late 1950s many were dead or in prison. Sabate was one of the last, with a spirit that could be called heroic or obstinate, or both.

This translation by Stuart Christie was first published by Cienfuegos in 1972. This edition has lost the introductory perspective by Octavio Alberola and the personal introduction by the translator. The new introduction is by Alfredo Bonanno. A new cover by Cliff Harper replaces that of F Constantini. It has also lost the photographs.

The stories of these Spanish comrades continue to provide inspiration and valuable lessons. The reappearance of this book is warmly welcomed.

DP



CAMUS: AN ANARCHIST?

I didn't know that Albert Camus had written for the French anarchist weekly *Le Monde Libertaire*. The Fresnes-Antony group of the Federation Anarchiste have republished three of Camus' articles which appeared in *Le Monde Libertaire* between 1955 and 1957. *Albert Camus et Les Libertaires*, their latest publication, also includes articles by Maurice Joyeaux (an old anarchist militant) as well as a number of articles commemorating Camus, which appeared in *Le Monde Libertaire* in 1960, shortly after his death.

L'Atelier de Creation Libertaire of Lyon have also published a short book on Camus by Teodosio Vertone called *L'oeuvre et l'action d'Albert Camus dans la mouvance de la tradition libertaire*. Vertone, who teaches at the University of Rome, makes out a well-argued and coherent case for placing Camus firmly

L'ŒUVRE ET L'ACTION D'ALBERT CAMUS



DANS LA MOUVANCE DE LA TRADITION LIBERTAIRE

Préface de ROGER DADOUN

within the libertarian tradition. The book contains an introduction by Roger

Dadoun titled 'Camus and the spirit of revolt'. Roger Dadoun is a psychoanalyst who wrote an article on anarchism and psychoanalysis in a recent issue of *Le Monde Libertaire*.

The Italian anarchist magazine *Rivista A* published an article on the anarchism of Camus thirty years ago. I don't know if anything has appeared in *Freedom* — anybody want to take up the theme and write an article?

Albert Camus et les Libertaires (fr 20) can be obtained from Group Fresnes-Antony, 34 rue de Fresnes, F-92160 Antony, France.

L'oeuvre et l'action d'Albert Camus dans la mouvance de la tradition libertaire by Teodosio Vertone (fr 30) can be obtained from Atelier de Creation Libertaire, 13 Pierre-Blanc, F-69001 Lyon, France.

JA

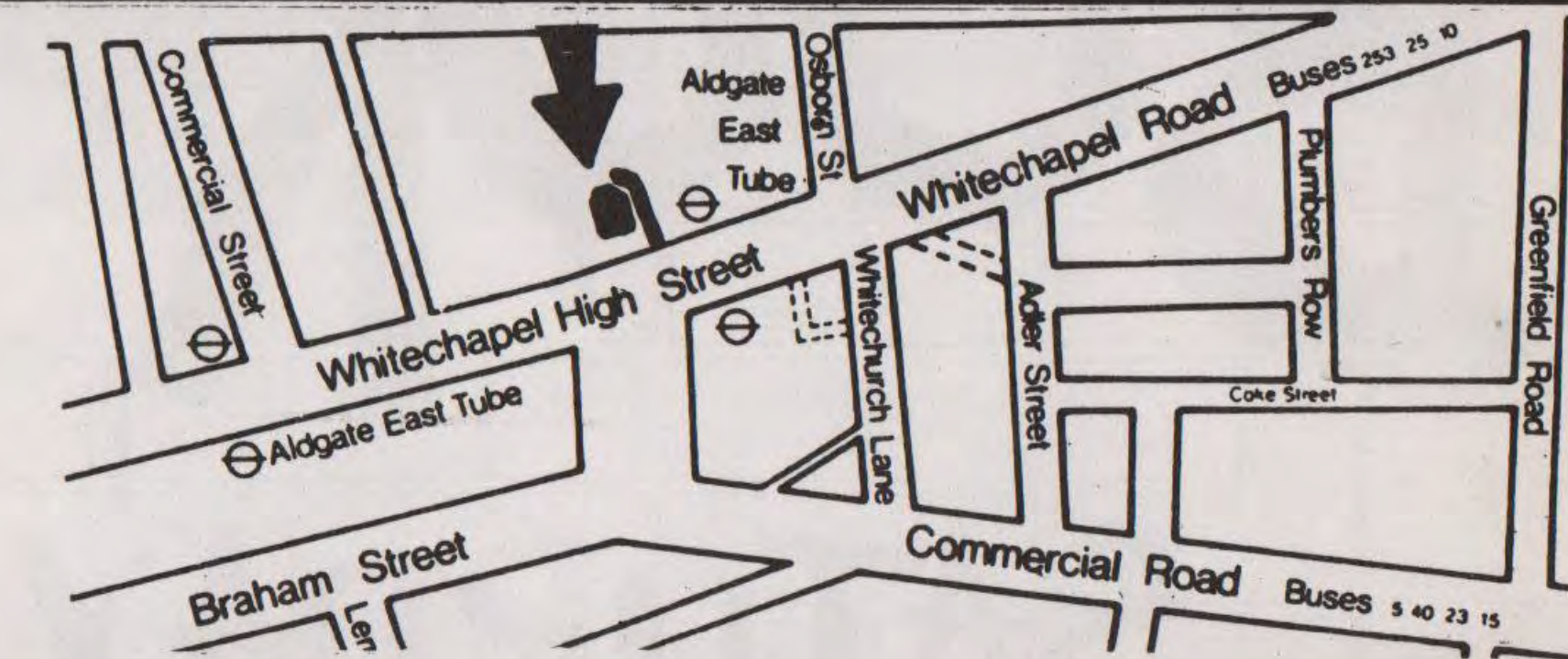
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This month's crop of new titles is good enough in itself, but it's regrettable that only two out of seven are new, the rest being reprints. It would be better if all the old stuff was permanently in print and there were half a dozen new titles coming out every month. Looking on the bright side, reprinting old titles can be a stepping stone to this end, but only provided we remember that new material has to be written. Otherwise we'll never get beyond eternal reprints. That aside, it's noteworthy that this month's anarchist publishing consists entirely of cheap pamphlets while the one expensive title, the book on Emma Goldman, is from a commercial publisher.

Chairperson Mo

by the judge who closed down the student union. An introduction to situationist writing.

Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution

Maximoff, 45p

Short introduction to the movement for workers control in the Russian Revolution and how, in the form of factory committees, it was defeated by the Communists. Since there weren't any syndicalist unions in Russia I should have thought the pamphlet would have been more sensibly titled 'Council Communists in the Russian Revolution'.

No Middle Ground

£2

Subtitled 'anti-authoritarian perspectives on Latin America and the Caribbean', this is the latest issue of a periodical documenting and analysing social struggle in the backyard of the United States. Important and interesting but in short supply.

A Critique of Marxism

Dolgoft, 75p

Expanded edition of Sam Dolgoft's short pamphlet. Quoting several writers, including Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin and Rudolf Rocker, Dolgoft makes several crucial points against

Marx's ideas, including pointing out that economic determinism is a fallacy, as is Marx's idea that the political is only the reflection of the economic.

Fighting the Revolution 1

£1.00

Fighting the Revolution 2

£1.20

The first of these two pamphlets consists of short biographies of three revolutionary military commanders, two of them, Makhno and Durruti, anarchists. Nestor Makhno fought in the Ukraine during the Russian Revolution, Buenaventura Durruti fought in the Spanish Revolution (he was killed in November 1936) and Emiliano Zapata fought in the Mexican Revolution until he was killed in 1919. Preliminary material for those examining the tension between anarchist organisation and military requirements.

The second pamphlet, which was originally going to be entitled 'Thinking the Revolution', is largely a selection of writings by Peter Kropotkin, the anarchist theoretician who died in 1921. About half the material is on the Paris Commune of 1871 and one item is the defence statement of Louise Michel, the anarchist militant who was sentenced to life transportation for her part in the Commune.

Chairperson Mo