

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom 30p

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LIBERTARIAN voices have scarcely been heard about the Falklands during the seven weeks since the crisis began, though there has been more need for them than ever before during the three weeks since our last issue appeared and since the crisis turned into a war.

Not that it has been much of a war yet, at least as we go to press. A few minor ships and aircraft on each side, an Argentine cruiser and a British destroyer, a few hundred Argentine and a few dozen British deaths—this hardly counts on the current scale, when elsewhere in South America and in Central America, Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia, thousands and even millions of people can be killed without getting into the newspapers, let alone on to the television screen.

But a small war can all too easily and quickly grow into a big war, as has happened over and over again, most notably in 1914 and 1939. And this small war happens to involve this country, which is fighting for the first time since the Suez War of 1956 against an enemy outside the old British Empire and for the first time since the Korean War of the early 1950s against an enemy willing and able to fight back.

A lot of nonsense has been said during the crisis about Argentina. It is not a Fascist dictatorship, with a single autocrat ruling through a mass party. It is a military dictatorship, with a president and a junta (committee) ruling through the three armed services. It may be a bankrupt country, but it is self-sufficient in food and well-armed. Anyway, countries don't stop fighting because they are poor or badly ruled, and no one should imagine that the British only have to huff and puff for Argentina to be blown down.

Nor should anyone imagine that such a dictatorship, however appalling its atrocities against its own people, will find it

## From Farce To Tragedy

difficult to unite them behind it now. Patriotism is the first refuge of both rulers and ruled in trouble, and the war seems to be even more popular in Argentina than it is in Britain, which is saying something.

Support for the war may fall in either country when one or both sides begin to suffer serious casualties, but we must assume that we are once more in an all too familiar position, of being a minority within a minority—a tiny libertarian movement inside a small anti-war movement which includes careerist politicians and casuistic Marxists in an uneasy coalition.

The Falklands War is not about two thousand inhabitants of the Falkland Islands, or about the sovereignty over the two tiny islands, or about the principle of preventing aggression. British governments since the Second World War have abandoned millions of people who wanted to remain British subjects (and prevented them entering 'their' country), have abandoned scores of territories which used to belong to the British Empire, and have condoned dozens of acts of aggression (Vietnam, Cambodia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Eritrea, Lebanon and so on round the world).

The Falklands War, like the beginning of the two world wars, is about two groups of powerful but confused countries,

both in economic difficulties and with imperialist ambitions, both deeply divided but strongly nationalist, one dictatorial and the other more or less democratic, which have come to blows over a minor quarrel of many years' standing, and which may drag not just their subjects and allies but everyone else into a struggle which began as a farce but is becoming a tragedy.

This is what states do, when they are no longer satisfied with suppressing their own subjects. The vast proportion of national budgets spent on 'defence' must eventually be paid for. (It is ironical that one of the greatest producers of modern weapons in the world is now fighting one of its best customers.) This is what most of the members of the United Nations do most of the time, though their organisation is now being asked to mediate. This is what has been done above all by the United States and the Soviet Union. (It is ironical that the former, only a few years out of Vietnam, was the first mediator, and that the latter, less than only a few months after sponsoring a military dictatorship in Poland, is on the verge of supporting another in Argentina.)

There is no point in arguing in favour of sending the British Armada to the South

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## FROM FARCE TO TRAGEDY

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Atlantic, and then against using it, as the Labour leadership does. There is no point in arguing for an Argentine victory over Britain, as the Marxist sects do. There is no point in arguing for a British victory over Argentina, as most of our fellow-countrymen (though fewer of our fellow-countrywomen) do. There is no point in arguing for any kind of so-called 'just war', as most of the Christian denominations do.

There is no point in arguing for anything except the total libertarian message. Not just that both British and Argentine forces should get out of the Falkland Islands, but that they should get out of all islands and all oceans and all countries, including their own. The Argentine forces have been fighting a war against their own population since they seized power six

years ago. The British forces have been fighting wars against colonial populations all over the world ever since they began to seize the British Empire three centuries ago, and this fighting has been continued by Labour Governments as much as by Conservative Governments. War, as Randolph Bourne said at the end of the First World War, is the health of the state.

This is an unpopular message at this particular moment. But it must still be voiced, and it may even be heard when all the bills start coming in, when more British and Argentine bodies are taken home, when the taxes are raised to pay the hundreds of millions of pounds the war is costing, when the truth comes out about how our rulers blundered into the crisis and how they have behaved during it. The Suez War became one of the main factors in the revival of the libertarian left twenty-five years ago. The Falklands War may do the same, but it will need a lot of hard work.

## LONDON ANTI-WAR DEMOS



### WHERE WERE THE ANARCHIST BANNERS

*AN 'Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in the Falklands' has been formed, with the support of the few Labour MPs (including Judith Hart, present leader of the Party!) who have opposed the sending of the task force from the very beginning—plus, of course, the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party—(who are calling for victory for Argentina!) and various religious and CND groups. In fact the organising groups seems to be centred on 'Spark', the CND printing press.*

*The Committee's main activity is*

*the organising of marches and rallies every Sunday. The second (picture above) was held on May 16th, when about 3000 people walked from Tower Hill to County Hall. This was more than the previous week, but there is still too much domination of the scene by Trotskyists and it's time some Anarchist banners were dusted off and brought out.*

*The next march—on May 23rd—is from Hyde Park (2 pm) to Trafalgar Square (3.30). How about making a libertarian presence felt this time?*

## PRECISION KILLING

THE French makers of the missile that hit the British are very pleased at the accuracy of their weapon, as no doubt are the makers and designers of the homing torpedoes that sunk the Argentinian cruiser. The same accuracy is no doubt built into the missiles that are aimed at us, there are many highly trained men and women from all over the so-called civilised world busily engaged in this task of accurately killing human beings. These little items are being sold like refrigerators to whoever has the money to buy them, often to ultimately kill their own nationals. Appropriately, there is being held shortly a sales exhibition of these products in Britain, no doubt this year Argentina will not be invited. I hope there will be many uninvited guests this year to expose the glistly hypocrisy of this trade.

### Journalistic Jingoism

The headlines of *The Sun* (which condemns more sober views as 'treason') which celebrated the drowning of Argentinian conscripts, was somewhat sobered by the news that British volunteers had also been killed. No doubt *The Sun* and *News of the World* journalist who scrawled inanities on missiles intended for the Argentinians will no doubt write on the weapons we will still sell abroad, 'Cheer up boys we may get it back.' The hypocrisy of those who mould public opinion is breath-taking as is the way the public permits its opinion to be made. Already nearly 500 lives have been lost to establish who has nominal sovereignty over these windswept pieces of rock, the 1800 inhabitants have not had much sustenance from Britain some 8000 miles away and for some years have been supplied by Argentina. Those 55% of the population who are quite prepared to spend more lives (other peoples) on establishing British sovereignty on some islands 8000 miles away are probably more bloodthirsty than those in the freezing area of operations. The probability is that by the time this is printed many more than the total population of the Falklands may have perished. It is suspected that for several weeks there has been a British force on the main island, put there by the assistance of another great 'democratic junta' Chile, which by the way has seen off more of its opponents than the Argentinian junta. No doubt that other great supporter of military junta democracy USA are getting a bit worried, having busily supplied them with the means of survival all these years, now being used against their great British allies.

When will they ever learn?

Looking through our archives the other day at a book of cuttings of the 1914/18

# FAMILIES DIVIDED BY LAW

IN February this year a party of three: a Lawyer, a Vicar and a Cameraman (sponsored by Manchester Law Centre) left for Bangladesh to spend a month visiting the families of men living in the Manchester area who have been refused permission to join their husbands/fathers here.

Altogether the group visited about 20 families — some of whom had been waiting 10 years or more for visas. The group's findings, supported by film and their detailed village enquiries, has led to proof that most of these families had been

## PRECISION KILLING

continued

war when European workers were killing each other, one sees how the politicians were saying the same things, one realises little has changed. How the weapons are always pointed in the wrong direction. If the German, French and British workers had followed the Russian peasants in the same direction the history of Europe might have been much different, and if the Spanish workers could have counted on the support of their European counterparts the same could be said. The probability is that whoever has ultimate sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, Coalite and Charringtons will still own it, just as many multinationals will still draw dividends and blood from the junta ridden states of South America, supporting those juntas with weapons that they will also draw dividends on as well as the weapons supplied to the Task Force.

Now is the time for the British and Argentinian people to stage a people's coup de grace, and stuff the journalistic rubbish of The Sun and its Argentinian counterparts up their journalistic arses. What about self-determination for the 1300 inhabitants of the island of Diego Garcia who are being evacuated against their will by us to make way for an American Base.

ALAN ALBON

wrongly refused. Yet these were all families who had all been subjected to repeated interviews and had had Immigration Appeals turned down.

The social and personal cost of separating these families has been great. Children have spent their whole childhood waiting for visas, relations between wives and husbands have been subjected to great strain and stress. The group's report, together with similar findings in 1976 and last year, provides damning evidence that the British Government is deliberately separating genuine families and thus itself breaking its own laws and the basic right to respect for family life.

### United Campaign

Those 20 families, and a rapidly growing number of others caught in the same situation, are no longer willing to wait

another 10 years for more refusals and heartache. Like Sultan Mahmood and Anwar Ditta they have realised that only their determination to fight for justice for their families can help them and others caught by these unjust immigration procedures.

For the first time a group of families have come together and the BANGLADESH DIVIDED FAMILIES CAMPAIGN has been formed to unite and broaden their fight. This new local initiative will have an important national role in developing the fight by separated black families for justice.

### BANGLADESH DIVIDED FAMILIES GROUP

c/o Bangladesh Cultural Centre,  
Main Road,  
Oldham,  
Lancs.

# LEFT INTOLERANCE

ON 1st May there was a 'Right to Work' march from Shoreham to Brighton. In Brighton the march was joined by a small group of local anarchists. We began distributing our leaflets which gave a reasoned criticism of the Right to Work Campaign. We were immediately set upon by several SWP members, some of whom we recognized as students at the university. These 'revolutionaries' told the police we were disrupting the march, and the police dragged us off and told us that any more 'disruption' would get us arrested.

Later there was another march, organised by the Labour Party, through Brighton.

This march ended with a rally at the Brighton Centre. The first speaker was Alan Sapper, TUC President, TV Technicians Union leader, and Soviet apologist. An anarchist comrade from Worthing interrupted and asked Sapper how he could claim to speak for British workers when he supported the suppression of

Polish workers. He was immediately seized round the neck by a Labour Party organiser who is a university lecturer, whilst another man punched him in the back. The assailants were restrained, and the audience were divided in their reactions to the incident.

In conclusion, the day showed us the following.

1. The nature of much of the Left is thuggish intolerance. They prefer regimentation to debate, and, when their rituals are marred, don't hesitate either in asking the police for help against us, or in trying to beat dissent out of us, themselves.
2. In this area, at least, the Left does not act as a channel for popular discontent, as its active support is composed almost entirely of university students and lecturers, with a sprinkling of professionals, ex-students, and elderly working-class Labour loyalists. Therefore, making a presence at these Left rituals has a limited value for us.

OWING to production difficulties we apologise for the delay in publication of this issue, plus the absence of the usual format on our 'letters' page. In the absence of similar technical hitches, next issue should appear Saturday 29th May.



Peace Camp Mania Engulfs Schoolchildren  
'Money Doesn't Talk It Swears. Obscenity  
Who Really Cares? All is Phony!'

*Propaganda*—Bob Dylan

I first began to use maps, look at them closely, when I biked into Derbyshire every weekend. I was fifteen and escaping the family tentacles. The signs and symbols fascinated me. You could discover not only footpaths and canal paths but Roman Roads and neolithic stone-circles. Then, when still a dumb and foolish, politically-unaware person I joined the army. Signing-on in the Royal Engineers, in order to get to the School of Military Survey, I took a course doing a 'Plane-Table Survey' and using aerial photographs. The whole process of map-making went on, through to the printing and packaging. And I was fascinated by the whole process. I still have a map of Cyprus which our unit printed—42 Field Survey Regt. RE. Then later whilst involved with the anti-war movement I had and still have a map of Wethersfield USAF Base which was handprinted over the ordinary Essex map. Since then I have used maps on postcard poems and posterpoems and very recently have begun once more to look at maps very closely.

The Greenham Common Peace Camp had seemed quite remote from my life, but the Newbury area was very much a part of it. Here I had lived at Hermitage, played football for Newbury Town, been at the School of Military Survey and been a visitor to the PX Club in Greenham Common USAF Base in 1956.

I still wasn't that keen on visiting the Spring Equinox on March 21st as it was mainly a feminist affair. However I stayed that weekend and discovered like many thousands more the large area of land which is still Common Land near to the construction-site entrance known as the 'Green Gate' for the Festival. This Common Land was part of the ancient and beautiful Greenham Common. This Green Gate site had recently been swept by a deliberate fire which had removed scrub, whereas man in the shape of contractors or Base Personnel had chopped down the silver birch trees. Was this done to create a carpark or perhaps enlarge the base? Why is it important? Because this very obscene military base was first an area of wild and open country. Quite recklessly handed over—stolen—for an airfield probably during WW2 (some were created during WW1). I discovered from an 18th century map that right in the middle of the Common was Noah's Ark Cottage. I also began to ask how many other runways on how many more airfields were obstructing Common Land? When you begin to think about it how obvious it is that so many were created from Common Land. For how many people would object during wartime? There were no land-owners to compensate. No Estate Lords to prevent such land-grab. Only landless country-people to lose-out. Only the vast majority

## WHERE IS IT ON THE MAP?

who owned and still own no land. When I came to look closely at the Newbury area I discovered tracks like *Portway*, an old Roman Road. *Grims Ditch*, or Grims Dyke, and *Watership Down*—of rabbit mythology. Visiting Upper Heyford Peace Camp boxed in along a bridle path between USAF Base fence and hedgerow I discover it is a part of the same Roman Road—Portway. Imagine how ironic this is. One of the few areas of land capable of pitching tents on freely, was once an ancient highway. But even this had been encroached-on by the military base! For the local maps had shown the bridle path extending for another 100 yards into that base! What would older maps have shown—where has Portway disappeared. Who has stolen other sections of the bridlepath? For the road to Kirtlington was obviously part of Portway—travelling from Peace Camp away from the base. And just what was Upper Heyford Base. Was it Upper Heyford Common?

And now, just a week after Burghfield Peace Camp was set-up I see from the map that *Grims Bank* continues in this area—not so far from Reading. The Royal Ordnance Factory is not only left off the new map but the sign leading off the Reading Road has been taken down leaving just the poles...only the factory brightly lit-up at night remains! On Friday 23rd April we slept in Burghfield Methodist Hall along with the 'Seattle to Moscow' Peace Walkers—a mixed group of Quakers and Pacifists, mainly Americans. Come Saturday we walked with them as far as the maingate and there, led by the buddhist nuns and monk, a peace ceremony was held under the eyes of police and press. Local people turned-up in support. Carpenters and retired folk; school-kids and nurses. Even the local Anglican Vicar, a pacifist, came and preached a sermon in support. Students from Reading University also.

A campsite was found along an old stretch of road which had been cut out by the path of new road. We pitched tents and were just cooking supper on a wood-fire when farmer and local police arrived who first threatened to set the bull on us and then to dump cowshit over us! Finally we were given the weekend to stay and leave 'firstlight' Monday. Communicating even when he didn't wish to listen. It had helped us and made him and the police realize we were staying and were there to picket the munitions factory. However much more important is the longterm erosion of support for a military installa-

tion, which just because it provides jobs is not above criticism and is indeed a long-term danger to every man, woman and child in the area. The whole idea of Peace Camps is extremely important not just because of the 'permanent' opposition but because each one is autonomous. Each Peace Camp provides the wider local community with a focus on a specific military target. Each Peace Camp gives an opportunity to anyone to get involved at every level from tea-making to policy-making. Each Peace Camp is a libertarian community. There are opportunities for people to march around the base each day. To leaflet the local villages. To vigil at the gates with banners. To set-up local filmshows and meetings. This of course requires great energy and commitment, but it is no less important than the energy and commitment shown by soldiers in the field. The rewards are many. An openair life. Getting to know an area of country. How to use and read maps. Being aware of local architecture/emptyhouses. And most important of all getting to know the local people. This in turn can lead to a much greater involvement by local people. Our peace organizations, and magazines like *Peace News* and *Sanity*, are like sleepy dormice when confronted by the potentiality of Peace Camps. They print a few facts and photos and give no lead, because of course they are out of touch. We have to read *Radiator* from Salisbury CND to get the detailed history of Greenham common Peace Camp; and the local press for interesting articles about the other Peace Camps. Every reader of FREEDOM should make an effort to visit and help if there already is a Peace Camp in the area. If not why not consider setting one up? There will already be Quaker or pacifist or CND people around to work with. And if not you can call a small meeting. Get five or six interested. Inform the press and police so that their higher authorities can mull it over which is more likely to give you a peaceful chance of setting-up another Peace camp. The tradition of non-violence and talking to individuals within uniform may not fit the loudmouthed image but it certainly builds-up relationships which are not part of the Left's rhetoric.

Meanwhile you can learn a little of what goes on at the existing Peace Camps by visiting one. (Whilst visiting Upper Heyford other visitors included 3 local schoolgirls; 2 RSC actors; one C P villager; several Banbury CND activists and some Coventry CND campaigners).

At Burghfield near Reading visitors have included workers from Acorn Bookshop; social workers; librarians; hospital porters; nurses and many more. The Peace Camp may sound passive but it is a rapidly growing activist side of the libertarian peace movement.

DENNIS GOULD

at Burghfield Peace Camp May 1st 1982, outside RAF Burghfield, near Reading, Berks. Contact address: - c/o Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading.

# ILL HEALTH and INSECURITY

## IN BRIEF

WHILE lives and money have been needlessly spent on the patriotic adventure' in the South Atlantic by the British government, that same government has faced resistance from the workforce at home for underspending. The Health Service workers in particular are united and angry as never before at their treatment. The miserly offer 4% - 6% doesn't even keep up with inflation, let alone count as a wage increase. It is an insult.

In many industries advances in wages are made dependent upon advances in production. Workers in the state controlled service industries fall behind constantly because of this. Reasonably enough they want to keep up, and when, rarely, they do, costs to the state rise with no benefits to it such as greater productivity, sales or profits. Society benefits by having happier firemen, ambulancemen and nurses, but such profits cannot be totted up on the balance sheet when the state's economists count the costs. Their reaction is 'rationalisation', cuts which eliminate as much of the human factor as can be excused by the media. Thus the 'Welfare' in the Welfare State grows smaller daily.

Given the background of cuts by successive governments, and the fact that service workers and hospital workers can seldom be replaced by machines, these are some of the most underpaid and overworked of the state employees. What was once a fairly creative and satisfying service is now joyless, meaningless, alienated work. The hospital workers have been made to feel that society doesn't care, they have been made to feel insignificant and powerless. Now they strive to regain their power. They demand the respect which the state has PAID to the police and armed forces. In this they need our understanding and support.

The answer to the Health service workers' problem does not lie in greater state investment. More jobs and more wages given with one hand can be taken back by the other. The answer lies in greater participation in the Health service by the community it is supposed to serve. It lies in community control not state control. At the moment too many people are imprisoned in organisational structures which on account of their size make people into mere cogs in the machine with no control over the operation of the whole. The types of organisation society has pursued mean the destruction of people's power. This applies to the state and the unions, the government and opposition parties alike. Decent survival in the future means redesigning these organ-

isations. Caring is a human, moral skill possessed by people and not only by professionals in the Health service. The provision of structures for the promotion of equality and sharing is essential if the expropriation of caring by the state system is to be averted.

History has shown that changes don't occur overnight without all sorts of violent reaction and problems of counter-revolution. What we need now for the Health service are new forms of union between the workers as a first step. Anarcho-syndicalist unions, workers councils, 'soviets' of a libertarian sort, all are preferable to the current trade divisions within the workforce. The result of such community and workplace re-organisation would be that it would become impossible for the workforce to be sold out by a leadership of paid careerist union bureaucrats.

What participation there is must grow. The Community Health Councils should be improved and given a potent voice. There should be more of them, covering smaller areas than at present. More volunteers should present themselves, first to complement and extend the work of the staff and break down the barriers between hospital and community. Then to learn new skills and gain expertise that can reach into the community making caring and mutual aid more general. Eventually the communities not the state should run their own services workers from the community not union officials should decide how this is to be brought about. The phrase 'community participation' of volunteers from all sectors of the community becomes reality. Eventually participation will become control.

This is not to suggest at present volunteers are a substitute for professional staff. In the current industrial action the work of volunteers must not threaten the livelihood of paid workers. They must not be seen as scabs. They must not cover deficiencies in staffing levels, for at present they are not interchangeable with the trained staff. However in the future they should be allowed to become so. The rivalry between 'professionals' and 'amateurs' must be eased. There has to be give and take. Expertise must be shared. Only then will the state be undermined and its systems wither away leaving people with the power to work and play when they like and be satisfied.

A FFRANCKEE

EAST Germany is giving wider ranging powers to 158,000 citizens, enlisted as volunteer police helpers. They will have the right to check house registers and ensure that anybody who stays more than two days is registered with the police. They may also demand identity papers and written permits from anyone in border areas. The new regulation states that volunteer police helpers must possess 'the required political and moral aptitude.'

FRESH evidence that anti-terrorist legislation is being used in normal criminal cases has been presented in Northern Ireland. A research fellow at Queens University, Belfast, reported to a conference that, from a survey last year, 40% of cases heard by the special Diplock courts were not connected with paramilitary activities. They involved 'ordinary criminal actions carried out for ordinary criminal motives'. He also reported that in a substantial number of cases the police are using the wider powers of arrest under emergency legislation where common law powers are available.

THE Institute of Directors has decided that Bank Holidays are disruptive and should be abolished. Their Director General is particularly distressed by the 'May Day' holiday ie, the one sometime at the beginning of May. He considers that because of its connections with International Labour Day it is 'socially divisive'.

THE Supreme Court in Liechtenstein has rejected a constitutional complaint by 25 women concerning the right to vote. The Court ruled that the electoral law, which specifies that only 'adult male citizens' may vote, is not in conflict with the constitutional principle of equality before the law.

FOR the first time since the 1920's the Metropolitan Police will soon reach its establishment figure of 26,615 officers. The force is asking the Home Office to raise the figure, probably to about 30,000.

ROBIN Williams, deputy leader of Milton Keynes Borough Council, explains why his local Conservative Party has not issued a manifesto for the local elections. 'We made it quite clear it was not our intention to waste the time of the electorate with a package of nonsense!'

495 people were detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Northern Ireland last year. This is more than twice as many as for any other year since the Act was introduced in 1974. The previous highest figure was 246 in 1976.

340 judges in Lebanon went on strike last week, to press for a long awaited 40% pay increase.

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

## MATRIARCHY

Companions!

Cliff M Poxon's first letter was a word to the wise. Matriarchy (the myth of the Good Mother) is the fatal illusion, as Judith Malina has pointed out. Feminists who point to men as the 'enemy' rather than the System play the System's game, albeit for the most part unconsciously, and divide the anti-imperialist forces. In any case do we not already have in the quite hopeless dis-United Kingdom an imperialist neo-fascist matriarchy?

The female image on the money, the strong woman of power at the helm of government, and the individual authoritarian parent (more or less according to cases). Correct me if I am wrong — Capitalism knows how to adapt all forms of State Power to its own purposes. Worldwide; the heartless way in which the women at Greenham Common evicted men at the end of a long and cruelly cold winter to safeguard a respectable image with the media and in response to manipulations from outside the camp. The dubious monopolisation of scarce resources and above all the attempt to make scapegoats of the men for violence in the world.

As Nijinsky told us, we are all responsible for the war because we have not found a way to stop it, and male aggression and female provocation are simply the two poles of our sexual sickness, as any schoolchild knows! In the face of mass psychological terror all separatism, any separatism is simply intolerable: no one has any right to exclude another who is in good faith from the struggle on any pretext whatsoever. All this the barbed wire of the human heart, more difficult to cut, alas, alas, than the barbed wire around the air base. Do the women really want to push all men into the militarist camp?

Both the great imperialist mass slaughters in Europe this century have been preceded by mass bourgeois peace movements — as long as we follow leaders we will be led like sheep to the slaughterhouse and as long as we stick mesmerised to our television screens. Greenham Common Peace Camp last October was part of the movement that ended up in Trafalgar Square to hear the renegade Michael Foot and Tony 'Rossing' Benn. I too have contributed my widow's mite to this delusion — terror is a powerful instrument of insanity!

Nonetheless I hope it's too soon to write off the Peace Camp Movement (it would be quite wrong to do so!). If the Camps prove a launching pad for mass direct action the thing is valid. What a pity the Spring Festival was not used as an occasion to spring into action in the way the activists of the sixties showed — mass occupation, and as the animal activists showed at Porton Down. What is everyone waiting for? The end of the world?

All now depends on whether non-violent mass direct action against the war is the final result.

In solidarity,  
JAYBIRD

## AUTONOMY AND SEXISM

Dear FREEDOM,

The general level of argument from both sides in the latest exchange between rival 'antisexist' camps isn't likely to produce much in the way of an understanding that could be usefully developed by anarchists. Ross Bradshaw chooses to react to a stereotyped image of the Typical Male and seems unable to reply to Cliff Poxon without resorting to misrepresentation and unfounded assumptions, accusing him of wanting to enforce his male leadership on the Greenham Common women. But Cliff's concern is simply with men's equal right to participate. Just what is so un-anarchist about wanting people to follow your advice? Wanting isn't coercing. Cliff is forcing nobody to follow his judgement. He isn't interested in associating with the camp when he disagrees with the women's methods, still less imposing himself (as if he could). You may not share his opinion, Ross, but it is not dictating to express an opinion. If this can be characterised as 'pissing on' people, then no doubt in Ross's version of a libertarian society such dictatorial urinations as criticisms and opinions would not be tolerated—except, of course, telling men they 'have got to change'. I don't accept a lot of what Cliff wrote but honestly, why do people who dare to express a controversial opinion in FREEDOM get the most fantastic shit thrown at them?

Cliff Poxon is right in one respect: the Greenham women are acting in a sexist fashion. The explanations offered are hardly reason to disqualify men from the camp. Yes, (some) women do have a distinct contribution to make against violence—by implication, so do (some) men have their equally distinct part to play; so what? The men who are discouraged from staying can hardly, in most cases, be known by the women to be 'heavy', violent etc: an automatic association of sex with particular attitudes and behaviour is expected. In case Poxon-bashers hadn't realised, this kind of premature assumption has a name, we call it prejudice. If people are being judged not on anything they do as individuals, but because they are held to be condemned by the actions of others with whom they have nothing in common save biological specialisations shared by half the species, then the women are as sexist as Ross Bradshaw's collective-guilt trip about 'us men'. 19 in no way challenges this assessment, merely implores anarchists to turn a blind eye, after all the ignominy of

women being called 'sexist' would be a massive setback to their autonomous organisation. Yet I must partially agree: anarchists shouldn't see every manifestation of sexism in the women's movement as a target for criticism or a reason to be antagonistic—not that it is usually a product of men's imagination, but because sexism, whether masculinist or feminist, is not in itself authoritarian.

Cliff's failure to grasp this nettle demonstrates how carefully anarchist attitudes towards sexism and separatism need to be thought out. We need to go back to basic principles instead of either taking our lead from the reverse-sexists in the women's movement or, like Cliff, adopting an antisexism which, however free from double standards, is nonetheless authoritarian in its universality. He says, 'as libertarians we should be against lifestyle imperialism: the imposition of one person's or group's desired way of life over somebody else's'. This means respecting people's freedom to choose and live patriarchal or matriarchal lifestyles though opposing their enforcement upon anyone who does not consent to them. What about those men, and indeed women, who prefer to be dominated by or live segregated from the other sex? The choice surely is theirs, and not anybody else's to make. Dominance in a willed relationship is totally consistent with anarchy and both patriarchy and matriarchy could exist perfectly well within an anarchist society, and infinitely more freely than the pockets of anarchy embosomed within 'our' governmental one. The point has to be made because it is easy to indulge in dangerously universal reprobations that could be used as a pretext for dictating to others how they should be living and relating. Would Cliff be against subcultures, communities, sexual relationships etc of the subordinated sex? Presumably he would approve of the annihilation of surviving tribal societies since they are all male-dominated? I am a heterosexual sado-masochist, would he also prevent me from following my preferred sexuality, which involves domination (albeit consenting)? If so he is not a libertarian as I understand the word.

The notion that the dominance of one sex is incompatible with anarchism is wholly false. As Harold Barclay recognises in his recent article on the 'the anthropology of anarchy', all known anarchic societies have been male-dominated. The two are not at all inconsistent and the same could, in theory, be said for female dominance in an anarchic system, though I know of no convincing examples of such and all evidence indicates the unlikelihood that even matriarchy, let alone matri-anarchy, has ever been achieved on any significant scale.

Cliff also seems to assume that closed or selective groups contravene anarchist principles. It is understandable that anarchists should have little respect for people

## LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

who would tell them where they can and can't walk or dwell on this earth; it is also a mistake, for it can result in the oppressiveness of violating somebody else's space. This already happens on a massive scale without our adding to it: one example being developers drowning small communities and their identities in miles of amorphous housing estates occupied by colonists imposed from outside instead of building being kept in line with the requirements of an organically-evolving community. (I wonder how many of Poxon's critics, who rightly declare that the Greenham women should be able to exclude men, would similarly defend the right of communities to enforce their own controls in immigration and settlement so that they also can 'choose who they want to be with?')

Not only is it entirely possible for anarchists to defend exclusive groups, there are situations where we must do so. Editorial collectives, communes etc, have the right to be selective; anarchist groups also may accept new members only by invitation. An automatic right to belong carries the danger of diluting the group's ideological content; and anyone who is not accepted can always form their own. When we argue for exile (rather than prison or execution) as a 'last-resort' sanction, we implicitly accept that nobody has an automatic, or irrevocable, right to belong to a community. To deny any collective entity the right, if it so wishes, to close itself off (either completely or selectively) or to lay down its own criteria for membership is to deny it the freedom to live and develop autonomously, on its own terms. Does this mean anarchists should accept that any group, organisation, community etc may admit or debar people on grounds of age, race or sex? Yes, certainly. If autonomy means anything it must apply irrespective of whether outsiders would consider particular decisions to be rationally defensible—they are only our business insofar as they threaten others. The Greenham camp would be right to resist attempts by well-meaning men to impose themselves and their antisexism upon it. Sure, the women are sexist but is that so wrong when no men are constrained to join them and they are forcing their sexism on nobody. Apartheid is anyone's valid strategy or lifestyle option. (It is equally good for ethnic and religious groups too, though this will not please the racists of all political colours with their policies of 'integration' and 'assimilation' ie, cultural annihilation and covert race-hatred, nor the inverted racists of the Left who, even when they support efforts by oppressed ethnic minorities to maintain their culture and separate identity—the Union of Muslim Organisations recently called for Islamic segregation to this end—would yet denounce as 'fascist' any Anglo-Saxons who dared to express similar sentiments. Separatism is fine but let's have no double

standards—even if to adopt a consistent position, as I have discovered from bitter experience, is to risk being labelled a fascist. Though that should surprise nobody, most Trots I've met don't know an anarchist from a Strasserite in any case and I consider Left ('anti') fascists as much my enemies as the other sort).

So of course Cliff Poxon is barking up the wrong tree. Better than his misdirected attack on the Greenham Common women, which reeks of 'lifestyleist' attitudes towards patriarchy and matriarchy, he might reserve his ire for the genuinely hegemonistic reverse sexism (or even anti-sexism) of feminists and egalitarian reformers who seek to use the machinery of the state or intimidatory, browbeating tactics to enforce their preferences across the board. None of these can accept the pluralism which admits the freedom to choose sexist ways of relating (or not relating)—well, at any rate those which do not meet with their approval. Even some in our midst complain about the 'male sexism' in the movement when what they resent is that some comrades (yes, women too) have enough anarchism about them to refuse to toe the correct anti/sexist line. What matters is not whether people are sexist but whether they impose their sexism on anybody, which many feminists seem fully inclined to do. Their prejudice against male dominance per se, and attempts to prescribe or demand a particular kind of relationship or attitude is only a step away from full-blooded lifestyle imperialism; how many would be prepared to take that step?

Many enthusiasts for 'women's autonomy of thought and action' are perhaps not so keen on any such autonomy for men, judging from the continual demands as to how men ought to think, feel, act etc. For men to experience heterosexual attraction may not quite be denounced as sexist, but the impression is strong that in some quarters it is thought to come dangerously close to it. This indicates an underlying repressive and no doubt fundamentally puritan ethic which is potentially authoritarian. Thank the gods these people can at present do no more than appeal to men to adopt their guilt-ridden brand of politics; most will tell them what they can do with it. Should they ever acquire the power to enforce their demands, resistance might be less pacific.

Patriarchy persists because the majority of women allow it to continue—either prefer it, or are not strongly motivated to contest it. If oppression is not the same as domination but means in fact a dominance relationship that lacks mutual consent, and if male dominance is hence not oppressive in itself, then most women are not oppressed by it. Since they are dominated because they decide to collaborate with a patriarchal way of living, I have no objections, after all it is their choice. My sympathies lie with the

minority of women who are fighting not to be forced to live in a manner which they find intolerable. At the same time, to insist on a feminist society for women and men who have shown little inclination for it, would be as authoritarian as to insist that non-patriarchal women should submit to the same sexism in their own lives which the majority accept in theirs. Yours for a pluralist society,  
ANDREW HUCKERBY

## NO COMPROMISE

Dear Comrades,  
I note the predictable responses to my letter about the Greenham Common Peace Camp. None of the excuses that I've heard so far can disprove to me the uselessness of the action. It represents a classical liberal compromise: 'If we promise to go through the channels that the State has provided, will you let us camp outside your base?' Either you do cooperate with the State or you do not. The middle ground is the type of trendy leftism that so many CNDers seem to be caught up in nowadays.

For me there is no possibility of compromise because as soon as you start to make concessions to the State it will begin to swallow you up, and to absorb opposition. As someone in FREEDOM recently said 'Without a willingness to physically tackle the forces of law and order we're just wasting our time.'  
Yours for sweet tea and weed-free gardens,  
CLIFF M POXON

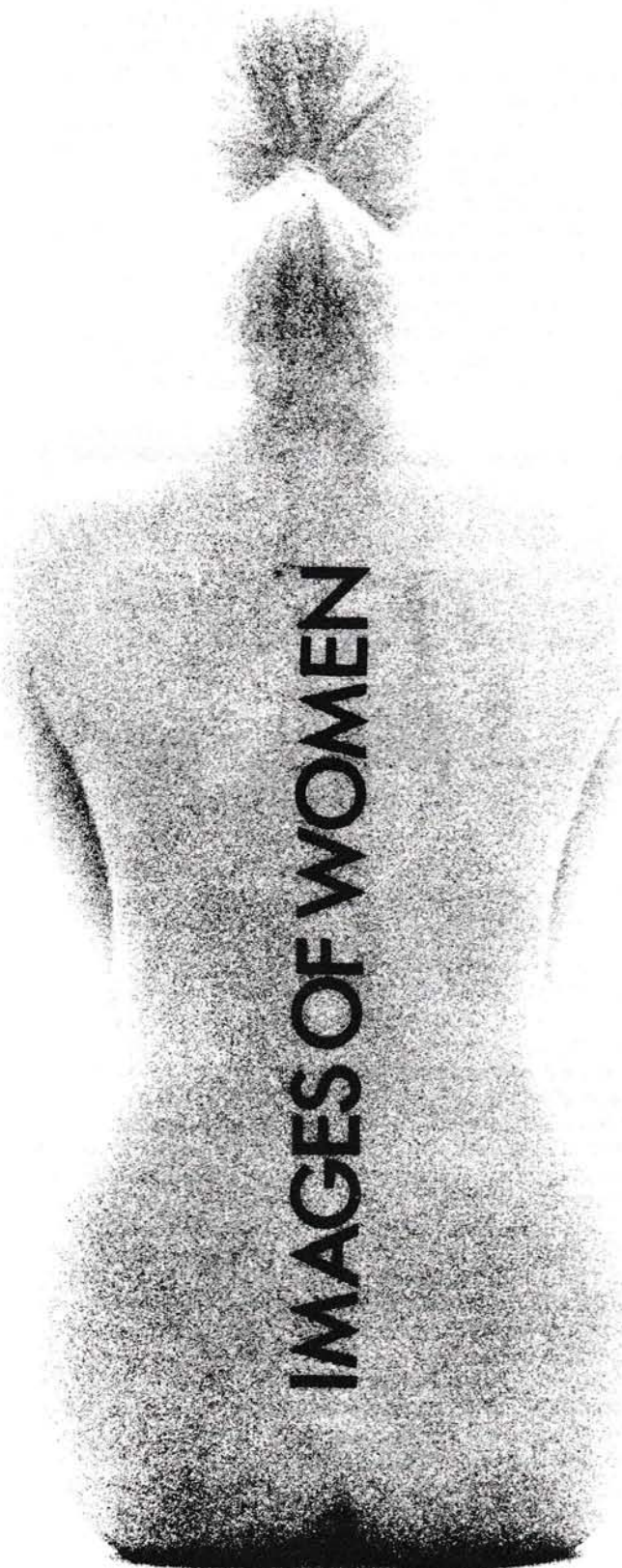
## FALKLANDS

Dear Comrades,  
The situation that has developed in the South Atlantic, and the reactions that have accompanied it, cannot but anger all anarchists. Yet it is the reaction of non-anarchists to this situation that I have found most depressing. It is these very people, towards whom we libertarians must redirect our energies. Anarchy is a misunderstood concept, which ironically leads to elitism within the movement. Argument amongst ourselves, although useful, has constrained the movement within a self congratulatory embryo. This has been painfully illustrated to me by the reaction of my non-anarchist friends to the situation in the Falklands. They are perfect examples of the ability of the state system to subtly but decisively mould individuals to suit their own needs. It is this more than anything else which has increased my passionate desire to destroy the state system within this country NOT by dismantling its structure, but by removing the ignorance upon which it survives.

Yours,  
C T







ARE all images of naked or semi-naked women inherently degrading and exploitative? Or are such values simply in the mind's-eye of the male or female beholder? A recent article by English photographer Kathy Myers in *Camerawork* magazine, 'Towards a Feminist Erotica', provocatively discusses these questions. According to the late French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, we necessarily objectify the Other and steal his or her freedom with each look or glance.

For Ms Myers, however, we need to distinguish two kinds of 'objectification'. The first is that traditionally objected to by feminists: the presentation or exploitation of women's bodies 'as commodities and sexual objects'. The second kind of objectification, however, is inherent in all perception. In this sense, 'visual perception necessarily entails 'objectification' in order to conceptualise and give meaning to the object of our gaze'. Having thus rejected the Sartrian conception of perception as intrinsically freedom-stealing, Myers goes on to raise the question of the conditions for an erotic but non-degrading presentation of images of women.

For many women, 'traditionalists' and 'feminists', however, such distinctions are academic, applicable at best to the esoteric domain of 'pure art'. The images that dominate the lives of most women—in men's and women's magazines, on book covers, on television and advertising posters—are overwhelmingly sexist in their presentation of women as objects, bodies for sexual excitement or use.

There can be little doubt that, outside the domain of art, the chief function of photographs of naked or semi-naked women is to advertise and sell commodities. If newspapers are printed on the backs of advertisements, then the advertisements are printed on women's breasts and bums. The question which neither Kathy Myers or any other feminist has answered, however, is *why* nearly all men and women—those who object no less than those who exploit or consume—make a fetish of women's bodies in the way that they do?

*Why* do men and women get 'excited'—pro or con—about the sight of a woman's bum, vagina or breasts? After all, most of us, men and women, get around 24 hours of the day with naked eyes, ears, noses, elbows and toes...without causing excitement or comment. Why is it that it is only certain parts of the naked female body which arouse us, one way or the other?

The 'obvious answer is sex. Images of naked or provocatively dressed women are exploited to advertise and sell everything from books to bombs, nappies to napalm *because of* their powers of sexual allusion and association. The idea or message 'sold' in the image is crude but effective: you too can have or be like her if you buy, wear or eat this product.

Two recently published studies here confirm the extent to which the advertising industry continues to exploit the 'obvious'. The first, *Herself Appraised: the treatment of women in advertisement*, is by Britain's industrial watchdog, the Advertising Standards Authority. The second, *Adman and Eve*, is by the government Equal Opportunities Commission. One of the findings of the EOC study was that advertisements showing women living relatively 'liberated', independent, life-styles appeal more to women than those presenting the woman-in-the-ad. as a 'traditional' housewife. This preference for a more modern image of women isn't surprising, when you consider that, in Britain at least, only 5 per cent of households have a working husband, a wife who does no work outside the home, and two dependent children—the traditional female/family stereotype. (Fifty four per cent of mothers with children now go out to work.)

Both studies demonstrate the exploitation of women's sexuality—more precisely, men's and women's images about female sexuality—in ads. Significantly, what most women from all background and income levels objected to most, according to the ASA's findings, wasn't the sexual exploitation of the naked female body as such. Rather, it was the *degrading* forms of sexploitation—women as sex-object. The problem is that *Herself Appraised* shows only that women differ fundamentally on which images of women's bodies (including faces) are and aren't degrading. The ASA study comments perceptively that this fact—confusion and disagreement as to what is/isn't sexist—lends itself to exploitation by the advertising industry: 'a permissive attitude to nudity in advertising is often rationalised by arguing that "pornography is in the eye of the beholder"'.

Clearly then, the 'obvious' answer that men and women are aroused one way or another by images of naked or provocatively attired women 'because of sex', is inadequate. While true as far as it goes, it fails to address the more basic question: Why does *this* type of image of a woman's front-or-back-side elicit our approval, and *that* our censure? Why are we (sometimes) disgusted by photos of pouting lips, spread legs and exposed breasts, and not by shots of naked nostrils, pubic hair (in panty-ads) or bare arms? Why, in short, do most of us—women and men—persist in making a fetish (of whatever sort, positive or negative) about only *certain* types of images of *certain* parts of women's naked bodies?

From a rational point of view, all images which exploit women (and men) to advertise and sell commodities are

equally exploitative, whether the 'object' is a toe or a buttock, naked or clothed. But humans are not conspicuously logical in their value-judgements concerning female sexuality and relations between the sexes.

Nor will it do to say that the ways in which women and men ('traditional' or 'liberated') respond to images of women can be 'explained' in terms of theories of social role conditioning. In the first place, as the ASA and EOC studies demonstrate, the diversity of women's responses to what is and isn't offensive, cuts right across the spectrum of class, ideology and privilege. Secondly, such 'sociological' answers fail to address the key puzzle: Why do men and women make such a fetish of female sexuality? It simply won't do to say that Admen love to use images of naked female bodies, because these parts represent or symbolise sexuality, when this is precisely what needs to be explained.

Freud, without doubt our greatest psychologist, believed all sexual fetishes at root derived from and symbolised, the mother's vagina. On this view, our positive and negative obsessions with the bodily parts of naked women, no less than our car- and foot-fetishes, are symbolic sexual substitutes for what we can never know or have again: our mother's body. Who knows? Perhaps this is a beginning. In the absence of any further or deeper understanding, we could do worse than consider the possibility.

But what about images of men? Whence derives prevailing female attitudes to naked man? Alas, on this question Freud is silent.

JULIE SOUTHWOOD

# "Alternative" Essay



ESSAY FOR CRIMINOLOGY COURSE AT READING UNIVERSITY

THIS essay is written in accordance with precepts of *THE ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSITY* which teaches that the basic educational resource is a student who wishes to learn how to ASK questions, and who is willing to share with others anything (s)he already knows. In contrast to the prevailing ideology, it believes THERE ALWAYS IS AN ALTERNATIVE. It takes any given fact and asks basic questions, keeping open the possibility that whatever categories of knowledge exist there might be another that no-one has yet discovered, or thought of looking for.

The Alternative University recognises things as they are and acts on the resources provided by the situation. Students of the Alternative University do not feel confined to considering only topics suggested by lecturers in the conventional university system.

- Question 1: What is a justice system?  
(References: Plato and anyone else you like to date, including Rawls)
- Question 2: Why did it take 2½ thousand years after Plato to ban slavery?
- Question 3: How many justice systems are there in this country?
- Question 4: What are the rules of participant observation? Participant observation is what is done by a sociologist who gains acceptance by a group of people to whom (s)he does

not belong; spies on them; reports the results, often in return for money; boasts about the hazards of living like they do; says how tempting it was to interfere and alter what happened; and apologises for any damage (s)he has done to the people so used.

Question 5: Does anyone break the rules of participant observation? In the course of a lifetime this student of the Alternative University has had the opportunity to observe the behaviour of numerous people by living and working with them. This student also tends to do things the wrong way about. This student has lived with people defined variously as squatters, vagrants, addicts, delinquents, and – for a few months – under the same roof with a reprieved murderer. No reports will be made by this student on any of these people.

The most distasteful piece of participant observation involved keeping company with a Social Security Fraud Officer for most of 1978. Obviously I have no intention of embarrassing her by stating her name. She lived on the perimeter of a town full of people endeavouring to live on inadequate benefits when its own MP had 'sold' its main industry to the EEC. Some of the wicked things these people were doing were selling newspapers on the street, and washing up in cafes, which they obviously enjoyed enormously. The Social Security Fraud Squad Officer could be very talkative after a few pints (of gin). On one occasion, arriving at a house at 2 am after an evening's dancing and drinking (she did not need to worry, she said, about the breathalyser rubbish or speeding in her 'latest model' because the police realised she had an important job to do protecting the taxpayer's money); she met a person who was unemployed, not entitled to dole, and living on social security. The person concerned had done absolutely nothing but contrive to exist by staying in bed to save money on fags, and try to find something to do that didn't cost money; but did have a nasty habit of calling at a pub at lunchtime for 1½ pints of Bass with friends every giro day. That did not prevent the Social Security Fraud Squad Officer from grilling the person just in case there was any knowledge to be gained.

Such devotion to duty must be commended. She also confided that the net gain of Social Security Squad activity had just been found to amount to 2% per annum. Now that is surprising. Because, obviously, people doing such a job would not be overpaid – since it is taxpayer's money – would they? Her husband was an insurance man. They had a lovely house and garden; everything was as neat and bright as a new pin. And two dear little doggies that ate their dinner off the lounge carpet. Any morning she happened to be 'working' at home she would have coffee with her daily help. Daily help is not easy to come by on a posh estate five miles away from a town centre. Apparently people were quite willing to travel by public transport to do exciting work like cleaning rather than be prosecuted. The student is not guessing; this was related as an example of the Officer's humane approach to her job.

(New Students in the Alternative University do find it difficult to break old habits, and sometimes lapse into answering questions instead of asking them).

Question 6: What probability is there of a banner headline on the Daily Torygraph:

**SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD SQUAD OFFICER JAILED**

Question 7: What is a justice system?

(Students of the Alternative University are permitted to repeat questions if they feel like it)

Once upon a time there was a policeman who was a human being. The student is not guessing; she met him and knows what he did to save a woman who deserved compassion from prosecution with all that entails, involving also punishing her family. What she had done had evidently been defined by the police as a drugs offence, as the policeman was a member of the Drugs Squad. It involved a prescription for slimming tablets. The woman belonged to a professional association which then defined the offence as stealing and

disciplined her.

Question 8: Would the Drugs Squad Officer have been disciplined by his own professional association if they found out?

The really hilarious thing is that the woman had been told she would lose her (then) present appointment if she did not lose weight; the GP had refused to offer help in the form of drugs. Is it a case of heads she loses, tails she loses? Is being overweight the real crime?

The ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSITY hereby awards its FIRST HONORARY DEGREE to the Drugs Squad Officer who asked the question:

'What would I have done in the same circumstances?' So instead of nasty prosecution, she had the much nicer experience of being treated as a nutcase.

Question 9: What happens to a Policeman who finds it difficult to perceive lads as criminals when they do outrageous things like wearing denims, having a certain hairstyle, and living in a hostel?

This is Policeman No. Fifteen-two-fifteen-four. His patch included homes of a famous television actress, stockbrokers and a High Court Judge, magazine writers etc, none of whom suffered in any way from these lads. Well, actually, to be truthful the next-door neighbour did sometimes complain about the volume of reggae on a Saturday afternoon; but then other people in the street didn't really approve of him playing Mahler at full blast at 2 am either. (What a lot goes on at 2 am!)

Question 10: Was there really no serious offence committed in two years? What was Policeman fifteen-two-fifteen-four up to? Is it true that he remained a PC until he left the force? When he found lads messing about on the street, why did he take them for a ride round and then deliver them, out of sight, somewhere near to their schools? How on earth did he expect to get promoted going on like that?

Are all policemen like that? Thankfully, no (whoops, answering questions again).

Where was policeman fifteen-two-fifteen-four the night two lads on their way home to the hostel felt the need for a lavatory, and why when they found one at the junction of \*\*\*High Street and \*\*\*Road was it closed for repairs? Did the policeman who found one of them urinating against the wall in a dark alley in \*\*\*High Street, while the other stood at the entrance to prevent gentle ladies from being offended, waste his time asking daft questions like 'What would I have done in the same circumstances?'

Has he been promoted for causing these two dangerous criminals to appear in court charged with an offence under some pre-1850 Metropolitan Act?

Doesn't all this prove that boys living in hostels are bad, and isn't it time ALL policemen woke up to that fact?

Question next one: Why has this student met more good policemen than bad?

Question another: Why are the bad ones so bloody horrible?

Question umpteen: I'll think of one, eventually. Oh, yes. Why does Stuart Henry change what his participants say into grammatical language? In the Hidden Economy, do you enquire if someone knows how to get cheap stuff? Or do you in fact find someone saying 'I get stuff cheap'? Is Stuart Henry bringing his work up to date? Like including a bit about the Hidden Economy activities of University Lecturers and/or Administrators getting round education cuts by finding alternative ways to support promising students for postgraduate work?

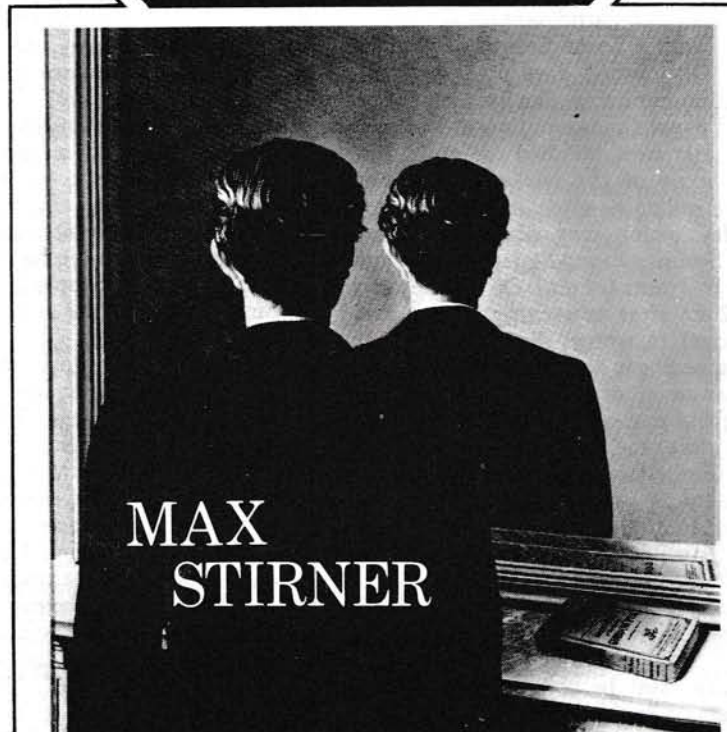
REFERENCE: HENRY, Stuart (1978) *The Hidden Economy and Control of Borderline Crime*  
Oxford, Martin Robertson

NOTE: The Alternative University is founded by one Keith Joseph who invented the cycle of deprivation and followed it up by attacking education.

Shelia Coult

# THE EGO AND ITS OWN

The Case of the Individual  
Against Authority



**REBEL  
PRESS**

Published by Rebel Press, 1982. Price £4.50, 400pp.

'All things are nothing to me.'

TOTAL imperious and profound, Stirner's classic excites controversy and condemnation with every reprint. This timely edition, published by Rebel Press, is just one in a series of reprints since *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* first appeared in 1844. And it is a book which will be in demand as long as there is oppression of the individual.

Stirner has been called the 'father' of Individualist-Anarchism, but *The Ego and Its Own* was written well before Anarchism emerged as a force. It is a unique philosophy of the individual Rebel, rather than a philosophy of the Revolution. Thus Stirner could respect Jesus as a Rebel, whilst reserving a special contempt for organised Christianity. He is no spokesperson for Anarchism, for, as he puts it: 'Nothing is more to me than myself'.

Of course Stirner was a product of his times; he associated with the Berliners of Hegelian inspiration and tendencies. He was directly concerned with answering the works of Feuerback and Bauer. But this book is far more than an historical oddity; his insight and clarity make it timeless. An illustration of this is that, despite Germany being in the grip of a fever of national unity at the time, Stirner wrote scornfully of this malaise. He saw a united Germany as a monster, far worse than the existing 38 statelets. We leave the FREEDOM letters page to decide whether he was right.

If Stirner was scathing about the nationalists, he was definitely tasty when it came to the socialists. He was probably the first to note that communism would produce a State far more onerous than the royal, ecclesiastic or bour-

geois models, which communists fulminated against.

Marx appreciated the force of *The Ego and Its Own*. In *The German Ideology* he tears into Stirner, not so much on an academic level, as at the level of a *Daily Mail* leader. People forget that Marx was a journalist before he became a prophet.

Marxists have tended to follow their mentor with some trite dismissal of Stirner: 'Social defence mechanism of a petty bourgeois soul', indeed. What Marxists need is some jolts from someone who has actually read the book and noted its relevance to the century and a half of circumstantial evidence which has followed.

No reviewer can do justice to Stirner's case; that can only be done by Stirner himself. Besides, I'm not sure that Stirner would have been in favour of reviews. *The Ego and Its Own* is not short, or simple, and it is not always easy to read. But for someone looking for more than comic-strip insight, it has an elegance and force that make it something special.

The Rebel Press edition has the virtue of being cheap for its size and it uses the corrected translation. There's a powerful introduction by S E Parker, which includes a nice 'knocking the Marxists' section.

The only criticism I have is about the cover, which seems a bit naff. It took me a quarter of an hour to work it out, so to me that makes it pseudy.

'The most revolutionary book ever written' is available from Box R, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1. It costs £4.50 (including postage) and cheques should be made payable to Rebel Press. Offer subject to raids by the Anti-Terrorist Squad.

STEVE SORBET

# HOW LONG ANARCHY?



I take as my text Malatesta's 'How long Anarchy? Must we always wait for the others to begin?'

## Phase 1

A short answer to the above is that if we anarchists do persist in waiting for the others to begin Anarchy will be infinitely, and for the world's States satisfactorily, long in coming. Still, thank Wotsisname, waiting isn't the typical vice of the classical anarchist. The type needs to be held back rather than urged on, apathy persisting only as long as they don't know where to go on to. A trait, incidentally, which makes anarchists such ideal guerillas after the first rows of floppies are displayed for identification by grieving police!

Nevertheless morale suffers if too many defeats are incurred too early in any campaign, whether it be sexual, economic, social or military. Morale is a three-headed monster, as any football coach will attest. Each player has to know where and what the goal is (my team never seem as sure as I'd like!); each has to believe that the tactics he has learned will get the ball into the net; each has to develop that urge to win which will make him apply the tactics forcefully and persistently until the goal is scored.

These factors of morale are actually interdependant. The tactics arise out of brooding long and strong upon the strategy. The strategy, however vague at first sight, strengthens and articulates as the tactics are toyed around with. Like those cats of yore fooling around in jamsessions then suddenly belting out St Louis Blues strength five! And the get-up-and-go builds up in exact rhythm with the increasing belief that the-tactics will secure the strategic goal, that they will work. So the cats keep on playing!

It's what I'm doing here; brooding on Malatesta's very important central questions; fingering an understanding here, pressing on an aim there, trying to get it together in my head as I practice anarchism in my daily life. Right now I'm working on something I wrote only days ago. Perhaps if I launch into it immediately the right ending might develop out of the beginning like music does?

## Phase 2

Our strategy is clear: to update and strengthen Anarchism so that it ignites the peoples of the late 20th century to as white-hot a heat as it ignited those of the late 19th century and those who fell in Spain for freedom in the Thirties. Central to this development is the task of reconciling the libertarian aim of each and every anarchist with a viable social view, a soziale weltanschauung, that is neither idealistically high and hazy, nor pragmatically low and lazy; a soziale weltanschauung that is neither just round the corner for all to find quickly that it isn't nor so historically far out across the sands of Time that even Her Majesty (God bless her!) would approve; a social view that is neither so rigidly articulated that it looks like a gun up your nostril nor so mashed, messed and mumbled it makes Das Kapital read like a fire warning in a refinery.

This task is one for anarchists alone. If revolutionary history reveals one immutable rule it is that revolutionaries must develop their strength and direction from consultation and controversy with one another, long and loud. All non-anarchist sources of guidance, experience or inspiration should be treated with great reservation and suspicion. For one lesson emerges crystal clear from the Spanish Experience;

that the anarchist tendency to seek alliances with quasi-anarchists rather than to seek primarily for the development of their own movement inevitably lays it low. Giving blood to allies, however powerful and well-intentioned they are, leaves the donor weak; whilst developing one's own movement on a sufficiently wide base frequently affords an opportunity of recruiting as members one's former allies! Any activist anarchist trusts when short-term expediency requires it or when totally impotent (the more ingenuous type must stay out of the foundry for his own sake!) And alliances require trust.

More immediately, but always related to the grand strategic aim of revising Anarchism for the present day, is our aim of causing social revolution. The aim should not be blunted by pretending to oneself or others that that revolution will be the winner and the last. On the contrary, and taking into profound consideration the strength of the forces of the State arrayed against us, the first waves of revolution will be immediately, effectively and remorselessly crushed by Statist elements ready, waiting, fully equipped and in ideal positions. Then, and only then, can the Long March commence, lit by the light from the sparks generated by that conflict, drifting to settle among the masses, there to glow brighter. Then, and then only, can the process of State demoralisation commence, as it comes to understand as Napoleon did after Marengo that each victory places it in a worse position than before – *and that those victories will be forced upon it!*

For there is another revolutionary lesson history teaches here. No revolution succeeds where the ruling class is not utterly demoralised, has lost its will to rule. It does not lose its will to rule overnight; it loses it gradually, by attrition, by prolonged harassment, by draining away any pleasure it gets in exerting its rule, by the perpetual threat to, and the eventual extinction of, all joy. And that will be another central strategic aim of the Long March; demoralisation of Statist elements.

In attaining these strategic aims our tactics seem pretty obvious, at least when expressed generally, even in a semi-metaphorical way. Numerically weak as we are, caught between the forces of Capital and Authoritarian Labour as we are, we must roam this battlefield, British urban society, in stealth, low-profile. Thereon we aid and succour, raise revolutionary awareness in and recruit the socially wounded and alienated deserting soldiery from both sides. Looting and finishing off any officers, bureaucrats and State elements we find alive is, perhaps, pressing the metaphor!

Although these tactics seem clear enough in concept they can frequently be fraught with grave psychological dangers familiar to every activist anarchist. Each of us marching onto the battlefield referred to will find himself,

or herself, living daily cheek-by-jowl with naive egotists, many of criminal bent, whilst having to retain undiminished and undimmed our soziale weltanschauung which must include centrally a love of community and respect for its members. Regularly we must contact face to face the crushed elements of the submerged sixth of British 'society' on derelict sites and in foul cellars yet surface daily with an intact belief in human rehabilitation, that the seemingly hopeless can be re-invested with dignity, that human nature is a recipe and not an ingredient, that if we shake enough people up hard enough we might get it right.

Most dangerous of all, we must accept command, control, leadership and authority over those yet too stunned and stupefied by State control to steer themselves, whilst despising all forms of domination over others. Sometimes daily some of us have to accomplish a kind of triple somersault by coercing those who have lost the habit of being free into getting addicted once again! A task akin to the wild animal-lover who willingly frightens those he feeds and cares for so that they will not become tame and vulnerable.

These psychological pressures can impair the third elements of morale, initiative. The will to win is kept healthy by initiating and maintaining a constant dialogue with the other two elements of morale, by constantly updating strategic aims as these in turn develop from a regular inspection of tactical validities.

### Phase 3

Doesn't it all keep on getting back to a morale problem? And morale, as Frederick the Great said (and who knew better than Big Fred?) is to guns as ten is to one. Preoccupation with tactics to the exclusion of strategy and personal initiative ends in mere cleverness, balancing the football on one's nose without knowing how to score a goal with it, or even knowing where the goal is, however roughly. Getting into strategy solely dooms one to end up like Hitler in the bunker, painting vast schemes of fresh world conspiracies and neither knowing nor caring that there was a soul left alive on the other end of his telephone. Whilst developing the will to win without clearly articulating simultaneously *what* one wants to win and *how* to accomplish the winning simply leaves people jumping up and down excitedly on the spot. I know a few comrades like that.....

I ended almost by claiming that what I have written is all theory and that I put it forward for comrades to check against any similar theories they know about. But I guess it can't be all theory; writing is my practice, my tactic, and as I launched it I felt my morale developing and the misted hills of strategy seemed to come a little closer....There's a morale here, somewhere!

T.M. Artingsoll

# when the wind blows

Review of Raymond Briggs, *When the Wind Blows*, Hamish Hamilton, London. £3.95

THE thought that hit me after I'd read Raymond Briggs' book *When the Wind Blows* was that it shows exactly what could happen in a nuclear explosion, including many of the after effects of the radiation from the nuclear bomb. The book is very well illustrated (like all of Raymond Briggs' books).

I think if a young person who does not know much about the effects of a nuclear explosion read it, it would make an impression on him/her and probably give him/her an idea about joining CND or another anti nuclear group.

Raymond Briggs presents the realities of nuclear war in a terrific story of the ordeals of a middle-aged couple. First

they build a fall out shelter in response to government propaganda. Next the bomb drops. Then comes their 48 hour ordeal in the shelter which they believe will save them. When, in their ignorance they emerge, they contract radiation sickness and crawl back into their shelter to die. Raymond Briggs uses black humour very well to bring out the horror of a nuclear explosion. The story strongly expresses how the government lies about staying alive if you build a fall out shelter.

As for Raymond Briggs, I praise him very highly. You have to have a lot of imagination and guts to write a book about nuclear explosion. I recommend this book to people of all ages.

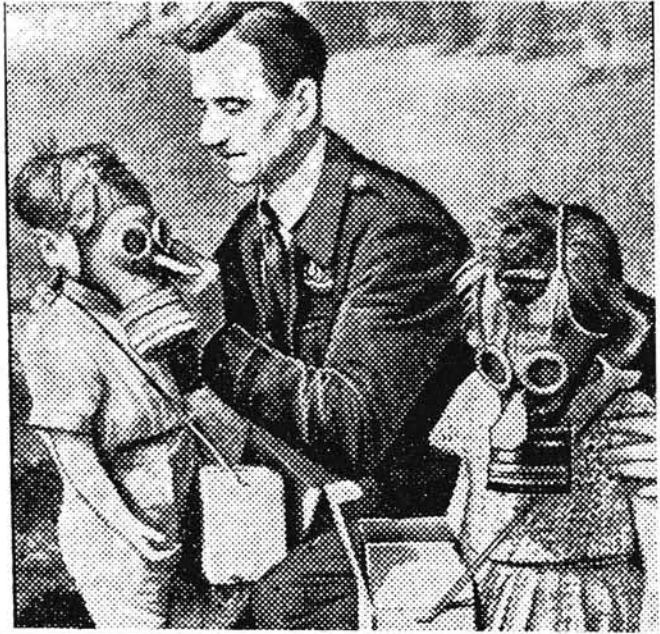
LUKE SOUTHWOOD Aged 12

*When the Wind Blows* is about an innocent middle-aged couple. They hear on the radio that there's going to be a Nuclear explosion. People have three days to make shelters. This couple make one. The man had just been to the library to get the official leaflets on how to survive. They read it out, and the book shows what rubbish is written on the leaflets. Anyway, the story goes on. The bomb explodes and they are OK at first. The wife gets angry because the cushions and curtains get dirty from the bomb. She wants to wash them. They seem shocked because the water, TV and radio don't work. A couple of days later, they feel sick and go outside to sunbathe. They are relieved when it rains. So in the end they go green and die.

I think that this book is very clearly written and illustrated. Also I think that anyone who understood anything about the bomb would understand more. And those who don't understand would think a lot more about it.

The effect it had on me was that I woke up that night and my skin felt rotten and green. When I woke up the next morning, I was thinking about the book. Now I want to do everything I can to stop the bomb. I think that this book should be in every school library and every home.

BIANCA SOUTHWOOD Aged 10



# Psychiatric Confusions

Review of Peter Sedgwick, *PSYCHO POLITICS*. Pluto Press, 1982. £4.95, 292pp.

I first came across Peter Sedgwick in the 1960's as an able, tough-minded Marxist, translator of Victor Serge's *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, and critic of fellow-Marxists like Herbert Marcuse for their woolly-minded 'subjectivist' thinking. Then in the early 1970s came his even 'tougher' Marxist hatchet-jobs on R D Laing and Erving Goffman for their insufficiently radical, revolutionary-'scientific'-psychiatric theories and therapies. Sedgwick the no-nonsense revolutionary Marxist scientist would have none of the petit-bourgeois, status-quo maintaining, reformist ideologies of these writers.

At the same time, however, I was aware of another Sedgwick, or if you prefer, another side of Sedgwick's 'socialism'. Beginning with his writings in the late 1950s and early 1960s, on the Bomb and the politics of the English New Left, there is a simultaneously more democratic-'libertarian'-and less uncompromising (reformist), character to Sedgwick's socialism. At no stage, however, did Sedgwick show any awareness of the contradictions involved. Clearly expressed in his earlier work, however, in unresolved con-fusion, are these two fatal tendencies or combinations: (1) An authoritarian 'revolutionary' dressed up in pseudo-'scientific' guise; and (2) A more libertarian, democratic socialism, combined with a non-'scientific' reformism.

These same unresolved tensions and con-fusions appear in Sedgwick's latest book, *Psycho Politics*. Even without a hyphen between the two words (as in Reich's 'Sex-Pol' essays), one is apprehensive from the outset: What sort of synthesis or theory of human nature (psyche) and society, means and aims, science and non-science, reform and revolution, authoritarian Marxism and libertarian socialism in the domain of mental health 'diagnosis' and 'therapy'-are we to be offered this time? Any account of the 'health' of humans which suggests, even symbolically, that mind and politics, human nature and social organisation are other than a nonseparable unity, can only be at best an eclectic non-synthesis or con-fusion.

Alas, going beyond the book's cover to its contents, this is indeed the case. In what follows, I propose to abstract from Sedgwick's negative critiques of the writings of Laing, Goffman, Thomas Szasz and Michel Foucault, in order to concentrate on the positive content of his 'socialist' prescriptions for a more sane and in every respect healthier social order. Sedgwick's critiques, though possessing a certain academic interest, are essentially destructive exercises in ideology-critique.

Of greater interest and importance for those concerned, as Sedgwick is, to understand and change the real world causes of mental dis-ease in capitalist society, are the lessons to be drawn from the in-built causes of Sedgwick's failure to achieve any coherent or workable synthesis of the irreconcilable elements in his 'socialist' 'psycho politics'. Consider, for example, his contradictory attitude to State funding of existing mental health organisations and institutions. Sedgwick correctly stresses (p203) that it is 'via the operations of the different *general systems of public assistance* which come into play in successive economic epochs', that economic institutions and causes shape the course of psychiatric history. Accordingly, he makes a strong case for reformist collaboration with the existing system of State-controlled and 'assisted' mental health groups and organisations, criticising Kropotkin for his opposition to State-controlled funding. Note that the point at issue is not the necessity for reforms in this as in every other domain of institutional human repression, in non-revolutionary conditions. Only a political imbecile would dispute this.

At issue is rather whether the sorts of reformist collaboration with State control-through-funding advocated by Sedgwick is indeed compatible with the *libertarian*, radical practice of *being* what one is *for*. Far from being *necessary* 'pre-figurative' realisations in reformist form of genuinely libertarian, revolutionary-alternative socialist forms, as Sedgwick believes (pp243-6), Sedgwick's reformist collaboration with State-control-through-funding in reality can only help conserve, not change, the existing institutional system of repression.

A symptom of Sedgwick's confusion on this issue of reformist versus uncompromisingly libertarian-revolutionary means and aims is his simultaneous endorsement of Kropotkin's collectivist, communalist, mutual aid anti-Statism, in the domain of mental health care. He cites and quotes from Kropotkin's 1877 lecture on 'Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners', concerning the libertarian 'communitarian precedent offered in the Belgian farming village of Geel, whose inhabitants have for centuries opened their homes and fields for the lodging and occupation of severely disturbed mental patients' (Sedgwick, p 247):

'And liberty worked a miracle. The insane became cured...

They cried that it was a miracle. The cures were attributed to a saint and a virgin. But this virgin was liberty and the saint was work in the fields and fraternal treatment.'

But for Sedgwick to conflate and confuse as he does Kropotkin's genuine, uncompromising anti-State libertarian socialism with his own advocacy of reformist State collaboration within the existing system as each instances of the same kind of 'pre-figurative' libertarian socialist politics (being what one is for)—is nonsense. One can only uncompromisingly *practice* or *compromise* one's libertarian socialist principles. As a sometimes Marxist, Sedgwick should recall the old Marx-Rosa Luxemburg crack about the virgin's baby only being a 'little' one, when listening to 'reformists' saying that their compromises were only 'little' ones.

Sedgwick's problem is that he doesn't know what he is, politically and theoretically. Hence his eclectic con-fusions. Part of the time, he is an authoritarian revolutionary Marxist, then a liberal-reformist, next a libertarian socialist. The simple radical truth is that while reforms of existing repressive institutions are necessary (and they are ALWAYS necessary), unless they are part of an uncompromising attempt to *practice* one's libertarian principles by seeking the radical abolition of the institutional causes of human unfreedom and illness—beginning with the State—they can only serve to strengthen the repressive status quo.

It is impossible to disagree with Sedgwick's general diagnosis that mental and physical illness in capitalist society is a direct result of existing freedom-denying economic and political institutions, or that the conditions for the mental well-being of all are the conditions for social liberation. The question is, what are these conditions? Kropotkin once wrote that the Bolshevik revolution if nothing else showed us how *not* to achieve revolutionary socialist liberation. The Unfortunately, this book by Peter Sedgwick, a good and decent, committed man, does too.

PAT FLANAGAN



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