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“The state calls its own violence law, but that of the individual crime.”

Max Stirner

Both Tory and Labour are ‘soft and flabby’ about **CAPITALISM – THE REAL CRIMINAL!**

Yet another ‘record’ that can be put to the government’s credit (‘More records for the Government’, *Freedom*, 22nd February) is the very healthy increase in the crime rate. Our hysterical Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker, assures the public that record expenditure has been lavished on the Tories’ favourite industry – law and order – where more jobs have been created in the past thirteen years and no expense spared on the latest technology for dealing with our ‘criminal class’.

We were about to write ‘classes’, but in fact all the electoral battle of insults on crime leaves out the top criminal class, who are not concerned with petty thieving or going off with somebody’s car, but in getting away with frauds on such a scale that the Serious Fraud Squad (not to be confused with the Fraud Squad

which deals with the likes of those of us who may be making a few quid in the ‘black economy’ and not owning up to the tax inspector) cannot, as has been vividly shown both in the Guinness and Blue Arrow trials of City tycoons, cope with the enormity of the frauds involved. That the Blue Arrow trial lasted nearly a year (surely entitling it to an entry in the *Guinness Book of Records*) cost those of us who are taxpayers £25 million in legal costs, and all the defendants except one (a solicitor) were found guilty but given nominal suspended sentences, is only a repetition of the notorious trial of another such (pre-) Thatcherite entrepreneur. John Bloom of Rolls refrigerator fame* eventually found himself on trial for fraud but that trial lasted for many months and when it was obvious that it could go on indefinitely the

prosecution called it a day and Bloom went off to America and is doing very nicely, like Freddie Laker (*Freedom*, 22nd February) and many other millionaire crooks.

But to return to the *real* criminal class which occupies Kenneth Baker’s waking hours. Anarchists have always been pointing out that the overwhelming majority of ‘crimes’ are against property. This is confirmed by official figures, though in quoting *percentages*, as both government and media do, the public
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*Interested readers can refer to the *Freedom* editorial ‘Bloom - Boom - Bust’ from 25th July 1964, and included in *Freedom Selections* vol 14, 1964 (Freedom Press, 1965, 235 pages, £1.50 post free)

STRIKING BY OTHER MEANS?

The awful Minister of Unemployment, Michael Howard, was boasting recently that only 800,000 working days were lost due to strikes and gave credit for this record low to the government’s anti-union legislation which has made striking almost impossible.

Needless to say, he didn’t point out that in times of high unemployment workers are anyway not prepared to strike, for obvious reasons. When one hears, for instance, that a Japanese car manufacturer opening a factory in this country and needing a thousand skilled workers was overwhelmed by 27,000 applicants, it is obvious that striking in the present industrial climate is to cut one’s own nose off to spite one’s face. More so when the only weapon that wage slaves can rely on is *solidarity* and that has long ago

disappeared from the trade union movement in this country. Witness the breakaway Democratic Miners Union who went on working throughout the 1984-5 miners’ strike and who, with the lorry drivers and port workers handled imported coal, or the Electrical Workers’ Union who successfully scabbed on the print workers in Wapping. And one realises that the old slogan ‘an injury to one is an injury to all’ is as true today as ever it was.

The present government’s legislation (limiting pickets and sympathetic strikes) has been accepted without even a protest march by the union bosses, more concerned with the prospect of union funds being sequestered if they break the law than with fighting this virtual destruction of the only legal weapon

available to workers in capitalist society: the strike. And Michael Howard is promising more anti-union legislation if and when the Tories are returned at the next elections!

During the Second World War when Tory, Labour, Liberals and the unions and (when the Soviet Union became an ‘ally’) the Communist Party of Great Britain became the workers’ scourge in their demands for everybody to work harder – *every strike was unofficial* and there were many. Perhaps we may yet see unofficial strike movements emerging as well as solidarity demonstrations by the army of unemployed.

In the meantime it would seem that, individually, wage slaves are retaliating and striking in a different
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CAPITALISM - THE REAL CRIMINAL

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is given a completely false picture. For instance *The Guardian* reports that:

The biggest increases in reported crime were in domestic violence, which was up by 66%, street robbery up by 21% and snatch theft up by 41%. Rape was up by 18%, serious assaults by 9% and homicide by 1%.

When one gets actual figures there is no doubt that 'law and order' is mainly concerned with 'crimes' against property. When our passionate Home Secretary was challenged about the ever-increasing number of crimes under the Tory government, he tried to minimise the problem by saying that a *third of all crimes* were of *car theft*. To which his shadow, the Labour Party's Roy Hattersley, replied indignantly: didn't the Home Secretary consider that pinching somebody else's car, or the radio or the luggage in the boot, was not a crime? So there we have on the one hand the 'property-owning' Tory advocate minimising car thefts, and on the other the *soi-disant* socialist declaring car pinching a crime! They are both vote catching hypocrites. And both promise if their parties win the next electoral jamboree that they would certainly give law and order top priority!

Ironically it was left to Commander David Stevens, head of the crime and community involvement branch of the Metropolitan Police, of all institutions, to

point out that record rises in crime levels were *directly linked* with 'social and economic malaise'. He added that 'crime was an issue of quality of life which needed the attention of all sections of society'.

The Independent's correspondents on 19th February point out that:

Although senior officers have privately acknowledged links between deprivation and crime, high profile statements are rare and likely to annoy Home Office ministers, who have attempted to distance themselves from research linking crime rises to economic depression.

Surely there is no need for experts to tell us that, in a society where, as *The Financial Times* quoting the HMSO publication *Social Trends* summed it up in these terms: Britain is united around consumerism but divided by growing disparities of income and wealth. Some of the have-nots who are not accepting their situation are seeking to carry out a redistribution of wealth by direct action since none of the political parties can do anything about it.

The criminal is capitalism, and all the political parties have no intention of abolishing or 'arresting' capitalism. The Tories offer charity and the Labour Party simply aims at giving everybody the opportunity to get to the top, which under capitalism means at the expense of the majority who remain at the bottom of the ladder and in poverty.

While recognising the obvious relation between the escalation of petty crime* and that of unemployment, probably one would find pro-rata more crimes against property among the rich, if only their speculations were as easy to detect, as among the 'deprived' desperate majority. What is common to both, surely, is the capitalist system. Understandably in a consumerist society the poor want more even if only to survive, and the rich never have enough to avoid boredom!

Crime against property will never be abolished so long as capitalism and/or poverty exist. The 'I'm alright Jack' philosophy which characterises every action taken by the present government has simply exacerbated the problems of the have-nots.

The young more than any other age group are being affected by the capitalist recession and the government's cuts, while at the same time the media are flaunting all the 'goodies' that capitalism can offer - if you have the money!

The poor are not just living outside society as might have been the case a century ago.

The homeless who sleep in cardboard boxes know that there are thousands of people with two houses and holiday

*From 2,500,000 in 1980 to 4,400,000 in 1990.

villas in Spain; they know that there are those who own two and three family cars; they know that the rich have private medical services and send their children to private schools; and those in rural areas know that a few land-owners and farmers own thousands of acres yet they cannot afford (assuming they could buy) a couple of acres to work a modest subsistence holding.

This is the criminal capitalist society in which we live and before those in power condemn the petty transgressors in the name of the law - laws all designed to protect the property of the rich - let them pause to examine those capitalist values they espouse so vigorously.

Down with Culture!

These lines are written a couple of days before the demise of Radio 3 on medium wave. As from 1st March it is only being transmitted on FM. Perhaps those of us who enjoy much of Radio 3 should count ourselves fortunate that Lord Young retired from active politics when he did because he, like most Tory barbarians, had advocated getting rid of Radio 3 altogether on the grounds that it appealed only to thousands and not millions of listeners! But what that minority on FM are inheriting from the eliminated medium wave transmitter is *thirty days a year of cricket commentary*, so what with cricket and two one-hour religious services a week, surely the BBC should reward us with some cheerful music (no organs or Mantovani) by Vivaldi, Haydn or Rossini at 6am instead of starting at 7am.

Only second to the Lifeboat Service immortalised in Kropotkin's writings was the British free library service!

Well that 'unprofitable' public, but popular, service with some ten million supporters has already been attacked - more libraries are either keeping open fewer hours or even actually closing down. All part of the government - that government which advocates *less* government - interfering in the management of local affairs simply by capping those councils which seek to provide good services for everybody.

The Independent published a letter from The Library Association which gives an idea of the extent to which our library services have been eroded:

Fifteen years ago there were 229 libraries in England and Wales open to the public for more than sixty hours a week; today there are only 18.

In an interview, the Director of the Library Association declared that the national survey about to be published:

... will show that we are now facing the most serious crisis since the establishment of public libraries in 1850.

Presumably the government thinks we can spend our time just watching 'telly'. After all, governments have always been suspicious about book-lovers just as they are of music lovers, especially the Tory populists! Are we, the 10,000,000 who want the public libraries to flourish, are we going to just stand by and watch them being destroyed?

STRIKING BY OTHER MEANS?

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way: sickness absence. It is estimated that:

at least a million people will be absent from work tomorrow according to a survey of more than 100 leading British companies by the chartered accountants Arthur Anderson. It is estimated that the highest absenteeism rate in Europe costs British industry £6,000 million a year (*The Independent*).

In case our Mr Howard can't work out what that means: it's a loss of more than 200 million working days a year assuming an eleven month year and a four week month and a five day week! And the miserable man is congratulating himself that only 800 thousand working days have been lost by strikes!

We suspect that *The Independent* shares *Freedom's* interpretation when over the heading 'Industry in the grip of £6 billion malady' they illustrate the article with a four-column picture of horse racing with the caption 'Britain's absenteeism rate, the highest in Europe, peaks at the time of major sporting events such as the Cheltenham festival'. Except that most workers taking a day off because they are fed up with their jobs cannot afford to go to the races these days - and they are certainly not the ones in top hats hob-nobbing with our inveterate horse-fancying Queen.

Wasting our wealth for what?

It now seeps out, when it's too late to do anything about it, that the sale of our - the nation's - 'family silver', in this case the ten water authorities in 1989, has cost us £450 million for a £3,600 million sell off!

As if £450 million was not more than enough, merchant bank Schroder and City public relations firm Dewe Rogerson received bonus payments of £2.2 million from the government for 'arranging' the privatisation. By the time this issue of *Freedom* appears, a member of the government and senior representatives from Schroder will have appeared before an all-party House of Commons Public Accounts Committee. So more to come. But what about the £450 million spent to sell the family silver?

According to *The Observer* (16th February):

The Department of Environment spent £143.5 million on advisers' fees, underwriting and other costs, with advisers' fees along totalling £25.8 million.

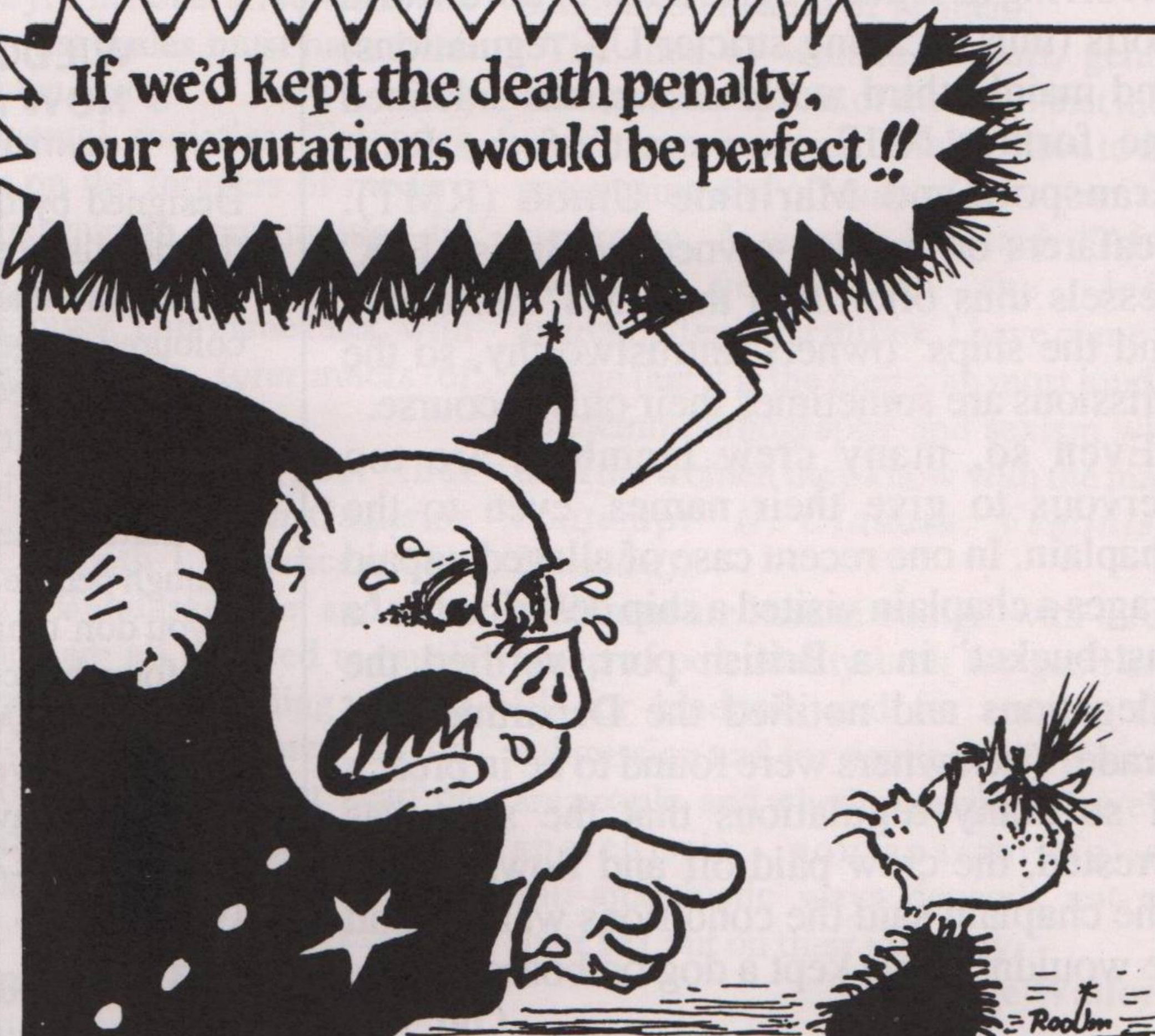
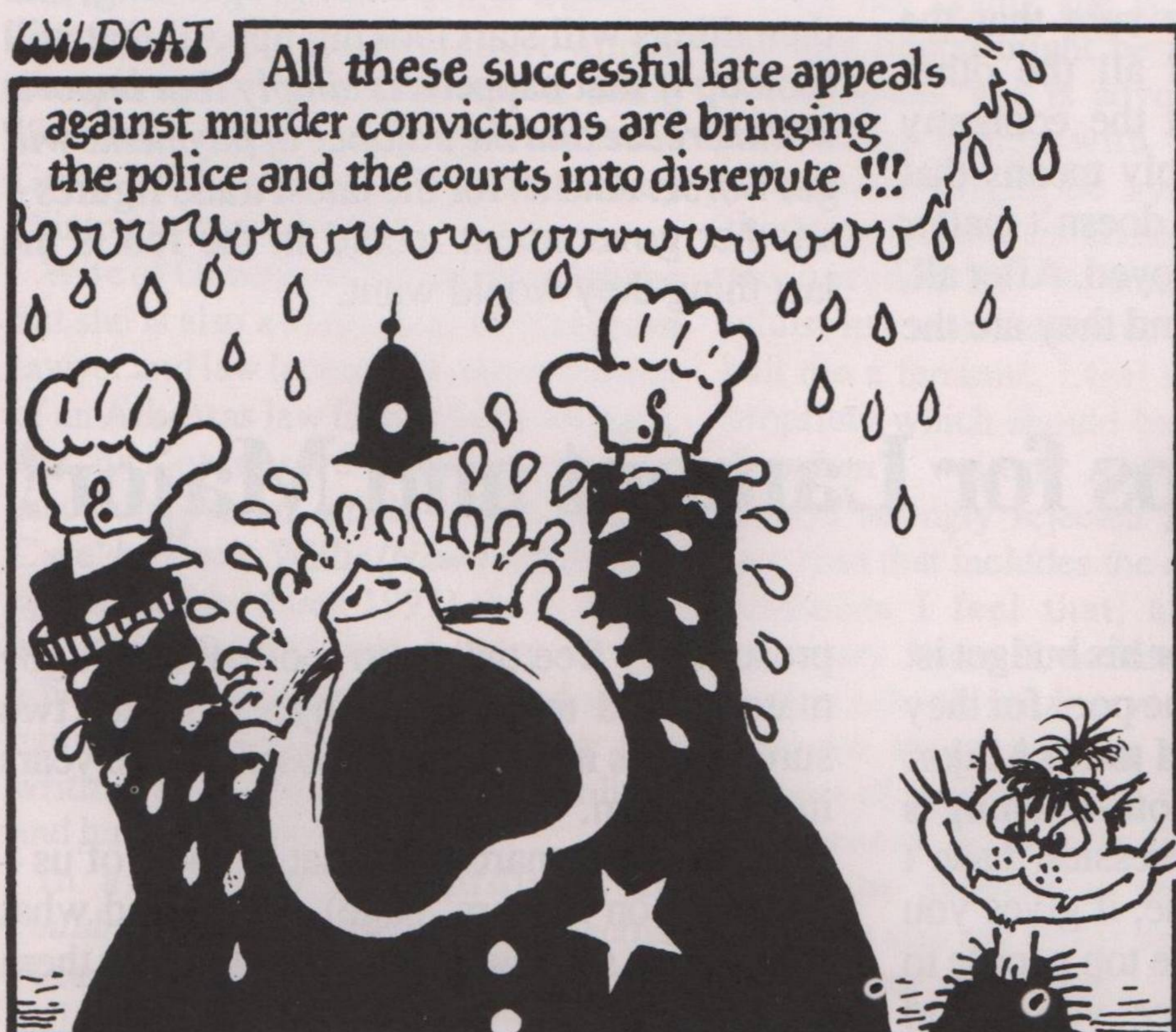
The water companies spent a further £176 million, including £39 million on a national marketing and advertising campaign, while the government added £70 million for customer incentives and £15 million for employees to buy the water companies.

Schroder alone collected £7 million in fees on the sale and, according to the National Audits Office (NAO), the £2 million bonus was made because the scale of the work involved in preparing the prospectus was 'unprecedented'.

Apparently the extra payment of £2.2 million was made at the sole discretion of the then Environment Secretary Nicholas Ridley. Details of some of the 'minor expenses' (not to our way of thinking) were given to the NAO (National Audits Office). For instance Dewe Rogerson got £3 million for its 'financial public relations advice' and the 'special bonus of £200,000' was paid after the 'successful flotation' of the water authorities. Fees paid to one firm of accountants and the engineering consultants soared from a forecast level of £3 million to £8.4 million in less than eighteen months! Let us name for posterity another firm of accountants, Touche Ross, who cut their fees by a quarter of a million pounds to a modest £1.6 million!

Whatever we and you the taxpayers of Britain may think the NAO declared that the level of fees 'compared favourably' with other privatisations and that the sale was a 'notable achievement'.

Originally the government expected privatisation to raise £5.87 billion. With the expertise of merchant bankers Schroder to advise Nicholas Ridley that figure was lowered to £4.42 billion. And when the shares were eventually sold they raised £3.6 billion. So what's the point of paying millions of experts in order to get billions less than you anticipated. Comrades, it's all a racket!



Student Politics and the 'United Left'

The recent national demonstration against student poverty (Wednesday 12th February, from Battersea to Hyde Park) was not deemed newsworthy by most of the papers. Numbers present must have been at least 25,000 – but, it seems, without a massive ruck with the police, such events will not come to the notice of many people.

So is this a failure of the march? Demonstrations are usually justified by those taking part as a way of letting the government and as many people as possible know that there exists a vociferous and active opposition to the particular issue being demonstrated against. But virtually all students are against the government's attempts to whip us into line, politically and economically; it's obvious to us that we're all against the emiseration of students. And do we seriously expect that the government are going to quake in their boots at the sight of 25,000 reasonably well-behaved young people being escorted through the streets of London by hundreds of police? What's it all about then?

As the recent wave of occupations made clear, student politics raises all sorts of issues, issues that come up again and again in other working class campaigns. Before saying what I think demos are about, here's an example of the type of crucial issue I mean.

The rally in Hyde Park was addressed by the usual motley crew of speakers. One Liberal Democrat spokesperson reacted peevishly and patronisingly on being heckled, and was booed off stage. The National Union of Students then brought out their big gun – Tony Benn. Even the anarchists were largely silent (except when he advised us all to vote Labour). Why? There are several things going on here. Why, for example, are people so ready to forget that, as Minister of Energy, Benn was prepared to break strikes by sending the troops in? Perhaps Benn has become more left-wing since then – but he still represents the left wing of capitalism.

There seem to be two reasons why Tony Benn was respected in Hyde Park that day, and why, despite being a Labour MP, this is typical of the response he gets from most people left of the Labour right.

Firstly, Benn is clearly a brilliant orator. Part of the fact that he has an upper middle class accent – an accent that commands respect, even among

people who profess to hate 'the rich'. Tony Benn talks with authority; he sounds like he knows what he's talking about – the Oxbridge lot always do. Obviously, if the same voice came out with phrases in support of 'the market' and similar concepts, the students would have barracked him; but, given the same content, it's easier for someone like Benn, brought up to expect others to listen (and take orders) than for most other people to influence a crowd through oratory.

Secondly, everyone on the left recognises the moment of truth in many of Benn's pronouncements. His current topic of interest is the link between slumps and fascism. Benn says we are heading for a slump, and where there is a slump there will be fascism. He argues that when the left is split, then fascism can prevail; the reason that

Hitler was able to become so powerful in Germany was because the Social Democrats and the Communists were too busy fighting each other instead of the fascists. Benn used this argument at the rally to criticise the hecklers; we on the left should unite, he said.

Put like that, it sounds fair enough. But let's unpack this 'united left' theme a bit. What does it mean? In practice it adds up to us all wasting our time trying to help the Labour Party become the next government; most of the speakers I saw at the NUS rally were quite explicit about this. And, as far as I understand, Benn's historical point is debatable too; was it that the left in Germany were weakened by splitting or rather that they were split as a result of being weakened when the revolution failed in the years previously? And to say we should all unite around the most moderate tendencies in 'the left' is a prospect that can hardly inspire many people with enthusiasm for the struggle against fascism/the government/capitalism. The point is, on any one issue (poll tax, student poverty, fascism, etc.) there will be enough unison to march together, and to join in with anything that seems to be effective; but a wholly harmonious, coherent

'united left' is not only unnecessary but perhaps impossible; there will always be differences within the working class generally on the way to attack capitalism, and unity will only exist on the level of action rather than on the level of ideas. (This is why, unless they are happy with being small and vanguard-like, Class War, the ACF and DAM are faced with an uphill struggle in their attempt to be mass working class organisations.) We have already seen in many of the student struggles that the desperate call for unity is usually coupled with demands for the most tokenistic and useless of actions – the type of things that just bore people and piss them off with politics.

Thus, to return to the questions I posed at the beginning of this article, we should have no illusions about what demos can achieve in the short-term; but, equally, we should look to the long-term to understand their positive function. They are not usually for the government's 'benefit', but for *ours*; they are for many people the first experience of being part of a wider force of active opposition to aspects of capitalism.

Johnny Yen

Poll Tax and 'Hearsay'

The recent test-case in the High Court regarding computer evidence in poll tax court cases must have caused further laughter from the country's non-payers. A survey by the Local Government Information Unit finds that more than one in five people billed have been summonsed for non-payment. If only a fraction of these people turn up in court and argue that the council's computer evidence is not acceptable, then attempts to hassle the rest of us are thrown into chaos.

The law will probably be changed in March to allow computer evidence in such cases. Until then, people summonsed can use the guidelines below (reprinted from a local APTU). However, the new law will not be retrospective, so all those given liability orders on the basis of computer evidence in the past three months can appeal against their decisions. It is also worth remembering that most people in the anti-poll tax movement have always known that if we were winning the battle in the courts then the government would change the law. As ever, the ultimate battle takes place in the streets, where we prevent the bailiffs from taking our belongings.

Johnny Yen

A Guide to Obtaining an Acquittal at a Liability Order Hearing

In most court cases a single council officer gives evidence and presents documents to the court. The court can issue a liability order if it is satisfied that 'the sum has become payable and has not been paid'. You should be entitled to look at the documents and put questions to the council officer. Your most effective argument is to ask the officer: 'How did you know that the charge is unpaid?' or 'How do you know that what you are telling the court is true?'

All councils keep their records on computer, so the only truthful answer the officer can give is that he/she referred to these computer records. If the officer is evasive about answering this question, you should insist on a clear reply.

As soon as they admit that they are relying on computer records, or somebody else's statement, then hearsay is established. This means that the officer does not have personal knowledge which the law requires, but is relying on the out-of-court statement of some other person.

All statements from a council officer who does not have direct knowledge but relies on information given by somebody else are prima facie hearsay and inadmissible unless a rule of law can be found to admit them. No provision has been made to prove non-payment of the charge, so any second-hand information relied on by the council officer is inadmissible.

No case to answer

When the questions to the council officer are completed the court should tell you that you have a

choice of making a submission of 'no case to answer' or giving evidence. If the court does not explain this, you will have to ask to make a submission of 'no case to answer'.

Your submission

If you make such a submission it may be along the following lines, generally as follows:

'I make a submission of no case to answer on the following grounds. In cross examination the officer for the local authority, Mr/Ms X, stated that he/she did not have personal knowledge that the sum remains unpaid but relies on the statement of another person, in this case a computer record.

As Mr/Ms X does not have direct knowledge, this evidence must be inadmissible as hearsay. In particular I would draw the attention of the court to *Stones' Justices Manual* which states that Section 5 of the Civil Evidence Act 1968 is not in force in proceedings before Justices and as a result any computer record must be inadmissible as evidence.

Accordingly, there is no admissible evidence on this matter before the court and the application by the local authority must fail'.

This guide is an outline of the basic argument which applies in all cases. Supporters of the Anti Poll Tax Federation, who have more detailed information, are willing to go into court with you to give advice. But remember you will still have to argue your own case because the adviser is not allowed to speak directly to the court.

Sussex APTF Tel: 0273 671878

Floating Sweatshops

Requests from merchant seafarers for help from the Missions to Seamen have more than doubled in the last few years: 1,400 people made 350 requests last year, covering problems from unpaid wages (40%), health and safety (20%), to poor living conditions, accidents and disciplinary problems (40%). The Missions, originally set up as a sort of 'Salvation Army of the Sea', have long had a much broader and much more useful role, and now have chaplains in 200 ports worldwide who visit 60,000 ships a year.

The increased use made of the Missions follows the proliferation of ships sailing under flags of convenience over the last thirty years and is a reflection of the way this practice, involving as it does registration in third world ports (thus escaping stricter UK regulations) and mainly third world crews, has sidelined the former NUS, now part of the Rail, Transport and Maritime Union (RMT). Seafarers on foreign-owned or British FOC vessels thus often find the RMT ineffective and the ships' owners untrustworthy, so the Missions are sometimes their only recourse.

Even so, many crew members are too nervous to give their names, even to the chaplain. In one recent case of alleged unpaid wages a chaplain visited a ship described as 'a rust-bucket' in a British port, verified the allegations and notified the Department of Trade. The owners were found to be in breach of so many regulations that the ship was arrested, the crew paid off and flown home. The chaplain said the conditions were so bad he wouldn't have kept a dog on board.

Old Salt



WILDCAT TEE-SHIRTS
NOW AVAILABLE !!
PRINTED WITH PICTURE AS ABOVE.

Designed by the strip's artist Donald Room, the details are: white (large and extra large) £4.50, unbleached (extra large only) £5.25, coloured (large only) £5.25. Coloured ones tend to be at the red end of the spectrum, although there is a snotty-green one too. At the moment the print run is very small (so please include alternative sizes/colours where possible). But if enough people want them this can be increased. If you don't mind waiting a few weeks you can ask for other colours/sizes and it can probably be arranged. Also Wildcat Shopping Bags – can you believe it? Same design, at the moment in white on navy, in black on red or in black on unbleached. £2.25 each. T-shirts and bags in 100% cotton, and washable.

add 10% towards postage and packing inland, 20% overseas. Cheques payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.

Business going from bad to worse

Only Mr Major and his desperate vote-catching parrots are sure that the 'upturn', the 'kick-start' and all the other clichés that they use will get the economy moving. Which for them simply means that most of us will spend more – it doesn't matter about the three million unemployed. After all, twenty million are employed and they are the

ones who must start spending, spending, and then things will start looking up! All that will look up if that happens is simply that imports will increase and the balance of payments will get worse. And as for the latest trade figures – another government record in the red is the last thing they would want.

... and our tips for Lamont and Major!

Our advice to Mr Lamont for his budget is: tax the rich and give it to the poor for they won't spend it on imports. And to Mr Major: don't go for 9th April, John – vote-catching is a dodgy business, and the recession hasn't bottomed-out so wait until June, it gives you an extra two months to meet the top people to be wined and dined (and vice versa) and

presumably free tickets to football and rugby matches and to Pavarotti hypes. Better two sure months in office than possibly five years in opposition.

Actually we anarchists (that is, most of us – see letter on readers' page) don't mind what they decide since we shan't be voting for them anyway.

A Prison American Style

The construction and coming onto stream of Britain's latest maximum security dispersal prison, Whitemoor in Cambridgeshire, is the clearest expression yet that the Home Office agenda for prisons will continue to be one of increased control, security and repression. Despite the vague hopes of the liberal prison reformists that the Woolf Report might in some way characterise official penal policy for the '90s, the existence of Whitemoor in particular illustrates that it is American 'new generation' ideas on imprisonment, and not those of Woolf, that are the guiding influence in Home Office thinking.

Architecturally and organisationally Whitemoor as a prison and a concept is designed for maximum control. Built at a cost of £89 million it incorporates in design and structure the panopticon principle of constant observation and surveillance, as well as the 'new generation' idea of relatively small, manageable units of prisoners that are allowed no contact or inter-action as groups. Sprawling over a vast physical area the prison is divided and sub-divided up into self-contained wings or 'living units', and further divided up into sealed spurs that are designated by colours; the American influence is apparent in the pastel colour schemes and the use of 'newspeak' terminology to conceal the reality of the place: the hospital wing is re-named the 'medical care centre', the punishment block the 'adjustment unit'.

There is a clear conflict of philosophy and approach underpinning the regime at Whitemoor, between the uniformed staff who have sought from day one in the prison to impose and maintain a more traditional (i.e. overtly oppressive) style of control, and the management staff who have opted for the more 'therapeutic' though no less coercive approach. The two have combined to produce a situation of deep uncertainty and tension. The marginalisation and virtual defeat of the Prison

Prison experiences

Prisoner support is an important issue, especially to the prisoner. American prisoner John Perotti has been in jail for more than seventeen years, originally for a \$7 non-violent robbery but he has had more time added for his defence of the rights of himself and other prisoners. Anyone interested in John's experiences and struggles can obtain a copy of an essay giving the story of his last few years of incarceration by sending an SAE to: A Flett, 29 Sterlochey Street, Findochty, Buckie, Banffshire AB56 2PQ.

Sharks Sighted in Red Sea Compound

The UN sanctions imposed on Iraq during the Gulf crisis are threatening to come apart at the seams because ship-owners say that re-routing and inspection procedures are costing them too much money, and that they may use other routes to get around the Red Sea blockade if they're not changed.

Currently, ships from Europe bound for the Jordanian port of Aqaba are directed first to Piraeus, Greece, where cargoes are trans-shipped and sent on to the Gulf of Aqaba in a special convoy - the Red Sea Express Group, managed by British ship-owners Ellerman. But the amount of cargo allowed on each ship is severely limited by the UN naval force to 50-60% of the normal load and extra wide spacing between, for example, containers is strictly enforced to facilitate the search. On a recent BBC radio programme, the British Chamber of Shipping claimed that inspection at sea is both costly (US \$500 more per container) and inefficient and that it should be done ashore in Aqaba. However, the Director General, Admiral Sir Richard Hunt, admits that in fact this surcharge is passed on to the customer in Jordan, and costs the ship-owners nothing.

What the row is really about is their traditional obsession with screwing as much as possible out of vessels and crews by loading ships to the gunwales and cutting down on

Officers Association under the new 'fresh start' contract is reflected at Whitemoor in the profound demoralisation of the uniformed staff, who claim that in terms of actually influencing administrative policy in the prison they are as powerless as the prisoners. They also claim that the Home Office is manipulating its workforce at the prisons in pursuit of vague and dangerous notions of absolute control. The parallels with the lock-down Marion Prison in the USA are striking.

From the day that Whitemoor opened in November last year, solidarity among prisoners there has been strong. During the visit of the Home Secretary to the prison in January, prisoners staged a mass sit-down protest to highlight petty restrictions at the jail, and over the following months have managed to establish a precarious balance of power between themselves and the administration that has resulted in a definite easing up of the regime. In fact, so powerful is the solidarity and self-organisation of prisoners at Whitemoor that both wings currently occupied at the prison (still only a third full) have prisoner representation committees that meet and negotiate with wing management on a regular basis. Virtually denied any degree of real representation themselves, screws in the prison have been reduced to conduits of institutional policy largely being shaped in the power struggle between prisoners and management. 'Security' is no longer an issue capable of being manipulated by uniformed staff in defence and furtherance of their sectional interests, because Whitemoor represents the very last word in physical security and containment. The human element involved in preventing escape is rendered less important by the actual physical structure and design of the prison.

Presently in a condition of flux and instability in terms of the regime, Whitemoor, from the perspective of prisoners, could go either way - either they seize the initiative and establish a situation where their collective and individual rights are defended and extended, or management take complete control of the regime and create a veritable laboratory of human control. The spectre of Marion looms over the prison.

In its construction of Whitemoor, the Home Office has indicated quite unambiguously that total as opposed to positive rights for prisoners will continue to characterise its ideas and methods. Prisoners at Whitemoor, however, have illustrated that solidarity and organisation are key weapons in resisting such a dehumanising system and yet again confirmed that only they themselves are the real agents of meaningful and significant change in their oppressed conditions.

John Bowden

turnaround time. Diversion to Greece, trans-shipment and further diversions to inspection rendezvous in the Red Sea all add to journey time and thus unit costs (seafarers, like ships, are just units to be manipulated to maximise profits).

Admiral Hunt says he is 'fully behind UN sanctions' but that if the inspections are not transferred to shore they will be counter-productive in the long run because shipping companies will get around sanctions by sending vessels directly to the Middle East through the eastern Mediterranean where there is no blockade or inspection. No doubt the Iraqi dictatorship, whose downfall the BCS claims to support, will be overjoyed (not to say surprised) to hear of potential new allies in the West amongst hard-done-by millionaire ship-owners.

Meanwhile, innocent ships' crews are subjected to frightening and often heavy-handed inspections in the Gulf of Aqaba where they are suddenly confronted by armed and aggressive boarding parties arriving in helicopters or fast launches, often in bad weather, who round them up and hold them at gunpoint throughout the search. The man seconded from the US Coastguard to command the UN naval operation is the aptly-named Captain Winston Churchill.

Bluebeard

Why Prisoners Should Organise

John's article shows quite clearly why prisoners must and should organise. Whitemoor is obviously the latest answer of the Home Office as regards security, and also shows their total contempt for the Woolfe Report - a report commissioned by the Home Office. At present Whitemoor is being used as a dumping ground for so-called 'problem' prisoners. Basically, for the uninitiated, this means anyone who wants to know or demands their rights.

At present the management are adopting a 'Mr Nice Guy' approach through a therapeutic regime, however, this could change at any moment. Prison officers have been relegated to operators of switches. They know and probably hope to see the day they are called into action, perhaps even provoking such an event. If prisoners do not organise themselves they will be denied any shred of human rights or dignity. They will be manipulated by those in charge. A regime such as at Whitemoor must be resisted in order to preserve one's sanity - otherwise the next stop will be Rampton!

If prisoners take the space that is rightly theirs through prisoners representation committees, then they have a good chance to have some control over their lives. The committees meet and negotiate regularly with management. This is not because of some liberal idea that negotiation equals co-opting.

First impressions of Whitemoor are of one of total control: a gate officer, a metal detector, two screws, bags are searched, onward through an air-lock and out into a fenced-in space (even the grass is fenced in). Into the visiting centre, another metal detector and one for bags. Into the room, a large industrial type of room with curtains (!). At first glance seemingly casual arrangements of comfortable chairs and low coffee tables. On spotting a number on the table, the 'casual/comfortable' ambience disappears. It feels like a cross between a factory and a hospital - a processing plant. Video cameras add the finishing touch to the 'casual/comfortable' ambience. Two words can sum it up: SANITISED INSANITY!

Patricia Ford

News from Northern Ireland

Hearing politicians squirming on the issues raised by the horrific case of the rape and search for abortion by the fourteen year old girl in Dublin only deepens the shame that Irish people feel. Shame and deep anger which an Irish Times editorial cited as producing widespread and seething anger against the State. Copperfastening the question of abortion in the constitutional referendum in 1983 has led to the nightmare scenario many people feared and knew would come up. I remember campaigning in Letterkenny and Waterford and raising just such scenarios as well as the central issue of the right of women to have control over their own bodies. And I remember being piously assured by so-called pro-lifers that such cases would simply not arise. It was a 'heads buried in the sand' situation.

Now the politicians hope that the Supreme Court or the European Court will get them off the hook of this particular case and they have not made any firm commitment to dealing with the issue in general in the future. Confidence in the processes of the state and parliamentary democracy must be further eroded by the lily-livered politicians' search for a loop-hole. Along with the politicians we find the liberals, both inside Ireland and out, looking to the European Court for salvation. This is a searing example of the colonised mind continuing its work in Ireland. The colonised mind which has never seen a problem in exporting abortion to England, never seen a problem in driving thousands of young people to seek jobs in America, and elsewhere. Looking to Europe for the liberalisation of Irish society and the solution of Irish problems is a dangerous business. We are, after all, on the periphery. People in Ireland are going to have to take responsibility for these questions and until freedom is delivered by choices rather than laws, cases like the current one will continue to shame and hurt Irish society.

For anarchists this case provides the most glaring example possible of the inability of the state or laws or parliamentary democracy to deliver freedom, especially to women and children.

As mentioned a couple of issues ago, the Workers Party has been heading for a split which finally came and will lead to the formation of a new party of the left in

Ireland. In essence the elected TDs want to hold power as against the revolutionary old guard who want to continue a vanguardist movement with military links. In the face of the growing strength of a broad left alliance in the Dáil the TDs couldn't afford to be seen to have any links with the official IRA, which is not supposed to exist anyway. There will be some interest for anarchists in this as we view the way organisations change and develop when they follow the parliamentary road to socialism. And questions of the organisation of revolutionary groups are covered in a lengthy article in the current magazine from the Workers Solidarity Movement. This spring 1992 issue is full of interesting material not only on anarchist organisations in Ireland, but also on sectarian murders, the killing of collaborators, as well as an article on the New World Order. Once again the WSM have produced an interesting and valuable magazine. They can be contacted at WSM, PO Box 1528, Dublin 8.

The Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (party conference) took place this year in Ballyfermot, a working class area of suburban Dublin, instead of in the Mansion House in the middle of the city. Dublin Corporation had voted to forbid Sinn Fein the use of the traditional venue. Instead Conor Cruise O'Brien and others met in the Mansion House in which a call for selective internment, north and south, was made. Internment to be applied even-handedly was the call, in a speech in which the possibility of a politics-led solution to the north's problems was dismissed. Across the city Gerry Adams, speaking at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, affirmed the right of Irish people to use armed struggle. I can't help asking myself how these separate but related speeches connect with the young men who roared into Coalisland on a cement lorry and opened up ineffectually with a machine gun on an impenetrable police base, roared out of the town again, one of them reportedly waving a tricolour, only to be gunned down in an ambush in a churchyard.

If not the parliamentary road to freedom, if not the military road, if not the security road, then what is the road to freedom?

Dave Duggan

The Spanish Civil War

The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution

Burnett Bolloten

Harvester Wheatsheaf, £50

This is an extraordinary book. Burnett Bolloten was not an academic but a journalist and businessman. He worked as a United Press correspondent in Spain during the Civil War, and decided afterwards to establish what had really happened on the Republican side, taking a completely objective approach and relying entirely on original sources. Working mainly in Mexico and the United States, he collected and examined an enormous amount of contemporary material – books and pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, letters and interviews, manuscripts and microfilms – in order to write an account of the whole period, though at first he produced an account only of the first part of the war.

This was completed in 1952, rejected by several publishers, and eventually published in 1961 as *The Grand Camouflage: The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War*. The title stressed the nature of what Bolloten called “a policy of duplicity and dissimulation of which there is no parallel in

history” – the way the social revolution was first disguised and then destroyed, and the way the communists achieved first influence and then power in the Republic. The subtitle suggested a right-wing bias which was not in fact present in the treatment, but inevitably the book was used as a weapon in the Cold War and therefore wasn't taken as seriously as it deserved. However, after a short period of neglect it was republished in 1968 with a new subtitle, *The Spanish Civil War and Revolution 1936-39* (though it actually went only as far as 1937), and an introduction by Hugh Trevor-Roper. This time it became accepted as the most authoritative account of the politics of the left during the first ten months of the war, up to the crisis of May 1937, and its emphasis on the Communist conspiracy was generally accepted.

It was a medium-sized book – about 130,000 words – a high proportion of the space consisting of references to the vast amount of material used. But it soon began to grow. When Bolloten retired from business, he prepared a new edition which was published in 1979 as *The Spanish Revolution: the Left and the Struggle for Power During the Civil War*, with a foreword by Raymond Carr. This was about twice as long as the original, with much new detail and some important new

sections – especially on the Counterrevolution and the May Events in Catalonia, and on the aftermath of May 1937. However, Bolloten had already started work on a third edition, which he almost completed by his death in 1987, with the help of George Esenwein (whose own book, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868-1898*, was published in 1939). This appeared in 1991 as *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution*, with a foreword by Stanley Payne. It is about twice as long again, with the major addition of an account of the period from May 1937 to the end of the war in March 1939, giving even more emphasis to the effects of the Communist conspiracy.

Bolloten spent nearly half a century on his life work, and the final result is a suitable memorial – a huge volume of 1,100 pages, including nearly 300 pages of notes and bibliography, giving far and away the most impressive account in English of the politics of the left throughout the whole war. It is virtually beyond criticism, since no one else did so much or knew so much about the whole subject. Unfortunately it is virtually beyond the reach of most individuals (and many institutions) because of its high price. But in the end it is virtually beyond price, because it

establishes once and for all in English the truth about the disastrous history of the Spanish Republic during the Civil War.

The book has particular value for us, because Bolloten took the same impartial approach to the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements and activities – a determination to establish the truth about what really happened in the largest libertarian episode in history. The first version began with a reference to ‘a far-reaching social revolution in the anti-Franco camp – more profound in some respects than the Bolshevik Revolution in its early stages’, and documented the way the revolution operated in the towns and the countryside; the later versions documented the way the revolution was subverted and eventually suppressed. But the book also documents the highly authoritarian tendencies of this process – the way the revolution was conducted by anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist militants as they forced collectivisation on to the people, and the way the counter-revolution was supported by the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist leaders as they worked with and in the various governments and against their own followers.

It is a sad story, but one that has to be told. Bolloten's telling of it is hard to read, because it is so densely packed with information, but it is well worth reading for its own sake and for the sake of its ‘Lessons of the Spanish Revolution’; as Vernon Richards said in his own book with that title, Bolloten produced a masterpiece which is one of the best books on the subject, and this final version must be one of the best books on any historical subject.

NW

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution

José Peirats 388 pages, £6.00

Spain 1936-39: Social Revolution and Counter Revolution 272 pages, £5.00

The May Days Barcelona 1937

Augustin Souchy, Burnett Bolloten et al
126 pages, £2.50

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Michael Duane

Church, State and Freedom

Religion

Organised religion has, as one of its main objectives, the establishment of internal control in the individual through the ‘voice of conscience’ or the ‘voice of God’ for the purpose of lessening the realisation of those of his personal desires which would appear to defy the authority of the Church and its doctrines. To be ‘good’ in the eyes of any Church is to put God's wishes (as enunciated by that Church) before those of the believer.

How does organised religion achieve its objectives? It relies on the frequent and regular repetition of prayers, stories, hymns, incantations, litanies; on ritual and on the practice of meditation about religious concepts to instil a thorough psychic foundation of unquestioning belief and the creation of desired attitudes of mind in response to certain words, phrases and rituals. In some forms of organised religion music and art are used to strengthen these associations and to shape the psyche of the child to the pattern of the ‘good’ Christian, Jew, Muslim or Communist.

Both rewards and punishments form part of the process – sweets or slaps for infants; excommunication or public honour for adults; the threat of Hell or the promise of Heaven. Thinking or questioning is discouraged, unless about trivia – such as whether certain forms of prayer or ritual observances should be taught to infants – and then only when the questioner has demonstrated his unswerving loyalty to the central tenets.

Most prayers and hymns use imagery that stresses the ubiquitous power of God and the weakness and fallibility of Man. Begging for forgiveness, renouncing the temptations of the flesh (women, food and drink), the world (material prosperity) and the Devil (intelligent curiosity); acknowledging that God is omniscient, omnipotent and ubiquitous while Man is ignorant and corruptible are constant and unvarying themes (one is reminded of the ‘confessions’ extract from erring members of Russian, Chinese and British Communist Parties). Even the rare prayers or hymns that seem to rejoice in beauty – ‘All things bright and beautiful’ – are used to stress God's omnipotence and, by implication, Man's insignificance.

Even the act or confession, itself a therapeutic act when it is spontaneous, is made to depend on God's power and his ubiquitous presence and mercy, or on the priest's supposed role as intermediary with God. The final end is the total subjection of the individual to the Church's formulation of what it supposes is the ‘will of God’.

The fires of Hell and the wrath of God are now used less blatantly to discourage ‘sin’ than when I was a child, but they have not ceased. The image of a man tortured on a cross as a

result of our sins is calculated to induce a deep feeling of guilt in the observer, especially when that observer is a young child. Nothing acts so powerfully as a brake on joy as guilt. Waves of guilt are built up to reinforce one another – guilt for offending a loving Father and, in Catholic and High Anglican forms, His loving Mother.

Despite recent attempts by a few members of the Church of England to remove guilt from sex, guilt is most strongly associated with all forms of sexual activity. The very insistence on having celibate ministers itself indicates that sex is regarded as dangerous and wicked. It is even implied that sex is superfluous since Mary is held to have remained a virgin even when she conceived Jesus. Marriage is regarded as inferior to celibacy – ‘marry rather than burn’. Celibacy is set before boys as the highest form of life. How deeply this doctrine has permeated our thinking can be seen in the embarrassment that young people (and even more so, old people) experience when they think of their parents, especially their mothers, making love or having sexual feelings. Even now, it is commonly assumed that it is more important that a bride should be a virgin than that a groom should be.

But sexual energy is the physical mainspring of all creative thought and action – always recognised intuitively not only by writers and dramatists but, since Freud, as a verifiable fact. No wonder the Church has sought to crush the expression of sexual thoughts, feelings and activities, since one of the more obvious characteristics of people with a background of loving sex is their accessibility to rational thought and the coherence of their thoughts, actions and beliefs.

The real question, however, is how it has been possible for the Church, membership of which is, theoretically, voluntary, to have such an effect over so many centuries, especially since it professes to be based on the love of God and on the love of Man – ‘love thy neighbour as thyself’. More than that, why has the Church, from the time when the State first emerged, become so identified with it and particularly with its more reactionary elements? The rule, enunciated by Christ, ‘Render unto Caesar’, is now quoted only by those few clerics and others who think that the Church has become too closely identified with the State, to the point of formally and publicly blessing weapons of war and weapons of mass destruction designed to obliterate whole nations.

The answer to this question will begin to become clear only after we have looked more closely at the State and some of its institutions and activities.

The State

The State is composed of institutions – Parliament, the armed forces, the police, prisons, banks, universities, schools, the

family, the Church, the Civil Service, etc. – which act in generally coherent ways to ensure continuity of ownership of property and of laws so that the prevailing culture is maintained. In Britain it is normally assumed that most people are conservative in their habits and thinking, so that most interventions by any of the major institutions, e.g. the Bank of England or the police or parliament, should be to maintain the existing order or to restore it should it have been disrupted. Let us look now at the first institution directly to affect the child from birth and for the whole of the most formative years of life.

The Family

Whereas the human family seems, from the earliest times, to have evolved as an extended group including parents, children, grandchildren, uncles, aunts and cousins, forming a mutually supportive network – as it still does in many regions of the world – in industrialised countries during the last two hundred years the nuclear family, now averaging two parents and 2.3 children, has emerged. This change has come about as a direct result of the massive changes in the way in which goods are produced that has occurred during the period that we know as the Industrial Revolution. The changes created far-reaching differences in the relationships between the members of the family, and, in consequence, on the overall functions of the family and on the self-image of all its members.

In the extended family the care of small children is spread over the whole group: the child is fed or nursed by whichever woman or girl is not otherwise occupied, and nursing, in the sense of breast feeding, may be done, in many societies, and indeed in England in earlier times, by any woman with milk. The child is taught different things by different adults – games, songs, work, skills, customs. The mother can rely on the older women in the group to instruct her as necessary and to share her work.

One of my African students who had been accused of irresponsibly leaving his wife and children for three years to study in England, laughed when it was suggested that his wife would not be able to cope if anything went wrong. ‘Don't you realise that my family is not only the provider of food but also the education system and the insurance company. If the house burns down my family will rebuild it. My brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins will teach my children all they will need to know to become full members of our society.’ From my knowledge of this student and from the many other things I learned from him and his fellow African students it became clear that in such a society children grow up with confidence and zest for life, unafraid, friendly and co-operative.

Until very recently all the work in that tribe was done by the

Sources of Humanity

Sources of Humanity
The Conway Hall
14th February to 12th March

The Conway Hall was a deliberate choice of setting for this art exhibition – 'Sources of Humanity', currently on show in the Small Hall until 12th March. The all-women exhibitors chose the Conway Hall because of its humanist and libertarian associations and also because they hoped it would attract people who wouldn't otherwise visit art shows, "Though I must admit that the Weightwatchers were most uninterested" said one of the artists.

Emily Johns, one of the exhibitors and the organiser of this exhibition, explained the idea behind the show. Making comparisons with the current exhibition at The Haywood Gallery, 'Double Take', Emily said that with 'Sources of Humanity' she wanted a shift of emphasis from the cool exhibits which take life and death into account in a most distant and unfleshy way and the only way to do this



is to presume that your own way of seeing is at the centre of the world.

The flower paintings by Emily Johns are part of a series of imaginary views of internal organs, womb, the larynx, the eardrum, etc. The ones exhibited show the equivalent patterns in the extended world.

The paintings are fragile and delicate and brave. The impact of the Gulf War is evident in her series of drawings – self-portraits drawn on 15th January directly after war was officially declared.

The exhibits in this first stage of the exhibition were lively and varied. Joan James' atmospheric series of photographs of waves were haunting and dramatic and looked more like etchings than photographs.

Irene Runaykers' colourful and joyful pictures showed the vigour and celebration of life.

All in all this was a refreshing and honest exhibition and I look forward to seeing the next three stages.

Silvia Edwards

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Food for Thought ... and Action

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The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State* by Michael Bakunin, CIRA (International Centre for Research into Anarchism), edited by Nicolas Walter. A nice reprint of the 1971 first full English language edition of this classic essay, first published in 1871, with useful information about CIRA on the back. Approx A4 pamphlet, 10 pages, £1.

Processed World* number 28, Bay Area Centre for Art and Technology, San Francisco. Continuing the high standard set by previous issues, this one examines the very broad subject of biotechnology, the present direction of which, say the editors, "is another bracing slap in the face for all of us who demand popular control over technology, science and work itself. Those of us working on the magazine are not biologists. Our attempt to analyse biotech, then, represents something of the social process we think the majority of the population needs to engage in." Essential reading for all you green anarchists, anarcho-boffins, sociologists and anybody who enjoys thought-provoking high quality writing on the issues of today. Beautifully produced, well illustrated and containing reviews, five pages of letter, cartoons, and more. Biannual, A4 with spine, 64 pages, £4.

The Gemstone File by Bruce Roberts, X-Ray Press. Detailed and wide-ranging though it is, this is but a highly condensed version of the original, which runs to over a thousand pages. It purports to be an uncovering of a monumental conspiracy by the rich and powerful in the US, linking the Vietnam War; the assassinations of President Kennedy, his brother Robert, Martin Luther King and numerous others; the Cuban crisis; the Iran-Contra affair; Watergate; Irangate and much more. Amongst the people implicated are the CIA, FBI, Cuban exiles, Onassis, Howard Hughes, the Mafia, ex-Presidents Nixon, Ford and Johnson, Kissinger, Rockefeller – and so it goes on, with a cast of thousands. Roberts, working on crystallography at university (the creation of synthetic rubies – hence the title) is said to have learned all this via personal contacts and began releasing the papers to selected people from

1969. This version is really a 'skeleton key' which, we're told, allows individual papers to be read with greater comprehension. It is certainly true that more and more of the allegations of a massive conspiracy have been substantiated as time has gone by. As we're told at the beginning: "Although parts of it seem improbable, in general it rings true. Readers will have to make up their own minds as to its authenticity." A very instructive exercise is to go and see Oliver Stone's film 'JFK' after (or before) reading this pamphlet. A4, 22 pages, £1.

Poll Tax Rebellion by Danny Burns, photographs by Mark Simmons and others. Written "as a tribute to a mass movement which defied the state and won. It is a story of ordinary people coming together in local communities to defeat injustice ... there has never been a campaign of resistance in Britain which involved so many people in direct confrontation with the law." This is a very uplifting book which chronicles all the events prior to, during and after the Poll Tax Riots, and in a way which gives one encouragement for continuing the struggle. All original material and very attractively produced. There are some fifty photographs accompanying the text, plus cartoons and other illustrations, 202 pages, £4.95.

Corrections:

In the last issue of *Freedom* my review of Noam Chomsky's *Media Control* contained a couple of misprints in the quotation, which should have read: "The issue is not simply disinformation ... it's whether we want to live under what amounts to a form of self-imposed totalitarianism ..."

In the previous issue (8th February) *Terror or Love** by Bommi Baumann should have been asterisked as post-free inland.

Anarchism and Other Essays by Emma Goldman has now gone up in price to £4.95. Still excellent value, even so.

KM

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extended family working together, whether in growing crops, weaving cloth, making tools or building the compound in which they lived. All decisions were taken after communal discussion. Children took part to the extent of their strength and knowledge, and thereby learned not only the specific skills in use but the complexities of relationships and organisation. They learned 'on the job' and acquired not only the practice but the theory in the natural context of the needs of the group, an important grounding in real discipline founded on understanding and relationships of love and affection.

The child in industrialised society lives in a home with parents and, if he has any, with brothers and sisters. This nuclear family has evolved because mass production demanded that its workers lived close to the factory in dense masses of houses built back-to-back for economy. The houses were as small as possible – the various Acts governing housing and sanitation were passed because the desire for profits was practised at the expense of health and comfort. In the larger cities miles of such houses were unrelieved by open spaces, grass or trees.

Today's house or flat is plugged in, like an extension to a machine, to systems of communication – telephone, radio, television (even now we are seeing houses connected to banks as computer terminals). News and propaganda are fed to all at the same times, with different channels on television and radio, and different styles of newspaper, edited to suit the supposed intellectual and occupational grades of the recipients, while most of the actual news comes, in any case, from central agencies like Reuters and Associated Press.

Houses are empty during the working day and children are at school. They are occupied only at night and at weekends or when any member of the family is unemployed. Houses in cities and large towns are built in tenement blocks or in tower blocks in a bleak, barrack-like environment. The number of children with access to fields, woods or rivers is a minuscule fraction of one percent. A few housing estates, public or private, have recreation centres with gymnasia and youth

clubs for the older ones. None have space for privacy – like Orwell's 1984.

Within these homes, designed for holding masses of people in small areas and equipped for the convenience of adults who spend little time in them, no special provision is made for the needs of children. The child is surrounded by hazards to life and health – gas taps, electric points, windows far above the ground and fast traffic close by. The parents, out of proper concern for the child's safety, find themselves constantly thwarting his natural curiosity. Slaps, cuffs or at best a stream of prohibitions – 'No, that's dangerous!', 'Don't do that!' or 'Don't touch!' – form a constant refrain. Young mothers, harassed by such worries and unable to share their worries or their work with other women, form a sizeable proportion of those who are prescribed tranquillisers. Further, the parents who are 'the agents of society' (Fromm, *The Sane Society*) by their own system of values and attitudes are the most powerful instruments in passing on culture, because, for the helpless infant they provide food, care, affection and love, which are therefore associated with the values for which they stand.

Even at the most elementary levels of basic needs – defaecating, urinating – every effort is made to control by fitting the child with napkins (look at the time devoted to television advertisements to devices for the control of the child's faeces and urine) so that the fitted carpet is not soiled. In 'primitive' societies such natural acts would not be regarded as important: earth floors or floors covered with straw or leaves are easily replaced. What is inconvenient in the small modern house becomes 'bad' as children are made to associate adult disapproval with natural functions.

Again, since so many people live in terraced, semi-detached houses or flats where a high proportion of people work on night shifts, strenuous pressures are exerted on children to be quiet. Shouting, singing or screaming – all expressions of real and usually spontaneous feelings – are discouraged or punished. Real feelings become 'bad' and we have the modern phenomenon that so many adults so often complain

of not knowing how they feel, and psychotherapeutic techniques so often have to concentrate on giving patients enough confidence to discover and express their feelings.

Under such domestic conditions the child early come to the conclusion that there must be something wrong with him since his own desires lead him so often into trouble and he himself causes such anxiety to his parents. Things are only okay when he is closely supervised or when an adult has given him permission. He comes to rely on adults in or outside the home – an old threat was 'I'll tell the policeman!' All his own activities and eventually his desires have to be approved: he has begun to develop the 'fascist character-structure', the character that needs to be told what to do, what to believe, what to think and what to feel. Authority outside the home tends to be unseen and all-powerful: the child cannot keep a pet unless the council approves; council notices forbid playing of ball games on whatever patch of green happens to be adjacent to the houses; washing must not be hung out at certain times – all doubtless intended to make life more tolerable for the majority, but all communicated in an impersonal manner and, commonly, with a veiled threat. The total effect of all regulations affecting the behaviour of the inhabitants and the appearance of the houses is to produce a drab uniformity that reinforces the anonymity and the insignificance of the individual.

Further, the high level of geographical mobility made possible by modern transport and demanded by the fluctuating demands for labour mean that the children and their parents rarely live within walking distance of grandparents and other close relatives, so that in times of crisis the support previously given by them has to be given by the social services, often requiring complicated procedures before they can start and mediated through impersonal officials and social workers whose training stresses the importance of not allowing their emotions to affect their work.

Michael Duane

(to be continued)

Politics and the Ethical Void

Politics, as practised today, is utterly separated from the ethical. This is not to make an ethical critique of politics, nor is it to say that the political world *ought* to be ethical, but is simply an account of how we find the political at the end of the twentieth century.

The political is about the institutional and formal way in which people order their lives. Here the term 'politics' is being used not just to include the visible, largely impotent political institutions such as parliament, but also to include the wider aspects of decision making and implementation. We might include the command, structure and regulation of the economic arena, or areas such as health, education and the judiciary. By 'ethical' I mean how we value or judge actions and relationships between people.

An account of the political might be given here, but already there is a problem because it seems possible to describe political activity in non-moral terms, but it is difficult to stop ourselves from making ethical judgements about these activities. We might also describe the world of politics as one which directs its efforts towards the acquisition or retention of power. The political is a world of fiction where the words spoken never match the reality of the decisions made. In politics, nothing is ever as it seems, the hidden agenda and the moved goal post are fundamental to its process. The classless society is class-bound. Market forces rule its thinking and economic decisions have no regard for their human consequences. Workers only count as producers while women are seen either as sex objects or procreative units. People might be customers to be profited out of, or of use to the state as cannon fodder. Justice is not an ethical category but subordinate to law and political expediency. Democracy is a system where some voters are more equal than others in elections ...

Perhaps by now, the problem will have begun to show itself. The total and wide-ranging implications of such an account *must* bring to a halt any merely ethical critique of the political. Now we can see the reason for the insipid nature of the so-called opposition press. They apply ethical criticism to the political, and in so doing must see the impossibility of the task before them, yet they carry on pissing in the wind with their determined but futile objections. Such attempts to examine the nature of the state will find the magnitude of the task too great, and the ethical as a tool insufficient. It is no use our applying the ethical to the enormity of the actions of Hitler, Stalin, Amin, Bokassa or Thatcher. In the political, the ethical is a useless yardstick. Not only do we find that we cannot gauge the political in ethical terms, but also that we cannot use the ethical as a means of persuading politicians because they do not recognise the ethical. The ethical is without leverage. When we examine (as outsiders) a world where no-one tells the truth, it is a waste of breath to criticise them for being liars. There is no point in writing: 'Dear Mr Himmler - please be moral!'

A clear and objective examination of the political will show that ethical considerations play no part in the decision making and implementation processes. If they did, the political would be of a radically different character. This is not to say that politicians do not pay lip-service to ethical concepts as a ploy to catch votes, nor that they will not stoop to use the ethical to discredit opponents (of Paddy Ashdown) but that the ethical is not part of the decision making and implementation process.

When we say that politics is amoral (non-moral) this does not indicate that it lacks something that it *ought* to have, but we are going further than this and saying that it does not belong to the category of morality *at all*. (cf atonal music). The political does not belong to a negative part of the ethical 'scale' but it is rather off the ethical scale completely. The political is qualitatively and not quantitatively different from the ethical. The view that politics is a separate matter from the ethical in this context is similar to the statement that nought is not a number.

I can see two problems with this view. Firstly people *do* judge the political according to ethical criteria, and so therefore they would seem to think that the ethical applies to the political. This does not prove that they are correct, however, and the majority of the politicians they appeal to refuse to acknowledge the ethical though they may use the rhetoric in their speeches. The second objection to this view is perhaps more potent. How shall we criticise politics if we are unable to use the ethical?

This declaration of the separation between the political and the ethical brings with it certain consequences. If the view is correct it would seem to follow that we cannot value the political. This is

not just a matter of our placing a negative ethical value upon the way in which the non-anarchist part of society orders and organises itself, but more importantly, that this organisation is not to be ethically valued at all. Attempts to value it are meaningless.

If we believe the ethical applies in relationships between individuals, we cannot move from this to the political. The two worlds do not intermesh in moral ways.

This declaration of separation has consequences for the politicians who mistakenly saw their project in moral terms, or in terms of social engineering and thought that the world they were intent upon creating was 'better' (an ethical value judgement) than the one preceding it. The view that the ethical does not apply to the political also has implications for people who join political parties out of ethical concern. If the view stated here is correct, they have no business being there. Such people justify their involvement in an admittedly flawed system by citing the lack of involvement of 'nice' people, and so place themselves within that system to fill the gap. So long as they ally themselves with the political they nullify their own ethical standpoint. In the battle between conscience and party whip, the party usually wins because to stay in the game they must play within the rules of the system. Moreover, so long as they themselves stay within the bounds of the ethical they will remain outside the bounds of the political, and will always lose when in competition with the real politicians who are not so disadvantaged.

Once we acknowledge this absolute separation between politics and the ethical, things become clearer. Once we know that moral arguments have no place in the realm of politics we can see that moral arguments can have no force in persuading us to obey the strictures of the state. Once we see that truth, for example, has no place within politics, we can see that there is no obligation upon us to tell the truth to the state. The implications of this separation are far-reaching for society, because if the political succeeds in transforming it into a mirror of itself we will not have a *society* at all but something approaching Hobbes' Nightmare: 'a war of all against all'. This view may seem depressing but it has an advantage from our point of view because when we see that the state has no respect for people, we find ourselves liberated by the fact that we have no need to respect the state.

SB

With the wind of 'recession' blowing nobody any good (not true!) there was no reason why Freedom Press should not be among the victims - after all, we can't organise a £500 a head dinner at the Dorchester to supplement our anti-election funds. But surprise, surprise, with the post for the last two days of February still to come, donations to our Funds for the first two months of 1992 total £812 compared with £650 for January to February last year. And we still have two days to go!

Renewals of subscriptions have also been very encouraging, and our readers who were presented with our pink now-or-never reminder have responded generously.

However, you, our readers, are much more reluctant writers for *Freedom* and *The Raven*. Our journals have subscribers in small numbers in all parts of the country and worldwide. Surely you must all have local examples of both good and bad 'news' which illustrates the anarchist approach to social, ethical and political issues of our times. If you are not prepared to write up a piece for publication, then send us newspaper cuttings that you think worth commenting on.

We have had no response to our appeal in the first January issue for suggestions as to how we could build up our own distribution network for our journals. Let us jog local memories. What we wrote then was: "With the help of interested comrades we must first find a local newsagent willing to stock *Freedom* and then a local paper in which it is worthwhile putting in regular small advertisements drawing attention to *Freedom* and the local supplier's address".

KINNOCK AND THE COMMIES

By JOHN HELLINGS

NEIL Kinnock was hit by a pre-election bombshell last night after it was revealed he had a secret alliance with the USSR's former Communist leaders.

Top secret diplomatic telegrams sent to the KGB show that he and other top Labour figures had regular briefing sessions...with senior Soviets over a seven-year period.

The lengthy reports from Viktor Popov, former Soviet ambassador to London, could prove fatal to the Labour leader's hopes of winning this year's General Election.

They were unearthed in a recently discovered KGB library in the heart of Moscow.

At one meeting with Mr Popov at the House of Commons, Mr Kinnock was said to have told him that the Labour Party was ready to develop a dialogue with the Soviet Union, leading to "the solution of complex international problems".

Although the British people had been frightened by Conservative policies and anti-union laws, they were now ready to fight, Mr Popov reported.

He wrote to his KGB



IN MOSCOW: With President Chernenko in 1984



KINNOCK: He met Red envoy at Commons

Secret of 'alliance' with Red leaders

situation of the bitter miners' defenders of Stalingrad against the Nazis, "with the Volga at their backs and nowhere to go".

In return, Mr Kinnock was briefed by Popov on the outcome of talks in Moscow between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and the then Tory Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

This was the time when the USSR had just forced Polish Communist leaders to declare martial law and arrest freedom fighter Lech Walesa.

And Moscow had an arsenal of SS-20 super-missiles aimed at Western cities.

The astonishing Soviet



POPOV: Lunch dates with Labour chiefs



HEALEY: 'He backed ex KGB leader'



FOOT: Fought for nuclear disarmament

Our 'free press' - with a vengeance!

The 2nd February issue of *The News of the World* devoted a whole page smear, by one John Hellings, of Neil Kinnock's 'alliance' with Russian leaders.

The opening paragraph in double column bold type sums up the contents of this Tory campaign, reminiscent of the famous Zinoviev letter in the elections of 1924.

We quote *The News of the World*:

Neil Kinnock was hit by a pre-election bombshell last night after it was revealed he had a secret alliance with the USSR's former communist leaders.

And much more to fill most of page 2 of that rag that sells more than four million copies. A couple of Sundays later a complete retraction was published, but at the bottom of an inside page. We reproduce it here full size. It measures just six square inches (to fit our column we have axed the picture but not the text). This compares with 87 square inches for the whole page smear on page 2.

Incidentally, *The Sunday Times*, which sparked off *The News of the World's* libel/smear belongs to the same Rupert Murdoch stable - as of course do *The Sun* and *Today*.

So much for our free press. It stinks!

Above: 2nd February, greatly reduced
Below: 16th February, same size

Rt Hon Neil Kinnock MP



NEIL KINNOCK

ON February 2 we reported that it had been revealed Mr Kinnock "had a secret alliance with the USSR's former communist leaders."

This was an inaccurate reference to reports in that day's *Sunday Times* about discussions which were said to have taken place in 1984 between Mr Kinnock and the Soviet ambassador in 1984. In fact there was no such "secret alliance" nor any suggestion of one. We apologise to Mr Kinnock for stating otherwise.

contributions will be welcomed with open arms!

News from Angel Alley

Raven number 17 on 'Use of Land' will obviously not be ready by the end of March. There have been very few contributions and mainly historical ones about land ownership. Probably this reflects the fact that *Freedom* readers are among the 98% of the working population who live off the fat of the land and not among the 2% who actually produce the food we consume. Any last minute

John Pilgrim is working on a *Raven* 'On Sociology' and welcomes contributions. So far no response to our invitation to would-be contributors to a *Raven*: "on feminism and anarchism which would include a number of articles on anarchist women". By pure coincidence the latest issue just received of the CIRA (International Centre for Anarchist Research in Lausanne) bulletin includes a nine-page feature on 'Cinquante femmes pour l'anarchie' which includes three comrades who were closely involved in the work of *Freedom* Press: Charlotte Wilson, Lilian Wolfe and Marie Louise Berneri. There is ample material for the section on anarchist women for that issue of *The Raven*. What we need are anarchist women to treat the subject of 'Feminism and Anarchism'.

DONATIONS

10th - 27th February 1992

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Cheadle CJ £5, Tunbridge Wells BL £5, London SE11 CJC £10, New York PFC £20, London NW2 NEB £5, Bishopstoke CB £5, London W8 PWC £2, Cleveland Ohio TH £5, Saffron Walden ME £3, Coventry DJN £5, Vancouver JRD £5, Edmonton Alberta HB £28, Warham MT £5, Wolverhampton JL £2, Crestryddin RKH £4.

Total = £109.00
1992 total to date = £406.55

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

Cheadle CJ £2, Tunbridge Wells BL £2, London SE11 CJC £7, St Cloud Mn MGA £15, Hong Kong RHP £4, New York PC £8, London NW2 NEB £2, Bishopstoke CB £5, Nelson NT £1, Coventry DJN £5, London NW3 IA £6, Warham MT £1, Stockport DW £1.50, Wolverhampton JL £2, Bristol PF £3.05, Crestryddin RKH £3.

Total = £68.55
1992 total to date = £204.55

Raven Deficit Fund

Cleveland Ohio TH £6, Coventry DJN £5, Vancouver JRD £3, Edmonton Alberta HB £28, Crestryddin RKH £3.

Total = £45.00
1992 total to date = £212.50

People Without Government

Dear Editors,
Once again I must urge George Walford (letter in *Freedom*, 8th February) to read more carefully. In the beginning of my book *People Without Government*, pages 15 to 18, I explicitly make a difference between anarchy and anarchism. Anarchy applies to largely archaic or 'simple' societies which lack government and the state, while anarchism is a complex modern social theory in which abolition of the state and government is only one aspect. I make it quite clear that many of the practices found in some anarchic societies would be counter to the modern theory of anarchism.

The state and government did indeed arise out of the archaic anarchic social order. I suggested that the seeds of statism – including those distasteful practices suggested above – are found in such an order, just as the seeds of authoritarianism are found in human relations in general.

Contrary to what George Walford seems to suggest, my piece on 'Anarchism and Cities' had nothing to do with "the question whether we can best understand anarchism as a tendency ante-dating government or as an attempt to get beyond it". Indeed, he addresses none of the issues raised in that communication.

Harold Barclay

Positive Freedom

Dear Editors,
Anarchists sometimes show a regrettable tendency to identify freedom exclusively with their own preferences; putting their ideas into practice would often mean restricting the range of choice. I have long felt this about the vegetarians who condemn grazing as a wasteful use of land, but could not see how to counter their arguments. Pat Murtagh shows (22nd February) that much land finds its best use as pasture; best for the land, best for the farmer, best for the consumer, best for the animals.

Pat speaks for the land and the animals; may I add that his letter, maintaining variety instead of reducing it, opening up instead of closing down, sets an example for anarchists to follow.

George Walford

Comment on 'the Little Wife'

Dear Editors,
In your news article 'Pity the poor rich' (*Freedom*, 8th February 1992) you make a derogatory remark about the former Public Prosecutor Sir Allan Green who has lost his job for chatting up a prostitute. I am not particularly interested in the puritan morals expressed by the piece but I do take exception to the remark made about his wife, 'his little woman stood by him', which was then followed by the comment about Governor Clinton's 'little wife is doing likewise'. I know nothing about Lady Green but the snide remark about Hilary Clinton is undeserved.

Wife of Governor Clinton she might be but she is also a distinguished American lawyer and law lecturer. A senior partner of an Arkansas law firm in her own right, she has extensive trial experience. According to an article 'HR Clinton's Case' by Garry Willis (*New York Review of Books*, 5th March 1992) she is hardly a 'little woman' but a very strong advocate of children's rights and social causes, linking in her thinking and writing legal theory, practical politics and human rights.

In a paper in PA Vardin et al, *Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective* (Teachers' College Press, 1979), she called for the revision of incompetency,

Half in Love ...

Dear Editors,
With reference to 'Half in Love' by Arthur Moyses, page 6, February 22nd.

Why is Arthur Moyses so obsessed with Brian Sewell and *The Evening Standard*? How can a hall be both "empty and crowded"? Why doesn't Arthur Moyses drop his world-weary manner and try to find some art that he likes and then write about it with some sense of enjoyment?

What can his outpourings mean to your international readership and why do they merit four columns in *Freedom*?

Peter Ford

Romanticism

Dear Editors,
To answer John Couzin's letter of 22nd February, I do not 'lay down' any rules for women; nor do I deny the 'individual's choice'. I merely suggest that women, generally, instinctively want babies, and that this instinct makes babies the primary purpose of their lives. I cannot do anything about that instinct, even if I wanted to. Has John not noticed that women will go through hell to have a baby?

Admittedly, the successfulness of some species of 'lower' animals is low, but usually because of human predation and despoliation of habitats. Humans, unlike other animals, also prey upon their own species.

As for nurturing, the lion may be useless, like a lot of men, but having no romantic ideas, like religion, is unable to subjugate a lioness by putting ideas of superiority into her brain, and, being useless, is told to piss off until he is needed for another impregnation. The poor woman cannot easily reject a man because he has the power.

Our nearest relatives, the apes, in the wild seldom come to blows, never indulge in rape, sodomy or sexual abuse of juveniles – all of which goes towards making their lives more successful than humans.

Finally, John makes a grave mistake in attributing useful human inventions to romantic (dictionary definition: false) ideas. Romanticism produces religions like Christianity and Nationalism, leading to conflict. Inventions result from rational, scientific processes (plus luck) which, in itself does not lead to conflict.

Ernie Crosswell

Different Circumstances for Children?

Dear Editors,
Michael Duane knows a great deal more about children than I do, but I hope that it is not unfair to point out that the children he knows about are children in present circumstances and that it is not unreasonable to suggest different circumstances for children, as I did, incompletely, in my article in the 25th January issue of *Freedom*.

Naturally I agree with Duane concerning the importance of 'trust' in human relationships. But he seems to me in some ways to advocate – or perhaps simply assume – some things that are the very opposite of what I was recommending. 'Trust' between adults and children would go without saying in the climate I hope might one day prevail. It is precisely some of the attitudes I think I detect, though, in Michael Duane's approach (*Freedom*, 8th February) that I believe will make it more difficult to achieve that climate. He speaks of teachers in training having lectures in psychology, observing children in different circumstances, being set long-term studies of children with whom they are in frequent contact. He appears to equate 'pupils' – itself a word full of associations and assumptions – with a craftsman's materials. He talks of developing a pupils "autonomous and sensitive moral character". To me this, and more of what he says, sounds authoritarian, at best patronising; it is an expression of benevolence, but benevolence that seeks to mould, and to find the most efficient way to mould.

I do not want to get involved in a dispute about words, those most fateful of corrupters. But perhaps I can convey my aspiration if I say that we should abandon education and educators and concern ourselves with simple instruction. The only thing we should concern ourselves with that might be called 'education' is very simple. Adults,

On voting

Dear Editors,
Although I believe myself to be a perfectly sound anarchist, I shall be voting at the next election. All my life, and I am now over 80, I have voted Labour and on one occasion even used my car to transport electors to the polling booth. I was rather perturbed to be offered many more petrol coupons than necessary by the local agent, but that's by the way. This time in this particular area I might do some tactical voting for the Liberal Party. But why do I think it is desirable to vote? In the first place I do not see any validity in the argument that one should not vote 'on principle'. What kind of principle is it that will – and this time one vote might do immense damage or good – help to return to power a government that has done so much evil in the past few years. To me it is such a feeble 'kick against the pricks' that the pricks can laugh at it. There are many, many other unpleasant and anarchistically wrong things in the present running of society that one has to bow one's head and submit to. I think of the poor young people who have to suffer homelessness, hunger, frustration and all the ills this government continues to inflict and, although I know from my experiences of Labour government and am aware that the good times I hoped for and expected as a youth will not come in my lifetime, I consider it a duty to do my little bit to replace one devil with the other who is not quite so vicious and who may be shamed into following the principles of socialism enshrined in its rule book.

I hope others of my persuasion will follow.

Melville Thomson

particularly parents, should instil in children from the earliest age possible that they, the children, are very important and that all other individuals in the world are very important too, have needs too, and need as much respect. Will most good things in human community not flow from that one principle if it is acted upon?

As for learning, I suggest as I did before that the essential things, the only really necessary things, are the enthusiasm of the learner and the enthusiasm of the guide. Without a learner's enthusiasm no imposition of teaching is justified. I know that the freedom I am suggesting would probably be a serious disservice to many children in our present competitive communities. Here is one of the worst dilemmas of the many that, in the world as it is, confront those who want to extend freedom. But that is not a good reason for keeping silence about the ideal of such freedom for children. And in any case, if human life is to become truly freer, it may tend to do so as a whole, not in just one limited form of experience, in this case learning.

Is there any solid evidence that the theory taught at teacher training institutions has improved children's

A Fatwa on Atheists?

Dear Editors,
Those muslims who support the 'fatwa' against Salman Rushdie claim to be offended that their 'gods' should be imagined as indulging in human activities. Surely it must be even more offensive to them that, in this country alone, hundreds of thousands of people – writers, scientists, philosophers and quite ordinary people – consider that belief in a god is nonsensical, viz that it cannot be verified through the senses. Nevertheless, they do not seek to persecute or in any way make life difficult for those who have such beliefs.

Gods, like fairies, leprechauns, goblins, and all the myriads of beneficent and malevolent poetic fantasies created by the fertile imaginations of people in all cultures, are as insubstantial as the rest, though they may, as literary creations, give stimulus and pleasure to readers.

Are we then to expect a worldwide 'fatwa' to be pronounced on the thousands of atheist, humanist, communist and other writers who relegate a belief in a god to the realm of childish superstition or literature?

Michael Duane

Women are People

Dear Editors,
In reply to Ernie Crosswell's letter of 22nd February, I'm not at all sure one can sensibly say that males must have been the dominating force in pre-governmental societies. To judge from reports on the foragers of modern times, the first human communities did not have any division into dominant and submissive groups. This came later, with 'big-men' and chiefs, forerunners of government and the state.

History does not suggest that domination is peculiar to men. Catherine the Great, Elizabeth I, Boudicca, Mrs Gandhi, Mrs Bandaranaike and Our Lady of Grantham: all behaved in much the same way as men holding similar positions. So do policewomen, so do Edith Cresson and the present head of MI5, and so did the women guards in the Nazi death camps, including the one who followed the delicate feminine craft of making lampshades – from human skin. The boys who grow up to become

learning? I do not think Michael Duane's reference to the work of chemists and physicists in his defence of 'theory' is relevant. The chemists and physicists are trying to increase knowledge. Furthermore, their field is basically concerned with undoubted facts, things that are often strikingly absent in the 'human sciences'. Duane and I are discussing the teaching or learning of knowledge that already exists, a different matter, surely. In the field of foreign language learning there has been any amount of linguistic theorising and academic work on teaching methods since I started working in it 45 years ago. There is no evidence whatever that I am aware of that there has been any improvement in foreign language learning during that time. I have noticed none. Certainly there are a few basic principles that can be recommended to learners, such as that words should be learned in the context of situations and of other words, not as isolated translations. But they do not require training courses, and even the most basic principles should constantly be discussed and questioned among learners and their instructors 'on the job'.

Let us say goodbye to schoolmastering and any theory surrounding it, and turn to excited apprenticeship, on equal human terms, with practitioners of the craft concerned. In truly civilised communities there would be no distinction between children and adults in matters of learning, only a recognition that people come to a study of something when they feel they are ready for it.

Amorey Gethin

On Law

Dear Friends,
The very latest defeat for the rule of law has been the collapse of some of the Blue Arrow trials. They have collapsed, where they have, from the essential inability of lawmakers to see far enough ahead in their lawmaking to understand deeply enough the complexities which later events will impart to every law; complexities talented business rogues ever utilise to screen their lootings. One never sees a rat in an open field!

Plus ça change, and all that. Exactly two hundred years ago in 1792, Godwin was issuing warnings on the very topic: "Lawgivers have not the faculty of unlimited prescience. As new cases occur, the law is perpetually found deficient. The alternative that remains is either to wrest the law to include a case which was never in the contemplation of its authors, or to make a new law to provide for this particular case" (*Political Justice*, book 7, chapter 8).

I recommend a study of the entire chapter, with Blue Arrow in mind. It reads as if he knew ...

Trevor MacDiarmid Artingstoll

George Walford

MEETINGS

Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

1992 SEASON OF MEETINGS

6th March - 'Pragmatic Anarchism: Libertarian Practice in the Real World' (speaker Andrew Lainton)

13th March - General discussion

20th March - Discussion on the future of the Anarchist Forum

17th April - General discussion

24th April - 'Conversation: An Anarchist Metaphor' (speaker Tim Francis)

1st May - General discussion

4th May - May Day Picnic. Any suggestions for the venue?

8th May - 'Anarchism: Ancestor Worship or Blueprint' (speaker Peter Neville) [transferred from January]

We are still booking speakers or topics for 1992. The dates free are from 15th May to 10th July. If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving their names, proposed subjects and a few alternative dates.

Unlike some other anarchist groupings we dislike having a formal chairperson and rely on participant assertion coupled with individual self-discipline. We ask participants to allow others a chance to air their views without rude interruption or attempting to dominate the meeting. We would like the Forum to be a place where newcomers, especially those without public speaking skills, would feel welcome.

FREEDOM fortnightly

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Anarchist Communist Federation Calendar 1992

Unless otherwise mentioned, all meetings will be held at the Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1, beginning at 8.30pm.

- **5th March** - The last of the 'Thinking about Anarchism' series. Topic: 'Anarchist-Communist Production and Distribution: is a centralised authority unavoidable?'

Greenpeace (London) Public Meetings

On the last Thursday of every month London Greenpeace has a public meeting where a speaker starts off the discussion and then everyone who wants to can have their say. These public meetings are at the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 (near Euston tube). They start at 8pm and go on until just before 10pm.

- **Thursday 26th March** - Defend (and extend) our green spaces (i.e. no new roads, factories, and so on), with John Beesley from Otdogs.
- **Thursday 30th April** - Women and Anarchism.
- **Thursday 28th May** - Saving the planet, a response from the Earth Summit.
- **Thursday 25th June** - The world is dominated (and it and its people are being ruined) by the rich governments represented by the IMF and G7. How do we resist them?

**THE RAVEN - 16
ON EDUCATION (2)**
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of a Free Society?'*

at

**CHISWICK TOWN HALL
Heathfield Terrace
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nearest tubes: Turnham Green or Chiswick Park

— ADMISSION FREE —

Anarchist Communist Federation Dayschool

on

**Saturday 14th March 1992
from 10am to 5pm**

at

**Marchmont Community Centre,
Marchmont Street, London WC1**
(nearest tube Russell Square)

Workshops on: National liberation struggles - why are they a dead end? Leninism and Labourism - capturing the state or destroying it. Vanguardism and social democracy trashed. Anarchism communism theory and practice - how do we go forward?

Cost: £3.00 waged (£2.00 unwaged). Refreshments provided. Please try to book in advance and also send details of crèche facilities needed or any special requirements to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1. Disabled access.

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- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £2.50 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 14 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

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