

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

"Anarchist bombs were aimed at tyrants who were responsible for the misery of millions; ruling class bombs just kill thousands of workers indiscriminately."

Marie Louise Berneri

LA Rumbblings from that Other Earthquake which the Big Stick won't solve

Had the not guilty verdict of the jury in the trial of the four policemen not produced any reactions apart from the usual expressions of disapproval by the do-gooder well-to-do middle-class professional whites – and blacks – the prospects for mankind would have been bleak indeed.

TWO VICTORIES

One for Apathy : the other for Direct Action

The local elections held last week in parts of Great Britain were more interesting by the majority that stayed at home than by the minority that bothered to vote. It is also interesting that whenever turn-out is low the Tories benefit at the expense of Labour. The Liberals always seem to gain a few seats which make no difference to the so-called balance of power anyway.

More and more people in the 'democratic' world are realising that voting changes nothing in their lives no matter which party wins. Unfortunately having drawn the right conclusion they do nothing – well, not all of them, fortunately.

German workers in the public services showed that determination and solidarity among workers can make governments take notice.

One is led to believe that German workers are nose-to-the-grindstone conformists who will never go on strike, etc... They have set an example to their comrades in other countries with a solid strike which the Bonn government could not break, and therefore had to concede. The workers in the public services had agreed to the arbitrators' proposal of a 5.4% increase for all, with an extra lump sum for the lowest paid (again an unusual concession by the better paid workers who generally insist on 'differentials' which are not only financial but social being maintained). The Bonn government rejected it on the usual grounds that they couldn't afford and sought to play off the former East Germans against the West. The workers called their strike pointing out that if the Kohl government had the billions to spend on moving the government machinery from Bonn to Berlin, then they had the means to ensure the dustbins were emptied and that the trains, the postal services and all the other

Los Angeles police stopped a car driven by a young black man, Rodney King, and proceeded to beat him up. But for the fact that somebody (not a journalist) with a video camera captured on tape the 56 blows delivered by the four policemen in a matter of just over a minute, the trial would have been yet another with an all-white jury which exonerated the all-white defendants. More so since in this case the trial was transferred from Los Angeles to a largely white suburb, Simi Valley, where no jury would ever dare to find against white policemen since they depend on them to 'protect' them from the blacks.

What sparked the 'riots' was not just the verdict exonerating the four policemen but that the video film was shown on television. One must recognise that in the USA (unlike Britain) it is difficult to suppress

facts. For instance the Watergate scandal, and now revelations as to the White House's involvement with Iraq only weeks before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Possibly an explanation could be that American society is so corrupt that there is no 'loyalty' among the gangsters. And anyway it would seem that however much involved in scandals politicians and businessmen may have been, they all make their 'comebacks' – all being forgiven in time. Ex-President Nixon – a crook if ever there was one – is now a respected senior politician and wiseacre!

As the *Independent on Sunday* (3rd May) in its thoughtful editorial 'Rioting Works: an unpalatable truth?' to which we will refer again and again, points out: "America has
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On the road to Stonehenge

The annual walk from London to Stonehenge will start from the Battersea Park 'Peace Pagoda' on 1st June. Marchers are meeting at noon for a picnic. You are asked to bring food, guitars, drums, bells, triangles. There will be a noisy send-off promised by the musicians network. If you are not going all the way you're still welcome. There will be a short walk to the first night's campsite and a free meal. A support vehicle for rucksacks and tents will be available. Walkers have reported the walk to

services would operate. Both sides held out for ten days, but the workers for one day more and they won!

When are the unemployed, the homeless, the old age pensioners (who haven't other pensions or private incomes) in this country going to take to the streets to demand a better existence or else? They won't get any change either from the local bureaucrats nor those at national level, whichever bunch of politicians wins.

be better than the solstice celebrations for the past seven years.

The stones are now in the 'custody' of the commercial organisation English Heritage. They have fenced off the ancient monoliths and charge tourists in the region of £2 to enter the site, but who are not allowed within the stone circle. It is reported that over a million tourists paid an admission fee last year.

The Stonehenge Campaign has the support of the disenfranchised. The recent general election emphasised the importance of this mass of people.

Although the popular press (some maintain it is really the anti-popular press) tends to ignore or misrepresent the gatherings and manifestations of the dispossessed, the numbers of people forced on the roads, families living in vehicles are now counted in thousands, not in hundreds.

The recent 'festival' in a disused quarry on which the popular press
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LA Rumbblings which the Big Stick won't solve

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changed beyond recognition since its cities burnt in the sixties". Now "about one in three American blacks is categorised as middle-class and more than a million black families have incomes over £30,000 a year". More and more blacks are in the professions and apparently though they represent only 11% of the population, 13% of the police force is black! And ironically perhaps one should add that the Mayor of Los Angeles is black.

But, as the *Independent on Sunday* points out:

"A huge segment of America's black population has been left behind, an underclass festering in the inner cities such as Los Angeles. They account for 45% of the prison population; and there are more black men behind bars than in college classrooms."

We also refer readers to details from the 1991 *Report on African-American Males* reproduced on this page, which clearly shows that even though many blacks have managed to get to the top, the majority remain at the bottom of the pile.

We suspect that American government policy, so far as its ethnic minorities are concerned, is that of *divide and rule*. There are, on the one hand, a growing number of black Americans securing top jobs. Everybody knows of the black lawyer involved in the harassment case - televised worldwide - against, interestingly, a black woman lawyer. He won; to what extent because he was President Bush's nominee for the

Supreme Court? But, on the other, those blacks who won't get to the top are, according to the *Independent on Sunday*, being divided among themselves:

"The gap between the incomes of rich and poor in America has widened generally since the mid-seventies; but the gap has widened most of all among blacks. Between 1978 and 1988, the average income of the lowest fifth of black families declined by 24%; that of the richest fifth increased by almost as much. This is the result partly of reduced taxation of the affluent; partly of growing differentials in wages and salaries; partly of cuts in the value of welfare payments. It is not an accident. Throughout the eighties America, like Britain, was ruled by a

"I spent the summer working in Los Angeles, doing political canvassing door-to-door. I was generally working in white middle class areas. Every other house had a sign in the garden saying 'Armed response 24 hours a day'. Most doors had iron grilles and many people were too scared to open them. It is a city that epitomises America today. Those who have live in fear and will go to any extremes to prevent those who haven't from intruding into their fantasy existence. Those who aren't part of the American Dream live in third world poverty and are treated almost as colonial natives by the middle classes: to be hounded and terrorised by a brutal and powerful colonial police force."

Part of a letter to *The Guardian* from Sasha Abramsky, Oxford)

government that believed in cutting public expenditure; in offering the well-off incentives to produce more wealth; and in reducing welfare payments which, it was argued, helped to keep the poor in poverty by fostering dependency rather than encouraging effort and initiative."

This idea that the capitalist system makes it possible for everybody to use their initiative to make their way to prosperity is sheer nonsense. In capitalist society there is *no room* for everybody to get to the top. The rich depend on the poor to provide them with their privileged existences.

One writer in the racist *Sunday Telegraph* (3rd May) puts it this way:

"I often think that if Christ were alive today the Devil would take Him at dusk to a point up above Sunset Boulevard, park by the Hollywood sign and show Him the millions of cars with their red tail-lights and white headlights strung out like rubies and diamonds on the freeways below.

He would then offer Him three of the cars and a boat too and a black maid and a Mexican gardener. How could anyone refuse?"

From time immemorial the poor have emigrated in search not of fortune but of a means to survive. It is not surprising that the so-called G7 countries are the target and are all now introducing legislation to keep them out.

But they have also to face the fact that they have ethnic minorities born and bred, citizens by right in their respective countries. They must not be allowed to escape from their responsibilities to our fellow citizens. This applies just as much to the inner cities of Britain as to Los Angeles.

It is ironic that in this age of television only spectacular demonstrations make the screen. The world has seen what an angry people, rightly obsessed by a feeling of injustice, can do when faced with the final provocation (when four brutal policemen are judged not guilty). Needless to say they are denounced by their governments whose immediate response is to send in the armed forces, while the media scream 'anarchy'. But the reality is quite different. Governments only take notice when there is 'anarchy' in the streets, not necessarily the violence of Los Angeles. Obviously the German government faced with a solid strike by workers in the public services also had to recognise their power. After all, the troops are of no use against workers who have stayed at home!

However, the problem in Los Angeles is not the same as in Germany. We are talking of a minority within a minority which under both the Reagan and Bush regimes has been excluded from any kind of social and economic advancement. As the *Independent on Sunday* put it only too clearly:

"For more than a decade, while the cities were quiet, racial divisions were off the American political agenda, the ghettos ignored. Now, once more, civil rights leaders troop into the White House and the President listens. But, if he acts, he will do so not because of what black leaders have told him a thousand times before but because he has heard the rage of the mob in America's second largest city." [our italics]

In *Freedom* we are not just discovering

Black males have the lowest life-expectancy of any group in the United States. Their unemployment rate is more than twice that of white males; even black males with college degrees are three times more likely to be unemployed than their white counterparts. About one in four black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is behind bars. Blacks receive longer prison sentences than whites who have committed the same crimes.

Suicide is the third leading cause of death for young black males. Since 1960, suicide rates for young blacks have nearly tripled, and doubled for black females. While suicide among whites increases with age, it is a peculiarly youthful phenomenon among blacks. Many black males die prematurely from 12 major preventable diseases.

Nearly one-third of all black families in America live below the poverty line. Half of all black children are born in poverty and will spend all their youth growing up in poor families.

From a 1991 report of the 21st Century Commission on African-American Males

this sad (sad because people get killed in the eventual confrontations with the forces of law and order - most of those killed in Los Angeles were in fact black people) but inevitable reality. *Freedom* was defending Mandela in South Africa when he and his comrades were being given life sentences in 1964 for opposing the apartheid regime of Verwoerd with calls to violence.* There, as in Los Angeles, for decades the black majority had been kept silent by Luthuli who was duly rewarded with a Nobel Prize for peace!

Governments only understand violence where a persecuted sizeable minority is involved, as in America, in Britain or in Northern Ireland. The ideal confrontation, from an anarchist point of view, would be for all workers irrespective of colour to realise that they are all wage slaves and have a common interest in fighting the boss and government. That is called solidarity. But with all respect to our pacifist comrades, governments only offer palliatives and when they are not acceptable they use force - and the oppressed can only reply in kind.

One final reflection. Nobody so far has suggested that the Los Angeles 'riots' are part of the worldwide crisis of capitalism. We believe that socialism (as anarchists understand it) far from having been dispatched by Thatcher aided and abetted by the Labour Party politicians, has yet to come into its own, and everything is now in its favour.

* 'The Function of Mandela' in *Freedom Selections* volume 14 1964 pages 73-76, (£2 post free)

On the road to Stonehenge

(continued from page 1)

heaped its usual establishment abuse were remarkable for its ability to feed, educate and entertain a larger gathering than any political 'meeting' during the past years, except for the 'poll tax' demonstrations.

A responsible newspaper such as *Freedom* should nevertheless ask what has this movement, which is concerned mainly with 'freeing the stones', got to do with anarchism.

At the height of the Committee of 100 and CND demonstrations in the '50s and '60s, this paper fully supported the march from London to Aldermaston (arguing subtly and convincingly against going in the opposite direction for 'political' reasons). Admittedly the support of the anti-nuclear movement has come from a different somewhat more affluent spectrum of the population.

The disenfranchised, the homeless, the workless, those who have through the encroachment of state control been deprived of basic rights to education and the full enjoyment of life in a civilised anarchist society, what used to be called basic wants supplied on demand, are now a movement of a great size and efficiency. Whereas the 'average wage' is calculated at around £21,000 a year, millions of people in this country have been made

destitute and are unable to collect even the dole.

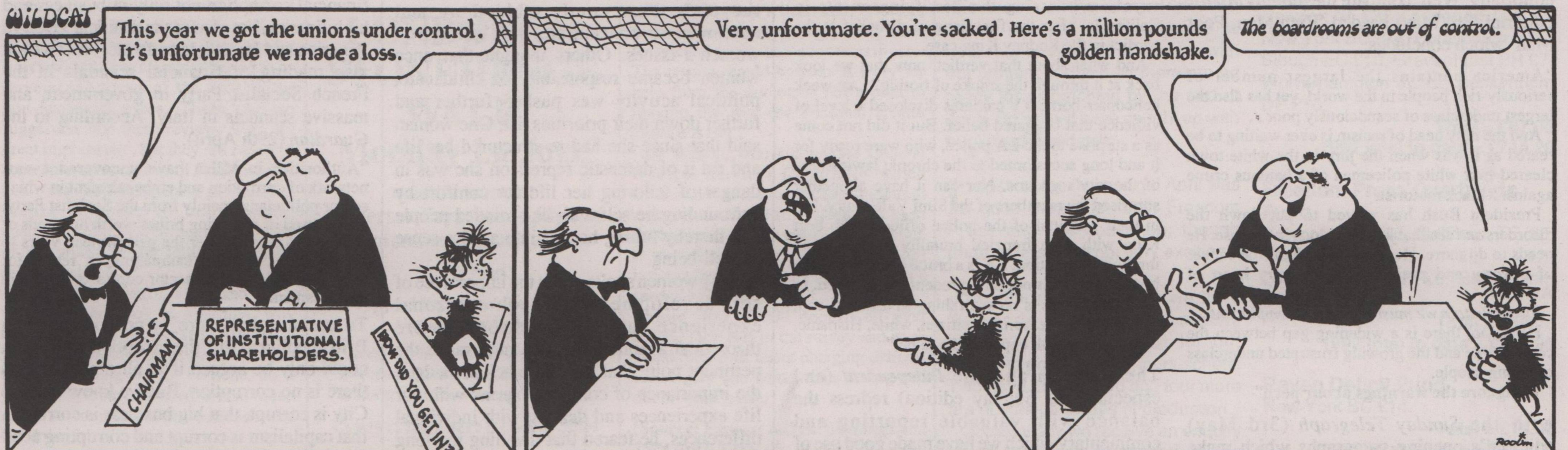
Stonehenge is of course a symbol, whatever it may have been in the past, of a communal society. The stones and the field on which they stand were given to the 'nation' by a local farmer and have been effectively stolen by English Heritage.

It is no coincidence that the Tory MP for Salisbury is also the Minister in charge of the National Heritage.

The products of our 'ancestors' belong to us all. The imposition of barriers and charges is the hallmark of exploitative society whereas to walk freely on one's own land is a *sine qua non* of an anarchist society. If English Heritage have their way, the few things which still remain free will be cordoned off and charges made for looking at it.

This is the seventh year since the authorities blocked access to the ancient stones of Stonehenge. The famous watercolour by Turner shows a scene 150 years ago of a shepherd with his flock. One sheep looks at the stones, the rest, including the shepherd, look at the rising sun. The scene is idyllic and part of our heritage. On Sunday 21st June at 3.13am a similar scene is about to dawn. It will depend which way you wish to look.

John Rety



MURDERERS ALL!

The *Guardian* has published an interview with Captain Christopher Wreford-Brown who commanded the nuclear submarine HMS Conqueror and gave the order to torpedo the Argentinian cruiser Belgrano during the Falklands war ten years ago with the loss of 368 young lives.

He has no feelings of remorse. He was just doing his job. The fact that the Belgrano was sailing away from the British task force when she was hit is "in military thinking a red herring".

Sarah Boseley who interviewed him wrote that:

"He strongly supports the change in the rules of engagement passed by the War Cabinet at the request of the military on the morning of May 2 1982 which allowed him to attack the Belgrano and her two escort destroyers later that day outside the 200-mile total exclusion zone Britain had declared around the islands.

"I feel strongly that there was no controversy," he said. "The Argentinians were actually told towards the end of April that if any of their forces did not only come inside the total exclusion zone but actually operated in the area and were a threat to our forces then we would take the necessary steps. That was passed on to them, I think, via the Swiss.

"How they interpreted that is another matter, but it was clearly stated to them."

Was this true? Diana Gould interviewed Mrs Thatcher at the time on nationwide television. In a letter to the *Guardian* (8th May) she points out that when the Total Exclusion Zone (TEZ) came into effect the war cabinet was given legal advice:

"that the Argentine aircraft carrier, Veinticinco de Mayo, could be attacked if found outside the TEZ without further warning, but no other ships unless within weapons' range of our surface ships.

Since the range of the carrier's weapons was the range of its aircraft, it only had to be out of port for its planes to be within reach of the British Task Force. It was therefore an immediate threat, and a legitimate target for British submarines under the terms of the UN Article 51, the right of self-defence, in accordance with which the Government has always claimed to have been operating." [our italics]

We have italicised the passage to indicate how ridiculous the UN article on "the right of self defence" is in this context.

It must have seemed so even for some members of the war cabinet according to Ms Gould, for:

"Even so on May 1 the Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, and the Attorney General, Sir Michael

Havers, requested Margaret Thatcher to send a warning to Argentina. This advice was ignored.

At lunchtime on May 2, without any further legal advice, Mrs Thatcher gave Admiral Lewis permission to allow the submarines to attack all Argentine warships on the high seas. The signal was sent to HMS Conqueror and the Belgrano was sunk."

Ms Gould concludes that:

"Eventually, on May 7, Britain did issue a clarification statement based on the views of Mr Pym and the Attorney General which virtually stated that the TEZ was extended to within 12 miles of the Argentine coast. However this was five days too late for more than 300 men who had died in the cold waters of the South Atlantic.

The political furor may have 'brought a slight cynical smile' to the lips of Captain Wreford-Brown, but has he never wondered why

"I think the reason it doesn't affect me is that at the end of the day those who join the armed forces have to accept that they have joined to kill, if necessary"

"Again we were in a submarine attacking a ship as against attacking men. You don't actually see the men or hear them or anything like that. It is conducted at a distance ..."

Captain Christopher Wreford-Brown, commander of the nuclear submarine Conqueror that torpedoed the Argentinian cruiser Belgrano with the loss of 368 lives.

the Government embarked on a two-year cover-up, including misleading parliament and lying to the public?

Yes, it all happened 10 years ago, but to put it in perspective, Mrs Thatcher told me on nationwide TV that we should have to wait for 30 years to learn the truth about the sinking. Some of us decided that we did not want to wait that long."

We can't imagine that Thatcher has had sleepless nights. Captain Wreford-Brown only saw the ship he was attacking, not the 368 young men who were about to be drowned. Thatcher would probably say that she hadn't even seen the ship.

But, all the same, they are all murderers and should be constantly reminded of the fact until wars are swept away from the face of the earth.

Sacking the Employee – with a difference!

Five directors of George Wimpey, the construction group, were paid a £500,000 sweetener when their services were no longer required as a result of 'sweeping board changes' with the appointment of a new chairman, who presumably brought in his mates.

Another managing director, Colin Mitchell of the Scottish supermarkets group William Low, who was being 'groomed' to succeed the chairmanship, lasted only fourteen months before he got the boot as he proved not to be the 'right successor'. He was packed off not only with a flea in his ear but £200,000 in his pocket. Four other executives were dispatched with £130,000 between them.

The printing services group Wace sacked their chairman, at 35 said to be the youngest public company chairman, with a

fond £425,000 farewell handshake. It's a complicated story involving allegations of laundering IRA money. No charges have been made against the man, and though it is true that everybody is innocent, etc., etc., but you can't be too careful, and what's £425,000 for Wace!

Think of the way ordinary folk can be sacked for minor 'offences' without a penny compensation. One case appearing in the press just recently was of a young pregnant woman working in a jeweller's shop. In her condition she made of point of using the seat provided behind the counter. The boss spotted this one day. He removed the seat and sacked her on the grounds that she couldn't do her job properly if she couldn't stand all day behind the counter flogging his jewellery! She has taken the case to a tribunal. Good for her!

more positive action resulting in the force of the movement getting lost.

It was a lively meeting. The two hours passed quickly and people left names and numbers so that they could be contacted for a further meeting on the same topic.

The Anarchist Forum meeting, held every Friday during college term-time, also dealt with more personal issues – this week, that is, one person's account of how he became attracted to anarchism. This interesting and honest account led to a general discussion on how best to attract others to anarchist attitudes. Most people present seemed to agree that direct recruitment or conversion was short-sighted and that a better way to share anarchist views with others was to show how our views have added to our sense of purpose.

The third event – and for me the most enjoyable – this week was the May Day Picnic which took place on the slopes of Alexandra Park just in front of the 'people's palace'.

Two groups gathered a hundred yards apart hidden from each other by a huge bush. We eventually became aware of each other's presence and combined to spend a very pleasant time just enjoying the sunshine, the assortment of delicacies spread out on the grass and, of course, the fascinating company.

Silvie Edwards

Social Whirl

For some London-based anarchists the past few days have been quite busy. Many people attended two, if not all three, of the following events which were all listed in *Freedom* – the London Greenpeace monthly public meeting, the Anarchist Forum meeting and the May Day Picnic in the grounds of Alexandra Palace.

The topic of the London Greenpeace meeting was 'Women and Anarchism'. As this was the first of their meetings I have attended it was difficult to ascertain whether women outnumbered men by three to one because of increased women's interest or decreased men's interest.

We were told at the outset by the two chairwomen that because of the nature of the discussion, women's contributions would take priority over men's, and that although points expressed by men would be welcome any attempt by men to dominate the meeting would be quashed. We were asked to help create a sympathetic atmosphere at the meeting and to acknowledge that all comments are equally valid and valuable, whether theoretical or personal; 'intellectualising' would obviously be frowned upon. We were encouraged to be forthcoming and honest and to be aware that some people may be nervous of addressing so large a group. The ensuing meeting covered many issues including why so few women were visible in the anarchist movement. Some thought this was because once women had become more active in the feminist movement they felt more comfortable there and continued to concentrate their efforts on women's issues. Others thought that once women became responsible for child care, political activity was pushed further and further down their priorities list. One woman said that since she had re-structured her life and rid it of domestic repression she was in danger of tailoring her life for comfort by surrounding herself with like-minded people and thereby lulling herself into a false sense of well-being.

Many women spoke about the importance of self-development through personal experience rather than through more theoretical avenues. But one man made the pertinent point that whilst he acknowledged the importance of coming to terms with our life experiences and dealing with individual differences, he feared that dwelling too long on emotional issues could get in the way of

The Media and the Riots

The Los Angeles riots certainly revealed the *Sunday Telegraph* in its true colours as not only right-wing but racist as well. The broadsheet papers are generally assumed to be less 'sensational', more 'reasonable' editorially. Well, compare the *Sunday Mirror* editorial (3rd May) headed 'Rich Man, Poor Man' which concludes:

"America contains the largest number of seriously-rich people in the world, yet has also the largest underclass of scandalously poor ...

And the ugly head of racism is ever waiting to be reared as it was when the jury in the white town cleared four white policemen of a heinous crime against a black motorist.

President Bush has vowed to put down the disorders and see that justice is done in the case. He needs to do more. He needs to address the canker of poverty and prejudice in the very heart of America.

But in Britain we must not be too complacent. Here, too, there is a widening gap between the comfortable and the growing frustrated underclass of young people.

We ignore the warnings at our peril" with the *Sunday Telegraph* (3rd May) editorial's opening paragraphs which make clear where they stand:

Looters are not protesters. People who pull other people out of cars and beat them because of the colour of their skin are not correctors of injustice. The car-owning, welfare-fed, gun-wielding black citizens of Los Angeles are not the downtrodden of the earth. Such thoughts must have occurred to anyone witnessing the horrifying events in California, after the first pang of disbelief at the verdict in the Rodney King case.

And what about that verdict, now that we look back at it through the smoke of rioting? Last week helicopter-borne TV cameras disclosed a level of violence that beggared belief. But it did not come as a surprise to the LA police, who were ready for it and long accustomed to the chronic lawlessness of the city's ghettos. Nor can it have altogether surprised the members of the Simi Valley jury. For in their acquittal of the police officers who beat King with such frenzied brutality there was an implicit assumption: LA is a brutal place, therefore brutal policing is not only prudent but justified. In the LAPD there is no such thing as a liberal cop, nor would any reasonable citizen, white, Hispanic, black or Oriental, expect there to be."

The *Guardian* and the *Independent* (and especially its Sunday edition) redress the balance with valuable reporting and commentary which we have made good use of in our editorial.

CORRUPTION AT TOP LEVEL

An outstanding feature of our society is the frequency with which one reads of financial corruption not only in business and high finance, but also at the political level. In America and Japan it is endemic. Now we are also reading of financial scandals in the French Socialist Party in government, and massive scandals in Italy. According to the *Guardian* (29th April):

"Authorities in Milan have uncovered a vast network of corruption and embezzlement in which senior politicians, mainly from the Socialist Party, are accused of accepting bribes worth hundreds of millions of pounds over the past thirteen years to finance their election campaigns, in return for awarding lavish public sector contracts to certain businessmen."

To assume that there is no corruption in British political life, the exception to the rule, could only be argued if in all other respects there is no corruption. But we know that the City is corrupt, that big business is corrupt ... that capitalism is corrupt and corrupting at all levels.

Letter from Chile

(continued from our last issue)

Chileans are traumatised by the horrors of the coup. Bodies are still being found in the desert and are identified through their dental work. Even now, people do not talk loudly about the dictatorship or General Pinochet if they think anyone might overhear them. One group I didn't expect to see in Chile were hippies, thinking they would have been exterminated by the military regime. Their survival makes a very good case for the Tolstoyan approach of non-resistance to evil. Most of them are craftspeople, silversmiths, leather-workers, artisans of all types. The biggest crafts fair is located in the grounds of a Dominican monastery (Los Dominicos) and has become a tourist attraction. While the dictatorship didn't fear the long-hairs, they didn't much like them either and made it difficult to earn a living. As a consequence, the Dominicans protected the hippies and gave them a place to sell their wares.

I asked a university professor about her opinions on the hippies and their survival:

"Generally the regime left the hippies alone, they are peaceful people and a-political. The military didn't consider them to be a threat. Not so with the university students. It was terrible in the aftermath of the coup, many of the students in the class I was teaching simply disappeared. No one ever knew what happened to them!"

We visited Pablo Neruda's house at Isla Negra where the Pacific Ocean is open all the way to New Zealand. Like the hippie craft fair at Los Dominicos, the poet's house has become a major tourist attraction. I wonder if the Pinochet supporters appreciate the irony of this? Taking the tour through the house with its collection of fabulous bottles, African masks, ships figureheads, maps and navigational instruments and rooms designed to create a given ambience, I begin to wonder about Neruda. *This is the house of a surrealist*

*The slogan of the Christian Democratic Party in the 1989 election was 'The Joy Will Return!' Chileans say that yes, the joy has returned, but only for the politicians!

Will the joy return?*

and an anarchist. Yet, as everyone knows, Neruda was a member of the Communist Party, served on the Central Committee and, if memory serves me right, even wrote a poem in honour of the world's greatest mass-murderer Joseph Stalin. My hypothesis is that Neruda suffered from a split between his emotions and his reason. In his heart he remained an anarchist, but his rational mind told him the Communist Party was the only salvation for the poor and the workers. This was a very common choice for intellectuals in the 1930s, and the longer they stayed with the party the more they constructed such rationalisations for their continued membership.

Chile once had strong anarcho-syndicalist unions. Even as late as 1960 they were a factor in the trade union movement. I did not have to contacts to make the acquaintance of any syndicalists or members of the small neo-anarchist groups which presumably exist. Mutual aid societies were also important aspects of Chilean libertarianism. (To what extent they were influenced by Proudhon I do not know.) Hence it was a great privilege to meet and talk to a former member of the Mutualists: a retired employee of the Justice Department (pre-Pinochet of course):

"The Mutualists built the first *poblacion* [working class neighbourhood] outside the boundaries of the city in 1915. Since they were artisans: carpenters, bricklayers and masons, this was no problem for them to build their houses in their spare time. It was a *poblacion* for Mutualists. The first society was founded in 1850. I joined my organisation in the 1920s and remained a member until some years ago when I moved to Santiago. The society had a building not far from my house where meetings and classes were held - they would hold night classes to educate themselves. For all I know they may still be there. [We looked up the address in the telephone book and, sure enough, the Mutualists still have their building.]

The societies were democratic, electing their own

officers, usually from among the older and more qualified tradesmen. They would only elect someone for whom they had a great deal of respect and trust. The Mutualist societies were completely a-political, but individual members might be Radicals, Liberals or Conservatives - but the group never took a political stance. No, there was no affiliation with the trade unions or the syndicates. Nor was there a federation, but here in Santiago fraternal relations were kept with groups in other cities. White collar and profession workers did not form Mutualist societies, *only artisans*. However, the teachers union did, or still does, have its own hotel for visiting out of town teachers and a number of other benefits, such as trade union holiday camps which are very common in Chile. Pension funds? Yes, government workers had a good pension fund which ran into the many millions. Unfortunately the political parties started meddling with it and now most of the money is gone. Too bad, for such funds

could have gone to rebuilding the nation on mutualist lines!"

The second to last day in Chile we had lunch in a restaurant outside Valparaiso. My wife suggested I have a plate of congrio, which is the nation's most tasty salt-water fish. It was delicious and so was the accompanying bottle of domestic white wine. The restaurant overlooked the ocean and in front of us were scattered seventy or more small open boats of a fishermen's co-operative, the Caleta Portales. A blackboard bore a chalked notice of the forthcoming union assembly. Fishermen and their wives and children were repairing nets, cleaning fish or working on the boats out in the hot summer sun. It struck me that, in spite of the legacy of a cruel dictatorship, Chile is a society full of vitality and that people such as these fisherfolk, not the politicians, will be the ones to "make the joy return".

Larry Gambone

News from Northern Ireland

The local BBC radio station has just started to run a radio cartoon on its breakfast news magazine show. It's a skit on the idea of bringing jobs to Derry and is very witty and quite close to the bone. It was trailed by a spoof interview with a Euro-bureaucrat in charge of transport who answered questions about a proposal to build an underground rail system in Derry. While the idea itself is not all that far-fetched, there is no way it's going to happen. And yet the excellent spoof interview, which ran on 1st April (when else?) caused our MP/MEP to phone the station in high dudgeon slamming them for running such an important news story without asking him for a comment or checking with him first. Nine days before an election and the man had all but lost his marbles! When he calmed down and was told it was an April Fool's joke he laughed rather sheepishly and carried on the campaign for the biggest April Fool's joke of the lot ... the election.

And a very quite affair it was here too. No great flurry of canvassing, no major rows or ructions. A foregone conclusion that John Hume would get in. And so he did. The 'fear factor' played its part once more ... and no doubt he'll be there to open up the new underground system when it comes to fruition.

The Talks Process is underway again with a new crowd of referees over from England. Already there has been a bit of sabre rattling about what exactly is on the table. We can be sure that big dinners and expensive cutlery and wine are certainly on the table, so that our leaders don't go unfed. What budget does all the money for these Talks come from? The current series are due to stagger on until the marching season in July. Tempers get frayed as we get nearer the summer months and it will be interesting to see if they last that length. Murder and killing in Belfast continues to provide the awful reality as backdrop to these Talks which have an air of fantasy about them. We'll see.

Down south it's all turmoil again in the confusions around abortion rights and the future of Ireland in the new Europe with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty. A peculiarly Irish set of contortions are being endured by government and others to square the circle of access to the Euro-honeypot and avoidance of

Euro-abortion provision. We'll probably see a deal whereby women can travel for abortions but not have them on our hallowed soil.

The experience of people in the west of Ireland in relation to their government and the prospects after Maastricht may be gauged from the comments of an independent hostel owner in West Clare who told me he'd rather be ruled from London than Dublin and that more and more centralisation of decision-making was taking place. "God help us after Maastricht" he said, and this is from a man who is doing okay but who sees the west being denuded of people and productive activity. As I travelled around recently I was struck once more by the very big questions posed for anarchists by issues of rural development. Anyone fancy thinking and writing about that?

And perversion of perversions as we run up to the new Europe without frontiers is the news that the British Army are to close two roads in Derry to enable more fortifications to be put up. People on either side of the checkpoints are up in arms about the proposals and a row is raging with the city council seeking a meeting with Mates, the new minister with security powers. 'Blame the terrorists' is the bottom line for the Army, highlighting the crude way in which the state punishes a whole population when it fails to deal with armed insurrection from within.

Positive developments, if any? Some views exist that the Euro-context will provide the way forward. This is likely to be a key theme in the submissions to and deliberations of 'Initiative 92' launched by *Fortnight* magazine, and due for formal public unveiling later this month. Anything that attempts to give people a chance to air their views and challenge the accepted order is to be welcomed. But what to do after that?

And to end this heavily Euro-influenced piece on the upbeat, I note with pleasure that Derry City FC secured second place in the League Championship of the Republic of Ireland (what border?) gaining them a place in next year's UEFA Cup. Allez Derry!

Dave Duggan

News from Russia

Here's some information about the current political situation in the former USSR and the activities of anarcho-syndicalists.

The anarchist movement in Russia has faced a serious crisis over the last year. Though a great number of anarchist groups were founded, anarchism as a movement and a tendency of social thought has lost its relevance; activities and membership declined and the majority of anarchist papers stopped publishing (including *Obschina* [Community] the Moscow-based anarcho-syndicalist magazine).

All of these processes can be seen in KAS as well, but in spite of this the anarcho-syndicalist confederation is still the only nationwide anarchist political organisation. In Moscow anarcho-syndicalists are active in the Information Centre of the workers and trade union movement, KAS-KOR, and after the August coup we also started producing the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions weekly paper.

For years the official trade unions were nothing but a mechanism in the state system of exploitation, but the crisis of the Stalinist system and rapid processes of capitalisation has influenced them also.

Recently the leadership of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions has supported the idea of creating a broad Labour Party and now stands in opposition to the Moscow government. As left socialist groups are weak in this country there's no wonder that they have also appealed to KAS for co-operation. Now anarcho-syndicalists, with the help of socialists and the Green Party, produce the MFTU newspaper *Solidarity*. It's a broad left

newspaper which is open to co-operation with anybody who stands for a self-managed socialism in opposition to the new authoritarianism.

Surely there is a lot to be criticised in the methods and positions of the MFTU, but we see our goal in pushing the leadership to the left, setting up obstacles to the corruption and the bureaucratisation of unions and propagating the ideas of self-organisation among the rank-and-file members of the MFTU. One of the reasons why anarcho-syndicalists co-operate with formerly official trade unions is that they are no longer state trade unions and are now attacked by the state.

Unfortunately in Moscow in fact there are no independent unions. The experience of the Independent Miners Trade Union and other alternative trade unions have also shown us that their leadership can be easily bought out by the state bureaucracy and the new capitalists.

As for anarcho-syndicalist groups in other parts of the USSR, they actively participate in independent workers organisations and ecological movements.

The economic experiments of the government totally ruin people's standards of living and create an overwhelming poverty and enormous unemployment. An understanding of the urgent need for a real radical alternative to the plans of the former communist bureaucracy contributed to a discussion among the ranks of anarchists about their tactics and the steps that should be taken to re-establish the anarchist and

(continued on page 7)

Christianity and Anarchism

Many anarchists and socialists still hold the once prevalent view that religion is an enemy of revolution and an obstruction to social progress. They equate religion with state controlled established churches whose job was to stamp a spiritual endorsement on any harsh measure or atrocity that the government of the day wished to perpetrate. Possibly there was a great deal of justification for this viewpoint but I maintain that, particularly since the 1960s, a rethink is needed especially by the older generation. A glance at popular protest music of the '90s will show that many of the younger activists are already thinking in terms of spirituality as action. Billy Bragg ascribed the reason for the failure of Soviet Communism to its lack of spirituality.

The events in Latin America since 1960 are an example to be studied by European anarchists, known for either endless intellectual discussion or violent street demonstrations neither of which has, as yet, had much impact. There has been a completely different approach in Latin America. To clarify the basic principle of this approach we should look first at its founder and leader: Jesus. Jesus was the latinised version of the name Yeshu (in Aramaic 'God saves') probably the most common name around at that time.

The life and teaching of Yeshu has been misrepresented for various ulterior motives as well as through ignorance and mis-translation. However we do have many facts to go on.

He was born around 1AD in Galilee. Certainly not in Nazareth for the simple reason that Nazareth did not exist at that time. The association with that town came about by the misunderstanding of the word 'Nazarene'. Yeshu's mother was Mary (Miriam) and he was one of seven or eight children. He certainly had four brothers and two sisters.

There is no certainty as to who his father was. Non-sympathetic sources at the time claims he was illegitimate and some gospel references also cast doubts about his mother's virtue. He died somewhere between 33-36AD when he was executed by the occupying Roman authorities in a manner reserved *only* for insurrectionists and political offenders. There can be no doubt that he was both.

He became in his lifetime what Hindus would call an enlightened soul. Our words saint and prophet do not really fit the bill. Unlike other spiritual beings before and since, he taught not only the spiritual and mystic path but also the way to justice and equality in the material world. He had a massive following among the lowest levels of society. He was a champion of the poor and a study of his revolutionary activity provides an essential lesson for those of us today who still believe the world can be changed. That lesson is that only from the very bottom upwards can any lasting action take place.

Rome thought that Yeshu's death would put a stop to his movement but, as Tacitus complained, it broke out again. Despite persecution Christian communities flourished and were an example to the poor and downtrodden. An example that fighting governments, especially if you have no weapons, is futile. So ignore the government and do things for yourselves. Soldiers eventually rebel against killing people who will not fight and governments cannot take away what people do not have or do not want.

In 312AD Constantine saw the solution. There are some nice legends but his reasons were purely political. He adopted

Christianity, made Yeshu into a God with a roman name and established the Church of Rome with a state appointed pope and bishops. In 325AD the adoption of the Nicene creed as the definitive statement of Christian belief finally put the tin hat on it. The deification of Yeshu meant the complete separation of him from the people. Most communities would not accept the creed of Constantine's version of Christianity but it was too late, the official Church of Rome was established and claimed absolute authority. Not that the church has had an untroubled history, there have been plenty of rebels.

The difference is that the church (or churches), established or otherwise, no longer have any actual power. No longer are church and government synonymous. In the 1960s in Brazil, for the first time the church of that country aligned itself with the people against the state government and the rich landowners. This saw the birth of the *comunidades eclesiales de base* (CES's). Their number has grown to over 120,000 in Brazil alone. The CES's were a new phenomenon in the church; the actual working out of faith in everyday life on a large and organised scale. In fact a reversion to pre-Constantine Christianity.

The CES's are parish communities designed for self-help and self-government in a country where even if it had the will a government would be powerless to make much impact on poverty and deprivation. The CES's provide communal food stores and supplies, even housing and education programmes as well as road building and rubbish clearance. The community also provides and runs its own church. The bible has been given to the people in their own language. Leonardo Boff saw the

Bishop/Priest/People trinity as a triangle with the people being the base and not eventually needing a bishop or priest.

One of the failures of European anarchism has been its lack of understanding, love and compassion to be replaced by hate, anger and resentment. On one hand our leaders have been from upper and middle class backgrounds and preached individual liberty. A nice but impossible ideal. The poor could have told them that survival, let alone development and happiness, lies in interdependence and community which *ipso facto* implies a loss of personal liberty.

On the other hand the unionist anarchists have preached the workers struggle and industrial action which loses all power and effect with high unemployment. Capitalist society is crashing, it has no answer to economic disaster nor environmental catastrophe. We should be prepared for this situation.

We protest about unemployment – where are our alternative job centres? We protest about education – where are our alternative schools? We complain about the police – where is our alternative public protection? We protest but do not provide the alternative. Most of the state institutions which are failing can be replaced.

In conclusion I quote the Puebla 1979 statement by the South American Bishops when they denounced national security doctrine, capitalist liberalism and Marxist collectivism as ideologies which had been used for suppression: "States pass, the people remain. We see the growing gap between rich and poor as a scandal and a contradiction to Christian existence. The luxury of a few becomes an insult to the wretched poverty of the masses." They expressed then "a preferential option for the poor".

Mike Quentin-Hicks

'The baby and the bathwater' OBJECTION TO ANARCHISM

Probably the most common objection to anarchism is: 'So what are you going to replace the present system with?' Contained within this is the implication that the state is to be preferred to the chaos which would follow should the anarchists succeed in their call to abolish government. Objectors usually admit things are wrong with the state, but the abolition of government would be far worse. Anarchists, so they claim, concentrate upon the bad, and so have thrown the baby out with the bathwater because they ignore the benefits which the system confers.

When challenged to name the 'benefits' objectors often stumble, but the examples they usually quote are of two types: social projects of which we are expected to approve (roads, the NHS, etc.) or questions of 'law and order' (a claim that without the restraint of law the strong would be at liberty to oppress the weak). Not all government is bad, so they claim, the trains run on time, or water comes out of the taps. The objector claims that these would not be possible without the magic wand of authority being waved over them.

We need to question the values which uphold this defence of the state. Sometimes the advocate of the state sees order as an end in itself, and contrasts this with chaos which is thought to be the only alternative. We often find that order is a necessary precondition to happiness, they claim. This assumption is open to challenge by pointing to rigidly ordered situations and showing that they do not lead to their victim's well-being, but often lead instead to great psychological harm.

The objector equates anarchy with chaos, but it has to be pointed out that the lack of external rule is not the same thing as chaos. The elimination of government does not imply the termination of human society. It is also possible to challenge the value judgement attached to the distinction order/chaos. It is certainly true that some anarchists are apostles of disorder and negativity, but these characteristics are also held by supporters of the state.

It is not *either* anarchy (= chaos) or order (the rule of government) but rather my choice made freely versus the choice of other imposed upon me. The distinction is freedom/coercion, and part of the task of the anarchist might

be to show up the inadequacy of the second as a basis of human happiness, a point which is being demonstrated in the current collapse of nation-states in Eastern Europe. Coercion does not provide a sound basis for happiness. The more power the system grasps for itself, the more powerless do people become.

The objector claims that large projects such as the NHS could not be possible without central control and planning. Thus the individual's desire for the provision of health care on the basis of need is addressed collectively, the decision to provide this is made, and the state brings about the means whereby the need is met. Without the state none of this would take place, the apologist claims. We can be sure that the provision of health care has been made out of the *will* of people to provide it – doctors and nurses, people paying taxes. What seems equally certain is that central planning and control will result in the abolition of provision on the basis of need and the replacement of this principle by provision on the basis of wealth. The fact of central control subverts the wishes of the many.

A second example is that of the railways. Rail transport arose as the wish of the people within a certain area. Once the need was seen, it then had to be blessed by the magic wand of authority through Parliamentary Acts which made sure that the local initiative came under the control of central government. Next, individual railway companies were grouped together into regions, and later drawn into a national organisation which then *abolished* large parts of the railway network. This is yet another example of the 'order' which the state offers – the order of the graveyard.

A third example is the crime rate. The more laws there are, the more the state spends on police, the higher the crime rate, and the fuller the prisons. The reason for this is obvious. The more legislation we have, the greater the control the state takes to itself over our lives, the more initiative is drawn away from the individual, and the less the concern which we feel for each other. Why should we make the effort to care when the state claims to do it all for us?

As long as we wait for others to solve our problems, we shall not act, and our problems remain with us. The more respect the state demands, the less respect we retain for

ourselves. Our initiative is dissipated through the many tentacles of the state. With the imposed *diktat* we change mutual respect and ethical dialogue for the stick of punishment and the coercion of the statute book. Unless and until we alter the culture where material goods are valued more than human lives, the fundamental injustice remains, and so will the crimes. The state can offer no satisfactory answer to crime except 'lore and ordure' for the state is in itself a crime.

The objector to anarchism claims that the complexity of society requires central control in order to be efficient. Perhaps the best example of its 'efficiency' is the economy. The truth would seem to be the opposite – the more organised something becomes, the less it works, because larger systems are more complex and the distance between ruler and ruled is too great for control to be effective. Leaders induce chaos themselves through their acts of control. In the economy, the interaction of the variables is so complex that it is quite likely that correct techniques of control cannot be formulated, but even if they could, no politician would have the wit to master them. The machine can never become efficient until kings become economists, or economists kings. Here we can see a demonstration of the fact that the more powerful a dictator becomes, the greater is their capacity to cause problems, so much so that the cynical definition of management is 'the science of fucking things up'.

So much the worse for the happiness, order or protection which the state offers its victims. The objector can only offer us a speculative argument that what happens now is better than whatever is offered by anarchists. Our speculative riposte might be that people who take responsibility for their own lives could hardly make a worse hash of them than the politicians. In this, at least the mistakes I make are mine alone.

The objector asked 'So what are you going to replace it with?' The first point to be made in answer to this is that unlike other systems of 'political' thought, anarchists do not seek to *impose* their vision on others. The 'you' of the question must be interpreted in an individual sense. By

Sol Furtres, one of my fellow writers in this daily column and very much on the ball, remarked the other day: "What terrible lies we have been filled with by journalists writing about Romania".

She was speaking of the many years of ignorance about what was really happening in that country, and of the abyssal darkness into which we had all fallen. The western press was showing us Ceauscescu as a pleasant and sympathetic figure. From behind all the stories emerged the unorthodox, cheeky, man of the people politician of the east European countries.

Eurocommunists such as Carrillo or Marchais were slapping his shoulder and being seen with him every five minutes. But it was not only them. Half of Europe had travelled to Romania, probably the most visited of the socialist countries. Every year mobs of smug, self-satisfied tourists had entered and left the land that we now know to have been a place of gloom and torture – and not one of them had seen, heard or understood anything of the reality. The Romania that they carried away in their cameras existed only in their imagination – a blessed people, poor but dignified, with a couple of grinning tourists in the foreground. Not to mention the many journalists – the professional investigators who went there without even sensing anything of what might be underneath. It was all a huge collective illusion.

Oh yes, we know all that now! In the west it was in our own interest that Romania should be presented with an acceptable face in order to stir dissension in the Warsaw Pact. But collective illusions can exist only because they are fathered by deliberate manipulation and deceit – which is hardly a matter of astonishment since it is a very old trick.

What does amaze and cause a cold shudder is the ease with which we allow ourselves to be deceived. That arises from a slowness of awareness, a lazy goodwill that allows us to swallow the most unconvincing cliches. These crude assertions claimed to decipher the world for us in easy doses and without effort when we all know that that world is indecipherable.

The apparatus of fascism and state capitalism, skulking behind the mask of socialism, has started to disintegrate into piles of debris. During the many years of his apprenticeship Mikhail Gorbachev had time to study, both close to the ground and at higher and higher levels of administration, just how insecure were the economic and philosophical foundations of the Russian edifice, and to contemplate the calamitous collapse that would occur when the gales of competition that blew from the west acquired a nuclear force.

That period of searching argument with his own generation made it clear that, even if they could assuage the fear of change that had seeped like an enervating gas from ossified socialist ideas and paralysed Stalin's immediate successors, the task of re-designing the Union of Socialist Soviet

With acknowledgements to: 'Lies, damned lies!' by Rose Montero of *El Pais*

Republics was gargantuan. Nothing would shift until a whole generation had begun to grasp the concept of democracy. But that very process would release the forces and aspirations of local nationalism, the hatreds and the desires for vengeance that had been beaten down and manacled by a massive system of armed force and secret domestic espionage.

Gorbachev and his young colleagues knew that there was no choice. There was no way in which the old system could be improved. The cancer of corruption was so widespread and had infected the very psyche of the people so deeply that only major surgery – a revolution from within the topmost ranks of government – could have any hope of success. The only salvation for socialism lay in the open conflict of ideas.

There was one ray of hope. The West, too, was crippled by the burden of armaments. The most intelligent politicians in Europe and America had begun to realise, to their own astonishment, that their survival rested in preventing a collapse in Russia. The launching of a flight of intercontinental missiles could be triggered not only by a desperate Soviet old guard anxious to justify its out-of-date obsession with a ring of enemies, but by Palestinian or other terrorists. What was becoming even more likely still was that the rapidly deteriorating condition of both the East's and the West's nuclear stockpiles would spontaneously disintegrate in a series

of horrific and uncontrollable Chernobyls – a fear put into words officially by Boris Gorbachev, not a relative but a Russian nuclear technician, who described the condition of the nuclear arsenal as "catastrophic" (see *The Guardian*, 29th January 1992).

Like a fleet of dingy old bangers desperately kept grinding along by their impecunious owners, the ailing regimes of fascism and state capitalism are, one by one, slewing off the road into the ditch.

The biggest immediate problem was that time was desperately short. The West, like the East with its old Stalinist bloc, has its own chain and ball – the manufacturers of armaments and the huge production systems that depend on armaments and therefore on psychical and political stances that give rise to arms build-up.

Hence the failure of the Thatcher government and of Major so far (to judge by the few utterances he has made) to win the support of all but the yobs, upper and lower class, a failure that is depressing not only the old-fashioned Tories like Heath and Pym but is now creating anxiety for even the knuckle-duster gang – Patten, Tebbit, Clarke and McGregor. A pattern that should have had all its people on the streets with the modern equivalent of pitchforks and sickles in protest against the poll tax and the butchering of the NHS, has so efficiently appealed to greed and isolation that Britain is again seen

not only by the third world but more critically by the older and more civilised nations of Europe – the meanest, the 'I'm alright Jack' nation – the sore thumb of Europe.

So what is on offer now? Monetarism is already slewing into the ditch with the rest. Who will suffer? Not the bunkered rich; not the one-third on the poverty line who are in the ditch already. Those who will suffer will be the professionals – the medicos who, despite having had their mouths 'stuffed with gold' by Nye Bevan to join the NHS, have, on the whole, become its fiercest supporters; the teachers, from university to nursery school, whose knowledge and pride have sought to illuminate, albeit with candles rather than arc-lamps, a culture that the world still flocks to see and touch, and the civil servants and local officers who, despite some invasion by political corruption, hang on grimly to an ideal of disinterested service.

With a majority of 23 in Parliament our elected dictatorship does not argue democratically: it has no need to. It dictates and asserts that our nuclear deterrent has 'kept the peace' for over forty years; that prosperity is increasing as a result of the 'trickle-down' effect from handouts to the rich, so of course poverty *cannot* exist. Therefore the 'least favoured' must pay taxes otherwise they would be branded as paupers, and that would be terribly bad for one's image! Because individual enterprise, like investment, will cure all, such out-of-date concepts as society or mutual help no longer exist. Those who sleep in cardboard boxes do so out of perversity. They *choose* to be indigent.

Worldwide we can hear not even a murmur of protest against such policies of greed and self-interest. The mouths of the silent and multitudinous dead – the victims of exploitation, drought, famine, disease and war – are already closed.

Michael Duane

Nationalism and the Lion Rampant

Nationalism. Is this all we are left with after two centuries of progressive politics? Today's *Guardian* (27th April) carries a photograph of Russian soldiers goose-stepping away from Lenin's mouldy body, the backdrop to this familiar and homely scene is a giant poster of Christ and his disciples. That's better, the Russians have some proper icons to march with. Meanwhile, the wartime King Michael of Romania has returned home to an ecstatic welcome from 100,000 Romanians, delighted at the partial reinstatement of another symbol of patriotism. Elsewhere, the National Front scoops up *pied noir* and former Communist voters, whilst Joerg Haider plays the patriotic Austrian, and the Lombard League flies its St George flags. And in Scotland we have three new groupings calling for referenda and a new constitutional arrangement that takes note of national aspirations.

Don't get me wrong. I was there in Glasgow on 26th April, and on the 12th, supporting the call of Scotland United (in Scotland our nationalist icons have to be associated with sport) for a multi-option referendum. I was there 'waving my flag for Scotland' as I was asked to. It was a Lion Rampant. For one ignorant English reading this, that's your flag of Scotland's two national flags. Actually it's the royal flag, but the Scots ignore that. It's a Scots flag, not an English flag, not a Union Jack, it's Scottish. There were other flags there on the 26th too, blue and white saltires, black and white saltires, a Welsh dragon (original model bearing the English wyvern), a Basque flag, an anarchist black/red banner (tricky point: what if the multi-option referendum had a box saying 'no government', does an anarchist vote?) and quite a few red flags. Most of these latter were care of the Socialist Workers Party.

Interestingly, I counted only two SWPs at the first rally of Scotland United, and no paper sellers from any of the other 'the workers need a bolshevik party and a hole in the head' type nuts. However, the Trots had all been thrown into gear by the time of the rally on the 26th. Anyway, not having SWP placards saying 'SMASH THE UNION' (another party run by English bastards!) SWP had to content themselves with free handouts of Red Flags. They weren't going down very well. At least one demonstrator responded with "I'm a Scot, not a fuckin' Communist". Aye, there's the rub. "I'm a Scot/Croat/Russian/Zulu/Ukrainian ... not a fuckin' communist", or any other variety of internationalist.

There's a tendency for revolutionary (for want of a much better word) groups to attach themselves to any movement that they see as a threat to the status quo. Quite often this

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definition, the call to personal freedom can only be made, it cannot enforce as response.

Experience shows that not all people seek after personal autonomy, some prefer to remain slaves to the system. The state as a matter of policy seeks to undermine their self-confidence. People lack the wish to be free because they believed those horror stories about the chaos of things when the coercive bands are released.

Anarchic concern for others is limited, and so here the self-interest of the anarchist has to be acknowledged. The slavery of the many is a restriction upon the freedom of the few. Anarchism assumes that the exercise of freedom is self-evidently a good thing, and that freedom carries with it its own persuasion. Anarchists have enough problems asserting and developing their own freedom without their having to carry all others as well. If the idea of freedom is, of itself, attractive, then we can expect the circles of autonomy to widen outwards like the ripples in a pond.

The question to ask the apologist remains 'In what way is a world of coercion *better* than one without it?' The advocate of the state adopts a negative view of human nature and

believes that authority is needed to protect us from ourselves. We might reply that even so, the state offers the weak scant protection against the strong, rather, it provides the bullies with a formal, systematic network for exercising power over others. It would be far better to arm the weak, or to find a way to bring about a culture of saying NO rather than a culture of obedience without question. To give one person power over the rest enhances the potential for evil.

The harm which the system does can only be brought to an end by a shift of power towards individuals. This can only come about through co-operation. The notion of control must necessarily be abolished. This in itself suggests that an anarchist society will be better, for those who would seek to exercise authority must be opposed by all, this cannot take place so long as human relations function through coercion and not co-operation.

Opponents of anarchism claim that this optimism about human nature is naive and ill-founded. Anarchists might in turn point to the history of the twentieth century as an illustration of the folly of blindly obeying leaders, for this

doctrine of original sin must also apply to leaders as well as to the led. What has corrupted mankind? The state, its notion of property, its violence. Ugly political systems beget ugly societies.

Evidence that human nature is better than supposed by those who demand the support of the crutch of coercion can be found in the fact that people co-operate *despite* rather than because of government. No legislation forces people to become parents, nurses, carers, teachers or artists – people perform these functions out of personal necessity. The state, however, can and is doing great harm to the environment within which these tasks are carried out.

The accusation of chaos being made against anarchism can be turned back against the state. The abolition of authority is not the same thing as the freedom of the oppressor to oppress. Rather, coercion and obedience are to be contrasted to co-operation and freedom. Instead of the baby being thrown out with the bathwater, anarchists might legitimately ask was the baby ever in the bath in the first place.

Stephen Booth

The Factory and Beyond TORY FOREVER!

I was recently reminded that political parties are mostly divided into mugs and careerists. Mr Tom Jones of Wigan writing in the *Observer* complained, last month, that the Labour 'activists' (the mugs) were "sick at heart at the behaviour over the past few years of the Labour leadership ... who were willing to jettison principle or anything else to get elected".

On the other hand, he says: "MPs and full-time party workers are paid so they have a vested interest in politics".

This is the dilemma of the Labour Party according to Mr Jones – the party suckers or 'activists' need to 'have a vision of the New Jerusalem' to get them out on the knocker to hassle the voters into the polling booths, but the party bosses feel they have to ditch all that is visionary to stand a chance of getting elected. Indeed, the party has to date ditched so many 'visions' that recently A.N. Wilson, the writer, claimed: "There seems no appreciable difference between the social policies of Tory and Labour". Since Labour lost the election, it seems likely that the party may even abandon those small differences such as wealth distribution through income tax.

In this situation it would seem the only reason for having anything to do with the Labour Party would be in order to advance one's career. This could involve making politics one's profession or using party membership as a passport to a career in some suitable local authority occupation.

Lightweight politics

Sir Kingsley Amis said he preferred "the boring and not very dependable John Major to the alarmingly lightweight and unpredictable Neil Kinnock". Intellectuals tend to

under-rate lightweight politicians: Malcolm Muggeridge said once he didn't think Clement Attlee would last because he was too 'lightweight'.

If the Labour Party had any great social mission it would have lent stature to Kinnock, however much of a 'lightweight' he is. But the British Labour Party these days is a dismembered, almost decapitated creature, living – and one suspects dying – by the opinion polls.

Trotsky wrote: "The greatness of the leader is a social quantity". Labour's problem is that it is in many respects less radical and more conservative than the Tory government.

In the *Financial Times* Martin Jacques, ex-editor of the now defunct *Marxism Today*, argued that all the changes in the Labour Party were driven by electoral needs. "One by one," he says, "those branches of Labour's tree that were deemed to be electorally unpopular were lopped off. But these amputations left the patient lifeless. Labour lost its soul." Now it makes you wonder if a Labour government will ever be elected again.

All the more so because this last government has been elected at the bottom of the economic cycle. Future Chancellors will try to ensure that this does not happen again. They will do their best to see the next election at least accompanies something approaching a boom in the economy.

A politically anaemic Labour Party will be no match for a Tory Government on the wave of a boom.

'Turnism' or one-party rule?

Of course what we might be witnessing is a kind of suicide of democracy. Only today the journalist Peter Jenkins says: "The prospect of indefinite single-party rule poses questions for parliamentary democracy, but a long period of government stability can only be good news for the economy." Besides this prospect of one-party rule, recent studies suggest growing centralisation within British society.

The City rules supreme in Britain today, together with the Treasury, and a Downing Street clique. Those forces which, in a democracy, people may look to challenge these powers, and produce good qualities in society, have been undermined and marginalised. The trade unions are now shadows of their former selves, and with each major political party mimicking the tune demanded by the opinion polls even the plurality of the political parties has almost diminished out of sight.

Now many liberal critics are concerned that Tory Government may be set to last forever, and there is talk of pacts between the Liberal Democrats and Labour to form an anti-Tory alliance. Proportional representation is one hope, but the government of the day, being Tory, is unlikely to oblige.

One cheap solution to the dilemma would be that adopted in Spain in the nineteenth century: the system of government based on 'rotation', or 'turnismo' as it was sometimes called. We British may be too hypocritical to adopt the sensible, if cynical, system of government rooted so simply in principle.

Mr Murray Bookchin, the anarchist writer, explains this nineteenth century Spanish

system thus: "... the Conservative and Liberal Parties of the Restoration period came to an agreement to share the state between themselves. A political system of turnismo, or 'rotation', was established in which the Liberal Party ... was given the reins of power whenever democratic window-dressing was needed to absorb social unrest or justify the passage of repressive legislation. The Conservative Party ... occupied the ministry under conditions of relative stability. Except for an anti-clerical tradition and an interest in secular education, the Liberals were indistinguishable from their Conservative counterparts." It seems to me that party politics here is reaching the stage of such sublime banality where this practical Spanish custom could replace the need for elections.

In his article in the *Financial Times* – 'The movement that lost its soul' – Mr Martin Jacques (the Marxist?) claimed everywhere in Europe "... the left is in trouble. The search for a progressive alternative has an international dimension." People must wonder if this is a debate about democracy or the promotion of the charade of Spanish turnismo in a more subtle guise. The danger is that the far Right may seize on the issue that democratic politics is a charade and strike a sympathetic chord. The recent elections in Germany, France and Italy suggest this may be happening. In the USA perhaps more than half the electorate stay at home at election time. There again the two main parties differ little; one result has been a class of people who, as we have just seen, feel they can only get change through action in the streets.

How do we get social change in a land of everlasting Tory Governments, with an opposition which represents a rather poor imitation of the Government in power? This is a problem for progressives who pin their hopes on parliamentary elections.

Mack the Knife

NATIONALISM AND THE LION RAMPANT

(continued from page 6)

means that they have to undertake some pretty astounding ideological gymnastics to do this. The widely accepted doctrine of 'National Liberation' was one of these. This helped the left as a whole (though not *Freedom* he says like a smug bastard – see *The State is Your Enemy*) to blindly support the various third world (particularly African) despots and authoritarians that took control in the 1950s and 1960s. It enabled the left to support anyone who made some nod towards 'socialism'. The fact that the 'success' of the Soviet Union in the 1940s and 1950s meant that any new political force was going to adopt the slogans and much of the style of Soviet socialism passed unnoticed. Had 'national liberation' occurred a generation earlier, then the fashion would have been Italian, German or Vichy – just as it was in places like Argentina in the 1940s. You don't hear much about national liberation now – it looks too much like naked nationalism or military despotism for it to be popular amongst the thinking classes. The national liberation heroes of the FLN, for example, live in the houses of the grand colons, and are now directing the tanks in the casbah (does it still exist?) against the Islamic fundamentalists who are calling for a new revolution more in tune with their Islamic heritage, rather than the Franco-Islamicism of the old FLN. And over in Burma, the socialist idealists that replaced our own little empire run one of the nastiest regimes out, much to the detriment of Burma's minority Muslims. And Israel, whatever happened to all that socialist idealism that the state was founded upon? From here it looks like just another militaristic set-up, typical of the Middle East. I'm not sure what any conclusion should be from such a list (and I could go on and on – new nationalisms add themselves to the list with practically every news bulletin) but it appears that nationalism is often nasty (but so is socialism) and it appears, at the end of the century, to be the dominant force for change. Or rather the dominant force – as it has been for a long time,

even if the Cold War impasse disguised that fact for a while.

So how do we respond to this fact? I'm not sure, but some things should be clear. Attaching yourself to essentially nationalist movements in the vain, Trot-like hope that you can lead them is bound to failure. The Scots at the rally in Glasgow were looking for Scots government of one form or another – not a socialist 'revolution'. They knew what they wanted and, by and large, it wasn't a Red Flag. Secondly, just having a government that talks in the same language, or accent, as the majority of the population doesn't, as countless examples have shown, mean that anything is going to be that much better. So why are people so nationalist, so patriotic? Because they feel that the 'other' doesn't understand them, doesn't feel for them in the same way as their compatriots. An SNP member told me at the Glasgow rally that a relative of hers who works in Liverpool assures her that the standard of living there is much better than in Scotland – "they've such good roads". Yep, Scousers eat grade A tarmac, because an English government gives it to them because they're English. How do you counter that sort of argument? And how do you counter the argument of the Algerian Islamic fundamentalist that true patriotism means Islam? The key to all these questions is to start our arguments with the worth of each individual, and that 'free' nations mean nothing without free individuals who have the wherewithal to fulfil their potential. If you stick to that as your bottom line then there should be no need for ideological gymnastics or one-eyed politics. But I'm not so sure it's any answer to nationalism, or the nation-state. And why was I there at the Scotland United rally, with my Lion Rampant? Because I feel, as an Englishman married to a Scot, that there's a real feeling of grievance in Scotland (and a feeling of reality) and I'd be bloody upset if Scots and English really fall out because of what is perceived as the legacy of the supposed English nationalism of Thatcher.

Steve Cullen

Five years – what a surprise?

It would appear that some of your readers I may have counted themselves as one amongst the undoubted many who responded almost in disbelief to the Tory victory in April. With some the fear was compounded by the idea that having survived the most savage recession since the war, the benefits, bound to be had by any perceived upturn, should ensure a Blue future. If you are one of these then cheer up!

Missing from the election debate almost completely was the question of Europe and the wider world and its economy. Convenient really when neither of the two main parties could do anything about an out of control United States recession which has now resulted in such brutality in Los Angeles, a recession hit united Germany with the slime of fascism in the background, and a failing Japan with plunging financial confidence. And where they could do something – the plunder of the third world – silence was the convenient reaction again. It is within such parameters that party politics has nothing to say. Such areas of life as trade are controlled by multinationals, fiscal policy (interest rates) by the City, exchange rates by the ERM whilst the whole is led and guided not by Mr Major or Mr Kinnock but by the IMF and the World Bank. We will not escape the unemployment and other recessionary symptoms of the coming months any more than any other of the capitalist nations and if this is the pain of taking East Germany on board we still have the Soviet Union and after that probably China to welcome to the capitalist club.

France has had Mitterand for eleven years now. We could have had Mr Kinnock for the last eight years or so. Would it have been different here? M Bérégovro (very John Smith) pleases the Bourse as an ex-finance minister yet the Front are on the rise as usual along with unemployment. Surely Labour would have been much the same?

Parliamentary Socialists make the mistake

of playing the game by the power-mongers' rules. Ironically the attempt to change from within becomes the vain idealism of which we are so constantly accused. Even their position of supporting welfare institutions and education is pie in the sky stuff within the global perspective.

So am I saying that a homeless South African black is the cause of your local grammar school opting out? No, of course not, but the Labour Party and Social Democrats were offering less than the small change in the countries' pocket in the way of increased spending in these areas and expenditure is determined by macro economic policy.

We as individuals and, I suppose, consumers are better positioned to carry out experiments in alternative economics than governments. We can also, individually and collectively, discriminate in our consumption. Micro economics, enlightened with environmentalism, will have to be the alternative future and Mr Major's tenancy of a certain residence up there in London has nothing to do with it. The next five years will be much the same as the five before them.

Neil Birrel

News from Russia

(continued from page 4)

syndicalist movement as a relevant part of the popular resistance to the new authoritarianism.

We are now looking forward to producing a more or less regular English language newsletter to keep our comrades abroad informed of the situation here and our activities.

Mikhail Tsovma
international secretary of the
Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists
(KAS)

Ancestry and anarchism

A difficulty for anarchist propaganda is that most people have lived under government for five thousand years or more.

The pat response is that we offer our message to living persons, not their ancestors. The people we talk to have lived under government for a hundred years or less.

This is literally true, but it ignores ancestral effects on behaviour. Experience and emotion have more influence than precept and reason. As Stephen Cullen points out,* people who have been abused as children are more likely than others to become child abusers, the smacked to become smackers, and so on. As we learn to speak, we learn how children are treated.

Not necessarily how they *should* be treated – we can change our minds about that through reading and thinking – but how parents behave in practice.

And it is not just our attitude to children that we learn as children. Our approach to the world as a whole is influenced by the approach of those from whom we learned language. If you changed your way of life through reading a pamphlet or hearing a preacher, it is not unlikely that one of your parents did the same, and their parents before them.

A street preacher outside Brixton tube station the other day, a West Indian in his thirties, was telling everybody: "Christ is a good master and Satan is a bad master, so give your life to Christ." Evidently, the alternative of having no master at all did not occur to him. It must have been six generations since his ancestors were slaves, and the slave mentality had been passed down from parent to child through six generations.

Of course attitudes do change, and society changes with them, but we should guard against over-optimism about the rate of change. Over-optimism leads to disillusion.

DR

* Stephen Cullen, *Children in Society: a libertarian critique*, Freedom Press, £1.20, post free in UK (please add 18p when ordering from abroad).

Please keep sending in your letters

On Democracy

Dear Editors,

Perhaps the reason why so many of us did not accept the invitation to comment upon the article 'Democracy Begins at Home', and its critics, is that we have better things to do than count angels on pin-heads.

We are all idealists, Harold Barclay and Donald Rooum included. We shall all die not knowing the answers. I think we all agree that democracy, the nearer it approaches anarchy, would make for a better world.

'Democracy Begins at Home' can only be objectionable to the romantics in our midst – those who, despite using the capitalist system (money, banks, etc.) live in a dream-world of perfection (their own perfection).

We may welcome more democratic government without voting in the hope of getting it in capitalist-controlled elections. Our (unobtainable?) dream is anarchy worldwide. Our immediate goal is as much anarchy as we can get personally and in our dealings with people we come into daily contact with. Our paper, *Freedom*, can do without hair-splitting.

Ernie Crosswell

LONDON TO STONEHENGE WALK

Monday 1st June

meet at noon at Battersea Park peace pagoda for picnic and musical jam

bring food

Support vehicle available for sleeping bags, etc.

Arriving in Stonehenge for the Summer Solstice on 21st June at 3.15am and Stonehenge Festival.

Contact number: 071-388 3094

MH

Nazis, Animal Rights, Deep Ecology in perspective?

I

Dear Editors,

All elephants have four legs; therefore all things with four legs – cats, dogs, tables, chairs, etc. – are elephants. This is a ridiculous piece of reasoning, of course, but it is an argument identical to that presented by Harold Barclay in his denigration of animal rights (Letters, 18th April 1992). He reasons that because some Nazis were vegetarians and cared about animals, that vegetarians and people who care about animals are fascists (or are very close to being so). This would be as funny as my example about elephants and tables if the intended slur were not so serious.

Harold Barclay is quite right in pointing out that there are *some* members of the environmental movement, especially in the 'deep green' branch, who advocate misanthropic policies (and consequently have been suitably labelled 'eco-fascist'). Dave Foreman is notorious for his blatantly racist views, and he deserves to be condemned just as much as any other little Hitler. Greens are often most interested in collective *groups* such as species and ecosystems. It is easy to see, therefore, how the extremist greens fall into fascism: as a self-appointed 'ecologically' knowledgeable elite they turn environmental concerns into the furtherance of selected groups, with little regard for the individuals in the group (who can be sacrificed so long as the group survives), or the members of other groups they have deigned not to be worthy of survival.

But Dave Foreman and his ilk are *not* the entire green movement, or even a major part of it. And, more importantly, in many areas there is serious disagreement between greens and animal liberationists because the latter are more interested in *individuals* rather than groups. Animal liberation is, categorically, not about the denigration of humans or the worship of nature or the desire for a selective holocaust. Rather it is about a matter which, I think I am right in believing, is of prime concern to anybody who thinks of themselves as an

anarchist, namely equality of treatment irrespective of superficial attributes which are 'accidents of birth'. I am not a racist or a sexist or a homophobe or a class elitist because skin colour, gender, sexual orientation or position in the social hierarchy has got absolutely nothing to do with how an individual should be treated. But neither am I a speciesist, because what species an individual belongs to is as irrelevant to its moral status as skin colour, gender, etc. In deciding which individuals should receive moral consideration, I can agree with Jeremy Bentham's famous statement that the crucial question is "not, can they reason, nor can they talk, but can they suffer?"

The relations which I think are problematic are those which stem from exploitative power hierarchies, because these types of relations cause suffering. I abhor this type of relationship between individuals, but I suspect Harold Barclay does too. Why, then, can he not see that animal liberation is not some manifestation of fascism produced by an inability to pursue healthy human relations, but just the opposite: a stridently egalitarian, libertarian ideal, the product of a realisation that all individuals deserve just and fair treatment regardless of their race, sex, class or even species?

Like the Nazis, perhaps Harold Barclay thinks that there are many millions of individuals who are suitable for vivisection, incarceration in terrible conditions and mass slaughter, without the slightest thought for the horrific suffering so caused?

JA Lancaster

II

Dear Editors,

Harold Barclay's letter ('Nazis, Animal Rights and Deep Ecology' in *Freedom*, 18th April) showed an ignorance that can only be attributed to a fundamental lack

of understanding about the historical development of Nazism.

The dire situation Germany was in following World War One with mass unemployment, hyper-inflation, etc., helped Hitler to power with his talk of national unity. The hope that Hitler obviously offered much to the fragmented people was based in myth and tradition. Hence Fichter's writings of the early nineteenth century on Germany becoming united and dominant again because of its natural superiority were key aspects of Nazism. It was Fichter who argued that this dominance would occur through the spirit of the German people and nation, i.e. the Volk, an organic entity. If Mr Barclay had analysed Hitler's influence he would have noted that they were those that offered the natural superiority of Germany or the Teutons – philosophers such as Gobineau and Chamberlain.

The Nazis used such people's works to create the myth of natural superiority to reunite the German people. It was the organic entity nature of Hitler's works that ingrained the idea of natural dominance into the people. The 'animal rights' Mr Barclay writes of so indignantly were all part of the Volk myth – the crux of Nazi propaganda. For the Nazis not to have such high standards of animal rights it would have to be admitted that the German land was as any other.

Although he admits that animal rights groups are not some derivative of Nazism, his attempts at linking similarities are doomed to failure – the inability of leading Nazis to form relationships has nothing to do with animal rights but with the emotional insecurity that demands absolute power and expansionism. Hitler's animal rights programmes were based firmly within the greater national question and were not, as Mr Barclay implies, unrelated to other occurrences. Perhaps Mr Barclay should read more about the development of Nazi concepts and their inter-relationship before attempting to link people in animals rights groups with Nazis in an 'unable to form relationships' boat.

Tim Rogers London

GPs want to charge for night calls

Nearly two-thirds of Birmingham GPs want patients to be charged for calling them out in the middle of the night, it has been revealed.

The level of support among doctors for night-time charges emerged in a survey of family doctors by the British Medical Association.

Nationally, a majority of GPs voted for some kind of charging system in a bid to discourage time-wasters.

City GP Dr Fay Wilson said: "Doctors feel that they are increasingly being taken for granted and that no-one seems to care. The results should be seen as a cry for help from the doctors – not a plan to revamp the way the National Health Service is run".

Dr Wilson, who sits on the General Medical Services Committee which commissioned the survey, said doctors in urban areas, like Birmingham, felt most hard-pressed. "They want people to think twice before calling out a doctor at 2am because they have a sore throat or want a second opinion" she said.

More than 30,000 doctors all over Britain took part in the survey and were asked questions about charging patients for surgery and home visits during and out of work hours.

(Source: *Express & Star* Birmingham, 25th April 1992)

News from Angel Alley

It was a false alarm about *Raven* number 17 being dispatched at about the same time as the last issue of *Freedom*! We had trouble with the cover and had to reject the first printing. Anyway, we are happy with the new cover for number 17 and all subscriber's copies will be dispatched at about the same time as this issue of *Freedom*. However, *Raven* readers will be pleased to hear that number 18 is already with our printers and should therefore be ready for dispatching by the end of June. So we will have caught up with our scheduled dates.

In spite of the 'recession' April was a good month for both *Freedom* Press and the bookshop, though trade orders were not very exciting!

On the publishing side we have made a slow start mainly because we are waiting for our writers to produce their manuscripts. Two have now arrived and four more are at various stages of production.

Occasionally we receive an enquiry as to what has happened to the

volume of anarchist poetry due to be published by *Freedom* Press about two years ago, and all we can answer is that we just don't know. The editors of that volume remind us of the tailors in the fairy story of the Emperor's clothes except that even the 'tailors' have become invisible!

DONATIONS

24th April - 2nd May 1992

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Newport NF £35, London N5 GW £7, New York BC £14, Portsmouth B £2, Slough EC £10, Gravenhurst PH £7, Wolverhampton JL £2, Beckenham DP £10.

Total = £87.00
1992 total to date = £744.20

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Newport NF £15, Saltburn TE £5, Wolverhampton JL £2, Loughborough DR £6, Beckenham DP £10.

Total = £38.00
1992 total to date = £385.95

Raven Deficit Fund

New York BC £14.

Total = £14.00
1992 total to date = £357.00

MEETINGS

MURRAY BOOKCHIN

lectures on
'Social Ecology'

CAMBRIDGE: Tuesday 12th May, 7.30pm at Lady Mitchell Hall, Cambridge University, Sidgwick Avenue, Cambridge. Donations welcome. Enquiries tel: 0223-63426

BRISTOL: Thursday 14th May, 7.30pm at Bristol University Students' Union Building, Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol. Donations welcome. Enquiries tel: 0225-446394 / 0272-553321

LEEDS: Monday 18th May, 7.30pm at Rupert Beckett Lecture Theatre, Leeds University, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds. Donations welcome. Enquiries tel: 0532-628812

LONDON: Thursday 21st May, 7.00pm at St James's Church, 197 Piccadilly, London W1. Entrance £5 (£2.50 concs). Enquiries tel: 081-802 3932 / 071-287 2741

FREEDOM
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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
15th May - 'Anarchism and Literature' (general discussion led by Andrew Lainton)
22nd May - 'Changes in South Africa' (general discussion led by Martyn Lowe)
29th May - 'An Introduction to Sociology for Anarchists' (speaker Peter Neville)
5th June - 'Alternative media' (general discussion led by Mike Long)
12th June - 'The End of the Soviet Union' (speaker Dave Dane)
19th June - 'Distributionism' (speaker Michael Murray)
26th June - 'The Left and Architecture' (speaker Andrew Lainton)
3rd July - 'Anarchism as a Positive Idea' (speaker Donald Room)
10th July - 'The 1992/93 Programme: a formative discussion'

further details on page 8

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For enrolment contact: The Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1N 3AQ, tel: 071-831 7711. Course fee £16.

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 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?

Anarchists Against the Bomb

Saturday 16th May
10am to 6pm

A day gathering for anarchists and like-minded folk in the peace movement

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