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# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

"Money is like muck –  
not good except it be  
spread"

Francis Bacon

(1561-1626)

*Of Seditious and Troubles*

You have been warned ...

## THE RAILWAYS NEXT!

One of the lessons to be learned from the present 'coal crisis' is, as we point out elsewhere, that it was inevitable the moment the government announced, some years ago, that the electricity industry was one of the public services to be privatised.

Had the media and the general public now shedding crocodile tears for them supported the striking miners in 1984-5 and listened to

Arthur Scargill's warning of massive pit closures, the privatisation of the electricity industry might not have taken place, or at least if it had *would have included safeguards for the deep-mining coal industry in this country.*

The government is proposing to privatise the railways next year and possibly many of the Post Office

services (already the parcels service is being privatised). **Now is the time to mount public protest against privatisation of these public services and not when services are ruthlessly cut and charges escalate after privatisation, by which time it is too late to do anything very much by pressure groups or through the media.**

The government, through the Department of Transport, have just published a consultation document, *The Franchising of Passenger Services*. *Freedom*, not being considered worthy of official press releases, must at this stage rely on a summary published in *The Independent* (13th October) by its transport correspondent Christopher Wolmar:

"Private operators of BR services will be able to set their own fare levels, and scrap  
*(continued on page 2)*

### Forget about the Political Puppets

### IT'S CAPITALISM ON TRIAL!

The media either ignore an important topic or they flog it to death – which is what they have done with the mine closures 'crisis' – and in the process have lost sight of the main problem. Which is not surprising since the capitalist press has all along supported the government's privatisation policies. And the main problem in this latest crisis is the result of the unconditional privatisation of the electricity industry. The only condition was that they would ensure the cheapest price for electricity to the consumer. The acres of newsprint that have been arguing pro or contra gas, coal and oil – at least there is no argument that all consumers are contributing something like 11% of their bills to subsidise nuclear power electricity's £1.1 billion losses – would indicate that we, the consumers, are being kept in the dark as to the real costs. If we could feel sorry for politicians we would shed a few tears for Heseltine as he parrot-like mouths the statistics about gas being cheaper than coal (he never refers to nuclear power which we are subsidising in our bills) only because he almost believes the rubbish he is obviously repeating according to the information supplied to him by the 'experts'. He proposed, in the debate last Wednesday, and influenced perhaps by the thousands

of miners and supporters who descended on Parliament Square, to review all the closures that the government had planned. We have no hesitation in saying that it will not basically affect the government's plan to decimate the coal industry.

Apart from the fact that from a purely capitalist point of view it is a short-sighted policy, it has been recognised by people at large that it is a policy which is sacrificing a long-term need for a short-time profit.

It is obvious that the privatised electricity bosses are only concerned with the quick buck. And their expert advisers (and how wrong most of them are these days!) are opting for British offshore gas and hoping to compete with coal. We would quote two statistics: it is estimated that this island sits on 300 years' stocks of coal. The offshore gas, according to Heseltine, is good for fifty years, but others don't give it more than twenty since half his estimates are based on potential sources and don't take into account sales to Europe which good capitalist business practice entitles them to do.

But we must come back to square one: the privatisation of the electricity industry from a public service to an industry *primarily concerned with making a profit for its shareholders.* That's capitalism and let's not get all

sentimental about the consumer in spite of all the talk about regulations, looking after his/her interests. As we have witnessed with all the privatised services – water, gas, electricity – the government has virtually given the new bosses *carte blanche*. The regulators have proved to be impotent.

Major, Heseltine and Lamont are the targets for the capitalist press these days. We certainly are not proposing to defend them, but they are simply pawns in a much bigger game. The crisis, notably in the 'first world', is one of the capitalist system. It is destroying itself by its greed. Needless to say the rich are getting richer, but those with ambitions are not doing so well, and those not so ambitious are even worse off and at the bottom of the pile are the growing population of the homeless and the unemployed.

Let us hope that the plight of the miners will expose the utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system.



# THE RAILWAYS NEXT!

(continued from page 1)

trains that are poorly used, according to proposals set out by the Department of Transport yesterday.

Presenting a consultation document, John MacGregor, the Secretary of State for Transport, said competition was the best guarantee on fares: 'We will end the political constraint on fares'. This would open the way to price wars if operators were competing on the same lines, but he emphasised that private operators who had a monopoly would be subject to control by the new regulator.

On loss-making lines, operators would receive a subsidy, whereas on profitable routes they would have to pay a premium."

[Another regulator! The privatised electricity has a regulator and to achieve nothing against the Energy Mafia he is assisted by a staff of 400!]

"The franchise contracts will set out a series of obligations for the operators on frequencies of train and type of service, the franchisee will be able to 'reduce services to a specified level in the event that the demand for passenger services declines' for reasons 'outside the franchisee's control'."

Note the escape clause which says everything about private enterprise: service, yes, but only if profitable. Now British Rail has said that in the last two years income from passenger services has decreased by £80 million. The answer is only too obvious: unemployment has now been hitting the white collar Tory voting commuters in Suffolk, Surrey and Sussex and there is no point in their travelling every day to London just to spend the day sightseeing. But neither can BR cancel commuter trains for the 90% who still travel. So as from January their season tickets are going to go up by as much as 9%, according to the *East Anglian Daily Times* (15th October) and 'customers' (we have ceased to be 'passengers') "have condemned the hike as 'sheer madness'."

May we suggest that these 'customers' won't know what has hit them once the railways are privatised? Not only will fares increase but services will be slashed irrespective of the damage done not only to staff but to passengers. As it is, all the indications are that BR management is involved in the government's privatisation sell out, just as British Coal management is. After all, the top boys get the golden handshakes if they lose their jobs with privatisation, or double or treble their salaries if kept on.

Jimmy Knapp, General Secretary of the Rail, Maritime & Transport Workers' Union, was worried about such practical questions as "safety, track costs, timetabling, ticketing and pensions which have [still] to be resolved". He also pointed out that there was a central contradiction at the root of the privatisation proposals:

"if they have an open lines policy, then nobody will want to take on franchises because the figures on revenue set out in the consultation paper will be blown out of the water if another operator comes on to cream off the profitable parts of the service."

Peter Lawrence, vice chairman of the East Anglian branch of the Railway

Development Society, went further when he declared:

"The government are not thinking about what is best for rail travellers. They have largely ignored their views and are pushing ahead with political dogma'.

Referring to a government consultation document published on Monday, Mr Lawrence added: "Chaos would reign regarding the national rail timetable. If there are something like forty companies, we will see rail cards for senior citizens and the disabled disappear'." (*East Anglian Daily Times*, 14th October)

[Even before privatisation British Rail management in their wisdom have already clobbered 'senior citizens'. Their railcards now only entitle them to one-third off instead of a half. How stupid can you get when, if anything, the old age pensioners (assuming they have savings) will have less to spend as interest rates go down and fares go up and railcard discount goes down, and so will be obliged to travel less often. BR will be no better off financially and the old will be deprived of an outing. A Department of Transport spokesman "accepted that railcards for elderly and disabled people could not be guaranteed". So fellow oldies, you have been warned!]

Mr Lawrence is also quoted as saying that not one of the 150 BR users' groups he had contacted had expressed any enthusiasm for privatisation. He added:

"Fares will be higher and there should be a worse service because privatisation is aimed at making profits regardless of the social argument for good infrastructure."

Anarchists have from the outset been critical of the nationalised industries. Elsewhere we quote from *Freedom* nearly forty years ago on the subject - and we suggest readers will agree, from their experience, that our criticism was not theoretical but based on the realities. However, neither have we ever believed that privatisation was the alternative. **The organisation of public services must be a joint enterprise between the users and those of us engaged in providing those services.** Give the railway workers responsibility to provide a good, reliable service - which means responsibility at local levels to deal with problems as they arise. Today, more and more, with blind dependence on automation (which means centralising control) local problems cannot be quickly solved at local level, partly because management is opposed to this, but also because to that end and in the hope of cutting costs people are being made redundant and computers replacing them and offering no immediate solutions when things go wrong.

It may save a few thousand pounds and cost thousands of travellers unnecessary delays. This stupid Mr Major and his Citizens' Charter can only think in money compensation-for-the-delays terms. He cannot see that if there are railwaymen at local levels to cope with the causes of the delays they can be quickly dealt with. For instance, most of the delays this writer has experienced are the result of signals

and points failures or locomotive failures. The first two could never happen when there were signal boxes, and the third would not hold up a number of following trains if in the first place a whole number of sidings and crossings had not been eliminated in the rail economies over the years, but also with available staff and spare locomotives in the area, only the 'offending' train and its passengers would be delayed as compared with what happens now when all the services are affected.

We have digressed into details, but we hope positively because just as the mining industry, as a result of the privatisation of the electricity industry, is threatened with extinction, we are equally convinced that the same fate faces our railway system which we believe is the most economical and environmentally the most salubrious, as well as potentially the most relaxing form of travel.

We must oppose privatisation of the railways now! in the streets and together with the railway unions. Encourage the railway workers by telling them that we will support them in any direction they may take even if it is 'inconvenient' for us the travelling public. If we are not prepared to make a few 'sacrifices' in our

daily routine in order to produce a real public transport service then we deserve to have privatisation and only a rich-man's public service  
You have been warned!

## Postscript

As we go to press not only are the railway unions launching their campaign against privatisation but, according to the *London Evening Standard* (22nd October), a 'high powered' campaign involving sixty independent organisations, including groups representing the old and disabled, is also going into action attacking the proposed sale "as unworkable".

That the public must get directly involved if the rail privatisation is to be defeated was made clear by the news that a number of pre-privatisation conferences "aimed at identifying the most profitable sections of the industry" are to be held in the next few weeks which will be attended by "dozens of BR managers". It is also said that "there is increasing interest in the commercial opportunities presented by the sale".

We repeat: members of the railway travelling public - you have been warned!

## In spite of the recession THE RICHEST ARE GETTING EVEN RICHER

The *Independent's* correspondent in New York, Larry Black, reports that there is "no slump for America's richest" (6th October). He writes: "If it is true that the rich are getting richer it is also the case that the richest are becoming far richer than mere millionaires".

And he lists the top ten, mere names to English readers but headed by one Bill Gates who is worth \$6,300 million. Number ten is well behind at a mere \$3,500 million! Many friends to whom we quote such figures, and we imagine this must be equally true for some *Freedom* readers, tell us that beyond a certain figure they can't visualise what is meant. For them, let us translate. Assuming the average earnings in this country at £200 a week and assuming a 40-year working life, then Bill Gates' fortune is what 9,250 British workers earn in a working lifetime!

But that is not all. Whereas those 9,250 wage slaves will have been unable to save very much of their salaries and will end up with, say, £2,800 a year as their current old age pension, Bill Gates could be getting an income from his \$6,300 million nest egg (even if we put it as low as 3% after tax) of more than £110 million a year. About five times the total amount received by the 9,250 pensioners! Have we made the obscenity realistic?

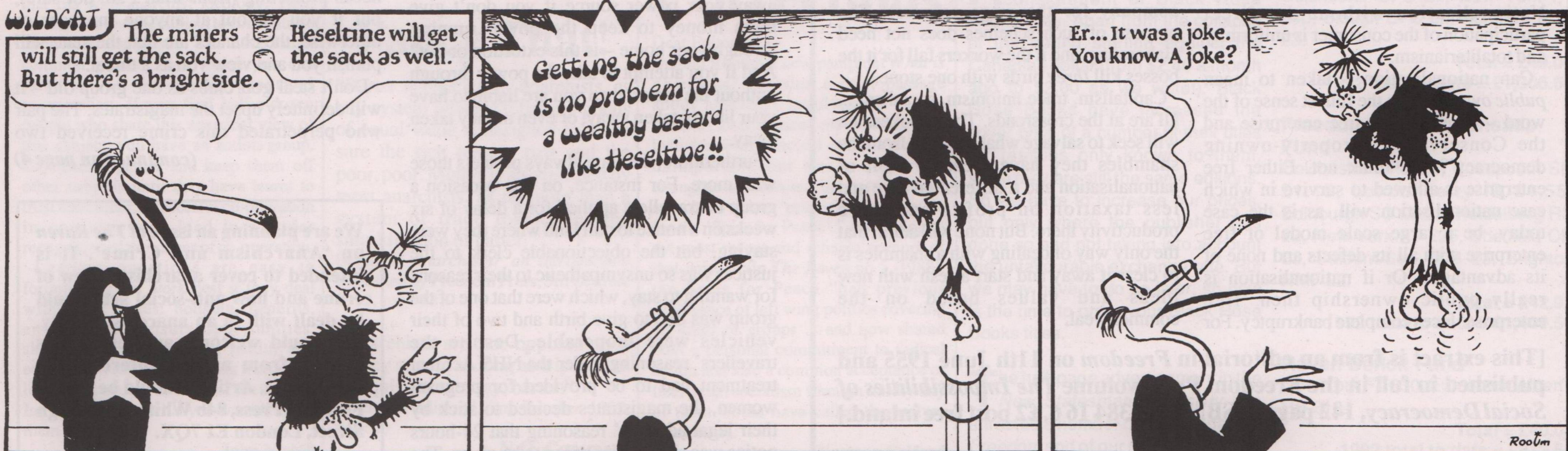
Bill Gates is, according to *Forbes* magazine's annual listing, one of the 400 wealthiest Americans whose income had to be £155 million a year or more. Their total wealth was £176,000 million.

Such obscenities are not limited to the USA. After all, Bill Gates is only the fourth wealthiest person in the world, according to *Forbes*. Two Japanese and one German are ahead. And one can conclude that Japan and Germany also have their 400 millionaires. But in all countries in this capitalist world, as *The Independent* put it for the USA, not only are the rich getting richer but the richest are also "far richer than mere millionaires".

To say, as do the political parties of the left, that the gross inequalities of our society can be corrected by replacing one bunch of politicians by another is not only wishful thinking, it is completely dishonest. The whole economy of the world is being taken over by the multinationals. All talk of Free Trade is nonsense. The banks, the insurance companies, the pension funds are a financial power that no government can control.

In *Freedom* we welcome the fact that the greed which capitalism fosters contributes to its undoing. But only contributes. The recessions and the slumps come and go and the ones who always suffer are the poor. When the poor of the world decide they have had enough, they will also realise that they have had enough from the political parties, the church and all the others who promise a new world if only they are given the power.

Only the anarchists remind the poor that 'we are many and they are few'. Let us start by having faith in ourselves and also re-learn the power of co-operation and solidarity.





When Philippa Davenport, the *Financial Times* cookery writer, took to giving recipes using chicken wings earlier this year, I knew things were getting bad. "In these recessionary times" she claimed, "a saving like this is not to be overlooked".

Last week this trend was confirmed in *The European* where Tamara Palombi of Milan's National Association of Consumer Co-operative Stores reported: "After fifteen years, the demand for chicken wings has picked up. Until a few months ago they were hardly ever sold".

Of course in Italy recently there have been other signs of disquiet. The crowds outside the banks demanding to withdraw their money became so large that the Prime Minister had to reassure them that their savings were not at risk of further taxation. This seems to have prevented a good old fashioned run on the Italian banks.

But the message of despair was driven home to me this week, when I had the chance of a job at my local Job Centre. The job was a temporary vacancy (of two to three months) for a personnel manager. Its main requirement was that the applicant should have experience of dealing with redundancies and company closures.

The company advertising for this hatchet-man was W.A. Allied Industrial Services of Bradford, though the company asked the Job Centre not to disclose this, and interviews took place at Provincial House, Bradford, last week. The hirer of this kind of industrial mercenary was the recruiting agents Stephenson Hayes of Solihull.

Now there's a job for you! Some poor sods

are going to get notice to quit by Christmas this year, and how better to do it than to hire an industrial hit-man on a short-term contract. Possibly the firm couldn't trust its own staff to do the dirty work. So why not take someone off the dole to put lots more into the dole queue.

And why not? People are angry enough to do anything to stop it.

### Jobs and Jobs

Yet a land such as ours needs more than these freelance sackers of men and women! It needs social controllers as well as industrial controllers.

This summer saw another good job on offer, when the West Yorkshire Police placed an advert in the Yorkshire press for an EMERGENCY PLANNING OFFICER (WAR) in their Contingency Planning Unit at their force headquarters in Wakefield.

Quite what sort of war is now envisaged by the West Yorkshire Police is not clear. Perhaps a clue is where they say: "The Force prides itself on being ... responsive to the ever-changing demands of a vibrant multi-cultural community". They probably mean that there are a lot of Asians in West Yorkshire, most of these support Islam and some are fundamentalists. In the event of more conflict in the Middle East, some of these many need to be contained, if not interned.

## THE FACTORY AND BEYOND

# Speculate to Accumulate!

But perhaps an EMERGENCY PLANNING OFFICER may not stick to wartime conflicts. Any government needs to have its eye on public order in peacetime as well as wartime. This year's summer riots on housing estates were a bit lame. But if Mr Lilley, Secretary of State for Social Security, is to be successful in his bid to stop girls getting pregnant to get a roof over their heads by 'jumping the housing queue', if he is to put down 'social security scroungers', to increase means-testing and cut rights to benefits, we must expect that the Home Secretary Mr Clarke may have to spend more in keeping order on the streets.

And sure enough, on the same day that Mr Lilley delivered his diatribe on "closing down the something for nothing society" (this refers to those on the dole queue, not to the Maxwell brothers, BCCI, the growing tribe of dishonest directors or the speculators on the currency markets or the Options and Future markets), Mr Clarke declared a crackdown on young offenders and that the new Criminal Justice Act would be implemented in full despite spending cuts in other areas. In a letter last week, Earl Russell claimed: "Cuts in income support risk increases in shoplifting ..." and that "it is far more expensive to support people in prison than to pay them income support, the Treasury may find that all or much of its saving is locked up inside prison gates".

Meanwhile, I've rewritten my own CV and am applying to join the Department of Social Security Fraud Squad. Now there is a booming trade for you!

### Unelected Rulers

What is interesting for the anarchist in the current dispute over Europe is that while a decade ago the British Tories were complaining that unelected trade union bosses were trying to run the country, now they are moaning about the Bundesbank and speculators dominating the government policies. Last month Sir Edward Heath, a pro-European, said that it would be intolerable for the "speculators to run our economies". Last week Mr Kenneth Baker, the respectable voice of Euro-scepticism, claimed it would be unthinkable for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be overthrown by the Bundesbank.

Clearly neither the Bundesbank nor the speculators are democratically elected, yet both exercise great power on governments. Three democratically elected German chancellors, Mr Ludwig Erhard, Mr Kurt Georg Kiesinger and Helmut Schmidt, according to David Marsh, "owe their downfall to the Bundesbank's monetary policies". He adds: "... the Bundesbank is an organism which governments fight at their peril". This is not so strange or new - the Wall Street bankers finished off the Labour government in the 1930s.

Mr Lamont must placate the markets before the Tory faithful, or even the electorate. What do we mean by 'the Markets'? Those who, as the *Financial Times* says, "scented a one-way bet" against the Italian lira and sterling - that is, the bankers who took on the central banks, the international fund managers who took out a hedge against the devaluation of the weaker currencies and the speculators who took up positions on the Options and Futures markets.

All of this makes the claims to democracy by the western nations look comical. It presents dangers, though, in societies without either a serious socialist or anarchist alternative agenda. William Rees-Mogg has argued that: "... the inexorable rise in European unemployment and the constraint of the ERM have created an overwhelming impression of the impotence of major European governments". He claims that when incumbent politicians declare publicly that they have no solution to the problem of unemployment they invite fascism as they did in the 1930s. In a recent article Hugo Young has echoed these sentiments, saying: "John Major has the misfortune to hold power when power, for democratic politicians all over the world, has become very elusive".

The options are not pleasant, when genuine fascism is on the up and up in France, Italy and Germany.

Mack the Knife

## Some Reflections on Anarchism & Nationalisation

One of the troubles with nationalised industries is that they are run as profit-making concerns (the Labour leaders insist that they 'must pay their way'); that in fact the five nationalised industries made a profit in 1953 of £137 million of which £109 million went into the pockets of former shareholders in the shape of interest and compensation.

Nationalised industries have not changed the status of workers engaged in them. The Boss has been replaced by the State. In the circumstances, therefore, the worker is in a weaker position for bargaining since the principal weapon at his disposal - the strike - has lost much of its force. An individual employer can hold out against the demands of striking workers for a limited time, the State indefinitely, as well as possessing powers to introduce emergency measures (legalised blacklegging) in the name of the community. Nationalisation without workers' control, therefore, is a retrograde step as far as workers are concerned.

Private enterprise - or what is left of it by the combines - by its competitive basis cannot ignore the consumer entirely. Nationalisation without the direct participation of the consumer is uniformity and totalitarianism.

Can nationalisation - taken to mean public ownership in the fullest sense of the word - co-exist with free enterprise and the Conservative 'property-owning democracy'? We think not. Either free enterprise is allowed to survive in which case nationalisation will, as is the case today, be a large scale model of free enterprise with all its defects and none of its advantages. Or if nationalisation is really public ownership then 'free enterprise' faces complete bankruptcy. For

apart from considerations of efficiency, service and working conditions, it would mean the end of the profit motive in production, the *raison d'être* of 'free enterprise'.

The pursuit of a thoroughgoing policy of nationalisation must result either in an equalitarian society in which money, as we know it today, will have become redundant, or in the all powerful, totalitarian State with a new class structure, new inequalities and new injustices.

In either eventuality most of the privileged members of society risk losing their power and private fortunes. Private enterprise's reply is to save what it can and consolidate what is left. Hence the growing numbers of mergers of companies (their own kind of nationalisation with which they proceed apace whilst paying lip-service to private enterprise) and the development of profit-sharing schemes for employees of (ICI for instance last year credited 75,000 employees with a bonus equal to a shilling in the pound of their wages - that is a total of £2,500,000 - which will be used to buy shares in the company for the wage earners). The purpose of such schemes does not need elaborating, and if the workers fall for it the bosses kill three birds with one stone.

Capitalism, trade unionism, socialism ... all are at the crossroads. Their spokesmen will seek to salvage what they can from the shambles they have created; a bit of nationalisation and a differential here and less taxation on profits and more productivity there. But none will admit that the only way of dealing with a shambles is to clear it away and start afresh with new ideas and values based on the commonweal.

[This extract is from an editorial in *Freedom* on 11th June 1955 and published in full in the Freedom Press volume *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*, 142 pages, ISBN 0 900384 16 6, £2 post free inland.]

Freedom published an editorial on the proposed privatisation of the railways in the 15th January 1992 issue with the title: **When will the Government STOP PLAYING AT TRAINS? Copies available for 50p from Freedom Press**

## The State has the Monopoly on Crime

Sitting in court, as I do as part of my job, you begin to realise how true the title is.

For instance, theft is not permitted by the individual, but is perfectly permissible by the government in the form of taxes, extracting goods when you do not pay and through the electricity generating companies - but taking away your power source if you don't give them money to keep the power running through your home - is this extortion or not? And if you attempt to take the power through without the meter, then you are liable to have your liberty taken away, or even money taken away.

Furthermore, the state always protects those with more. For instance, on one occasion a group of travellers applied for a delay of six weeks on a notice to quit land where they were staying, but the objectionable clerk to the justices was so unsympathetic to their reasons for wanting to stay, which were that one of the group was due to give birth and two of their vehicles were inoperable. Despite the travellers' reasoning under the NHS Act that treatment had to be provided for pregnant women, the magistrates decided to stick by their legal advisers' reasoning that 24-hours notice was all that was going to be given. The

smug landowner lurked in the shadows while the dirty deed was carried out on her behalf by the council lawyer.

Violence has to be another deal that individuals lose out on. Violence by the state is permissible on the grounds that the country needs protecting (from what I am not sure), but if you hit out at anyone in anger or otherwise, the chances are that the state will punish you and view you as a threat.

Don't steal golf clubs as one group did - it will definitely upset the magistrates. The pair who perpetrated this crime received two

(continued on page 4)

We are planning an issue of *The Raven* on 'Anarchism and Crime'. It is intended to cover anarchists' view of crime and how anti-social acts would be dealt with in an anarchist society. We would welcome articles on this subject from anyone interested in these issues. Articles should be sent to Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.



## London as Source and Cure of the Troubles in Northern Ireland

I write in response to Dave Duggan's cry from the heart. His inference is that an essential part of the answer has to come from London, and initially from the readers of *Freedom* no less.

The sad fact is that there is still no effective communication between the two communities in Northern Ireland and that, in consequence, the current Talks are heading for the same fate that overtook the Brooke Talks.

*The fault lies in London* and the buck can no longer be passed. It started here, of course, with the seventeenth century decision to plant Ireland with alien Protestants. It was all made much worse by decisions taken in London between 1969 and 1972.

In August 1969 Wilson and Callaghan decided to put the poor bloody infantry on the streets of Northern Ireland to defend beleaguered Catholics against a brutal Protestant assault. That was understandable, even defensible, although unarmed bobbies might have been more appropriate. The Catholic community was glad to see the troops and made them welcome.

Then there was an appalling disaster and we are still living with its consequences. *Wilson and Callaghan left the political direction of the Army in the hands of the Protestant Stormont government.* The Army was induced by Stormont to regard all Catholics as actual or potential IRA supporters. Wholly innocent people were harassed on the streets and had their houses torn apart in arms searches. The IRA had been disbanded in 1962! The Provos were born of this brutalisation.

As part of this horrific process there was the Falls Road curfew, internment and Bloody Sunday. Edward Heath was driven to impose direct rule in 1972. Stormont vanished. But it was too late – the Army had become the enemy and Sinn Fein / IRA chose to conjoin its withdrawal with the idea of unification of Ireland. The thing was given a political base.

### Circumstances alter cases

But nothing stands still. Even the British government now admits that by virtue of the end of the Cold War there is now no strategic reason for the Army remaining in Northern Ireland. That means that the only justification for the Army's presence is as back-up for the police, the RUC, in their struggle with the IRA and the UDA.

But that also means that given an agreed ceasefire

and an agreed political settlement the Army can be withdrawn. But does the government say that? It does not. A firm promise to withdraw the Army when lasting peace has been resolved would go a long way to defuse the paramilitary case. It has yet to be made.

The other helpful prospect is the possible involvement of Brussels. The inter-community situation is so bad that a neutral catalyst is essential. It cannot be that of the UN (which Sinn Fein is calling for) because that constitutes intervention in a member-state's internal affairs; and the rules rule that out. It has to be the EC. John Hume has already raised that prospect, but the British government is silent about this too.

So on two key issues, the eventual withdrawal of the Army and the role of the EC, Westminster and Whitehall have nothing to say. But it is in London that the power is, so what is holding things up?

### London's blocked politics

People are hardly aware that since 1972 the government and the opposition have had an

agreement to have a common policy over Northern Ireland. Bi-partisanship rules. There are no Acts of Parliament for Northern Ireland – it is all done by Orders in Council that get a perfunctory half-hour debate, no amendments, no Committee Stage, no Select Committee for Ulster. Seventeen Ulster MPs twiddle their thumbs on the back benches in utter futility and near desperation.

But there is worse to come. In this country our political correspondents hover round Westminster and Whitehall as though the rest of the country did not exist. If Ulster is dismissed by the politicians, the media do likewise. *But public opinion depends on the media* with the result that on no subject on earth is public opinion less informed than on that of our own backyard, Northern Ireland.

Everyone is uninformed and being uninformed is indifferent, could not care less. This is equally true of the Conservatives, Labourites, Liberal Democrats, Greens and anarchists! Even the Troops Out Movement seems to have given up and has not been seen on the streets for a year or so – its place taken by the Irish Free Movement.

### What is to be done?

There is just a flicker of something new. A year after the Enniskillen War Memorial horror in 1987, a group in Dublin said 'stop the killing' and founded New Consensus for that purpose. At the

initiative of Harry Barnes MP it spread to London in 1990. In 1988 the Gandhi Foundation started its Northern Ireland Project and the National Peace Council its Northern Ireland Group. Over the last twelve months New Consensus London Region had made five appearances on the streets as 'presences' or pickets and got through to the media. The up-market papers have very good specialists working on Northern Ireland. The tabloids are a total disaster.

It is all tiny and it is all in London. Wake up England, Scotland and Wales! It only needs four people to start an effective group. A library of good books has been written about Northern Ireland over the last 23 years. The first thing to do is to get the picture, burn some midnight oil, take Ulster off the taboo list and make it personal. Join!

Peter Cadogan

### Relevant addresses:

New Consensus: Secretary, Bert Ward, 22 Westwood Avenue, Middlesborough, TS5 5PY. Tel: 0642 824149. Meetings of the National Committee are open to all supporters, House of Commons.

Gandhi Foundation, Northern Ireland Project: Peter Cadogan, 3 Hinchinbrook House, Greville Road, London NW6 5UP. Also chairman of London Region, New Consensus. Tel: 071-328 3709.

National Peace Council, Northern Ireland Working Group: 88 Islington High Street, London N1 8EG. Tel: 071-354 5200.

## Anarchism in Peru

Peru is a country on the brink of civil war. The suspension of constitutional government by President Alberto Fujimori – in which the executive branch of the Peruvian government assumed broad powers and declared martial law – was a reaction against widespread social upheaval. In reporting on the Peruvian resistance, the media have largely focused on Sendero Luminoso, a Maoist guerrilla insurgency. (Sendero's proper name is the Communist Party of Peru, or PCP.) But there are a number of insurgent and potentially insurgent forces in Peru.

### The Peruvian Anarchists and Sendero Luminoso

The Peruvian anarchist movement is small but strong. In Lima alone, anarchists publish two underground newspapers, *Bandera Negra* (Black Flag) and *La Protesta* (Protest). They work with the Peruvian miners' union, and are attempting to set up an anarchist printing press. Despite the work they are able to carry out, their situation, like that of many people in Peru, is desperate, and they need international support.

Anarchists in Peru are fighting on several fronts: they oppose the capitalist government, but they also oppose the PCP. The reasons for opposing the PCP are complex, but clear.

Anarchists are anti-authoritarians – we believe that at the core of *specific* systems of oppression there are *basic relations* of authority which are the roots of oppression. If power is the ability to make someone take actions against their will, then authority is the ability to make someone *believe* that they *should* take such actions.

The history of communist revolutions in Europe, Latin America and Asia has shown that it is possible to destroy *specific social relations*, but it is impossible to destroy *class society* (or patriarchal society, or racist society without destroying the general relations of authority. So long as it is considered acceptable for one group to exercise power over another, we are not free.

The PCP is an authoritarian organisation. Because they are able to strike against hated representatives of the Peruvian ruling class, they have won widespread support among Peru's peasants, and their support in the urban shanty-towns of Lima and other cities is growing.

The PCP may *seem* like the best chance for Peru's people to be rid of US, Japanese and other imperialist domination, but the price of a Sendero victory is very high. Sendero Luminoso is notorious for their brutality not only against Peru's rulers, but against any autonomous opposition that threatens the PCP's total control over the revolutionary process.

The revolution in Peru is not the creation or the property of the Peruvian Communist Party. It is the result of the exploitation and oppression of the Peruvian people, and their determination to escape their misery by overthrowing the existing order. The PCP has effectively appealed to people involved in this process, but they are not the only

ones, and the PCP's vision is not the same as the revolution.

The Peruvian anarchists stand for a revolution that is controlled from below by the people themselves, and not by any party or other self-appointed leaders. This makes anarchist comrades in Peru likely targets for PCP guns. The Peruvian anarchist movement represents the best possibility for the revolution in Peru to take on a more anti-authoritarian character.

It is important to understand that the PCP *does* represent a movement for revolution. It is also symbolic of popular resistance to imperialism. But the revolution that the PCP promises is not one that will give the people real control over their own lives.

### Andrés Villaverde – anarchist political prisoner

Andrés Villaverde is a Peruvian anarchist prisoner. On 27th October 1991 he was arrested and accused of committing an act of sabotage. He has remained in custody since then, his case being passed from the local police directly to DINCOTE (the counter terrorist agency). When the police were unable to provide any substantial evidence against Andrés, he was accused of being a member of the PCP, and sent to Castro-Castro, Peru's maximum security prison. A year later, his case has not yet been opened by the courts. He has no right of *habeas corpus*, has had no access to an attorney, and cannot receive visits from family and friends.

### International Day of Action

The International Campaign for the Release of Andrés Villaverde is calling for a pressure campaign against the Fujimori government to release Andrés. In addition to petitions, faxes, telegrams and telexes, we are calling for an International Day of Action on Friday 30th October. We are calling on comrades around the world to demonstrate at Peruvian embassies, consulates, missions and other diplomatic offices.

Such pressure campaigns have been effective in the past, recently forcing the Russian government to release anarchists Alexei Rodionov and Alexander Kuznetsov with all charges dropped. Even small demonstrations will be recorded by embassy staff and reported back to Lima.

When a call went out for demonstrations for support for US anarchist prisoner Kenny Tolia, there were demonstrations in Moscow, Minsk, Warsaw, New York and other cities, and petitions were received from all over the world, from Britain to Russia, Nicaragua to Sweden. We think that a co-ordinated campaign around Andrés could be very effective.

### Supporting anarchism in Peru

Not only for Andrés, but the entire Peruvian anarchist movement needs international support. They have called for comrades to send them materials to aid their organising efforts: written

material (in Spanish), music and videos for their community centre, and related supplies. Due to repression in Peru, the comrades there have asked us to use the International Campaign address for information about Andrés or for material aid. You can write to the comrades there for general information, but please be careful. Do not write anything that can implicate you or the comrades in Peru. Do not mention anarchism. Do not send money.

José Mata D., Zumaran 315, Urb Santa Catalina, Lima 13, Peru

*Bandera Negra*, Residencial San Felipe 14-B-121, Lima 11, Peru

International Campaign for the Release of Andrés Villaverde, c/o *Love and rage / Amor y Rabia*, PO Box 3, Prince St Sta, New York, NY 10012, USA

## The State & Crime

(continued from page 3)

weeks prison before being sentenced. Golf is evidently not for the working class.

And if you decide not to be represented by a legal expert, you are likely to be insulted, degraded and treated like an idiot. A young man was in court unrepresented and the clerk gave him a right grilling for not attending to getting representation. I have witnessed a similar scenario when a defence solicitor was present and there was no heavy handed grilling by the clerk towards the solicitor.

Possessing counterfeit money is evidently a state monopoly. Any unofficial money in your possession is likely to land you in jail. Only the state produces money, even if it is worthless.

Thus the law never protects the individual, it always protects the state and ensures the state holds on to the control of power to behave as it likes. There is no justice and there is no humanity in the law. Once this whole edifice is gone the better and more enriched people will be.

Obviously in an anarchist society antisocial behaviour would still exist, but dealing with it would be different. Based upon non-hierarchical groups, decisions would be made collectively about what should happen, with the individual allowed to speak freely. But the only antisocial behaviour left would be violence, since the availability of goods would mean that all would have what they wanted, and violence in some respects stems from frustration and anger, through stress and greed. Thus 'crime' would not exist in a libertarian society – or would it?

Chris Platts

## 100 Years Ago

(From *Liberty* vol IX, no 12, whole no 246, New York, Saturday 19th November 1892)

The recent strike at Carmaux, France, was followed by an agitation for compulsory arbitration of disputes between capital and labor. There was a lively fight over it in the French Chamber, which fortunately had the good sense to vote the measure down. Of all the demands made upon government in the interests of labor this is perhaps the most foolish. I wonder if it has ever occurred to the laborers who make it that to grant their desire would be to deny that cherished right to strike upon which they have insisted so strenuously and for so many years. Suppose, for instance, a body of operatives decide to strike in defence of an interest which they deem vital and to maintain which they are prepared and determined to struggle to the end. Immediately comes along the board of arbitration, which compels strikers and employers to present their case and then renders a decision. Suppose the decision is adverse to the strikers. They are bound to accept it, the arbitration being compulsory, or suffer the penalty – for there is no law without a penalty. What then has become of the right to strike? It has been destroyed. They can ask for what they want; a higher power immediately decides whether they can have it; and from this decision there is no appeal. Labor thus would be prohibited by law from struggling for its rights. And yet labor is so short-sighted that it asks for this very prohibition!

T



## The Goodman legacy to anarchists

*Communitas: Ways of Livelihood and Means of Life* by Percival and Paul Goodman, Columbia University Press, Morningside Books, 1990 (available from Freedom Bookshop at £9.95 plus £1 postage inland)

*Artist of the Actual: Essays on Paul Goodman* by Peter Parisi, Scarecrow Press, New Jersey, 1986 (available from Freedom Bookshop at £6.00 post free inland)

Stoehr argues that his approach has become more relevant than ever.

Now that *Communitas* is available again, readers can judge. This edition has the bonus of an afterword, 'Communitas Revisited', in which Percy, with delightful and profound humour, tried to pick up the threads of the fraternal discourse of the war years.

The second of these books is strictly for Goodman admirers. Others, I fear, will find it intensely irritating in the way that literary criticism often is for us non-literati. Several contributors raise this particular point. Thus Everett Frost writes:

"Paul Goodman's work is typically approached by dividing it into two categories: political and literary. Often this is done for the purpose of defending the value of one aspect of his work against the complications caused by the presence of another. One point of view argues that he was essentially a creative writer, but that the deeply felt pressure of events made him undergo an unwilling apostasy from art in order to take up political polemics ... But another argues that his vocation was that of a political gadfly, for he had a genius for polemic and for identifying practical problems and for thinking up practical solutions to them - 'little expedients as to how it might be otherwise', as he sometimes said."

The book includes George Woodcock's excellent essay on Goodman which is also in the Woodcock collection *Anarchism and*

*Anarchists* (reviewed in *Freedom*, 3rd October 1992) as well as some revealing snippets. There's a little item with no date given, from Dwight Macdonald, who says: "What I recall most vividly about Paul Goodman is the discrepancy between his ideas, often original and profound, and his personality, often petty and absurd". He goes on to remark that the older brother Percy "in both mind and personality has many of the virtues Paul didn't. (And lacks some that Paul had.)"

This thought leads to curiosity about Percy, and the book also includes a long recorded interview with him (once again undated) which, besides the usual trivia of such occasions, includes very revealing material, like the fact that while in the '30s, Percy went through Stalinism and Paul went through Trotskyism, until "we both found ourselves increasingly taking an anarchist position". They hardly knew each other as children in a poverty-stricken broken home on the East Side of New York, because at 13 Percy found the situation intolerable, got a job and never returned, while Paul, through the scholarship system, went to an academic school and university. Which of the Goodman kids made the best choice?

Percy also revealed that the origin of *Communitas* was in some designs he made for

a trade pavilion for Kellogg's Corn Flakes for the 1936 New York World's Fair. When Kelloggs decided they weren't going to the fair, he tried to sell his ideas to the Otis Elevator Company! He said that the book they wrote together, fifty-fifty, only appeared because Richard McKeon, a professor of philosophy in Chicago who thought Paul was a brightest guy he ever met, convinced the University of Chicago Press to publish the book". And I see that the unreprinted preface in my battered copy of the original edition ends with the conclusion that "in general, the brothers alone can do together what together they could not do separately".

It's a remark that is hard to puzzle out, and I only quote the gossip from the second of these books because I am convinced that anarchists in the 21st century will regard *Communitas* as one of the most relevant classics left over from our own.

Colin Ward

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## Television Review

### A Fax from Surbiton

It has become self-evident, but just in case you hadn't noticed, the English situation comedy is dead. Sit-com is bankrupt as a form of television entertainment. On its present showing it has nothing to say to us, nothing of value to offer. As a genre it is exhausted.

It was not always thus. 'Hancock', 'Dad's Army', 'The Good Life', 'Fawlty Towers' mark the high water marks of comedy. Now water marks denote quality, but all we are left with now are the dregs, the scum left behind when the bathtub is drained. Even the programmers themselves are desperate when they re-run the old comedies 'Some Mothers ...', 'Rising Damp', 'Citizen Smith'. They make a candid admission of their own poverty of ideas. The difference in quality between the old and the new is obvious.

Just what is the problem with the sit-com? In a word, *stagnation*. They repeat the same familiar formula, they have an unwillingness to innovate. This is strange when we consider the diversity of talent available, the historic strength of comedy from the classic Ealing films, 1950s radio comedy through to Python and beyond - the alternative comedians. The problem with present-day sit-com is that they all flow from, and accept, the same set of values. They orientate themselves towards the same world. 'May to December', 'Keeping Up Appearances', 'After Henry' - they all depict the same middle class Home Counties\* (MCHC) world. *Surbiton*, a placename which combines suburban with situation, and which denotes middle class values, artificiality, contrivedness, emptiness, snobbery, 2.4 children, gardens, Volvos, concern about the hosepipe ban. This world is one which is completely inward looking, the world which swallowed the Thatcher myth hook, line and sinker. People with Telecom shares. Surbiton is played out as a source of humour, its values and concerns are hollow.

Could this tunnel vision be the result of an ideological bias? What is left out is as instructive as what is included; the anarchic anti-political stance of the alternative comedians rather than the

comforting and familiar 1950s escapism of 'Terry and June' are the messages the broadcasting bureaucrats would rather have us forget. If sit-coms are a commentary and reflection of the concerns and values held in the wider society, then on the present showing that wider society must be a particularly vacant lot.

Part of the problem for the English sit-coms lies with the producers, the writers, the actors. They all belong to the Surbiton world, and cannot break free from its pull. Its introspective concerns are theirs - always the same MCHC world. Think of a sit-com. Does it have a settee in it? Does it have an older middle class woman? Does it have a 1930s semi in the outside location shots? Does it play on the artificiality of that MCHC world? For even in the inculcation of those values, they cannot be *certain*, a level of doubt, a tone of insecurity and self-mockery creeps in.

Yet that world, the Surbiton world, is everywhere. You cannot escape it. Therefore it is a legitimate focus for television comedy because it reflects the real world, the world of those people who are watching. They are no fools these television producers and have obviously done their market and demographic research. They have latched onto the ageing population and so have more old people in the programmes ('Waiting for God' - 'One Foot in the Grave').

The Surbiton world in comedy itself is inescapable because of the prevalence of the paradigm. The pattern has been set. If you consciously *try* to evade it you will only reflect it ('Bread').

The Surbiton world is that inhabited by Dorian ('Birds of a Feather') or of the archetypal Surbitonites Margot and Gerry in 'The Good Life'. This is the value world of the BMW driving Essex men and women with salaries and fax machines. Their older counterparts live in 1930s semis, these in the 1980s equivalent, a mock-Georgian detached house. Always the same roads, the same comforting atmosphere. It is not just a question of 'Terry and

June' clichés about settees and 1930 ersatz Tudor semis. Neither is it one of regionalism, or class, for the tokenistic 'regional' comedies 'Bread' and 'Watching' and the token 'working class' comedy 'Only Fools and Horses' all inhabit or align themselves within that same world of values. More to the point, there is something unreal and disturbing about all of these, as if the characters were wheeled in from Madame Tussauds. They are horrible Surbitonite parodies of the outsiders. It has been suggested that this is a conscious and deliberate attempt to undermine non-MCHC people's self-image, but I favour incompetence as a more plausible explanation. The people turning out all this crap have no conception (or perhaps have forgotten) life outside Surbiton. How else could they fit Nellie Boswell's kitchen into the width of the narrow terraced house she allegedly lives in?

A large part of the problem is no doubt one of production logistics. The shows all share the same style of visual appearance because the sets are designed by the same people, built by the same people, and filmed by the same people within the constraints of the factory system. However, it is not simply a matter of changing the outside locations, nor of changing the accents. Nor do they need to build a set to represent a launderette, as a sop to the demotic. More than this, it is a matter of the whole philosophy *behind* the 'jokes' and situations. There is nothing intrinsically funny about garden gnomes, but Surbitonites insist on parading three of them ('Last of the Summer Wine') plus assorted other stock northern characters before us. The intention is perhaps to say 'Look, we've escaped from Surbiton', but in feeling the need to make this claim they strive only to assert and emphasise the ultimate legitimacy and comprehensiveness of it as a value system.

Even the most intelligent of the sit-com writers, the one perhaps closest to breaking free of Planet Surbiton's gravitational field, Carla Lane, is still stuck in it and cannot stop turning over and over the angst of the same middle class, middle aged housewife, from 'Butterflies' through 'Bread' into 'Screaming'.

The question has to be asked, are sit-coms not simply another form of advertising? Buy my washing powder, buy my lifestyle, buy my values.

Are they a form of inspirational social homiletic? Laugh as you learn, learn as you laugh? (The American sit-coms blatantly are.) If so, they have gone wrong, and catastrophically so.

Is there something fundamentally invalid about the whole genre? Perhaps its tacky artificiality, as indicated in the term 'situation'? Yet, the older examples worked, and what about 'Minder' and 'Blackadder'? But notice that all the comedies which have succeeded are those which broke the mould, the ones which have transcended the constraints of the format, or better still, disregarded them completely. They do not seek to impose that false and empty value world. The problem is that the channels of production are blocked. Where is the new blood? Where are the new ideas? It is always the same writers, the same producers, the same actors and actresses. The sit-com paradigm needs to be broken.

Despite the criticism, I don't share the pessimism of the claims of some that in a world of tragedy it is no longer possible to be funny. The point is to disprove the adage that in the face of the mortgage rate humour can only be silent.

Stephen Booth

\* Notice how the term 'Home Counties' implies that the counties outside these are somehow not *home*, i.e. foreign, alien.

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# What is Anarchism?

What is Anarchism? an introduction  
by Donald Rooum and others  
Freedom Press, ISBN 0 900384 66 2, £1.95

Donald Rooum is the author of the first 28 pages; the remaining section of 46 pages is made up of extracts from the writings of anarchists, living and dead, which have been published elsewhere. Rooum's contribution may be related to his cartoon which appeared on page 37 of the centenary publication of Freedom Press, *Freedom: A Hundred Years*, which was issued in October 1986. This cartoon is in three parts: the first depicts the Free Range Egghead (FRE) and the Wildcat (WC) in consultation, the latter declaring, 'We can produce a collection of manifestoes showing all the strands of anarchist opinion'. The FRE demurs, saying that they don't have time, but his comrade declares with characteristic rashness, 'Yes! We can do it!!! I have time enough!'. The middle section depicts the two comrades approached by a huge and daunting crowd of wierdos, many of them of dream-like grotesqueness, each bearing his or her own contribution and demanding publication. The bottom section shows a terrified WC rushing away

murmuring 'Thank you, and good luck, comrade! I am fully occupied with, er, mumblemumble'.

Thus the FRE is left to cope with the huge task of coping with this lot all on his own. Some of us will have experienced this situation in the past, and it is a most insightful cartoon, representing pictorially a sort of bad dream engendered by trying to deal with the demands of the fringe elements of the anarchist movement. The text of the present publication shows how the noble FRE coped with the situation that was forced upon him.

Rooum divides his written contribution into three sections, like his cartoon: 'What Anarchists Believe', 'How Anarchists Differ' and 'What Anarchists Do'. This arrangement should meet the interests of people who have little or no previous knowledge of anarchism. Writing the first section is a difficult task for anyone to undertake, for as he points out: "The difficulty of arguing the anarchist case today has been compared with the difficulty of arguing the atheist case in medieval Europe". He makes a fair job of the exposition, but I query the wisdom of putting forward a rather jejune account of the pre-history of human society which has not much foundation in

modern anthropology. Do many anarchists believe all this? I rather doubt it, and anyway I don't think it very important for the anarchist case whether this is myth or whether it is founded on fact. It is easy for a critic to pick holes in anyone's attempt to represent in simple terms what anarchists believe, as many convinced anarchists will pick on isolated passages and say 'Well, I don't believe that, and I don't think many comrades do!'

The writer is on easier ground when he comes to discussing how anarchists differ. The first difference that is made is between 'intellectualists' and 'workerists', which is one of Rooum's main contentions, and is symbolised by his cartoon characters the FRE and the WC, and repays further consideration. In his view, "the difference is not one of social class or educational background"; here we have a dichotomy of (innate?) temperament that has formed the background of some schools of psychology that stem from the psychologist and philosopher William James. James postulated the temperamental dimension of tendermindedness-toughmindedness, and put anarchists at the extreme of the latter dimension, citing the anarchist writer Morrison Swift.

Rooum refers to the terms 'pacifist anarchist', 'anarcho-sindicalist', 'anarchist communist' and 'anarchist socialist' as "secondary labels", some of which indicate the real difference while others "are just there to distinguish persons of anarchists persuasion from persons to whom the term 'anarchist' is misapplied". As examples of the latter type of label, 'class-struggle anarchist' and 'individual anarchist' are given, but from the text that follows, I do not think that this is precisely what is meant. The different attitudes of anarchists to the use of violence are discussed, as are the different meanings of 'workers' control'. The differences between anarchists on the question of religion are mentioned, and it comes as a surprise to me to learn that "there are anarchists for whom the worship of God is the very basis of their anarchism", as I have never met one. It is in this section that conscious egoism is mentioned, as an example of the attitude that regards the idea of there being a deity, as a notion of there being "a tyrant in heaven".

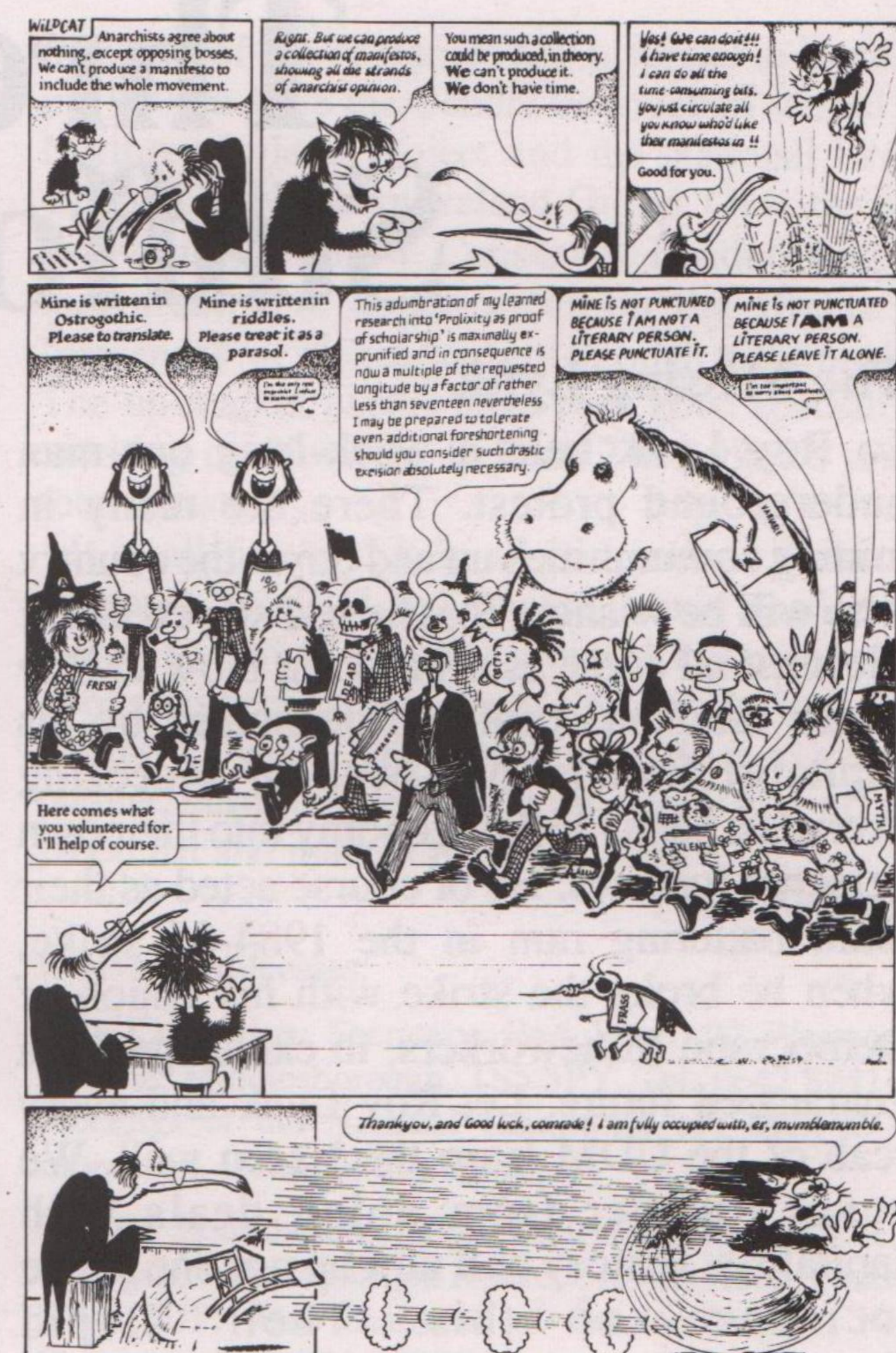
A final difference between anarchists that is identified concerns those who are convinced that the revolution can be completed within a short time, and those who regard the anarchist revolution as a process that is already in operation in society. Rooum regards the latter type of people as optimists because they believe "that anarchism has made, and is still making, a useful contribution". The former are more likely to be (eventually) pessimists, because they find in practice that the revolution does not drop into their laps as the result of their agitation.

That which follows Rooum's contribution consists of 21 separate extracts from the writings of various people, some of them very brief. Here the material is presented without any editorial introduction, which I think is a pity. There is no explanation of why this particular selection of anarchist writing was chosen, or what it sets out to show. To someone fairly familiar with anarchist theory, it has some interest in a historical sense, but it is likely to cause perplexity to newcomers. For instance, there is a clear contrast between the attitude to revolutionary violence taken by Malatesta and Richards. The former, writing in 1920, advances the view that only a violent revolution can solve the social question. He writes:

"... since the environment today, which obliges the masses to live in misery, is maintained by violence, we advocate and prepare for violence. That is why we are revolutionaries, not because 'we are desperate men, thirsting for revenge and filled with hate'. We are revolutionaries because we believe that only the revolution, *the violent revolution*, can solve the social question" (page 37, emphasis added).

By contrast, Richards, who was writing in 1953, wrote:

"It has repeatedly been pointed out by anarchist thinkers that the revolution can neither be won, nor



the anarchist society established and maintained by armed violence. Recourse to violence, then, is an indication of weakness, not of strength ..." (page 50).

Why the difference? An editor might have pointed out that Malatesta and Richards really have very similar ideas about anarchism, but during the period of time between the two writings there had been very significant developments in anarchist theory, and events such as the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s (about which Richards is an expert) have matured anarchist thinking in advance of the comparative simplistic ideas of men of Malatesta's time. Again, naive readers of today may be surprised, even amused, at the piece by Charlotte Wilson. Here is this good lady, with her background of Cheltenham Ladies College and Newnham College, Cambridge, all too evident in her moral lecture to Victorian working men, being presented to the modern reader a hundred years later. An editor might point out why it was deemed appropriate to reprint it in this collection. A footnote mentions that it was re-published in 1909, but I question its relevance to 1992.

I am not opposed to the re-publication of works by anarchist writers from the past, provided the context in which they were written is explained to readers, but was it necessary to select as many as seven pieces by Malatesta? There are good contemporary writers too, and a few of them are represented in this work. I wish there had been more.

Tony Gibson

## Food for Thought ... and Action

### • MINERS' STRUGGLES SPECIAL EDITION •

The following is a list of books and pamphlets on the lot of the mining community, principally relating to the 1984-85 Great Strike, which we are mentioning again here in solidarity with the miners against the Major and his henchmen. (The profits or part-profits on several of these titles were donated to miners' groups or their communities.)

**A Year of Our Lives: a colliery community in the Great Coal Strike of 1984/5\*** compiled by David Douglass, Hooligan Press. A well-documented account by the men, women and children from around Hatfield Main pit (one of those currently threatened with closure) in the Doncaster coalfield. Full of photographs and illustrations, about 100 pages, £3.50.

**A State of Siege: politics and policing of the coalfields, miners' strike 1984\*** by Coulter, Miller and Walker, Canary Press. Lots of good background material on police organisation and methods, roadblocks, phone-tapping, military co-operation, the National Reporting Centre, the ACPO, and violence against miners and their supporters. 241 pages, £3.50.

**Hearts and Minds\*** by Joan Witham, Canary Press. The story of the Nottinghamshire Women's Support Group, who suffered some of the worst police brutality of the 1984 strike, in an area where the strikers were in the minority. Inspiring accounts of courage and solidarity. With photographs and illustrations, 217 pages, £4.95.

**Strike-Breaking in Essex\*** by Moira Abdel-Rahim, Canary Press. The policing of the Essex ports during the strike. Based on interviews and first-hand experience on the picket lines. 121 pages, £2.50.

**Across Frontiers: international support for the miners' strike\*** by Jonathan Saunders, Canary Press. A popular celebration of international working class action and solidarity previously unrecorded by the British Left. 288 pages, £6.95.

**Shifting Horizons\*** by Lynn Beaton, Canary Press. Based on the experiences of two miner's wives in a Nottinghamshire pit village, this is a testament to the part played by women during the Great Strike. Though born and brought up in a mining community, nothing could have prepared them for the year-long struggle in

which they sought, and found, a new identity and new roles as organisers and activists. 265 pages, £5.95.

**Let Them Eat Coal\*** by Lesley Sutcliffe and Brian Hill, Canary Press. The political use of Social Security during the miners' strike and the attempt to starve the miners and their families back to work. 55 pages, £1.95.

**A Turn of the Screw\*** by Martin Walker, Canary Press. The story of the wave of repression - economic, cultural and legal - which followed the miners' strike. It describes the new consciousness developing among those who were victims of state violence, sackings and imprisonment. 132 pages, £3.95.

**Cwmbach Miners and Women Speak Out,\*** Cwmbach Miners' Relief Fund. A group of people from a South Wales mining village discuss the strike and the day-to-day problems of organising relief for the strikers and their families. A5 pamphlet, 14 pages, 40p.

**Come and Wet This Truncheon\*** by Dave Douglass, DAM/Canary Press. *Only two copies left.* The role of the police in the coal strike of 1984-85. An excellent pamphlet with photographs. A5, about 40 pages, 80p.

**The Miners' Next Step** by N. Ablett et al, Germinal/Phoenix Press. Introduction by Dave Douglass. A suggested scheme for the reorganisation of the South Wales Miners' Federation (as it was then), written along anarcho-sindicalist lines in 1912, provoked by widespread discontent with the union's structure and bureaucracy, and now reprinted. A5 pamphlet, 32 pages, £1.50.

**The Miners and other stories\*** by Robert Morgan, People's Publications. Despite the fact that he writes fiction, so informed by experience are his stories that Robert Morgan may well be the most exact and reliable historian of the work of miners and their families in the middle years of this century. Miner, teacher, artist, sculptor and writer, Morgan is a natural storyteller. 75 pages, illustrated, £3.00.

KM

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# Three Views from the Staffordshire Coal Field

## The Missing Link

So Roy Lynk held a week-long one-man underground protest. There are many in mining communities up and down the country who will be wishing that he had stayed there!

It must all come as a shocking blow to Roy to see the Notts coalfield decimated by his capitalist friends, hell-bent on squeezing every last penny in the economy into their own personal fortunes. He of course acted as their main battering ram in the 1984-85 strike, when he broke the strike with his Union of Democratic Mineworkers, in exchange for a guaranteed future. Let Roy Lynk and every scab of the UDM learn the lesson well. We never prosper from doing deals with capitalists. History will turn up not one single incidence of this. Their stupid short-sightedness has allowed the decimation of the coal industry to take place. The UDM have even been involved in negotiations to form a consortium to buy the privatised British Coal. From bosses' stooge to would-be boss! Well, I'm sorry, but you can't buy an industry for the workers. What the UDM were offering was to take workers money to buy British Coal and then run it themselves.

If the workers want the coal industry then they must take control of it themselves. Stuff Roy Lynk and the UDM; stuff Arthur Scargill and the NUM; stuff British Coal, the Tory government, Her Majesty's opposition and the crocodile tears of the middle classes who cheered on the police in 1984-85.

If you want to save the coal industry, seize the means of production!

## A quality of life

The ironies of the death agonies of the coal industry are much apparent in the mining communities. Staffordshire, after the current round of cuts, will have only one pit left and a proposal for an ecologically catastrophic open-cast carbuncle.

While Labour, the Left and the unions demand full employment and the preservation

of miners' jobs, many miners will be glad to see the back of the pit. They'll take the money and run. Let's face it, coal mining is a shit job! It's dirty and dangerous; management and government have been crapping on the miners for years, particularly since the 1984-85 strike; and what future?

The reason for mining, like most jobs, is economic necessity: enough money to get by. You leave school and go down the pit. You are then a miner, that's your life. Funny thing is, it's not enough. People want a real life!

As pits have closed miners have been shunted from one pit to another, some have now worked in half a dozen. With the pits goes the community. You are then faced with a house in a run-down area you can't sell, so you travel to your new pit, which after each closure gets further and further away, eating into your time and money, and straining stamina and relationships. Not unsurprisingly many have decided enough is enough.

Coal is also an ecological nightmare. It gives off a number of harmful chemicals including sulphur dioxide, a main cause of acid rain. It leaves industrial scars across the landscape and is a very inefficient source of energy. However, producing coal for use in the short term from your locality is a bloody sight more efficient than shipping it half way around the world, purely because it can be extracted dirt cheap using labour even more abused than here!

Of course, ultimately coal has no future if we are to live in harmony with the planet. The use of appropriate technology would render coal, gas and nuclear generation irrelevant, not to mention the national grid and the distribution companies. Using efficient products, in conjunction with solar, wind and other locally available renewable resources, would eradicate all these monoliths of capitalism. No wonder the establishment won't promote them!

So ultimately the miners don't want coal and

the environment doesn't want it, so they have an ally in the government who also seem to be dedicated to its demise. Only thing is the government aren't getting rid of coal for renewable resources, they're just buying it off third world dictatorships (South Africa, Columbia, etc). Very sensible. Not exactly what you would call progress!

## It's all just capitalism

The government puts it all down to the increasing use of Combined Cycle Gas Turbine (CCGT) power stations. This was a result of privatisation as the twelve regional electricity companies bought into them to break NatPower and PowerGen's monopoly on supply. They in turn commissioned CCGT's to compete with these. This apparently will lead to a glut of energy in coming years, based on a very limited supply of North Sea gas, not to mention the destruction of the coal industry on these

islands. Another stunning success for competition!

And what of the opposition? Well, they are calling for resignations in Parliament and getting the public to sign petitions. How fucking useful! The unions are holding meetings with each other and calling for job creation. How fucking irrelevant!

What all this shows is the stupidity and disgusting wastefulness of capitalism, both in terms of resources and people's lives. It should also point the way forward. It's time to take the struggle into our own hands. An anarchist society would see huge and sweeping changes in social organisation as we strove for a free and ecologically sound life. Power generation on a grand scale is a monster of capitalism, it has no future. However, in moving to that we must build from the old using the skills of the people to create a new, better existence.

We should give no time to Parliamentary illusions, or the divide and control unions seeking only their own positions of power. It's time to learn our own strength, organise ourselves and seize the means of production, relegating capitalism to the dustbin of history. Only then will we be able to organise society in a sane manner and begin to live our lives fully! REVOLUTION COMRADES!

Ging

# Getting Anarchism Across

I would like to continue from John Griffin's excellent article in 19th September issue of *Freedom*. I have found that questions are the most effective way of getting a positive response from non-anarchists. Questions can be put into ordinary conversation in a very casual, informal manner. The same questions can be used as an excuse to stop people in the street or knock on the doors of total strangers. Just explain that you are assisting with a survey of local opinion. People are so used to questionnaires that many of them will help you, giving you the time and information which would be very hard to gain if you started off by labelling yourself as an anarchist.

Some of you may regard this as manipulative, even deceitful, but I would argue that it is the

pseudo-scientific questionnaires that are deceitful, for they persuade both questioner and respondent that some new scientific law is going to be discovered as a result of a series of questions. Action Research, on the other hand, uses questions to raise consciousness and enable people to formulate co-operative responses to real social problems.

I list below some leading questions which I have found useful:

1. 'There are far more poor people than rich, so the poor could run the country for themselves if they wanted to. Do you agree? And if so, why do you think they do not rule.'

2. 'Do young people paint on public walls and smash public property because they wish to have

(continued on page 8)

## STATISTICS IN BRIEF

More than 39,000 manufacturing workers have lost their jobs in the past three months, making a total of 94,800 in the past year.

In a report published this month by the Housing Corporation, described by *The Times* (6th October) as "the government quango that funds social housing associations", it is estimated that 102,500 homes for rent are needed annually to cater for low-income families. Yet only 50,000 are planned to be built.

Informed commentators maintain that if the number of new houses for low-income families to rent is not increased it would condemn "more families in temporary accommodation and bed and breakfast and longer council house waiting lists". As it is there are 62,780 families in temporary accommodation, according to the environment department.

According to *Relate*, the marriage guidance charity, unemployment, redundancies, home repossessions and mounting debts are having "a devastating" impact on family life. In the past twelve months counsellors saw 70,000 new cases and almost 400,000 interviews were given to people seeking help.

According to Reuters, the US trade deficit rose by almost 24% in August. This £5,500 million shortfall was one of the biggest, and higher than the Wall Street experts' 'expectations'. The trade deficit was running at an annual rate of £45,000 million a year, which makes the estimated British deficit of £10,000 million this year about as bad pro rata of population.

The annual bookfair is a great opportunity for anarcho-types to get together, meet old comrades, make friends and enemies and have a good gossip about each other. It is also a chance for those of us living outside London to buy many excellent books we don't see in the shops. It is worth saving up some money for this annual treat; but I must say we could each buy more worthy tomes if some publishers didn't have the daft idea of reprinting older texts in new flashy formats that are more expensive. What kind of market are these people aiming at? Surely the overriding aim at an event like this should be accessibility.

The bookfair is also host to a number of meetings in some of the smaller rooms in Conway Hall. I went to two of these. The first was organised by Class War. Since I already know about the politics of Class War, I wasn't going to attend if it was going to be an introductory talk; I went because Class War said they were going to use their hour-long slot to discuss the crisis facing the miners. First, however, Tim Scargill was going to say a few words more generally. The few words became a lengthy speech, however, and I became rather uncomfortable with this. Tim pointed out that too many lefty groups see it as their task to educate the working class - they think they're superior to the working class and that they can't learn anything from the communities they support. The point was a good one; but was this the time and place to go on about it? Did we really need to be told about the failings of the Socialist Workers Party *et alia*? Class War seemed to me to be wasting time preaching to the converted.

Others I spoke to were less charitable. One comrade remarked on the fact that here were Class War boasting about how in their recent

tour they had allowed people (from the audience) to speak (unlike the lefty groups that simply lecture people), yet instead of allowing us to speak they harangued us with rhetoric for an hour.

In their defence, I should point out that Class War intended that part of the next talk in the same room (organised by Dave Morris) could be a discussion about the miners. But there was something happening in another room at the same time that looked more important than a mere discussion. The Anarchist Communist Federation called a meeting for all those interested in doing something practical with regard to the miners' struggle. People eventually agreed to set up a support network, the function of which will evolve with the development (if any) of the miners' struggle itself. Its first objective would obviously be to spread information about what is actually happening, about developing demands and aims. (And here, as was pointed out, is an ideal use for the European Counter Network of computers - this facility can spread information in real time instead of waiting for the post: contact 121 Railton Road, Brixton, for details.) As I write, the way forward looks unclear; by the time you read this, the matter may have been resolved (provisionally at least) by a backbench Tory revolt. If not, however, anyone interested in getting involved in the network should write to the Miners' Support Network, c/o ACF, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. (The network is certainly *not* an ACF front,

their address is simply being used as a central contact point.)

Finally, a word or two about the magazines and papers on sale at the bookfair. *Black Flag* was once again notable by its absence. I was told that it, and *Direct Action* (which hasn't appeared for several months) will both be hitting the shops again soon, perhaps in November. A new magazine I came across was called *Trotwatch*. An accompanying leaflet suggested that it would not be appearing regularly, but the editorial inside suggests otherwise, in order not to wind up the Trots. It is an excellent publication, very well informed and researched (it focuses largely on the policies of the Trot parties during the last and previous elections) and very funny. It is written in the style of Marxist rhetoric which it lampoons very successfully:

"*Trotwatch* is designed and typeset by the 'Bullet Ridden Partridges' and printed by 'Iron Broom Resistant' printers. *Trotwatch* is a 'We Remember Kronstadt' publication. Genuine free-communist forces may reproduce any materials from *Trotwatch* they deem historically necessary. Acolytes of the tyrant Lenin, however, will face the unquenchable wrath of proletarian vengeance if they attempt to do likewise."

It also includes a DIY letter of complaint for any Trots who come across the paper, and a very interesting account of the recent schism in Militant Tendency.

Johnny Yen

*Trotwatch* issue one is available from Freedom Press Bookshop, price £1.20 post free.



Dear Freedom,

In the absolute certainty of boring all Freedom readers to death, could the editors let me answer Neil Birrell's letter of 17th October. And I promise this will be my last on the violence topic - for now, at least.

Neil rather smugly says that my three points on the inapplicability of violent revolution (*Freedom*, letters, 19th September) are "easily dealt with", yet he doesn't deal with them! But before failing to deal with them, he claims that my being ready to use violence totally undermines my case. Bollocks! Had he read my letter of 19th September properly he would have seen that I said that the consequences of shooting him in self-defence were: "... I would have killed him and defended myself, but I wouldn't have created an anarchist society" (new stress). What I have been arguing is that, as I said in my last letter, "there is no case for regarding premeditated violent revolution as offering any hope for anarchism in a modernised western society". That is not to say that I mightn't find myself using violence at some time or another over something that I cannot foresee. Neil seems to think that this attitude is contradictory, implying that there is total (moral, Ernie Crosswell style) pacifism and nothing else. This is ridiculous, and ahistorical. There is an entire spectrum of views on violence, from total pacifism to militarism, and if Neil would like to find out about this he should read Martin Caedel's excellent book, *Thinking About Peace and War* (Oxford University Press, 1989) or his earlier *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945* (Oxford University Press, 1980).

Now for Neil's non-treatment of my

# Violent Revolution Non-Violent Revolution

three points. My first was that violent revolution will not work in our type of society. I stick with that: Neil says we cannot foresee what will happen, citing the events in East Germany. Rather an odd example, as there was no attempt at violent revolution there. Indeed, the centres of the mass, passive, resistance were often pacifistic churches. Indeed, the only use of violence by anti-government forces in eastern Europe was in Romania, and that looks as if the whole thing was some sort of army coup against Ceaucescu and his immediate supporters - not a mass revolution leading to an anarchist society. Still, Neil is obviously right when he says that we can't foresee the future, but I just cannot see how anarchists could mount a successful violent revolution in Britain, now or at any time. If Neil's got a sure-fire plan, then let's hear it.

The second point, that you don't make anarchists by killing people. Neil's response here it to cite the 24,000 mourners at Andreas Baader's funeral. There is an associated point here, in that Neil is supporting his contention that many anarchists do believe in armed revolt. As I've said before, that's up to them, but I still say 'nuts' to them - especially as they are obviously doing nothing about it. But back to Baader's mourners. Firstly, you've got to ask if the

RAF were anarchists. I don't think so. I don't want to start a long argument about this, but I don't think that any self-respecting anarchist should have taken so much in the way of aid, material, safe-houses, training, etc., from the state that was even more oppressive, violent, militaristic and Bolshevik than the one they were fighting. And if Neil wants to claim 24,000 'anarchists' as a result (and how does he know this), I'll counter by saying that all the antics of the RAF achieved was a general shift to the right amongst the rest of the German population, and a further tarnishing of the name 'anarchist' in their eyes. Finally, if Neil thinks that bombs, kidnapping and murder make anarchists, what the fuck is he doing arguing in the pages of *Freedom* when he could be burning down the local Safeway or kidnapping and murdering some banker?

The last point, that if anarchists wanted to beat the state by violent insurrection then they would have to organise on a scale that would beat the military might of the state. This is a non-sequitur, it is a fact. And the worst thing any anti-statist can do is to create an organised military arm. This is because the first states were always created out of the need for military organisation, and the history of the state is the history of the military. From the housecarls of the Anglo-Saxon kings to the military-industrial complex of post-war America, organising for war means organising the state. So, if Neil wants to beat the state on the field of battle, he shouldn't be surprised when his 'Anarchist Peoples' Militia, Poole Battalion' turns into the 9th Regiment of Foot (APM) in the new 'anarchist' state.

Right, that's it. Of course, there is only one way to settle this. A dawn meeting between Neil and myself on a field midway between Poole and Edinburgh.

Dear Comrades,  
I dislike having to criticise a fellow anarcho-pacifist and friend, Ernie Crosswell, but he really should not have raised the question of premeditated and unpremeditated violence. It has provoked a totally irrelevant discussion on pacifism. Actually, we need to distinguish only between the violence done on behalf of ourselves and the violence done on behalf of a group.

In the 11th July issue of *Freedom*, you published a letter of mine in which I showed that a violent revolution could not produce our ideals. I challenged any anarchist to prove that my reasoning was unsound, but not one has done so.

The only way to destroy the state is one which should appeal to anarchists because it involves acting as responsible individuals, not as part of a controlled group. We can destroy the state by refusing to make use of it and by refusing to support it. There is no need to use violence to take power from the governments, all we need do is refuse to give it to them. (There are more details in my new booklet, *Thoughts of an Anarcho-pacifist*).

As always, to produce our revolution we must teach others our philosophy.

Derrick A. Pike

Please keep sending in your letters and donations

Pistols at thirty yards. I name Ernie Crosswell as my second. Mr Birrell, sir, I await your convenience.  
Stephen Cullen

Dear Editors,  
In answer to IB (*Freedom* Letters, 17th October).

a) I do not value the lives of women and children above the lives of men, generally speaking - I put forward children, and the women who look after them, because they are powerless pawns caught up in a virtually all-male struggle for power. If IB accepts that "no one has the right to force others to engage in actions against their wishes", should he not apply that sentiment to women and children who have wars forced upon them? I think we should join these enforced pacifists - not take up arms and make things worse for them.

b) IB gives examples purporting to show that the lesser-armed side is sometimes victorious, but these 'victories' have only changed one set of oppressors to another set of oppressors; battles have been 'won' at a cost, but the wars go on, and on, and on ...

c) IB's example of Gandhi's followers' set-piece adherence to non-violence in the face of severe beatings may demonstrate that under special circumstances the animal instinct to react violently can be suppressed, but they had consciously put themselves in a position where violent reaction was nigh impossible anyway. This does not invalidate my idea that the human animal is 'programmed' to react violently to assault. In a different situation, those Gandhi followers might have obeyed their animal instincts.

Now, to answer Neil Birrell: To suffer and die alongside the innocent is only one way of committing suicide - another way is to join the armed forces, as I nearly proved for myself years ago.

Ernie Crosswell

PS: Of course you don't own a gun, Steve - nor do the Editors. As I said in my letter, "Surely not!"

## Getting Anarchism Across

(continued from page 7)

they wish to have some impact on the environment but find themselves excluded from the planning and development of that environment?"

3. 'What do you think helps most the increase in alcoholism amongst lonely housewives? a) greater job opportunities, b) women coming together to share their problems, or c) higher state benefits recognising housework as work.'

4. 'What are the most important steps towards nuclear disarmament? a) informing the public of the dangers of wars/accidents, b) peaceful demonstrations to show public feeling, c) direct action against military posts, d) supporting a political party that supports unilateral disarmament, or e) opposition to all political parties, all government, until power is given back to small localities.'

There should be no attempt to offer all the possibilities. (We have no desire to discover the huge percentage of people who believe that the only way to disarmament is for us to have the biggest bomb and be most ready to use it.) The questions are just an opening. You keep asking questions until you get a response that fits with anarchist ideology. Then you have found the subject to concentrate upon with that person. You have found common ground from which you can develop all kinds of practical co-operation. If you find half-a-dozen people who share this anarchist view of this subject, you have an action group. Get them together and keep them off other subjects until they have learnt to trust each other. Successful co-operation in one area will lead to a wider recognition of the values of co-operation.

Leading questions are easy to formulate. They work best if they deal with local issues: housing, benefits, environment, leisure opportunities, skills-sharing, prejudice, health and education locally. Avoid long words and let the respondent do most of the talking. Let them tell you what you wanted to tell them.

John Myhill

## Bouquet

Dear Editors,  
I am writing to express my appreciation of the last two editions of *The Raven* ('Use of Land' and 'Anthropology, Anarchism and Africa').

The articles in editions 17 and 18 were of much interest. 'Use of Land' provided an informative and enlightening discussion on 'Green Anarchism', conservation, rights to land and collectivisation. What a very interesting read! Lots of ideas to investigate and use here ...

'Anthropology, Anarchism and Africa' was another really interesting read! Ward, Gibson, Barclay, Calder and Pilgrim in one edition! Your readers must read the article by Colin Ward on 'Anarchy in Milton Keynes' - where societies exist without government in a new town that was very much the product of government. Your readers must read Calder's 'The Great Days and Now'. These articles provide 'chain free thinking', realism and enthusiasm that will find its way into *Freedom*.

Much of the success of these two editions must go to John Pilgrim, who has given *The Raven* and the movement much needed energy, time, information, arguments, wit and, of course, skiffle!

Lawrence Britt

## Fancy That!

"Barter is rejected by anarchists, as any system which exchanges goods of equal value is designed to make sure the rich remain rich and the poor, poor. Money is also rejected by most anarchists, as no more than a system of trade tokens for the simplification of barter."

(*What is Anarchism? an introduction* published by Freedom Press, 3rd October 1992, page 18)

"Anarchists are not opposed to a money system so long as it is used as an equivalent to, say, barter."  
(*Freedom* editorial, 3rd October 1992, page 2)

N.O. Comment

## Don't Give Up!

Dear Freedom,  
Your reviewer of the book *Love, Sex and Power in Later Life* makes no mention of the fundamental problem regarding sex and oldies, which is finding a willing, agreeable partner.

The photograph which accompanies this review shows an elderly couple looking at a statue of two wild curvaceous young lovers. If lustful thoughts arise in either of them I bet they centre on the models or the statue rather than each other.

As an oldie myself I am not turned on by sixty year olds but by sixteen year olds. For obvious reasons none come my way. So I don't have any sex. Huge numbers of older people must be in a similar situation. What is the answer to this?

Martin M London

## Corrections

Dear Editors,  
Donald Room's new pamphlet *What is Anarchism?* contains a brief passage about anarchist involvement in the nuclear disarmament movement. This includes several factual errors which are unimportant, but one is important enough to be corrected: the statement that anarchists were "primarily responsible for the 'Spies for Peace'." According to the most recent and reliable account of that episode (in *The Raven* no 5, 1988), the Spies for Peace "had previous experience of left wing politics covering all kinds of groups ... and now shared both a personal commitment to radical action and also a common acceptance of libertarian socialism (though hardly any of them would have called themselves anarchists)."

Norman Fulford

## News from Angel Alley

The annual Anarchist Book Fair in the large Conway Hall in London was again a success. The attendance was as good as ever and as well as friends and comrades from all parts of the country we also welcomed comrades from Holland and Germany. Literature sales were only marginally less than last year, and since Freedom Press have a London bookshop open six days a week anyway, from our point we would welcome bookfairs outside London and we are hoping that if some comrades would take the initiative we would give them all the support they need.

At last we have received a consignment of Black Rose Books titles. Apart from the collapse of the pound sterling against the Canadian dollar (from \$2.40 a month ago to \$2.00 as we write!), Black Rose Books have increased the cover price of a number of their titles for reasons only known to them, since they are still the same editions. So we have to increase our prices, but only where the publisher has done so and not taking into account the unfavourable exchange rate. But we may have to do so later, so now is the time to order your Black Rose Books titles.

The half-page advertisement in the *New Statesman & Society* has attracted a number of new readers to *Freedom* and of our publications. We

welcome them and hope they will find the anarchist literature valuable at a time when the political parties are floundering and the capitalist system is (we hope) collapsing!

As with all the Left and alternative Apress, and though money certainly is the root of all evil, the fact is that unless we can pay the printers, the post office and all the overheads, we none of us can survive. So the donations are a valuable lifeline and we thank those comrades and friends who have so far this year contributed nearly £1,000 more than in the whole of last year. Thanks again!

## DONATIONS

9th - 22nd October 1992

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund  
Colchester CPS £4, New York FT £40, Slough EFC £2, Romford MJB £3.

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New York FT £30, Edmonton Alberta HB £10.

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# MEETINGS

## Anarchist Forum

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

### 1992/1993 MEETINGS

- 30th October - General discussion
- 6th November - 'Work' (speaker George Walford)
- 13th November - General discussion
- 20th November - 'A Retiring Person' (speaker Peter Neville)
- 27th November - 'Prison in an Anarchist Society' (speaker Peter Lumsden)
- 4th December - General discussion
- 11th December - 'Exploiting the State' (speaker Andrew Lainton)
- 8th January - 'An Anarchist Daily' (speaker John Rety)
- 15th January - General discussion
- 22nd January - 'Whiteway And On' (speaker Michael Murray)
- 29th January - General discussion
- 5th February - 'Anarchism and Feminism' (speaker Lisa Bendall)

## The Walsall Anarchist's Bomb Plot of 1892

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## History Workshop 26

History Workshop 26 will be held on 6th, 7th and 8th November 1992 at the University of Northumbria (formerly Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic). As usual there will be a workshop on anarchism. This year's programme is as follows:

- *Heiner Becker* - *Johann Most and Emma Goldman*
- *Phil Ruff* - *'Peter the Painter' and the Latvian Anarchist Movement in Exile, 1906-1914*
- *Jeremy Jennings* - *Libertarians and the Fight Against Bolshevism in France, 1920-1940*
- *Les Prince* - *Isocracy: Organising Without Leaders*
- *Zeb Korycinska* - *Freedom to Learn with Home Education*
- *Gideon Kossoff* - *The American Green Movement*

Registration fees: Waged (with institutional support) £25, Waged £15, Unwaged £5.

All registrations (cheques payable to TYNESIDE HISTORY WORKSHOP) should be sent and inquiries made to:

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4 Cloth Market, Newcastle upon Tyne  
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