

C for CAPITALISM and CORRUPTION FIDDLERS ALL!

Our millionaire press is always at its 'best' when it can wallow in muck both political and human. We don't propose to select the juiciest items for our readers. What we are drawing their attention to is the fact that not one commentator or editorialist has dared to suggest that the muck they are wallowing in is capitalism. And that we live in a world where a privileged minority thrive on it but most are its victims from the day they are born. Late in the day the public is discovering that corruption at top levels is no longer limited to the 'lesser breeds'. We can now include top people in all the industrial G7

countries. But then it's been going on for years. In the USA Reagan was having to change his top staff and advisers because they were all bent. Watergate, Irangate, Iraqgate, etc. In Japan the whole government were caught with their hands in the till, but every day a new financial scandal hits the headlines. The Italians are obviously top-of-the-crooks and at the recent elections the old parties (including the Christian Democrats, and this has seriously upset the Vatican which has also been implicated) have virtually disappeared, defeated by brand new clean parties. We shall see. Corruption is the lifeblood of

capitalism. For instance, there is more industrial espionage that political. Every big enterprise needs to know what its rivals are up to in research and development and other intelligence which could affect its own prospects one way or the other. So they either seek to plant their spies in the enemy's camp or recruit from inside with ... yes, you have guessed: money, free motor cars, luxury (continued on page 2)

16250

U.S. UBER ALLES!

to once more the Yanks have Sought to demonstrate who rules the world, this time by launching missiles on Baghdad on the flimsy grounds that Saddam Hussein had prepared an attempt on the life of ex-President Bush when he visited Kuwait last April. The attentat never took place, though a number of Iraqis and Kuwaitis were arrested but are still awaiting trial. As someone pointed out, the Yanks are prosecutors, judges and executioners. We wonder what the ex-president was doing in Kuwait. Collecting his reward as the Saviour of the Kuwaiti rulers? After all, it wouldn't be surprising when worldwide the politicians are all collecting their dues! But the political commentators suggest that this is a desperate effort by Clinton to show the American public he is no weakling. We are amazed that people still believe in the power of one man to take major decisions for a whole nation, and not realise that all the American presidents in our time have been nonentities, and have been chosen for this very reason. Think of Bush and Reagan - who couldn't even read their prepared texts without dropping clangers! At best they are good actors playing a part that is determined for them by the real powers 'behind the throne'.

Long before Clinton was dreamed of the USA was bullying and blackmailing its neighbours to the south. It only joined the 'allies' in World War Two when Japan bombed Pearl Harbour, having until then observed, and financially benefited from afar, the bloodbath in Europe. We reproduce on page 4 an article published in our journal War Commentary in December 1939 with the prophetic title Will America Rule the World?' Indeed America has ruled the world, as an imperialist power, ever since; its military power distributed worldwide and its financial dominance in GATT and relentless in applying sanctions when the rest of the world does not dance to their tune is obviously alarming even for the USA's allies.

FIDDLING THE STATISTICS

As everyone, other than the Minister of (Un)-Employment, knows the system by which the numbers of unemployed are calculated has been changed some twenty times since 1979, always in favour of presenting a rosy picture of the dismal situation. What most people don't realise is that the three million admitted by the government only refers to those actually receiving the dole. Those on so-called training schemes are not included, and the government, rather naively we think, has just discovered that the numbers on invalidity payments have doubled in the past year to 1,250,000 and they suspect doctors and others of some conspiracy to defraud the Exchequer. Naive of course because if they do 'clean up' this so-called racket it could easily mean officially adding another 600,000 to the unemployment register, which would be bad for the rosy picture.

[See page 4 for a prophetic article by M.L. Berneri in 1939 with the title 'Will America Rule the World?']

On Yankee imperialism read Chomsky's Year 501 (see book list for details) However someone in the Ministry has got an answer to that one if the Mail on Sunday's front page is to be believed: 'DOLE CASH CUTS' in which it maintains that "the length of time the jobless can claim dole is set to be halved in the government's review of public spending". In this way they hope to save £500 million, and of course the numbers of 'unemployed' will dramatically drop overnight! Fiddlers all!

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

FREEDOM • 10th July 1993

FIDDLERS ALL!

(continued from page 1) holidays, perhaps the fees for boarding school for the nipper!

Of course the biggest fiddle concerns income tax and all the perks that the top people claim through their well-connected accountants. How many accountants, we wonder, started their working lives in the local Inspector of Taxes office, which is the best place to learn how to detect the fiddles! Nobody seems to remember that the Iron Lady the Baroness Thatcher - started her career as an expert on tax avoidance legally of course - and in her ten years in office she certainly made sure that the rich had more tax loopholes to crawl through than ever before. By contrast most wage-slaves have their tax deducted before they even see their pay packets. Not a few employers have used that deducted money for their own ends and some of them have ended up in jail - so the taxpayer has lost out twice over since it costs more to keep somebody in jail than to keep them on the dole! The self-employed are far from being the rich. Being well-advised, the rich are 'employed' by their companies, often comprising their wives, children and grandchildren: all 'directors', consultants, managers, public relations officers ... there are so many excuses for 'responsible' posts when you own thousands of acres, or an industry which employs hundreds. After all, nowadays

officially small employers are those who have at least fifty people on the payroll! Think of it: even paying them slave-wages of £80 a week, that £200,000 in wages alone in a year! The genuine self-employed – the individual or family enterprise where *labour* is the capital and production the end result, in most cases have no reason to fiddle because they don't qualify as taxpayers.

Dut who wants to pay taxes? And we are Dabout to tread on delicate ground, for this writer is about to argue why we should, if we earn more than a subsistence income, but at the same time not only expect but demand the public services which ensure those routine services to maintain life and make possible a rich and exciting existence for everybody, that we must provide for those fellow humans who spend their working lives providing us with those very services. The trouble is that most people seem to think that it is government which produces those valuable services. Yes, we know that out of our taxes governments pay for their bureaucracy, their law, their police, their armed services, on which they depend not to keep the 'foreign enemy' at bay but to keep us the people under control. That is, to maintain a divided society based on privilege. So until we the people take over the services that matter to all of us, surely there is no argument that we need food, shelter, clothing, education - we are dependent on

government and taxation to provide these basic services. For this reason this writer has always argued that anarchists should not cheat over taxes – apart from refusing that proportion which finances the police and military budgets, which a number of anarchists have done over the years, alas not very successfully – for two reasons.

The first is obvious and mentioned above: we should pay those who provide these valuable services. The second is a political-moral argument with the question: how can we anarchists convincingly expose the Capitalist-Cheating-Corrupt system if we, even at the lowest level, are also engaged in fiddling?

or anarchist propaganda to succeed it I must persuade an ever-growing number of people that capitalism and the political mafia are rotten to the core and that to try and reform them is to waste valuable time and energy. Anarchists are not seeking votes and power. We know where they lead. But we must try and reach more and more people not only to. convince them that the existing system is rotten to the core (surely the capitalist press in the last month has done so more than convincingly) but to put over the anarchist alternative not just as an abstract philosophy but as a way of life which demands effort and militancy if we are ever to make positive steps in that direction.

2

What's black and white

Clobbering the weak to feed the powerful

ne of the surprises for us at Freedom Press as a result of the arson attack on 84b was to learn from the Fire Authority that our premises had been declared a 'fire hazard' since 1964 (we said 1954 in our last issue). Before us 84b was occupied by two printers and when the Friends of Freedom Press Ltd took over the premises in 1970 no official document informed us of the fact. It was only more than twenty years later when some individuals tried to set fire to the place that the fire people drew attention to the order of 1964 and clamped down on our occupying the building until such time as very expensive work - fireproof doors, etc. - had been carried out.

For 29 years 84b could not have existed so far as the Fire Authority was concerned. We have an arson attack and they clamp down on us as if the fire was the result of *our negligence*. If we had been a purely commercial set-up the closing down of Freedom Press Bookshop now for at least a month could be a serious blow for those employed in such an enterprise. For reasonable people the fact is that until the arson attack 84b had not had a fire certainly for fifty years. After all, Express Printers (now the cafeteria, etc., of the Whitechapel Art Gallery) was part of Freedom Press in 1941 and faces 84b – and there were no fires in 84b. owners that they doubt whether they will be able to supply petrol in 1994 because their pumps are too near the buildings.

There is in our opinion a government policy to clobber the small man. They may boast of loving the 'entrepreneur', yet all the indications are of wanting to drive him out of business. For instance, in the rural areas public transport being almost non-existent a private vehicle is essential to get to your job, or if you are a grower or salesman to ply your wares. Yet all the new regulations as far as the MOT is concerned make it even more difficult or expensive to pass the test. The standards required are for cars using motorways and travelling at 70mph, whereas the people we refer to are using vehicles for local deliveries and anyway never have the time, let alone the inclination, to use the motorways. And they pay the same road tax as the Rolls Royce owner or the salesman doing 25,000 miles a year.

but read all over?

The answer to the above question, of course, is Freedom Press Bookshop's new booklist. With this issue of *Freedom* all subscribers will find the 1993-4 more reader-friendly book, pamphlet and periodicals list, full of exciting new finds and familiar old favourites alike. This supersedes all previous lists and is correct at the time of going to press.

In addition to the traditionally large and comprehensive range of anarchist titles, within the limits of space we have also tried to ensure a wide and varied selection of titles on subjects of direct and indirect relevance to anarchism.

Although similar in appearance to the previous list, as previously notified there have been a large number of changes: to the publishers whose books we distribute, to titles and prices, and the sections in which they are located. You will notice, for example, that we no longer distribute Black Rose Books or Charles H. Kerr, although we still have a number of their titles in stock. However, we are now distributing titles by other publishers so the overall balance between titles which are post-free and those which are post-extra remains roughly the same. As before, all 'Section 1' (Freedom Press Distributors) titles can be supplied to the trade at a discount if you have a shop or stall. For our trade terms please write or telephone. We *cannot* give trade discount on titles in 'Section 2' – we can sometimes supply them to you for re-sale (in an emergency), but only at full retail price.

Postage and packing represents an increasing proportion of the costs of running Freedom Press and the bookshop, so please remember to add the correct amount to all titles in 'Section 2', including periodicals (Freedom and The Raven remain post-free). If you are not a subscriber and would like a booklist, or you require extra copies, please

send a stamped addressed A4 envelope to help us with these costs.

And lastly – enjoy your reading!

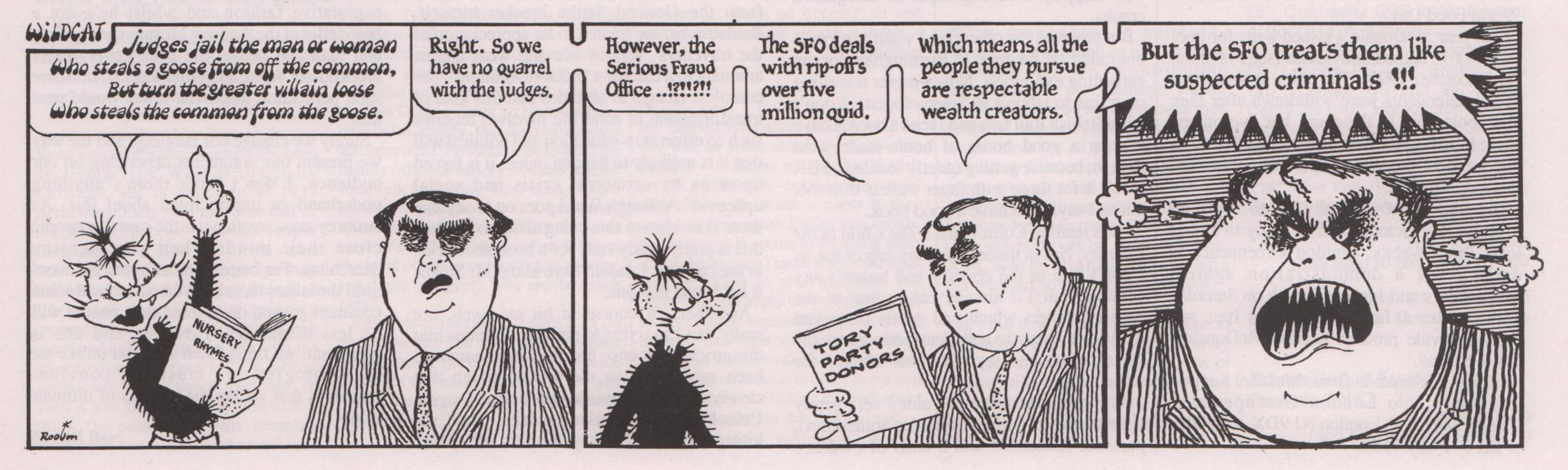
The point we want to make is that more and more so-called safety and other regulations are quite clearly designed to get rid of small producers and suppliers in favour of the big enterprises, the supermarkets. For instance, Common Market regulations require hygiene standards for small local abattoirs dealing with perhaps fewer than a hundred animals a week to be the same as the huge abattoirs dealing with thousands of animals a week. The result is that several hundred small abattoirs have had to close down, not being able to spend the kind of money to conform with the standards required of the massive abattoirs.

Similarly, we have heard from rural garage Suffolk.

This is only one example, but one can easily demonstrate that all legislation is designed to benefit the better-off at the expense of the poor. Two more examples which will affect people in rural areas are:

1. The government's proposal to pay pensions by monthly cheques will seriously affect the village post office cum stores, which depend on locals collecting their pensions weekly and in cash. If they are to be paid by monthly cheque, where will they cash their cheques if they don't happen to have a bank account or if they don't have a car to get them to the nearest town with a bank (after all, the bus services have virtually disappeared from the rural areas).

2. The government has announced that as a result of a change in the way prescriptions are funded, pharmacies which dispense less than 2,000 NHS prescriptions a month will no longer be on the NHS list, and it will mean the end of many village pharmacies. According to pharmacist Jack Phillips of Dedham, more than seventy face the axe in the county of 0.55 H



KM

10th July 1993 • FREEDOM

HOME AFFAIRS

The festival season is upon us, and the media has opened up with the usual tirade against those who choose a different lifestyle, who have taken to the roads to make real their ideals of freedom, and who seek to come together at the times and sites of the old pagan festivals to express their sociability and common goals. You know it's bad when even an intelligent man like Roy Hattersley rants against the travellers on Radio 4's 'Question Time' (Saturday 17th June 1993).

3

An excellent recent exhibition has focused on Stonehenge, the most famous of Britain's megalithic sites, in order to explore various aspects of our ancient and recent history, with special emphasis on the threat to civil liberties posed by the actions of the state against the 'new age travellers', free-festivalers and indeed anyone who demands access to his/her birthright: the land, the work of our ancestors' hands, the very history of this

Stonehenge belongs to you and me

and powerful men: most of them involve the dispossession of poorer, less literate people.

A space was set aside for the present custodians of the stones, English Heritage, to present their own views but they declined. To the credit of the exhibitors, an attempt was made to describe the position of English Heritage, which is based on a philosophy of preservation, conservation and making money. It is apparent that, to them, the real people are tourists. In contrast, the free-festivalers treat Stonehenge as a living site, a meeting place and a religious centre, and from 1973 to 1985 held a series of huge and successful festivals (substantially anarchist in nature, with no central organising authority, and self-policed, with the famous instances of heroin dealers being run off the site). Then came the Battle of the Beanfield: amongst the meadows of Hanging Langford in the summer of 1985 the police rioted - cracking skulls, trashing vehicles and homes, terrorising children, dispossessing families, and, they hoped, breaking the back of the travellers' movement. But they failed, and it was heartening in some small way to see travellers winning their cases in the courts

practice their beliefs, so long as they respect the freedom of others. It is interesting that the media seems to see the druids as 'nice guys' as opposed to the festivalers who are reviled. Is this perhaps because the druid's claims do not extend to the political and that a middle-aged man in a white sheet dancing around a stone is not half as subversive as the fact that there are thousands who now disown the materialist/capitalist norm and take to the roads to make their ideals real?

The archaeologists are supposedly the uncoverers of the truths of the past, but the exhibition revealed how these scientists have been moving their own goalposts steadily over the past two hundred years. The Victorian enthusiasts would tear up hundreds of ancient sites in a good season, rather in the manner of a pheasant shoot. In this century the emphasis has moved on from the search for sequences in uncovered material, to focus on the technology of the past (1930s) and on the social relations and the 'big men' (1960s). The exhibition suggests that archaeologists are at last recognising that past and present are connected and that the past is political. including undercover operations and high-tech surveillance – see, for instance, Western Daily Press, 15th April 1993), and the legislation specifically targeting travellers. This is ongoing: Section 39 of the Public Order Act is to be extended to all highways, and only six vehicles will be needed to trigger it (see written reply to parliamentary question from Sir John Wheeler MP by Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke, 31st March 1993). In addition, "police will be given power, where they reasonably believe that ten or more people have gathered ... and that a rave will take place, to direct those people to leave. Failure to obey will be a criminal offence" (same source as above).

Ctonehenge Belongs to You and Me is a Dtremendous exhibition and I urge you to see it, though to do so now you'll have to get down to the South West (see below). If you never quite understood what Stonehenge and the free-festivalers were all about, this exhibition holds all the answers. You will leave with a sense of the gross injustice of the British State, and the inspiration of a loose informal band of people who through a unique lifestyle have created one of the few meaningful and active alternative visions to the status quo today. The author of this last quote is a newcomer to the pages of anarchist periodicals, but I think you'll sympathise with his words on this occasion: "Oppression does not stand on the doorstep with a toothbrush moustache and a swastika armband. It creeps up insidiously; ir creeps up step by step; and all of a sudden the unfortunate citizen realises that it (freedom, that is) has gone." - Lord Lane, Chief Justice

country.

The exhibition was the result of collaboration between both professionals and members of the 'counter-culture'; thus we have an archaeologist, three free-festivalers, an arch-druid, a mystic, a journalist and an anthropologist. Of these the prime mover was Barbara Bender, the distinguished anthropologist of University College London.

The exhibition consisted of a series of imposing trilithons, each addressing a particular subject area, with many photographs and diagrams to aid understanding. From a conventional introduction, describing the creation of Stonehenge and the surrounding prehistoric landscape, the exhibition went on to raise some interesting points concerning the different groups that have claimed the stones as their own: their demonisation by the medieval church, appropriation by the Tudors, the eighteenth century antiquarians who claimed the druids as precursors of the protestant church, the Welsh Nationalists who claimed Stonehenge as their Celtic heritage and symbol of freedom. The point was made that these are the viewpoints of literate

recently over this awful event. The druids claim links back to the ceremonies of the medieval Welsh Eisteddford and to the chartered fairs that came later. Contemporary druids want the fair and ceremonies restored.

Anarchists may have reservations on the subject of religion, but most of us would agree to let others

Books reviewed in *Freedom* can be ordered from **Freedom Press Bookshop** 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX As the readers of this paper will be well aware, the popular media distort and lie. Their coverage of the free-festivalers is no exception. The exhibition contains a photograph that appeared in *The Guardian* with a caption claiming that it showed a petrol bomb in mid-flight from the travellers' ranks towards the police. But other photographs clearly show the 'bomb' to be a piece of turf caught in the flash of a camera. A simple mistake to be sure. Then the photo of the same traveller being apprehended by the police, several months apart, wearing the same clothes in the same street by the same policeman. Remarkable coincidence.

The final two trilithons tell the story of the solstice confrontations from 1985 to the present day, describing the vast and costly police actions (now Stonehenge Belongs to You and Me exhibition tour dates:

August – Devizes Library September – Exeter Museum October – Bristol Museum November – Salisbury Museum If you belong to an institution and would like to borrow the exhibition, please contact Barbara Bender on 071-387 7050.

Patrick Nicholson

Free Speech on Trial

Two supporters of the environmentalist group London Greenpeace are to appear in the High Court in London to defend libel actions brought by the fast food chain McDonald's.

The alleged libels appear in a leaflet (or 'factsheet') entitled 'What's Wrong with McDonald's' containing allegations which contradict statements put out in the company's own series of 'fact sheets' available free in their restaurants.

Although they are unemployed, the defendants have been refused legal aid, and at pre-trial hearings have had to conduct their own defence. McDonald's have not alleged that they wrote or printed the leaflet, but only that they handed it out on occasions.

In 1985 London Greenpeace, a small independent collective active since the 1970s and having no connection with the international organisation Greenpeace, launched a general anti-McDonald's campaign including an annual Anti-McDonald's day every 6th October (UN World Food Day). Last year McDonald's issued write for libel against five named individuals (see Freedom," 1st December 1990). The cases against three of the defendants were withdrawn after they had apologised to the court, but two others, Dave Morris and Helen Steel, refused to do so and are now preparing for a full public trial this autumn. The trial is provisionally set to begin on Monday 4th October and is likely to last at least three weeks. London Greenpeace is calling for a demonstration against McDonald's and for free speech on Saturday 16th October at London Euston at 1pm, and for worldwide protests against McDonald's that weekend. Further information from: McLibel Support Campaign, c/o London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N19DX, telephone or fax 071-837 7557.

Dorset Diary

Going for a walk down Poole High Street, Gtaking a train to the Birmingham Gardening Exhibition and a letter from a reader in *Freedom*. What is the connection? Let me try to explain.

A number of traders and hoteliers in Poole town centre have been getting in quite a flap recently due to a new menace which is threatening their livelihoods - a plague of Scientologists has descended. Now of course they're quite underhand these people. They don't tell you who they are but ask you to take part in a survey or some such wheeze and after a couple of silly questions they try to sell you a book or get you to go along to their centre for a talk. Personally I can't really see the threat. Yes, they're somewhat persistent and don't want to take no for an answer, but I've found that if early on you hit them with a well delivered rational argument along the lines of 'piss off motherfucker' they respond quite well (don't seem to like 'crude' language, find it a bit offensive) and you can carry on your way happily labelling them as misguided cranks. But anyway, the other day I wasn't in Poole but rather on the train to Birmingham for the gardening exhibition. Now I prefer travelling on trains to talking to Scientologists. I don't mind British Rail fare and I read a book. I have to take a good bottle of home-made wine though, because getting quietly sozzled on BR plonk is for those with fatter wallets than me, but as I say, I did have a good book. I was reading Colin Ward's The Child in the Country. Not in theory quite my cup of tea, as I don't live in the country and haven't any children, but I'd already read some of the earlier chapters which had gently debunked the Victorian myths and identified some of the social issues and my taste was whetted for some more.

which shows that he's done his homework. Overall it's clearly a subject close to his heart and one he cares about which stops the book from becoming simply another piece of academics and makes it so readable (especially with the help of some home-made wine). half way or so through the book I got to Birmingham.

Amongst the various stalls I visited I found a certain Bob Stokes from the National Allotment Association who I wanted to chat to about some membership stuff. Somewhere along in the conversation, I don't remember when (the wine's fault), Mr Stokes let it slip that he'd first become interested in allotments after reading a book by some bloke called Colin Ward. Funnily enough it seems that Bob doesn't have an allotment himself but is into the *idea* of them and had been much enthused by this book he'd read.

Well, later on back on the train and back to the book, and the last chapter was a bit of a shock. After starting chapter one with a quote from the General Strike breaker himself, Baldwin, we are treated to an appreciation of the travellers' way of life and what almost amounts to a call for a social revolution. "The complete change in attitudes that this kind of transformation of rural life involves requires such an effort at re-education and political will that it is unlikely to happen unless it is forced upon us by economic crisis and social upheaval". Although Ward goes on to say that there is no sign of this being about to happen, this is pretty heady stuff for a book about kids in the country. I should have asked Mr Stokes if he'd read that one. And then, of course, it hit me (well, not really, but I'm trying to put a bit of drama into this article), not once had the word anarchism been mentioned in the text although that clearly was what it was about (in many ways). Colin had gently led us towards his vision, not losing us once on the way, in a very subversive

manner ... just like the Scientologists on Poole High Street.

Now I must be careful what I say. Don't get me wrong, I'm just trying to make a point that I now think I've got to. The day after I got back from Birmingham there was Freedom and the letter from Amorey Gethin. Basically he's asking why it is that people turn off so often when you mention the word anarchism. I think it's mainly because everyone has their own idea of what the word means: terrorist/idealist / crank or, from our point of view perhaps, comrade, and as soon as they can label you they feel no need to go further. If someone says to me 'that's anarchism' I respond by asking what they mean by anarchism and starting to explore things from their starting point: if they're interested. But there is also the point that by saying we are anarchists we are to some extent setting ourselves up as dogmatists: people who have made up their minds and won't change them, and I expect we've all met some pretty dogmatic anarchists, and yes they are boring.

This is why Ward scores. He's not hiding his position (he's not like the Scientologists) but he'd getting it out in a non-dogmatic explorative fashion and whilst he's not a best-seller of the Andrew Morton variety if we had blazoned across the front cover 'latest blockbuster from anarchist leader' or some such publishing tosh even fewer would read him. Surely we change our language and the way we present our arguments depending on our audience. I don't think there's anything underhand or unprincipled about this. As Amorey says, so often it is the case that people close their minds when you mention anarchism. Far better then to avoid the word until the issues have been discussed and some common ground discovered then people will be less dismissive. However, and this is important, we must listen also and unlike the Scientologists we must not convince ourselves that we are the keepers of ultimate truth.

As I say, Ward takes you along very gently with anecdotes (almost parables sometimes), personal reflections and a mass of evidence

Neil Birrell

INTERNATIONAL

FREEDOM • 10th July 1993

The ghost of General Franco still stalks the political scene in Spain! How else are we to explain the jump in participation in the recent Spanish elections? After several mediocre turn-outs in both general and local elections at around 50%, the turnout of 75% is the highest since the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) was first elected into government in 1982.

Certainly the Socialist Party didn't deserve to retain power. Perhaps given the state of the Spanish economy this may even have been a good election to lose. At the PSOE victory celebration in Madrid some noted an air of glumness about Felipe Gonzalez, the socialist leader. He might well be glum – the socialists have been elected on a negative vote. Keeping the other buggers out seems to have been foremost in the minds of many Spaniards in these elections. Such is the fear of the Right in Spain. Such is the fear of another Franco. Some anarchists did campaign against these elections however. On election day (6th June) El Pais reported that: "The police in Barcelona detained ten syndicalists of the CNT while they were distributing propaganda in favour of abstention from the elections."

Spanish Socialism and Social Sickness

commonplace, such an everyday fact of life, that people would come to accept it as normal. sometimes wonder if the furtive and hypocritical way we do these things here in England is not better; at least we haven't lost the capacity to be shocked.

Social Hypochondria

Recently an American travelling on by train from Barcelona was offered, and accepted, a drink from a fellow passenger which turned out to be drugged. While unconscious he was robbed. One of the first things I found out when I first began living in Spain in the 1960s was that one must not consume refreshments in front of others without first offering it to everyone present. This was especially true when travelling in railway carriages, but in the nineteenth century Richard Ford claimed one couldn't pass a pavement café without being offered food and drink. To do otherwise would have been seen as being ill-bred by every self-respecting Spaniard. But if they start drugging the drinks how long will this aspect of Spanish civilisation survive? What a shock it must have been after Franco died in 1976, when outsiders began to invade Spain. At least the lager louts and the package tourists more or less kept themselves to themselves. But the union bureaucrats from West Germany who came to advise the socialist UGT how to organise, the tax gatherers from Sweden who told the Spanish socialist government how to ensure Spaniards coughed up their taxes, the burglar's from London's east end who colonised coastal property, the retired policemen from Scotland Yard who have followed in their wake to act as fraud consultants for insurance companies, the dreary drug pushers and the ideological idiots from Northern Europe and the USA, all. these and others will have a bad effect on the

best instincts and customs of Spanish society. Lord Thomas of Swynnerton writing in The Independent before the Spanish General Election produced nothing short of a curriculum vitae for Felipe Gonzalez, claiming he could emerge as a "possible successor to Jacques Delors at the European Commission". He says "Felipe's mission to make Spain respected abroad might thus be fulfilled", and "to liberal Spain, the idea of Europe has always signified enlightenment".

corruption at the top in Spain, saying: "do not most developing societies suffer from corruption ..." But grassroots corruption - the corrosion in everyday life undermining community spirit - seems to be essential to the kind of mature developed liberal democracies which Lord Thomas of Swynnerton stands for, and has benefited from. In Anglo-Saxon countries this distrust is fuelled by movements like feminism.

Non-existent Spanish anarchists?

On 10th May, Dick Lennard in The Observer and Lord Thomas in The Independent claimed that the Spanish anarchist movement is now "non-existent". This is news to me. The anarcho-syndicalist CNT were still accepting my subs last time I troubled to pay them, and someone in Madrid sent me a CGT calendar for 1993. The thing is that journalists and historians are often lazy when considering movement like anarchism; if the strength of an organisation can't be dished up to them on a plate, as at an election, they tend to underestimate it, as they did in the 1930s. In suggesting that in political terms both the church in Spain and the anarchist movement are redundant, Lord Thomas does touch on the two forces in Spanish society which have upheld some of the best values. Some writers have argued historically that the Spanish anarchist movement began to supplant the Roman Catholic Church when its leaders became morally compromised. If anarchism and the church, as what Hugh Thomas calls "extra-constitutional forces", are in decline I would expect Spanish society to continue to fragment, for they were the moral mortar which held that society together. For me when the day comes when I no longer feel safe accepting a drink from a wine bottle passed around by a stranger in a Spanish railway carriage, or when I hesitate to dip my spoon in the common paella pan, well, on that day Spanish anarchism will be extinguished and Spain will be in the modern world proclaimed by the likes of Lord Thomas of Swynnerton.

The anarchists were on a loser – in Spain today the dread of fascism remains greater than the contempt for socialism.

Corruption, corporatism and cronyism The economy and corruption in both private and public institutions are the most serious **ISSUES.**

Relatively low wages have not saved Spain from massive unemployment. It is the highest in the EC – a record which they have had under the socialist government for several years. Though only 16.5% can claim benefits, the real figure out of work, according to a private survey, is 22% and is expected to hit 25% by the end of the year. According to the economist Hamish McRae, it may continue to rise further into 1994.

Many workers in Spain are employed on temporary contracts. So much more easy to get rid of.

The implication given by a lot of academics like Hugh Thomas is that people progress as they become increasingly to resemble academics like Hugh Thomas. Any idea that the Spaniards should gain the respect of other by giving up the siesta and becoming managerially minded, parsimonious and tight as duck's arscholes like the rest of us appalls me.

Meanness breeds meanness. Modern societies are unravelling, as Arthur Miller observed after the LA riots. The most serious impact of modern developments on Spain has not been the corruption in high places that probably prevailed as much under Franco, but rather the corruption of fine everyday Spanish traditions such as the offering of food to strangers in a carriage on a train. The poison in the can of orange juice given to the stranger on the Barcelona train destroys what is decent in Spanish society more than the fiddling of funds to the Spanish Socialist Party. It produces a kind of social hypochondria in society.

Gradually in modern life the peoples of Northern Europe have shrunk behind closed doors barred and bolted, sleep all night with security lights switched on and burglar alarms connected. The human hypochondria of our times means fearing neighbours almost as much as strangers. Lord Thomas shrugs off

Shortly before the Spanish elections the international speculators hit the peseta. In April El Pais ran an article on George Soros, the Hungarian-born financier who forced the pound out of the ERM last September, suggesting that the peseta would be the next victim of his speculative activities. In May the Spanish government devalued the currency, amid hints that the Right, the church, the Opus Dei and some banks may be behind the speculation against the peseta.

Looking back now Mr Soros, by helping to expel the pound from the ERM, could be seen as something of a saviour of the British economy. It is likely that the devaluation of the peseta which was forced on the Spanish government may give them some breathing space. To keep the peseta afloat interest rates over the years have been astronomically high. This is serious in Spain which is more of a bank driven than stock market driven economy.

Corruption, corporatism and cronyism have been features of the socialist administration in Spain. Last year an English comrade who lives in Madrid wrote to Freedom's editors complaining of the "disappointment that has been Spain since Franco, and the way the Socialist Party have control of every level of life, as Franco's movement did ..." To an Englishman it often seems so blatant this dishing out of jobs and favours to friends, relatives and party cronies. Years ago an El Pais editorial claimed there was a danger that open corruption would become so

Brian Bamford

Will America Rule the World?

Tr Roosevelt seems to have stepped into the IV shoes of the Almighty. From all sides come flattering greetings and most urgent requests. These requests do not reach him from rulers of the world only but also from the pens of pacifists and socialists. In Peace News, for instance, it has been suggested that it is up to Roosevelt to call a conference to end the war, and the editor of Forward, having apparently lost hope since the end of September of hearing King George VI announce over the radio that peace had been made with Germany, suggested on 28th October "an International Peace Conference to be called immediately to be held in the USA, under the presidency of President Roosevelt ..."

A naive observer may well ask himself what are the qualifications of the President of the United States to justify such universal confidence. Roosevelt's moving appeals which have reached Europe during the last few years have been strangely contradicted by his eagerness to turn the war to profit as soon as it was declared. Thanks to this great pacifist, Wall Street is rubbing its hands at the prospect of French and English orders, and the importance given during the debate on the Neutrality Act to the cash and carry provision leaves no doubt as to the disinterested sympathies of the US for the two democracies! The Star of Kansas City puts it in a nutshell: "Plain commonsense and national interests require this country to throw open all its resources to the nations who come to buy American goods of whatever sort". Furthermore, it has been "estimated by a government economist that between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 of America's unemployed will obtain jobs by January if war brings large foreign orders and stimulates more intensive investment of private capital". The economic situation in America can hardly be called bright at the present time. She needs new markets for her products; the New Deal has not met with the success hoped for and the war may just being the prosperity to increase

Roosevelt's popularity.

The United States are ruled by capitalist interests (probably to a greater extent than any other country) and these interests seem to identify themselves with American imperialist interests. In fact, one can justly ask whether, from an imperialist point of view, the United States have not a great deal to gain by a war which will weaken their three great rivals: Germany, Britain and France. No matter where the United States have attempted to establish their domination, whether in Asia or the Americas, they have always clashed with British or German interests.

In China, British interests are more extensive than American interests. Whereas Britain owns the banks, railways and mines, America, who arrived on the scene later, has the monopoly in aviation and only a few investments in the mines and railways. Even in these, they clash with German interests. In Latin America the conflict between European powers and the US is no less noticeable. It was manifest recently in regard to the nationalisation of the Mexican petroleum companies, the outcome of which has been a victory for American interests. As the Bulletin of the Archives of Geneva, dated 7th June, points out: "From now onward the United States is the indisputable master of all the domains of Mexico. The last British stronghold (in Latin America) has been demolished to its foundations. The United States have employed the only means of driving the English from Mexico without firing a single shot." It is also suggested in the Bulletin that it was with the aid of Cardenas that the English were finally driven out of Mexico. This was accomplished without difficulty. While the English were rejoicing in the possession of sixty per cent of the petrol in Mexico as opposed to the forty per cent controlled by the American companies, Cardenas expropriated it all. But, while the expropriation aroused a storm of indignation in London, it was greeted calmly in Washington. What would that

suggest? According to the Bulletin, an understanding was reached between Washington and Mexico by which all the petrol would be American "thus demolishing the last British stronghold in this hemisphere".

And a recent report which appeared in the Daily Telegraph (26th November 1939) states that the Mexican petrol has been sold to an "independent American firm".

In South America, too, the dreams of American hegemony have been badly jarred by German propaganda in recent years, and no doubt the US would welcome the removal of such a dangerous rival.

Is it too much to suggest that the United States have the opportunity of gradually ousting Britain, even in the Dominion markets, due to the increasing the difficulties created by the war on production and transport from the metropolis? Let it not be said that the above is pure Machiavellism and that American opinion, and perhaps Roosevelt himself, do not experience a genuine sympathy for the democracies. The opinions of the masses (or rather what the press makes them believe) has nothing in common with the combined capitalist and imperialist interests which determine the policy of the country. But it must be recognised that these interests have everything to gain by a European war. And if it is as yet too early to forecast accurately the results of this war, one can however state that the United States by promising to help the democracies, and Russia by promising to help Germany, are ready to reap the fruits of their cunning political manoeuvres.

Human Rights Project in Croatia

Thanks to grants from the Lansbury House I Trust Fund and the Centre for Conflict Resolution with donations from individuals who shall remain unnamed for the time being, Tony Smythe will be working with the Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights in Zagreb, Split and Osijek.

M.L. Berneri December 1939

[This article is one of 51 included in the volume Neither East Nor West: selected writings 1939-1948. This volume includes 16 anti-war cartoons by John Olday. Freedom Press, 192 pages, ISBN 0 900384 42 5, £4.50]

10th July 1993 • FREEDOM

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Defence, Social Change by Brian Martin Freedom Press, 157 pages, £4.95

5

My criteria for any book whether fiction or non-fiction is that it has to be readable and comes quickly to the point with no obscure or lengthy repetitive statement and waffle. Brian's book certainly meets my criteria.

Brian has written a well-researched and interesting book on the subject of social defence, or non-violent struggle to achieve social change. He takes you through the whole subject in a logical step-by-step process that flows easily from a definition of social defence through to its practical application and the problems that are likely to occur. I assume he has used this approach as a result of his training as mathematician. Brian defines social defence as being a pro-active resistance to repressive governments and military control. He feels that social defence should be about community resistance and not national resistance, which he quite rightly assumes to be of a militaristic nature, however he does acknowledge that some resistance can involved a whole nation. He suggests an advantage of local community resistance can be to produce a more participatory and egalitarian society. In chapter two he lists a number of methods that can be employed in social defence. For this he refers to Gene Sharp's extensive list of 198 different types of action – fortunately Brian only highlights some of them, those range from symbolic actions, like formal statements to establishing parallel institutions to those run by governments, and sabotage of documents. Whether any of these would actually achieve change is difficult to say, but I'm sure a combination of different methods would achieve some change.

Social Defence, Social Change

Hall in 1958, but says that social defence remained a theory for several decades until the '80s when the theories became practise as a result of the resurgence of the peace movement.

Brian illustrates this part with historical examples where social defence was employed to undermine repressive governments. Brian rightly says that historical examples have limited use. He describes them as being like tools in a box – they can be useful for hammering points, but can also be used to knock down any edifice built with them. I don't intend to cover these in detail, but one organisation works with the consent of those Brian suggests that social defence should be

example, that of Iran, perhaps illustrates Brian's awareness of their limited use. Iran still has a repressive regime despite overthrowing the Shah. However, any new regime is likely to prevent any further chances of a revolution or similar occurring again, they are going to be more aware of people's power to undermine their position and I would agree with Brian that any regime or within it and if that consent is not there the organisation will topple and those in control would be unable to do anything about it. a grassroots initiative rather than an elite reform. Grassroots activity, he feels, broadens the sphere of change and can involve a wide range of people who do not have vested interests to promote their own ideologies. However, grassroots initiatives will take a long time to evolve and as such are not fully developed. At present, however, Brian sees social defence as being a tool for organising and promoting local change. He recognises that there will be opposition, but he suggests that we should use decentralised and non-hierarchical forms of organisation. He goes on to discuss this in detail and demonstrates some of the tools people can use. He also highlights a form of organisation called 'demarchy', an idea devised by Burhiem. What this boils down to is a form of organisation based in local communities using functional groups to co-ordinate and run services such as education, transport and health. These groups use random selection on a voluntary basis, for a limited term. The advantages of this mean that there would be no specific favours or vested interests in getting people into the groups, as compared to the current centrally controlled system. Those involved in the groups are not remote individuals but have strong connections with their community, they would be free to voice. their opinions on other issues. Brian goes on to suggest that selection can be based on statistically representative groups from the area, i.e. half from men in the area and half from women. This would eliminate the need for elections, and therefore competition, using an unrepresentative quota system.

Brian's final chapter considers the old adage that power tends to corrupt. He recognises that social defence would not be immune from influences of those in power. This is the one question he does not answer, but leaves us the readers to find the answers.

All I have done is provide a brief summary of the book to give a general flavour of its tenor and content. As I said at the beginning, I found the book well written and interesting. Social defence as a concept is entirely worthy of adoption and Brian is sensitive enough to recognise that there are faults with it, but like Brian I feel it's the way forward to achieve change and the opportunity to develop a more egalitarian and participatory society. I am left with one question: would the Irish conflict be around now if the IRA has adopted such an approach to overthrow the English occupation of Northern Ireland? I would like to think they would. Military action achieved nothing but destruction and hate. This is linked with an increasingly centralised system whereby people have less control over their own lives. Social defence is a means to achieve this, but like other concepts is subject to flaws – but then we are only human.

Brian then goes on to discuss the origins of social defence, which he sees flowing from the work of such notables as Henry Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy and Bertrand Russell to name a few. He specifically mentions the activities of Gandhi in the 1950s, and a British writer and former Naval Officer called Stephen King

Chris Platts

I Swear by Almighty God

Tired and Emotional by Peter Paterson Chatto, £20

into the higher ranks of the Labour Party by the union barons to protect the right-wing union interest and act as their mouthpiece when the occasion did or did not demand it. One fearful step from becoming Prime Minister, this drunken slob staggered through Britain's foreign policies to the amusement and disgust of those who worked for him. But, as Peter Paterson's biography spells out, he was the creature of the right-wing and press private sources and political cigars and claret cliques protected and covered for him. When Maxwell of The Mirror slipped on the deck and went to an end of sale date, dunking everybody, but everybody my dear, who knew what a criminal rat the old man was pissed into print to expose poor ol' Marxie, but only after

Michael Foot, who had a foot in every swing-door from right-wing Fleet Street to the left and liberal Aldermaston, why it is that he and others like him have waited until Brown

Bill Fishman at 70

Outsiders and Outcasts: essays in honour of William J. Fishman edited by Geoffrey Alderman and Colin Holmes Duckworth, 224 pages, £35 (hardback only)

Dill Fishman, Visiting Professor and DHonorary Fellow at Queen Mary's College, London University, author of East End Jewish Radicals and East End 1888, and a good friend of all at Freedom Press, celebrated his 70th birthday this year and has been presented with this beautifully produced festschrift, of which signed copies are available on request. After the customary biographical tribute, the essays include 'Power, Authority and Status in British Jewry', 'Jew and Non-Jew in the East End of London', 'The German Poor and Working Classes in Victorian and Edwardian London', 'The Chinese Connection', 'Henry Mayhew and Charles Booth – Men of their Times?', 'Penniless and Without Food: unemployment in London between the wars', 'The British Union of Fascists in Hackney and Stoke Newington 1922-1940', 'Another East End – a Remembrance' and 'The City and Industry: the nature of British capitalism 1750-1914'. Not only is Bill Fishman an historian, and a very fine one, he is also a socialist. The authors of these essays have paid him a worthy tribute in the depth of their research and their evident commitment to human equality. CC

Fighting All the Way by Barbara Castle Macmillan, £20

The Supernatural Murders edited by Jonathan Goodman Piatkus, £13.99

One of life's small pleasures is to see, read or hear that someone one actively dislikes or hates, or a friend, has, like the poor man's slice of buttered bread, fallen face down in a puddle of shit. Of a friend there is the additional pleasure of hastening to help even though one knows that for that kindly action they will be forever in your debt and because of that their friendship towards you will always be that little bit less. No one claiming any understanding of politics or the human comedy wishes to see our beloved Prime Minister John Major thrown out of office for to raise a voice or a finger against that poor pathetic creature whose only crime was to be given the Golden Key to the Little Boy's Room in Number Ten is to stand accused of being a cad before the overcrowded Bar of History. When Heath, Lawson, Howe, Thatcher and Lamont were grabbed by the short and curlies and given the bum's rush out and through the iron gates of Downing Street, good men and women gripped each other's hands crying in sincere third act Wednesday matinée style that the worst is past for before us now shines a new dawn. The offence of the Famous Five was that they were the creatures of a dreary anti-social ideology with the authority to order it to be put into operation, which they did and millions knew fear and millions believed, wrongly, that with the passing of each one of these sad sacks the grass would grow greener in our green and pleasant land. My Lord George Brown, piss artist extraordinaire, was one of those unpleasant creatures who pass through life without one single redeeming feature, detested by everyone and feared for the power they accumulate and the use and abuse of it. A creature of right-wing politics, he was eased



has joined the Great Brewery on high before telling us what a shit the man was. I can do no more than quote what Foot has written of George Brown "that he betrayed every cause he served and everyone who trusted him - his trade union, his party, his church and, most pitifully of all ... his family and the longest sufferer, Sophie [Brown]". Libel? With so much that was true and unprinted public knowledge? Let us have no illusions about drear people like Brown for they exist in any association that feels they have to place their trust in others. Too many stay silent, but when they believe it is safe to speak then they should at least have the courage to remain silent for it then becomes no more than good old shit-house gossip. My last memory of good ol' George was of a huge Hyde Park May Day demonstration when ol' George staggered into the park party pissed and attempted to clamber onto the platform to give out the golden phrases and of that pathetic drunk surrounded by a guard of police dragging him to safety as the party of love and good fellowship tried to, physically, tear him to bits. There are those of an academic turn of phrase and the cynical turn of the side of the lip who will reject Paterson's book as no more than tabloid reading, and the loss is theirs, and let them turn to Barbara Castle's autobiography Fighting All the Way. It is a good title for anyone who has fought their way through the 626 pages, and it is a worthy book and, dare I say it, worthy of a pleasant party hack for Barbara has struggled all the way for feet under the Captain's table. It is a book that has to be written for the academic historians need it, if only to steady the copying machine. But nay, I jest, for she is a good and worthy woman who will be remembered for the breathalyser, ferment in peace George, and the failed attempt to get the rank and file workers to accept legal chains should they decide to stop towing the barge or lifting the bale. So many organisers of our lives clamber onto the platform declaiming their radical demands on our behalf before becoming the sensible slightly to the right of (continued on page 6)

"I've dedicated the whole of my life to the effing working class and the bastards sold me down the river."

he was being marinated on the sea-bed. So too with George Brown. It is a good book, easy on the eye with every page a fresh revelation of a worthless creature who waxed fat on the idealism or the sufferings of his fellow men, women and children. But as one who has ridden every horse in the press and political circus, we are surely justified in asking FEATURES

FREEDOM • 10th July 1993

6

- AN ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK -Avoiding the 'tragedy of the commons' because it is each nation to sea - partice knows that an catch. America

"To many, the word coercion implies arbitrary decisions of distant and irresponsible bureaucrats; but this is not a necessary part of its meaning. The only kind of coercion I recommend is mutual coercion, mutually agreed upon by the majority of the people affected." – Garrett Hardin

n 1968, Garrett Hardin, professor of biology Lat the University of California, published an article which attempted to come to terms with the human dilemma which he expressed in a parable as "the tragedy of the commons". Imagine, he suggested, an ancient common pasture on which every herdsman grazed his animals. It could work reasonably well for centuries, he thought, "because tribal wars, poaching and disease keep the numbers of both man and beast well below the carrying capacity of the land. Finally, however, comes the day when the long-desired goal of social stability becomes a reality. At this point, the inherent logic of the commons remorselessly generatestragedy." The reason is, he argued, that each herdsman will pursue his own interests by increasing his herds, while the common land will become devastatingly overgrazed:

believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all."

Hardin's neo-Malthusian approach, declaring also that "freedom to breed will bring ruin to all", was widely criticised from several standpoints. For the authors of The Little Green Book, the implications of his "living in a lifeboat" theory were shocking: "Rather than being on a lifeboat, are we not on a large liner in the luxury of the Captain's stateroom, while the masses are starving in steerage?"¹ To this important point, Hardin had made a pre-emptive response, since he noted that "we must admit that out legal system of private property plus inheritance is unjust - but we put up with it because we are not convinced, at the moment, that anyone has invented a better system. The alternative for the commons is too horrifying to contemplate. Injustice is preferable to total ruin."2

because it is in the immediate self-interest of each nation to take as much as it can from the sea – particularly if there is a threat of eventual depletion - even though every nation knows that at some near time for any at all to catch. American steel manufacturers continue to resist measures to limit the poisonous emissions they pour into the air each day, because it is in the interest of each company to avoid the expense of pollution controls and redesign furnaces for as long as possible, although steel company executives know that they and their families and workers and townsfolk have to breathe the resultant polluted air and that this is very likely to cause severe illness and early death. The American West is becoming desertified, losing perhaps 10 million acres of grassland a year, for the simple reason that the ranchers of the area, acting out Hardin's scenario, continue to overgraze their herds in this sparse territory despite a decade-long policy of the Bureau of Land Management to curtail them."3 Kirkpatrick Sale blames not population pressure but séveral related factors. He sees the situation as an aspect of competitive capitalism which ensures that "those who are operating out of self-interest, do not see and cannot feel a communal-interest". This results in an inability to see the need for a steady-state economy and the centrality of the concept of ecological balance: "The shepherd would know the limits of the commons and its important to his family, to his children and

their children, to his neighbours, to the past and future of his community, and that overriding communal-interest would easily outweigh the possible personal gain of putting another animal out to feed". But he recognises that this too is a function of the *scale* at which decisions are made.

"There can be no communal-interest among two hundred million people, or twenty million, or even two million, because there is no way for the human heart with all its limitations to perceive the interconnectedness of all those lives and their relevance to its single life; we cheat on our income tax and drive at 65mph, and ignore beggars on the street because we perceive no community at the scale at which we live. Nor can there be communal-interest over distances of 3,000 square miles, or 300 square miles, or even 30 square miles, because there is no way for the human mind in all its frailty to conceive the complexity of an ecosystem so large and its single place within it ... Only when the shepherd knows his world and the people in it and feels their importance to his own well-being, only when he realises that his self-interest is indeed the communal-interest, will he voluntarily limit his flock." The fable of the tragedy of the commons has been used as the final word in a dozen different environmental arguments. There is every reason to take warnings of over-population seriously, but they come with a strong whiff of hypocrisy from public people with a long life expectancy in the rich world, when (continued on page 7)

"Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit – in a world that it limited. Ruin is the destination towards which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that

I Swear by Almighty God

The American advocate of 'bio-regionalism', Kirkpatrick Sale, found that Hardin's parable suggested an important and unquestionably tragic truth:

"The oceans continue to be overfished, particularly by Russian and Japanese fleets,

> **On the Impossibility of Human Communication**

(continued from page 5)

the centralist groupings, toast of the committees and subject matter for the next shelf-filling book with Aneurin Bevan in the index. One can wish Babs, Red Ellen, Shirley, Margaret, Edith and Susan and the rest well, but in my two rooms in my eighty years I ask what the fuck have they ever done for me except accuse me of being sexist which is a wicked thing to accuse anyone of even though it be true.

There are those among us, fortunately very few, who would demand to know why a collection of essays on supernatural murders should sully these charred pages, but I would hold that any book published at a 5 Windmill Street, Soho, must contain merit. In 1803 a Hammersmith gentleman cut his throat near Hammersmith's St Paul's Church and every fifty years he would take a ghostly walk in the churchyard. Short on A Level Maths he decided to take an open throat walk in 1955. At midnight we were waiting for the ghost to walk in the then graveyard before it became part of a motorway with its own death roll. At midnight St Paul's bell tolled out midnight and, as we stood in the Hammersmith Broadway cheering, a figure in white came running and leaping over the tombstones while the police, six or seven in all, charged the 'ghost' who leaped and ran off into the darkness towards the river. More rowdy good-hearted cheering from the mob. In his good-hearted account Goodman writes of the 'ghost' as a "flickering glow on the west wall". There was a 'ghost'. It was a youth draped in a white sheet leaping over the tombstones. In spite of the article the police did keep order because it was all good natured fun and the church was never crowded as the police cleared it before midnight. I know because I was there, so that if I know that all Goodman's witnesses were mistaken what can I believe about George Brown or Barbara Castle's lives except that of the ghost and of piss-arse George on May Day - I know because I was there.

A sanarchists shift their perspectives from 'freedom from' to 'freedom to do' and being 'agin authority' to 'for self-organisation', it seems to me we cannot deny the pivotal place of the relational and an ecological perspective which acknowledges the interconnectedness of everything, including the impossible and the possible.

The renewed emphasis on the relational, which we can observe in recent contributions to *Freedom*, wisely begins with the difficulties. Witness the East End Anarchist's open letter proposing co-operatives and collective responses to the insane social conditions we face (29th May) or John Myhill and Colin Ward in the last issue warning us respectively about our fears of close relationships and co-operation not coming easy.

Materialism, individualism, positivism and empiricism, most of yer isms for that matter, discount all relationships whether between people, with our tools or with the environment. An eye culture doesn't rate the invisible or transitory transactions. Industrial man has a ready mad strategy when he gets into trouble with relationships - he moves apart, backs off, even runs away. Words like progress, promotion, career, travel, retirement and mobility, even the fashionable 'being with it' or 'keeping your options open' have hefty escape components. Engagement is out. It's 'anything for a quiet life' - too often a euphemism for thoughtless, gutless, withdrawal. I've been a great proponent of this cop-out myself.

rest, you couldn't desert your companions, homes and neighbourhoods. Same job. Same tools. No holidays in exotic places. We'd have to make the best of what we had. We'd be forced to elevate the relational.

It wouldn't be easy. We'd probably have to go further than Ward and Myhill and acknowledge the impossibility of human communication. That preoccupation with self, bickering, arguing, hating, misunderstanding and hurting each other are inevitable, about being human. Then we'd surprise ourselves as we slowly revived play, conversation, mutual aid and the rest to deny 'the impossibility of human communication'.

Camus makes this point in The Plague. Obsessed with self, his characters are lost, getting nowhere. making headway with 'the problem' comes when they reach out and engage the world about them. Television programmes, lectures, articles like this having nothing to do with human communication. They're just informing devices in which the parties involved fictionalise each other. The absence of direct contact gives authority to stereotypes which, in the extreme, cripple action. Doesn't everybody know reading too much is bad for practice? Human communication is inter-subjective, the parties alter language and provide examples and illustrations in their attempts to get into each other's shoes. They struggle with understanding. The idealisation of life that every church offers (whether to do with religion, reason or science) can't start with the impossibility of communication. Many anarchists have the same difficulty. In a preface to an excellent article on Deep Ecology (see the Freedom Press polemic Deep Ecology and Anarchism) written by Brian Morris there is a reference to another contributor to the book, Murray Bookchin, offering solutions to our malaise which, in my opinion, would keep us stuck in it. "Never in the past has it been so necessary to retain the utmost clarity, coherence and purposefulness that is required of our era"

writes Bookchin. He makes of the problem a job for the mind. This is confirmed later in the same quote with an old Marxist dictum, "no compromise with contradictions". This intolerance of ambiguity and uncertainty and their avoidance by the one-best-way characterises most church-directed faiths. Faith in purpose, clarity and coherence is now widely pursued by bosses in business, particularly big business as a front for control.

The disease is now rampant in the formal organisation of government and school too. Of course the countless employment rituals embellishing purpose, clarity and coherence lack authenticity because the participants who have had these concerns imposed on their lives don't actually believe in them. How could they when the experiences of employment suggest the reverse? Purposeless activities and an abundance of confusion and incoherence. In my view anarchism in action is about engaging and coming to terms with uncertainties and the unknowable, not denying them.

If we begin by taking on board the range of Lcrimes associated with human communication we will need more than the RATIONAL if we're to get anywhere with practice. For example, if he accepts as reality the precarious and transitory nature of most of the relationships that matter to him, the person living according to his rational lights would probably opt to live alone with as little contact with others as he could get away with. There would not be much social organisation, save that provided by the state. Such a world is not unfamiliar to many of us. But the kind of social order many anarchists think they want demands that they deny reality, that they act as though relationships were everything and forever. Handling such a contradiction, I think, is helped when we evolve our own myths, folklore and rituals around the ideal of mutual aid. Practical anarchism needs the spiritual or sacred too, but without the church. **Denis Pym**

Arthur Moyse

A nyway, I have this unpractical solution which requires my appointment as dictator of Britain for a while. I'd announce a moratorium on all but the most routinised and trivial movement and change. This would require government ministers, captains of industry, bosses everywhere staying in the job till it killed them. I'd keep Major at it till he was reduced to a puddle. Heseltine back at work on Monday. I can think of no better way of discouraging the power seekers. As for the 10th July 1993 • FREEDOM

FEATURES / READERS' LETTERS

Avoiding the 'tragedy of the commons'

(continued from page 6)

addressed to poor people with a pathetically short life expectancy in a poor world. As Peter Marshall puts it, "Industrialised countries should not call for population control elsewhere but should first set their own house in order and consume less. In particular, they should not suck up the world's non-renewable resources in the form of primary materials and then through advertising create a market for their manufactured goods ... In the long run, the most important means to check excessive population is the prospect of a decent life. If life is secure and pleasant, families become smaller." Marshall is eloquent on the real issues involved: "Like other animals, humans are essentially dependent on plants as a source of food, and ultimately numbers will be limited by the carrying capacity of the world defined in terms of the availability of food. But there are enormous individual and regional differences. Two-thirds of the world's human population live in poverty while the remaining third enjoy comparative luxury. The poor consume a small amount of the world's non-renewable resources but their growth in population is double that of those living in developed countries. The average European consumes 600 times more steel than the average African; if everyone used oil like the average American, there would be no oil left on the planet in a few years ... As Europeans colonised the world, they brought with them their culture as well as their technology, a culture which saw 'development' and 'progress' in terms of technological mastery over nature. The message was simple and stark: the world is there to be exploited and despoiled. But the Western way of life can never be adopted universally because there are simply not enough resources to go round. The poor countries of the world have developed a taste for consumer goods which they will never be able to satisfy - except for their elites. So the cycle of famine and misery will continue unless there is a fair distribution of resources, less consumption in the richer countries and a move towards a sustainable global economy which recycles materials and uses renewable

energy supplies. If not, then those in the West will probably continue to sit in front of colour television sets eating processed meals in centrally heated houses, and watch images of others starving to death transmitted 'live' via satellites orbiting the earth."4

Garrett Hardin also claimed that the tragedy of the commons reappears in a reverse way in the problems of pollution, seen once again as a population question. His grandfather used to tell him that flowing water purifies itself every ten miles, and "the myth was near enough to the truth when he was a boy, for there were not too many people. But as population became denser, the natural chemical and biological recycling processes became overloaded, calling for a redefinition of property rights". Since he concludes that it was a rational individual decision by each herdsman to enlarge his herd, he was bound to make the same calculation on pollution: "The rational man finds that his share of the cost of the wastes he discharges into the commons is less than the cost of purifying his wastes before releasing them. Since this is true for everyone, we are locked into a system of 'fouling our own nest', so long as we behave only as independent, rational, free-enterprise ... Indeed, our particular concept of private property, which deters us from exhausting the positive resources of the earth, favours pollution. The owner of a factory on the bank of a stream – whose property extends to the middle of the stream – often has difficulty seeing why it is not his natural right to muddy the waters flowing past his door. The law, always behind the times, requires elaborate stitching and fitting to adapt it to this newly perceived aspect of the commons."5

Parliamentary Enclosures of, say, 1750 to 1850. Different schools of historians have been arguing for a century about the enclosures and their effects. One of the most recent scholars, Dr K.D.M. Snell, considers that the current research and reappraisal of open-field agriculture has established that "the open fields were far more open to innovative and flexible agriculture than once supposed" and that "the account of them as seriously backward and by nature inhibitive of new techniques is most certainly incorrect".6

A team of investigators were appointed by the United Nations Environment Programme to report on the alleged downward spiral of the Himalaya region's forests, where it was feared that the rate of timber use had overtaken the rate of new growth. They described what they found as Garrett Hardin's law of the tragedy of the commons working in reverse in some Himalayan countries. They learned that for centuries the Sherpas "managed their common forest resources with the help of their social institution of forest guardians - a rotating office within each village, the annual holder of which after due (but fairly casual) consultation, laid down the permissible extraction rates for fuel-wood and constructional timber and enforced traditional

fines on those villagers who did not comply".7 But in the 1950s the forests of Nepal were nationalised and controlled by regionally-based officials. The investigators found that the old system worked quite well, but that the new centralised system does not. Local popular control is the surest way of avoiding the tragedy of the commons.

Colin Ward

Notes

1. Green Alliance, The Little Green Book (London, Wildwood House, 1979).

2. Garrett Hardin, 'The Tragedy of the Commons' in Science volume 162, 13th December 1968; Garrett Hardin, Exploring New Ethics for Survival (New York, Viking, 1972).

3. Kirkpatrick Sale, Human Scale (London, Secker & Warburg, 1980).

However, the aspect of his famous essay that stays in people's minds is his conclusion that "the tragedy of the commons as a food basket is averted by private property, or something formally like it." It is always raised as the final argument against community ownership and control of resources. In Britain it is even used as a belated justification for the process of enclosure of the common fields, common lands and wastes, which was a continuous process over centuries, culminating in the

4. Peter Marshall, Nature's Web: an exploration of ecological thinking (London, Simon & Schuster, 1992).

5. Garrett Hardin, op cit.

6. K.D.M. Snell, Annals of the Labouring Poor: social change in agrarian England 1660-1900 (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

7. Michael Thompson, Michael Warburton and Tom Hatley, Uncertainty on a Himalayan Scale (London, Ethnographia / Milton Ash Editions, 1986).

We didn't say this

Jean-Jacques Rousseau - The English people believes itself to be free; it is gravely mistaken; it is free only during election of members of Parliament; as soon as the members are elected, the people are enslaved.

Humphry Berkeley – Nor does anybody pretend, except on the rarest of occasions, that anything said in [Parliamentary] debate has any influence on anybody's opinion or any effect on government action.

of secrecy maintained by the executive. The MPs are the most uninformed people in public life.

John Hutton, Labour MP – Parliament has a political culture which ensures that MPs remain ineffective.

Gerald Kaufman, Labour MP - Members of Parliament have no power and only two rights. One is the right of privileged speech within Parliament. The other is the right of access to Ministers.

Michael Trend, Tory MP - The powers of an MP are limited, particularly in Council affairs where ... one has no control.

James Margach, ex-chief political correspondent of The Sunday Times - One of the main obstacles to MPs acquiring any direct influence ... is the impenetrable blanket

Norman Lamont – We give the impression of being in office but not in power.

Peter Ridell, Times columnist – British politics, at least at Westminster, has been largely free of corruption because most MPs have virtually no power and little influence. EFC

Up with some freedoms

Dear Editors,

Had to smile at George Walford's cry for help (3rd April). At the time I read it I was in the same minefield myself since in writing an incitement to trespass I wanted to include a moral justification. In the event I saw that any argument from natural justice not resting finally on some sort of assertion would be severely your new title, Harold Sculthorpe's technical and too lengthy for my Freedom to Roam, which I haven't yet purpose. In fact I found a means of seen myself. bypass, but as George remains unsatisfied here's a possibility for him to consider.

might on occasion trespass Dear Freedom, demonstratively, either alone or with a thousand friends; but I might prefer sometimes to avoid confrontation in order to enjoy, as someone put it eighty years ago, "that philosophic and tranquil demeanour which should always characterise the expert trespasser". Survey the unobserved trespass would be an example of a freedom taken without infringement of another's freedom? Notice that this is a curious case. I can think of types of action in which the injured party isn't aware of the injury but in which there has been some material change. And I can think of types of action causing no material change but through which the second party suffers undoubted injury. (I won't give examples because I'm afraid they'd provoke a messy correspondence.) In contrast to these, the unobserved trespass leaves no material trace and also leaves population. the landowner with his pride and happiness unimpaired. Understand that

I'm not arguing for it as a tactic. But can George work out whether there aren't classes of actions with low degrees of interference?

It may be that George doesn't consider this an example of a significant action. At some length I think I might persuade him otherwise. Or perhaps he might consult

Harold Drasdo

of words, then this cannot be what anarchy guarantees - Bakunin's attack on the Rousseauites in The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State is not attacking their claimed 'freedom' as an activity, but is attacking their calling such activities a 'freedom' at all. The freedom that anarchy guarantees (that which I called "communal freedom" in my previous letter), as Bakunin says, is the only state of affairs worthy of being called freedom: the freedom of all men and women living in society together. This is not to say that anarchists whilst upholding this 'communal freedom' must suppress the claimed 'freedom' of individual capitalists - because these 'freedoms' make a nonsense of the word,

Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures

Hi Editors,

A response to Ernie Crosswell's couple of points (19th June).

By whom is it assumed women who choose not to have sex with men are "anti-sex on principle"? Certainly not by me. I call 'anti-sex' those who want to censure and punish the sexuality of others. They act as if censorship excites them sexuality, which makes their claim to 'principle' a bit suspect.

Anti-sex freaks make all sorts of unsubstantiated allegations against sexually oriented material, including that its creators are 'overwhelmingly' motivated by profit. Don't you believe it, Ernie. Creators of recreational reading mostly share the interests of their readers. Pornographers in general are enthusiasts for pornography, the same as creators of music magazines are mad about music. Prohibition enables crooked dealers to

make enormous profits out of overpriced porn, but this is due to the prohibition, not the material itself.

I go for 'personal censorship', if that means persons deciding for themselves what to read or look at (and I can't think what else it might mean). Neither my article nor the book I reviewed* advocates pornography as compulsory reading. The message is that feminist energy should be spent on the struggle for women's emancipation, not misspent on anti-porn campaigns.

Feminism is too important and necessary to be co-opted by book-burners.

Again in reply to George Walford: I agree with him that "freedom that does not interfere with the freedom of others" is an empty form of words - one which in effect allows no freedom at all, and I had hoped to make this clear in my previous letter (Freedom, 12th June). However, I draw from this apparently different conclusions than he does.

George says that if an anarchist society guarantees only those freedoms which don't interfere with others, then it doesn't in practise guarantee any freedom at all - from this he concludes that anarchy must entail the suppression of undesirable freedoms (such as the 'freedom' to exploit, oppress and degrade others). By extension, he then finds himself of the opinion that true anarchy cannot work without some form of 'regulation' of the actions of the

However, if "freedom that doesn't interfere with others" is an empty form

and in fact guarantee not 'freedom' at all but only the right to oppress, exploit and make profit.

There perhaps remains the argument that it would be necessary to coerce individuals from exploiting, degrading or harming others within anarchist society. However, if we agree that the desires to exploit, oppress, etc., are not inherent to human nature, in a truly free society where the structures and hierarchies which facilitate encourage and reward such actions would no longer exist, the social nature of humankind would be given full and free natural expression communally and without interference. The only sense in which 'coercion' or inhibition of others freedom would be applicable to anarchist society would be self-imposed by those not wishing to offend society and their comrades - perhaps as outlined by DR in the 'Anarchist Notebook' of 26th June. Piers J. Hale

Andrea Kinty

* Bad Girls and Dirty Pictures: the challenge to reclaim feminism, £9.95 (by mail from Freedom Press Bookshop please add £1 in UK, £2 anywhere else).

Japanese Anarchism

Dear Comrades,

We are an active anarchist group in Japan and involved in the struggle against the dispatch of Japanese military units overseas by Japan state.

We had our own space in the periodical paper of Anarchist Federation (Japanese) Libera Volo but we decided to start publishing a new paper.

The new paper is named Warrior and introducing the movements in which we engage and anarchist movements all over the world. English-language page is included on the back cover.

We wish to have relations of anarchists or radical activists all over the world. It would be glad to exchange our publication and yours. We send you our papers Warrior and Libera Volo. Please send us your publications and we will be able to introduce your movements or actions.

This would be a good opportunity to create comradely relationship.

Takeru Kuroki ARP, PO Box57, Sakyo Kyoto 606, Japan

READERS' LETTERS

FREEDOM • 10th July 1993

Down with some freedoms, up with some others

Dear Freedom,

We were appalled to read (*Freedom*, 26th June 1993) of your offer to give space in your columns to the fascists who carried out an arson attack on the *Freedom* premises. And this in an issue which contained a favourable review of a book on the 43 Group which carried out physical attacks on fascists!

No, you're wrong. Anarchists have not "always defended the right of minorities to express their opinions however disgusting". Not only is this deeply insulting to Spanish and Italian anarchists who forcefully opposed fascism, and suffered in the process, but it is just not true of the British movement in general. The ACF, the DAM, Class War, and, we are sure, many other class struggle anarchists are firmly opposed to any platform for fascists. Do you think that the Spanish Solidaridad Obrera ever carried a statement from the Falange? Not on your nellie! Fascism is an ideology that is built on violence and the intimidation of its opponents. When fascism developed in Italy it sent detachments into areas under socialist or anarchist influence smashing and burning clubs, bookshops, libraries and presses, and beating and murdering militants. This is precisely what it has continued to do throughout the world. It cannot be reasoned with in quaint old William Godwin style, it has to be opposed.

Afro-Caribbean and Asian populations. What would they make of your decision to throw open the pages of *Freedom* to the fascists who orchestrate many of these attacks? An anarchist journal should be developing and discussing the ideas of freedom, not allowing a hearing to those who are thoroughly *anti*-freedom.

Finally we would like to add ourselves to those who, like Seamas Cain, "are receptive to ideas of revolution and mass uprising". His article defending the ideas of revolutionary change was a breath of fresh air.

Ron Allen

you move towards a more appropriate response near the end of your open letter when you say "if they continue with their violence they must expect retaliation". I hope you will understand this, and reconsider your offer to print the words of your attackers.

Steve

Dear Freedom,

Anarchism is against coercion. That is to say, anarchists hate the idea of any person being forced to do anything, or prevented from doing anything, by means of threats; whether the threats are explicit or tacit, whether they are real or fictitious, whether they are threats of violence, poverty or punishment after death. The anarchist ideal is a society without intimidation. by their delight in social relationships which are not coercive. So when anarchists try to sum up the anarchist ideal, they seek a form of words which is positive and upbeat. One phrase often used is "freedom which does not interfere with the freedom of others". Anyone who reads or hears this phrase in the context of anarchist argument will know that 'interfere' in this context means 'interfere by means of threats or intimidation'. Taken out of context, however, the phrase is open to different interpretations.

In the widest possible sense of 'interfere', there is no act which does not 'interfere' with everybody else's freedom. If I sit in a chair, for instance, I prevent everybody else from sitting on that chair. Whether anyone else wants to sit on it is irrelevant; they could not sit on it if they wanted to, so their freedom to do so is removed. a point against a protagonist of anarchism, say in a junior school debating society, where it is in order to take a phrase out of context and wilfully misunderstand it.

8

My friend George Walford comes up with come useful, thought-provoking criticisms of anarchist ideas. He also tries to flummox us with frivolous point-scoring appropriate to school debating societies. This is what he tries in his letters to *Freedom* of 3rd April, 15th May and 26th June, when he challenged readers to name any action which does not interfere with the freedom of others.

The evening of the arson attack on *Freedom* there were two other fires in neighbouring Brick Lane, aimed at the Bengali community. This sort of thing is an everyday occurrence throughout the

Anarchist Communist Federation, London

Dear Freedom,

I read your 'Open Letter to our Attackers'. I admire your spirit to carry on in the face of these terrible attacks, but I don't think your offer to print the words of the people who did this to you is right. When Hitler firebombed you, did you offer to print his speeches? To have done so would have been bizarre.

I am against censorship, but you don't have to acknowledge the people who do you physical harm by printing their lies. Fascism functions outside the domain of reason. The fascists will laugh at your offer, and spit in your faces. If they take it up it will only be to serve their own ends, and make *Freedom* look foolish. Our enemies did not try to reason with us. First they attacked us physically. Second they attacked us with fire. I think The above definition is not incorrect, but it does not convey how anarchism feels. Anarchists are not possessed by hate; their hatred of coercion is fuelled

Of course, this has no bearing on anarchism. But it might be used to score As an experienced debater with an analytical cast of mind, he knows he is making a clever-clever debating point, by confusing two meanings of the word 'interfere'. But he pretends to think he has hit on a substantial argument against the anarchist case.

Come off it, George.

Donald Rooum

Solidarity from Freedom's Readers

Dear Friends,

Twenty five years ago, when Freedom Press was raided by five police officers, Mary Canipa wondered "why they should expect to find anything more explosive in the Freedom Press offices than the written word" (*Freedom*, 9th March 1968).

We, the CIRA librarians-archivists, often used the quote, adding to it that we knew nothing more explosive than the written word. Alas, the recent arson attack against Freedom premises shows how easily one can hinder the spreading of ideas – temporarily. We congratulate you for being able to continue publishing. seeing history repeat itself in the disgusting form which took place in Germany in the 1930s under Hitler's dictatorship. This must be resisted at all levels and I will support you all on that. I hope the damage to your premises does not prevent your work from continuing. If the Jews survived Hitler's brutality then I'm sure we can survive attacks made by similar lunatics.

Dear Freedom Press,

I was sorry to hear about the recent attacks by thugs and arsonists on Freedom Press and Aldgate Press. Clearly there are some people afraid of your calm and reasoned arguments for expanding freedom. But I know that you will not be intimidated. The printed word is more lasting than the firebomb or the fist and truth will outshine error.

Zoe

Peter Marshall

Money buys time – for the privileged

Dear Editors,

You describe (1st May 1993) a Saudi Prince who, to save four hours, hired Concorde for a sum equal to 3,000 British state pensions. You conclude that there is no future for (Western) society unless it protests against such waste. And "it will eventually be swamped by the billions of the third and developing world who are not accepting starvation ... and it will serve us right!"

'Us' presumably means the whole of Western society, including the 3,000 pensioners. You are saying that unless the West mends it ways it will somehow be got rid of by an explosion of third world anger. Do you mean war?

About a year ago New Scientist magazine concluded that there isn't enough actual or potential wealth for the third world ever to live at the level the first world lives at now. There was some feedback. All agreed that the mass of Westerners would never voluntarily reduce their living standards. They might send a tenner to Oxfam at Christmas instead of a fiver, but that would be it. I was filled with gloom.

The article made clear that most

to consecrate worldly success rather than preach self-denial.

The three mass movements for social change – democratic socialism, marxism and fascism – have all foundered. Such things as class solidarity and respect for other people are waning. There is a huge void in the West. A few people join cults to try to give meaning to their lives, but most rely on the great soporific – consumerism. Those who can't afford to actually consume instead window shop or moon over catalogues or do the football pools or read avidly about the antics of the rich.

The only bright spot nowadays is the Green movements. But how many Greens voluntarily live at a low standard of living? If anyone knows of a Green movement that *really* goes in for simple living I would be pleased if they would give details to *Freedom*.

"When there is no vision the people perish" wrote Tolstoi. One can add that when there is a bad vision (e.g. fascism) or an unrealisable vision (e.g. marxism) people still perish.

But what happens when the only vision

In solidarity,

Maianne Enckell Marie-Christine Mikhailo Vicente Marti CIRA, Lausanne

Dear Friends,

A small contribution after the rampage! Miranda

Dear Freedom Press,

I hope you have had your lot of such misfortunes ... this cheque is not much but things being as they are it's all I can afford.

Ian, Hull

Dear Freedom,

It's heartening to see so much good will expressed.

Mike

Dear Comrades,

... payment for book plus a little towards repairing the damage inflicted by the fascists, who, it seems, have inspired a

News from Angel Alley

We are slowly returning to normal, though as we go to press the bookshop is still closed to the public, but all the various 'safety' requirements demanded by the fire authority should be completed by 7th July. Any customer thinking of coming to the bookshop should perhaps give us a ring to be sure first (071-247 9249).

Though we still have problems with the typesetting (having still to replace equipment bashed in the first raid, and some pinched by the second lot) the large printing machine is now back in production, and so as well as getting *Freedom* out on time, the two outstanding Freedom Press titles which we have been advertising but not been able to supply will also be available very soon.

The Raven 22 on Crime has been set and will definitely be dispatched

DONATIONS 31st May - 30th June 1993

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund

Wolverhamton JL £2; Liverpool ZA £16; EWN £10; Yarmouth FNF £8; London, executors of the late Leah Feldman, £100.

> Total = £136.00 1993 total to date = £737.50

Freedom Press Overheads Fund

(including donations to the Damage Repair Fund shown with an asterisk*)

Clwyd SR £5*; Wolverhampton JL £2; Exmouth MD £50*; Huddersfield PW £4; Douglas PC £10*; Saffron Walden ME £10*; Hasselt, Belgium, JD £2; Birmingham MJS £10*; Diemen, Holland, RPV £5*; Glasgow RL £10*; Bolton DP £2*; Slough EC £5*; Colchester CPS £40*; Newton Abbot GH £6*; Sittingbourne PK £5; Edinburgh SC £20*; Nottingham CJ £2; London PC £5*; Bristol RHS £10*; London CS and MP £135*; Derby JS £10*; Hornchurch AJ £5*; Hamburg PG £5; Orpington CP £20; New York PH £6.50; Douglas PC £17*; Oxford DH £10*; London RM £14*; New York PC £13*; Hull IB £4*; Saltburn-by-the-Sea TE £40*.

Western workers are, in world terms, exploiters. They may be, they are, exploited in their own workplaces, but they too benefit from the ripping off of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the wreckage of the Soviet empire.

At the same time as Western consumerism has been rising so just about everything else Western has been declining. The West is officially Christian, yet as long ago as 1937 Archbishop Lang said that over half of the British people were no longer Christian, and in 1945 C.S. Lewis stated that only 10% of the British people truly believed. Can such a society be called Christian? New Scientist recently reported that in one country church membership has soared in line with the growth of consumerism. In 1776 20% of Americans were church members, in 1916 it was 53% and today it is 62%. I think the reason for this seeming anomaly is that American churches tend

most people have revolves around cars, videos, fashionable clothes, foreign holidays, etc?

Tourism is a great evil so far as the third world is concerned. Over a century ago an Indian or Egyptian peasant watching the first Cook's Tours go by could have concluded, rightly, that the tourists were all upper class. Nowadays the tourists are mainly office or factory workers and the local folk know this. They think 'I am a factory worker, how is it I can barely afford the bus fare to work?' And why do most Western tourists insist on living at the level of minor royalty when visiting, say, India or Egypt? Why are they such pigs?

Enough miserable details. You anticipate that the third world masses won't forever put up with the grotesque injustices that exist. I think you're right. Will someone please show why this will not entail war?

Mike Montrose

great degree of solidarity within the movement! Keep on keeping on and never let the bastards grind you down. Stiofain

Dear Editors,

My deepest sympathy is with you if the fire was an arson attack by right-wing lunatics - it makes me wonder if such people are illiterate - but then why would they choose to attack a paper if they were? Actions speak louder than words, but your words seems to be doing them (the right-wingers) more harm than what they are doing to your premises. The right-wingers simply haven't got enough or any credible arguments to put forward to justify their right-wing garbage, which none of us would swallow, so they attack your premises instead in order to prevent the paper from publishing the truth about things that matter in this day and age. Unfortunately, comrades, we are

this month.

The messages of solidarity continue to reach us and so many readers go on contributing generously to our Damage Repair Fund. Not only do we appreciate their practical help but your messages are a real tonic for all of us at 84b. The bills haven't yet come in, but we know more or less what the insurers are covering and there will be quite a bit left over for us to meet! So if you can, your solidarity will be most welcome. And warm thanks to all who contributed so generously in June.

At the time of writing our invitation to our attackers to say who they are and to explain in the columns of *Freedom* what they have against us to wish to set our building alight has brought no response. The invitation still stands.

Total = £482.50 1993 total to date = £2,074.00

(which includes £1,643.00* in donations to the Damage Repairs Fund)

Raven Deficit Fund Oswestry PN £7.

Total = £7.00 1993 total to date = £558.00

The London Group of the **Anarchist Communist** Federation meets weekly for activities and discussion Contact: c/o ACF, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Education Workers' Network

Britain's only anarcho-syndicalist organisation for workers and students in all sectors of education.

For further details write to:

EWN, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 8DP

The Radical Reader

a new bookshop stocking **Freedom Press and other** anarchist titles

The Mini-Market The Old Sale Room St James's Square, Aberystwyth open Monday-Saturday 10am-5pm

FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1 **New FREEDOM PRESS titles**

Freedom to Roam Harold Sculthorpe

Short, witty essays by a rambler on the problems encountered in walking in the countryside as the military, large landowners, factory farmers and, more recently, water companies try to exclude walkers from the land.

68 pages ISBN 0 900384 68 9 £3.50

Social Defence : Social Change **Brian Martin**

Argues for social defence as a grassroots initiative linked to challenges to oppressive structures in society, such as patriarchy, police and the state. Filled with examples from Finland to Fiji. 168 pages ISBN 0 900384 69 7 £4.95

Violence and Anarchism various authors

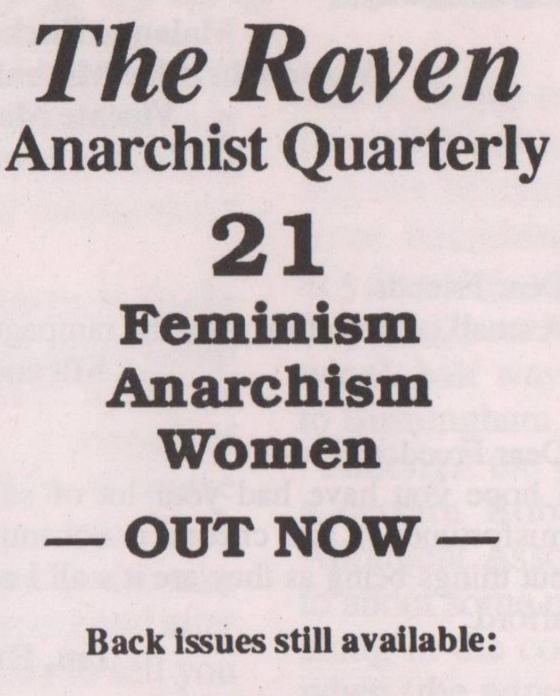
A supplement to the Freedom Centenary Series. An attempted assassination of Hendrick Verwoerd, prime minister of South Africa, was greeted by a Freedom editorial headed 'Too bad he missed'. The controversy this provoked is reprinted in full. 79 pages ISBN 0 900384 70 0 £2.50

ALSO TO BE PUBLISHED DURING 1993

The first volume of the Freedom Centenary Series covering the years 1886 to 1932, and a volume on the life and work of Emma Goldman. Details to be announced.

All available post-free inland(overseas add 10% for postage and packing) from: **FREEDOM PRESS** 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX

__ * * * ___



number 20 on **'PETER KROPOTKIN: 150th ANNIVERSARY'**

- 19 Sociology
- 18 Anthropology & Africa
- 17 Use of Land
- 16 Education (2)
- 15 Health
- 14 Voting
- 13 Anarchists in Eastern Europe
- 12 Communication
- 11 Class
- 10 Libertarian Education / Kropotkin on Technical Education
- 9 Architecture / Feminism / Sociobiology / Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 Revolution: France / Russia / Mexico / Italy / Spain / the Wilhelmshaven Revolt
- 7 Alternative Bureaucracy / Emma Goldman / Sade / William Blake
- 6 Tradition and Revolution Architecture for All / Carlo Cafiero

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere) from

FREEDOM PRESS

Red R

A programme White Peak for Libertarians and

Sunday 11th J through Hollowa at the Village Gr reference 325 3-4 miles.

Sunday 8th Au Reservoir and L strong boots, wa drink. Meet at La map reference Length 8 miles.

Sunday 5th Se Broughton and village. Meet at **Broughton Par Church Brought** Derby. Length of

> **Telephone fo** 0773

	SUB To Freedom
	I am a subscri
	Please renew 1
	Please make n starting with n
	I am not yet a
	I would like th
	I enclose a dor Raven Deficit
len	close £
Nar	ne
Ada	lress

and the second se				and the second se	
Ininob-ties history	FREEDOM	AND	THE RA	VEN	
ambles	SUBS (CRI	PTI	ON	
of free walks in the	RATES				
d Anarchists.	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail	
July – Circular walk ay and Dethick. Meet	Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues Claimants 10.00 – – – –				
reen, Holloway, map	Regular 14.00	18.00	27.00	23.00	
563, at 1pm. Length	Institutions 22.00	25.00	33.00	33.00	
ugust - Ladybower	The Raven (4 issu Claimants 10.00	1es) 	bd for a	_	
Lost Lad Walk. Bring	Regular 11.00	12.00	16.00	14.00	
aterproofs, food and adybower Picnic Site,	Institutions 16.00	20.00	25.00	25.00	
173 894, at 10.30am.	Joint sub (24 x [·] F Claimants 18.00	reedom	& 4 x The	Raven)	
eptember – Church	Regular 23.00	28.00	40.00	37.00	
deserted medieval	Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)				
t entrance to Church	elineteolicerineer	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail	
rish Church, 1pm. ton is 5 miles west of	2 copies x 12 5 copies x 12	12.00 25.00	13.00 27.00	20.00 42.00	
of walk 4 miles.	10 copies x 12	48.00	54.00	82.00	
or further details: 3-827513	Other bundle sizes on application				
3-02/313	Giro account number 58 294 6905 All prices in £ sterling				

SCRIPTION FORM Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E17QX

ber, please renew my sub to Freedom for issues

my joint subscription to Freedom and The Raven

ny sub to Freedom into a joint sub for Freedom and The Raven, umber 21 of The Raven

subscriber, please enter my sub to Freedom for issues

e following back numbers of The Raven at £3 per copy post free mbers 1 to 20 are available)

nation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads / Fund (delete as applicable)

... payment

		- 1		
		2.00		
 			=	
 	Postcode			