

anarchist fortnightly

# Freedom

Vol. 54 No. 15                      24 JULY 1993                      FIFTY PENCE

*"Politics is a dirty game, a dirty game! I'm thankful to say I have two sons doing very well in it."*

**Lord Salisbury**  
(c. 1880)

## The Tokyo G7 Summit

# MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING!

The gathering in Tokyo of the political leaders of the seven top industrial countries had to be, by hook or by crook, 'a success' since all of them had left behind trade recessions and massive unemployment in their respective countries, not to mention the other European Community countries not included in the G7 elite. They and their retinues (the British delegation was the most modest with a mere 64

to wine and dine and to introduce to their counterparts. Apparently Mr Major declared that he wasn't aware of who the 64 in his bunch were! must have accounted for more than 1,000 'top people'. Add to that the diplomatic observers from all the other countries who were there to make contacts - profitable ones. And last but not least, *THE MEDIA*. According to *The Independent* no less than 11,000 journalists, cameramen and their retinues descended on this gathering. And obviously a grand time (all expenses paid) was had by all. Something concrete at all costs had to emerge from all the hand-shaking and junketing of those three

expensive days for the taxpayers. And it was that they had made a significant step forward towards the capitalist ideal of a *free trade world!*

A smiling John Major was as ecstatic, as he often tries to be, when he declared that it was "a great prize ... bigger than anything we have seen before", claiming that it would 'create' 400,000 jobs in Britain over thirteen years. Clinton, who like Major is worried about his low standing in the popularity polls at home, declared that it was "Good news for America and good news for  
*(continued on page 2)*

## BUSINESS ON SUNDAY

With the government acknowledging that the 'demand' for Sunday trading is 'universal', what they are in fact saying is that the supermarkets - the Sainsburys, Tescos, et alia - by breaking the law have twisted the government's arm to approve of Sunday opening subject to approval by Parliament. Surely this creates an interesting precedent which we anarchists have been trying to tell people to adopt. Voting is a waste of time. Direct action gets things done. Obviously the supermarkets are a law unto themselves. They went on breaking the law about Sunday opening. The government didn't dare to prosecute, and in the end agreed with the excuse that the public wanted to have their Sunday walk with the family before lunch through Tescos or Sainsburys hyper-markets! A united and militant working class could be as successful with its demands.

The government in its bashing campaign against the single parents and our good old Victorian two-parent family with all its hypocrisy apparently does not take into account that Sunday working is yet another weapon to undermine the two-parent family. After all, is it not at the weekends that parents and children can spend most time together? And here is our government-of-the-family accepting the supermarkets *fait accompli* and making mum or dad have to go in on Sunday and possibly have Monday off when the kids are at school.

Financially there are more sinister motives behind the new legislation. It's the thin end of the wedge to flexible working and the abolition of overtime payment.

Far from having a kind word for the so-called 'Union Barons', surely the need for all workers to organise in unions to protect their interests is more obvious today than at any time in the last thirty years.

## NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION TO THE RECESSION

In spite of all the recent newspaper headlines declaring that the recession is over, and the phoney unemployment statistics showing a reduction in the unemployed receiving the dole, we are more than convinced that the recession is here to stay and that more and more people will join the unemployed receiving the dole unless common sense replaces Tory (or even Lib/Lab) dogma.

It is obvious that technology has made a much shorter working week an absolute necessity - and it is also a marvellous opportunity for all of us to have more time to do all the kinds of things we dream of doing but keep saying we haven't the time to do.

People in the prosperous category who complain that they haven't time to spend more of it with their children, who then have to be sent to boarding schools at anything up to £8,000 a year, and who also have to employ gardeners to keep their country properties ship-shape for the annual open-invitation to all and sundry to admire their gardens, declare that they never have enough money - only because they have no limits to their *wants*.

So long as the overwhelming majority of the people in all countries accept this situation, conditions for the majority can only become more and more difficult. All governments are impotent to redress the imbalance between those who possess and those who don't, assuming this to be their intention, which of course is not the case, at least with the Tories.

The so-called communist revolution has finally collapsed and we suspect the more politically informed Russians will learn valuable lessons from the mistakes and disasters that are being revealed as Russia goes capitalist (out of the frying pan into the fire, in our opinion).

The capitalist system is as bankrupt as was the Russian so-called communist system. Both survived for a long time and we have no illusions that the capitalists, though bankrupt, will survive so long as no alternative economic system is presented, and not only presented to the people convincingly - it will also have to be defended once accepted by the people with much more than words and arguments. The privileged have never given up their privileges without a struggle.



## G7: MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING!

(continued from page 1)

the world". In fact, as usual, it's all bullshit.

In the age of multinationals how can there be free trade? When raw materials and agricultural produce come from the colonies (now the third world) in exchange for the manufactures from the West the problem was quite straightforward, but it resulted in two world wars among the latter (the industrial countries) in 1914-18 and 1939-45!

Today there is no longer a demarcation line between the two. Capitalist greed has transferred capital and know-how to the countries where labour is cheap and as able as the white master race to cope with the latest technology. And whatever the Clintons, the Kohls and our minor Major may propose to the media, rest assured that it will be the multinationals who dispose.

As we have on more than one occasion argued in these columns, so long as the major industrial capitalist nations do not open up the rest of the world as consumers of all their over-productive capacity (mainly of useless gadgets and rubbish) the recession and escalating real unemployment (not their statistics) will continue whatever government is in office.

The invitation to Yeltsin would indicate that such thoughts have not escaped their advisers. *The Guardian* (10th July) produced a four-column back view picture of Yeltsin and Clinton each with a protective arm round the other (caption: "group of two Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin become brothers in arms"). As a result Yeltsin returned to Moscow with a \$3,000 million loan to carry on his good work for the capitalist cause not only in Russia but in Yankee-land as well. For as Jonathan Steele reported from Tokyo (*Guardian*, 9th July) though the amount offered is above that originally expected, "much of it, however, is the kind of 'tied credits' President Yeltsin has criticised in the past". It includes, for instance, \$1,000 million of export credits "targeted to newly privatised Russian companies that buy Western equipment". And it will be mainly American equipment since the USA have put up most of the funds. And there's our grinning Mr Major looking forward to all those jobs in the distant future and on our behalf has added Britain's \$75 million to the Yeltsin booster! Chicken feed!

China is, of course, the other target for exploitation by the dying G7 industrial has-beens, now vainly seeking to maintain their privileged socio-economic status. With a fifth of the world's

population and with the physical energy that the decadent Europeans have lost, they hope to see a profitable future in China with capital and know-how. Recently *The Observer* quoted analysts at Salomon Brothers that China could spend £65,000 million just on updating its telecom system by the year 2000!

Russia is obviously a prime target for the West since it has vast untapped natural resources and is a potential mass market for all the rubbish that mass man seems to cherish. The only snag so far as the would-be 'colonialists' of the G7 fraternity are concerned is that the Russians are not quite as stupid as the media make them out to be.

It is a disease of the ex-colonial powers to imagine that our values - of behaviour and efficiency, among others - are God-sent, universal. Slowly we are learning that the world is a much bigger territory!

Mr Major's Tokyo 'big prize' of 'free trade', apart from the fact that before it can be effective has still to be examined by a number of bureaucrats, is, in our opinion, anything but a 'big prize'. Let's look at it from a purely capitalist point of view.

The advocates of capitalism say they believe in competition in tooth and claw,

but in fact only when business is bad and then, what do they do? The strongest gobble up the weakest or seek to drive them out of business (observe the current circulation war between *The Sun* and *The Mirror*). In theory the eleven members of the EEC are in competition yet they talk of operating on 'a level playing field'. There can be no 'level playing field' so long as conditions vary - climatic (with temperature, rainfall) and not least wages among them. (Imagine a free trade regime including horticultural imports from Israel, for instance, where slave labour wages are paid to Palestinian workers from the West Bank who would otherwise starve.)

So-called 'free trade' in a capitalist world is anything but free. It simply means the unrestricted exploitation of labour, especially unskilled labour. Mr Major claimed as one of his major achievements that Britain as a member of the EEC is exempt from observing the Social Chapter which imposes on employers a duty to pay a minimum wage. One could comment that since the other EEC members accepted these conditions no 'level playing field' exists so far as Major is concerned, but there is no indication that the Brits will in the long term benefit by being the odd one out (we write these lines before the debate on the Social Chapter).

### — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

## Learning from the collapse of industry

American friends advised me not to miss Michael Moore's documentary film *Roger and Me*, so I eagerly waited for its appearance in Channel 4's 'True Stories' slot on 8th July. Moore comes from Flint, Michigan, which is the home of General Motors in the same sense that Dearborn, in the same state, is the home of its largest rival the Ford Motor Company. Both towns owe their rise to one big employer, both include memorials to the bloody battles in 1937 to win union agreements with UAW, the car workers' union.

In the 1980s General Motors, in a 'rationalisation' of its operations (it owns car factories around the world, like Vauxhall in Britain and Opel in Germany), closed its plants at Flint, transferring production to

Mexico and leaving 30,000 workers without jobs. Michael Moore, witnessing the ensuing death of his town, resolved to seek an interview with Roger Smith, chairman of General Motors, to ask him to come to Flint and see the devastation that a boardroom decision had caused.

So he wrote, phoned and faxed in an effort to see Mr Smith. Several times he sought access to the directorial fourteenth floor of General Motors' head office, followed the boss's engagement diary and tried to see him at the yacht club dinner of alligator steaks, and turned up at the shareholder's meeting where the directors were congratulating themselves on another successful year, only to have the meeting adjourned the moment he rose to his feet. Elsewhere he was mistaken for another scourge of the US car industry, Ralph Nadar, the author of *Unsafe at Any Price*.

Everywhere he was (since he had a cameraman behind him) politely but firmly ejected. And the smooth talk and strong arms of several underlings prevented him from getting anywhere near the always-smiling, ever-confident Roger Smith. But the shots of his quest for an interview were inter-cut with the real business of the film, which was to show us what actually happened in Flint.

We saw the miles of boarded-up shops in the main streets, and followed the bailiff from the sheriff's office on his endless round of evictions for non-payment of rent, the family's remaining possessions dumped in a neat pile in the street. And we learned that crime rates have risen so much that the city jail cannot cope. We also eavesdropped on the tea parties and cocktail hours of those residents whose livelihoods were not dependent on General Motors and heard those standard opinions of the affluent in the US and here, that what 'those people' lack is the moral strength to bounce back and earn a living.

So we watched the spirit of enterprise at work. We met this woman on welfare who was into rabbits. They bred without any encouragement and she would sell you them as babies for pets, or would feed them for a

In the concluding paragraphs of our editorial ('Business as Usual at Number 11', 26th June) we wrote that:

"In this writer's opinion, the choices open to the workers of the world (for it will literally be an industrial world) are competition, leading to World War Three, or co-operation and autarky through a social revolution."

A very interesting article in *The Independent* (13th July) by Tim Laing and Colin Hines with a title right up this writer's street, 'Free Trade? We all need protection', concludes with:

"No one is arguing for Pol Pot type autarky as the alternative to free trade. But there is a choice that does not involve the combination of further trade deregulation and crisis management hyped as the world's salvation in Tokyo last week.

If people want to protect their futures, they must press politicians to argue for more local trade and diversified economies. Consumers should be encouraged to buy, first, locally produced goods and services, second, regionally produced ones, and globally produced ones only as a last resort. For this to happen the GATT would have to be transformed into a General Agreement on Sustainable Trade."

The last paragraph is a sympathetic first step. This is the autarky - self-sufficiency - that we were advocating in the editorial quoted above. We look forward to their forthcoming book due later this month. What we are certain of is that the GATT is designed to benefit above all the United States of America.

few weeks and then skin and gut them for the pot. But in stepped the public health authorities to insist that her backyard shed should be brought up to the impossibly expensive approved standard for slaughterhouses.

But how did Flint respond at a civic level? It decided that their town should win a place on the tourist map. So it invested in the expertise of leisure and recreation consultants, and as the first need was seen to be a luxury hotel it invested millions of dollars in building one. And as there had to be a reason for coming to Flint, more millions were spent on building the Autoworld Theme Park evoking the history of the industry that made the town and built up its population. When Michael Moore went back to Flint, the hotel was bankrupt and the theme park closed.

The same story can be told of all the old industrial areas of the United States. There are famous cities where nobody goes any more. A few years ago I went to the steel town of Pittsburgh's industrial valley where, after the death of steel making, a team of international experts were urging the same alleged solution of turning the rolling mills into museums describing the mythological golden age of the industry's past. This was at Homestead, where a century ago the Pinkerton guards had shot and killed striking workers of the Carnegie Steel Company and where, in consequence, Alexander Berkman tried to assassinate Carnegie's chairman Henry Clay Frick. At the time a journalist, Hamlin Garland, described the town:

"Everywhere the yellow mud of streets lay kneaded into sickly masses, through which groups of pale, lean men slouched in faded garments, grimy with the soot and dirt of the mills. The town was as squalid as could well be imagined, and the people were mainly of the discouraged and sullen type to be found everywhere when labor is passed into the brutalising age of severity."

Fifty years later, in the great age of full employment in the Pittsburgh steel industry, the place was in the news again "because environmentally it was hell with the lid off".

(continued on page 3)

## Oxleas beats the bulldozer

Oxleas Wood in south east London has been saved from the bulldozer. The government announced on 7th July that it was abandoning its plan to build a six-lane highway across these 25 acres of an 8,000 year old stand of ancient woodland and a designated Sight of Special Interest, as part of its proposed East London River Crossing scheme. This is a great success for the local community which has maintained a strenuous campaign against the proposal since 1979 and gained the support of the local council, conservation bodies and environmentalists.

As recently as February success seemed far away, when the High Court rejected an application by the London Borough of Greenwich and nine south east London residents, representing the local community, to have the road scheme thrown out. An appeal was planned but the cost would have been enormous and the money was running out. This year's fund-raising festival, organised by the Greenwich and Lewisham branch of Friends of the Earth and PARC (People Against the River Crossing), was held in fine weather on 20th June in the meadow adjoining

the wood and thousands of local residents and supporters came to enjoy the music, theatre and refreshments, watch the carnival procession, join in the sponsored walk and buy the home-made produce on sale. And few people knew how near they were to winning. With over 3,000 people pledged to stop the bulldozing of Oxleas Wood, perhaps the government could not face the prospect of a repetition of the Twyford Down Campaign so near to London, Parliament and the television studios.

The mass rally planned for 31st July on Oxleas meadow will now be a great celebration party, but none of the campaigners are so sanguine as to imagine that the threat could not return, having read the sinister words of the Transport Secretary: "We will bring forward new proposals for the scheme and in doing so will explore opportunities for greater involvement by the private sector". Of course, he may just be bluffing. There is still one immediate problem for the campaigners - what to do with all those T-shirts?

HS



## Motorway madness coming to an end?

There may be a hope that the decision not to build a motorway through Oxleas Wood indicates a change in public attitudes.

There have always been protests against the depredations of road builders, but as long as they remained minority protests they had little or no effect. Railway companies coming into London bought populous neighbourhoods from landlords, and evicted the tenants without compensation, to build all the main London stations. Middle class protesters were dismissed as cranks, and the dispossessed poor were simply ignored. We still use 'railroading' to mean forcing something through regardless. Before the railways, protests against canal building were equally ineffectual. Now at last, after two hundred years of protest including thirty years of motorways, the protesters have secured their first success.

Disenchantment with roads is not confined to Britain. There is evidence in that splendid film *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* that it exists in Los Angeles, the roadiest place in the world. (I am about to reveal who framed Roger. I trust this will spoil nobody's enjoyment of the film as the whodunnit plot is not very important, but if in doubt please skip the next two paragraphs.)

There is a key speech near the start of the film, set in Los Angeles in 1948: "Who needs a car in LA? We got the best public transportation system in the world". It turns out that Roger Rabbit was framed by a 'toon' (animated cartoon character) who schemes to destroy the public transport system and build a lunatic construction called a freeway: "Eight lanes of shining concrete from here to Pasadena". The irony is that in real life the toon's crazy scheme has been carried out.

The film-makers certainly did not intend the film to be controversial, so I presume they did some research to assure themselves that the suggestion that the freeway had ruined Los Angeles would not infuriate the inhabitants.

45% of Los Angeles (my source does not say whether this means the whole conurbation or some smaller area) is now devoted to freeways, side-roads, parking lots and other car facilities. For comparison, the area devoted to cars in New York is 24%, and in London 22%.

Commuter distances in Los Angeles average twenty miles or more, not only to work but also to schools, shops and playgrounds. Despite stringent anti-pollution laws, exhaust gases cause a permanent haze over the city centre, and some trees and other plants which were native to the district will no longer grow there.

A survey of British children finds that parental permissiveness is increasing, except in the matter of being allowed to go out unsupervised. Here freedom is decreasing, because parents are worried about traffic. In Los Angeles, there are children who cannot go further than their gardens until they are old enough to drive, because there is literally no way in and out of their houses except for cars.

I forget the name of the American science fiction writer who wrote a story in which every house is equipped with a door to anywhere. People key in the coordinates of where they

want to be, step through the door, and there they are. As with cars, only more so, ease of travel causes people to lose interest in their own neighbourhoods. But I note that when the small boy hero insists on walking to school instead of travelling by door, nothing is said about danger. Cars may cause people to neglect their own neighbourhoods, but that is by no means their worst effect.

It is one thing to perceive that cars are a menace, and another to give up one's car.

London Transport campaigns for car owners to use public transport. One recent advertisement shows a family opening the door of the garage adjoining their house, and delightedly finding a tube train there. The text explains that taking the train would save the stress of driving and finding somewhere to park. What utter bilge.

Using public transport is never a matter of nipping to the garage. You begin by walking to the station or bus stop, taking the heavy luggage, the small children and the disabled relative. Then you wait for the bus or train to arrive. Then you sit or stand among travelling companions not of your choice, while the vehicle takes a meandering route with frequent stops. You may have to change vehicles, perhaps more than once. Your journey ends with another walk, with luggage and children, from where you get off to where you want to be.

And for the family which has already paid

the cost of owning a car and garaging it, the cost of public transport is prohibitive. For the price of one person going five miles by public transport, six people can go forty miles by car.

As for stress, if you want to compare the stress of car driving with the stresses of public transport, just listen to the moans of any habitual car commuter forced to use public transport for once because the car is out of commission.

Universal provision of science fiction doors to anywhere would be an ideal solution. Alternatively, and no less fantastically, people might decide not to travel but to stay where they are. The practical solution, however, may be not to abolish cars or cut travelling as such, but to cut down the amount of car travel.

Many car journeys are made by people who would prefer to travel by other means. Some rural areas, where village schools and village shops are closed, are so badly served by public transport that people cannot manage without cars. And in towns, car owners would often use public transport if it was cheaper. Until 1979, Sheffield council subsidised the bus service and the roads were not crowded. The Thatcher government prohibited the subsidy in the name of saving ratepayers' money, and the amount now spent on road building exceeds what the subsidy cost.

It seems that in general supporting public transport might cut down the need for new roads and so save money, noise, global warming, destruction of habitats, and danger of accidents.

DR

## Learning from the collapse of industry

(continued from page 2)

On the same visit, as somebody else was paying, I went to the vast poverty belts in the south around Atlanta, Georgia, in the north around Philadelphia and between them around Baltimore. At the time I recorded my impression of Camden, birthplace of Walt Whitman:

"Downtown Philadelphia stays in my mind as the place where I encountered more beggars per 100 metres than in any other city I have ever visited. Beneath Gallery 1, the handsome new shopping centre, I took the Patco Line of the Metro and in a quarter of an hour had crossed the Delaware River and emerged, blinking in the sunlight, from the subway at City Hall Station, Camden, New Jersey. I felt as though I had stepped into a disaster movie. There was an immense wide street with no cars or people, a vast city hall, an impressive court house and consequently a huddle of lawyers' offices, tall hotels and department stores with their ground-floor windows blocked up. I learned that Camden had once had a ship-building industry, but was now dependent on two employers: RCA, with their defence contracts, and Campbells the soup king."<sup>1</sup>

New Jersey calls itself the Garden State, and its growers eagerly adjusted their activities to the demands of Campbells who brought in parties of Puerto Rican women to harvest tomatoes in the qualities and quantities required. But just as there came a point when the directors of General Motors decided that they had a duty to shareholders to shift production from Flint to Mexico, so there came a point when the directors of Campbells resolved to have the tomatoes grown and picked in Florida. What did it matter to their boards and shareholders that they were ruining poor families in Camden and poor growers in New Jersey?

You don't have to go to America to see the disasters wrought by footloose capital. Fords of Europe are poised to switch key elements of production from their plants in Britain and Germany to their Spanish branch. Similarly, Volkswagen's new purchasing director, José Ignacio Lopez, who has switched from

General Motors in Detroit to its rival in Germany, announced that the firm would cut 36,000 jobs there by 1997 with 20,000 to go this year, but revealed on 14th June his plans to build "an ultra-modern, cheap peoples' car" also in Spain. Meanwhile, Ford, General Motors, Volkswagen, Fiat and Renault are all exploring the car plants of Eastern Europe and the former Russian empire for the possibilities of even cheaper labour markets in the face of the increase in the Japanese share of the European car trade to 12.5%.

I have recently toured the British new towns of the post-war period and have seen the devastation that followed the withdrawal of major firms like Thorn and Courtaulds from Skelmersdale, or the closure of British Steel's works at Corby. Or, for that matter, the decline of the Cold-War-instigated high-tech weapons industries at places like Stevenage. At the same time there is the running sore of colliery closures and the scrabble between the few remaining shipyards for the last naval orders from the Ministry of Defence.

Some people respond to the crisis of employment with the slogans of trade union solidarity that were appropriate to the days when employers needed a mass workforce. Others try to learn from current industrial events. At the Timex works in Dundee, sacked workers picketed the attempt to bring in a new workforce at less favourable rates. The employers' response is to close the plant entirely. When French workers at Hoover's Dijon plant objected to the firm's decision to end hard-won terms of employment, the parent company shifted production to its Cambuslang plant in an area of high unemployment in Scotland, where the move was welcomed by the union. Cuts in governmental defence spending reveal several things, both in the United States and Britain. One is that the permanent war economy played a very large part in economic booms, another is that people prefer making lethal goods that will finally end in the hands of the

rulers of Middle Eastern, African or Asian dictatorships, to the devastation that results from the closure of defence plants. Yet another is that, in consequence, it results in the collusion of the Labour and trade union movements in the military-industrial complex.

What is the useful role of anarchist propagandists, a minority of a minority, in exploring the future of what were once seen as the advanced industrial nations? I think it is important for us to examine the potentialities and limitations of the alternatives that exist, not in theory but in practice. There was a time, for example, when Welsh trade unions in the 1970s, seeing the imminence of collapse for their steel, tin-plate and mining industries, sent delegations to examine what was seen as the economic miracle of the network of workers' co-operatives based on Mondragon in the Basque provinces of Spain.<sup>2</sup> Others have sought to explore the significance of the so-called 'black' or informal economy.<sup>3</sup> Personally I think we should learn from the experience of the small-workshop economy in northern Italy. Compare Flint, Michigan, with Turin. General Motors sacked 30,000 workers. After prolonged strikes in the 1980s Fiat sacked 60,000 workers from the kilometre-long factory at Lingotto. I'm not as persistent as Michael Moore was in seeking a meeting with Mr Smith - I never sought a meeting with his Italian equivalent Mr Agnelli. What I did see was that the industrial cities of northern Italy are not remotely like those of North America. People actually have an income.<sup>4</sup> It is never too late to learn.

Colin Ward

1. C. Ward, *Welcome, Thinner City: urban survival in the 1990s*, Bedford Square Press, 1989.

2. Alastair Campbell et al, *Worker-Owners: the Mondragon achievement*, Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society, 1977.

3. C. Ward, 'Anarchism and the Informal Economy' in *The Raven*, number 1, 1987.

4. C. Ward, 'A Few Italian Lessons' in *The Raven*, number 7, July 1989.

## McLibel Case Latest

The case of the 'McLibel Two' has been provisionally scheduled for October, and three weeks of court time has been reserved for it.

The McDonald's hamburger chain, the largest retail property owner and food service organisation in the world, are suing Dave Morris and Helen Wood, a couple of unemployed London anarchists, for libel.

London Greenpeace, an eco-anarchist group active since 1970 (when the wealthy international organisation also called Greenpeace was founded in Vancouver), started a campaign against McDonald's in 1985. They distributed leaflets alleging that McDonald's underpays and mistreats its workers, destroys rain forests and other natural environments, and swindles its customers.

McDonald's sent private detectives to meetings of London Greenpeace to find the names of the activists, and in 1990 issued writs against several of them. Most of the cases have

(continued on page 4)

New title from Freedom Press  
**DEEP ECOLOGY**

&

**ANARCHISM**

A POLEMIC:

Murray Bookchin,  
Graham Purchase, Brian Morris,  
Rodney Aitchtey

— with —

**CAN LIFE SURVIVE?**

by Robert Hart

— and —

**THE APPLE FALLS  
FROM GRACE**

by Chris Wilbert

£2.50 (post-free inland)



## Birmingham Priest in Trial by Television

The current BBC2 series on 'Crime and Punishment' is a valiant attempt by the media to respond constructively to the crisis facing our legal system, and a fitting preparation for the next *Raven* soon to be published. However, 'Everyman' on BBC1 attempted to provide a brake on this unprecedented free expression of anti-authoritarian programmes, by a virulent attack upon a Catholic bishop.

'But hold on' you say, 'surely bishops are authority, and why should anarchists defend anything as authoritarian as the Catholic Church?' The answer is simple. The law is a much bigger authoritarian; and though it imprisons priests today, it will imprison us tomorrow. The church can only have power over you if you let it, but the law can force compliance.

The television programme attacked the bishop for failing to prevent a priest from indecently assaulting children in his care. They were not criticising the structure of the Catholic Church, which made such a thing possible, but rather this individual bishop whose naive refusal to believe the worst about a fellow priest was portrayed as weak management bordering on criminal negligence. There was no suggestion that the parents had been negligent in trusting the priest with their children, or that their subsequent attack on the bishop was fuelled by their own sense of guilt at having handed

their children over to someone who could not be trusted. In fact the programme was encouraging the view that parents have a right to expect Churches to take responsibility for their children. This might be acceptable doctrine to the Catholic Church, but it cannot be acceptable to anarchists.

Children are the responsibility of their parents. The parents may seek help from others, but they cannot escape their position as the progenitors of the children. Anyone who intervenes between parents and children, without the invitation of the parents, is acting in an authoritarian way, overruling nature with pompous ideas about 'knowing what is best for children'. This is interference, this is the state: bureaucratic bungling, as in Orkney. The libertarian may want to give the child the right to choose a new family, but it cannot go in with force and make the child take such a decision.

I have never been and could not consider becoming a Catholic, but I have to accept that priests do work very hard with young people, especially children from deprived backgrounds. And in practically all cases the loving, caring work is done as a reflection of the priest's faith – no ulterior motive, no perverted sex drive. So, do we blame one priest who confesses to assault; or do we blame his superiors for failing to prevent him? Neither, we blame ignorance and the media for getting the issue of child abuse out of proportion.

If congregations really cared about their priests instead of leaving it to the bishops, if families really cared about their neighbours instead of leaving it to social workers and police, there would be assistance for abusers and abused. We must stop looking for scapegoats: humans are fallible. It is laws and institutions that hide the truth and prevent mutual aid from taking place. Authoritarian oppression, like child sexual abuse, cannot be

## McLibel

(continued from page 3)

since been dropped, apparently in return for undertakings (we note that the annual Anti-McDonald's Fayre changed its name to the Greenpeace Fayre). But the cases against Helen and Dave continue.

Earlier McDonald's lawyers tended to drag their feet, but recently they have been going flat out and Helen and Dave have been working practically full time to keep up with them. They are demanding discovery of McDonald's internal accounts, while McDonald's are trying to limit evidence to published material. Already there have been seven preliminary hearings at the High Court.

Helen and Dave have taken the British government to the European Court of Human Rights over refusal to grant them legal aid, but the European Court will not pronounce until well after the libel case is decided in the British courts.

There will be a supporters' march through London on Saturday 16th October (World Food Day) – meet at Euston at 1pm. Contact McLibel Support Campaign, c/o London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, telephone 071-837 7557.

## News and Views

Among those great matters of state that concern our politicians and bureaucrats is the size and shape of stick the police should use to beat us with. The traditional 15-inch truncheon is apparently no longer considered adequate and the Police Federation would like to see it replaced by a 24-inch side-handled baton which is said to exert a blow ten times more powerful. By all accounts its adoption would greatly improve relations between police and government. Its effect on relations between police and public is another matter.

You may be assured to learn that this new baton is not quite the same as the one wielded by the Los Angeles police against Rodney King. For one thing, when not in use it closes down to a less aggressive looking 13.5 inches. No final decision has yet been made, as they say, for there are three other batons which have passed their laboratory tests (sic), also ready to be tested on the streets of London. We have the Arnold, 20.5 inches long and made of rigid nylon; or would you prefer the Monadnoch SX24, a two-piece telescopic truncheon made of steel and solid polycarbonate; then there is the Celayaton, a lightweight straight 26-inch baton made of rubber coated rattan, used very successfully in Thailand.

Street trials of the side-handled baton should be starting about now to the no doubt delight of Alun Michael, the Labour Party's Home Affairs spokesman. He would have liked to have seen them in use fifteen months ago and has advocated rigorous testing of the baton in at least three police forces. Is this what they call consensus politics? Now all that is needed are some volunteers. Any heads on offer?

defeated by a bigger authoritarian oppression (like state police and law courts), but only by standing up to the oppressors collectively. Where the media pillory an individual you can be sure they are evading the real issue: which is always an institution.

John Myhill

### Two New Titles from FREEDOM PRESS

**LOVE, SEX & POWER IN LATER LIFE:**  
a libertarian perspective  
by Tony Gibson

The revolution in sexual mores experienced in Western Europe over the past thirty years has largely bypassed the needs of older people, with the emancipated young often unable to accept that the old, especially parents and grandparents, also have a continuing need for sexual and emotional fulfilment. Tony Gibson, in a well-documented account, sets out to redress the balance.

101 pages ISBN 0 900384 65 4 £3.50

Both volumes are available post-free inland from FREEDOM PRESS

**ANARCHISM AND ANARCHISTS**

Essays by George Woodcock

The ten essays on anarchism range from 'The Advent of Anarchism and the Revolution of 1848' to 'The Prospects for Anarchism' written in 1990.

Nine essays on anarchists range from an appreciation of Proudhon and essays on Paul Goodman and Herbert Read to a critical evaluation of Chomsky's anarchism.

This volume is published by Quarry Press, Canada. Freedom Press are the European distributors.

268 pages 23cm x 15cm £9.95

WILD CAT





## USA and Somalia

As soon as the first US troops put into port on Somalia – the same day they were remembering Pearl Harbour – questions started to be raised about the real motives behind this new American foreign adventure, supported by the UN at the eleventh hour.

The US President (at that time) said in a speech on 4th December that with 'Operation Restore Hope' they were seeking to achieve a situation which would allow food to reach the starving in that country. Such worthy pronouncements, and the pictures of the deserts and the aeroplanes transmitted on CBS's Nightline could give no other impression than that of history repeating itself.

For some time we have known of the desperate situation in Somalia as has been reported in some journals, more or less honestly, especially since December 1991. Three years of drought, the overthrow (with the arrival of the US) of the Somali dictator Siad Barre and the ensuing tribal war which began in the summer of '91 killing half a million people. GERALD JONES, director of the International Red Cross, stated in September at the US Congress that at least 1½ million of the population of 6-8 million of the country had died of starvation and 4½ million needed aid of some sort. "Malnutrition," he said, "affects 95% of the population".

The Bush administration has been well aware of this deterioration for a year and perhaps longer, but it did nothing about it. Worse still, in the autumn of that same year the leader of the UN aid operation to Somalia, the Algerian diplomat Mohammad Sahnoun, resigned from his post because aid initiatives were being sabotaged. So the question arises: why the sudden concern?

Later it came to light that the main reason for intervention was related to military and strategic problems in the Indian Ocean and the campaign to wipe out internationally any vestige of national sovereignty. At the same time the US, UK, France and Italy were wanting to re-introduce colonialism to Africa.

The deployment of troops does not appear to have been necessary for the success of a genuine aid programme, but if we don't want to see the US intervention degenerate into an imperialist adventure with an attendant massacre the following emergency measures are required:

- Introduction of food provision and distribution centres directly into the zones where hunger is at its worst. The forcing of tens of thousands of people to travel hundreds of kilometres to the food centres is one of the covert ways that government and aid organisations use to kill, intentionally, whole populations.

- The reconstruction of the Somali infrastructure. This and the creation of new rail, water and energy networks will require thousands of dollars. Somalia – known as the 'butcher's shop of Aden' because of its role in supplying animal protein to the British forces in Yemen – has a huge food production potential. A study by the US says the region located between the Shabeelle and Juba rivers – the epicentre of the famine – could produce enough food for 50,000,000 people. In neighbouring Sudan is one of the biggest corn producing areas in the world which could easily feed the whole of Africa. Therefore it is also urgent that money is given to the Sudan.
- Somali debt to the World Bank (\$2,200 million) should be cancelled, along with the \$275,000 million owed by the rest of the continent as an immediate pre-condition to the rapid industrialisation of Africa.

Domination of the Indian Ocean is clearly the objective of the US military deployment in order to reinforce its military control in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. This was why France, Italy and Great Britain colonised Somalia in the nineteenth century.

Although Brent Scowcroft, UN National Security Adviser, stated that US troops would have left Somalia before Clinton took office on 20th January, Pentagon officials calculate that the operation will last months.

Another US objective is the installation of a puppet government in Somalia. One of its first tasks will be the re-establishment of the US naval base in

Berbera in the north and the usage of former USSR bases in Mogadishu and Kismayo in the south.

Europe and Japan are also in the firing range. The new economic policy of the Clinton administration will be more aggressive to Europe and Japan than that of Bush. US control of the Indian Ocean and adjoining waters will allow the interruption, for whatever motive, of trade from Europe to Asia and of oil supplies to them from the Middle East. Moreover, it would appear that Anglo-American interests believe it necessary to control the Indian Ocean to stop Russia once again becoming a world power.

By occupying Somalia the US wants to establish bases from whence it can feed regional and civil wars – for example a re-run of the Somali Ethiopian conflict orchestrated in 1977 by the then president Carter. Somalia is also a good base for an attack on the Sudan, which has become an important objective and a probable intervention into Yemen. There are also signs that they wish to foment an Egyptian Sudanese conflict.

The UN authorised the 'Humanitarian' operation without considering Somali sovereignty. It didn't even seek Somali or international approval, as is required by the UN Charter. Pierre Bérégovoy, then French PM, said of the matter: "From now on historically there will exist the right of intervention when human life is at stake". And the *New York Times* reported that Scowcroft and CIA director Robert Gates have proposed that Somalia should simply become a UN protectorate – when we say UN we immediately think US and those 'caring' regimes which pay homage to her. And whosoever thinks that the motives behind the invasion were to bring food and appease those quarrels that already existed are either naive or hypocritical.

CENT  
External journal of the Spanish CNT  
29th June 1993

## A LOOK AT URUGUAY

There is currently a crisis in the Uruguayan government. This affects the left wing coalition which governs the commune of Montevideo (the Frente Amplio) who stand accused of irregular handling of funds and corrupt practices. Coupled with this internal crisis, a mass demonstration last December to say 'no to privatisation' made clear the divorce between public opinion and ruling institutions.

In this climate of political crisis repression is at a peak. The 1st May 1992 saw a huge police operation to arrest four militants from the opposition syndicalist movement. Criminal charged were dropped due to lack of evidence. On 24th July a demonstration by about a thousand students was put down harshly by the police. People were injured and arrested. One of the reasons for the demonstration had been to commemorate the police assassination of Heber Nieto and Guillermo Machado. Linked to the political crisis was an economic one. Inflation in August 1992 stood at 34%. July '91 to July '92 gave us a figure of 70%.

May saw the Communist Party's extraordinary congress. It was the most important partner in the left wing coalition at the heart of the Frente Amplio but now is beset by problems.

A new central committee was set up by the congress with an 'historic and orthodox' leaning. The revisionists withdrew. The Communist Party is no longer represented in the main body of the PIT-CNT (Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores - Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores) nor in the communal government of Montevideo.

The demonstration on 1st May by the PIT-CNT was by far the most important in recent years. During the official speeches, a group of workers and students waving black flags heckled the speakers, directly criticising the strategy of 'dialogue' pursued by the leaders of the PIT-CNT. The union's credibility is at its lowest. More and more, small demonstrations by workers hold the union leadership responsible, along with the government and the capital's left wing administration, for the misery and repression.

The 14th September saw the end of one struggle which had lasted eleven months. The metal workers (INSALA) occupied the factories in Montevideo in order to prevent their being dismantled. Their struggle had the support of students who demonstrated along with them several times. The conflict ended in victory, without help from the PIT-CNT, when the Argentine capitalists who were buying the factories promised the action committee the guarantee of all jobs. "We succeeded because in our struggle we used historic syndicalist methods".

In November the PIT-CNT made a press statement during a police strike: "The syndicalist movement must offer once again a national dialogue to defend democracy and avoid attacking a government already on its knees. The radicalisation of syndicalist action makes a fertile playing field for ultra-reactionary and anti-democratic forces."

The 29th April saw a preparatory meeting of the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (FAU) which paid its respects to the Chicago Martyrs, and 1st May saw the launch of the Anarchist Assembly. Set up barely a year ago, this is another component of the anarchist movement. Rather than being yet another organisation, it is more of an umbrella group for other anarchist groups and individuals. In July the assembly organised a showing of a video on the Spanish women who founded *Mujeres Libres* and there was also a meeting to commemorate the 21st anniversary of the assassination of a young anarchist militant. August saw the beginning of an international libertarian seminar at the Catholic University of San Pueblo reflecting on the previous five hundred years and Eco 92. Comrades from Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina and the US, Switzerland and France participated.

Source: A-Infos Uruguay

different kind. The city government doubled the tax on small businesses resulting in several thousand shop-owners besieging city hall, smashing open the doors and egging the councillors. There was an attempt to initiate a tax revolt, but the movement ran out of steam, – however, next time it may not.

Larry Gambone

## Report from Quebec

General Strike! The entire town goes out, workers stay off the job, businesses close in solidarity (yes, you are reading correctly) and even the highways are barricaded. The tiny village of Amos, Quebec, was the first to declare a total strike, excepting hospital and ambulance services, in answer to the government's decision to move its offices (which were the town's major industry) to another city. This revolt occurred early in January and the idea percolated for a few months, then bursting forth in a rash of similar outbreaks in other rural areas. In all cases the tactics are the same: a complete shut-down of business coupled with a blockade of the roads

into and around the village. The beginnings of this revolt can be traced back to last winter when the populace of a small town (the name of which I forget), angered by the federal government closing down their post office, seized the building and occupied it for six weeks.

The underlying motivation for these strikes is the desire to preserve employment and thereby preserve the region. People are fed up with having their communities destroyed by the actions of distant bureaucrats and they have, according to an article in *Le Devoir* (equivalent to *The Guardian* or *Le Monde*), "a profound attachment to their part of the country and obstinately refuse to leave it". It is also of great interest to see that in all cases these revolts are initiated by and for workers.

Quebecois do have a strong attachment to the region where they live, a kind of local patriotism if you will. (Both Landauer and Orwell would have understood and approved.) But this revolt is based on more than just 'roots', no matter how important these might be, for this phenomenon is part of a general tendency throughout the developed world – that of regionalism. The origins of this new regionalism is the rise of a sense of individualism which gives people the desire to control their lives and not be dominated by outside forces. These desires may create a true federalism, since this is the only means by which a region can be simultaneously autonomous and, of necessity, be part of a greater whole.

While regionalism and a greater willingness to struggle for control of one's life are the positive aspects of individualism, a negative side has also shown itself recently. Some government workers in Montréal, angered by having their salaries frozen, stopped the city buses from leaving their barns and blocked the expressways with trucks. Here we have the spectacle of a relatively small group of workers victimising all the other workers, an action far removed from any notion of solidarity. This sort of this is far too common today, a kind of spoiled brat attitude of 'I feel oppressed, so I have the right to victimise others'.

There was also a revolt in Montréal, but of a

## Cops and Nazis in Zen New Jersey

New Yorkers say that the Midwest begins as soon as you cross the Hudson River, but there is more diversity than most people think in what Allen Ginsberg once referred to as "nowhere Zen New Jersey". As I stood at the apartment window on what is known as 'Labor Day' watching the parade go past, I got a surprise. Behind the fire trucks, beauty queens, majorettes and drummer boys there was a young bearded gentleman holding a black flag bearing the initials NJAF (the New Jersey Anarchist Federation). It seemed so bizarre, as the odd procession made it way under the banner crossing the street which read 'Welcome to Haledon. A Respectful Community'. (Didn't they mean *Respectable*?)

Someone told me in this town 'The Cops are Nazis'. In the following four months I was asked for identification and irrelevant biographical details five times by the police. And this was in invariably innocent circumstances, such as waiting for a bus at 12 midday. Judging from the obligatory American flags above every other building and car stickers celebrating the mass murder in Iraq in what was reputedly a no-go area for black and Asian people, this strange interpretation of law enforcement was pretty much supported by the local residents. It was surprising that the boy with the Black Flag made it home in one piece.

A mile down the street from this Middle American town is Paterson, where the population is mostly black, Asian or Hispanic and wealthy white people remark 'My God, how can people live here?' as they drive through it. "Paterson Cop is a Nazi" says the headline in *Plain Words* – "a paper for the oppressed people of Passaic County". I finally got to know of this publication on my very last day in New Jersey by visiting the headquarters of the North Jersey Anarchist Federation, which is situated on a street corner in a suburb of Paterson where "all the cops and judges live". Again I thought 'the spirit of these kids is really great'. For not only was this the NJAF headquarters, it was also a radical bookstore, with many Freedom Press titles. Just like the Freedom Bookshop, it has been attacked, the door is sprinkled with bullet holes, there aren't a huge load of customers, but it survives. Its name? 'Right to Existence' (285 Preakness Avenue, Paterson, New Jersey).

The three members of the NJAF have since split into two groups, one (which runs the bookstore) against dope smoking, the other for it. The latter group is planning to buy a disused parking lot in Paterson and turn it into a community garden. He is currently taking care of tropical plants.

Ben Ward



# Bulletins of Freedom

The name Steve Jackson is unlikely to ring many bells for the readers of *Freedom*. He recently won a small victory for liberty when the US secret service was forced to pay him compensation after a raid. They had removed the electronic bulletin board system (BBS) which allows anyone to dial in and leave or receive messages. In the process the usual unnecessary damage was caused. Offered the keys, the secret service used crowbars to open cabinets. Files and discs were impounded with the usual disregard for legal niceties. Eventually a federal court held that the Privacy Protection Act had been violated by the raid and his business damaged by the confiscations. He ended up with half a million dollars compensation. Apart from the pleasure one always derives from seeing an individual win a battle against state terrorists, this case has important implications for freedom in general.

Readers old enough to remember *Spies for Peace* will remember how an apoplectic government fumed, foamed but ultimately stood helpless as duplicators and Banda machines all over the country reproduced the extraordinary evidence of a government ensuring its own safety while writing off the population it was supposed to be protecting.<sup>1</sup> They were defeated by a technology. Access to duplicators was by this time so general that there was literally no way in which mass

1. It was of course the evidence that was extraordinary, not the government's intended actions.

publication could be prevented in the first place or stopped once begun. The advent of the personal computer and its attached printer did not initially change this situation, it simply multiplied its possibilities. So did the fax machine. The students involved in Tiananamen Square were faxing out reports, handwritten and typed, to phone numbers round the world. Inevitably though these were to offices where reception could be monitored, and to single individuals.

The exponential change was the advent of the bulletin board system. The BBS made it theoretically possible to reach hundreds of thousands of individuals with a single, relatively local call. Basically just a computer connected to a modem and a telephone, it becomes a storehouse for messages which anyone else can dial, receive, and answer with messages of their own. With its advent serious censorship becomes an actual impossibility. The 3.5 inch disk is a pretty anonymous distribution medium for those with computers but without a modem, while the widespread availability of cheap printers makes it possible to print off quickly copies for those without computers.

The existence of this network must be a government nightmare. The implications are splendidly subversive. *Spies for Peace*, operating today, could distribute their

revelations to millions all over the world for the cost of a phone call to their local BBS. Even at British Telecom prices, that works out a pretty cheap operation in what the *New Statesman* recently pointed out was an essentially anarchistic medium. If somebody knows something that they don't want us to know, the BBS is a splendid means of distributing that information. The international network is beyond the sort of regulation governments like to impose. All over the world computers are now seized with the same sort of knee-jerk reaction with which printing presses were at one time broken up, without, so far as I know, anywhere near the same concern from civil liberties groups.

Meanwhile the tabloids, concerned perhaps at the competition, have been running stories about pornography, software piracy, and the perennial excuse of corruption of youth. No doubt the idea is to soften up public opinion for some kind of legislative clampdown on bulletin boards. Meanwhile, the police seize computers and bulletin boards while the authorities fantastically warn BBS owners that they are responsible in law for every message the BBS contains. So far though they have been able to stop very little and that is getting up their collective noses.

*Freedom* doesn't print a lot about computers, except for the odd barb from back-to-nature freaks, some of whom find literacy itself suspect. Yet computers, and their associated bulletin boards, do offer us some interesting examples not only of individual freedom in the process of being exercised, but of possibilities for an alternative economics. One of the main functions of the BBS, and one which commercial software houses find difficult to grasp, is shareware distribution. Shareware is a method of distributing programmes that ignores commercial marketing methods and works well enough to ensure that software is produced at a third of the cost of commercial programmes. Essentially the user can download the programme from the bulletin board, get it from a friend or a shareware library, or take from the 'free' disk attached to a computer magazine. The important aspect

though is that the user only pays if s/he finds the programme useful. Some of these programmes are limited versions, some have irritating 'nag screens' demanding you register, most, in my experience, simply use the offer of a printed manual and updates to encourage the user to send in the modest amount of money demanded. The system is based on trust. Although people do use unregistered software, the general user has found the system attractive enough to pay up and keep the software authors writing. The big commercial houses don't like it, but it does work and it does enable a writer to get round the marketing stranglehold of the commercial houses. The user can thoroughly test a programme for a pittance. If s/he doesn't like it s/he throws it away. It is the democratisation of a technology and in a number of areas is preventing the concentration of computer power in the hands of groups like IBM and Microsoft. It is in fact restoring power to the individual craftsman or small group and I am somewhat surprised that Colin Ward has not latched on to the empowerment of the individual or local group that it represents.

Kropotkin would surely have approved of the system and today would probably put *Freedom* on a bulletin board - something we should seriously consider. Anyone in possession of a modem could then read it for free and donations could be requested on the shareware principle. Certainly it could create a steady flow of funds from those who liked the paper and would never get to see it in the normal way. I can't think of any other way we could get such exposure for the cost of a telephone call.

Governments of any type hate ordinary people having unsupervised communication. The Duke of Wellington famously opposed railways on the grounds that "they enable the lower classes to move around". At least one member of the House of Lords opposed citizen's band radio on the grounds that "people will be able to talk without proper supervision". Today it is the essentially private yet publicly available bulletin board that is under threat.

This is why Steve Jackson's victory is important. The freedom of the bulletin board may well become as important an issue as press freedom once was.

John Pilgrim

## More on organisation

The ongoing discussion about organisation in *Freedom* surely wouldn't be taking place unless we felt either that we were doing something wrong or that if we were getting it right we weren't doing enough of it.

Recently an article appeared in *Freedom* (29th May 1993) written by someone in London's East End calling for a more concrete approach towards the social realities of today. One of the main points raised was how capitalism by its very nature seeks to divide us and isolate us from each other. We can end up acting out our own personal revolutions impervious to the realities that surround us. But I feel that we, as a movement, could do more to start to overcome this problem.

East London Anarchist called for a more concrete organisational approach, and I wish to join in this call. It needs, as the article said, a grassroots structure but to an extent we already have this. What is also required is an umbrella type organisation which can facilitate debate, where appropriate allow us to pool resources and information and (here's the tricky one) allow us where possible to speak in unison with one voice. It is with this in mind that I was pleased to read Robert Lynn's letter of 26th June. Finally someone has called for a new 'Anarchist Federation of Britain'. Now I know little of the now-defunct Federation other than it existed, but more contemporary precedents exist and are operational.

The International Federation of Anarchists is made up principally of the Iberian, Italian and French Federations, that latter of which I know something about.

Within the French Federation today one can discern three main groupings - Anarcho-Syndicalist, Libertarian Communist and Individualist (these are not formal 'factions', I am simply trying to identify dominant trends). One could also speak of feminist and pacifist tendencies, both of which have been prominent recently as the Federation has tried to come to grips with the challenge of Yugoslavia. The important point is that they all co-exist quite happily within the one organisation, respecting their differences rather than attacking each other. The Federation can be joined by groups (which organise autonomously mainly on a geographical basis, though also on ideological grounds) or individuals. It is well established in some thirty of the main cities of France, half a dozen of which have their own premises and/or bookshops. Many operate local radio stations (not so feasible in this country), the most important of which is 'Radio Libertaire' in Paris which, according to official estimates, has

some 10,000 listeners per week. It also has its weekly journal *Le Monde Libertaire* which is available through newsagents throughout France (once again not so feasible over here though more could perhaps be done). The Federation takes the principle of internationalism seriously. Overseas speakers come to France and travel between the main cities giving talks and being the guests of the individual groups. Co-ordination for international affairs is done through St Etienne where they are in contact with numerous anarchist groupings throughout the world. Recently another network has come into operation, A-Infos,\* with contacts in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Switzerland, Uruguay, Russia and the UK (apparently via *Class War*). All this and the network has only been going some four months.

The International Federation has currently, it would seem, a somewhat simple and inactive structure but I understand that some impetus which has not yet been extinguished was injected at its last congress in 1990 and I believe this has had some influence on the Iberian situation.

So why all this information? Well, firstly you may be interested in what is happening on the other side of the Channel, but also to bring to your attention if you are not already aware of a form of organisation which already exists and which could serve as a model for our situation. I hope to have made it clear that such organisational forms do not need to be stifling. I believe the French example allows equally for local and more 'national' organisation which could appeal to all readers of this paper. I am aware that this is a somewhat brief outline and glosses over some of the less attractive aspects of the French Federation, but a British Federation would not be a carbon copy, it would develop in its own way. Not is this simply a call for yet another organisation. There are already plenty of groups to cater for the different leanings within the movement. A British Federation would seek to bring them closer together.

I hope others have responded to our Eastender as I have. His/her concern was for practical action, co-ops, etc. I don't wish to detract from that call one iota, only suggest that some form of organisation will be required to go with it. I hope the debate will continue and that it may lead to some forum within, say, the next eighteen months which may see the start not only of a national organisation but also some impetus towards more international organisation.

Neil Birrell

\* A-Infos can be contacted at Humeurs Noires, BP 79, 59370 Mons-en-Baroeul, France.

## Long live the family

Along with various other sectors of society who keep undermining our poor government (the disabled who are to have benefits changed, travellers, the unemployed *et al*), single mothers are being targeted and their foul deeds being exposed. They get taxpayers' money and, dare I say it, feed and clothe themselves and their children! Such subterfuge to drain the coffers of this glorious nation. Some say these harlots breed just to get state hand-outs and a place to live whilst our fine ministers are struggling to cut taxes and let the rich rest peacefully. And not only that, these loose types are undermining the family, or should I say The Family, the great bastion of traditional values. It brings tears to my eyes just thinking about the degradation this glorious institution has suffered. It's nice to know the Conservatives can still target people for financial cuts and call it 'moral concerns'.

I'm not too sure just which type of family they are referring to because in this country it was long the extended family that was The Family. Then, of course, men often went away on wars and got spattered to the four winds in some far-off land or field of Europe and so left the women on their own, particularly in the golden era of Victoria who the Tories claim to so dearly love.

I know many ministers and MPs have lots of cash and send their children to boarding

schools, but that's different, they have a hard job with all that talking and eating and lying. And anyway, they are still a family at holiday times. We must not forget The Family is what matters for if The Family were intact in every home (which they should all have at least one of) in Britain there would be no crime, no disrespect, no social decay. After all, in the much vaunted 'traditional' family you don't get children being beaten, they aren't burnt with cigarettes and thrown down stairs and starved, they aren't raped and sexually abused, they don't get treated with derision and scorn, do they?

If we want to see examples of good family upbringing, with no doubt mummy and daddy both present in most cases, we only have to look at the fine upstanding people in power. What could be more telling of their moral values than their contribution to the war against Iraq which ... er ... has caused the deaths of an estimated 50,000 children. Okay, not so good. How about action to help the Kurds who they said they'd help and then let fall prey to Iraq and Turkey. Damn. Okay, what about supporting that nice capitalist Suharto who is obliterating West Papua and East Timor. No, hang on, what about the government's treatment of the health service or ... or ... pensioners, the homeless ... or ...?

Ian Borrows



While anarchists generally oppose the creation of 'blueprints', I believe we do not use our imaginative powers enough to sketch the possible ways our political, economic and social ideas might develop in practice. The syndicalist movement in 1930s Spain, and the individualist anarchists in 1890s America, were not so slow in coming forward with their interpretation of anarchist ideas.

An approach to anarchist economics involves the resolution of important questions.

- Do we adopt central planning and 'communism' as the basis for exchange and distribution?
- Do we retain the use of currency for the purposes of reward, exchange and distribution?
- What would an anarchist economy be like?

I do not propose to comment at length on the first of these questions, since I believe that despite the advent of 'computer networks', 'silicon chips', 'automation', etc., the exchanges and multitudinous transactions involved in modern society and its economy are far too complex for *effective* central control and co-ordination. The USSR did function for nearly seventy years with a centrally planned economy, but they were not happy years for its citizens. There was great suffering, famine, shortages, horrendous accidents and extensive pollution to the detriment of population and nature, all this in addition to the severe political repression in that society.

John Griffin's pamphlet, *A Structured Anarchism*, makes a good case for the retention of currency in an anarchist society as a medium of exchange and distribution. The use of currency pre-dates both the state and capitalism, and is widely used and understood. We should be seeking to redress its misuse, not to challenge its existence.

In response to the third question, one possible vision of an anarchist economy is a 'mixed' economy. This might comprise the following:

- Worker collectives/co-operatives, with the members owning and operating these enterprises. These might take over and

## Notes for an Anarchist Economics

operate most large scale enterprises in the current productive and service sectors. The workforce would continue to receive 'wages' as payment, though 'differentials' might be reduced or absent.

- A significant self-employed sector, with millions as today, working for themselves providing a wide range of goods and services.
- The continued existence of a private sector. If people wished to continue as wage labour for private contractors, we have no right to stop them.
- Community banks / credit unions to make funds available to collectives,

co-operatives, the self-employed and community initiatives at low rates of interest. These to be community owned and run.

- A national network of 'Local Exchange Trading Schemes' to enable local and community based activity to expand and flourish.
- A general redistribution of agricultural land to recreate small sized farming units. A recreation of an independent peasantry, no less.
- Voluntary work / mutual aid would continue on a wide basis within society. Millions of people are involved in current voluntary sporting, social, community work within

contemporary society. Why should this not continue?

- A national redistribution agency, receiving voluntary taxation from the economically active to fund non-productive essential services and also 'capital' projects. This could be accountable on a delegate basis to the society as a whole. It would also enable richer regions and individuals to aid the economics of poorer regions.
- 'Ownership' and 'property' rights of land, houses, productive capacity to be based on occupancy and use.
- Within such economy there could be a wide variety of products, services, hours worked. Perhaps also differences in remuneration. After all, peoples wants, desires and needs do vary.

There are many other possible additions to this list and I invite ideas from *Freedom's* readership.

JPS

## Green Party to Green Campaign

### An open letter to the Green Party

This letter takes a lot for granted and goes in at the deep end. The Green Parties of this country and Germany are in deep trouble. Why?

Politically, symbiosis has been taken to mean relations between Greens and the received political process – the state. It should have meant the relationship between Greens and the human-environment-plus-the-biosphere-as-a-whole. In that context the state is only a temporary, transient, changing institution of a secondary order. In elevating it to a primary status, the Green Party has been the agent of its own undoing.

Symbiosis is reciprocal; constant interaction yielding a dynamic relationship. There is no way we can have such a relationship with the nation-state. Over its 10,000 years of history, since civilisation began, the state has by

definition been divorced from the people; the members of its establishment defending their privileged position by enforced conformity and imposed belief systems. At the end of the day the Army is the state and always has been. The state, of its nature, is eco-hostile. The state should not be confused with 'government'. Whenever two or more people do something together, there is decision-making, there is government. The state is always centralised, military, hierarchical and coercive. It may, in that context, also provide valued social services, but they are never allowed to alter its essential nature.

#### The origins of collapse

Today the state is falling apart. Empires, apart from that of the USA, have gone. The Cold War has departed. The Army (with the Navy and the Air Force) hardly knows what to do with itself. The arms industry is morbidly feeding wars in the third world. Multinational companies ignore the state, regionalism of the German type has a great future and the EC moves up despite 'little local difficulties'. To work within the parameters of a dying structure is to invite defeat. QED.

Today's nation-state originated in the fifteenth century in Portugal, Spain, France and in the Tudor England of 1485. These states, with others to follow, then produced the internecine empires that committed Europe to 500 years of war. Now in 1993, the residual nation-state, *sans-empire*, has yesterday's political machinery and no way of coping with tomorrow. In the last four years we have seen the political collapse of the Soviet empire, the USSR itself, Yugoslavia and now Italy. And this is only the beginning. Britain and the USA are in deep trouble. There is no answer to be found in the regeneration of Westminster and Whitehall (or of Washington). Their political day is over, their condition terminal. We can suffer chaos, as in the countries listed above, or work out something new.

We need the vision provided by at least the outline of a grand design. It is time to spurn the alleged virtue of those who assure us that they have no blueprints to offer. Let them make way for those who have. Experiments can then begin. It is time for intensive social intervention, for countless pilot projects. The old cards have been shuffled enough – and have yielded nothing.

#### The future

The future belongs to decentralised extra-parliamentary democracy in a confederal Europe of the regions. In the case of the UK this means, inter alia:

a) Autonomy of Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

b) The emergence of sovereign regions in England. Sovereign in the essential sense that they raise and spend their own taxes and that national and EC government is answerable to them, not the other way round – a complete inversion of the present position. The regions, compounds of counties, cities, towns and villages will work out their own boundaries in consultation with each other. They will not be fixed by London or Brussels.

c) The dissolution and disappearance of political parties as we have known them since 1830. Their replacement by a politicised voluntary sector (thus involving some half of the population in self-government) in active association with professionals and the business sectors.

d) The spark of imagination, the knowledge of goals and how to achieve them, provided by the Greens, artists, scientists, scholars, visionaries and libertarians, all under the test of practice.

#### The Green Party

Enter the Green Party under d), but not any party that works within the failed parameters of Westminster. The acid test lies in the boycotting of general elections. Without that, all paper protestations about commitment to decentralisation are just that – paper. Elections at the local, regional and EC level are positively desirable so long as steps are taken to transform their present party-bureaucratic base. The Green Party then becomes the Green Campaign with or without a formal change of name. A change of name has much to commend it since everyone will otherwise assume that the commitment to Westminster remains.

A Green Campaign is active at every level making direct democracy work continuously. Its essential base lies in the indefinite multiplication of small creative groups designed to meet every particular contingency and all engaged in establishing whatever network of communications they need to work to the best possible advantage.

Our future will eventually be decided at the grassroots. The seeds we sow now will be critical later. Can you, will you, do a grassroots operation on yourself? That would be to open up a great future. If you do not, you will simply be left behind. No one will attack you, no one will destroy you. You will just wither on the vine. The Green Campaign of the future is already in the pipeline. With you or without you? That is the question.

Peter Cadogan

## What would you do if ... ?

The subject of pacifism appears to be bedevilled by its association with that oft-quoted, but seldom observed (least of all by leaders of the main religions), Sermon on the Mount which emphasises non-resistance. The fact that you are a professed anarchist does not stop some non-pacifist anarchists making outrageous assumptions about your pacifism, so that you are constantly plied with 'What would you do if ... ?' questions, to which the honest answer is that you do not really know what you would do.

These uncalled-for assumptions lead to nothing more concrete than wastage of time, space and ink. It should be understood that anarcho-pacifists carry neither guns nor crosses; that their pacifism is based on rational considerations.

A crucial difference between christian pacifists and anarcho-pacifists is that the latter recognise that humans are, in all probability, part of the animal kingdom and as such have an instinct to react violently to violent attacks upon themselves, their families, friends and even, in some situations, complete strangers. As with the 'lower' animals, biochemical reactions produce a super-abundance of adrenalin in situations of extreme stress, with the result that ethical considerations take second place to instinct in the struggle for self-preservation. Therefore, to ask 'What would you do if...?' is like asking directions to the M25 of someone who is having an orgasm.

The honest answer to 'What would you do if you found yourself in the middle of Bosnia?'

is that you do not know – whether you are a pacifist or not. The answer to the question 'What would you do if your daughter was being raped by armed men?' is that you do not really know – and if your instincts led you to have a go, as well they might, it would hardly affect the outcome. Again, the answer to the question 'What would you do if you were suddenly attacked by a madman with an axe?' might just as well be to light up a Hamlet. The point is that you would not have time in such a situation to sign up at a recruiting office, get a gun and start firing, or to reconsider your principles like Kropotkin did, and join the other lot.

If these things are not understood, it might be expected that non-pacifist anarchists would carry guns, or at least have easy access to them, but it would seem that they are just as willing to take a chance as are their pacifist friends. This is just as well because the possession of a weapon is in itself a potential threat to all and sundry.

It is essential to understand that it is *premeditated* violence that breeds violence. The fact that we, like the 'lower' animals, will instinctively react violently to a violent attack is as likely as not to prevent violence.

Finally, it has to be remembered that at least half of the world population – children, pregnant mothers, the old, infirm and handicapped – are pacifists by necessity. If anarchists will not stand alongside them, who will?

Ernie Crosswell



**Authority and the future of anarchism**

Dear Freedom,  
Sorry to hear that you have been attacked again. When will these idiots realise that you can't stamp out Freedom? As for Werner Portmann, Silvia Zweidler and others, you don't have a bone to pick with me over the Lombardy League but with the *Telos* spring edition 1992, for this is where I got my information. I have little reason not to trust *Telos*. No doubt I could be wrong, and if so will change my mind on the matter, but in the meantime read the articles yourself and judge accordingly.

As for Proudhon and the origins of fascism, to reduce fascism to sexism and racism is very crude and is only a stick to beat people with. Isn't it enough to say that they are bigots, why do you need to accuse them of being nazis as well? This is similar to the silliness of spelling America with a 'k'. Let's face it, if every prejudiced person is a fascist then 95% of the world is composed of blackshirts.

While fascists are undoubtedly racists and sexists, other factors separate them from the great mass of prejudiced non-fascists. Fascism grew out of the Italian Socialist Party and not the right-wing but a faction of the extreme left. (Using the same logic as our Swiss comrades, we should abhor the far left for fear of being tainted with the fascist virus.) That Proudhon should be the root cause of this development is rank nonsense and is nothing more than scapegoating. Fascism is based upon a complete contempt for democracy and all its values, like tolerance and rational compromise. It is vanguardist in the extreme and glorifies violence and

irrationality. Fascists make a cult of action and have contempt for theory, tending to explain the world to their satisfaction through conspiracy theories and scapegoating. (Sounds familiar?) As the ultimate Jacobins, 'Everything for the State' is their motto. These aspects are directly opposed to everything Proudhon wrote in his theoretical works. How can anyone link fascism, the most extreme form of centralising statism (excepting Stalinism), to decentralism, federalism and mutual aid?

Unfortunately he had all the prejudices of an early nineteenth century French peasant, which included anti-semitism and sexism. But then, virtually all nineteenth century figures, including especially Marx and Bakunin, made statements that can only be described as racist and anti-semitic. Such opinions are reactionary, but these regrettable attitudes are not what we base our theories on. I don't give a damn if P-J was a bigoted old fart who wrote hateful nonsense in his letters to his wife, what I am interested in is that he is a major source of concepts such as mutual aid, federalism, workers control, etc. Marx, Bakunin, Tolstoy, Benjamin Tucker and Gustav Landauer, among others, all learned from Proudhon and didn't get all lathered up over his contradictions. One also has to question the sort of mentality that accuses certain philosophers or social critics of being "very dangerous persons" who shouldn't be read for fear of contamination. Where have we heard this before?

Larry Gambone

**Up with some freedoms**

Dear Editors,  
The phrase "freedom that does not interfere with the freedom of others" is an empty form of words; in social affairs there are, and can be, no such freedoms. That statement could be falsified by just one example of such a freedom, but none have been given.

In the issue of 10th July, Harold Drasdo asks whether there aren't classes of action with low degrees of interference. Certainly there are - the smaller the

freedom, the less the interference. The big freedoms, the ones that mainly concern anarchists, bring a lot of interference.

Piers J. Hale, after agreeing with the statement, goes on to argue that the capitalistic freedom to exploit should not be reckoned a freedom at all, only a right. But a right is a freedom protected by society. The freedom to exploit interferes with freedom from exploitation, and anarchistic freedom would interfere with the freedom to exploit.

Donald Rooum, also accepting the statement, goes on to call it nasty names and to suggest that I am using 'interfere' in two senses, although my statement (which opens this letter) used the word only once. And the argument is not "against the anarchist case", it is against one misleading formulation of that case.

This discussion has now continued through seven issues of *Freedom* (it started on 3rd April), and nobody has come up with a significant social freedom which can be exercised without interfering with the freedom of others. I submit that we would do well to abandon the empty claim that anarchism stands for such freedoms, seeking instead to specify the freedoms it does stand for and to show why these are better than the contrary freedoms that they interfere with. Their superiority may seem self-evident to anarchists, but it is clearly not so to the great majority - of those who have heard anarchism explained, most have turned away.

George Walford

**No War But the Class War**

Dear Friends,  
This is an open letter to libertarian class struggle groups calling for a revival of the 'No War But the Class War' Federation in order to plan and organise a co-ordinated radical presence on the Campaign Against Militarism march in London on 7th August (Temple tube, 1pm). The Campaign is of course a front for the Revolutionary Communist Party - we need to be organised to counter their robotic Leninism.

Planning meeting: 22nd July at 8pm at the Marchmont Street Community Centre, marchmont Street, London WC1 (Russell Square and Euston tubes). Spread the word! See you there.

Andrew Anarchist Communist Federation (London)

**Replies to the criticism of 'Letter to a Pacifist'**

To Francis Ellingham:

I agree with most of Francis' letter (12th June 1993), except I can't make sense of the first paragraph. I don't think I agree with "pacifists are generally very violent people". I must admit I hadn't thought of Kant's Categorical Imperative as a form of violence. If it has anything to offer us, it is merely as a method of judging our putative moral principle. It is just a tool, and as such neutral. I readily admit that the use I make of it might be wrong or misguided.

I especially like the paragraph which starts "Let's take a good look at the world ..." It is obvious that both of us share a similar view of how things are, but I would like to question the 'all' in the next paragraph. It is not all bad, let us celebrate the good as well as condemn the bad - I'm sorry if 'Letter to a Pacifist' gives this negative impression (restrictions of length).

If the world were all bad, a Hobbes' nightmare, or Bosnia, then yes, be like Sartre blasting everything to hell from his tower. Given that it is not all bad, if we do decide to resist and act against Disneyworld then we shouldn't be indiscriminate. Hence the importance of ethics.

To Derrick A. Pike:

Most of the comments are answered in the reply to Laurens Otter. I think there is more to my argument than the summary kindly provided by Derrick. People like the travellers are already living the non-violent revolution. The state employs the physical forces it controls to crush them, and changes in the Social Security and trespass laws. Wherever peaceful revolt works, it will be opposed. This is just a fact of life.

There is no point in appealing to public opinion - the propaganda machine will fix that. If Derrick succeeds in building "communities where people govern themselves" these will, sooner or later, be attacked. Whatever gains such a community makes will, at some point, have to be physically defended against the state. I don't see any way round this, the leopard of government is unlikely to change its spots.

Thank you both for showing an interest in what I have to say.

Stephen Booth

**Freedom to ...?**

Dear Freedom,  
The recent debate on how one person's actions seem certain to interfere with other people and so limit our idea of what freedom can be has raised some interesting points. George Walford concluded (letters, 26th June) that anarchism will have to accept a great deal of interference with freedoms, such as the 'freedoms' to exploit and oppress. The debate clearly illustrated the dilemma facing those of us who wish to do away with hierarchy and dominance, authoritarianism and oppression, for how can we all just do what we want? Obviously such a state of affairs cannot exist as George concluded. If we assumed for a moment that we live in a society where all are 'free' to do as they pleased then, as has been pointed out, some people would want to engage in activities that in consequence restrict the freedoms of others. Say, for example, someone says a row of houses is theirs, that it is their freedom to possess more than the one they need to live in, what are anarchists to do? To accept this is accepting greed and as a consequence some people being without a roof over their heads whilst someone has more than they actually need. But if they act by seizing the other houses are they not, in theory, infringing on the landlord's freedom, his freedom to own the buildings?

Such conflicts exist all around us in this society where many suffer the degradations that result from capitalism and try to scrape a living whilst others live in opulence. One person is free to buy up property and live in luxury on the profits whilst others struggle to pay the rent on the slums the landlord owns. Clearly everyone reading this, I imagine, would say to hell with the greedy, seize the property and allow people the right to a place to live. The factor that comes to bear is morality. Many of us do not consider it right that people have to live on the streets and beg for money, but economics dictates that this will happen, no money, no accommodation (or wrong skin colour, accent, appearance, etc). What many feel is that regardless of

whether or not it is a freedom to exploit and have power over people it simply isn't moral, and that is the most important consideration. The moment we put ideology and economics above human life we become like those in power and are no longer acting in a moral way.

In the context then of what George questioned, it is certain that even anarchists will have to restrict and stop the freedoms of some people if as a consequence they act in an immoral way. Obviously there will be argument as to what is right and wrong, but I do not feel it is naive to say one can have faith in people once they are freed from the manacles that strangle our minds and blind us to the consequences of what we do and how we view the world, manacles produced for the benefit of those with power and wealth. The strength of anarchism is its belief that everyone has the right to think and be heard, to be a part of the processes that affect their lives. There can be no doubt we can never be free to do just whatever we please but we must hope that those actions which are reasonable, do not harm others, can be made the domain of the individual whilst collective disapproval and if need be action will be taken to stop that which is harmful. For example, I have long found it abhorrent that the state or any other sector of society has felt the right to condemn and harass gays and lesbians. Sexuality is the domain of the individual and their choice and we should not accept that others have the right to interfere in this. It is only by the most convoluted and uptight logic that it can be argued homosexuals are an actual 'harm' to others. (If anyone has a problem it is the power junkies who are uptight enough to get worked up over other people's sexual predilections.)

There will be no doubt that people have different ideas about different issues and a consensus about what is moral won't always be easy to arrive at and there will be much disagreement as to what constitutes harm (e.g. is pornography harmful or an expression of human sexuality?). But I hope that through the process of thinking and discussing

people will become more aware of when they ought to interfere in others' freedoms and when they ought not. For example, if someone wants to practice a particular religion that is their choice, the domain of the individual. If, however, that religious practice included unwilling humans to be sacrificed a community would surely act to stop it.

As for the problem of infringing on others in the myriad of little interactions we have each day, I would say that these are a matter of compromise, tolerance and are often inconsequential anyway. George used the example of one person reading a book automatically meaning another cannot. Is it really an infringement on our freedom to be unable to do just what we want at the time we please? Even if it is, it hardly matters so long as someone does not destroy the book. As Piers Hale wrote in reply to George (19th June), we should not confuse freedom with possibility. If someone else is reading the book then it is not possible for another to. But the 'problem' is more likely not going to have serious consequences and so hardly matters, we can go back for the book another time. I would say it would be very indulgent for us to think we should have whatever we want whenever we want it, surely it starts to become greed? When we need something urgently then the chances are most people are decent enough to compromise and help you in your need. So, for example, if someone was using a public phone and you had an emergency they would surely stop their conversation and let you use it. Again moral concerns reflect on the issue and give most people a clear indication of what needs to be done. And even in less serious affairs one hopes people would consider others' needs or interests (and not keep the book too long).

To achieve a more moral way of life there can be no choice but to stop some freedoms, the freedoms to assume power and to exploit, to draft young people to send to their deaths in wars, to abuse children, obliterate the environment and build weapons of mass destruction. People have to have the right to be

individuals but within the context of how they interact with those around them, the community of which they are a part and the environment. It may be necessary then to take action and stop some people from being reckless and destructive to others by way of their actions.

I don't know if readers will agree with these points - it is after all a subject in which we can question so many points (What is a community? What is morality?) and there may be dimensions I have not included which others think important, but I hope it adds to the debate. Only through discussion and thought and working with other people can we begin to find a more caring way to live that gives people dignity and control.

Ian Borrows

Books reviewed in *Freedom* can be ordered from

**Freedom Press Bookshop**  
84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Open  
Monday to Friday  
10am-6pm  
Saturday 10.30am-5pm

Please keep sending in your letters and donations

**DONATIONS**

1st - 16th July 1993

**Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund**  
Bexhill, TCT, £8; Wolverhampton, JL, £2.

Total = £10.00  
1993 total to date = £747.50

**Freedom Press Overheads Fund**  
(Including donations to the Damage Repair Fund shown with an asterisk\*)  
Chesham, ES £50\*; Wolverhampton, JL, £2; Lausanne, CIRA, £100\*; Aberystwyth, BM, £11; Liverpool, ZA, £1\*; Eichstatt, LK, £5\*; Fareham, J, £4\*; Boston (USA), JB, £40\*; Broadwell, DR, £18.50; Keighley, DG, £20\*; Oslo, RBM, £20\*; Amsterdam, JY, £10\*; Tunbridge Wells, BL, £10\*.

Total = £291.50  
1993 total to date = £2,365.50  
(which includes £1,903.00\* in donations to the Damage Repair Fund)

**Raven Deficit Fund**  
1993 total to date = £558.00

**THANK YOU!**



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-sindicalist  
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

at

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

## The Raven

Anarchist Quarterly  
number 22 on  
'CRIME'  
— OUT NOW —

Back issues still available:

- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)

— from —

**FREEDOM PRESS**

84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

**THE RAVEN - 21**

is all about women by  
women (and some men)

96 pages £3.00 (post free)  
from **FREEDOM PRESS**

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

## Red Rambles

A programme of free walks in the  
White Peak for Greens, Socialists,  
Libertarians and Anarchists.

**Sunday 8th August** - Ladybower  
Reservoir and Lost Lad Walk. Bring  
strong boots, waterproofs, food and  
drink. Meet at Ladybower Picnic Site,  
map reference 173 894, at 10.30am.  
Length 8 miles.

**Sunday 5th September** - Church  
Broughton and deserted medieval  
village. Meet at entrance to Church  
Broughton Parish Church, 1pm.  
Church Broughton is 5 miles west of  
Derby. Length of walk 4 miles.

Telephone for further details:  
0773-827513

**Freedom Press  
Bookshop is now  
— open as usual —**

## FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
<i>Freedom</i> (24 issues) half price for 12 issues				
Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	14.00	18.00	27.00	23.00
Institutions	22.00	25.00	33.00	33.00

*The Raven* (4 issues)

Claimants	10.00	—	—	—
Regular	11.00	12.00	16.00	14.00
Institutions	16.00	20.00	25.00	25.00

Joint sub (24 x *Freedom* & 4 x *The Raven*)

Claimants	18.00	—	—	—
Regular	23.00	28.00	40.00	37.00

Bundle subs for *Freedom* (12 issues)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	20.00
5 copies x 12	25.00	27.00	42.00
10 copies x 12	48.00	54.00	82.00

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905  
All prices in £ sterling

## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street,  
London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Please make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub for *Freedom* and *The Raven*,  
starting with number 21 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free  
..... (numbers 1 to 20 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads /  
Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name .....

Address .....

..... Postcode .....