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FIFTY PENCE

"Freedom of speech means nothing if it does not mean the freedom for that to be said which we do not like."

Voltairine de Cleyre\*

## THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL

come readers may recall an Occasion when the Iron Lady (Thatcher, for our younger readers) was at pains to point out that the "Good Book" says it is the "love of money" and not money per se that is "the root of all evil". So be it! As anarchists, no one will expect us to agree even though this writer shares the common-sense approach to money as such expressed by Malatesta years ago (see page 2).

For anarchists, capitalism which is production (whether of goods or services) for profit surely is, by definition, the "love of money" as well as the power, the privileges and even in many cases the leisure\* it provides in a capitalist society for a not insignificant minority - possibly a third of the population, say some of our 'experts'.

for most of us money is neither power, privileges nor leisure, but the wherewithal to provide shelter,

\* In the capitalist society, apart from the anarchists, no one attacks the backwoodsmen and women who have enjoyed a capitalist 'welfare state' from 'the womb to the tomb' for generations purely on the grounds of birth, and fed by profitable marriages.

### THE BANKS ARE LAUGHING ...

The banks which a year ago were crying L their eyes out at all the bad debts they had to cope with - and an excuse for upping bank charges and drastically reducing interest rates on deposit accounts - haven't taken long to be again in the black with a vengeance.

Barclays, for instance, converted a loss of £293 million in the second half of 1992 into a profit of £335 million in the first half of 1993, in spite of "nearly £1 billion provisions charge and massive losses in US operations".

The National Westminster rose by 13p on news of pre-tax profits of £421 million for the same six months - a doubling of last years £211 million - and an extra 4.5% dividend for shareholders.

The same 'good news' for Midland Bank shareholders. Profits jumped to £385 million from £144 million in the previous half year.

Meanwhile, more and more customers are being squeezed by rapacious banks.

food and clothing, without which a basic existence in a capitalist world is not possible. Yes, it is quite true that the prosperous capitalist powers won't let you starve to death, though they are not concerned by the image of 'cardboard-box squatters' in all the cities of prosperous Europe, as they boast at the same time of more owner-occupiers (and say very little of almost a trillion dollars every day". the massive repossessions by the capitalist money-lenders).

In the world of capitalism money is La commodity, like potatoes, bread or cabbage. It's bought and sold in the market place. Unlike the cabbage, etc., you don't even have to see what

you are buying. Think of it: on the money market in the City of London something like \$300,000 million is bought and sold every day and London, for some curious reason, remains the biggest money bazaar worldwide, the turnover of foreign exchange markets, to quote Keegan in the New Statesman, "has ballooned to Most of us can imagine what a thousand looks like. A million is already difficult. A trillion is, we quote, a million million, which is surely impossible to conceive! What is significant is that, as Keegan points out, this money market is at least (continued on page 2)

### SAVE PUBLIC TRANSPORT!

The privatisation of the railways L could well be halted by a massive public campaign. Nobody other than the government can see that privatisation by any stretch of the imagination could improve services. Everybody, other than the government, recognises that it is a lack of funding on the railway infrastructure that is slowly paralysing services. The Minister, Mr McGregor, protests that more money is being invested in the railways than ever before, when everybody else says it's not true.

But what is so obvious, and none of the media writers are prepared to say it - or if they are, their employers cannot afford to lose the advertising revenue - is that the government is obviously in the hands of the 'road lobby' - the civil engineering contractors and their hangers-on: gravel pits and cement - and of course the motor industry, which has been spending millions in the media day in day out to flog their wares.

\* Voltairine de Cleyre, Anarchism and American Traditions, 16 pages, 75p post free.

Paul Avrich, An American Anarchist: the life of Voltairine de Cleyre, £32.50 (hardback only)

The railways have no vested interests apart from the public - the stupid public which is too lazy, too defeated to react against a campaign which, if successful, will not only mean an artificial increase in fares but also a cut in services, as well as more minor lines being axed.

ar from anarchists wanting to defend British Rail - after all, the present Chairman of BR was appointed to supervise the privatisation of the network. Unfortunately the spectre of unemployment affects all wage slaves in the private and public sectors, at the expense of any direct action. The railway workers are no exception. They have recently accepted derisory pay increases and redundancies (which for those left means a greater work-load for the same pay).

Meanwhile complaints about services naturally increase. But surely it is time that the travelling public on public services such as the railways should start complaining at top levels. Do we own the railways? If we still do, then when are we going to find the time to protest and thereby ensure that we get the services which most of us want? The government is obviously in the hands of the road

(continued on page 2)

### THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL

(continued from page 1)

20-30 times higher than the amount of trade transacted! And he adds, "if anyone is bothered by such things these days". Alas, most people are not, which explains why the majority are being taken for a ride, and are also paying for it!

Delors and the advocates of a single EC currency are not 'bolshies' wanting to destroy capitalism. They are 'good' capitalists seeking to counter the 'Almighty Dollar'. Surely one does not need to be in the 'know' to see a capitalist future world consisting of three major centres of (capitalist) power: the USA and satellites, Japan and satellites, and Europe of the Common Market, plus

### SAVE PUBLIC TRANSPORT!

(continued from page 1)

lobby: billions of pounds for the roads, including widening motorways, and increasing lorry loads to a massive 44 tons for those travelling to a railhead. As a media cynic has pointed out, Folkestone is a railhead for a 44-tonner from Glasgow! - who is going to monitor this latest government racket? The press is full of the corruption in Italy and France et alia, but the government's privatisation of the railways is an example of corruption - even assuming that nobody in the government or Tory Party is getting 'sweeteners' or 'backhanders' from the road interests - then the corruption lies either in the dogmatic view that all that is privatised is more efficient, which is not true or, much more likely in our opinion, that the government is positively involved in destroying the railways network as they are seen to be successfully destroying the mining industry.

As we said earlier, the rail unions are now too divided, too weak to halt the government's crazy privatisation programme. But it is an occasion for the travelling public to make BR and the government sit up an take notice. But it means a travellers/commuters' strike which will not only make BR and government sit up but the protesters' employers will also have something to

think about!

recruits from the Scandinavian countries and from the former Soviet Union.

This is an alarming prospect, not for this writer who is on his way out willy nilly, but for the young generation who face a future not only of mass unemployment but of yet another world war compared with which, the 25 million deaths in World War Two (nowadays we are only reminded of the holocaust, thanks to Israeli propaganda to justify its barbaric military assaults on the Palestinians in the Lebanon and the other occupied territories) could pall into insignificance in view of the more sophisticated means now available of destroying human life as well as the environment.

Obviously as anarchists we not only want to see the collapse of the capitalist system, because we think it basically rotten. In so far as it can benefit a determined, as well as maintaining a privileged, minority this is only achieved at the expense of the toiling majority.

In our opinion the capitalist system is bankrupt because its greed has produced the situation where production exceeds demand on its own terms. We emphasise those words because in fact half the world goes hungry and the 'prosperous' world have a million tons of meat and some thirty million tons of cereals in so-called 'intervention' all going rotten because in the Common Market capitalist world, 'God' forbid! you don't give it to God's starving creatures for nothing do you?'

The latest gimmick is Mr Major's Long-loved 'hard Ecu' which is now being traded by the 'serious' media. It's all nonsense. Don't bother to learn what difference exists between the 'soft' and 'hard' Ecu. The fact is that the currency market is very profitable for a lot of people. Governments come and go but the money markets go on for ever ... unless. Who is going to call the tune? Who is the most powerful? The answer is quite simple. According to The Independent (3rd August), "City firms are estimated to have made between £1,000 and £1,500 million extra profits in the first half of this year, thanks to exchange rate volatility and lower interest rates".

Ask yourself what have these City firms actually produced to justify the extra profits. Indeed what did they produce

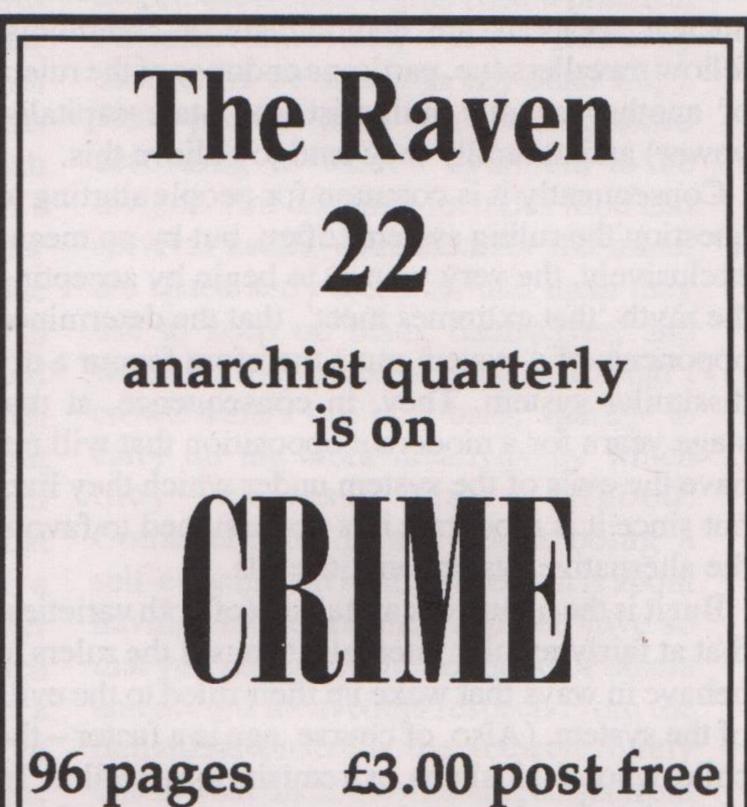
anyway?

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Tust one other statistic for reflection by workers. When the bosses are at pains to make their workforces work harder for less money in order to keep their jobs, what would they make of this news item which informs us that investment in the third world countries (that is the hunting ground for our patriotic capitalists looking for cheap labour) "has shot up in the past few years from \$500 million to \$40,000 million!" In the so-called 'free market' you look for the cheapest labour. But if this means putting thousands of

workers here onto the dole, cannot people see that they may well pay less for an imported product but are having to contribute to the dole for the local worker who has lost his job as a result?

ory, Labour, Liberal, Green and all the other loony parties and sects only offer the same political medicine bottles with different labels. Nothing will change so long as the majority of people don't think they can run their own lives without having to make bags of money - those who do are a miserable lot of 'bastards' anyway. But we think that you can only make your life worthwhile with other fellow spirits! Join the anarchist family!



## News and Views

Tow that Michael Mates, ex-Northern I Ireland Secretary in the government, has disappeared into indecent obscurity, if only for the time being, and the dust has settled, we might address more calmly the moral issues raised by the question of large donations to political parties. This has a long tradition in British politics and in the days of Prime Minister Lloyd George the reward for contributing to party funds was an appearance in the next honours list, and the same device was used more recently by a labour government. This had at least the merit of costing the tax-paying public little, but is now frowned upon so the link between donation and reward is more obscure, although none the less real for all that. Today the donor may not

be known unless he is so accident prone as to become accused of fraud. Any attempt now to unravel the complexities of the Asil Nadir / Michael Mates affair and the £400,000 donation to the Conservative Party would be fruitless and one suspects that the government was relieved when Asil jumped bail, and not just because the state would be saved the cost of his trial.

One of the changes in British politics in recent years has been the abandonment of even the pretence of any need to occupy the moral high ground. In the Tweedledum Tweedledee system that we suffer, a type of justice should be achieved by the opportunity this gives the opposition to expose government delinquencies, but this is limited if both sides have dabbled in the same mire. Labour attacks on the Conservatives for the secret donations they have received from wealthy capitalists is hampered because Labour has similarly taken money from Robert Maxwell, for example. Neither party wants to give back donations from such disgraced figures and evade the need by promising to pay only if they should prove to be stolen, confident that they have the means to ensure that this can never be established. The device by the Labour Party of holding £1,000 ticket fund-raising dinners, which give the ticket-holder the opportunity to sit at the same table and hopefully catch the ear of a shadow Cabinet Minister, is a recent ingenious development.

Anarchists are not likely to be surprised by all this, taking it for granted that parties that support the capitalist system will take money from wealthy capitalists who will in return expect to benefit directly or indirectly from the policies these parties advocate, but the unfortunate water rate payers in the Thames region do not even have a choice, since Thames Water donated £50,000 last year to the Conservatives.

thing you would not even do to a dog, A said the judge, who was of course a man, as he sent a young woman to prison for six months, despite three reports recommending probation, for neglecting her two year old daughter by going out to work instead of living an state benefits. She chose to work even though half the money she earned was used to

pay a childminder, but when the minder fell sick she decided, after minimising the risk, to continue to work, leaving her child alone in the house for half-days and later for the whole day. Her decision was no doubt wrong, but she surely needed help, not a prison sentence which would not solve her problem. Judges, along with the rest of the state establishment, can have no conception of the desperate straits single parents may face and the difficult decisions they, without help, may have to make. This little story exposes the hypocrisy of the government which continually subjects single parents to verbal abuse for relying on state benefits, threatening to cut them back, but punishes any who, however misguidedly, try to remain independent and self-sufficient.

Is there anyone else out there who still believes that the National Trust takes the land that it is given and holds it in trust for all to enjoy? If so, they need to know about the new footbridge across the Thames at Bourne End. This has been added to one side of the existing railway bridge and forms an important new link in the Thames Path National Trail which is due to be formally launched by the Countryside Commission next year. It will be of great benefit to both local and long distance walkers, so how could anyone object? Well some did, fortunately without success, not least among them the National Trust. For the Trust owns Cock Marsh at the northern end of the bridge and claimed that it would increase the number of visitors to its property with consequent harmful effects.

The state social security system denies the poor the incentives they need, according to the No Turning Back Group of Conservative MPs, one of whom is Peter Lilley, Social Security Secretary, and another is Michael Portillo, the Treasury Chief Secretary. This bodes increasing hardship for the poorest members of our society. It is one of the more unpleasant dogmas of capitalist economic theory that the poor must be made poorer to persuade them to go out to work, whilst the rich must be made richer or they will just sit about all day doing nothing.

## MALATESTAon MONEY and BANKS

It is a mistake to believe, as some do, that the Lbanks are, or are in the main, a means to facilitate exchange; they are a means to speculate on exchange and currencies, to invest capital and make it produce interest, and to fulfil other typically capitalist operations, which will disappear as soon as the principle that no one has the right or the possibility of exploiting the labour of others, triumphs.

It is customary in [anarchist] circles to offer a simplicist solution to the problem [of money] by saying that it must be abolished. And this would be the solution if it were a question of an anarchist society, or of a hypothetical revolution to take place in the next hundred years, always assuming that the masses could become anarchist and communist before the conditions under which we live had been radically changed by a revolution.

But today the problem is complicated in quite a different way. Money is a powerful means of exploitation and oppression; but it is also the only means (apart from the most tyrannical dictatorship or the most idyllic accord) so far devised by human intelligence to regulate production and distribution automatically.

For the moment, rather than concerning oneself with the abolition of money one should seek a way to ensure that money truly represents the useful work performed by its possessors.

Let us assume that a successful insurrection takes place tomorrow. Anarchy or no anarchy, the people must go on eating and providing for all their basic needs. The large cities must be supplied with necessities more or less as usual.

If the peasants and carriers, etc., refuse to supply goods and services for nothing, and demand payment in money which they are accustomed to considering as real wealth, what does one do? Oblige them by force? In which case we might as well wave goodbye to anarchism and to any possible change for the better. Let the Russian experience serve as a lesson.

And so?

The comrades generally reply: but the peasants will understand the advantages of communism, or at least of the direct exchange of goods for goods.

This is all very well; but certainly not in a day, and the people cannot stay without eating for even a day. I did not mean to propose solutions [at the Bienne meeting]. What I do want to do is to draw the comrades' attention to the most important questions which we shall be faced with in the reality of a revolutionary morrow.

Extracted from Malatesta - Life and Ideas, 312 pages, £4 (post free inland) from Freedom

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### The Media Distortion of the Left

peams have been written (and published in anarchist, socialist and pacifist journals) about the evils of the capitalist control of the mass media, and the gross imbalance between its circulation and the minuscule one attained by the libertarian press; so it may be surprising that one aspect of the evil has been almost totally ignored. This control allows the capitalists (probably unconsciously) to determine and distort the nature of the movement of radicals opposing capitalist rule.

The majority of people, including those who begin to become aware of the evils of existing society, get their information from that mass media. They therefore believe that the movements that oppose it are as they are depicted in the media. The media tells them, for instance, that all opponents to nuclear weapons are communists or communist fellow travellers (i.e. partisans or dupes of the rulers of another equally militarist and state capitalist power) and naturally they tend to believe this.

Consequently it is common for people starting to question the ruling system (often, but by no means exclusively, the very young) to begin by accepting the myth 'that extremes meet', that the determined opponents of a system must therefore favour a not dissimilar system. They, in consequence, at that stage yearn for a moderate opposition that will not have the evils of the system under which they live, but since it is moderate it is not assumed to favour the alternative system and its evils.

But it is the nature of capitalism (of both varieties) that at fairly regular intervals it causes the rulers to behave in ways that wake up their ruled to the evils of the system. (Also, of course, age is a factor - the child who at 13 shuns extremism may well at 16 court it.) So those who, one year, yearn for a moderate opposition to the system and who do not

You'll just have to try again at 7, 8, 9, 10 ...

together. Mutual aid may be in bad shape but

mutual deception is flourishing. I'll go along

with your lies and inauthentic rituals if you'll

reciprocate by giving mine the nod. The

Five hours later at Ingham near Bury St

Edmunds with a trailer load of rams delivered

for the first major sheep sale of the summer,

I'm in the auctioneers tent with hundreds of

other sheep people for the first event - the sale

of sheep quotas. Abstractions before the real

thing. This year every keeper of sheep,

flatteringly addressed by the MAAF as 'Dear

Producer', has been given a quota based on

how many ewes he or she had in 1991. At

present the annual subsidy in our area is

reckoned to be around £20 per ewe. Quotas

game's called employment.

embrace the existing opposition because they believe what the media says must be true, a year or two later start looking for the opposition movement they earlier shunned as extreme.

D ut the opposition movement they seek is not the Done that exists, but the Aunt Sally the media has slanged. When the new convert so created finds members of the real radical movement who do not have the views the media has attacked, (s)he assumes that this opponent of the system must be half-hearted, not prepared to stand by the views of the real opposition. Must be as (s)he so recently was a moderate, rejecting the full opposition case as extremist. The fact that the real radical may well be far more militant than anyone who conforms to the stereotype is neither here nor there.

If I may illustrate this by the example of CND and specifically the First Wave of CND which was a particularly clear case - the new convert (probably converted to actual campaigning by Gaitskell's success in reversing the vote in the Labour Party, thus effectively blocking the possibility of the 'moderate' advance even to the 'unilateralist initiatives' previously promised) would have noted - for the first time - that the real unilateralists (then mainly grouped in and around the Committee of 100) criticised Soviet militarism and would see this as proof that they (as (s)he had so recently done) refused to make a full rejection of nuclear weapons since they do not conform to the portrait of a nuclear disarmer previously painted.

The new convert there - as in many similar circumstances - ignored the evidence since this conflicted with the beliefs (s)he had held so long; and assumed Stalinism was the really militant

nuclear disarming position. However since the facts, manifestly, did not fit the picture, since the Communist Party was by no means militant and at most half-hearted about disarmament, they had to transform even Stalinism into its caricature. First a number of solidarity campaigns with third world national liberation fronts; but even these were not enough and we were 'treated' to the melodrama that Maoism constituted in this country. The worship of the Little Red Book.

Curiously, on the way to the Maoist travesty, anarchism 'benefited' - in a sort of knock-on effect - from the brief adherence of the 'Easter Anarchists'. A section of the new Stalinist youth, shunned by the Communist Party proper (since the converts actually wanted to do something, even though they had no ideas what they wanted to do) shunned also by the various Trot sects (since they could see that endless discussion of fine theoretical points can often be a good excuse for avoiding activity), a large number - mainly teenagers - of people no anarchist had ever seen before wearing YS and YCL badges, used once a year, to proclaim themselves anarchists.

Infortunately they were under the Umisapprehension that the sum total of the anarchist case was going to have a punch-up with the police; or occasionally - for variation's sake with the leadership of CND; and, since they themselves belonged to vanguardist groupings, it was natural that they also believed that anarchist groups would wish to see our banners used to rush to the head of the march, for these purposes. They were all too often under the impression that anarchism had no views to which anarchists might want to convert others; I remember the puzzlement of one such, seeing me selling various anarchist journals and pamphlets, since he was under the impression than anarchists never did this; why was

I-obviously, since I sold literature, not an anarchist - also carrying an anarchist banner?

Obviously, in cases such as these, some who first came in contact with anarchism when they held views that were in no sense anarchist, were converted by the contact. But naturally a larger number moved on to groups that were more in tune with a desire to have meaningless and fruitless punch-ups now, proclaiming themselves the while the vanguard of the proletariat. (The actual workers being all abused as bourgeoisified.)

It is as I say a pattern that has been reproduced perhaps less markedly - many times. Though it would be crediting the ruling class with too much intelligence to suppose that such influxes of people with over-simplistic anti-capitalist concepts into the left were deliberately planned in order to ensure that all sectors of the left (even anarchists) could be easily made into Aunt Sallies; it is all the same one of the consequences of capitalist control of the media. Under a class society it is not only the society that had inevitable contradictions.

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### MERCHANTS OF DEATH

Business before guidelines

A senior Foreign Office diplomat told the Scott inquiry yesterday that is "did not really matter" if the government's guidelines banning the exports of arms to Iraq were broken.

Sir David Miers, formerly in charge of the Foreign Office's Middle East department - now ambassador to the Netherlands - said employment and commercial considerations were more important than the guidelines. "Real people were being thrown out of work when everything turned on a semantic exercise about how the guidelines should be interpreted", he said.

The Guardian, 21st July 1993

Controls brushed aside in race for sales At a moment when Washington is seeking to restrain Russian arms sales, the US has achieved dominance of the third world arms market. Of the \$23.9 billion (£16 billion) in arms supply agreements signed by third world countries in 1992, the US share rose to 57% compared with only 13% five years before.

The US has taken over the third world arms market largely by replacing the former Soviet Union, and through its political strength in the Middle East in the wake of the Gulf war, according to a report by the Congressional Research Service.

The Independent

### £500 million Kuwait arms deal for Britain

GKN's Sankey division, which made its first fortune producing 5.5 million steel helmets for British Tommies in the First World War, was yesterday conformed as the producer of 250 Desert Warrior armoured fighting vehicles in a £500 million defence deal with Kuwait.

Production, planned to begin in late 1994, will secure 500 jobs at Telford, Shropshire, as a British Army contract comes to an end. It increases hopes for further Kuwaiti orders, most probably for Piranha light armoured vehicles.

The Guardian, 10th August 1993

Business is business, especially in these hard times!

## Friday last. The first three items that go for news at 6am on Radio 3 were the Illusions and Dissolutions

parliamentary games over Maastricht, attempts by the media to make heroines of were selling for £34-plus per sheep, and the those two young women caught smuggling bidding was lively. However, the minute the dope in Thailand, and reports of the millionth auction finished the tent emptied leaving sighting of 'the economic recovery'. This about six creatures, including kids and dogs, abstract illusion has to be the establishment's for the ram auction. The young auctioneer, reply to the Loch Ness monster. Sorry John struggling to find a buyer, knocked down Major, 'Johnny Minor', Kenny Clarke, Rupert animal after animal at just below the reserve Murdoch, old uncle Lord Hanson and ALL, price to a mythical Mr Mason. Had he been a little wiser I suppose he'd have varied the your bit of abstract fantasy is no match for a tale which at least tickles the imagination. name of his ghost. Anyway with an empty ring it wasn't as easy for him as it had been for the Where do these fascinating morsels of caller at Peterborough last year when a information come from? Who dreams them 'formidable army of potential buyers' turned up? What do they get paid? But don't think the into sixty old age pensioners on a days outing. BBC has got it wrong, we're all lunatics in this They'd been dropped off at the showground to

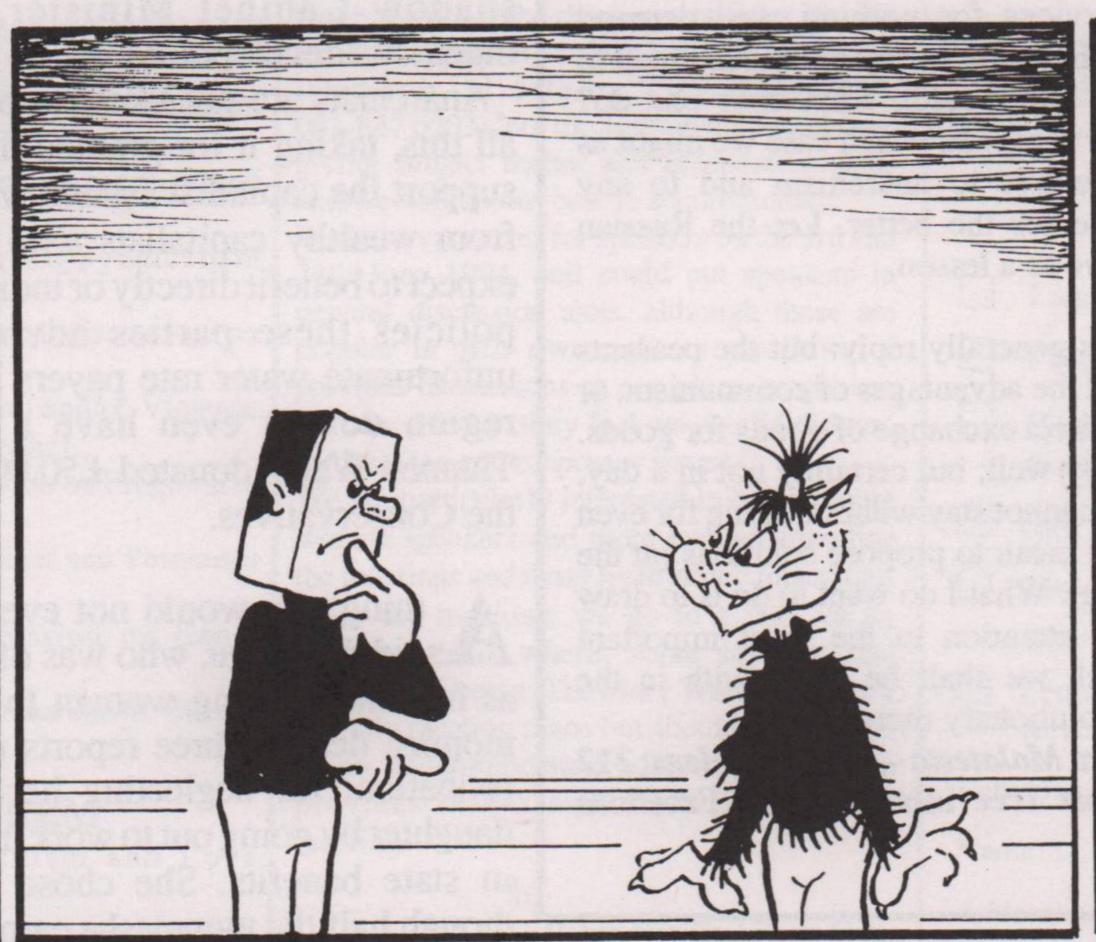
> eat their sandwiches by the bus driver. Generally the breeding sheep trade at Bury was lousy considering the demand for British sheep meat on the continent. As always the local press gave the sale the thumbs up. So what has happened to the demand for breeding animals? Why are the subsidies big news and the things they represent, the animals, discounted? It doesn't make sense unless people just don't believe in 'the recovery'. I fancy that's precisely where we're all at. We don't believe any longer in a materially better tomorrow. Those high butchers' lamb prices just aren't going to hold, but the subsidy is guaranteed for three years and government doesn't let you down. One goal to government hand-outs, zero for the recovery!

Hold on, the game's not over yet. New uninvited players are about to turn up on the pitch and they won't be bothered by the rules. We are getting closer to the day when governments can no longer dispense largesse, when business is swamped by its own corruption and incompetence, when the police don't even go through the motions of delivering law and order, when teachers give up on controlling kids, when unemployment loses its stigma and more and more people take matters into their own hands.

77ith this arsenal of hand-outs for verything and industrial farming in a mess, the land ownership issue is again being raised in lots of quiet little ways. Set-aside land has something to do with the new mood. The right to roam is spreading from town and city ramblers to the more conservative villagers. Footpaths are being resurrected and asserted. Cautious villagers are pinching 'keep out' and 'fishing forbidden' signs, more courageous ones are publicly standing up to landowners and occasionally winning. The new age travellers are staking their claims for access to land. What's to stop the trickle becoming a torrent? Most of the dams are in our heads. Old anarchists shouldn't throw in the towel yet, the revolution may be nearer than they think.

**Denis Pym** 







We can no longer stand by and do nothing of political substance because: 1) sheer humanity calls for action, 2) no action means that ethnic cleansing will spread to Kosovo, Macedonia and the Balkans generally, infect the whole world, render the UN a nullity, gravely prejudice national and international relationships everywhere and mandate the internecine as the norm.

### The political objective

What to do? First there need to be a clear definition of the political objective. Hardly anyone appears to be willing or able to grasp this nettle. Surely the object has to be no less than the restoration of the border ante bellum – and that means that one way or another all non-BH forces shall be obliged to leave Bosnia or demobilise. Anything less and BH will have all the makings of a permanent battleground of warring factions – a hundred Ulsters.

### The means of securing this objective

The first essential is the raising of the arms embargo on Bosnia so that its people can fully realise their moral entitlement to self-defence against a wholly unwarranted attack. It will be difficult for them to get the required arms in, but there are ways.

The proposed air-strike (which looks like being an actual air-strike by the time these words are read) is a non-starter for the reason given by *The Independent*, viz., that air-strikes have to be followed by ground troops if they are to be effective. The Bosnian army in Sarajevo is in no state to do that. In any case, international armed action is both wrong in principle and the Bosnians do not want it. This is a civil war and it should be kept at that level until it is resolved. It is the business of the international community to take sides in the causes of truth and justice – and that means moral, political and supply support.

#### The nature of the situation

Milosevic is a little Hitler – his ethnic cleansing policy is of the same order as Hitler's Final Solution – the proof is 200,000 dead and millions of refugees – all in the cause of an imperial Greater Serbia. He attacked Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia in turn and

## Action over Bosnia

if he gets away with it he will revive the war in Croatia and carry it into Kosovo and Macedonia. Lies and deception are his standard political method. Ceasefires and other agreements are dead-letters before the ink is dry on them. This is not to make the Bosnians into saints – the evidence shows that in a situation of appalling horror they, too, have been guilty of atrocities. But they were deeply wronged in the first place by being attacked. They haveworked out how to make and live in a plural society – and then this happens ...

Tubjman of Croatia is no better than Milosevic and his attack on Bosnia was wholly without justification. Both are war criminals and they have to go. The mixing of peoples in BH is such that no Swiss-type solution will work. The re-assertion of pluralism is the only long-term answer after the original frontiers have been restored. It will present extraordinarily difficult problems and will take at least sixty years to accomplish. Throughout that time some way to stall violence will have to be devised while time and forgiveness do their healing work.

### First steps in Britain

In the wake of the spectacular initiative of *The Independent* and Channel 4's (backed by *The Times*) remarkable documentary week, there is now a body of people 'out there' to whom one can turn. How? We have to find some ways to meet and collect voices. It is best to start at the house-group level and work up. *The Independent* tells me that they have already considered calling a meeting, but no decision has been taken yet.

Sadly it seems that the peace movement of old can be virtually ruled out. It has yet to recover from its 'victory' – the end of the Cold War. Since clearly the days of militarism are by no means over, it has a future – but that has yet to be defined. In its present low state a condition of vague pacifism prevails, which means in effect that the case for a just war of authentic self-defence – Bosnia's case – does not get a hearing and a condition of helpless bewilderment obtains. The media have replaced the movement.

It is time to remember that World War Two was a just war. It had to be fought. I felt no contradiction in 1940 when I joined the peace movement – Federal Union – and volunteered for the RAF at the same time. With our allies we won the war and the Treaty of Rome duly launched the federal idea in Europe – we needed both and we got both. The case for just wars, when all else has been tried and failed, is the only way to face the truth, short of conspiring in one's own destruction and the victory of tyranny.

The age of protest is over – 1956 to 1989 – protest was moral, we said 'no' to things. We never had a political case, and those days are over. Now we need analyses in depth and positive solutions – we have to think. Peace pragmatism belongs to the past. Northern Ireland and Bosnia are the acid tests.

The call of *The Independent* is good – supplies from the Adriatic to Sarajevo supported by an armed convoy prepared to fight if need be – but the paper is not presenting that as a political answer, yet it has started people thinking and moving – and without that, nothing.

### A regionalised response?

Will people in London and the South East try to make up their minds as to where they stand. If you are for ending the embargo (or at least discussing it as a serious option) will you get back to me by phone or letter? I shall convoke a small meeting which will decide what to do next and keep in close touch with *The Independent*. Clearly they have the initiative and the goodwill. It is *The Independent* readers who will make all the difference, but clearly they are not committed to the embargo idea and nothing can be taken for granted.

The heart of the case I am making is that of raising the arms embargo, and it is from others who are thinking on those lines that I want to hear. People with different ideas will presumably organise themselves independently. It would be fatal to have people with diametrically opposed ideas in the

same association – all they would do would be to fight each other and leave Bosnia out in the cold.

Will other regions of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland move autonomously? And then get in touch with each other? So that this time we do not have the charade of London pretending to be the UK!

It is theoretically possible that the imperial leaders of Serbia and Croatia will climb down – but it is most unlikely. We have to read their deeds and believe nothing else. All significant movements start from a handful of people who have read the signs alright and the thing takes off – sometimes at a rate that embarrasses its organisers. No one can tell what is going to happen this time. We can but make a start and see.

## JPB (A Just Peace in Bosnia) 3 Hinchinbrook House, Greville Road, London NW6 5UP (tel: 071-328 3709)

Note: People are entitled to ask 'Who is Peter Cadogan that he can presume to write like this?' Fair enough. So a word about my peace CV, since I have no option but to write in a personal capacity since there is no 'movement' (apart from the media) on the ground over Bosnia.

Professionally I an a tutor in the 'History of Ideas' working in adult education and retired on 1st April this year. In 1958 I was the organising secretary of the first nuclear base demonstration in Britain, at the Thor missile base at Mepal near Ely; in the Committee of 100, having been arrested more times than can remember, I became the secretary of its national committee and served on the national council of CND. I was a co-founder of the Save Biafra Campaign, the East-West Peace People and the Anglo-Afghan Circle. Today on the executive committee of the Gandhi Foundation, I am responsible for its Northern Ireland Project. I am on the management committee of European Dialogue, the successor to END. For the rest see Who's Who and Debrett's.

Note: This article does not represent the opinions of the editors, and should not be taken as an anarchist point of view. It is printed for its controversial value.

Monde Libertaire: What is the main aim of the centre?

Michael Warchawski: We are an association, not a movement nor a political party, which is developing a project common to both Israelis and Palestinians. When it was set up in 1984 it was a completely new idea: that of drawing together and disseminating information which would not overlook the reality of the occupied territories, the repression, the emergence of popular movements and the Israeli peace movement ... It was a question of trying to get the information out to both communities. In this sense the centre is not political. But behind these aims quite clear limits are drawn which define our political position: we wish to develop Israeli-Palestinian co-operation around a concept of peace which implies co-existence... We have made a great effort to bring to the attention of the Palestinian public the nature and limitations of the peace movement in Israel. For example, how can it support the deportations and why does it not denounce the closing off of the occupied territories? We have produced a deeper explanation of the structural obstacles in the Israeli

We are supporting a project which represents an antithesis of the position generally held by Israeli pacifists which is that they want peace so that separation can be made possible. For us separation is not an ideal even if it may prove necessary. The campaigns led by Meretz or the Communist Party (when it existed) called for peace 'so that they will leave us alone', so they could have their own state, that is the opposite of what we want. We do not think that the Arabs are by definition our enemy.

ML: After five years of the Intifada what is the morale of the Palestinians like?

MW: The simple fact that the Israeli government is negotiating is an expression of recognition achieved by the mobilisation. In '88-89 the population believed that the use of force could bring about a relatively speedy withdrawal of the Israelis. The current position is a provisory one: the Washington negotiations concerning an autonomous administration could be a stepping stone towards self-determination for the territories as another way of managing their occupation ... The initial impetus of the Intifada based on local committees has changed: these no longer exist but there are still some grassroots organisations, women's committees and some local groupings ... However, the most important is the new social

## Israel/Palestine

The following interview with Michael Warchawski, an Israeli journalist and founder of the Centre for Alternative Information, a joint Palestinian and Israeli project, appeared recently in Le Monde

Libertaire. He gives his views on the situation in the Middle East, the Israeli peace movement and the current negotiations taking place under UN auspices.

conscience which has developed, the solidarity and spontaneous organisation when faced with oppression.

ML: The uprising has evolved in its methods. Do the para-military groups have a choice of strategy or ways of answering military violence?

MW: The term para-military is a correct one. I don't think the Palestinians saw the Intifada with its stones and knives as the way to liberate Palestine. In 1989 a lawyer in the Gaza Strip, Raji al Sourani, reaffirmed that the Palestinians did not wish to liberate the country with stones. It was a call to Israeli public opinion aiming to force negotiations by putting the status quo into question once again. It is the same for the armed struggle; without it being a strategic choice, militants, and factions which had never renounced these methods, have regained the upper hand. As has been emphasised by numerous Israeli experts, it is the first time since the great Gaza repression of '68-71 that the activities of armed commandos has enjoyed such popular support, not only moral but also logistic support. The country is in a state of insurrection. In 1988 people would have said: 'You bore us. Our mass demonstrations are more effective. You are falsifying the meaning of the Intifada'. But with the deceptions, the anger, the Likud government and above all the Labour administration, the picture has changed entirely. The repression has forced the militants underground, very often to autonomous forms of organisation. Activists who were not a part of an armed struggle were often forced to go underground in order to defend themselves against Israeli murder squads.

ML: Who are these murder squads?

MW: There are two units which have been known about since 1991. Recognised and approved of by the authorities, with the aim of fighting against the cell of resistance, they use all means available to them. They have very few controls, and those that

do exist are not worth the paper they are written on, which explains why they are responsible for more deaths than arrests. They kill on sight, sometimes disguised as Palestinians ... some have been killed whilst under arrest.

ML: Hamas, the fundamentalist group, is gaining support. Why?

MW: Its popularity should not be exaggerated. In effect the balance of strength between it and the PLO is a fluid one, depending on the policies pursued by the leaders of the PLO. At the time of the Madrid conference, Hamas was very marginalised. The day after the deportations in December, they became an important force in the occupied territories. Its advance is not due to a weakening of nationalist sentiment, but rather to the political interpretation of this feeling by the PLO and other nationalist parties. Hamas gives the appearance of being an alternative to the PLO's failures.

ML: How has Israeli public opinion evolved since

the beginning of the uprising?

MW: One of the effects it has had is to bring the status quo into question, the consensus feeling no sense of urgency with regard to the Palestinian question ... If, in 1987, it was unanimously felt: we can go on like this indefinitely. Today this is no longer possible. The majority opinion is that a million Palestinians cannot be controlled if in the background there is the dream that they will go away, an opinion shared by a large part of the Israeli peace movement ... If they were to disappear so would the problem of the majority of Israelis who are Zionists. The Palestinians are not considered a reality, rather a problem. The debate stretches from those who are prepared to do something concrete, who are no longer marginalised, and who pursue an offensive political stance of transference to achieve this 'dream', and those who say on the contrary it's a dream, a shame but it will never happen. Another solution must be found. With the same objective:

to get rid of the Palestinians. The majority of the Israeli population hold a contradictory position: raise the oppression and refuse all compromise which would solve the problem: and at the same time, since this won't work, give them their own state, or at least autonomy. If we had a brave government, it could gain huge support even for the idea of a Palestinian state. The Israelis want to get rid of the Palestinian presence in their daily lives. The concerns which are appearing in the army, public opinion, potential international pressure, all this would ensure a crushing political majority for a policy of autonomy for the territories. The main obstacle is this government which follows what it believes to be public opinion and tries to compromise with the Palestinians without making any real concessions. Rabin, contrary to what we were told during the electoral campaign, is not De Gaulle faced with an Algeria. Rather he's an Idi Amin getting out his gun, deporting people and shutting off the territories. He is not preparing the Israeli people for a coherent policy.

ML: Could the far right become marginal?

MW: Certainly with a strong political position taken they would be marginalised and be deemed to be getting in the way. Now the government tries to accommodate them. Their opposition to all forms of compromise is legitimised and their ranks reinforced.

ML: What do you think of the negotiations taking place in Washington?

MW: By accepting the Madrid formula and James Baker's ultimatum, the PLO has cut down its room for manoeuvre. A compromise is possible, but the delegation's emphasis on particular points which are part and parcel of the formula are, in my eyes, pathetic. In their shoes I would try to get this phase over and done with as soon as possible so they can go on to the next stage rather than just rehashing the details concerning a form of autonomy they didn't want in the first place.

ML: What is the substance of the Statute proposed by Israel?

MW: They want to give the running of everyday life over to the Palestinians themselves, including their own police force. The essentials of control—natural resources, water, frontiers—would remain under Israeli control. In addition the area would be split into four geographic entities which can already be seen today with the shutting off of the territories. The great problem it creates is the prevention of all

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### -BOOK REVIEW -

## New Town, Home Town

New Town, Home Town: the lessons of experience

by Colin Ward

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1993, £8.50 (plus postage 10% inland, 20% overseas)

This is another good book by Colin Ward I on what might seem to be an unlikely subject to be of interest to anarchists – a book to break down some prejudices and reinforce others.

You probably start off like me - somewhat disdainful of the New Towns (unless you happen to live in one and have actual knowledge of them, not just hearsay). As you read Colin's history of their idealistic origins and real, if qualified, success, you cannot help but revise your appreciation upwards.

In spite of his unfashionable championships (among intellectuals, anyway) of the New Towns, he is ruthlessly perceptive of their failures and understands and explains the reasons.

The successes he measures by the real improvements in the countless peoples' lives who were propelled one way or another into the New Towns.

Other positive attributes he likes are the proliferation of works of art in public places, and the outstandingly high standard of landscape design.

In its own terms, constrained by the authoritarian hierarchical model it cannot escape from, the state did succeed in what Colin is generous enough to acknowledge as "a humane and sensitive achievement – a far better investment of public funds than most other post-war policies".

Some of his praise is comparative rather than absolute. For instance, the critics have pointed to the lack of very small firms and

self-employment, but Colin points out that such small businesses were also eliminated in the old inner cities, not by competition from the New Towns but by speculation in site values by developers. On the whole, employment opportunities were better provided in the New Towns and have been less drastically affected by national recession.

The lessons to be learnt from the real failures, which do not become clear from reading the 'bad press' to which New Towns have been subjected, are very much to the anarchist point.

The mechanism for the planning and operation of the New Towns is top down rather than bottom up, as Peter Hall of the Town and Country Planning Association observes. Colin quotes him further: "The New Towns Act of 1946 destroyed the essence of Howard's plan ... Britain would have the shell of Howard's Garden City vision without the substance."

Ebenezer Howard set down his vision in 1898 in a book Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform which was intended "to win Tory and anarchist, single taxer and socialist, individualist and collectivist, over to his experiment".

If it did not immediately do that, it was a powerful enough idea to impel a group of disciples to found the Garden Cities Association, which in turn became the Town and Country Planning Association that we know and admire today, and with which our comrade has been much involved. The original Garden City ideal was at the root of the post-war New Town movement.

Colin describes the ideas of the 'founding

fathers; for "a new environment planned on rational principles under a new form of land ownership, graciously combining healthy homes and town and countryside which offered a genuine community and a face to face culture ..." Ebenezer Howard's key concept was that newly planned towns should be self-governed, locally managed, self-built and the plans realised through thousands of small scale enterprises.

Colin quotes Howard's remark to the young disciple Frederic Osborn (who was to become the biggest individual influence behind the New Towns programme after the Second World War): "My dear boy, if you wait for the government to do it you will be as old as Methuselah before you start".

He goes on to give an account of the do-it-yourself New Town experiments sponsored by the Town and Country Planning Association (who you will remember employed Colin for some years as the editor of their Bulletin of Environmental Education -BEE) at Milton Keynes and Telford.

Greentown was never allowed to get off the Milton Keynes ground, but at Telford the tiny but magnificent Lightmoor initiative has made a valiant start. It is now struggling to embark on its even tinier second phase.

Colin Ward's subtitle is "the lessons of experience. This enables him to reflect on what might have been and to point out how anarchist principles, had they been adhered to, would have avoided many of the failures.

I am left in no doubt that a bottom-up self-help New Town, could it only be liberated from authoritarian planning laws (including the obnoxious zoning of land use) and find land at its true 'community' value - with further increments in site values accruing to the local community - would not only be feasible but would produce a Home Town that would be a lovely place for us to live in.

Brian Richardson

### An Anarchist Architect

De Carlo's\* strongly held belief in the power of public participation has often earned him the reputation of being one of the key 'socialist' architects of his era. It is a label he vehemently rejects.

"I am not a socialist, I am an anarchist, or at least I am trying to get there. It is actually impossible for anyone to say that they are an anarchist as it is always a goal, something you hope to attain. What matters is that you try and reach it."

De Carlo's definition of an anarchist is perhaps also his definition of the ideal architect. For him the anarchist represents the most modern of contemporary thinking. The anarchist, according to De Carlo, has a mind free of prejudices and preconceived ideas as well as being fundamentally against all authority and hierarchy. "He is ready to change his mind and always curious. He is also politically involved, not in terms of party-politics but in terms of how he responds to people as human beings."

With such radical political views, it is not surprising that De Carlo also predicts great change in the overall balance of political power. Pointing to the recent demise of communism, De Carlo predicts a similar downfall for the great gods of capitalism.

"Communism and capitalism are both based on the single principle that the economy is the basis of life. Both have the same roots and I believe that they actually survive by sustaining each other. I also believe the the indecent triumph of the market-lead economy will follow communism and will also fall apart."

taken from RIBA Journal, June 1993

\* The architect Giancarlo di Carlowas awarded the RIBA's gold medal - see Colin Ward's 'Anarchist Alternatives in Housing and Architecture' (Freedom, 26th June)

## Léo Ferré

The death of the French anarchist singer, which was reported in our last issue, was a major news item in the French media, with long favourable obituaries in the press and special programmes on radio and television, all emphasising his commitment to anarchism more strongly than ever happened during his life. And the glossy news magazine Paris Match for 29th July published not only his photograph on the front cover but also no less than 22 pages of illustrated features about him. Can one imagine such a thing happening in this country?

### Israel / Palestine

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social, political and economic life for the Palestinians. The different regions would be cut off from each other ...

ML: What is, in your opinion, the position of the Palestinians in all of this?

MW: The majority want negotiations, but they . have no illusions. We see them holding the contradictory opinion: we are against but hopeful. The desire to alter the flow of events is essential. Firstly, the Palestinians are wanting improved conditions in their daily lives. Then it will be a question of injecting a new dynamism into the negotiations.

ML: And if the Statute were accepted would not opposition of some Palestinians lead to internal conflict?

MW: It all depends on the content of the negotiations. If in their daily lives the Palestinians perceive concrete changes, the support will be extensive. Even if the Palestinian flag is unfurled everywhere, if the conditions regarding health and education remain unchanged, then the deceptions will provoke profound divisions.

Translated from Le Monde Libertaire, 10th

June 1993

## Materialism Re-stated

(an 'old' book that isn't so 'old'!)

There appears to be much more tolerance of I religion and religiosity amongst rank-and-file libertarians today than was the case a century ago. There are a number of reasons for this: The 'church' is not seen to be as powerful as it once was. For many years the 'official' Marxist movements (now largely extinct!) found they could co-habit comfortably with their 'spiritual' compatriots. More recently, here in the UK, there has been the development of the 'multi-cultural' society - where once an attack upon Christianity might be tolerated, an attack upon the equally absurd beliefs of Moslems and/or Hindus is in danger of being interpreted as covert racism.

Whatever the reason, attacks on 'supernaturalism' are rarer today than ever before – and this at a time when the popularity of pseudo-scientific 'spiritual' movements is greater than it has been for many decades. Parallel with this 'neutrality' towards non-materialistic philosophies, it is often argued by libertarians that although our 'rationalist' and 'secularist' forebears 'had their hearts in the right place', their handling of religious questions was 'crude', 'mechanistic' and inappropriate in today's climate dominated by Karl Popper and his theory of 'falsification', defining the frontiers of 'science'. How totally inaccurate and inappropriate are such criticisms of some of the anti-religious publications dating from the beginning of this century.

A few weeks ago, exploring a second-hand bookshop, I stumbled upon Materialism Re-stated by Chapman Cohen, issued by the Secular Society in 1927. Just 100 pages in length, it has possibly never been equalled as a turgid, brief summary of what probably the majority of today's foremost 'philosophers of science' would argue to be the criteria of science. Not only does Cohen anticipate the essential elements of Popper's contribution, but he 'goes beyond' Popper and anticipates some of today's 'objections'.

In his first chapter, Cohen insists on the need for a clear position on the 'naturalism' versus 'supernaturalism' debate, a point that is all too frequently ignored today. There can be no borderline position between these two viewpoints – no compromise is possible. The author reminds us that this has always been the central issue, and that human progress has always been associated with a materialist stance. He recalls that while Hippocrates, in a surprisingly 'modern' text written about 400BC, described epilepsy as a malfunction of the brain, the Christian thinking that was to take over the world several centuries later would describe the same illness in terms of possession by 'unclean' spirits.

In all respect, argues Cohen, "we are concerned with the world as we know it and with none other". But what do we mean by 'knowing the world'? We can 'know' it in an absolute sense – only in the sense that we can invent hypotheses and then test them:

"... 'matter' is no more than an hypothesis - that is, a conception framed to express one aspect of human experience.

... hypotheses are used to help to an understanding of the world around us ... science is ready to discard [it] as soon as a more satisfactory hypothesis can be framed."

This is, of course, precisely the viewpoint to be 'invented' (!) by Karl Popper half a century later. However, Popper goes on to argue that it is never possible to 'prove' hypotheses although it may be possible to falsify them, by checking the hypothesis against the 'facts'. Many have pointed to an inconsistency in Popper's argument – in terms of logic, what cannot be 'proved' cannot be 'disproved'

either - and here Cohen appropriately anticipates this objection to Popper. He refers to "the great Dr Johnson" who tried "in his ignorance" to disprove the thesis of Bishop Berkeley, by kicking the ground to demonstrate that it existed. The attitude of Dr Johnson, Cohen continued, is the attitude of the man in the street – to him the world exists as he sees it, matter is one thing, mind is another.

Dr Johnson has not appreciated that the world we know is the world of our experience - of a world outside our experience we can know nothing and can conceive nothing. We cannot think of such a world.

Cohen clarifies this beautifully and, at the same time, 'goes beyond' Popper:

"The whole confusion here has arisen in the crude assumption that reality must mean something outside consciousness instead of being a name for one of the categories of consciousness" (my emphasis).

So what can we know of the world? How can we determine what is a 'fact'? What Cohen suggests is today expressed by Lakatos - "all facts are theories". Rather than testing our hypotheses against 'facts' (as Popper would claim), Cohen and Lak atos argue, with better logic, that all we can do is look for consistency between our hypotheses ...

The final chapters of Materialism Re-stated explore the concepts that are still contentious and are used by today's advocates of 'spirituality' - 'mind' and 'self'. He approaches the field by looking at some of the terminology associated with physics:

"Science does not ask us to believe in something we call gravitation ... and then in a further unknown something which is the real gravitation ... we speak of a stone falling as a consequence of gravitation, but strictly speaking the stone falling is gravitation."

In a similar sense, he continues, we describe 'mental' phenomena – we frame the laws of physics, but at a certain point we find that (continued on page 6) It started fifteen years ago when by chance I was asked to edit and introduce a handsome edition of Kropotkin's memoirs for a posh book club. It got me labelled as a Russian literature specialist and I did Turgenev and Herzen too, but was then switched to America with Thoreau. The private joke in the publishers' office was that whatever the book, I would turn it into an anarchist classic. They had such a narrow, if characteristic, view of anarchism that they didn't recognise that the volumes they pushed my way were precisely that already.

Years rolled on, the posh book club changed ownership, and I thought the connection was over, but suddenly I got asked to introduce Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, a book everyone read in childhood and mixed up with the same author's *Tom Sawyer*, which was intended for a juvenile audience. But *Huck Finn* re-read turns out to be a work of moral grandeur and an undoubted anarchist classic too.

We first met Huck in the pages of *Tom Sawyer*, where he is introduced as the juvenile pariah of St Petersburg, Missouri, "cordially hated and dreaded by all the mothers of the town, because he was idle and lawless and vulgar and bad – and because all their children admired him so, and delighted in his forbidden society, and wished they dared to be like him." The Huck we are introduced to in the earlier book is described by his creator as a romantic outcast, seen from the outside:

"Huckleberry came and went, at his own free will. He slept on doorsteps in fine weather and

### Materialism Re-stated

(continued from page 5)

description inadequate, so we frame laws of biology, later we hypothesise laws of psychology, etc., etc.

Our 'self' consciousness needs no 'supernatural' terminology. "There is no constant self-unifying ego such as 'ghost' theory requires" adds Cohen, rather the memory supplies the unifying link. "The sense of personal identity depends not so much on the operations of a mysterious 'me' as it does upon the things thought about".

In his final pages, Cohen presents a draft theory of psychotherapy that fits neatly with today's behavioural techniques (interestingly, the only therapy that 'works'!). He postulates that many of the 'abnormal' personality developments are related to different sets of memories being 'engaged' by the mind. His style of argument anticipates what is today the norm in the field of 'artificial intelligence' where 'mind' can be conceived as a series of programmes in parallel and 'self' consciousness as the addition of one more programme with the function of being able to monitor the other programmes. Cohen advanced his 'explanation' realising that any attempt to explain the disintegration of personality in non-material terms would necessitate the postulation of numerous psyches (or 'demons'!). Today, half a century later, many working in artificial intelligence would claim to have demonstrated the appropriateness of Cohen's hypothesis.

Recent surveys have shown that while two-thirds of British adults are unaware that the earth goes around the sun, once a year, these same individuals do know their 'star' sign and the personality characteristics allegedly associated with it! A glance at the shelves of any bookshop or newsagent will indicate the popularity of mysticism amongst today's readers. Books on the occult, tarot reading, aromatherapy and astrology are often much more in evidence than serious works of science.

Religion is *not* dead nor will it just 'wither away'. The continuing popularity of obscurant thinking is something to be fought on all fronts—perhaps we could do with a reprint (albeit an 'updated' reprint?!) of Chapman Cohen's little masterpiece!

**Bob Potter** 

### -ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK -

# Yet another anarchist classic

in empty hogsheads in wet; he did not have to go to school or to church, or call any being master or obey anybody; he could go fishing or swimming when and where he chose, and stay as long as it suited him; nobody forbade him to fight; he could sit up as late as he pleased; he was always the first boy that went barefoot in the spring and the last to resume leather in the fall; he never had to wash, nor put on clean clothes; he could swear wonderfully. In a word, everything that goes to make life precious, that boy had. So thought every harassed, hampered, respectable boy in St Petersburg."

Tom, in turn, appears in the opening and closing chapters of Huckleberry Finn, establishing for readers that they are on familiar ground. Indeed, some critics are irritated by his return into Huck's life, since his pranks strike a jarring note in Huck's moral evolution. For the two books are very different in scope and style. Tom is the usual fictional boy as seen through indulgent adult recollection, up to every kind of mischief, playing the usual practical jokes, and filled with notions of adventure drawn from his reading of romantic fiction. His story is told by a knowing, avuncular narrator. But while working intermittently on Tom Sawyer, Twain's restless imagination conceived the notion of following a boy of twelve onward through his subsequent adult life. Tom was uninteresting for this purpose. His sceptical creator knew perfectly well that he would grow up to be a completely conformist, satisfied citizen. Twain never achieved this ambition, but began work on Huckleberry Finn as soon as he had finished the earlier story. Following his usual habit, he worked on it intermittently between 1876 and 1883, but made two key decisions that were to transform the planned sequel to Tom Sawyer into a subversive masterpiece. The first was to display through Huck's growing awareness, the dilemmas of nature and nurture. Right-thinking people believed in Original Sin, and that the function of child-rearing and education was, as Huck would see it, to "sivilize" the young.

Professor Walter Blair of Chicago excavated from Twain's notebook for a lecture tour of 1895 a passage of great interest in which, looking back, the author made this clear:

"Next, I should exploit the proposition that in a crucial moral emergency a sound heart is a safer guide than an ill-trained conscience. I should support this doctrine with a chapter from a book of mine where a sound heart and a deformed conscience come into collision and conscience suffers defeat. Two persons figure in this chapter: Jim, a middle-aged slave, and Huck Finn, a boy of 14 ... bosom friends, drawn together by a community of

misfortune ...

In those old slave-holding days the whole community was agreed as to one thing - the awful sacredness of slave property. To help steal a horse or a cow was a low crime, but to help a hunted slave ... or hesitate to promptly betray him to a slave-catcher when opportunity offered was a much baser crime, and carried with it a stain, a moral smirch which nothing could wipe away. That this sentiment should exist among slave-holders is comprehensible - there were good commercial reasons for it - but that it should exist and did exist among the paupers ... and in a passionate and uncompromising form, is not in our remote day realisable ... It shows that that strange thing, the conscience - that unerring monitor – can be trained to approve any wild thing you want it to approve if you begin its education early and stick to it."

So we watch Huck's sound heart struggling not only with the appalling attitudes of his father, but the with deformed conscience that the good citizens had attempted to instil into him

The second decision of Twain's that made the book exceptional was the device of telling the story in Huck's own words. He took pride in his knowledge of dialect speech, but had the additional task of convincing us that we were listening to the language of a semi-literate boy. He succeeded marvellously. A modern writer (and reader of this journal) Colin MacInnes, stresses Twain's gift for verbal syncopation, "which makes me believe he heard Negro music as well as coloured voices". He illustrates this by urging us to read rhythmically and aloud, a passage like this:

"I had the road to myself, and I fairly flew – leastways I had it all to myself except for the solid dark, and the now-and-then glares, and the buzzing of the rain, and the thrashing of the wind, and the splitting of the thunder; and as sure as you are born I did clip it along."

Type are by now accustomed to the idea that Whe comedian is a deeply serious person. Mark Twain exemplifies this stereotype. He was born Samuel Clemens at Florida, Missouri, in 1835 and spent his childhood in Hannibal, Missouri, the model for St Petersburg in Tom Sawyer. His father, "silent, austere, of perfect probity and high principle", was a justice of the peace, died when Sam was twelve and Sam became a "printer's devil" on the local paper. He worked his way up to become what we would now call a media celebrity as a wise-cracking homely philosopher whose audiences paid him well to pillory their greed and hypocrisy and their support for bellicose imperialism.

By that time Huckleberry Finn, like Tom

Sawyer, had been long established as one of those books that parents bought for their children. But it has always had its critics on moral, rather than literary, grounds. Louisa M. Alcott, the author of Little Women, thought that "If Mr Clemens cannot think of something better to tell our pure-minded lads and lasses, he had better stop writing for them". Some other contemporaries found the book, in spite of Olivia Clemens' careful work on the text, to be "irreverent, coarse, semi-obscene, trashy and vicious". In our own day it has been hinted that, alone together on the raft in a journey of more than 1,000 miles, Jim, who calls Huck "honey chile" and "would always pet me", might have had a sexual relationship with the boy, who recalled that "we was always naked, day and night, whenever the mosquitoes would let us". On more solid ground, Ralph Ellison remarks that as a child he could readily imagine himself as Huck Finn, "but not, though I racially identified with him, as Nigger Jim, who struck me as a white man's inadequate portrait of a slave". All through the twentieth century there have been attempts by school boards and public library committees to ensure that the book should not be on their shelves. No interpretation could possibly make Huckleberry Finn politically correct.

If we have to import a message into the book, contrary to its author's admonitions, it is a tract on the virtues of non-violence. Hannibal, Missouri, was not the quiet drowsy town of St Petersburg. Walter Blair found that:

"During his childhood, Sam three times came close to drowning, and before he was seventeen he witnessed the abortive lynching of an abolitionist, a death by fire, a hanging, an attempted rape, two drownings, two attempted homicides, and four murders. The town's religion stressed hell-fire damnation."

In this violent town there was a family called the Blankenships, "the parents paupers and drunkards; the girls charged with prostitution – not proven. Tom, a kindly young heathen. Bence, a fisherman." Benson, the older brother, befriended a runaway negro in 1847, ignoring the reward posters, and took him food week after week. Twain's autobiography claims that he had drawn Tom Blankenship, as Huck Finn, exactly as he was:

= "He was ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed; but he had as good a heart as ever any boy had. His liberties were totally unrestricted. he was the only really independent person — boy or man — in the community, and by consequence he was tranquilly and continuously happy .. I heard, four years ago, that he was justice of the peace in a remote village in Montana, and was a good citizen and greatly respected."

Tranquillity and comfort are Huck's big aims in life, and he finds them drifting downstream. "We said there warn't no home like a raft. Other places do seem so cramped up and smothery, but a raft don't. You feel mighty free and easy and comfortable on a raft." It is his microcosm of a peacable kingdom, for "What you want, above all things, on a raft, is for everybody to be satisfied, and feel right and kind towards the others." Huck prides himself on his ability to lie his way out of any situation with an invented hard-luck story. he hasn't an ounce of macho pride, which is why he allows himself to be dominated by the endlessly confident Tom Sawyer, destined to become an organisation man. Huck fears and abhors violence, which in every one of his adventures leads to tragedy and misery.

Hence Huck's famous conclusion that "I reckon I got to light out for the Territory ahead of the rest, because Aunt Sally she's going to adopt me and sivilize me and I can't stand it. I been there before."

You don't have to join a book club to read this book. Quite apart from the Penguin and Puffin editions, you can pick up copies at every school jumble sale. people just aren't ready to appreciate it as an anarchist epic.

Colin Ward

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### — A GOOD NEWS STORY —

## Travellers make tracks for pub

Passengers passed the time in a pub after a cross-country train between Liverpool and Harwich was halted at Elmswell because of a technical problem further down the line.

The lure of The Fox nearby proved too strong and most travellers went for a drink. "The train was full and I think everyone went into the pub. Only the driver and the guard stayed on the train," said an Ipswich-bound passenger.

"We were there for about three-quarters of an hour and everyone had a good time. No-one seemed to be worried or angry about the delay. It was like a big party."

He understood that one passenger had enjoyed himself at the pub so much that he had pulled the communication cord to delay the train's departure.

"The train crew were very good and blew the whistle before it was due to move off so we could all get back in," he said.

Tom Patey, relief manager at The Fox, said the unscheduled stop had been a big boost for trade.

"It certainly didn't do us any harm. everyone seemed to have a good time and left when the train was about to go again."

A regional spokesman for Regional Railways said the train was delayed for about half an hour because of a points failure at Haughley junction.

"I understand the communication cord was pulled by a child and that delayed it by another five minutes. We are waiting for a report from the train crew, he said.

However, he praised the train crew's action in allowing the passengers off to go to the pub.

"If there is a lengthy delay we would rather the passengers enjoy themselves at a pub than just sit on the train," he said.

from East Anglian Daily Times
11th August 1993

## Saucerful of Secrets

have never seen a UFO. Not being a witness, I Ineither confirm nor deny their existence, preferring instead to keep an open mind, but in the knowledge that an infinity of space must contain an infinity of possibilities. What concerns me here, as an anarchist, is the state's attitude to the phenomenon. My interest was initially aroused after reading Timothy Good's book Above Top Secret, 1987, which includes leaked documents, and other released eventually after protracted court actions under the American Freedom of Information Act. Successive British governments have consistently stone-walled, but there is no shortage of once high ranking military people, now retired, who have confirmed in writing the existence of extra-terrestrial UFOs, or at least demanded that the government makes what it knows public. These luminaries include ex Chiefs of the Defence Staff Lord Mountbatten (1958-65) and Lord Hill-Norton (1971-73), together with Lord Dowding, the ex head of RAF Fighter Command during the Battle of Britain. Given the ridicule, most of which stems from state sources, that surrounds UFOs, it seems to me that the reputations of such people can only suffer as a result of their pronouncements, which should therefore be given considerable credence.

That states have covered up the full extent of their knowledge of UFOs is beyond question. Even Jenny Randles, the tireless debunker of 'alien' explanations, accepts this when she says "It is a cover-up not of what is known, but what is not known". She speculates vaguely that UFOs may be phenomena related to a hitherto unknown form of natural energy, possibly with military uses, and therefore finds state secrecy wholly understandable. Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, ex Director of the CIA (1947-50), in a signed statement to the US Congress in 1961 declared 'Behind the scenes, high-ranking Air Force officers are soberly concerned about UFOs. But through official secrecy and ridicule, many citizens are led to believe the unknown flying objects are nonsense" (my emphasis). I doubt if Hillenkoetter was implying that some citizens are properly informed, but read this way, he may have summed up the American approach. The subsequent decision to very selectively release official documents to private researchers under the Freedom of Information Act, in the almost certain knowledge that they would be published, could be an extension of such a policy. Books on the subject,

with narrow appeal have, to my knowledge, never been suppressed. It seems to me that if the American Government was determined to keep the official documents secret, then ways would have been found to thwart the court actions. One wonders if we are gradually being prepared for the full truth. On the other hand, when it comes to mass communication, states have repeatedly told us that UFOs are no more than ball lightening, errant weather balloons, hoaxes, etc. I recall a television programme many years back which showed how easy it was to fake saucer evidence by filming a car hub-cap which had been tossed into the air like a frishes, it looked most convincing

frisbee – it looked most convincing. Alongside ridicule has come overt censorship. In 1958 Major Donald Keyhoe, then Director of the National Investigations Committee on Aerial Phenomena, had the plugs pulled on his CBS television broadcast when affirming the presence of UFOs and referring to Pentagon sources. Yet five years previously the publishers of his book on UFOs checked him out by writing to the Department of Defense, who responded by praising him as a "responsible and accurate reporter" with access to Air Force investigations and also acknowledging Keyhoe's belief that aliens were the source of the UFOs. Good mentions many instances of witnesses to UFO activity being sworn to secrecy by military officers, the FBI, etc. Hard evidence, such as photographs and debris from allegedly crashed saucers, has been confiscated. The above illustrates the two-faced approach which the Americans have pursued.

Assuming that aliens are keeping tabs on we humans, then close observation of American space probes could be expected, and if Maurice Chatelaine, the former chief of NASA Communications, is to be believed, this has indeed been the case: "All Apollo and Gemini flights were followed, both at a distance and sometimes quite closely, by space vehicles of extra-terrestrial origin—flying saucers or UFOs ... if you want to call them by that name. Every time it occurred, the astronauts informed Mission Control, who then ordered absolute silence." Russian scientists have since confirmed these transmissions.

The most sensational evidence to come directly from state sources concerns the recovery of crashed saucers and their crew, who are referred to in a declassified FBI memo dated 22nd March 1950, as being "of human shape but only three feet tall, dressed in metallic cloth of a very fine texture". The synopsis of a far more elaborate document dated 18th November 1952, apparently prepared for President Eisenhower, has been leaked, again confirming the recovery of crashed saucers and

crew, but lacking the technical and medical analysis referred to in the report. Argument has raged among UFO researchers as to the reliability of this document, particularly as one of the now deceased contributors, a Dr Menzel, had frequently and publicly debunked UFOs. Following exhaustive research and interviews with eye witnesses to the crash sites, Good has concluded that genuine or not, the *substance* of the report is accurate. The authenticity of the FBI memo does not seem to have been challenged by Jenny Randles or anyone else. One wonders what is still being withheld.

There have been literally thousands of reported UFO sightings. Besides the classic saucer variety, one can read of spherical, cylindrical and cone shaped objects of widely varying size, some of which have been tracked by radar and intercepted by military aircraft. They appear able to hover or travel at colossal speeds, and be capable of the most dramatic changes in direction which are impossible for conventional aircraft. Given the absence of the familiar wings, fuselage and tail configuration, and often a complete lack of noise, it has been suggested that the alien craft may manipulate gravity as a means of propulsion and steering. The manipulation of gravity may imply an ability to manipulate space-time, which could have led Russian scientists to speculate that the alien craft may not necessarily come solely from the space surrounding earth but also from another dimension of earth itself! I cannot fully grasp this idea, it sounds too much like stories from Star Trek, but the possibilities laid open by this line of thinking are clearly enormous. Also, it is a hypothesis which makes the very high number of reported sightings seem possible, it being argued that so many must rule out inter-planetary visits which could take hundreds of years.

To conclude, I repeat that I do not have a position on this most perplexing and bizarre affair. However, the fact that the state feels the need for secrecy, I think, should make it a worthy topic for libertarians to explore whatever the outcome. The thought which keeps nagging at me is that any rational species of aliens, assuming their existence, ought to be interested in our species, which has a long history of conflict, which is knowingly destroying its own habitat, and which has made its first tentative steps into space. We may be forced to acknowledge the presence of malign alien states which possess technologies far in advance of our own, and with unknown methods of population control. On a less scary note, we should be interested in that which may threaten the authority of the earthly state, and which possibly undermines the basis of its religions.

John Griffin

## The London Anarchist Forum 1993/94

The London Anarchist Forum has been meeting at The Mary Ward Centre for some eight years now. It grew out of the series of introductory lecture/discussions started ten years ago on 'An Introduction to Anarchism' by Nicolas Walter and later carried on by John Griffin. Many attenders wanted to continue the discussions and the Centre found a vacant room on Friday evenings from 8pm onwards.

For one reason or another the formal meetings have been discontinued so we often have had people coming to The Forum who were more interested in finding out about anarchism than more specific discussions by anarchists.

Although there is no formal membership The Forum has a firm caucus of regular attenders and is now almost operating as a kind of membership group. Friendship patterns have been created and many regulars become involved in activities well beyond The Forum. That has not stopped The Forum's critics, few of whom have ever attended Forum meetings, attacking us as a bunch of inactive talkers who indulge in no action, a complete fallacy.

The Forum is totally ignored by other publications as the so-called Anarchist Yearbook or by the section on 'Anarchist Gatherings' of the Spring 1993 first issue of Anarchist Studies, which is surprising because The Forum is the only anarchist group in Britain which has regular weekly meetings in term time. We also appear to be largely ignored by the federations, despite the fact that some have sent speakers to give talks at The Forum. This has not prevented many overseas comrades focusing their initial attention to The Forum on arrival in London.

The normal pattern of meetings has been to have a talk presented either by an outside speaker or regular attender, followed by a general discussion the following week, although occasionally the general discussions have been cancelled to allow for the late insertion of an outside speaker. This has not always been popular as some regulars appear to like the more generalised open meeting, preferring it to a specific subject.

However, in view of the interest now shown in anarchism by so many newcomers, The Forum has decided to re-jig our early meetings to cater for newcomers. In the first term the speakers will cover an Introduction to Anarchism, Anarchist Communism, Anarchist Individualism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, Anarcho-Pacifism and Anarchist Feminism with the open discussion linking in, geared to Talk versus Action, the Community Responsibility, Anarchist Economics, Progressive Social Change and Equal Opportunity.

The succeeding terms will expand these themes to contemporary life with talks on Love, Anarchism as a Way of Life, Anarchism and Religion, Ecology, Post-Modernism, the Gift Economy, Utopias and Native Americans, with a number of slots still to be filled. Discussions will cover the contemporary scene including Sexuality, Morality, Working with other groups, the Cultural Implosion and other topics as yet to be confirmed.

There is one sad factor. Despite the attendance of a number of strong women comrades over the years, none of these attended the 1993/94 programme meeting nor contacted us before to suggest topics of interest. We wonder why? Few British women attend The Forum. They are far outnumbered by international women comrades. The fault appears to lie not with men but British women and British women anarchists. However, they and others are always welcome.

Peter Neville

See back page for more details on The London Anarchist Forum.

# Food for Thought ... and Action!

Recent additions to Freedom Press Bookshop stock.

Black Mask and Up Against the Wall Motherfucker: the incomplete works of Ron Hahne, Ben Morea and the Black Mask group, Unpopular Books. Reprinted articles and graphics from two '60s underground magazines founded by the New York Surrealist Group and the American Anarchist Group. radical - not to say vitriolic writings of interest to all ageing hippies, yippies, Weathermen, situationists (Strasbourg tendency), Black Panthers and nihilists. Both of these journals demanded from the start a complete identity of theory and practice, and the mere sight of them being sold on the street shocked some people and provoked apoplexy in others. Some of the graphics in this reproduction have not reproduced too well, due to the poor quality of the originals, apparently, but the articles - many of them rescued from near-oblivion - have lost none of their punch over the years. 144 pages, illustrated, £5.00.

Northern Ireland: nonviolent perspectives by Denis Barritt, Elizabeth Benton, et al, Peace Pledge Union. A timely reprint which reviews the history and background of the conflict. No one under 30 can remember 'peace' in the province, in which 3,000 people have been killed since 1969. Introduction by William Hetherington, 63 pages, £2.50.

Northern Ireland: looking through the violence

by Michael Biggs, Rob Fairmichael, et al. Also reprinted is this attempt to meet the often felt need for simple but reliable information about the nature of the conflict that is not unduly biased in favour of one or other of the parties, including the British government. Democracy and the individual, militarism and policies, the technology of control and much more are discussed. William Hetherington contributes the introduction and two articles, 70 pages, £2.95.

Images and Everyday Life compiled and edited by Larry Law, Spectacular Times Pocketbook. "The Spectacle offers the image and never the reality. It is form without substance. Like the good entertainer, it leaves you wanting more. It does not satisfy. It cannot satisfy. It does not aim to satisfy. It offers only the dream of satisfaction. The dreams are dreamt and found wanting." Unpaginated, A6 pamphlet, 90p.

The Media, another Larry Law / Spectacular Times reprint. "Without a mass media there can be little effective propaganda ... with it there is very little else." Unpaginated, A6 pamphlet, 75p.

Amendments to the Freedom Press booklist – Class War: a decade of disorder is now £8.95; The Traffic in Women and other essays by Emma Goldman is now £3.95; News From Nowhere (unabridged edition) by William Morris is now £8.95.

KM

## Anarchists and 'Free Will'

Dear Freedom,

Being rather behind with my reading, I have just read David Hartley's comments (Freedom, 15th May) on free will and determinism provoked by Susan Brown in Raven number 5 and myself in Freedom 17th April.

David Hartley apparently does "not understand on what basis both Brown and Johnson can claim that anarchism must pre-suppose free will". Crudely, as far as Johnson is concerned, it is simple: a belief in determinism produces what we call Marxism, not anarchism.

Perhaps the terms should be explained. Determinism holds that everything is subject to natural laws. These laws, in terms of human behaviour, are seen as akin to the demonstrable laws of physics, and like those laws await discovery and application. Determinism also holds that these laws are apparent in that everything is causally determined by what went before: one's actions are causally determined from time immemorial and there is no scope for freedom of action.

The conflict of belief between determinism and free will is as old as thought. Greek atomists were strict determinists as were the Stoics. Hobbes, the arch royalist, was a rigid determinist. And Réné Descartes, one source of our present mechanistic world view, was, in his whole theory of the natural world, similarly inflexible. Hence the view of animals as unfeeling automata and humans as electro-chemical devices still prevalent in western science today.

Christians and believers in other Western god-based religions are, naturally enough, determinists; god is the source of the laws. But religious views have proved to be less rigid than those of philosophers, although this has been turned to dogmatic advantage. St Augustine started the trend; he held that Adam had free will and could have abstained from sin. From there it was a short step to a foolproof doctrine of benevolence; if people were good it was because they were free, and got brownie points; if they were bad it was because of determinism, and just one of those things

for which forgiveness was, at a price, available. The church debate is in terms of 'predestination' versus liberty.

Spinoza, occasionally quoted by anarchists, had a neat formula in favour of determinism. It is that only ignorance makes us think that we can alter the future.

The modern determinist obsession with laws is rooted in the utilitarian tradition. To Bentham, after exhaustive definition of principles of jurisprudence, laws of psychology became important as a means of establishing a social system which was naturally compatible with the laws which governed it. It was believed that within this structure, people would be naturally and unavoidably virtuous. Hence the guiding principle of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Enter Marx and the historic inevitability of progress: the application of rational determinism. This involves a modification of Spinoza's logic; if you don't fit the system, it is because you are irrational and need 're-educating'.

Readers may notice a bias towards authoritarianism and acceptance of the status quo in the application of determinist thought. Just so.

Not that those who believe in free will reject the notion of laws. But they do accept the limits of all laws, and the fact that absolute laws, even those of physics, are an impossibility. In an evolving universe, everything is subject to evolution; and while successors may carry forward residual forms of the past, the new is not predictable from the old. The numbers of possibilities at best produce a series of probability curves. Hence, at the extreme of physical laws, the uncertainty of outcome in quantum mechanics refutes the scientific foundation on which social determinism

Thus David Hartley is incorrect in his belief that "the claim of free will says that there is some part of the human brain that is somehow unique in not being subject to the same causal factors and inter-relationships that we ultimately use to explain how everything else in the universe appears to operate". Quantum phenomena are not so explained, and, yes, there probably is some part of the human mind which operates beyond the confines of history and present and which is not at all unique in the universe.

This was understood by some ancients - Epicurus noted we have free will, and are, within limits, masters of our fates. Later Hume, in considering those limits, despaired of distinguishing between what may be necessarily so and what just so happens.

I would hold that history is what was created, and to the degree that we accept the authority of the past, it will influence the present and the future. But the point of intelligence is that, in addition to the ability to rationalise and formulate laws, it confers the ability to access and accept or reject what we find. Creative intelligence allows us to conceive of alternatives; this is the human area of evolution.

If determinism were correct, nothing would evolve. Ah! cries the determinist; things change because they are subject to the laws of evolution! If this were correct evolution would be predictable; one could predict the evolution of art, for instance. It is not, because the laws of evolution themselves are subject to evolution.

Ultimately, the question may be one of belief. One may believe, as I do, that it is part of the capacity of free will which allows us to distinguish its absence; to perceive those parts of existence which are subject to laws. Similarly, anarchists and anyone else is perfectly at liberty to express their freedom of will by believing in determinism beyond the limits of logic.

David Hartley and I can agree on one thing. His reliance misunderstanding of scientific reality to support a philosophical point is, as he puts it, "just another sad contemporary example of the historically dated delusions of anthropocentrism".

allegiance of many Germans to

Colin Johnson

Christianity, to create this new religion. Many of these 'New Age' ideas percolated Nazi strategic thinking. Ley lines were charted over Europe, in fact Hitler's East German headquarters near Rastenberg was built at the confluence of two ley lines to absorb the earth magic. When Germany fell many of its relics

were buried in an Austrian glacier expected to emerge later in the century. As Pennick says, "The final chapter in the weird history of Nazi occultism has

those we refer to rather simplistically as fascists.

All advocates of total systems have the potentiality for authoritarianism. I have found that the most authoritarian people I have had to deal with were not the police or the fascists but the pacifists it's just the police had more power and the fascists wanted it but many pacifists are very single-mindedly authoritarian and puritanical. Nowadays I feel the same can be said about many vegetarians and some animal rights activists. Be warned, be aware and be careful. Authoritarianism is a state of mind and expressed in word and action. It is not merely the ownership of one particular

### An alternative sort of freedom

Dear Freedom,

George Walford's proposition that "there is no freedom which does not attack the liberties of others" (24th July 1993) is clearly nonsense. But Ian Borrows takes us little further, first by agreeing with the proposition before effectively refuting it, then hanging his. whole argument on the magic word 'morality' without defining what that is or how it works even given his rash morality assumption (for which no argument is advanced) that we all have the same morality.

George's proposition is based on the daft absolute that rights are about particular objects rather kinds of objects - the apple you are already eating, not just an apple to eat - and that my rights are compromised by anything which affects me in the slightest - even if it's something I didn't want, can have later instead or can replace with another of the same kind. In fact living together in society is one of constant minor give and take, so that each person can get on with what they want to over things that concern mainly them without too much conflict or quarrelling. This is not just how society ought to be but what a society is for, to enable us to live together in a confined area without driving each other nuts; and conversely it is what a society needs in order to survive (because, if it weighs unfairly on some groups, this is a recipe for conflict which spoils everyone's day - nobody wants a riot at the bottom of their street, even if the injustice concerned does not bear directly on them).

The measure by which people arbitrate this give and take is how much it affects their vital interests. Control over property and action should be negotiated according to the extent people are vitally affected by it: individuals and groups should have control over property and actions which chiefly affect them. Thus my clothes, ornaments, diet and weekend travel are my business. The passer-by who tells me to get a haircut and a suit is taking (my) liberties by intervening in what does not properly concern him. It is likewise my business what I do with the house I live in, unless it is so outrageous it causes passing cars to crash on an awkward corner. On the other hand, a factory should be controlled by all those stakeholders contributing labour and live savings to it, and to some extent by the surrounding community which has to live with it. And it would be wrong for me to own the houses others live in, because I am meddling in something which bears greatly on their daily living and very little on mine. To seek control over what has little bearing on my life and much bearing on that of others is an action which substantially and improperly restricts the freedom of others. That is where the line is drawn, and for this reason there is clearly no right to exploit or oppress.

A better statement is that "people

Correction

Dear Editors,

The malevolent beings who oversee the affairs of newspapers managed to alter a couple of words in 'The Long Result' (Freedom, 7th August), my article on the government science white paper, in a manner that first obscured and then reversed the meaning. May I therefore point out that:

In the section starting "Peter the Great" the fourth sentence should read complaisant scientists, i.e. those deferential to governments, not complacent, meaning smug.

More seriously, the final sentence of the same section should end "a correct diagnosis with an inadequate prescription is better than a wrong diagnosis". The omission of those two letters, in, does rather drastically alter the meaning.

John Pilgrim

morally ought to behave in organising their society such that all individuals and groups within it are equally free without prejudice as to externals - free to grow and develop and become more themselves without being held back by poverty or ignorance or conformity.

For the record this is a re-wording of the liberal preamble, with the reputation of an organised state removed, and pretty much what I thought anarchism is about; from this I would derive the particular propositions above. Rights do not fall from the sky, rather we are making a moral statement that people ought to accord each other rights (and a practical statement that society will be wracked by conflicts if we do things any other way). What people 'need' can be negotiated according to what's available to be divided. But certainly includes food and survival needs, education for the mind, the space and objects around them they use to keep on being themselves, and whatever they need - so long as it doesn't crowd others out of a basic share - to carry on the work creativity by which they express that selfhood. Consideration is not about being a self-effacing ant in an ant heap, it is about having self confidence and self love so that you recognise the selfhood of others and accord them equal respect. From the individual proceeds the society. Surely this is what distinguishes anarchists from statists?

**Dave Bird** 

### News from Angel Alley

We would remind readers that the next issue of Freedom will be published on 18th September. We hope contributors to our columns will continue to send their letters and articles as normal so that we can build up a small reserve for publication.

aven 22 has been dispatched to all subscribers and distributors. If you have not received your copy please let us know without delay.

e have also dispatched all order V received for Freedom Press' new titles Freedom to Roam and Violence and Anarchism. In the chaos of the past few weeks it is possible that one or two orders may not have been dealt with. Please let us know if you have not received

ur thanks to all who have sent us encouraging messages to keep us going, and also to those whose donations are acknowledged here.

## DONATIONS

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## Dangers of Unreason

Dear Editors, I commend Dave Dane on his excellent article (7th August 1993) on the anti-libertarian dangers of unreason. We are in many ways seeing the process of disintegration of much of what Kenneth originally Galbraith called "conventional wisdom" and its replacement with a plethora of beliefs and systems, many of which have their origin in paganism, religious apostasy and pseudo-science and have the ring of freedom about them. The problem is not so much the beliefs themselves which will eventually collapse with time, especially when confronted by scientifically analysed empirical evidence. What is the problem is who these beliefs appeal to and who controls them.

For the last few years I too have dabbled in some of them. One of the effects of finding out that states and authoritarians indulge in cover-ups to protect their interests is to cause a frank mistrust of any kind of orthodoxy. I have been interested in the occult, ley lines, dowsing and the like. But my interest has always been conditioned by the practical knowledge of being a scientific sociologist and of a high degree of scepticism, although sometimes reading publications like The Fortean Times can be quite fun. I have also been an amateur archaeologist for some years, very amateur in fact since the onset of arthritis has put paid to much practical work. I have also scanned the pages of remainder catalogues and occult publishers and sometimes found some gems.

I commend Nigel Pennick's Hitler's Secret Sciences to you. Published by

Neville Spearman in 1981, it is certainly out of print but it is well worth getting an inter-library loan. To put it in simple terms, Pennick goes beyond most historians linking the development of the Nazi Party and National Socialism to its historical routes and showing its connection with what we would now call the paraphernalia of the 'New Age' philosophy. To put it crudely, not only was Nazism vicious, bestial and cruel, but many of the Nazis were a load of nutters as well.

To take a more objective approach the Nazi philosophy was more than just a political doctrine on racism. It was a magical philosophy demanding the creation of a new religion. A fact which military intelligence and Nuremberg War Trials judges took time out to eradicate, often quite secretly, in order to prevent Nazism's recurrence.

The ideas were based on myth and legend with "dowsing, magnetism, astrology, occult meditation, alternative cosmology and geomancy ... woven into the very fabric of Nazi thought" (Pennick). The pre-Nazi apologists were into theosophy, the Grail legend, the principles of geomancy as exemplified by The Thule Society, a pre-Nazi right wing pressure group with notions of the coming of a master race and of a Christ-like master. Ludendorf's Freikorps was impregnated with these ideas and they appealed to the emerging Nazi Party exemplified in its symbology such as the swastika and especially the rituals of its pretorian guard the SS.

During the period of Nazi power a deliberate attempt was made, albeit partly secretly, as Hitler was aware of the

yet to be written". This is not to say that all occultists, all searchers after ley lines or all dowsers are Nazis if, in Britain, any are. I have not met any myself. What is important is we as anarchists do not dismiss the 'New Age' as if its adherents were simple minded cranks, but look quite closely at who controls and why, what is the aim of these people, and just how authoritarian and unlibertarian they really are. These ideas do appeal to the right and may be used as an ideological justification for

Peter Neville

### London Anarchist Forum

Regular attenders have decided to continue meeting informally over the summer until the Mary Ward Centre re-opens on 24th September. *Time:* about 8.30 onwards. *Dates:* Fridays from 13th August. *Venue:* The Three Cups public house, Sandlands Street, off Red Lion Street, Holborn WC1.

### - Anarchist Picnic -

London Anarchist Forum are holding another picnic on August Bank Holiday, at 2pm on Monday 30th August 1993 on Parliament Hill (south side of summit), Hampstead Heath. Everyone welcome. Bring food for sharing and a bag for rubbish. Anyone got a flag?

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### London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1N 3AQ (tel: 071-831 7711).

#### 1993/1994 PROGRAMME

Autumn Term 1993 - Friday 24th September to 17th December.

Spring Term 1994 – Friday 14th January to 25th March.

Summer Term 1994 – Friday 22nd April to 8th July.

Dates of picnics – Monday 30th August 1993 at 2pm on the south side of the summit of Parliament Hill, Hampstead Heath, and Sunday 1st May 1994, venue to be announced.

#### **AUTUMN TERM**

24th September – Introduction to Anarchism (speaker: John Griffin)

1st October - Discussion on Talk versus, Action

9th October - Anarchist Communism (speaker: Dave Dane)

15th October - Discussion on Anarchism in the Community

22nd October - Anarchist Individualism (speaker: Donald Rooum)

29th October - Discussion on Anarchism and Responsibility

5th November - Anarcho-Syndicalism (speaker: Pete Turner)

12th November - General discussion on Anarchist Economics

19th November – Pacifism and/or Violence Today (speaker: Tony Smythe)

26th November - Discussion on Progressive Social Change

3rd December - Anarchism and Feminism (speaker: Lisa Bendall)

10th December - Discussion on Equal Opportunity

17th December - Social Anarchism: Music, Poetry, Stories, Humour

#### **SPRING TERM**

14th January - Anarchism and Love (speaker: Peter Neville)

21st January – Discussion on Anarchism and Sexuality 28th January - Anarchism After the Revolution or Anarchism as a Way of Life (speaker: Andrew Lainton)

4th February - Discussion on Anarchism in the Nineties

11th February – Anarchism as Religion (debate between Peter Lumsden and George Walford)

18th February - Discussion on Anarchism and Morality

25th February – Anarchism and Ecology (speaker to be announced)

4th March – Discussion: With what other groups should anarchists work?

11th March - Post-Modernism: Enlightenment's Suicide Note (speaker: Paul Wilding)

18th March - Discussion on Post-Modernism and the Cultural Implosion

25th March - General discussion: Bringing together the strands

Other topics suggested, provided one can get speakers, might include the ideas of Starhawk (say Witchcraft for the Nineties or A New Role for Feminism), the Collapse of Marxism and writers such as Peter Marshall and others if available.

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers especially, please contact either Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203), not too early in the day please, giving subject matter and prospective dates and we will do our best to accommodate.

We have vacancies for speakers on the 3rd and 24th June 1994, and could put speakers in general discussion slots, although these are popular in their own right as overflows of previous discussions or as a place people can introduce things they feel we should discuss, for instance contemporary issues.

We are particularly interested in having more women speakers and more women attending the meetings and those from ethnic minorities. After the meetings we go to a pub for an informal drink where, some say, the real discussions begin. The Mary Ward Centre is a friendly meeting place but should not be used as an accommodation address. A cafeteria provides drinks and meals prior to the meetings.

Peter Neville / Dave Dane for London Anarchist Forum 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

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