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FIFTY PENCE

"It is an absurd falsehood if the capitalists and their hired editors say that anarchism is identical with disorder and crime. On the contrary, anarchism wants to do away with the existing social disorder."

Adolf Fischer

THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE

FASCISM IN LONDON'S EAST END

The resurgence of the European Right – the apparent popularity of the new Nazis generally – is the context for the all party horror struck raising of hands at the relatively trivial BNP victory in Millwall. There is a suspicion that some of those expressing disgust are only too glad to find another stick with which to beat the poor. After all racism of all kinds has long had a home in the Tory party. In recent times Winston Churchill's immigration speech and Thatcher's scare mongering may have caused a journalistic *frisson* but did little to disturb the general Tory attitude that, those whom the

politically correct would probably term 'melanin advantaged' are generally undesirable, and must be encouraged to go somewhere else. These attitudes have been

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and the Struggle for
Spitalfields'**
by Colin Ward
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transmitted into popular consciousness with the inevitable rising tide of racial attacks, until recently ignored by the police, and enhanced by hamfisted planning.

The real source of the trouble though isn't the ineptness of local authorities, the opportunist exploitation by the Liberal Democrats, or Labour's curious mixture of pusillanimity and insensitive political correctness. It is the casualisation of work and the deliberate creation of unemployment as a matter of political policy. It is the restriction of public housing and the transference of resources from the poor to the wealthy. It is above all the conscious creation of a generalised atmosphere of anxiety, unrelieved for those at the bottom by hope. In such a situation large scale scapegoating will flourish. Desperate people will turn to whoever seems to offer hope and in Millwall that seemed to be the British National Party.

It was famously said at the time of the Dockers' march in support of Enoch Powell that the dockers didn't hate black people in general, or immigrants in general. They hated everybody in general. In the sense that they were a group under threat, fearful for the future and in the process of losing the little bit of security they had known this century this had a degree of truth. Powell simply identified an easy target for scapegoating.

The result was a rerun of the turn of the century agitation when, as John Ebrell noted in *The Raven* No. 19 "... the British Brothers League, supported by a lobby of Tory MPs ... used multi occupancy, homelessness, high rents, sweating, and real or assumed undercutting to mount a campaign against 'destitute aliens'. What followed was classic group closure with aristocrats, trade union leaders, and Tory lobbyists running a mass local campaign that put the Aliens Restriction Act on the statute book ... it appeared to convince large sections of the indigenous population

LAW AND ORDER PARTY INFURIATES POLICE

The Conservative Party likes to think of itself as the 'law and order' party. For the typical Conservative Party conference delegate, this means being nasty to thieves, objecting to prison reform and rehabilitation projects on the grounds that this is 'molly-coddling' criminals, sneering at the idea that petty crime is linked to poverty. Also, of course, it means supporting the police in their pursuit of criminals.

Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party leader most in tune with the membership, set out to improve law and order by supporting the police. Under her rule, grants of 'taxpayers money' to the police were increased, while grants to all the health and welfare services were decreased, as much as the growing number of claimants would allow. Unfortunately, making the police rich did nothing to curb the crime rate.

The tendency now is to blame the increase in crime on the failure of the criminal justice system, which allows too many prosecuted people to be found 'not guilty' and does not punish harshly enough those found 'guilty'. The fact that Britain has a higher proportion of the population in prison

than most countries, and that the prisons are some of the nastiest in Europe, is overlooked by those who bay for harsher penalties.

Since Thatcher's departure, the police have not been so well treated. Kenneth Clarke, who had cut down expenditure in the Education and Health Ministries, was made Home Secretary and set about cutting expenditure on the police. They kept their high basic salaries, but the amount of overtime pay was cut without actually cutting the amount of time worked – in other words, a fiddle was stopped – and debt counsellors were called in to advise those who had incurred debts on the assumption that regular overtime would continue. Of course they felt betrayed by the law and order party.

The Sheehy Report on reorganising the police, again with the object of getting the same amount of work done for less money, has angered the police again, so much so that its recommendations will probably not be implemented. Chief Constables, who will in fact get more money, have

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THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE FASCISM IN LONDON'S EAST END

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that group closure was a suitable response to structural problems caused by the free market economy.¹

Today the ethnic groups are different but the structural problems are much the same and group closure is again seen as the solution. A group is identified on the basis of physical or cultural characteristics and is excluded from access to resources and opportunities. The excluding group, the eligibles, take their cue in the first place from the government and history. Frank Parkin stated it well: "In all known instances where racial, religious, linguistic or even sex characteristics have been used as a basis for exclusion the group in question will have been at some time defined as inferior by the state."²

What is happening in Millwall is the breaking up of a community at a time of great insecurity and anxiety. Unlike the rest of the East End it had not experienced much immigration and a 'moral economy' existed, sets of practices over jobs and housing, which is now being destroyed. These people may be racists but no more so, as the director of the Weiner Library (a racism monitoring unit) noticed, than "the millions of Tory voters who responded to Mrs Thatcher's sly promise to resist the 'swamping' of Britain by people of another culture."³

It is difficult not to grimace when

1. John Ebbrell, 'Structure and Change The East End' in *The Raven* No. 19, pages 12-14 (1992).

2. Frank Parkin, *Marxism & Class Theory* (Tavistock, 1979).

3. David Cesarani, 'Between a Dock & a Hard Place' in *The Guardian* (22nd September 1993).

experiencing yet another interview with a Tower Hamlets resident saying "I am not a racist but ..." Of course they are. They are also faced with very real problems as the result of the new market capitalism and the destruction of both community and welfare in its name. People who adopt racist explanations in the face of incomprehensible change, massive widening of inequality and increasingly visible disparities in life chances, are not necessarily neo Nazis, even if the BNP volunteers who worked in the area are. Labelling an entire community in this way is hardly likely to help matters.

The problem as Charles Dilke argued at the turn of the century, lies in the structure and functioning of free market capitalism. It would astonish our Victorian ancestors to see an ideologically blinded government consciously creating the very problems the Victorians spent so much energy trying to solve - homelessness produced by political policy, increasing class differentials in health and mortality, and soon the appalling effects of water privatisation.

Anarchists need to do some serious thinking about Millwall. There has always been a tendency to celebrate community as an automatic good. We oppose it to the state, without thought, because of ideas of natural harmony taken in with early doses of Kropotkin's nineteenth century optimism. The racism in Millwall may be, indeed is, thoroughly objectionable, but it is also an attempt at a defence of a community. An inward looking and ultimately conservative community but a community none the less. There has always been a tendency to celebrate the virtues of working class solidarity without seeing that it is a two edged weapon. That

the ideas of sharing, fairness, and equality, bred out of past adversity, can shew an ugly side in ethnocentrism and an instinctive distrust of change.

Meanwhile there is a 19,000 long homeless list on the Isle of Dogs and an unknown number who never get near it. There is 25% unemployment, endemic poverty, and too few places in the inadequate schools. All around are the flats and houses of the new wealthy, the destructive follies of the Docklands Development schemes. And a total absence of hope for the residents of the Isle of Dogs.

The politicians have set the agenda. Like the sorcerer's apprentice they have set in motion forces they cannot control. Most voted for, or failed to oppose, the Immigration, Asylum, and Nationality Acts. Conservatives made immigrant into a dirty word and therefore immigrants into 'a problem'. They linked national consciousness with skin hue. They legitimised the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the death of Joy Gardner. Ward workers of all three parties have made use of the euphemism 'local' meaning white. The Liberal Democrats have issued blatantly racist propaganda. All felt they could control the tensions they were using.

Of course the result was a protest vote by people who were impoverished, ignored, and despised. "Nobody knew where the Isle of Dogs was until six thirty this morning" said one resident. But it's no good sending in social workers. In Barbara Wootton's words the poor want money not casework. Before a British le Pen appears we need do something about reversing the effect of Tory economic policies. The victims of our disintegrating society won't care whether it's done by anarchist mutual aid groups, the National Front, or Screaming Lord Sutch. There is nothing inevitable about the rise of fascism, or the privation and inequality that has made its rebirth possible. There is nothing inevitable about its defeat either. The way to defeat cholera and typhus was found in the destruction of the conditions which allowed them to flourish. The defeat of the new fascism must lie in a change in the way we run our society. As a practical move the release of land and money for rented housing in the Isle of Dogs, plus a serious attempt to restore some of the welfare cuts will make a start. We can all help create the pressure for that without falling for Trotskyite insurrectionary fanatisms.

John Pilgrim

— ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

The Bengali experience and the struggle for Spitalfields

Bengal is a vast alluvial plain in the North-East of the Indian peninsula. In the seventeenth century the British East India Company began trading in Bengal to obtain cottons, silks and saltpetre (a vital ingredient in the making of explosives). In the eighteenth century Robert Clive, a founder of the Indian Empire, conquered the rulers of Bengal and the British East India Company began the process of taxing the peasants into starvation and destroying the local industries, especially textiles, in order to make new markets for British goods. The loot from Bengal helped fund both the industrial revolution and the stately homes of the British aristocracy.

The British Raj never allowed Bengal to recover. A series of famines culminated in the last years of British rule with the Bengal Famine of 1943-44. It is estimated that at least three and a half million people died. Ian Stephens, editor of the *Calcutta Statesman*, wrote in August 1943:

"Thoughtful Britons in this country must realise that so long as their nation, their Parliament and their Secretary of State maintain some responsibility for India's welfare, the ultimate blame rests upon themselves. Under the present system, responsibility for breakdown rests upon Authority in Britain and its representatives here."¹

Three years later came Independence. In the

partition of British India in 1947 West Bengal, with its great port of Calcutta, became a state of the Republic of India. East Bengal, together with the district of Sylhet, formerly part of Assam, became East Pakistan. Conscious of continued exploitation, East Pakistan, after bloody battles with Indian support, finally separated in 1971 to become the Republic of Bangladesh.

It is a delta country of villages separated by waterways, and for more than a hundred years Sylhetti men, seeking work, found their way to Calcutta to be employed as stokers on the steamships going to the port of London. There a few of them would be paid off or 'jump ship' to seek their fortunes in the East End of London. They tended to find a place in overcrowded rooms in Spitalfields and to get invisible jobs in the catering and portering trades. Charlie Forman, in his excellent book on the area, explains how for a short period after the late 1950s relatives and families of the original Sylhetti settlers joined them, until a series of Immigration Acts withdrew this right: "British citizenship had been the only compensation Bengalis had been offered for the plunder of their country. When they claimed it, it was taken away."²

Room by room, the Bengali villagers established their toe-hold in the traditional economy of Spitalfields, the garment and

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said they would resign rather than try to oversee big reductions in pay and conditions for their officers.

But the biggest annoyance to the police so far has been caused by the present Home Secretary Michael Howard, one of the most 'law and order' minded Home Secretaries in the sense of being vindictive towards convicts. Addressing a conference of police superintendents on 22nd September, he was pleased to announce that they were to have more control over their lower ranks. Officers will be compelled to give full account of their actions if required by senior officers. If they are to be sacked for misconduct or incompetence, they are to have no more rights of appeal than those granted to most other workers.

Until now, disciplinary hearings in the police force have resembled criminal trials, with the 'defendant' entitled to legal representation and the right to silence. So much so, that until recently when a

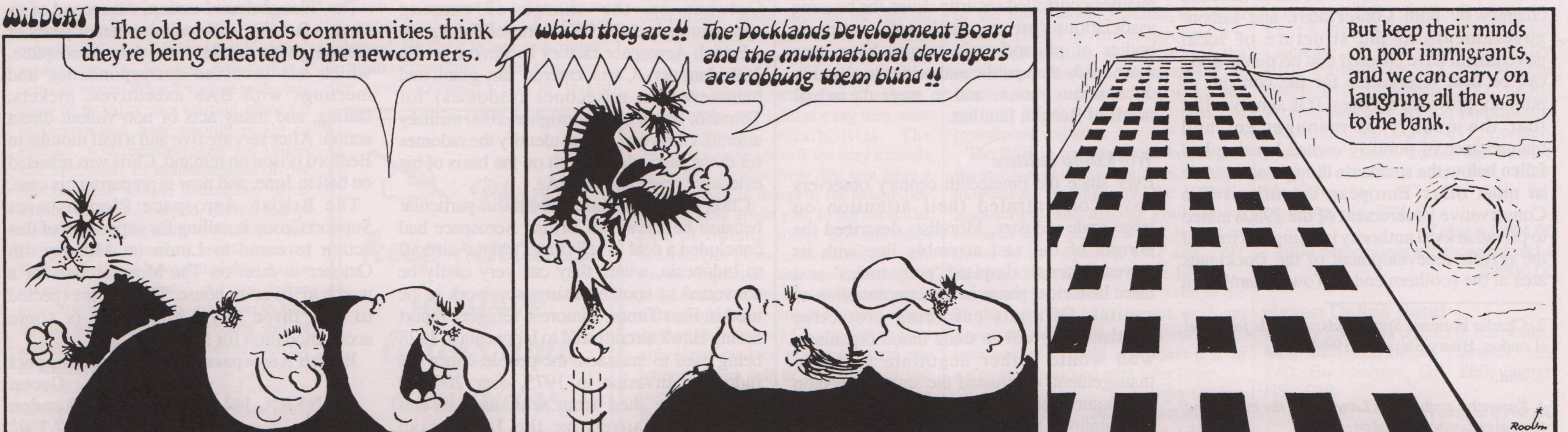
policeman was found 'not guilty' of a crime in a court of law, it was held that he could not be sacked because that would be to try him twice for the same offence.

The Police Federation, the trade union of police lower ranks, are utterly furious at the idea of not getting privileged treatment.

The old anarchist slogan 'the more law, the less order' draws attention to the fact that law-abiding societies are not necessarily just, and breaking the law is not necessarily an act of social delinquency.

Some anti-social people break the law. Others make the laws to suit themselves. Variations in social conditions correlate with variations in the crime rate, as we have seen during the past ten years or so of increasing differences between rich and poor coinciding with increasing petty crime.

Anarchists seek the social conditions in which delinquency is least likely to occur.



The Struggle for Spitalfields

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leather industries, small workshops and sub-contracted home-work. They suffered all the problems faced by the Jewish immigrants of a century earlier, but they had one more, which was skin colour. They were an easily recognised target for racial attacks. Charlie Forman describes how: "The violence against the Bengalis is more personalised, directed to undermine each individual's confidence in his or her ability to survive. Although racist violence isn't confined to people's homes, it is aimed at their daily routines. Children are attacked going to and from school – even at school; women are attacked coming onto their estates and leaving them. Men are in danger at the bus stops they use in going to work. It is violence directed at driving Bengalis out and keeping them out, block by block and estate by estate across the East End." Terror can be sustained, he notes, by the persistence of attacks, just as much as by their ferocity, and he quotes a report to the Housing Committee of the Borough of Tower Hamlets in February 1987:

"Verbal abuse, spitting, physical assault by stabbing, kicking, punching, shooting with airguns, throwing stones, eggs, sticks, using iron bars; criminal damage to property, e.g. windows being broken, doors being damaged, burning material put through letter-boxes, cars damaged; excreta, stink bombs and rubbish being put through letter-boxes, rubbish dumped on doorsteps, washing vandalised or stolen, graffiti daubed on doors or walls, banging on doors, thumping on ceilings; dogs, cars, motorcycles, knives, petrol bombs, shotguns and threatening letters have also been used to frighten the victims."³

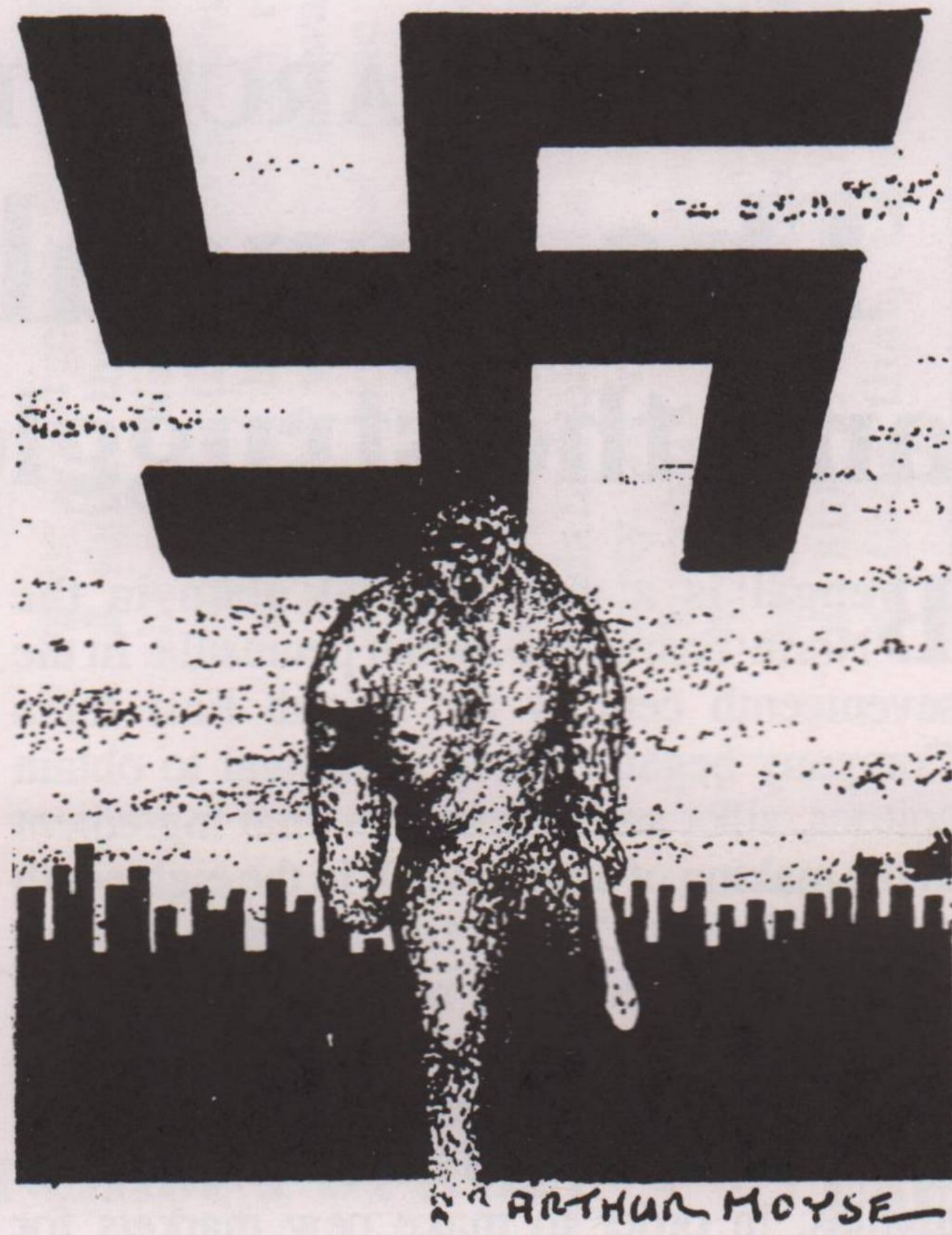
Solidarity and resistance

At the end of the 1970s the murder of a 24-year-old machinist in Whitechapel Road, and the organised presence of a racist organisation led to widespread demonstrations, protests against the indifference of the police, and a strike on 17th July 1978 of 8,000 Bangladeshi workers.⁴ The lesson that Forman drew from these events was that: "From that point, racist violence in Spitalfields quickly tailed away. The area had been made relatively safe through the Bengali community's proven ability to defend itself. The struggle had strengthened some of the youth groups, and had given birth to others ... safety was not in numbers but in organisation. With permanent settlement came a proliferation of institutions, organisations and services provided by the community itself. Until then the mosque and the Bangladesh Welfare Association had been the pivotal institutions. As the political voice of the Bengali community, these bodies lost their pre-eminence, and they were joined by the youth groups, which took advice from the earlier bodies but tended to have a more radical perspective."

A very high proportion of housing in the area is owned by the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, most of it inherited from previous local authorities like the former Borough of Stepney and the former London County Council / Greater London Council. (Endless changes by both Conservative and Labour governments to the structure of local government have ensured that no public body can be held responsible for the collapse of publicly-provided services. It is simply a fact that the quality of management and maintenance of publicly-owned housing had fallen below the standards thought acceptable in most other European countries.) The Conservative government of the 1980s aimed to privatise local authority housing and funded the private redevelopment of the Docklands area at the southern end of Tower Hamlets, a

commercial failure for most of the speculators involved, deliberately directed against the interests of the existing population of that area. It is hard to disagree with Forman's comment that, while over 80% of residents in the borough still live in council-owned housing: "Most of this housing, built in the grand manner of municipal socialism, is badly designed, badly maintained and lacking essentials like decent play-space and laundrettes. Yet, when housing association and co-operative housing is added in, virtually 90% of the housing stock is in 'social ownership' – possibly the highest proportion in the western world."

The Labour Party controlled the local councils for 41 years, from 1945 to 1986. When there was a large Jewish population, the ruling Labour group had little room for Jews. Forman notes that: "In 1949, when there were sixty Labour and nine Communist councillors, there were more Jews in the Communist opposition than in the Labour group." Bengalis found it difficult even to join



the party, and "only in 1985 was the first Labour Bengali councillor elected". Housing allocation was operated, consciously or unconsciously, in a discriminatory way, with Bengali applicants being offered the poorest and least desirable housing. Worse, they were offered tenancies in other parts of the borough where they were isolated and unsafe and far from their children's schools. Yet within the Spitalfields area there was publicly-owned housing left empty as a matter of policy (commercial redevelopment would be more profitable).

Solidarity and resistance arose in the form of joint action between Bengalis and others forming squatter groups and then defending the squats, and ultimately the Spitalfields Housing Co-operative which, despite every kind of obstacle, has done more than any other body to give Spitalfields tenants dweller-controlled security. Even the housing associations (private, unelected, non-profit bodies of philanthropic origin) have been more ready than public authorities to abandon unconscious racism and to meet the actual needs of Bengali families.

Workshop culture

Ever since the nineteenth century observers have concentrated their attention on large-scale industry. Moralists described the horrors of the vast assembly line with its slaves, Marxists despised 'petty trades' as a mere historical phase in the concentration of capital. Officials enforcing protective legislation as well as trade union organisers who would rather negotiate with big management, mistrusted the small workshop and home work which they associated with exploitation. Kropotkin was unique among

thinkers on the Left to recognise the economic, social and personal significance of small-scale production.⁵

But there are some industries, dependent on short production runs, closeness to the market and instant changes of demand, which depend on the small workshop. Everywhere in the world the clothing and leather trades and their endless subsidiaries are examples of this. And everywhere they have been the labour-intensive, low-technology forms of production which have introduced millions of immigrants into the urban economy.

A century ago, the Fabian socialist Beatrice Webb, who surveyed Spitalfields for Charles Booth's monumental study of *Life and Labour of the People of London*, and in spite of her criticism of the sweatshop system, wrote that: "Between factories proper and home or garden behind the dwelling house, sometimes connected with and sometimes detached from the house ... it is applicable to industries where no power machinery is needed and it is a great improvement on employment in city houses".⁶ By 'city houses' she meant established factories, and of course within a few decades the application of electric power to the sewing machine made modern production methods more accessible.

In the '30s and '40s it was possible to meet machinists in Spitalfields who were employees one week and employers the next. Having obtained a contract they would rent workspace and machines and seek workers among their friends and neighbours. They did not identify themselves with the capitalist class. If they voted in that particular area, they tended to vote for the Communist candidate. Exactly the same apparent paradox is true in the small workshop economy of northern Italy today.⁷

Describing the same district in the 1980s, Charlie Forman noted with dismay how the former Labour council and its Liberal Democrat successor sought to drive the small workshops out, and remarks that: "The Spitalfields Small Business Association has tried to keep the mixed use of houses and workshops in Hanbury Street and Princelet Street. In this way, men can use their sewing machines in the workshops at the back of their gardens. They can take the children to and from school, do the shopping, pop home for lunch and generally keep in touch with their family in the way that they are used to. The planning department has tried, and fortunately failed, to get the Association to move its workshops elsewhere. Given what's

5. Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899; new edition, London, Freedom Press, 1985).

6. Beatrice Webb in Charles Booth, *Conditions and Occupations of the People of Tower Hamlets 1886-1887* (London, 1889).

7. Colin Ward, 'A Few Italian Lessons' in *The Raven* No. 7, July 1989.

happened to land prices, the workshops must stay where they are or cease to exist."

Aggression from the City

For the real aggressors in Spitalfields are the property speculators of the City of London, temporarily checked by the collapse of the market, but poised to expand eastwards. By 1980, twenty of the hundred hectares of the area where the council claimed there was no room left for rehousing were empty and derelict waiting for new office buildings. Spitalfields Market, where fruit and vegetables were sold wholesale since the fourteenth century, was closed, not because of traffic congestion or under-use, but because its annual income was less than the five hectare site would earn as 90,000 square metres of office space on the doorstep of the world financial capital.

Five years ago an exhibition called *A Farewell to Spitalfields* was held at the Bishopsgate Institute. It claimed that:

"The viewer is confronted with two versions of the Enterprise Culture: one of family businesses and small-scale firms, the other of high finance with computer screens linking the City of London to the money markets of the world. The whole industrial economy of Spitalfields rests on cheap workrooms: rentals in the new office complex are eight times greater than they are in the purlieus of Brick Lane, and with the dizzy rise in property values that will flow, accommodation of all kinds, whether for working space or home, will be beyond local people."⁸

The ancient 'zone of transition' for centuries of immigrants from Huguenots to Bengalis has become a battleground not only for racists but for the onslaught of the rich against the poor. The conclusion of Charlie Forman's excellent book is both accurate and depressing:

"This is land which London's poorest community depends on for its survival – it has nowhere else to go. But the capital's richest institutions also want it – and their desire turns land values to gold. Democratic planning is often seen as a means of mitigating the raw power of such institutions. Yet the policies of elected authorities have assisted the rich in trying to expropriate the people of Spitalfields. Breaking up a working-class community to make profits from the land it lives on isn't a new idea – it just hasn't been made so easy before. For fifteen years the policies of successive Tower Hamlets councils have smoothed the way for the take-over of Spitalfields. To get the land, it has had to break the back of the Bangladeshi community. This has failed to do ... The way the Bangladeshi community has fought for its land is important in its own right. Ten years ago, they were clinging to Spitalfields by their fingertips. Now the community is certain of a future in the area for a generation to come. But sadly, that fight for land is only a harbinger of more struggles ..."

Colin Ward

8. John Shaw and Raphael Samuel, captions to exhibition *A Farewell to Spitalfields*, Bishopsgate Institute, August 1988.

Trial for £475,000 peace activist

Chris Cole, a Christian peace activist, is to appear at Luton Crown Court on 4th October on the charge of causing approximately £475,000 worth of damage to a British Aerospace factory in Stevenage. On 16th January, Chris entered the plant and hammered on nosecones (radomes) for Tornado, Hawk and Eurofighter 2000 military aircraft. Chris was able to identify the radomes for these particular aircraft on the basis of his extensive research into BAe.

Chris chose the Hawk aircraft in particular because he knew that British Aerospace had concluded a deal to sell these 'trainer' aircraft to Indonesia, where they can very easily be converted to counter-insurgency work to be used in East Timor. Timorese refugees report seeing Hawk aircraft sold to Indonesia in 1978 being used to massacre the people. Since the Indonesia invasion in 1975, over 200,000 people have died from war, disease and starvation caused by the Indonesian

government. Britain is now the top arms supplier to Indonesia.

The 'Ploughshares' action, the second of its kind in Britain, is the culmination of years of campaigning against British Aerospace, which has involved correspondence and meetings with BAe executives, pickets, fasting, and many acts of non-violent direct action. After serving five and a half months in Bedford prison on remand, Chris was released on bail in June, and now is preparing his case.

The British Aerospace Ploughshares Support Group is calling for supporters of this action to come to Luton on Monday 4th October to meet on The Moor at 9am for a march to the court house. The trial is expected to last three days, and there is some accommodation for supporters.

British Aerospace Ploughshares Support Group
c/o NVRN, 162 Holloway Road, London
N7 8DQ, tel: 071-607 2302

2. Charlie Forman, *Spitalfields: a Battle for Land* (London, Hilary Shipman, 1989).

3. *ibid.*

4. Kenneth Leech, *Brick Lane 1978: the events and their significance* (London, 1980).

The following is an interactive translation of an article which appeared in the last edition of *Le Monde Libertaire*.

The Balkan crisis is one that affects us all. Perhaps it is surprising, therefore, that there has been little in the way of reaction to and analysis of it on these pages. This must partly be due to the fact that *Freedom* is not a newspaper and since events occur so fast we will always be reacting to yesterday.

Geneva, which currently looks as though it will eventually be where dotted lines are signed and the history books are written, is a case in point. However, if we try to ascertain underlying principles and build on the firmer of the facts as they are presented, then the *Freedom* format seems to gain advantageously.

The Geneva negotiations have accepted the principle of a Bosnia carved up into three separate nations (Serbian, Croatian and Muslim) within the framework of a 'federal or confederal state'. Franjo Tudjman, the Croatian President, and Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian President, who number among the negotiators, are all in favour although they may bicker over the final form. The agreement satisfies their dreams for a Greater Croatia on the one hand and a Greater Serbia on the other. There is nothing new in this: these two orchestrators had already met on a regular basis to discuss the carve-up of Bosnia, as had Mate Boban, the leader of the Bosnian Croats, and Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs. These two, who have been presented as bitter enemies cut off from the rest of the world by a level of war atrocities never known before, met once again on a pleasant 20th June in Montenegro to settle the operation.

The Bosnian State is the main loser. Should we therefore show sympathy? Certainly not for the politicians! In effect the armed Bosnian forces – for states entail regular armies and there is a Bosnian state and army – have behaved just as barbarically as their Serb and Croatian counterparts. Let us remember: 16th April, Croatian forces turn violently on the Muslims, who had been their allies against Serbia, and invade a part of Bosnia where Croats and Muslims cohabit, "acting with terrible excess, burning Muslim villages, killing and expelling the population".¹ 3rd June, the Muslim forces counter attack. Their

Focus on the Balkans

With this edition we focus on the situation in Yugoslavia. We hope to focus on other areas of the globe (and indeed issues at home) in future editions. It is hoped that readers will feel that they can contribute in some way to this idea. With this in mind, the next 'Focus on ...' will be Central and South America, with the former Soviet Union to follow. Any contributions (short/longer articles, news of events, addresses, etc.) will be well received. Any offers with linguistic help for this, or indeed future projects, is also encouraged.

colonel Mehmet Travnik, who has taken on board the subtleties of UN newspeak ('humanitarian war', 'soldiers of peace'), speaks of a 'defensive attack'. The Muslim retaliation is just as brutal. The taking of Kakanj by the Muslims was accompanied by systematic violence, according to the UN.² We note that the Muslim fighters fly the green flag and declaim 'Allah Akbar'. This Islamic radicalisation was largely predictable. "The carve-up of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia encourages the emergence of a Pan-Islamic identity".³ In one stroke 2,000 civilians and 400 soldiers take cover behind – wait for it – Bosnian Serb positions!

Elsewhere the Serbian army continues its war against the Muslims ... and Croats!

Anarchist support for the Bosnian state is misplaced. It is seductive with its championing of the little guy and its talk of multi-ethnicity. It would also suit the Americans in any move to appease the post-Gulf Arabs. Also consider: Tudjman, Milosevic, Momir Bulatovic (who also took part in the Geneva negotiations), Milan Kican and Kiro Gligorov, the respective presidents of Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Macedonia, were all high-ranking officials in the Yugoslav Communist Party. Izetbegovic wasn't. The Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, is opposed to the principles of the Geneva negotiations because, he says, he is against the division and for a multi-ethnic state. We must however remind ourselves of the background for this apologist for Islamic fundamentalism who regularly states himself to be for a rigorous and pure Islamic State. But even the demand for multi-ethnicity is simply a trap which seeks to lay down the nationalist principle, and therefore the statist principle, with its army, flag and oppression, be it Bosnian, Croatian, Serb or whatever.

LISTINGS

If you're going abroad, former Eastern Bloc countries can often use that which we take for granted – paper and propaganda. If you want to write to a group expressing support and offering help, it will always be well received.

- Groupe Proudhon, Centre d'Etudes Sociales et Libertaires, BP121, 25014, Besançon, France.
- ZAPO-ARK, Tkalciceva 38, 4100, Zagreb
- Women SOS, Druvsto SOS-telefon, PP26, 61 110, Ljubljana, Slovenia.
- Centar za mir (peace centre), Dobrobojacka 11, 71000, Sarajevo.
- Comité pro Zoran Cuk, Centre Culturale di Documentazione Anarchico 'Le pecora nera', Piazza Isolo no. 31/b-c 37129, Verona.

Towards an anarchist position

It is truly a case that all politicians are bastards. Any anarchist viewpoint must take the long term view into account and not the petty political squabbles of the present. First we must look at the past. It could have been otherwise. An article in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (January 1993) says: "a popular movement had truly taken root in Bosnia Herzegovina even before war broke out. Ignored by the West, it brought together tens of thousands of Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Jews and other nationalities ... This voice in favour of a communal life was drowned out by the bullets, the shelling and the bombs ... This crowd of Europeans, civilised and pacifist peoples, this population of Muslims, Croats and Serbs ... was put on trial by the nationalists ... Their crime: high treason against nationalism and struggling for peace. The verdict: death, persecution, torture, deportation and exile".⁴ Also in the beginning there was some resistance to the war in Serbia.

Most significant in a way was the exodus of some 25,000 Hungarians who left the country to avoid conscription and some 20,000 who resisted mobilisation to the federal army. It is believed that perhaps as many as 150,000 left Serbia to avoid the draft. Within the Serbian army itself in some areas, for instance at Valjevo, only some 50% of conscripts went to the front, the remainder being in various states of rebellion.⁵

More recently various feminist and pacifist groups have set up forms of resistance in their own way. For example, the 'anti-war telephone' which, as it suggests, is an communications exercise to bring those opposed to the war into contact with each other. Some other aspects of these movements have already been reported in *Freedom*. A pacifist movement has also developed in Belgrade, UYDI (Movement for a Democratic Initiative in Yugoslavia). At some time perhaps a case could have been made for arming the Bosnian people but not now the Bosnian state.

The lesson to be learnt from this is the map one. Anarchists are one of two groups of people who feel the only fair map of the world is a photograph taken from space. We must argue here in the West against the control of

population movements throughout the world. Here we must take on the hard and far right. But as I say, there are two groups who accept our principle, and the second is capital. Here we turn to the future.

Izetbegovic has done his stuff, soon he will cease to serve the capitalist cause. But all is well, as he already has a replacement which suits one and all: Fikret Abdic. State management for him (communist, nationalist or whatever) is nothing new. This man, who declares himself "above political ambition", has other qualifications for the job: he's the president of Agrokomerc which was one of the first 25 Yugoslav enterprises employing 30,000 in '87 and at the heart of "the biggest financial scandal" Yugoslavia has known since World War Two.

"No profit" is his cry, "everything is returned to the people".⁶ Well, let's see! Despite the opposition from Sarajevo he has, in the region he controls (Bihac), officially replaced the Bosnian Dinar with "strong currencies which facilitate trade with the Serbs and Croats", and, "despite the siege, he manages ... to continue to produce, sometimes with workers from enemy Serb zones, thanks to a 'humanitarian-commercial' corridor ..."

Communique

In Besançon (eastern France) activists from the FAF and feminist groups are calling for an international meeting on 11th November '93 'for peace and against rape'. A demonstration is planned in Trieste, Italy (near the Yugoslav border). Comrades are invited to attend or organise their own events in their own countries, aiming for media attention to 'a point of view different to that of the UN and EEC'.

This decision has the support of the National Federation. For further information contact Besançon (see listings).

(which unfortunately the journalist doesn't tell us if it is protected by the UN).⁷ All of this we can read about in the bourgeois press: imagine what they don't tell us!

Notes

1. *Le Monde*, 19th June 1993.
2. *Le Monde*, 18th June 1993.
3. *Yugoslavie: le terrorisme des états*, page 21.
4. *Ibid*, page 30.
5. *Ibid*, page 28.
6. *Le Monde*, 8th June 1993.
7. *Op cit*.

All quotations from *Le Monde* are taken from the article 'Épilogue d'un massacre étatique organisé' in *Le Monde Libertaire*, no. 921.

Zoran Cuk

Zoran Cuk was a Yugoslav anarchist who tried to avoid conscription by fleeing to Italy in May '92. The Italian authorities sent him back. Men opposing the war in the Balkans is not as strong as women's opposition and needs more support (see listings). So also can we try to support refugees from wherever in this country.

Information

Most of the information reaching the outside world comes from the capitalist press. It is this writer's opinion that the US is more informative on this score. News reaches the anarchist movement, not surprisingly, from Italy. Any comrade who can help make this more accessible (reading and translating Italian) can contact the Freedom Press International Section.

Inside India

Friday 20th August was a big day in India. The nation was asked to celebrate what would have been the 50th birthday of Rajiv Gandhi, and, indeed sections of society did celebrate.

Accolades flowed freely from the pages of the national newspapers remembering the vision of the Gandhi dynasty's youngest and tragically departed son. Not surprisingly the majority were paid for by flourishing private businesses, ever-anxious to acknowledge their debt to the man who paved the way for the liberalisation of the Indian economy. Similarly ailing Congress politicians currently floundering in a sea of allegations of corruption at the highest levels of government and amidst acute communal tensions held parties of remembrance up and down the country in an attempt to give Congress something to be proud of.

For many, though, the Gandhi dynasty is dead. It began expiring in June 1975 as Indira Gandhi imposed the state of emergency and started imprisoning social activists, trade unionists and anyone who dared to oppose her will. It took its last breaths recently as investigative journalism revealed Rajiv and his wife Sonia to be major players and beneficiaries in the scandal over bribes involved in the purchase of the Bofors gun from Sweden in the 1980s.

Of course the legacy lives on and for some this legacy is a fruitful one. For many, though, Rajiv Gandhi headed an administration that has led India into an era of increasing inequality. His courting the World Bank in the late 1980s has led to the Structural Adjustment Programme. That programme has in turn led to budget cuts at a state and national level for primary health care,

education and public distribution of essential food items. What is currently interesting, however, is that as the programme begins to affect the peasantry and working class in India, so protest is rapidly emerging.

In this context, Thursday 19th August was a far more important day than Friday 20th. Nationwide, following calls from the seven largest trade unions and innumerable popular movements and women's organisations, millions of farmers and workers took to the streets to demonstrate and court arrest as a prelude to a general strike being called for on 9th September to force the government to abandon the IMF-World Bank dictated economic and industrial policies. In total in Haryana, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Kerala, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh half a million people were arrested as they staged pickets of government buildings and sit-downs across major roads. All were released without charges within 24 hours.

The significance of this protest and forthcoming general strike is considerable. Firstly, it is the first mass protest against the liberalisation policies of the current Congress government. Secondly, it is an indication that many of the groups who have been protesting independently about current economic policy are coming together and seeking united action. Thirdly, it reveals that groups and forces on the left in India are finally turning their attention to economic issues again. This follows the impasse in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple at Ayodhya in December 1992. The stage does seem set, then, for a period of intense protest and struggle in India.

John Shotton

Anarchist Organisation

There has recently been a call for a new Anarchist Federation of Britain (*Freedom*, 24th July). I was around at the time of the later Anarchist Federation of Britain in the '60s and '70s, attended most of its annual conferences, helped to convene one in Birmingham, edited an issue of its journal *The Anarchist* and helped edit the later newsletter for a time and was in at the death, as it were.

The Anarchist Federation of Britain

The AFB started as a federation of groups and individuals in the mid '60s and collapsed in the early '70s. The inclusion of individuals is important as many people lived in places where, try as they would, they could never find any other anarchists, but it led to problems with individuals who did live in areas where groups existed but went to the AFB annual conference to put their own divergent point of view and attack other local comrades' views and to try and dominate the conference.

Although many annual conferences were verbally strenuous, they were initially to a large extent friendly. People one had only contacted by post met face to face. And some life-long friendships developed.

For a while it became a strong movement. But it was also the time of the nuclear disarmament campaigning, of CND and the later Committee of 100 and Vietnam action too (before the Trots muscled into the latter with their Vietnam Solidarity stuff) and most involved in the AFB were involved in action elsewhere.

There were some iconoclasts who would never participate in the AFB and *Freedom* too always appeared ambivalent. Later others tried to take over the AFB as if the AFB annual conferences and its newsletters were all and the *headquarters* could take over and dominate the movement. They demanded we pass motions favourable to their views which they could then pass to the press and international groups as views of us all, often things introduced suddenly at conferences whence participating groups had had no time to discuss prior to sending delegates. There were some corrupt practices too. I remember one AFB conference in Liverpool where the chairman on Sunday ignored or ridiculed all those whose views

differed from his clique, and when eventually I demanded a right for others to be heard he closed the conference.

Later a quarterly newsletter was founded, intended to be produced regionally but initially from Birmingham with other groups in different parts of the country joining in later. But here the problem arose between those of us seeing the newsletter as serving the movement and those who demanded it had the correct line, their line.

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists

Eventually something very unpleasant happened. A group of comrades in York University, including a well-known comrade whom I had thought a friend and above all of this, volunteered to produce it, followed by university groups in Oxford, Cambridge and then us in London. The York newsletter was thin, Oxford skimpy and Cambridge did not come out. As we in London were producing it next I wrote to the Cambridge bloke who said he understood that the AFB had wound up; odd, considering there had been no AFB conference. I eventually got some of the files from Oxford.

What had happened was that these people, largely university students, had got together and formed a new organisation – ORA (Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists). Details were circulated with the AFB newsletter but only circulated to groups and individuals whom they felt agreed with their views, and ORA was gouged out of the AFB and the AFB was then collapsed. By the time some of us realised what was happening a year later the whole structure of the movement had changed and many of us, the original activists, were out in the cold.

I remember going to an ORA meeting in Brixton and, when they found out who I was, made it clear I was not welcome despite the fact I had never met any of them before. Only those who agreed with the, not generally published, aims and principles of ORA were welcome, despite the fact that I had never seen these, such was their secrecy.

ORA was a *revolutionary* grouping, you know the type, all spittle and no real action, feeling the right platform was all, and within eighteen months it had collapsed as they left university and got jobs. We are still here.

The realities of national anarchist organisation

The trouble with libertarian organisations, especially at the country-wide level, is that they do not include checks and balances. There are periods of enthusiasm and activity but periods of rethink and lull, and lassitude, and it is at these times the authoritarians can step in, can take over, especially if they have money, access to free paper and duplicating facilities, say in a students' union, or skills developed in printing and journalism and lots and lots of free time. It is not always students. If I want to name names I can, but naming names and blacklisting is not important here. What is important is the future and being aware.

Anarchist conferences

The idea of anarchist conferences is great. I've been advocating them for years. And when Glasgow comrades recently organised a conference, what happened? I was laid low with varicose ulcers and could not attend. But let's have more of these. But if individuals want organisational structures to produce things, publish and plan activities, then do not directly link these to the conferences. The important thing is to develop autonomous groups or contacts with people you can trust, with your mates. Formal conferences can become a rigid sham.

A conference can be a great meeting place, but if authoritarians appear demanding the passing of motions (sic) or interrupt serious discussions about things like middle class women's notions about sexist language, then conferences become a waste of time and a complete and utter bore. I am not saying others do not have the right to their views – but not to waste people's time by non-agenda

structural items at the wrong time. Feminists and their supporters must realise that not everyone accepts their ideas and are certainly not going to be rigidly bound by them. Domination is foreign to anarchist thinking. I am unwilling to travel the length of the country for such crap.

The movement's future

It was with the idea of meeting people that I recently suggested developing an anarchist motoring club. No one took me up on it. The idea was to get together socially. What about an anarchist summer camp? A summer camp, not a pop concert. Not everyone likes pop music.

So start an AFB if you want. Getting together is great. Work out joint activities. But avoid formalities unless we are talking about a system of checks and balances. And if some elder statesman of the movement turns up and tries a takeover bid, as I am told happened in Glasgow, consign their comments to the dustbin and be careful of students. Individually they are great. Collectively they are a menace. They can be so changeable – who will promise you all and yet knife you in the back a year or so later, or sooner, when they have read a few more books. And where there are federations with their own agendas – like Class War (both of them), ACF, DAM – be careful, they too might want to take you over, as will the feminists, the peaceniks and veggies and so on. Beware.

Stay loose, be flexible, think laterally, and remember the only decision-taking that matters is unanimity. What you decide must enhance you not frustrate or block you. If you believe in something which is too radical for acceptance, either lobby in advance or just beg to differ, joining in common interests, but be honest with things and how you see the world. Remember, who takes any notice of conference decisions after the conference? Only the structuralists who try and bind you with their policies which they widely publicise to improve their image outside the anarchist movement. Are we not a bit too mature for this now?

The last thing I want to do is influence you. Do your own thing and good luck. What do you mean there's no such thing as luck? Your luck is what you make it with your comrades.

Peter Neville

Malatesta on Organisation

An anarchist organisation must, in my opinion [allow for] complete autonomy, and independence, and therefore full responsibility, to individuals and groups; free agreement between those who think it useful to come together for co-operative action, for common aims; a moral duty to fulfil one's pledges and to take no action which is contrary to the accepted programme. On such bases one then introduces practical forms and the suitable instruments to give real life to the organisation. Thus the groups, the federation of groups, the federations of federations, meetings, congresses, correspondence committees and so on. But this also must be done freely, in such a way as not to restrict the thought and the initiative of individual members, but only to give greater scope to the efforts which in isolation would be impossible or ineffective. Thus for an anarchist organisation congresses, in spite of all the disadvantages from which they suffer as representative bodies . . . are free from authoritarianism in any shape or form because they do not legislate and do not impose their deliberations on others. They serve to maintain and increase personal contacts among the most active comrades, to summarise and encourage programmatic studies on the ways and means for action; to acquaint everybody with the situation in the regions and the kind of action most urgently needed; to summarise the various currents of anarchist opinions at the time and to prepare some kind of statistics therefrom. And their decisions are not binding but simply suggestions, advice and proposals to submit to all concerned, and they do not become binding and executive except for those who accept them and for as long as they accept them. The administrative organs they nominate—Correspondence Commissions, etc.—have no directive powers, do not take initiatives except for those who specifically solicit and approve of them, and have no authority to impose their own views, which they can certainly hold and propagate as groups of comrades, but which cannot be presented as the official views of the organisation. They publish the resolutions of the congresses and the opinions and proposals communicated to them by groups and individuals; and they act for those who want to make use of them, to facilitate relations between groups, and co-operation between those who are in agreement on various initiatives; each is free to correspond with whoever he likes direct, or to make use of other committees nominated by specific groupings.

In an anarchist organisation individual members can express any opinion and use every tactic which is not in contradiction with the accepted principles and does not interfere with the activities of others. In every case a particular organisation lasts so long as the reasons for union are superior

to those for dissension: otherwise it disbands and makes way for other, more homogenous groupings.

Certainly the life and permanence of an organisation is a condition for success in the long struggle before us, and besides, it is natural that every institution should by instinct aim at lasting indefinitely. But the duration of a libertarian organisation must be the result of the spiritual affinity of its members and of the adaptability of its constitution to the continually changing circumstances. When it can no longer serve a useful purpose it is better that it should die.

We would certainly be happy if we could all get along well together and unite all the forces of anarchism in a strong movement; but we do not believe in the solidity of organisations which are built up on concessions and assumptions and in which there is no real agreement and sympathy between members.

Better disunited than badly united. But we would wish that each individual joined his friends and that there should be no isolated forces, or lost forces.

It remains for us to speak of the organisation of the working masses for resistance against both the government and the employers.

. . . Workers will never be able to emancipate themselves so long as they do not find in union the moral, economic and physical strength that is needed to subdue the organised might of the oppressors.

There have been anarchists, and there are still some, who while recognising the need to organise today for propaganda and action, are hostile to all organisations which do not have anarchism as their goal or which do not follow anarchist methods of struggle. . . . To those comrades it seemed that all organised forces for an objective less than radically revolutionary, were forces that the revolution was being deprived of. It seems to us instead, and experience has surely already confirmed our view, that their approach would condemn the anarchist movement to a state of perpetual sterility. To make propaganda we must be amongst the people, and it is in the workers' associations that workers find their comrades and especially those who are most disposed to understand and accept our ideas. But even when it were possible to do as much propaganda as we wished outside the associations, this could not have a noticeable effect on the working masses. Apart from a small number of individuals more educated and capable of abstract thought and theoretical enthusiasms, the worker cannot arrive at anarchism in one leap. To become a convinced anarchist, and not in name only, he must begin

to feel the solidarity that joins him to his comrades, and to learn to co-operate with others in the defence of common interests and that, by struggling against the bosses and against the government which supports them, should realise that bosses and governments are useless parasites and that the workers could manage the domestic economy by their own efforts. And when the worker has understood this, he is an anarchist even if he does not call himself such.

Furthermore, to encourage popular organisations of all kinds is the logical consequence of our basic ideas, and should therefore be an integral part of our programme.

An authoritarian party, which aims at capturing power to impose its ideas, has an interest in the people remaining an amorphous mass, unable to act for themselves and therefore always easily dominated. And it follows, logically, that it cannot desire more than that much organisation, and of the kind it needs to attain power: Electoral organisations if it hopes to achieve it by legal means; Military organisation if it relies on violent action.

But we anarchists do not want to *emancipate* the people; we want the people to *emancipate themselves*. We do not believe in the good that comes from above and imposed by force; we want the new way of life to emerge from the body of the people and correspond to the state of their development and advance as they advance. It matters to us therefore that all interests and opinions should find their expression in a conscious organisation and should influence communal life in proportion to their importance.

We have undertaken the task of struggling against existing social organisation, and of overcoming the obstacles to the advent of a new society in which freedom and well being would be assured to everybody. To achieve this objective we organise ourselves in a party and seek to become as numerous and as strong as possible. But if it were only our party that was organised; if the workers were to remain isolated like so many units unconcerned about each other and only linked by the common chain; if we ourselves besides being organised as anarchists in a party, were not as workers organised with other workers, we could achieve nothing at all, or at most, we might be able to impose ourselves . . . and then it would not be the triumph of anarchy but our triumph. We could then go on calling ourselves anarchists, but in reality we should simply be rulers, and as impotent as all rulers are where the general good is concerned.

From Errico Malatesta, *Life and Ideas* (Freedom Press, 310 pages, £4 post-free inland, overseas add 15% postage).

Anarchist Summer School 29th to 31st May 1993

The Anarchist Summer School surpassed my expectations. There were some non-anarchists present who designate themselves as libertarian socialists. They conceded that it was one of the best organised events they had attended. One comrade of the John McLean Society wrote to me expressing his views on the 'School'. I'll take the liberty of restating his first sentence: "The 'School' was undoubtedly a great success; it was probably the best organised event I have ever been to".

It is not practical to give a comprehensive account of the 'School' since no one is ubiquitous; there were 23 workshops and seven video films in session over the period of two and a half days. I'm sure my point will be understood. However, having spoken to those comrades who are non-aligned to any group and to those who have an affiliation, the general consensus of opinion seemed to be that the event was most fruitful socially and educationally and that more similar events should be organised much more often.

Apart from the diversity of thought a significant indication to me was the refutation by some elements that anarchists do not believe in organisation. It was conspicuously there to be seen. It was well said when it was said; a fistful of practice is worth a sackful of theory.

The group who promoted the projection of the 'Summer School' should be instrumental in influencing other groups to initiate similar events. How about it, comrades? If the Summer School Promotion Group could lend any assistance, if required, I'm sure they would so do if asked. I hope some group will take the initiative soon.

At the close of the 'Summer School' an appeal was made to all groups who have an anarchist orientation to have greater cohesion

with each other. I hope this appeal does not fall on stony ground. I emphasised that I had aspirations to experience the inauguration of a new Anarchist Federation of Britain by mid 1994. I also emphasised that local and regional organisations could and should retain autonomy. Since the expiration of the 'Summer School' the promotion group have had a meeting and it seems after some discussion that our next meeting will experience a specifically anarchist group being formed. The promotion group, incidentally, were all anarchists - some members of Class War, DAM, Counter Info, Free University Network, and some non-aligned anarchists like myself were involved. I have been non-aligned since the Syndicalist Workers Federation became absorbed within the DAM (Direct Action Movement). There was no personal or theoretical reason for this, it was a phase due to objective circumstances, a transitional phase which would require a lengthy essay to explain. I shall therefore take a leap-frog and say in August 1992 a thought crossed my mind about contacting anarchists who I knew of long-standing with a view to initiating the idea of an Anarchist Summer School. Some interest was shown and a meeting was convened on 27th August 1992. An ad hoc group was formed to promote the projection of a Summer School provisionally to be in May 1993. Many meetings which were held fluctuated in attendance. Sometimes the meetings were so poorly attended that I was almost soured. However, more often than not, just as politicians and so-called professional revolutionaries mis-gauge the pulse of the great unwashed, I mis-gauged the pulse of my younger comrades. As time progressed the meetings became better attended. For some unaccountable reason to me, the group seemed

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If it ain't there yet then it will be by October 1994!

to have been injected with an imbued spirit to bring the School to its bloom. Indeed, they did just that. If the appeal to the various groups bears fruit, an anarchist movement organised locally, regionally and nationally will have arisen from its slumbers. The objective conditions are historically favourable.

It is reminiscent of the words of the French writer Victor Hugo: "There is no greater force in the world than an idea whose time has come".

Robert Lynn

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Let's face it, this one's got the fuckin' lot. If you don't do anything else for the rest of the millennium, get yer arse to this one.

Who the fuck is organising this then? Ian Bone. Yes, just me. I'm taking a year to organise it because I've got a vision of how good it could be and how it might shake things up and I don't want anyone else fucking it up!

But ... don't be put off if you think the organiser's a wanker ... you won't be the only one!

Why? Because anarchist politics is stagnant, decayed, bland, soporific and inducing only stupor rather than revolt. The lack of imagination of the anarchist groups and papers has failed to put anarchism on the agenda. This initiative will be high profile in the middle of London and genuinely open to all strands of anarchism.

Enthuse about it, tell everyone about it, take part in it, help organise one component of it, speak at it, use your paper/contacts to publicise it, dance at it, organise a counter festival to slag it off, plan to disrupt it ...

Get in touch with me on 0934 642195 or otherwise you'll be hearing from me in the near future.

Ian Bone

Dorset Diary

It should surprise none of you to learn that the biggest industry down here is tourism, with a capital 'T', and with it come all the attendant concentrations of humanity. For example, a couple of months ago it was reported that the first Sunday of the school holidays saw 100,000 on our beaches. I can't vouch for the accuracy of the figures, but they don't surprise me. And of course that's not all. Tickets for the latest Spielberg extravaganza were sold out three days in advance; hamburger queues were more ridiculously long than usual; the bus service was stretched to breaking point; the pubs were uncomfortably loud and crowded, and when

the dear old Radio One Roadshow came to town what was normally a twenty minute journey took a morning. We begin to wonder, why do people go on holiday?

Reading for a second time *Communitas* by Goodman and *The Limits of the City* by Bookchin recently, I was reminded of how both these writers extol ancient Athens (not without recognising its more unsavoury aspects). They are impressed by the community. Here's Bookchin: *The Hellenic citizen was nourished by his community like a tree by the soil. So inseparably wedded were men and society that a social sunlight permeated everything Greek.*"

The essence of the change that has occurred in what Bookchin calls the bourgeois city is also inferred in the second quote: the idea that an Englishman's home is his castle. Modern wo/man fills his/her dwelling with the trappings of Pascalian *divertissement* which entertain and amuse. By bringing into our homes the mass produced and as serial consumers of external advertising and information via the media we bring the public into the private and no longer go out the front door to find it. For eleven months of the year that is.

For when on holiday out we go. Staking out our territory by the swimming pool; sitting on the overflowing rubbish bins outside McDonalds; bouncing our volley balls off each other on the beach. Horrific as it sounds, we seem to love it. Going on holiday announces so often the chance to get back to some kind of community, however fleeting and transient, satisfy some deep urge to give

us fond memories to nurse for the rest of the year.

Here in Bournemouth it is the oft-derided foreign students who are reminding us of the way we should perhaps try to live. In November, Charminster Road, where I used to live, is dark at 11pm. A few lonely individuals with winter steam on their breath flutter up and down to the take-aways. The noisy ones coming out of the pub frighten the more worried away, police cars patrol the road where the car is king. Come August and the pubs are flowing onto the pavements, the students are having small informal parties on street corners eating and drinking together. Buskers and jugglers are trying to earn their crust, little old ladies are not frightened to walk their dogs. Cars drive slowly not knowing when a foreigner, happily looking the wrong way for cars, will step off the road in front of them.

The rooms and hotels they stay in boast the minimum they need for holiday survival. Life is out there and not in here. For many foreign students perhaps this is not so alien a concept as it is for we Brits. Athens is, of course, situated in sunnier climes and even sunny Bournemouth cannot survive the Spanish *fiesta* every day of the year. In the land of the *fiesta* so many more live in flats (often crowded) uncarpeted, with tasteful but often minimalistic furnishings. Indoors is functional, outdoors is social.

Here in the colder north, where the private so often triumphs over the public, isolation is our refuge. Again quoting Goodman: "... a bourgeois gentleman, when he is about to leave his home in the morning, kisses his wife and daughter, steps before a mirror and adjusts his tie, and then, the last thing before emerging, puts on a public face."

Neil Birrell

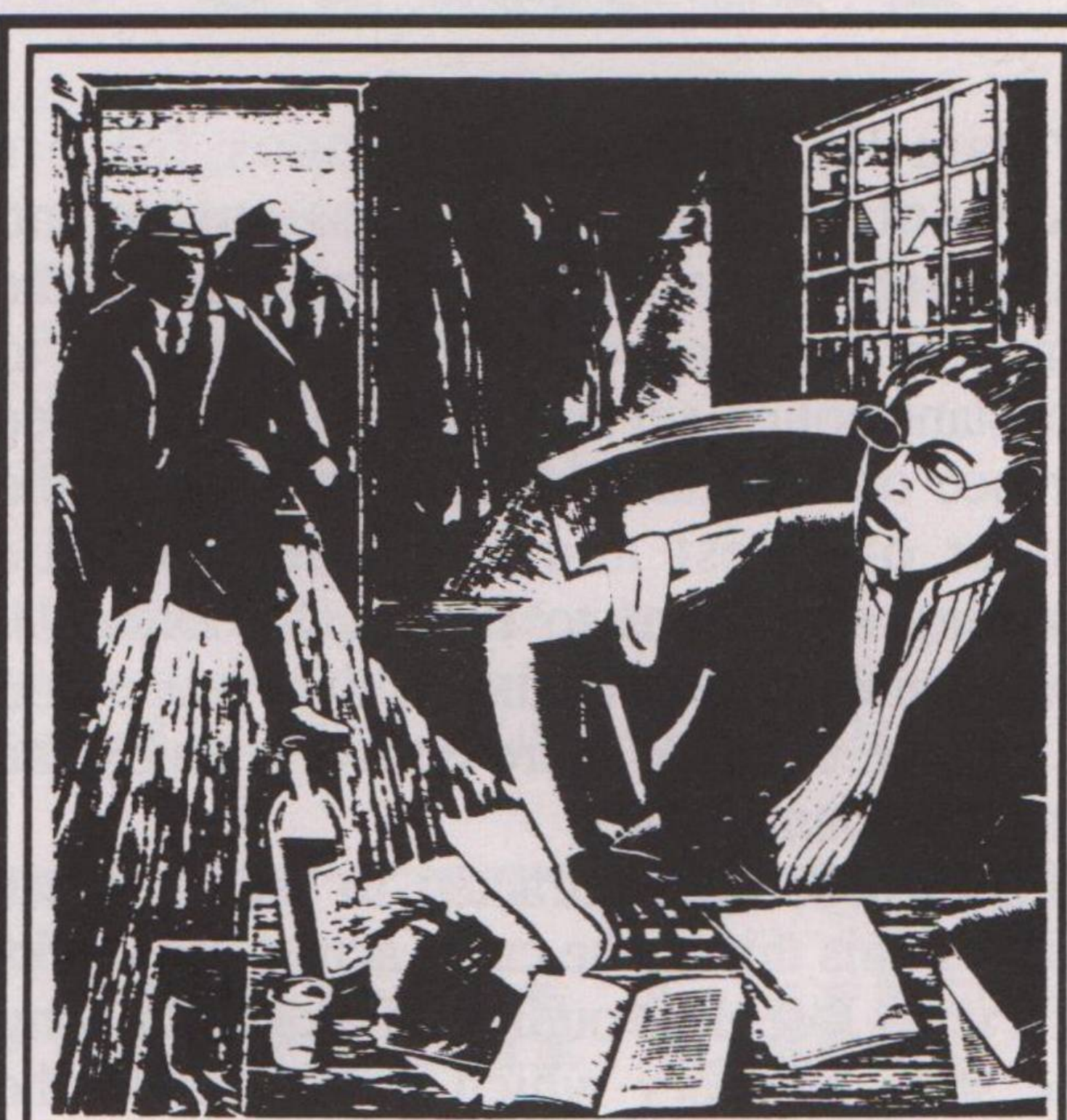
Anarchist Summer Picnic 1993

On Monday 30th August on Parliament Hill the picnic was held. The attendance, this time, was a little disappointing in spite of the venue being relatively close to public transport. Five comrades, one with a small child, appeared. The company, pleasant as it was, was overwhelmingly male.

Sadly, I feel, there does seem to be a problem of insularity with much of the anarchist movement. Many people, while happy to theorise, often seem unwilling to socialise. Perhaps it is beneath their dignity as class conscious militants?

Anyway, thanks are due to the individuals that did turn up and provided good company on this occasion.

D. Dane



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VEGETARIAN FOOD

Authoritarianism and Justice

When tyrants finally meet their demise, it is understandable that the once oppressed will seek their revenge. The tumbrils winding their way through the mob in revolutionary France, bearing the aristos to Madame Guillotine, or the red flags and firing squads of the Cheka in revolutionary Russia, quickly spring to mind. After these almost ritualistic blood-lettings, history demonstrates the remorseless tendency for the oppressed, in their turn to become the new oppressors. If this depressing cycle has not changed, at least our knowledge of it has advanced by leaps and bounds since those far-off days. The tools to stop the authoritarian cycle we have, but the will to use them seldom seem strong enough to break free and build enduring communitarian relationships. Central to this article, and following the recent fascist attacks on *Freedom*, is how we see our oppressors. Are they merely murderous criminals deserving only a justifiable death by the rope or the bullet? Radical psychology is appreciative of the burdens an oppressor carries in the form of his/her own oppression. Being less free, less able to reason, and less responsible, it is not, in my view, logical to regard them as being deserving of such a fate. If we regard society in general as being sick with authoritarianism, its tyrants must be the most deranged.

So what is it with these fascists? By way of illustrating the pressures which drive some people to these extremes, we might do worse than consider the life experiences of Hitler and Himmler, detailed studies of which are available.

Himmler's problems seem to stem from the excessive attention lavished on him by his mother, which effectively blocked the growth of his personality, and led him to be jealous of his brother's successes in both career and personal relationships with women. Himmler's pedantry and excessive orderliness were picked up from his father, a high school teacher; young Heinrich even recorded the receipt of his birthday cards with the date and

exact time – to the minute! His life was always marked by insecurity, a sense of inferiority and a feeling of lifelessness. Worrying needlessly about his health, physically awkward and clumsy, he was not a popular personality. Not surprisingly, he had difficulty with his sexual relationships, and developed an interest in pornography.

If it had not been for the appearance of the Nazis, and of course Adolf Hitler, Himmler would have probably lived out an unhappy, undistinguished but safe life as a clerk or minor official in, say, a bank or government office. But no! Drawn to Hitler by the latter's charisma, he was to gain strength from this most unsuitable father figure, while Hitler gained a loyal and trusted partner in all that was to follow. The height of Hitler's trust was to be reached in the closing stages of the Second World War, when Himmler was given command of an army group on the Eastern Front. In this, Himmler, the petty bureaucrat, was an utter failure and thoroughly deserved the contempt of those he sought to command.

As with Himmler, Hitler too had a doting mother in whose eyes he could do nothing wrong, and a rather more authoritarian father. Looked at from the standards of the time, Hitler's childhood was by no means heavily repressed, indeed it seems likely that the freedom he did receive was to become perverted. At play he was to find the space in which to develop skills in manipulating others, a tendency which his playmates went along with, and which his parents were unable to counter. Hitler certainly had the gift of the gab from very early on. Meeting failure at school, he slipped deeper in a developing world of narcissistic and rebellious fantasy.

People tend to think of dictators as being possessed of a very powerful will, an illusion they do little to dispel. In fact the opposite is usually the case, and Hitler was not an exception in this. He had little capacity for hard work; often bored, he was prone to tantrums, his frustration and anger leading him towards destructiveness. His coldness and feelings of remoteness inevitably pushed him to become, like Himmler, a loner for whom a certain route to gaining attention was to gain power over others. Eva Braun's declared willingness to die for him was the only real basis of their eventual marriage. It was said that Hitler came closest to love with his dog, Blondi, who of course was utterly obedient and completely under his control. Architecture provided his one area of genuine interest and talent, and when engrossed in discussing it he was capable of showing some real sparks of humanity. All of those shots of Hitler smiling affectionately at suitably Nordic-looking children were no more than trite propaganda.

When one steps back and surveys the lives of these two it is obvious that the last feelings they could experience were deep happiness and contentment. It is impossible to imagine either lying abandoned in the arms of a lover, or laughing helplessly about absolutely nothing at all. They clearly suffered to the point of being mentally ill. Certainly, far less unbalanced individuals have sought psychiatric help. If it were not for their suicides they would have undoubtedly have been executed, and with widespread approval.

Yet there were at that time, and still are, many thousands of others with similar personality traits. If Hitler and Himmler had not lived, it is likely that others of the same ilk would have exploited the prevailing social conditions (loss of national esteem, racism, unemployment, inflation) in much the same way – the gullible would have followed just the same. At the root lies the problem of the breakdown of community and the hierarchical social relationships which spawn tyrants of all political colours. Merely exacting revenge on fallen tyrants, whether given the 'legitimacy' of a trial or not, changes nothing fundamental, merely encouraging the victors to believe that their actions have been vindicated and brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The behaviour of tyrants can never be acceptable, but an understanding of the well springs of authoritarianism ought to make it possible to consider them in a humanitarian way, to regard them as unfortunates who desperately need to be integrated within a cohesive community. Lacking such a community, anarchists seek to bring one about, but breaking the self-perpetuating authoritarian cycle throughout society is an appallingly difficult problem. As a practical gesture in this direction, *Freedom's* offer to print the opinions of our latter-day fascists was a courageous and thoroughly commendable action. One can imagine the Trots, placed in a similar position, gritting their teeth and vowing that 'come the revolution, we'll put the bastards up against the wall'. There lies the crux of the problem of authoritarianism in its most extreme form. Anarchists oppose the death penalty when implemented by the state, and therefore cannot claim that it has any place in libertarian culture, regardless of how it may be dressed up as 'revolutionary justice'.

John Griffin

References

Erich Fromm, *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness*, 1973.

Pissarro's Anarchism

Camille Pissarro is famous for his contributions to Impressionism and Pointillism. It is well known, however, that he was a lifelong anarchist who was subject to constant police surveillance and had to flee France on several occasions because of the threat of arrest and imprisonment. His painting excursions to Britain, for example, were more likely to be the result of repression in France than the mere desire to enjoy the English countryside.

Pissarro became attracted to radical ideas when in his thirties he came across the works of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Later, following the state butchery which accompanied the Paris Commune, his ideas became revolutionary. He became an anarchist-communist under the influence of Peter Kropotkin.

Incidentally, in the 1880s Pissarro was just one of a group of avant garde artists who took up the anarchist-communist cause. Others included Seurat, Signac, Luce, Angrand van Rysselberghe and Cross.

Pissarro remained committed to anarchism up to his death in 1903. What were the features of his anarchist-communism and how were they expressed? He had a deep and passionate hatred of capitalism, the way that it drives people into poverty and despair and how it corrupts every human relationship. As an artist he was obliged as a 'proletarian without overalls' to sell his work through middlemen in a system of art-capitalism which was as rotten then as it is now. The goal of his art, he once wrote, was to create "works of art full of sensation, wholly uncommercial, satisfactory to both artist and collector".

He had no faith in the so-called democratic systems of government. "Democracy", he

argued, "is just a cleverer way than dictatorship in its cynical manipulation of the exploited masses who have no genuine voice in running society's affairs". Speaking of recent elections in Britain, he wrote: "It matters little to people who work hard and are dying of hunger ... You should know ... that the best way of being free is not to delegate any of your powers". "Universal suffrage", he argued, is the "instrument of domination of the capitalist bourgeoisie ... It serves only the big shots effectively ... It must disappear ... this will be the general outcry as well for the expropriation of capital".

Like all anarchist-communists Pissarro opposed all forms of oppression, including those of religion, colonialism and racism. He took up the fight as best he could, sometimes in his art and also in financial support (when he could afford to) for anarchist victims of state brutality. A series of lithographs executed in 1896 show a clear concern for the downtrodden. Their subjects include a group of work-wearied women burdened with loads of wood, and another entitled 'The Homeless' portrays a dejected family group trudging the roads in an atmosphere of despair. A number of drawings known as the 'Turpitudes Sociales' of 1889 depict the harrowing poverty of working people contrasted to the comfortable smugness of the operators of the Parisian Stock Exchange. The solution indicated, correctly enough, is revolution.

Pissarro never lost sight of the anarchist future. To him, a world without the state and capitalism, built upon communities of free equal human beings, was a goal worth fighting for. He is turning in his grave.

Food for Thought ... and Action!

Additions to Freedom Press Bookshop stock.

Preparedness: the road to universal slaughter / The Individual Society and the State by Emma Goldman, A.J. Muste Memorial Institute, Essay Series No. 5. In the first of these reprinted articles, Goldman launches a passionate denunciation of the First World war and the attitudes that led to it, and calls for the destruction of its causes: capitalism and the state. The second essay attacks the whole concept of the state, describing it as "the shadow of man's ignorance and fear", instead of emphasising the importance of the individual, the true basis of society. *Preparedness* first appeared in *Mother Earth* magazine in December 1915, and in many places could be read as a critique of the current war in Bosnia. There are no further publishing details but it's a smartly produced pamphlet. 27 pages, £1.50.

The Morality of Scientific Technology / The Psychology of Being Powerless by Paul Goodman, No. 10 in the same series, and the same good quality reprint, though again scant publishing information. However a preface, dated 1966, tells us that both essays come from *Like a Conquered Province: the moral ambiguity of America* (no date). Both are excellent and would make good companions for Mumford's *The Future of Technics and Civilisation** (Freedom Press, £3.50). 39 pages, £1.50.

Queer with Class: the first book of Homocult, M, Ed Promotions. A collection of graphics and graffiti from the Manchester Homocult group, these aggressive manifestos and provocative collages set out to do one thing: offend. Well, they've certainly succeeded in the case of left-wing and gay and lesbian bookshops, many of which have refused to stock it on the grounds that it's not politically correct. I suppose it's best described as a sort of *Class War* for gays and lesbians. One page taken at random reads: "Open your mouth, arse, cunt, mind, dick, body, let your

juices flow and fuck the rich!" Another reads: "Give us your children – what we can't fuck we eat". Forget words like weird, awful and disgusting – this book will offend everybody. Approx 50 pages, large format, £5.95.

Thanks to the generosity of one of our subscribers who has sent us a box of the three pamphlets he has written, we are able to augment the receipts to our Damage Repair Fund. Derrick Pike is also allowing us to distribute them in future, so these titles (below, including his new one) are now available post-free, and should be put in Section 1 on your Freedom Press pamphlet list:

*Anarcho-Pacifism: questions and answers** The answers comprise the main arguments for anarchism and pacifism. 63 pages, £2.25.

*Creating Peaceful People** Shows how people's faith in the state can be destroyed, and how social issues can be discussed effectively. "It will be of value to anyone who wants to build a just and peaceful society". 98 pages, £2.95.

*Thoughts of an Anarcho-Pacifist** Written as a follow-up to *Anarcho-Pacifism*, this one reinforces and extends the arguments in the form of articles both new and previously published (in *Freedom* and *The Pacifist*) in favour of a peaceful anarchist society (no need to have read *Anarcho-Pacifism* previously). 60 pages, £2.95.

Other news:

The good response to our August and September special offers (up to 20% off certain Black Rose titles) has encouraged us to continue it until the Anarchist Bookfair. Be there or be square!

A Girl Among the Anarchists (Meredith) has gone up to £9.50.

KM

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Cadogan replies to critics

Dear Editors,
Back in June 1987 I came to the conclusion, at the height of the Thatcher era, that not only had centralised government and party politics failed but that this was personal, i.e. the individual had either to quit or throw his hat in the ring. Most people quit and today's political desert is the result.

My hat went in. I opened a box-file inscribed EPD (Extra-Parliamentary Democracy) and as a social inventor proceeded in the good company of the few to co-invent The Anglo-Afghan Circle, The Blake Reading Group, The Blake Society (reconstituted), The NI Project of the Gandhi Foundation, the NI Working Group of the National Peace Council, New Consensus (Great Britain) and V&V (Values and Vision). Further I looked around to see what might usefully be done in the peace movement, the Green movement and how I might contribute to the pages of *Freedom*, *The Raven*, *Green Line* et al. It all went well. The failures to date include Bosnia and the political future of London as a unit of local government – but even there there are now flickers of hope.

If we start with the small, and a new depth of understanding, it is possible to build indestructible foundations and that is what we need. If we get it right then appropriate scale will be forthcoming in due course.

Since politically, financially and militarily we face all-round collapse, we have to be polymaths and take on a great variety of challenges as they arise, coming up with positive answers, *not protest*, in each case.

The interesting contrast is with my three critics – all entirely negative:

1. John Papworth: Fittingly, as the Assistant Vicar of St Marks, St Johns Wood, he needs a devil and he has invented one in the form of the EC, or as he calls it, the Common Markup. For some years now he has thought, talked and written about almost nothing else. I only hope he can sleep at night! Not

being a diabolist all I can offer is my sympathy. The case for a Europe of the Regions is lost on him. He has long stopped listening.

2. Donald Room: Nigeria is not an African country. It was put together by Lord Lugard before World War One for military reasons – the Germans on the one side in the Kameruns and the French on the other in Dahomey and French West Africa. It contains at least 60 different languages and cultures. It is totally unworkable. When the Ibos and others of the Eastern region were offered education by the British they took it with both hands and became the most educated people in Africa. But to use their skills they had to spread over all Nigeria where they picked up a quite disproportionate number of the best jobs and incurred vast hostility. In 1967 the Hausa, Fulani and others turned on them. They were massacred on the streets, at railway stations and airports. They had to abandon everything and make a dash for home where they declared their independence as Biafra. They were starved out with the active help of British and Soviet governments. The British provided their military advisers and every round of the millions fired against them. The Russians provided and trained the Nigerian Air Force. It was brutal imperial carve-up and about a million innocent people died. I was there and took part in the evacuation of Aba, having previously launched 'The Save Biafra Campaign' in London. Our present political decay can be dated from Harold Wilson's capitulation before Smith in Rhodesia, Gowon in Nigeria in 1968 and Paisley in Northern Ireland in 1974. This infamy was shared with and partly inspired by the Foreign Office and the MoD.

3. Máirtín O Catháin: He dots every 'i' and crosses every 't' in the philosophy and programme of Sinn Fein and the IRA. Over 3,000 people have died and he is a confessed accomplice after the fact. His history is as bad as his values are

cruel. The essence of the trouble lay, and remains, in what happened in the years 1969 to 1972.

The IRA dissolved all its military units and buried its arms and ammunition in 1962. The UVF, created in 1966, started the terror. NICRA, the civil rights movement, got under way in 1967/8. Protestant bigots, actively or passively supported by the RUC and the B Specials, physically attacked the Catholic community and the British Army was sent in in August 1969 to defend them in Belfast and to back the police in Derry.

Then came the disaster. *The British Army was left under the political direction of Stormont*. Under the conditions of curfew, internment, Bloody Sunday, harassment on the streets and the savage house searches of the homes of the innocent, nationalists of Northern Ireland were driven into the arms of the IRA recreated as the Provos in 1969. When Heath imposed direct rule in 1972 it was three years too late.

The answer lies in two things: 1) bringing in the EC under the heading of subsidiarity and a Europe of the Regions on the lines that have been worked out over Gibraltar, to provide the indispensable catalyst in the constitutional talks, and 2) at the same time get unilateral action from the IRA or the Army, one to cease fire and the other to withdraw from the streets. This has already been proposed by the Secretary of State in his Coleraine speech last December. The two things have to go together as a package.

The immediate need is for Norwegian-type back-channelling. With imagination, goodwill and public pressure, a peaceful settlement acceptable to all sides is possible within four years. The presence of the Army will then be pointless and it can come home. This prospect, of course, pulls the rug from under the IRA's fanatical wing. So be it.

Peter Cadogan

Peters put in their place

Dear *Freedom*,
Donald Room's letter (18th September) contains a reference to the Committee of 100 which should be corrected. He says that in 1968 Peter Cadogan had the title of "Secretary of the Committee of 100", although "the Committee of 100 had disbanded before he was appointed". This is quite wrong. The facts are as follows.

The Committee of 100 was formed in autumn 1960 to organise civil disobedience demonstrations against nuclear weapons with the support of a hundred well-known people. (In fact it never obtained so many well-known people, and unknown people were added to make up the magic number.) The original Committee consisted of individual members from all over the country, held meetings in London, and had paid staff and a permanent office in London.

The great success of its first demonstrations led to the formation of or pressure for local Committees in several parts of the country during autumn and winter 1961. The structure of the organisation was therefore changed, and in spring 1962 the original Committee was replaced by a dozen regional Committees and also a few specialist Committees – International, Industrial, Legal, Welfare, etc. Each Regional Committee consisted of individual members and held meetings in its own area. The largest was the London Committee of 100, which was the only one to have paid staff and its own permanent office, and which absorbed most of the members of the original Committee. To co-ordinate the whole organisation there was a National Committee of 100, which consisted of representatives of the Regional Committees, held meetings in various parts of the country, and had its own paid staff and the original permanent office in London.

Peter Cadogan, who was the founding secretary of the East Anglian Committee (and the International Committee) in 1961, was appointed Secretary of the National Committee of 100 in 1965. The organisation was still in existence, but in decline, and during the next few years the various Regional Committees were all dissolved – the London Committee in spring 1968. The National Committee of 100 was therefore dissolved in autumn 1968, by Peter Cadogan himself.

I was a founding member of the Committee of 100 and the London Committee of 100, a representative of the latter on the National Committee of 100, and a member of several associated bodies. I have worked with Peter Cadogan in several organisations over many years, sometimes very closely, and disagreed with him on several issues over more years, sometimes very strongly, but I must put the record straight about his involvement in the Committee of 100.

The chronology of Peter Neville's account of the London Anarchist Forum at the Mary Ward Centre (21st August) also needs to be corrected. He says that it grew out of the series of lecture/discussions started by myself "ten years ago", when many attenders wanted to continue the discussions, and that it has been meeting for "some eight years". The process was earlier and shorter than he suggests. The first series of lectures was held from 14th February to 21st March 1983, and the first series of discussion meetings was held from 18th April to 23rd May 1983.

Nicolas Walter

March Against Militarism

Dear *Freedom*,

In reply to Adrian Janes letter (18th September 1993) about the Anarchist Communist Federation's urging of attendance at the March Against Militarism followed by an attendance of only half a dozen, we would like to clarify matters.

We sent out letters to about forty libertarian organisations and groups, we received only one reply from the Subversion comrades in Manchester, who said that they would send two members if there was a favourable response. At the meeting itself, only ACF members were present. Faced with the complete lack of interest in the broader libertarian movement, we decided not to mobilise for the march.

Ron Allen
Anarchist Communist Federation
(London)

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An alternative sort of freedom

Dear *Freedom*,
In reply to Dave Bird's comments (21st August 1993) on my letter regarding freedom I would like to make several points. Firstly I did not agree with George Walford's proposition only to then effectively refute it. I agreed with George's conclusion that interference will occur but whilst he saw this as a dilemma I felt it was necessary as some freedoms are about greed and oppression and ought to be interfered with. Dave then accuses me of hanging my whole argument on the idea of morality which is 'rash' in its assumption that we all have the same morality. However, aware of the complexity of the issue and differences of opinion there can be I wrote "obviously there will be argument as to what is right and wrong", "a consensus about what it moral won't always be easy to arrive at", and in the last paragraph I pointed out we can question many points such as "What is morality?" So no, I did not make a 'rash' assumption, as is clear from what I actually wrote. What I wanted to do was point to morality as a starting place for understanding how people ought to interact, with consideration for others and awareness of consequences of our actions. This was an assumption to an extent in that I hoped most readers would, being against capitalism and power, have similar moral values. Perhaps I should have stated this. As for Dave's criticism that I did not define morality, it was not my intention to sum up the whole issue of freedom and of morals, pointing to the continual need for discussion to come to greater understanding of problems and ideas for through this process we can learn more and reflect on what we already believe.

It was not an attempt to define ethics in one fell swoop, rather a contribution, for better or worse, to an ongoing important debate.

(It could be asked what Dave means when he talks of action that 'improperly' restricts others' freedoms, and "there is no right to exploit". At what point is restriction improper, and what are 'rights'? Do you assume we all have a common understanding of rights? And what is 'selfhood', a word used without explanation?)

Also point out that from my reading George did not base his proposition on absolute rights being about particular objects as Dave says, clearly it was about the right to act and how we interact and objects were simply an example. Perhaps George will reply to this point.

Despite calling my approach nonsense Dave goes on to say "There is no right to exploit or oppress" whilst I said exploitation is immoral and should not be tolerated. He put it in terms of 'rights', I in terms of 'morality'. Aren't we then on the same ground!? If I'm talking

'nonsense' as he put it, then by default so too is Dave himself. I do not see what is to be gained by dismissing ideas out of hand, by being negative as I see it, only to then express similar ideas.

Ian Borrowes

Positively the last word?

Dear *Freedom*,
George Walford originally said that "rights/freedoms which do not infringe on the freedoms of others" is a worthless idea because no such rights/freedoms exist. My letter original shows how, except in the most trivial and inane cases – we cannot both eat the whole of the same apple – his assertion is untrue, and that such an idea is both worthwhile and essential in social affairs. I did indeed distinguish those actions we defend which *morally ought* to be possible, among all the other equally available actions which *factually are* possible – call them 'rights' rather than 'freedoms' if you wish – but I did not say they were more distant possibilities. The distinction is *negatively* the very formula he denies, or *positively* that you have a right to a say in things to the extent they significantly affect you; in the particular case of owning goods this becomes usufruct [the moral choice used can only be an imported axiom or instinctive judgement, but the one chosen is surely that which all fair-minded people would instinctively accept]. Clearly George has either not read or not understood my letter: anyone still in doubt should just re-read the two viewpoints and make up their own mind.

Dave



*Please
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in your
letters and
donations*

HISTORY WORKSHOP 27

This year's History Workshop is to be held at **Leeds Metropolitan University** (Beckett Park site, Headingley) on **19th to 21st November**. The general theme is 'Nationalism and Regionalism' and this will be addressed by all the contributors in the now obligatory anarchism strand:

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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 Room)

29th October - Discussion on Anarchism and Responsibility

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

12th November - General discussion on Anarchist Economics

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* * *

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