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"The sole legitimate purpose of society is to serve the needs and advance the aspirations of the individual."
Emma Goldman

NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION TO UNEMPLOYMENT

All the political parties at the Annual jamborees stressed that they were concerned with achieving full employment. The Opposition parties glibly talk of a massive industrial investment. The Tory government simply relies on going on repeating that the recession is over and we are now on the 'prosperity road'. Unfortunately, for these slogans wouldn't even fool an idiot, they now have to blame the recession on Europe where more than half our exports find their way. The latest problem, according to the government, is that Britain, which was the first of the Common Market countries to plunge into recession, is now recovering but 'unfortunately' recovery which depends on exports has been set back by the 'recession' in Europe. This is all nonsense and the media are part of the government/capitalist conspiracy. We will try to prove our point.

The official view is that the end of the (capitalist) recession in Britain has now been halted. The official argument is that the recession in Great Britain started some time

in this issue

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**NOAM CHOMSKY
INTERVIEW**

—
**YELTSIN OUTLAWS
ANARCHISTS**

before that in Europe. In Britain we also had, willy-nilly, a devaluation of the pound sterling. In other words, the ideal situation for exports to our partners/competitors* on the other side of the Channel.

Freedom readers should not need us to underline the contradiction. The government is now blaming the ever-increasing balance of payments (exports-imports) on the recent recession on the continent. But what they don't say is that since the 'Black Wednesday' of September a year ago

* Depending on how you look upon your cross-Channel neighbours!

when also 'our' European partners/competitors were living it up, and the pound sterling allegedly was 20% down, imports were still ruling the roost.

The government has no intention, let alone a programme, to deal with unemployment. After all, so long as it looks after the military and, as it has just done, supplies a £200 million order for ammunition; and if it can find next month more money for law and order – that is the police, our corrupt police – it has all the *protection* on which governments, whether they are autocratic or call themselves democratic, depend.

But what *are* they going to do, or *can* they do, to solve the problem of mass unemployment in this country and the other eleven of the so-called European Community? Neither the government nor the Labour or Liberal opposition have a practical solution. There is only one solution to the so-called crisis: *the redistribution of wealth* – a society in which no individual exploits the labour of another. For such a future, the rich and the stinking rich must be dispossessed. That is the first priority intellectually and practically.

Work – that is the production of the goods and services that contribute to a civilised life for *all* members of the community – is part of the life of all able members of our community or society. And in such a society of equals few, we imagine, would not be happy to make their contribution to the commonweal.

What is happening today in the capitalist society is that a growing minority of able-bodied, qualified people are unable to secure employment with or without qualifications. Apart from certain trades and professions, obviously their services are not required. So any society, other than a capitalist one, would welcome these recruits by organising work-sharing schemes. How much more exciting life could be made with more leisure for all to dispose of.

'PLOUGHSHARES' ACTIVIST RELEASED

Chris Cole, the Christian anarchist who hammered on British Aerospace military equipment in January, was released from prison on 19th October.

At his trial on Tuesday 12th October, Chris's moving testimony, combined with unusually fair directions to the jury from the High Court Judge Sir Stephen Sedley, meant that the jury was unable to agree. The majority were apparently for conviction, but at least three favoured a 'Not Guilty' verdict.

At his second trial on Tuesday 19th October, before the same judge in the same court at St Albans, a new jury unanimously found Chris guilty of

criminal damage. He was sentenced to eight months imprisonment, and since he had already spent five months in custody awaiting trial, the sentence amounted to his immediate release.

On 6th January, Chris entered the British Aerospace (BAe) factory in Stevenage and used a household hammer to disarm nosecones for Hawk, Eurofighter 2000 and Tornado military aircraft, as well as other equipment. He also poured his blood on planning documents and computers and sprayed messages: 'Think of the children', 'BAe kills' and 'Love not Hawk'. Chris is now charged

(continued on page 2)

Looking backwards – or forwards?

Last year, a statue was unveiled in London to Sir Arthur 'Bomber' Harris. This action aroused great controversy, since Harris was the man who masterminded the saturation bombing raids on Germany in the Second World War.

Protest came not only from the British peace movement but also from the mayors of several German cities, understandably upset at this glorification of a man whose policies had caused such death and destruction. The Mayor of Cologne, Norbert Burger, was particularly moved at the insensitivity of the statue being unveiled on the 50th anniversary of the bombing of Cologne: the first of the thousand-bomber raids, which devastated the city and killed or maimed thousands of civilians.

The controversy aroused by the 'Bomber' Harris statue was a reminder of the similar controversy that recurs every year when the Peace Pledge Union offers white poppies for people to wear on Remembrance Sunday. The white poppy has now been used as a peace symbol for sixty years – since 1933 – but is still attacked by the British Legion, which wants everyone to remember with red poppies – and with the sort of ceremonial that the Legion is accustomed to.

However, many of us are dissatisfied with the traditional sort of remembrance ceremonies which the British Legion encourages: with uniformed soldiers marching and saluting, and with military bands playing. We are also unhappy with the narrowness of conventional remembrance, which concentrates on the war dead from our own country. We should remember the war

victims from all countries – and those who were maimed or bereaved by war. We must also remember those displaced by warfare – as so tragically at the moment in former-Yugoslavia. Refugees are most often the result of wars.

Above all, current forms of remembrance too often suggest that we are ready to commit the same mistakes as in the past. Many remembrance ceremonies say 'Never again!' while showing, in their militaristic trappings, that the participants are prepared to engage in future wars. We should surely be looking forward to new ways of solving conflicts, and a break with the militarism of the past.

We have to remember those who died and suffered in past wars – but we must use this remembrance as a lesson for the future. Those who do not learn from history are fated to repeat its mistakes. The white poppy is a symbol that we intend to work for future peace

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'PLOUGHSHARES' ACTIVIST RELEASED

(continued from page 1)
 with £90,000 worth of damage (initially estimated at £475,000).

Chris's case was that he was acting to prevent crimes, one crime being 'conspiracy to murder' – British Aerospace is exporting 24 Hawk military aircraft to Indonesia, where they will almost certainly be used against the people of East Timor. Indonesia has illegally occupied East Timor since 1975, at the cost of over 200,000 lives out of a pre-invasion population of 680,000. This is the worst massacre relative to population since the holocaust. Chris's judge, Justice Sedley, remarked that this situation could well amount to genocide, and pointed out to the jury that the Genocide Act was part of British as well as international law (Chris had not referred to the Genocide Act at all). Sedley also told the jury that "Silence itself can be a crime – the history of this century has

taught us this if nothing else".

Peter Carey, a South East Asia specialist from Oxford University, and Paul Rogers, professor of Conflict Analysis at Bradford University, were present in Luton to give expert testimony about East Timor and about BAe's weaponry, but the judge ruled that their evidence was unnecessary.

There have been around fifty 'Ploughshares' actions since 1980, taking their name from the Biblical injunction to "hammer swords into ploughshares". Chris linked his action to the Christian feast of Epiphany in 6th January when three wise men are supposed to have given gifts to Jesus. Chris describes his action as a "gift of disarmament" to all children and adults at risk of death and injury from BAe-produced products.

BAe Ploughshares
 c/o NRVN, 162 Holloway Road,
 London N7. Contact 0865 201687

– and cease to perpetuate the old hatreds.

In reporting the unveiling of the 'Bomber' Harris statue, the German newspaper *Die Welt* noted that some of the crowd sang "For he's a jolly good fellow" in praise of Harris. How would we feel in Britain if we read that Germans were singing that Goering was "a jolly good fellow"?

Contrast this backward-looking attitude with the stance taken by the Mayor of Cologne. Writing to thank the Peace Pledge Union for organising a protest at the Harris statue, Norbert Burger said: "It is my self-evident duty to remember all victims, including the victims of Nazi terror-bombing in Britain. My message for you must be reconciliation and friendship."

Tony Augarde

White poppies are available from the Freedom Bookshop at 50p each (post free if ordered with other stuff by post, add 18p if ordering singly). For resale, order from the PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DX, at £10 for 25 or £30 for 100, cash with order please.

Red Rambles

Little did I realise when 'Red Rambles' first started that not only were we continuing in the tradition of the 1930s Ramblers, those individuals and people from various workers' organisations in Manchester and Sheffield¹ who came out to walk in the Peak District, seeking the ancient right of 'air and exercise', but that we were also reviving a method of organisation used by the CNT and FAI in Spain during the 1930s.

The Spanish Anarchists used 'excursionism' as a means to develop their strength among the workers of Catalonia. The CNT and FAI organised numerous events which included hiking expeditions to areas outside Barcelona, as well as cultural events and sporting activities.² These events helped develop links between activists and people from areas of Barcelona such as the Barri Xeno. Such events must have contributed significantly to the strength of relationships between individual anarchists. The Spanish movement is well known for its 'affinity groups', a mode of organisation between anarchists based on personal relationships as well as ideology. The Spanish ruling class certainly feared the development of an 'alternative culture' and frequently condemned 'excursionism' in lurid terms in their Conservative publications.

Such social activity and events remain important now in building face to face relationships, knowledge and trust between us all, so that when we meet at conferences, events, etc., we meet as comrades and friends rather than as strangers. There should be more regular events and meetings established with this aim in mind. Such links are vital if we are to build a confident, outward-looking

1. The Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, et al.
 2. 'Crime and Punishment in 1930s Barcelona' in *History Today*, October 1993.

OUR 'GOOD NEWS' COLUMN

Way back in August the *Guardian* produced a feature about a painter now in his 85th year about whom we know nothing. Tom Sharratt described Theodore Major (*Guardian*, 21st August) as "one of the first British artists of the century". He was, at the last moment, spared a prison sentence for refusing to pay a poll tax bill of £1,900. Once again the law in the first place was an ass because he had paid in full for the house he lives in but not the second house in which he stores all his paintings – that was the house next door which he bought 16 years ago to "store his paintings in and show them to anyone who called. In that house there were 3,000 paintings which, in spite of his reputation, he refused to sell. John Berger, the well known and some might say equally eccentric art critic, has described Theodore Major's work as "among the best English paintings of our time".

When the bailiffs called and failed to seize goods in lieu of payment – Mr Major told the bailiff to go and jump in the canal – the council applied to have this 85 year old artist committed to prison.

Apart from Theodore Major's opposition to the attempting bulldozing by the council being part of our 'Good News' column, we must include the human reaction of the magistrates: having heard that he had no savings and lived on a state pension of £56 a week, they thought that in view of his age, health and income "it would be unjust to send him to prison and the arrears would be remitted so he would have nothing to pay". Good for the magistrates. But our 'star' is old Theodore. When asked whether it was possible to sell some of his paintings to pay these arrears, he replied:

"Not to the people who want them, the rich people. I painted these pictures for ordinary people to see, and they do come.

I never paint for money – I never have. I am an artist and I paint for people, especially children."

What pleased us almost as much as Theodore's plea for art for art's sake was the press reporting that the two magistrates, after their decision, "Shook Mr Major's hand and wished him good health". And we say 'good health' to those two chaps as well as to Theodore!

anarchist movement, able and willing to discuss the continuing relevance of anarchist ideas and life at the end of the twentieth century. Events such as the London Anarchist Forum, Ian Bone's proposed ten day festival (see *Freedom*, 2nd October), give anarchists the chance to meet and discuss topics of mutual interest. Let there be more of these events, supported by those of us with the time and resources.

JPS



Woodbridge, Suffolk, appears insulated from the societal decay evident elsewhere. It wins the *Britain in Bloom* competition. The police station shuts down at night. In many ways the town is oblivious of the reality of today's Britain. Until last year even the *Guardian* reading wine bar proprietor maintained that everybody in work was doing better, while the dangers of Sizewell seemed blocked off from resident consciousness. Traditional Tory values combined lethally with imported Essex attitudes to create a massively increased majority for John Selwyn Gummer at the last election. "I like coming to Woodbridge" he told the local Conservative agent during a bout of bad publicity at national level, "I feel safe here."

Perhaps it was the intrusion on that feeling of safety which prompted his metamorphosis into a fair imitation of Violet Elizabeth Bott in the Salvation Army Hall last week. On a walk about the town centre he wandered into the hall where the Library was selling off rejects. The lady behind the counter helpfully proffered biographies of Jo Grimond and Margaret Thatcher: "No thank you I'm trying to avoid both of those for different reasons" said John Selwyn Gummer, still in his smarmy mode.

Now I dread public conflict nowadays. I haven't the mental speed of my Hyde Park days when I was learning public speaking at the feet of Philip Sansom and Bonar Thompson. At that moment though inherent bad taste and the effects of a wine bar visit got the better of me. I remarked amiably that he'd sucked up to her for long enough. "Anyway"

Gummer does his pieces how I met my constituency MP in the Salvation Army

I added, "you'll be putting VAT on books next month", and being outnumbered (Gummer is always accompanied in Woodbridge by a Praetorian Guard of three or four fearsome local Tory ladies) I walked away.

The next few minutes were astonishing, and on reflection (this being one of our elected leaders) a little frightening. The weak smirk that is Gummer's Woodbridge face vanished and he charged across the hall grabbing my sleeve and gabbling. "What would you do then. What would you put VAT on to balance the books? People like you always criticise but you've no ideas. You only know how to be unpleasant. Most people agree with us."

Startled I tried to explain that I wouldn't put VAT on anything, that I'd reverse the tax and welfare changes of the last fifteen years, that I'd stop creating unemployment and homelessness as a matter of policy (It hardly seemed the moment for a disquisition on the virtues of Kropotkin's vision) ...

I tried. I didn't succeed. Gummer gabbled on "we have to VAT books, everybody else does ... we've the best record on the homeless in Europe ... the poor are better off than ever before ..." Trying to stem the torrent of dubious clichés I told him my figures came

from Ian Gilmour whom I'd always believed to be a respected Conservative ... even though he paid for his own garden ...

He actually danced up and down. "You're horrible" he squeaked, "You're a nasty rude man". The resemblance to Violet Elizabeth Bott intensified as he shrieked over and over "A nasty person. A nasty person. Don't know what you are doing in Woodbridge. You're a horrible man."

I walked off and as his escort took him to the door he turned and shouted across the hall "Thank God we don't have many like you in Woodbridge".

The shopping ladies of Woodbridge looked bemused. I felt shaken rather than stirred. This man was representing me. I might prefer being consulted to being represented but like it or not this was my constituency MP. A senior figure in government behaving like a bad tempered child because someone disagrees with him. A long term politician who cannot cope with some mild dissent and an obvious jibe. A minister in charge of a Department who hisses with rage because he is quoted figures originating with a member of his own party. This government had obviously been in power so long that any opposition had become

incomprehensible. It was somehow more alarming than the daily evidence of uncaring incompetence found every day in the broad sheets. I reflected on Alex Comfort's statement that whatever our views on elections we are not immune to their effects. The case for voting Liberal Democrat at the next election seemed suddenly, if temporarily, overwhelming. This schmuck was Minister for the Environment - he was taking decisions that affected our lives, our very prospect of living at all. Yet he couldn't talk to a mildly demurring pensioner without a total loss of self control. Even the blue rinsed regiments of Woodbridge deserved better than this. All governments may be the same but one with this oaf had special problems.

I went back to pick up my books. One was called *Nobody Hurt in Small Earthquake* which seemed appropriate. "The only man I've ever met with an Achilles head" I told my partner, a sedate grey haired lady who assumes native dress (unseen in the rest of Britain since the '30s) and blends in with landscape. She handed me a volume of Kipling with the end of *Paget M.P.* underlined.

"... the sneers of the travelled idiots, who duly misgovern the land
And I prayed to the Lord to deliver another one into my hand."

I wish I'd remembered his Norwegian counterpart's opinion of him though.*

John Pilgrim

* The Norwegian Minister for the environment referred to Gummer as a shithead, according to the *Guardian*.

Dorset Diary

Two of the local rags were carrying seemingly unrelated headlines a while ago. The North Dorset edition of the *Western Gazette* treated us to 'Figures Reveal Jobless Horror', whilst in the *Evening Echo* we could indulge in 'Schoolgirls Drug Shock'.

On the employment front we learnt that North Dorset had the highest youth unemployment rate in the country, and on the other front that Mrs Orchard, headmistress of Glenmoor School (all girls and highly popular locally), had discovered a weakness in her PSE programme when it was revealed that some of her fourth formers (sorry, year tenners) had been doing some acid, noted by some perspicacious teacher after hysterical giggling sessions during the chemistry lesson.

Well of course drugs are all very topical right now. Duncan Campbell in the papers reporting that virtually all the under-25s in a recent survey in the capital had tried drugs, other reports claiming a national figure of 50%, Labour MPs like Tony Banks calling for cannabis to be legalised ... it's all very 'flavour of the month'. The next thing will be the return of the 'Smokey Bears' to Hyde Park.

Meanwhile the response to the poor employment figures from the local MP was swift and authoritative: "It is vital that youngsters receive training and gain confidence within a business situation ..." etc., etc., yawn, yawn. Various local career people hastened to reassure us that the rise was not as 'dramatic' as it may have seemed and that 'youth training' would come to each individual's rescue.

The *Echo*, however, continued its revelations of youth deviancy by naming half a dozen other reputable establishments, private and public, where last year had seen a 'drug problem' and where pupils couldn't even wait until the end of European Drug Awareness Week before they got themselves suspended.

Yes, the schools recently have been pumping out much anti-drug literature. Poole Technical High (which in itself sounds like a difficult way to take heroin) had, until quite recently, a complete stall with which to greet you as you passed through the front door - the usual stuff written by people who have never used illegal

drugs and don't understand either their effects or the cultures in which they are used.

Drugs by the very nature force the user to see reality in a different way. This can be exciting in itself, and that is one reason for their use. But having had this 'other world' type experience the user is often led to a questioning of the way reality is manipulated and presented in terms of the ruling ideology - the brainwashing is counteracted by a push in a different direction. Not so much a metaphysical reassessment of the Carlos Castaneda school, though obviously that is one possible reaction, but rather a point where social questioning starts and the danger for the ruling ideology lies. Some may disagree, and there are notable exceptions, but I think that kids who do drugs more often than not turn out to be the more non-conformist and questioning among the adult population.

But, given a choice between a joint and a YOP scheme, is it surprising that so many youngsters take the decision they do? Here in Dorset drugs seem to be very much a part of youth life, as does unemployment, and the former seems to worry the establishment more than the latter, and with good reason. Once having turned on, one can become aware that there are more frequencies to choose from than simply those offered by the system. Drugs can serve as good crap detectors and in some instances can serve as a way of seeing the world in a more thought-provoking and liberating way.

Neil Birrell

Fascist threats force London Anarchist Forum out of Mary Ward Centre

Receptionists at the Mary Ward Centre, hosts of the London Anarchist Forum for the last ten years, have recently been subjected to abusive telephone calls. A typical example was the call received at about 7pm on 15th October: "This is the British National Party. We are coming round tonight to finish off the Anarchist Forum once and for all."

The Centre, which is a college, has an emergency drill for dealing with unwelcome would-be visitors, such as aggressive wandering drunks and mental patients. On 15th October they locked the main public door, so that admission was only by ringing the bell. Nobody from the BNP, or any other hostile group, turned up.

This was not the first such threat, and recently they have become more frequent. On 21st October the Marchmont Community Centre in nearby Marchmont Street had a similar threat relating to the Anarchist Communist Federation who were meeting there. None of the threats so far have been followed by action of any kind, and we have no idea whether they are being made by the local BNP branch, a deranged or fantasising individual fascist or a hoaxter unconnected with any right-wing group.

Nevertheless, the threats caused the Centre's

principal, Patrick Freestone, to worry about the safety of women staff, who do not leave the Centre until well after ten o'clock on Friday evenings. Reluctantly, he asked the anarchists to stop meeting there. After negotiation, one last meeting was permitted on 22nd October. All the staff we met expressed their regret. We think they genuinely liked having the anarchists there, and we certainly liked them.

The Forum first met there ten years ago, after the first short course on anarchism conducted by Nicolas Walter. Students on the course applied to the Centre for a room to continue discussion of the topics, and were offered a room which would be vacant at 8pm after a class finished on Friday. There was no fixed fee for hire of the room, but the anarchists agreed to take a collection at each meeting and donate the takings to the Centre. This amiable arrangement has continued for ten years, so there was really no need for the principal to tell us, in the letter telling us to leave, that he had no objection to London Anarchist Forum meetings per se. That was obvious.

The course on anarchism, conducted by Nicolas Walter and latterly by John Griffin, was repeated each year until 1992. This year it was stopped for lack of funds, and the first term's programme of LAF meetings was arranged as a replacement for the Centre course. We are grateful to the staff of the Mary Ward Centre for their help and friendship for the last ten years, and on 22nd October we handed over our usual collection for the room.

Before that, we had a collection among those present to pay for the hire of a room at Conway Hall, which raised enough to pay for four meetings up to and including 26th November. After that we may meet at Conway Hall or elsewhere. We do not yet know, and would welcome advice.

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As the building of parliament in Moscow was on fire and changed from white to black, Russia sank further and further into the depth of authoritarianism. Thousands of spectators gathered on 4th October around the White House to see the storm troops seizing the parliament. There was no unity among the people gathered, however, since both Yeltsinites and the people who consider his actions criminal and anti-constitutional gather there. Even among those who speak in support of Yeltsin there are many who see no need to kill that many people to get rid of the 'communist parliament'.

During the last three days the media have urged people alternately to sit and home and then to go defend the president. Information has been scarce and very ideologically one-sided. Those who had a chance to watch Western television broadcasts or listen to 'Radio Liberty' were much more in touch with the events than those who stuck to the Russian media.

On 4th October, while the troops stormed the parliament, the media changed its tune and began trying to manufacture public support for the actions of Yeltsin and his companions. The arrests of Khasbulatov, Rutskoi and Makashov received heavy airplay as comments were made that these were the people responsible for the bacchanalia killings. Yeltsin made no television appearances on the 4th.

Who were the snipers?

One of the keystones of the media propaganda campaign on 4th October were 'the snipers', that is armed putschists who spread all over the city and whose numbers it was impossible to determine. One of the doctors who was evacuating the injured from the parliament was interviewed by Russian television and said that there was a considerable number of people shot near the White House in the morning and during the day right in their hearts, necks and heads. This was presented by the media as the evidence of the crimes of the putschists. In fact it is, but it appears more grounded to say that these were the people killed by the KGB and special police troops loyal to the Yeltsin government. Though there were quite a lot of arms in the White House, there were hardly any 'snipers' - that is people specially trained in shooting - among its defenders. It is more probably that those who were shot were shot by the snipers of the KGB. (During the August 1991 coup there were many worries about whether these special KGB troops would take the side of Yeltsin.)

Since none of these special troops had declared their loyalty to the parliament, it's hardly likely that the Communist 'snipers' killed people in dozens around the parliament.

It is also interesting to learn how it happened that considerable numbers of armed people escaped from the White House and spread around the city. The parliament was blocked from all sides and since its defenders didn't have tanks it was almost impossible for them to get out ... until they were let out by the government. The story about 'unprofessional actions of the police and the military' is an old one and it is usually used by the authorities to justify more repression and the use of more troops. This is what happened during the

Russian Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists Outlawed by Yeltsin

KAS, the Russian Confederation of Anarchist Syndicalists, was one of the groups outlawed in the repression following the Yeltsin coup in Moscow. Following is a report from a KAS representative in Moscow received by mail on 5th October 1993 (press release from the Workers Solidarity Alliance, US Section of the International Workers Association).

clash between communists and the police on 1st May this year. That is what happened on 3rd October when the authorities let the opposition 'defeat' special police troops on the streets of Moscow. This is probably how they provoked more violence during the storm of the White House.

Democracy is the power of democrats (armed)

For all of 4th October, central Gor'kiy Street was blocked by barricades erected by the sympathisers of Yeltsin, who searched people's bags looking for arms. None of these people had any ID authorising these searches. They claimed they were 'representing the structure'. In his appeal to the Muscovites on the evening of 3rd October, vice-premier Yegor Gaidar urged the people to come and defend the building of the Moscow City Soviet (currently the mayor's office). On 4th October, after the storm of the White House, Gaidar was asked by a journalist whether he thought this appeal could lead to more bloodshed on the streets of Moscow. The vice-premier responded that since the army and police troops are part of the society they can no longer be manipulated and that they will act only if they see that there is enough public support for their actions. That is why the public support of the 'democratic government' was crucial. He also said that the government was ready to give out arms to those who gathered around the mayor's office.

Censorship of the media

There are clear signs of the coming authoritarian regime. Even the programmes of CNN transmitted through Moscow and Russian television channels get censored - on the evening of 4th October sound disappeared during one of the street interviews with a person who was speaking unfavourably of president Yeltsin. The same happened on several occasions to a television journalist of Channel 1 while she interviewed vice-premier of the government Sergei Shakhrai. Several papers were prevented from publishing on 5th October. Censorship was implemented on all the major papers. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* appeared on Tuesday with two blank spots, while *Moskovsky Komsomolets* (Moscow's largest boulevard paper that was attacked on 4th October) and *Moskovskaya Pravda* didn't appear. In *Komsomolskaya Pravda* censors looked through all the material, including advertisements. Seven communist and nationalist

papers were closed the day before. The 'Press Club' television show, which was recorded in the afternoon of 4th October, didn't appear in the evening because it might have been too controversial and featured politically questionable commentators.

More freedom, more democracy

On 4th October it was announced that the Ministry of Justice (sic!) declared illegal a broad variety of

'pro-communist and nationalist organisations' that supported the parliament, including the fascist Russian National Unity and the social-democratic Party of Labour. The list of organisations was kind of weird since there was nothing about the Civic Union (the association of entrepreneurs and industrial managers) which supported parliament and declared its loyalty to Rutskoi, but the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS) was on the list, together with 'pro-communist and nationalist organisations'. KAS has been clear, however, that it supports neither Yeltsin nor Rutskoi and instead has called upon people to stop work and create popular organisations from below.

Moscow City and district Soviets have been disbanded by presidential decree. Moscow Soviet deputies have been arrested and beaten at the police stations - some of them were released on the morning of 5th October.

Moscow is returning to its everyday life with metro stations surrounding the White House opened and the curfew introduced from 23.00 to 5.00 for an uncertain period.

Mikhail Tsovmia
International Co-ordinator, KAS

Inside India

India's first general strike for many years has been and gone with 7th September marking a massive protest against the government's economic liberalisation programme. Now the country has been gripped by election fever. Voting is set to take place in November and December to the four state assemblies previously controlled by the Hindu fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). These have been ruled by presidential decree since last December after the BJP orchestrated the demolition of a mosque built over 400 years ago on what they claimed was the site of a temple, an event which led to an outbreak of horrendous communal violence across India. Congress has decided that these states are ready to be run democratically again and is hoping to oust the BJP in the elections. This is an unlikely scenario.

Important though these elections are, and important though the debate about secularism is that surrounds them, the fever is distracting attention from key economic issues. Further the reality is that there are far more important developments occurring all the time in India that are politically significant and warrant attention. Take for example a Total Literacy Campaign that I have recently learned of in K. Rampura, a small village in the drought-prone Pavagada area of Tumkur District in Karnataka in southern India.

Though agriculture is the predominant occupation in K. Rampura, villagers live a hand-to-mouth existence. Some 65-70 families own small and unproductive land-holdings while others work as agricultural labourers. The main crops grown are groundnut, ragi and paddy wherever minimum irrigation facilities exist.

Things perhaps would have been the same for a long time had it not been for Akshara Kalpavruksha, a Total Literacy Campaign, that has emerged in the past two years in K. Rampura as a result mainly of the demands of women in the village. The campaign is bringing along an avalanche of changes in local attitudes and thinking towards development and the environment as a result of people being able to read political literature, but also as a result of the learning process they have gone through where the emphasis has been on learning from their own experiences. Literacy has galvanised the 570-odd village residents into recognising environmentalism as a panacea for their ills.

Fired by the desire to green their village and its surroundings, many of K. Rampura's residents have donned the mantle of environmentalists. The conservation strategy adopted was simple but effective - conserve whatever one can.

To begin with, Rampurada Gudda, the village hillock, was recognised as a community asset and conservation priority.

Next, villagers cordoned off the hillock for afforestation and rejuvenation. Animals were prevented from grazing there. Tree-felling was totally prohibited.

Two years of stringent conservation has paid dividends. Today a thick foliage covers the entire hillock, making it look like an emerald in Pravagada's stark and rocky landscape. The neo-literate villagers have christened their new green exhibit Ashara Vana - a forest created by literacy-imparted knowledge.

But literacy has done more than just inculcate a conservation ethic among the villagers. Besides propagating contraception and health education, knowledge is helping them break the centuries-old shackles of ignorance and exploitation. Especially it has empowered village women and children:

"Once ignorant and without an identity of their own, women now read newspapers, listen to radio programmes and participate in discussion and debates." claims Tirumalamma, a woman in K. Rampura.

"They are preparing to play an active role in the village's social life and development." Women and children are also in the forefront of afforestation programmes: "We [women] have already formed a Mahila Mandal [a co-operative] and now want to start a nursery to distribute seedlings to anybody interested in greening the village," explains Rangamma, another woman in the village.

Spreading environmental awareness through seedlings is a phenomenon fast catching on. In fact, one of the distinctive features of the whole literacy campaign has been the way in which seedlings and new cultivation have been used as a focus in creating awareness about the need to be literate in the first place.

Older folk too have joined the ranks. Says Ashwathayya, a village elder, with profound simplicity:

"If we don't give back to Bhoomi Thayi [Mother Earth], how can she continue to give us life?"

He understands more than others that village lands exploited for decades are in crying need of rejuvenation.

Taking a cue from their elders and women, village youth, 80% of whom are now literate, are turning their attention to soil reclamation and water management. Soon, they hope to stabilise the district's sinking groundwater levels and restore fertility to their lands.

Inside India there is turmoil, but as this story from K. Rampura indicates, there is a lot of evidence of people seizing control over their own lives. Election fever might be raging, but so too are political developments of much greater significance.

John Shotton

— HUNGARY —

Organisational matters: the setting up of the anarchist federation

On the 9th and 10th of June this year, about 25 people from different regions of Hungary came together in Nyiregyhasa, in the east of the country. This meeting can be deemed a moderate success, the date having been changed at the last moment, and therefore the sixty or so who had been expected were not all present.

Even though the theme of the meeting was the 'clarification of the organisational structure of a future federation' the majority of those participating were only meeting for the first time and, we felt the need to discuss some basic theoretical questions. Should anarchists today make use of their civil rights? What about voting and supporting political parties? Should a person be expected to respect certain ethical obligations if they consider themselves to be an anarchist? Can one join the army? All these questions and more besides were put to one side to be discussed at future meetings.

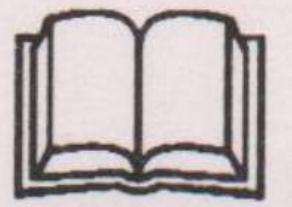
The most important question was, in effect, the creation of an anarchist movement. What forms of co-operation should we develop? There were differences of opinion between those who wanted

the creation of a federation and others who wanted a more informal information network. Some of us (mainly those associated with the group formally known as Autonomia, then later the Budapest Anarchist Group), already had a clear vision of the functional form of such an organisation, relating to membership, decision making and concrete action. Some people with different experiences, for example those from smaller towns, preferred to insist on the propagation of anarchist ideas in itself. Others saw in the network idea a beneficial role for information dissemination for groups and individuals who could get together by themselves.

The main characteristic of post-socialist Hungary is its scepticism with regard to any form of organisation. The people have been disappointed, after having wanted them for so long, with all the western 'democratic values' now that they find that the new government, freely elected, has simply produced one disaster after another.

Unemployment is increasing (about 300,000) and the social security system is deteriorating, paving the way for poverty and a housing crisis. These are

(continued on page 8)



Whiteway Colony: The Social History of a Tolstoyan Community

by Joy Thacker

published by the author at Whiteway, Stroud, Gloucestershire at £13.99, obtainable from Freedom Bookshop (please add 10% postage inland, 20% overseas).

No sooner had I concluded in my last anarchist notebook that there must be a vast underground readership for books about communal ventures, eager for vicarious experience, than this new one arrived. It is a handsome book of 220 pages with 132 pictures, by a resident who has been there for 25 years, and has slowly gathered its history from old neighbours and from the records.

Whiteway was founded in 1898 when a bunch of Tolstoyan anarchists, mostly from Croydon, pooled their resources and for £450 bought forty acres of infertile ground and one cottage, to lead a self-sufficient simple life together. By 1920 when the Whiteway Modern School was started, they described themselves as:

"People who, in an attempt to get away from the unhealthy influences of modern commercialism, have gone back to the land and thus escaped many of the stifling conventions which hinder the development of personality. These people hold their land on the principle of possession use only, and though living in separate bungalows, meet often for lectures, study, music and enjoyment of social life generally."

Even in those days, zealots were lamenting that ambitions to do without money and to hold everything in common had slipped out of sight, and Joy Thacker, from a much later generation, remarks how "some say that 'the electric' changed Whiteway, and it was never the same again", and she adds that "people visited a lot more then. Today the lanes are quiet. You may see someone walking, but it is more likely that they will be in a car, waving and mouthing to you as they rush by".

A Community that Survived

However, the great triumph of Whiteway, making it different from any other village in Britain, resulted from the first colonists' gesture right at the beginning. Having received the title deeds to the land, which they all signed, "they spiked the papers on a pitchfork, smeared them with paraffin and burnt them". The system arose that a person wishing to live there, or to buy an existing house there, "must apply to the meeting for the land their prospective house stands on, and that on leaving it must be relinquished".

In 1955 one resident claimed not to know of this convention and sought to sell her house and land. She took the case to the Land Tribunal in London, which ruled that "she had no title to the land; only to the building erected thereon". It also indicated that the colonists as a whole were the licensees of the land using a form of tenure dating from 1200AD. *Freedom* commented at the time that:

"The findings are interesting and enlightening, and however much it may have embarrassed some of the colonists to go to law, they are to be

congratulated on the forthright and enthusiastic way they defended a worthy principle ... It is refreshing when courts are daily filled with people fighting each other over ownership of property, to read of a case in which people are standing up for the right of not owning it."

Whiteway has had, of course, many Freedom Press connections. Tom Keell, editor of *Freedom* for many years, and Lilian Wolfe who ran the office for 25 years in a later period, lived there with their son Tom Keell Wolfe from the 1920s, and some other names familiar to anarchist historians – Fred Charles, Fred Dunn, the Edelmans and the Clements families – are scattered through these pages.

The author, in comparing Whiteway in its early days with the mature, leafy settlement of today, stresses that in some respects the rest of the world has caught up with the colony. The pioneers stood out because of their informal clothes, having dispensed with "former incumbrances of corsets and long skirts, stiff collars and boots", while the men wore their hair long. Today the rest of the world dresses like Whiteway residents. Similarly, dispensing with marriage contracts is normal rather than exceptional in the new generation, and the same thing can almost be said of vegetarianism.

Her daughter, Vicky Thacker, contributes a valuable chapter on growing up in the mature Whiteway. Attending the secondary school in Stroud, she was aware of the rumours that used to be spread about the nudist colony of mud hut dwellers, but from her point of view "Whiteway has always been a comfortable place for children to grow up in as everyone uses first names. A long tradition which developed from the idea of complete equality amongst the colonists. This meant that as a child you were not cut off from the adults by formality". And she adds that:

"I do not think that children fully realise the significance behind owning or not owning the land and it seems a shame that when they do get to learn



Whiteway Colony in 1924

Our international correspondent Neil Birrell addressed six questions to Noam Chomsky, and received this lengthy reply.

The film *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* is currently showing at the ICA Cinema, The Mall, London SW1, until 4th November. Noam Chomsky's book *Year 501* (Verso, £11.95) is available from the Freedom Press Bookshop (please add postage).

Neil Birrell: The GATT talks are, we are told, about 'free trade'. To what extent is this an example of Orwellian newspeak?

Noam Chomsky: GATT, NAFTA, and other such arrangements are not about 'free trade' except incidentally. The powerful have never accepted the principles of economic liberalism for themselves, except when they could gain temporary advantage thereby. Naturally they demand that the weak observe these principles, thus leaving themselves completely vulnerable. Market discipline is for the weak; the powerful regularly call upon state power to protect themselves from it. These are truisms of economic history, from the early days of Britain's global ascendancy to the Reaganites, who led the assault against economic liberalism in the '80s, while preaching these doctrines to the weak with great fervour.

GATT is not about 'trade'. First, note that the term itself hardly applies to an international system in which a third or more of what is called 'trade' is intrafirm, that is, centrally managed transactions that happen to cross a border, but in fact take place entirely within totalitarian institutions called 'corporations', managed by a highly visible hand. Second, the West (including here Japan) crucially demands liberalisation of services, to ensure that huge Western banks and other financial institutions wipe out their domestic counterparts in the Third World, so that the poorer countries will never be able to undertake the kind of economic planning and management that allowed the rich to find their place in the sun. This is not 'trade', in any meaningful sense. These items are in fact at the core of GATT, along with the demand for higher protection for 'intellectual property', that is, the technology of the future, which must be monopolised by Western-based Transnational Corporations (TNCs). The West also rejects with scorn the free movement of labour on which the Third World insists, following Adam Smith, whose doctrines are utterly despised by those who invoke his name

with most awe. We can go on and on. GATT is not about free trade or about free anything. It is about power and wealth, and how to extend them. As Adam Smith observed, the masters follow their 'vile maxim': "All for ourselves, and nothing for other people".

In the GATT negotiations, each participant is proposing some mixture of liberalisation and protection reflecting what is called in contemporary mystification its 'national interest' – that is, the interests of dominant powers within it, another truism, emphasised by that famous radical extremist Adam Smith. I've written about this in detail elsewhere – in my book *Year 501*, many articles, and a forthcoming book.

NB: Whose interests are at stake in the GATT talks? What effect do you think the outcome will have on the third world?

NC: As noted, each participant in the GATT talks is reflecting special interests of dominant internal elements. That aside, the rich powers have a common interest in protecting the rights of the TNCs and financial institutions that dominate the world economy to a quite remarkable extent, highlighted by recent publications of the World Bank and UNCTAD, and reviewed regularly in the better newspapers (notably, the *Financial Times*). So, for example, they are united in demanding that GATT increase protection for the technology of the future, in particular biotechnology, which is expected to generate a huge flow of capital from the poor countries to the rich over the coming years; this must be a monopoly of huge corporate institutions, subsidised and protected by their home states as well as by the international 'trading' system. It is quite important, for example, to ensure that India not be permitted to produce drugs at a cost that its people might afford, but must purchase high priced drugs from huge western companies that make ridiculously high profits and are state-subsidised in numerous ways, as is well known. The rich powers, of course, never accepted these rules for themselves until they were in a position to benefit from them – quite recently, in fact. But that is standard. The outcome for the Third World is not hard to predict. It is discussed at length in very good Third World publications, e.g. those published by

the Third World Network in Penang, Malaysia. There are also good discussions by Western NGOs and others concerned with the problems of the Third World. Kevin Watkins' recent book *Fixing the Rules* (Catholic Institute of International Relations) is one excellent and accessible study; also work by Susan George, Michael Barratt Brown and many others. I've written about these matters elsewhere, as noted.

But need we really ask what will be the effect on the weak of rules designed by the powerful? The truisms one expects are demonstrated to be true as soon as one has a close look.

NB: What do you see as the role of the EEC in the historical development of capitalism as we move towards the next millennium?

NC: The EEC, if it can ever get its act together, should be one of three major power centres, along with the US-based North American (maybe hemispheric) area and the Japan-based region. It will, naturally, try to protect the interests of those who dominate the domestic societies. However, there are two crucial factors that cannot be overlooked. One is the rapid growth of TNCs, which are now able to move production to high repression, low wage areas far more easily than in the past, and may be able to orient production towards wealthier sectors internationally (large sectors in the rich countries, small sectors in the small ones). The first process is clear; the second less so. Internationalisation of production (and perhaps consumption) has a natural tendency to globalise the Third World model of two-tiered societies, with islands of great wealth in a huge sea of misery – the islands being larger in the West, though the rising of the sea is quite noticeable, particularly in the US and UK, which have led the way in the attack on the superfluous populations at home. A second crucial factor is the vast growth of unregulated capital, mostly now used for speculation rather than long-term investment or commerce, a major change in the past two decades. Even powerful states can scarcely resist that financial pressure; nor has the EC been able to do so, as recent events have demonstrated. It is doubtful that even the US could resist the pressures towards deflationary policies that drive the world towards a low-growth, low-wage equilibrium under these

Interview with Noam

about the land-holding system, they do not understand the principles and reasons behind it."

For people like me, concerned with the unofficial history of housing, the innumerable photographs are a delight. The early settlers built movable timber huts with corrugated tin roofs, and "the ideal from the early Whitewayans viewpoint was where all possessions of the user-occupier would be cleared from his allotted land when he vacated it". Some did, but most accepted suitable payment from the incomer. But of course standards of housing have changed enormously. Water and electricity supplies came in the early '50s, as in most other places in poor rural Britain, and some interesting pages are devoted to the ingenuity and hard labour the colonised applied to obtaining water, heat and light before those days. As

anywhere else, a great deal of labour and expenditure has been devoted to restoring, rebuilding and extending houses. Joy Thacker raises the key issue that results:

"Therefore if the owner who has worked and spent time and resources on his home wished to leave the Colony, he expect and needs, if he is buying a property elsewhere, to get a reasonable return on his "investment". How else would he be bale to afford another? The question we now consider is who, these days, can afford to pay outright for a large house, as opposed to the early years when newcomers bought small huts from settlers to enlarge for their own comfort? Will the time arrive when the only people who can come here are those with a substantial readily available lump sum? Who now, and in the future, will be in this enviable position? This sadly means that whereas Whiteway was a place where those of all denominations could aspire, as envisaged by Tolstoy, I am afraid that it will soon only be possible for those more fortunate who can afford it, but caring little about its origins.

Alternatively, if you are content to remain on Whiteway, as most here are, then this situation has no significance whatsoever. For those occupants of colony land, however grand or humble their home might be, or whether their status in the eyes of the world is high or low, the common way in which we all hold our land is a marvellous unifier."

She argues that "the equality craved by those early socialist settlers has survived completely because of it, and will never change". I would add that the current position is not a criticism of Whiteway but of the situation that has evolved everywhere else. Capitalist land valuation and the constraints of our planning legislation have ensured that, a century later, nobody can set about a Whiteway or a network of Whiteways for the next century. For my own opinion, see my paper on 'The Do-It-Yourself New Town' in the Freedom Press book *Talking Houses**. For the experience of Whiteway, see this absorbing and entertaining book.

Colin Ward

* *Talking Houses*, £5 post free from Freedom Press.

Food for Thought ... and Action

Open Eye, issue 2. After a very long wait the second issue of this interesting magazine is in print. This issue contains a eclectic mixture of articles including Chomsky on 'World Orders - new and old', Philip Agee on the 'Future of US Global Power', Peter Cadogan on the right-wing intriguer G.K. Young (apparently they were friends!), Ken Livingstone on his career moves and why we should support him (!) and much more on ecology, the third world, etc. 52 page magazine, £1.50.

Fifth Estate: special issue - dope, queer sex and anarchy, summer '93 issue. Uncompromisingly anti-industrial anarchist paper from the USA. The sub-title explains this issue, with articles on mainly sexuality and drugs. One page declares "anarchists fuck who they want" ... well, if you say so. £1.50.

Industrial Worker, September '93 issue. Newspaper of the Industrial Workers of the World. Usual news about workers' struggles in North America and elsewhere. 30p.

Lib Ed: a magazine for the liberation of learning, no. 22, autumn '93. Educational news and book reviews from a libertarian perspective. 16 pages, £1.00.

Anarchist 1994 Yearbook,* Phoenix Press. A useful collection of anarchist publishers, periodicals and newly-published books and pamphlets. 32 pages, £1.50.

On the Brew with Fatty Clarke by Mr Social Control, self-published. Mr Social Control meets the Chancellor Kenneth Clarke in a Clapham pub for a drinking session. Read the humorous dialogue that took place between the two of them. 28 pages, A5, illustrated pamphlet, £1.00.

Political Duty: a confession of skepticism by Theo P. Perkins, The Owl Press. Originally published in

Benjamin Tucker's journal *Liberty* in 1892, this essay argues against the legitimacy of the American government and the state in general. 24 pages, A5 pamphlet, £1.00.

Reprints from Liberty: selected articles, items and essays from Benjamin Tucker's 'Liberty' 1881-1907, The Owl Press. The sub-title is self-explanatory: Tucker whines on about the Homestead Strike and all manner of not-so-recent events. 12 pages, A5 pamphlet, 40p.

Anarchist Essays Series No. 2, The Owl Press. Reprints of recent articles in *Freedom* on 'Anarchism and Cities', 'Work', etc. 16 pages, A5 pamphlet, 50p.

A Day Mournful and Overcast ... by an 'uncontrollable' from the Iron Column, reprint by London Anarchist Black Cross. A personal testimony of an anonymous member of the Iron Column, a militia of anarchist ex-convicts who were active during the Spanish revolution, and the efforts to resist militarisation, i.e. being brought under state control. Anyone who has read Burnett Bolloten's *The Spanish Revolution* will have read part of this work before. 19 pages, A5 illustrated pamphlet, 40p.

Letter from Lexington: reflections on propaganda* by Noam Chomsky, AK Press. 167 pages, £7.95. Please note that this title is post free inland. This was not made clear when it was listed in the last issue.

Jez



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Chomsky

pressures, again tending towards a kind of Third World model, now internationalised.

NB: Many have expressed their shock that the atrocities of the Yugoslav conflict could have repeated themselves after the experience of the holocaust. Do you share these feelings?

NC: The atrocities of the Yugoslav conflict are indeed horrifying, and it is not surprising that they should trouble Europeans, not because they are worse than other atrocities of past and present, but because they threaten the welfare of rich and comfortable Europeans.

Does this sound cynical? If so, then test it against the facts. You say, quite rightly, that Europeans now profess shock that such atrocities can take place after the holocaust - hardly a proper analogy; awful as the Yugoslavian atrocities are, they do not approach the Nazi crimes. We may ask, then, how Europeans reacted when the present government of Indonesia slaughtered some half a million to a million people, mostly landless peasants, in a few months in 1965, in what the Western press described as a "boiling bloodbath" (*Time*). I've recently reviewed US coverage of that horrendous atrocity, the worst slaughter since the holocaust at that time (see *Year 501*). Commentators across the respectable spectrum were euphoric over this "gleam of light in Asia", as the leading *New York Times* liberal commentator James Reston described it, explaining, as an insider, that the US government was much more involved in bringing about these marvellous events than it had publicly admitted. That reaction was standard; the *Economist* now assures us that the perpetrator of the slaughter is "at heart benign", thinking, no doubt, of his attitude towards Western corporations.

Or, we might ask how the West reacted when a few years later, Indonesia invaded East Timor, killing perhaps 200,000 people. Or how the West reacts to the continuing atrocities there today. By expressing shock that this could happen after the holocaust? Not at all. Rather, by contributing massively to the atrocities, hoping to reap what profit it can from the rivers of blood that are flowing, while participating enthusiastically in the robbery of Timor's oil. For some years,

the US was the worst offender; now Britain has taken over. Are its intellectuals shouting from the rooftops about this horror? Did their French counterparts? Or American? Or Canadian? Or Swedish? Or anyone else who could gain from participation in the slaughter? Simply investigate, as I have done, and the answers are brutally clear.

Or we may ask how the West responded to its own slaughters, for example the killing of millions of people in Indochina after the US attack against South Vietnam expanded to the whole region, destroying three countries. Or to Western-backed South African depredations that took 1.5 million lives and caused \$60 billion in damages in the years 1980-88 alone, in the surrounding countries (excluding Namibia, and South Africa itself). Keeping just to today, the Balkans cause great pain and anguish, Angola does not, though the atrocities there may be even worse. The reasons are obvious enough. Simply ask to what extent the interests of rich Europeans are threatened by events in the Balkans and in Angola.

Need I continue? Western hypocrisy knows no limits.

None of that, of course, changes the fact that atrocities in the former Yugoslavia are horrendous - if, unfortunately, far from unique.

NB: You have, I believe, said that there is a greater degree of racism in Europe than the USA. How can we counteract nationalism and racism most effectively?

NC: I have indeed said that, though admittedly these are impressions: such matters are not easy to measure.

Not too long ago, leading American libertarians expressed their intent to create a country "without blot or mixture" (Thomas Jefferson), meaning that the native population would be expelled or 'exterminated' (to borrow the words of the Founding Fathers), and the black population, when no longer needed to fuel the industrial revolution in England and then America, would be shipped off somewhere. One reason why the US finally recognised Haiti in 1862, and Liberia in the same year, is that slaves were going to be freed; Lincoln shared Jefferson's hopes. Fortunately, civilisation has advanced since those days, and no one except Nazis calls for a country "without blot or mixture". In the US, that is. Problems of racial and other discrimination in the US are severe, but in Europe they seem far worse. The same is true of other conflicts: regional, linguistic, cultural, and others. For a variety of historical and socio-cultural reasons, the US has come to terms with such conflicts in ways that Europe has not

- not well, by any means, but better, I think.

How can we counteract racism and the negative side of nationalism (not all aspects are negative, in my view)? No secrets there. The same way that people have been struggling for centuries to create a world in which a decent person would want to live.

NB: As we move towards the 21st century, what should be the concerns and the foci of action for anarchists and libertarians in Europe? Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the future?

NC: I understand anarchism to be a tendency in human thought that seeks to unearth and to combat illegitimate authority and domination. Any form of authority has a burden of proof to meet: it must demonstrate its legitimacy, perhaps contingent, perhaps more general. Sometimes this can be done; I think I can make a case for forcing my three year old granddaughter not to run across the street in traffic. Quite commonly, it cannot be done; once exposed, authority loses its moral power and can only be maintained by force. When illegitimate authority is discovered - whether it be on the basis of economic power, state power, race, sex, or whatever - it should be confronted and overcome. I think we can take it for granted that the quest for a more just society and more decent human relationships is never-ending. It's like climbing a mountain; we aim for a peak, only to find that there is a higher one beyond that we hadn't perceived before.

There is no shortage of peaks to try to scale. I have my own priorities, others have theirs. A rational interchange should lead to a measure of agreement, as it often has in the past, though there is really no need for anything like concord on such choices among people with common ideals and hopes.

Am I optimistic or pessimistic? That's a matter of personality, of interest to no one but my friends and family. Difficult as it is to produce these words in this awful century, I think, nonetheless, that one can detect an extension of the moral realm over the years, and a deepening of the commitment to justice and freedom. Perhaps this is the basis for a measure of optimism, but it really doesn't matter; it has no effect on what we do. Whatever the prospects are for improving the world, it is to that task that a moral human being will dedicate himself or herself. The optimist is one who thinks the prospects are considerable, the pessimist thinks them slight. They choose the same path, whatever their subjective estimate, so it basically doesn't matter what guesses people make about matters of which we can know very little.

When the BBC's baby-faced, overpaid, newscaster Martyn Lewis suggested during a lecture tour in the US last May that more attention should be given to 'positive news', the media dismissed it out of hand. "My detractors have claimed that I want a Soviet-style sanitisation of the news, that I want nothing but light, happy and trivial stories, mainly about dogs and cats, packing the bulletins" which he hotly denied, though he is the author of a number of books on man's four-legged friends. What he was in fact suggesting was that:

"When we come to decide the editorial priorities for each day's news, we should be more prepared to weigh the positive stories – not artificially created, but as they naturally occur in the news agenda – on the same set of journalistic scales with which we weigh the negative stories."

Obviously the man means well, but surely he should know that what sells the tabloid press is dirt, what makes the 'telly' exciting is violence, real and specially filmed at great expense, with international 'macho' stars for 'entertainment'!

This idea that the media should include regular 'good news' features was, as this writer recalls, raised in a television discussion programme some years ago and the editor of the *Sunday Times*, one of the notorious Don Juans of Fleet Street, Andrew Neill, was not altogether opposed and suggested he could fill a page of his weighty (2½ lbs last Sunday) journal *once a year!* Obviously for the capitalist press in general, good news – that is positive action by ordinary people either individually or as a community against the hand of bureaucracy and red tape, or against injustice at all levels – is not their kind of 'news'. For them 'good news' is not news. The

Good News and 'Good News'

tabloids specialise in the sexual notoriety and 'indiscretions' of the (in)famous in the news – from tennis, snooker and football 'stars' to television stars, politicians and industrialists.

For them that is 'good news' – for it sells their rags and the more copies they sell the more they charge the advertisers and the ultimate 'good news' is that the balance sheet (even after having been heavily 'massaged' with the kind of expenses neither you nor this writer would ever dream of being able to incur, let alone demand from HM Inspector of Taxes) is in profit and 'bouncy'!

For the capitalist press 'good news' is essentially *financial success* either by the multinationals or the small fry who don't end up in Carey Street; 'good news' is a reduction in interest rates which pleases the multinationals owing billions to the banks and the mortgagees, the suckers who hearkened to the Thatcherite call for 'a nation of property owners' and are landed with properties worth less than they paid for them.¹

It's *bad news* for the other suckers who saved for a 'rainy day' and their old age. Girobank, which was the 'people's bank' – but no longer; it's now part of a building society turned bankers – pays 1% to depositors, not only a *third* of the real inflation rate but a tenth of what banks charge on loans!

1. Not to mention the hundreds of thousands whose properties have been repossessed and find themselves among the homeless on the streets.

So far as anarchists are concerned, the world we live in is mainly rotten to the core. By its very definition capitalism – production for profit – encourages cheating, beggar-my-neighbour lowering of quality standards and exploitation of labour.² *Freedom* as a propagandist paper is concerned with persuading readers that the capitalist society is rotten. For our readers and those to whom our propaganda is introduced this is surely *good news* because when enough of us are aware that the system into which we were born is *by definition* rotten we may be prepared to oppose it by all means, and start living our lives and our relationships as consistently as possible with our ideals. We may spend a lifetime of propaganda by the deed, by the example, without apparently getting very far. Take no notice of the historians; they have no time for the likes of you and this writer. They are concerned with trends of a longer or shorter duration, but unconcerned with what individuals can do for themselves within the

2. Whatever anarchists may have by way of criticism of the unions and the union barons, the fact remains that in the unskilled workforce, largely unorganised, largely employing women, exploitation is the order of the day. Recent television and the *Independent* features on the gangmasters organisation of casual labour in the Wisbech horticultural area should surely make one aware of the exploitation of cheap labour not only for the gangster-masters but for the supermarkets who are their customers and who are dominating the fresh vegetable retail outlets and charging exorbitant prices.

society they happen to live in and to communicate to others.

Anarchism survives as a philosophy of life for, yes, perhaps millions of people who have never heard of Proudhon, Bakunin or Kropotkin – or regretfully have never been in touch with *Freedom Press*. We have no copyright on anarchism and we can only rejoice when there is confirmation that *there is* a minority, in spite of the domination by the millionaire capitalist media against all alternatives to capitalism, that some real good news surfaces from the mire of capitalist success stories.

On another page we publish the first of what we consider are anarchist 'good news' stories in this wicked capitalist world! Take the 'wicked' humorously if you like. The fact is that every day in the world tens of thousands of quite innocent human beings are dying either violently or by starvation or for lack of medical services, victims of the capitalist system which secures the rich at the expense of the poor.

As we have, on many occasions, pointed out in these columns: we applaud those who manage to live or organise an alternative lifestyle within the capitalist system, but it does not convert us to changing our views that the capitalist system is evil because by definition it encourages the worst in us!

**Our first
'GOOD NEWS' COLUMN
appears on page 2.
Contributions from readers are
invited.**

Every day the media present us with an agenda of information that is supposed to be, in theory, as close to objective truth as possible. Most people in this country surely rely on the mainstream media for information and do not read or have access to more radical, critical assessment. The various, often well informed and insightful radical journals such as those stocked in your local radical book shop (if you are lucky enough to be close to such a thing) or sold by *Freedom Press* and the like, are sadly not purchased in vast numbers. They do not litter waiting rooms and newstands waiting to set people thinking.

In the mainstream media, particularly television, there is a distinctive world view which, whether through conscious decisions or not, excludes most truly radical criticism and analysis and takes much of what Westminster says at face value. This view accepts capitalism and its excesses as the norm as it does authoritarianism so long as it is in the service of the former. An example of this uncritical process in the service of the cause of power and wealth is observable when unemployment figures are given. How many of us have heard newscasters tell audiences of the many changes the government had made to the assessment of the figures, how certain unemployed people are no longer included, such as 16 and 17 year olds, and then go on to give the *official*, government, unemployment figure. On Channel 4 News (10th August) we were told there was some estimated 60,000 cases of fraud by claimants last year but there was no assessment of the poverty many face and their need for extra income that causes many to take the risk of working and claiming. Basically, why is it alright for poverty to exist and for the unemployed to be subjected to police state methods such as surveillance and questions about personal lives? And what is it when some employers pay poverty line wages and make profits for themselves if not theft or fraud? The analysis of such issues is usually sadly lacking in the ability to make comparisons.

Needless to say one of the worst times to watch the media in action was during the Gulf War. This was represented at the time as an anaesthetised, clinical process with no images of death. Only after the war do we get more critical analyses of the events, but by then people in Iraq are dead and dying, with their infrastructure smashed and life made brutally harsh (*UN Special Mission Report*, Open Magazine Pamphlet series, 1992) whilst the tyrannical regime remains and continues to murder Shi'ites and Kurds. If the news media were the truly critical agency it seems to believe itself to be it would question why the embargo on Iraq led to medical and infant food

The Propaganda of Power

being barely 10% of actual needs (UNICEF figures). The sanctions had led by the beginning of this year to an 808% increase in deaths of children under five from malnutrition and 615% increase in deaths from diarrhoea (*Guardian Weekly*, 3rd January 1993). It is estimated that some 50,000 children have now died in the first eight months of 1991 alone (Chomsky, *Rethinking Camelot*, Verso, 1993). Given his involvement in this war why isn't Major called a war criminal if not because the media are not imbued with the values of power of this country.

Of course we can all see how much the British government cares because John Major had little Irma flown in from Bosnia after being 'moved' by her plight. To say that he and the other cold people of the government were moved is facile for these are the very same people wanting to put VAT on fuel bills and who rule a country where cases of TB are getting worse. And where is this moral concern for the Lebanese and Palestinian children blown up and shot by marauding Israeli forces. This Bosnian incident is sickening in its opportunism for sadly there are a great many children like Irma. Where is the condemnation of the arms industry and the Western involvement in killing children in other parts of the world?

Criticism is muted and restricted to the sidelines and certain fundamental 'truths' are not to be questioned. Thus we find the term terrorism used not as description by propaganda and clearly to the benefit of the British state (and allies). They rage against the IRA for setting off bombs in Warrington and killing children, correctly calling it terrorism and callous. But where was such outrage and concern for human life when RAF bombs fell onto an Iraqi market town or when British mines sold to the Cambodian guerrillas maimed and killed thousands of civilians? And what of the plight of the Kurds who for a brief moment concern was shown but are now consigned to the forgotten conflicts of the world and rarely heard of. But in the mainstream it seems it doesn't do to ask those in power difficult questions which may well expose the depths to which they sink and the corruption of power.

The faults it does find are with individuals, are

aberrations and mistakes, and are not shown as inherent to the structure of power and capitalism. So when it becomes clear the Ozone is damaged, that environmental decay is severe and endangering the chances of survival of the planet, mainstream coverage did not decry the failings of capitalism with its production for profit mentality which has contributed so greatly to the damage. We do not hear journalists ask whether the poverty may actually be a *result* of the capitalist economy. Government wars become 'retaliation', 'intervention' or 'peace-keeping' whilst the victims, like many of those at home, are justified or ignored. We never hear the thugs in power called the criminals until they are an enemy of the state. So Hussein is a war criminal but Kennedy, who waged a terrorist war against Cuban civilians and began the invasion of Vietnam, is not. So much for truth. The terror of capitalism that obliterated so many lives, whether through economics or military action, is not to be viewed for what it is.

Emotive terminology is applied in restrictive ways so when they refer to fundamentalists you can be assured they usually mean Muslims and *not* capitalists who impose a harsh economic order on the poor. Militants are political radicals who do not toe the line of subservience and mute acceptance, who call for real changes, and are *not* those in power who demand that we accept their policies which make life harder for the poor and add to the wealth of the rich. Extremists are those who question the precepts of the rich and powerful, whether Palestinians fighting an aggressive occupying army or miners who fought for the only thing they knew could keep their communities alive.

The media appears to many as a force to challenge but in reality it is part of the system, paid for by the private sector or from enforced public contributions, and all subject to the ideology of capitalism and levels of influence and control by the government. How long would a reporter last if he/she constantly questioned the right of politicians and corporate bosses to wield power and control lives? With the recent brutal killing of Joy Gardner

by police and immigration officers, we can see clearly the reluctance of the media to refer to murder or manslaughter when the killing is perpetrated by state forces. Imagine the response if a policeman was killed during a confrontation with black people. (When the officials of the state descend on a person they have so many resources at their disposal there is all the more reason not to restrain and harm someone, the power is virtually irresistible even without force and violence so any restraint, taping of mouths and sitting on someone, is nothing but utter sadism.)

Questions about the very concept of capitalism and power are not going to be asked by anyone within a mainstream structure who wants to keep their job. Criticism is thus veiled in acceptance of certain fundamental points such as the right of governments to power, the presence of poverty, and the right to wealth. We could hope journalists in the mainstream would take such a line but any that did would be regarded as loony lefties, radicals, unrealistic, and soon pushed toward the fringe or fired. (Hence John Pilger was not allowed to go with the allied forces to the Gulf as he is known to be far more critical than most journalists.)

The radical press and publications that break free of strictures and the otherwise unchallenged acceptance of the norm can give us a more realistic view that is not imbued with the dogma of state and power and wealth creation. In the space these create we can find room to genuinely question, break free of the stifling restrictions and seek insight through thought and discussion and not dogma and blind allegiance. They create a pool of dissent and generate awareness that can help us cope with living in a society such as this where many feel isolated and without hope. To me the likes of *Freedom Press* and *Z Magazine*, amongst many others, are an oasis where we can find views and beliefs not strangled into conformity with the ruling ethos and dogma and so give a sense of hope.

Ian Borrows

Pissarro's Anarchism

In our issue of 2nd October we published an article entitled 'Pissarro's Anarchism' which dealt with the political views of the French painter Camille Pissarro, but neglected to state that the source of this article was a leaflet issued by the Anarchist Communist Federation (London) to announce the talk on 'Art and Revolution' given on 21st October.

We would like to thank the ACF for letting us publish this article.

Big Breakfasts

Dear Editors,
I note London Greenpeace's notice in last week's *Freedom* (2nd October) about their anti-McDonalds' Day and the case against two of their supporters. Now I do not want to hit a person when he or she is down, as it were, but there is more to this than they are letting on and I do not like to feel people should be asked to support something which has an undisclosed hidden agenda.

London Greenpeace recently had a re-launch and some regular attenders of the London Anarchist Forum attended. One of the items suggested in the re-launch was their campaign against McDonalds.

A detailed analysis of why they were campaigning was put forward - McDonalds were monopoly capitalist, and so on. It sounded good stuff. Some of us said we were disillusioned by the sameness of monopoly domination of the catering trade between McDonalds, Burger King and Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken.

We looked back to the time when there were more working class cafés, transport cafés and fish and chip shops. We suggested ways alternative eating places might be established. The Greenpeaceers did not appear interested. Nobody appeared to be interested in the development of good quality working class cafés. Eventually one of the Greenpeaceers broke out about their campaign - 'They serve meat'.

So apart from their long ideological justification, what their campaign was really about was vegetarianism. And I suppose because McDonalds was an international company with a high degree of visibility it was also a soft touch and could easily lead to mass support. If McDonalds had been an international chain of vegetarian restaurants would they have been so interested?

I wonder if they realise the reasons why many McDonalds are so popular. Take the new one in Highgate. There are so few other eating places working people can afford to go to. And the decor is contemporary. And it is open when people want to eat. And the prices are within the range that ordinary working class people, the unemployed and those on low incomes can afford. And the food

is wholesome, if not to everyone's taste.

I well remember one night in Newcastle-upon-Tyne recently wandering around looking for a cup of tea and a meal and found apart from expensive Chinese and Italian Pizza places the only place I could get a cheap meal was McDonalds.

Now me, I'm not vegetarian. I'll listen to vegetarians, but I've so far not been convinced. I like a café with an all-day full English breakfast - you know, bacon, eggs, sausages, black pudding, beans, tomatoes, fried bread and the like, if I can get it. To me vegetarians are a bit cranky. I'll work with them on things of common interest, if it's up-front. If not, then not. I am saddened London Greenpeace's supporters are having their court case, but let's say what it is really all about. No co-option without specification.

Peter Neville

WHY?

Reply to Laurens Otter

Dear *Freedom*,

Laurens Otter objects to my 'Letter to a Pacifist' (15th May 1993) asking why anarchists should abandon their pacifism even though he believes it is the only effective way of working for anarchism.

In my previous reply (19th June) in my article "I said nothing at all about 'abolishing capitalism' nor did I write about 'attaining anarchism'". My concern was not utopia but the present system of oppression and nullification, and whether in principle it can be ethical to commit acts of violence against it."

Laurens' original criticism of my article was grounded in this assumption, and he still seems to believe that I was writing about attaining anarchism, achieving anarchism, etc. He says there is "no cure for the evils of the present world short of anarchism". I don't think that I have such a broad, wide-ranging

vision of what anarchism is, but I do my best to put across my own ideas.

I find it difficult to reconcile Laurens' original declaration (29th May) "I am not concerned about the ethics of a particular act, purely as to its practicality in attaining anarchism", with his later statement, "to say one is not concerned with the ethics of a particular act isn't to say one has no ethical code, indeed it pre-supposes that the act is seen in the context of an over-riding ethical system" (16th October).

In the first letter Laurens judges the act on grounds of practicality. In the second he introduces intention. I don't think this is the whole story. It is not so much the judgement of an action *after* it has taken place, when it is too late, so much as to think about principles or ways of working in the present and the future that concerns me here.

'Letter to a Pacifist' offers some discussion of means/ends and Laurens here chooses long-term ends over short-term gains, because he works with criteria and categories such as utility and effectiveness. In my original article I say "to shoot the madman is not directed towards any end, except perhaps to stop him. The act of shooting is an end in itself ... we are not concerned with any 'reward' we might find as a result of our action (i.e. shoot the madman and survive)."

To answer Laurens' question, take the example of the 12th Sonderkommando at Auschwitz. They were not concerned with attaining a particular vision of how society ought to be, or imposing it on anybody. Neither were they fighting for survival. They were fighting because this *in itself* was something worth doing. We

However, no country is able to produce the whole range of goods demanded at competitive prices, so autarky condemns its disciples to inefficiency and relative poverty." While of course international free trade and international finance only condemns the inhabitants of the third world to absolute poverty and starvation. The idea of autarky could be useful to the development of anarchist and green economics since it seeks alternatives to international trade wherever articles and services can be locally produced, an essential part of a local, decentralised economy.

JPS

More on Economics

Dear Editors,

Freedom's readers should be grateful to Colin Johnson for his thoughtful article 'More Notes for an Anarchist Economics' (*Freedom*, 19th September).

There is certainly a need for further articles on the topic of economics, in its broadest sense, within *Freedom*. I find myself in sympathy with much of what Johnson has to say, even his statement that "... the questions an anarchist economics should be addressing are much larger than those of the style or technique of achieving particular ends". I would, however, add this reservation on his point. For many anarchists, in economics and other areas of concern and action, *the means used influence and often determine the ends achieved*. So while they are not the only consideration, 'style and technique' do remain important. Whatever one's personal preferences in the field of differing economic models, it is important that particular lifestyles and economics systems are not forced upon people. It

does not so much matter whether you run an economy in a communistic, centrally planned manner, a 'mixed' anarchist manner, a *laissez faire* manner, decentralised green or whatever, so long as involvement, membership, activity are *voluntary* and there is the possibility of personal dissent and withdrawal. It is compulsion, whether legal, political, social or economic, which perpetuates authority, repression, injustice and exploitation.

To comment upon another of Johnson's 'Notes', anarchists *can be descriptive* of their social and economic ideas *without becoming 'authoritarily prescriptive'*. Such warnings are part of the anarchist tradition, for instance Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*.

Neil Birrell's 'Dorset Diary' of the same issue raised another topic of interest to anarchists concerned with economics, namely autarky. The concept of autarkist economics is not popular with mainstream economists and politicians. To quote the Economists Publication's *Pocket Economist*: "Autarky. Utopian aim of self-sufficiency. An autarkic country tries to substitute domestic products for imports from other countries to gain independence from the vagaries of trade.

— HUNGARY —

(continued from page 4)

the most apparent fruits of Hungarian democracy. The population today has turned away from mainstream political ideas.

The elaboration of a 'third solution' away from state property and capitalist privatisation should be at the tip of any anarchist agenda. Concrete projects for autonomous forms of organisations are necessary and could be set up by non-hierarchical groups, either in communities, workplaces or amongst the political opposition, with actions which oppose power.

Federal organisation structures do not have much of a history in Hungary, even amongst anarchists who remain sceptical about all forms of organisation which could threaten bureaucracy. Some feel the danger for little groups who, on joining a federation, could lose their independence.

Indeed, the setting up of this federation will prove a useful learning process to understand what role such a form of political organisation can give people.

A dispute would seem to separate those who came from Budapest. In the capital, where there already exist some specialist groupings which bring together people from the same area, it is undoubtedly easier for anarchists to make contact with each other, particularly because of Alternative Decentrum at the university theatre. They are thus able to say that those who want to get together 'will find a way somehow or other'. Is this, however, sufficient? For places where there is little in the way of organisation, getting to know one another can take years.

The setting up of a national federation will prove a real encouragement to one and all to get together with others and break down political and ideological isolation.

— NEWS FROM POLAND —

Bureaucratic 'privatisation' continues

On 14th July the law relating to National Investment Funds came into effect (also known as the 'general privatisation programme'). Six hundred state businesses must be privatised there by distributing their shares among twenty national investment funds. 33% of shares will go to one of these funds, 27% to others, 25% to the treasury (even though the Exchequer doesn't officially exist) and 15% to the workers. The funds themselves must be 'privatised' by selling to the

public what are known as share certificates. However, ownership of one of these certificates gives no rights in the decision-making process relating to the funds. The funds must be managed by 'licensed businesses', mainly foreign, chosen by the selection commission - whose members are nominated by the prime minister (twelve people), parliament (five) and the main trade unions (two).

Radio and television under state control

A new piece of legislation concerning television and radio has come into effect. A new National Television and Radio Bureau has been set up (KRRiT).

Only Polish citizens permanently in residence in the country or mixed economies (as long as foreign shareholdings do not exceed 33%, and member of the board of directors are in the majority Poles permanently resident) can obtain broadcasting licences. This can only be given for seven years (radio) and ten years (television); KRRiT has the authority to withdraw the licence if a station broadcasts programmes "damaging to the interests of national culture and the security and defence of the state", or offensive "to acceptable moral standards". The law imposes an obligation to "take christian values into consideration" when programmes are made.

During these recent years, private radio and television stations have appeared spontaneously. Currently, there are dozens of private radio stations and between ten and twenty television stations in

Poland. They broadcast without state recognition, apart from the Catholic stations, legal due to legislative measures to lay down the relationship between the state and the church. Up until the setting up of KRRiT the government tolerated the existence of these illegal stations. Today it blocks the setting up of new stations and has announced a campaign against existing ones.

Military service

Groups from the Polish Anarchist Federation have dedicated a lot of their energies to the anti-militarist struggle. They are working alongside groups like Rush Anarcho-Pacyfistyczny (Anarchist Pacifist Movement), the WIP (Peace and Freedom Movement), FZ (the Green Federation), and the Objector association. There were, at the end of June, three objectors in prison known to anti-militarists. Three more have come to trial since then. However, many deserters are imprisoned without public knowledge. There are often demonstrations to demand the release of these inmates.

There is an alternative system to military service in Poland, but qualifying for this is difficult (the three prisoners mentioned above were all denied this alternative). Anti-conscription militants (as they call themselves) got the agreement of three deputies from the Democratic Union (one of the members of the government) to introduce new legislation concerning military service to the Polish parliament, which they did. It turned out to be more repressive than the old laws! Fortunately, there was no time for a vote before parliament was dissolved at the end of June ...

Source *News from Poland A Infos Information Office of FA c/o An Arche, Uniwerstet Slaski, Bankowa 12, 40-007 Katowice, Poland*

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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:

- Carl Levy - 'Anarchism and Nationalism in Europe, 1870-1939'
- Roy Pateman - 'Wagner, Anarchism and National Socialism'
- Peter Marshall - 'The Scourge of Africa'
- Sharif Gemie - 'Fanon, Algerian Nationalism and the Politics of the State'
- Paul Faux - 'Nationalism: Tolstoy's Diagnosis and Antidote'
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Registration fees:

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All registrations and enquiries to:
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London Anarchist Forum NOTE CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE

Following telephone threats, the principal of the Mary Ward Centre has asked the LAF to meet elsewhere (see article in this issue).

For four Fridays beginning 29th October, we will be meeting at **Conway Hall**, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn) at 8pm. After that we do not yet know where we will meet. Suggestions for a meeting place in central London welcome. See Dave Dane or Peter Neville at a meeting, or contact Peter Neville, 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone 081-847 0203).

AT CONWAY HALL

29th October - Discussion on Anarchism and Responsibility
5th November - Anarcho-Syndicalism (speaker: Pete Turner)
12th November - General discussion on Anarchist Economics
19th November - Pacifism and/or Violence Today (speaker: Tony Smythe)

VENUE TO BE ANNOUNCED

26th November - Discussion on Progressive Social Change
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— **Autumn/Winter 1993-94** —

Sunday 14th November: Circular walk from Edale via Kinder Scout, Kinder Low and Jacob's Ladder. Bring waterproofs, strong boots, food and hot drink. The walk includes areas involved in the 1932-33 mass trespasses. Meet at The Nag's Head Pub, Edale, at 10am. Length 8-10 miles.

Sunday 5th December: Circular walk from Wirksworth to Alport Heights. Meet at Wirksworth market place at 12.30 midday. Length 4-5 miles.

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