

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 52 No. 6

23 MARCH 1991

FIFTY PENCE

"It is easy to believe in justice when you have not been caught up in its workings."

Peter Wildeblood

Prosperity is always just around the corner. Meanwhile **2,000,000 UNEMPLOYED!**

If one bothered to look up the newspaper files for the last four years or so one would read all kinds of predictions by experts in commerce and industry and by the economists, no less than by the government, that we were going through a difficult period but that all would be well 'next year' (*Mañana* as the Spaniards would say). Interest rates would come down, inflation too and the balance of trade would improve.

The only thing the government had succeeded in doing was to reduce unemployment from the high levels it had created in the early '80s in reducing the inflation rate from 15% at one point to a mere 5%. Then in the mid-eighties the problem was to reduce unemployment which it succeeded in doing partly by fiddling the books (all kinds of schemes to

take people off the register) but also by encouraging the banks, the building societies — the money lenders — to lash out and encourage a spending spree which was fun while it lasted but resulted in inflation going up again to nearly 11% while interest rates also shot up to 14%.

The spending spree also had its effect on the Balance of Payments. In 1989 Britain imported more than it exported to the tune of £20 billion in a year. More significantly and as a direct result of the spending spree, for the first time in its history this country imports more manufactured goods than it exports.

Now the chickens are coming home to roost. Bankruptcies are the highest they have been since 1945.

Thatcher's 'property owning, share owning capitalists' are also in trouble. The share owners simply cash in their shares in the privatised industries and services as soon as they can take a profit. They are already cashing in on the Power Gen shares at a profit of 35p or more per share. The property owners in an ever-growing number are unable to meet their mortgage payments, partly because of the high interest rates but even more importantly now, because the recession is hitting above all the jobs of the better paid employees without much prospect of their finding equivalent employment in the near future. Farmers who borrowed heavily to buy more land at inflated

(continued on page 4)

Truth the first casualty Bruised but not battered: a correction

When captured British airmen appeared on Iraqi television with bruised faces, they were re-broadcast by British television and the British press displayed their photographs with comments ranging from "fairly obvious how they got their bruises" to *The Daily Star's* "The bastard is torturing our boys". *Freedom* at the time published a note headed 'Bruised but not battered', suggesting that the bruises were caused by dust above the desert striking the men's faces as they ejected at speed.

We now learn that our conjecture was mistaken in the case of the most traumatised airman, Flt Lt John Peters. He collected the worst of his bruises as he landed head first in the desert, after he had ejected.

He said so on his Iraqi television broadcast, but that bit was edited out by the BBC when they relayed it. A copy of the complete unedited tape was supplied by the BBC to Flt Lt Peter's wife, on condition she kept quiet about it until after hostilities had ended.

'British Justice' 16 Years Too Late

Paddy Hill, that most articulate and uncompromising rebel among the Birmingham Six, summed it up before the microphones which the media had set up outside the Old Bailey when it was obvious not only to the media who had steadfastly refused to journalist Chris Mullin and a large number of 'respectable' citizens, prominent among them Cardinal Hume over the years, but equally to the bewigged bone-heads that here were another group of men beaten up and framed by the police to make confessions and by the expert forensic scientists, to prove that they had handled explosives.

Paddy Hill was free but he had the guts to tell the world that he had no faith in the judges who had set him free. Pointing to the building, topped by 'Justice' with her sword in one hand and the scales of justice in the other, he declared, in no uncertain terms, that you get "no justice from the people in there" because the

evidence to clear them "was there all the time".

"It came out at the Court of Appeal how much they hid away from us — the evidence that shows we were innocent of any contamination from explosives.

We were made scapegoats to appease the public. It could not have been done without connivance right up to the top level. It could not have been done without people in high places.

The officers who had arrested him at Heysham had treated them well, and Mr Hill said he fondly remembered the 'good crack' they had had.

But it all changed at 6.30 that morning when a certain detective from Birmingham, Detective Sergeant Ray Bennett said: 'Soon you dirty little murdering bastard, soon'. I asked him what he meant and he told me I would find out soon.

I did 1½ hours later at 9 o'clock. They started beating me and told me they had orders to do what they had to. They told me they didn't give a fuck who had done it."

The apologists of so-called British justice, while lamenting the fact that

(continued on page 4)

"What epitomises this war more than anything else was our mass killing from the air of fleeing Iraqi soldiers. With our cluster bombs, as one pilot put it, 'we hit the jackpot'. And according to another, the slaughter accomplished by waves of fighter-bombers attacking a vast column of fleeing Iraqi soldiers, estimated to be 20 to 30 miles long, was such that 'it was close to Armageddon'."

— Professor J. Lipton of the City University of New York

When the Americans launched their carpet bombing of Baghdad, President Bush told the American public that they had fought the war in Vietnam with one arm tied behind their backs and it was not going to be repeated in the Middle East. Before the 100-hour ground war was launched the 'coalition' flew nearly 100,000 sorties unloading their bombs, at the beginning on Baghdad but later on Basra and on Kuwait. By that time the wretched Iraqi army (largely conscripts) had had enough and even Saddam Hussein had agreed to withdrawal from Kuwait.

The airmen had given a brilliant display of the latest aerial technology while the ground forces had been kicking their heels. Now it was time to show the world the latest in American tanks and firing power. Not content with overwhelming the Iraqis on the ground the airmen pursued the retreating army and massacred them in their thousands.

At the same time as we were reading the triumphalist accounts of these acts of genocide in the press, the RSPCA published an advertisement with a photo of a dead fox headed by the following caption: "Which is really the vermin? The fox or the man who

When is Genocide not Genocide?

butchered it?" And the text answering their question runs:

"The fox is often called a vicious cold-blooded killer.

So what would you call a man who trapped a vixen in a hole and then stabbed her over and over again?

A man who, not satisfied with the pain already inflicted, encouraged his dogs to tear the terrified creature apart?"

We have never doubted that Saddam Hussein is a dictator, and was one even when he received all the assistance, financial and weaponry, from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as well as from all the Western members of the 'coalition' when he was engaged in the eight years of war against Iran. A fox, vicious and cold-blooded — the gassing of the Kurds and the brutal treatment of dissenters both in Iraq and when occupying Kuwait, are proof indeed.

The United Nations Organisation agreed to the imposition of sanctions against Iraq while the Americans started building up a military

"This ain't no war. It's just us dropping bombs and killing people." — New York taxi driver quoted in *The Guardian* by Professor J. Lipton of the City University of New York

force of 500,000 equipped with the latest 'conventional' (what an understatement) weapons and equipment at the invitation of Saudi Arabia to help that country defend itself from possible invasion by Iraq.

Since Iraq depended mainly on oil revenues — and more so than ever after the eight year war against Iran — sanctions could have

worked since all the pipelines had their outlets in 'hostile' countries. But it was quite clear that the Pentagon and Bush were out for blood. After all it was potentially a very profitable enterprise with both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia showering the Americans with billions of dollars and with promises of military and

"I am not in the business of body-counts." — US General Schwarzkopf

civilian contracts at the end of the conflict. Why otherwise this massive concentration of force on land, sea and air?

The intensity of the air bombardment must have surely convinced the top brass that the Iraqi military power had been not only disorganised but completely shattered (literally). The *Fox* was trapped and agreed to all the conditions laid down by the United Nations (read United States) whereupon the *Man* launched the ground attack and killed many and captured thousands of the retreating Iraqis. Not content with that 'he encouraged his airmen to tear the terrified creatures apart'.

Now there will be victory parades in the West, while in the desert they are burying the dead. Thousands of 'unknown warriors' and civilians — Iraqis and Kuwaitis — blasted during the retreat by the 'coalition' are being bulldozed into huge pits specially excavated out of the desert sand to receive their mutilated, roasted, crushed bodies.

Now the United Nations is sending a delegation to Kuwait to investigate the atrocities committed by the Iraqis. It was made clear that the delegation will not be

investigating reprisals by Kuwait against the Kuwaiti-Palestinians!

Needless to say they did not even mention that they would not be investigating the carpet bombing of Baghdad, Basra or of the retreating defeated Iraqis during the 100 hour ground war massacre.

But there is one thing about communications these days. The 'allies' won't be able to suppress the ghastly things they did in a matter of weeks in the Middle East. We know more than enough about the *Fox*. The world will be learning sooner than later about the 'coalition' *Vermin!*

"We're grabbing hold of them and hanging on to them like a junkyard dog." — A senior US officer

"It looks like the Iraqis are moving out and we're hitting them hard. It's not going to take too many more days until there's nothing left of them." — Captain Ernest Christensen

"It is just sickening. They are no threat to us. They're defenceless troops. They're trying to escape with their lives. For the sake of humanity we ought to let them do it.

The Iraqi troops are routed and the senseless killing of fleeing troops does not contribute in any way to the successful conclusion of this war." — Former Admiral Gene La Roque, director of the Centre for Defence Information, Washington

quotes from *The Guardian*

After the War

The anti-war movement is falling into deeper disarray after the Gulf War. In particular the Committee to Stop War in the Gulf is running around in circles like a decapitated chicken. It tried to hold a mass demonstration on the Saturday immediately after the ceasefire, 2nd March, with the theme of a just peace, but understandably few people bothered to march through London yet again when at least the main objective of the campaign had been achieved; it has then tried to find a new role.

At its meeting on 4th March it agreed that the ceasefire was the only one of its original objectives which had been achieved, and decided to continue its activity with the addition of a new title, the Committee for a Just Peace in the Middle East, and with two main objectives — to campaign for a full peace conference, and to convey the full scale of the war. The former seems to be highly unlikely, as the Allies continue their war policies by means of diplomacy and the areas

affected by the war fall into increasing chaos; the latter is proving to be very difficult, since it is still virtually impossible to ascertain how much damage was done by the air war and how many people were killed by it and then the subsequent land war, let alone the immediate social and political effects and the lasting economic and ecological results.

The Committee is trying to raise funds and is planning a mass rally in London around its objectives, which won't do much good in the present circumstances. Far more preparatory work needs to be done first. Meanwhile there have been some useful items in the press — notably an Article 19 report called *Stop Press: the Gulf War and Censorship* — and also several very interesting and informative meetings — notably a day conference at Conway Hall on 9th March during which several experts on the Middle East from the Middle East discussed the real situation. Now that the saturation bombardment by the media has stopped, it is more possible to discover relevant facts and learn important lessons.

The problem remains for all libertarians opposed to the recent war or any war and to the national and international system making war possible and indeed inevitable — whom to work with or against and how to do so. This is not a simple matter of adopting a particular policy and deciding which groups to support or oppose. If we take part in any social or political activity, we come up against other people who are involved in the same activity for different — often very different — reasons. This is true not only of war but of anything else — working conditions, civil liberties, housing, education, race, sex, poll tax, and so on. We can't decide that we won't work with Marxists (of whichever brand), because when we go to meetings or demonstrations they will be there, probably much more numerous and noisy than us, and if we won't work with them we may find no one to work with. (Remember that many people don't want to work with anarchists!) Anarchists fought both with and against Marxists in Russia and Spain, and the choice was never easy. It is just as difficult now, though it is less drastic.

We all have to make our own choices. In doing so we must try to avoid both sectarianism or syncretism — either

thoughtlessly opposing or thoughtlessly supporting anyone — but we must try to get involved in the current developments if we can. All our other activities are threatened when the killing begins.

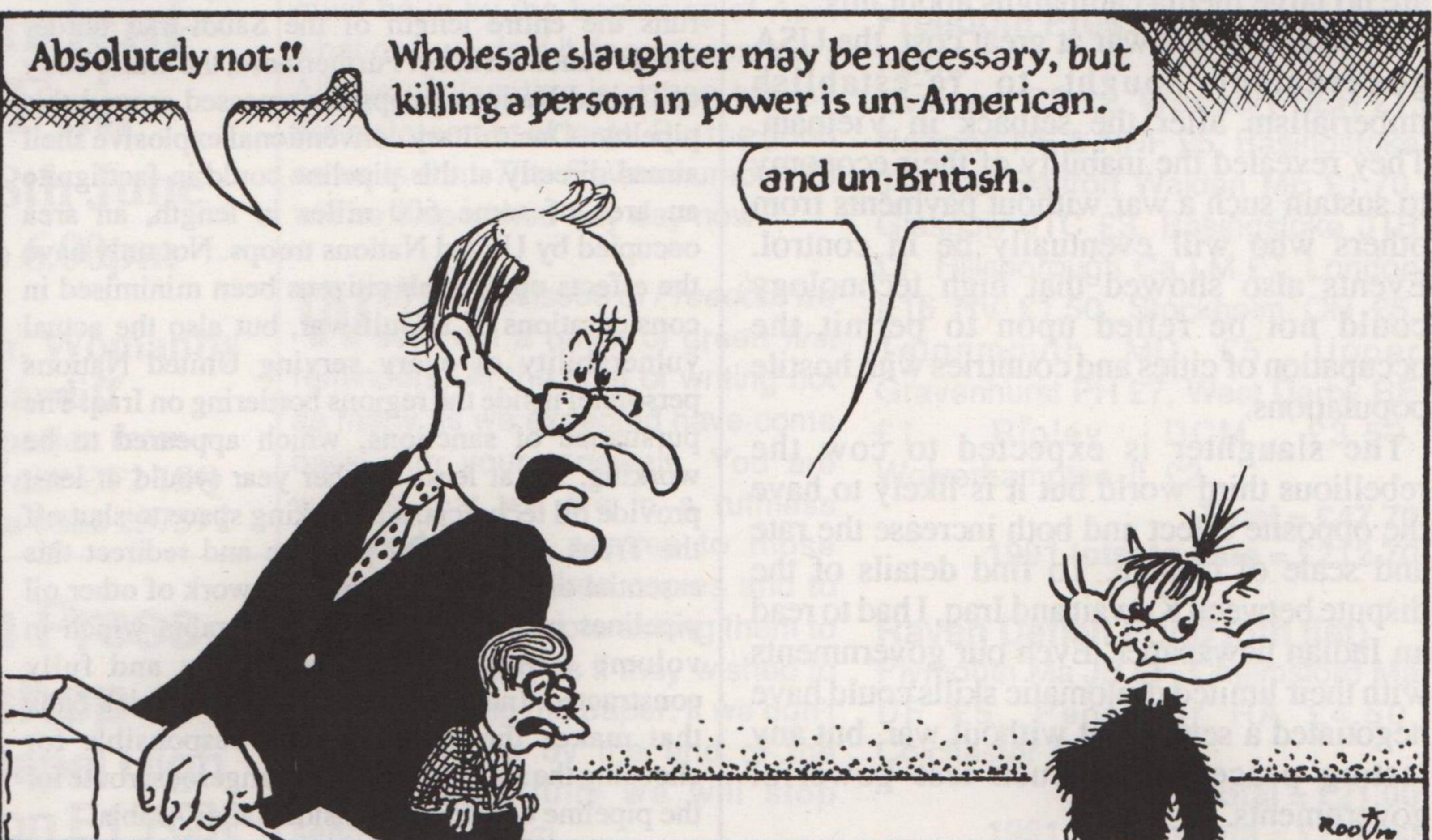
Meanwhile, on an individual level, Vic Williams, the soldier who left the British Army because he disapproved of the war and who was interviewed in the press and on television and who spoke at anti-war meetings, has given himself up to the military authorities and has been charged with desertion. As Nansen said long ago, wars will cease when men refuse to fight.

NW

The Gulf War

Recently the peace movement has devoted much attention to nuclear weapons, but recent events show that in a world over-provided with such devices, disasters comparable to Hiroshima can occur in a 'conventional' manner. A particularly revolting aspect was the way in which the war news was sanitised so that corpses were rarely seen in public.

(continued on page 3)



So, part of the nightmare is over. The Kuwaiti Resistance are taking Palestinians away, to help the Kuwaitis forget occupation, arrest and torture by drowning their memories in someone else's blood. The Americans are doubtless making arrangements for a big new base in the area, probably in Bahrain. Meanwhile the Iraqis brace themselves for more death, at the hands of cholera, typhus, starvation and their own army. And the face of the sun is hidden by oil fires. But the Cruise missiles have stopped flying, along with the B52s, Tornados, Stealths, F-111s and all the rest. And the iron bombs, cluster bombs, laser bombs, napalm and fuel/air bombs have all been put away — until next time.

The anti-war movement in Edinburgh and Scotland didn't stop any of this, and I don't think that anyone involved really thought that it would. Shortly before the killing started, I was outside the US Consulate late at night with about a dozen other anti-war protesters, when a car stopped and an NCO from the Scottish Borderers asked us if we thought we would achieve anything. None of us did. The KOSB soldier shook his head, and wished us all the best, saying that none of the soldiers from the Edinburgh based regiment wanted to go — which wasn't the picture the Scottish press gave us when they did go. The face of that soldier, that member of the working class, will be one of my abiding memories of the protest — a picture of our failure.

The anti-war movement was very active throughout Scotland. The 12th January saw what proved to be the biggest protest, with a mass march and rally of some 9,000 in Glasgow. Just prior to the deadline for war, this rally, and the one in London on the same day, gave me great hope. But the reaction of those with the power was predictable, being symbolised by the reaction of *Scotland on Sunday* — one picture of one protester and six lines of text, and *The Scotsman* on the following Monday — no mention at all. In Edinburgh the protest continued with a 500-strong picket of the BP headquarters on the 19th January, which followed an earlier march from the US Consulate to BP in the previous week. Weekly happenings at the Wellington statue, later the Mound, continued throughout the war. There were also vigils outside the Peace and Justice Centre on Princes Street, and Thursday evening silent marches from the US Consulate. Rallies in Glasgow's George Square took place on alternate Saturdays, and events took place throughout Scotland, such as the march in Aberdeen on 16th February, when the police attempted to stop the event by preventing the Piper Alpha Survivors banner from being carried because 'it had nothing to do with the war'. Just before the end of the war, Edinburgh saw a 3,000-strong march and rally that was, again, largely ignored by the Scottish press, whilst BBC Radio 4 news said: "a rally in Edinburgh was the biggest in Britain today", and that was it!

The anti-war movement in Edinburgh was

The Gulf War

(continued from page 2)

The media horror is now expressed about the burning oil wells which will indeed result in a small loss of revenue for the oil companies as well as the regional pollution. In the course of normal trade, this pollution would be spread around the world together with much vaster quantities and would not be so visible. There are no large media campaigns about this.

In 'winning' the war at great cost, the USA government sought to re-establish imperialism after the setback in Vietnam. They revealed the inability of their economy to sustain such a war without payments from others who will eventually be in control. Events also showed that high technology could not be relied upon to permit the occupation of cities and countries with hostile populations.

The slaughter is expected to cow the rebellious third world but it is likely to have the opposite effect and both increase the rate and scale of change. To find details of the dispute between Kuwait and Iraq, I had to read an Indian newspaper. Even our governments with their limited diplomatic skills could have negotiated a settlement without war, but any lasting peace needs much less powerful governments.

Norman

The anti-war movement in Edinburgh and Scotland

supported by CND, SWP, RCP, a few Labour and Scottish National Party activists, the Scottish Green Party, and a good helping of individuals. The weekly organisational meetings of the Edinburgh Campaign Against Gulf War (ECAGW) were usually attended by 50-plus people in a good atmosphere. early on the RCP activists seemed to bow out, and that left the SWP people as the most active group within the ECAGW, but non-aligned individuals remained the main element. Unlike the report in *Freedom* ('Opposition in Opposition', 23rd February 1991) about the London movement, the ECAGW was not marred by faction fighting, and its simple 'stop the war' message proved broad enough for everyone to march behind. Noticeably absent from the Wednesday evening meetings of ECAGW were activists from either Class War or DAM. They were present at the big events, but not at any of the many smaller happenings, pickets or leafletting that I attended; although 'Class War not Gulf War' appeared on the walls of the city. That left those groups looking a little feeble against the 'lefties' of the SWP that they despise so much. But there's some similarity between the SWP and Class War: they would both like to bump people off — killing's fine providing it's the 'right' side that's doing it. Class War's current recruitment poster in Edinburgh is 'Behold, Your Future Executioners'. I had a loud argument with a *Class War* paper seller at the BP picket over that, and as a result sold half a dozen *Freedom*s to those within earshot.

The anti-war movement was, in the main sense, a failure. It didn't stop the killing. The main problem appeared to be that it quickly ran out of steam. Standing on the street handing out leaflets gives only an impressionistic picture of public attitudes, but, to me, it became clear that initial widespread sympathy for the movement degenerated into a dulled, 'head in the sand' attitude, and, especially towards the end, more outright hostility. On the 9th February, for instance, I got two 'fuck offs', three 'I support the war', and plenty of refusals to take leaflets, in the first ten minutes of leafletting at the Mound. I think that this was, regrettably, because we hadn't seen the deaths of hundreds of British servicemen, remember it was the 50,000 US deaths that ended the Vietnam war, not the 3,000,000 Vietnamese. This decline in the effectiveness of the movement vis-a-vis the public was, I think, due to two causes. First, there is a strong war-like, militaristic strand in popular culture (reflected and fanned by the press, but it's there anyway). This is especially so in Scotland, where the failure of Scotland as a nation is offset by the general worship of Scotland's military achievements and suffering — from Quebec, Waterloo and Lucknow to St Valery. The second cause of the decline in the effectiveness of the movement was its identification with sectional interests. I sold *Freedom* at the big events, but at the weekly leaflettings which reached far more people, I left *Freedom* at home. That wasn't the case with the SWP, or the *Living Marxism* crew. ('Living'?

The Trans-Arabian Pipeline

Of the knowledge in the public domain amidst the Gulf crisis, one particular piece of information has been largely neglected. I refer to the Trans Arabian Oil pipeline which runs from Az Zaharan on the Persian Gulf inside Saudi Arabia to Sayda on the Mediterranean coast inside Lebanon, and of course runs the entire length of the Saudi-Iraq border inside Saudi territory. Furthermore, the entire body of United Nations troops are amassed around this pipeline. One solitary conventional explosive shell aimed directly at this pipeline could in fact ignite an area of some 600 miles in length, an area occupied by United Nations troops. Not only have the effects upon Arab citizens been minimised in considerations of a Gulf war, but also the actual vulnerability of every serving United Nations personnel inside the regions bordering on Iraq. The pursuance of sanctions, which appeared to be working, for at least another year would at least provide oil technicians a working space to shut off the Trans Arabian Oil pipeline and redirect this essential oil supply through a network of other oil pipelines in the south of Saudi Arabia which in volume terms is yet to be finally and fully constructed. Indeed it is the quest for a quick buck that makes the oil companies responsible for choosing the shortest, but most dangerous, route for the pipeline of mined oil inside Saudi Arabia.

CA

Shades of Christian evangelicism there; they remind me of Jehovah's Witnesses anyway; won't take 'no' for an answer.) Their activists were out, and they were merely exercising their right to push their own cause as well as that of anti-war, but I don't think it helped. The priority should have been to stop murder. The height of absurdity in this context, was when the Spartacists turned up at a Saturday leafletting with placards urging support for Saddam Hussein — that produced masses of hostile comment from the public.

There were, however, some very healthy aspects of the campaign. First, the big Glasgow and Edinburgh rallies showed just how wide the opposition to the war was. The Glasgow march and rally of 12th January was a sea of banners from every conceivable group under the sun: women's groups, CND, 57 varieties of socialist, greens, some trades unionists, anarchists, ex-servicemen, Christians, Muslims, and, best of all, individual men, women and children. Another good aspect of the war was that it removed the mask that usually covers the system. All the main political parties rallied round the flag — the Stars, Stripes and Crossed Oil Wells. Politicians showed what they

were really made of in the face of an impending election; the prize for the biggest bastard here must surely go to Joan Ruddock, ex-CND supremo and front bench job-hunter. The press showed its servility even more clearly than usual: Iraqi censorship versus UK 'reporting guidelines'. And the trades unions and the churches (with the partial exception of the Catholics and the Church of Scotland) showed, yet again, that they have no principles. Finally, the war, and the anti-war movement, has proved to be the political awakening of many people.

War and murder will continue, especially if we only seek to change systems. Only when people take on their individual responsibility for their own actions will murder stop. Only when the bomber pilot climbs back out of the cockpit and says 'You fly it!', only when the torturer hands back the electric drill and says 'You do it!', only when all the individuals like the NCO from the Scottish Borderers say 'I'm not going', will the killing stop. No 'revolution', no bloody 'class war' is going to do that, only when individuals turn their backs on those who exercise power, be it parents, teachers, policemen, newspaper editors, TV bosses, politicians or financiers. Only when people turn their backs on those people and walk quietly away to freedom, only then will the killing stop. And only then will those with power be forced to let go of it, or sit alone giving orders that no-one will be listening to.

Steve Cullen

News from Northern Ireland

I've been reading with interest the pieces on the experience of anti-war groups during the Gulf war. In Derry a group was formed largely at the instigation of the SWM (SWP) but very quickly it came to include people from other revolutionary socialist groups. Sinn Féin, independent socialists, some anarchists, and some people from peace groups. This group survived through many turbulent weeks and produced some useful if small scale demonstrations, children's art exhibitions, a peace watch, public meetings, street theatre and graffiti. On one particular rally, to mark the launch of the land war, the lead and only banner read 'No war but the class war' which some young people who are associated with the ACF produced. This raised a few eyebrows among members of the 'old' left but cheered many people who remembered their days of more youthful activism. I hope it also caused them to evaluate where they've moved to with a view to rejoining the libertarians. The mix seemed to work quite well in Derry and as the group agreed to suspend activities last week (a very positive move reflecting the limitations as well as the strengths of broad front coalitions) I am pleased to say that sound anti-war positions and a fair leavening of libertarian thinking meant that the group was really successful in local terms. And on a wider scale I suppose I'm agreeing with the correspondents who suggested that anarchist inputs were vital to all such groups and that small local and effective coalitions make more sense than efforts to hold together huge 'national' groups in order to impress the media.

It's been an awful time for killing in Northern Ireland recently. Three men killed in a car outside a pub and one man killed inside the pub in the village of Cappagh. A taxi man shot in North Belfast. Two UDR soldiers killed in an IRA missile attack. All in one weekend. On the Monday following all of this I heard a radio interview with a range of so-called constitutional politicians who made such asses of themselves that many listeners phoned in to abuse them in particular and the whole idea of politics in general. One man almost said that what we needed was

to get the politicians off our backs. Is he an anarchist? And if not what do anarchists have to say to him?

You may be interested to know that the Workers Solidarity Movement, an Irish anarchist group, has re-activated itself and the spring issue of its well-produced and interesting paper is available. Contact them at WSM, PO Box 1528, Dublin 8.

The recession in the British economy hits us in funny ways. The Secretary of the Derry Association in London told the Londonderry Sentinel that the best advice she could give to anyone thinking of coming to London to look for work was to stay at home. So much for getting on your bike! I spoke to a truck driver who told me he was taking a machine back from Herdsman Linen Mills, still in the packing and casing, only six weeks after he unloaded it from a ship from Germany. That evening I heard the announcement that lay-offs and short time working at the mill had been confirmed. More short time working has been announced at the Fruit of the Loom factories in Donegal, affecting about 2,000 workers. This has put the skids up people in Derry who have been backing Fruit of the Loom plans to open here. When the recession/depression bites, it's the workers who get bitten.

The campaign of opposition to the plans by Du Pont to increase toxic waste incineration capacity to become Ireland's national toxic waste plant has really taken off. The local branch of the Ulster Farmers Union has called on the Department of Agriculture to clarify its views on the plans. Many other groups and associations have come out publicly against the incinerator and Du Pont has already waved the big stick of total pull-out of the area (their plant has 1,500 workers and causes £60 million to run through the local economy annually). Going back to my opening remarks, this is obviously an issue that local anarchists will tackle. Who knows, we may yet see the 'No war but the class war' banner out front yet again!

Dave Duggan

2,000,000 UNEMPLOYED!

(continued from page 1)

prices are now in trouble in spite of all the subsidies that come to them from the EEC and the government. They owe the money lenders £7 billion.

Anybody concerned with the health of the environment (which also concerns our health, after all!) and the economical use of finite resources must surely be delighted that the motor industry worldwide is going through a serious recession. Even the Swedish Volvo company is in trouble. The crisis in the airplane industry is even more marked and more welcomed. That it should coincide with the glamorous opening of Stanstead Airport just goes to show that the expert predictions as to our requirements are more often than not wide of the mark. For instance, we read only recently that the experts forecast that there will be twice as many cars on the roads in this country by the end of the century (only another nine years). Surely there speaks the road lobby?

The government goes on insisting that the recession is on its way out — with prosperity around the corner if workers work harder for less money. This is a big lie. Every day the economic/financial pages of the press announce more redundancies, more sackings. The banks, the travel industry (with a vengeance), the building industry (an estimated 100,000 which obviously they are hoping to reduce with contracts in the Middle East), local councils (to keep within the government's limits in order not to be 'capped'). And of course shrinking spending affects shop takings and results in staff sackings.

The recession is manifest in all the industrialised countries of the West. *The Guardian* reports that the "US economy shows steepest contraction since 1982".

Their New York correspondent Mark Tran writes:

"The US economy shrank two per cent, or \$20.5 billion, in the final quarter of 1990, the steepest quarterly contraction since a 3.2 per cent decline in the third quarter of 1982 during the last recession.

The Commerce Department said that the fall in GNP — the total output of goods and services and the broadest measure of economic health — was widespread. It included a \$19.9 billion drop in consumer spending on virtually all items ranging from cars to clothing."

There is no possibility of an upturn in the capitalist economy this year or next year for you can be sure that if the inflation rate goes down dramatically, unemployment will increase dramatically, and at the present rate it could be three million by the end of this year. This figure is not a complete picture of the situation since a statistic rarely mentioned is the number of working people on part-time or on short-time employment.

The current rise in unemployment especially affects white collar employees and management. Without wishing to be offensive: all they produce is paper which is now being spewed out by millions of office computers at an ever-increasing rate, in spite of the recession, and with fewer machine minders. For (the late) Mrs Thatcher PM, they were the 'producers of wealth'. But their going will be seen not to affect the real wealth of the country: *the production of the goods and services we all need to live normal lives*. But as the main consumers of luxury goods and services, a tightening of the belt for them will result in more job losses, but above all a decrease in imports of cars and videos and other symbols of the successful yuppies. Which will help reduce the Balance of Payments? Not necessarily. The latest privatisation: the Electricity Generating Industry — the

management have made it clear that when contracts for coal with the British Coal Board expire they will seek the cheapest suppliers — which means Polish or Australian coal. And the new Coal Board chief, in trying to avert such a calamity, is proposing to close down more pits which will put out of work another 30,000 workers in the industry! And where will they find employment in the middle of the worst recession for years? And these 30,000 are real producers of wealth! Coal is this country's black gold which is lost once a pit which still has coal is closed down because it cannot be mined as cheaply as in other countries. After all, Australian wheat this year is fetching £40 a ton on world markets.

Britain and the other EEC nations are paying their farmers over £100 a ton to produce not only what is consumed in the community but a few million tons more which are then sold on world markets at half that price! Some Tories, including the praying Minister of Agriculture Mr Gummer, take the view that the land is just another factory, and if it cannot compete it should go under — like the mines. For those who worship the *market forces* in every department of industry, services, the arts, education, these are facts of life. This is capitalism in tooth and claw.

As anarchists we are hoping that the present crisis of capitalism will not be solved. Our millionaire-owned national press are gloating over the economic and political crises in the 'liberated' countries of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Major in his lightning (hand-shaking, photo calls galore) tour to Moscow, the Gulf and to Bonn has been offering advice all round, especially to poor old battered Gorbachev with his Baltic headache, and probably

Wise under those wigs?

Mr Justice Bridge, now Lord Bridge, summing up at Lancaster Crown Court in August 1975: "If the six men are telling the truth ... the police have been involved in a conspiracy unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history." Sentencing them he said: "You stand convicted on each of 21 counts, on the clearest and most overwhelming evidence I have ever heard."

The late Lord Widgery, then Lord Chief Justice, refusing the men leave to appeal in March 1976: "There was no evidence to suggest the six had received any knocking about in custody beyond the ordinary."

Lord Denning, the Master of the Rolls, dismissing the men's civil action against the police and Home Office in January 1980: "Just consider the course of events if this action is allowed to proceed to trial. If the six men fail, it will mean that much time and money will have been expended by many people for no good purpose. If the six men win, it will mean the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the confessions were erroneous. That would mean the Home Secretary would either have to recommend that they be pardoned or he would have to resubmit the case to the Court of Appeal. That would be such an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: it cannot be right these actions should go any further."

Lord Denning in *The Spectator*, August 1990: "We shouldn't have all these campaigns to get the Birmingham Six released if they'd been hanged. They'd have been forgotten, and the whole community would be satisfied."

In February 1991, after the DPP made clear he no longer regarded the men's convictions as safe and satisfactory: "As I look back I am very sorry because I always thought that our police were splendid and first class and I am sorry that in this case it appears to be the contrary."

Lord Lane, the Lord Chief Justice, dismissing the men's appeal in January 1988: "The longer this hearing has gone on the more convinced this court has become that the verdict of the jury was correct."

Lord Chief Justice Lloyd, at the first preliminary hearing in December 1990, on being told there was a 'mind-boggling' amount of material to read: "I don't think we are going to let this spoil our Christmas."

Lord Justice Lloyd: "In the light of fresh evidence which has become available since the last hearing in this court, your appeal will be allowed and you will be free to go as soon as the usual formalities have been discharged."

'British Justice'

(continued from page 1)

it took so long (a mere 16 years out of six men's lives) — and out of the Guildford Four's lives, and we have yet to hear what the government will decide about the Maguire's) console themselves with the thought that in the end 'British justice prevailed'. What hypocrites, what typical British arrogance! When even the present Home Secretary, Kenneth Baker, minutes after the release of the Birmingham Six, announced to the House of Commons that a Royal Commission would be set up right away, it was quite clear that, to quote Paddy Hill, "British justice must be in tatters". Mark you, to put it all right again (as it ever was) the government talks of needing up to two years to sort it all out! All the opposition could say was that two years was too long.

Of course it's too long. The answer can be given in a minute. Give a section of the community power over the rest of us and you will invariably get abuse. After all, some of us were brought up with Liberal Lord Acton's good advice that power tends to corrupt. Absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely.

Even the right wing *Independent* in its editorial ('The Innocent and the Guilty', 15th March) declares that there has been "a terrible mistake" and that a Royal Commission is not enough. They want a scapegoat and who more obvious than the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lane? We like the last sentence: "It is time he threw in his wig". Surely it is time that we the people, if we have intelligence and self-respect, should dispense not only with all the wigs, but with the titles that are distributed twice a year in their thousands, the certificates assuring us of the *bona fides* of the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker.

Capitalist society is by definition corrupt. Production for profit encourages dishonesty. Why are so many top people,

millionaires such as Ronson recently released from prison in connection with the Guinness scandal, being prosecuted for wanting even more than they already have? Power corrupts the money makers. Why shouldn't it corrupt the police — money-wise and power-wise — the big-wigs and others involved in legal litigation? (Actually the legal profession, judging by the fees they earn, could afford to be honest!)

The real lesson is that there is no justice in a society based on *privilege*. However much the ruling class juggle with the law it will invariably favour the privileged. After all most crime (some 80%) is against property. Abolish property and most of that 80% of 'crime' will go. Abolish privilege and whatever system we may devise to see that justice is done, it won't be operated by a privileged class, which is the case today, and explains why the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six have waited so long — not for justice — to be released from the sixteen years in jail. The judges believed the police and the forensic experts. The Appeal judges didn't bother to read Chris Mullin's book or listen to the growing protests. One of the appellate judges last December actually said in court that the appeal should not upset their Christmas holidays. About six men who had spent sixteen years in jail.

And even at the eleventh hour when the establishment knew that they had lost they insisted in going through with the charade of an Appeal and the Counsel for the Director of Public Prosecutions had the nerve to suggest that there was still an overwhelming circumstantial case against the six in spite of all the evidence by the police and the forensic scientists, even the judge tried to shut him up and that's saying something!

We greet the Birmingham Six; hope they will get massive financial compensation so that they will not have to look for jobs but will spend their leisure exposing 'British justice' up and down the land!

repeated Thatcher's homilies about the advantages of capitalism of the tooth and claw, the market forces, variety. As Enoch Powell wrote some time ago about his fellow politicians: the British have lost their Empire but not their arrogance! What advice can the capitalist European Community offer with its 20 million unemployed while probably another 20 million have every luxury that pathological greed can demand? Ditto the United States of America, a debtor nation so far as the Balance of Payments is concerned — the money lenders are the Arab oil billionaires — and one which has growing unemployment and soup kitchens.

Socialists who imagine that the Labour Party will reverse the trend if they win the next elections are living in cloud cuckoo land. They are committed as never before to salvage the capitalist system. After all, when they won the elections of 1964 they were taking over following the Tories' 'thirteen wasted years' in office. Far from taxing the rich till the pips squeaked, it was once more the poor who paid to get the 'economy' back into the 'black'. And when Thatcher took over in 1979 thirteen years later — nine of which saw Labour governments in office, to quote a sympathetic observer, Peter Townsend, the rich were richer and the poor poorer. It will be the same again. Since taxation is the only weapon available to these social democrats to even attempt to make our society less unequal the fact that they have already stated that they would increase the top level of income tax from the present 40% to 50% indicates that they are just part of the capitalist 'conspiracy'.

Perhaps we in the West can actually learn something from the countries of Eastern Europe. Had the people in their hundreds of thousands not descended onto the public squares to demand changes in the regimes, no government would have budged (that they wanted another — a 'good' — government is beside the point). So long as the British public imagines that by putting a cross on a ballot paper once every five years (or every four years if the government thinks it can cash-in vote-wise by some Falkland factor, or perhaps even a Gulf factor) they can change the whole political, social and economic structure of this country, we can assure them that they will be simply participating in a ritual which maintains the myth of democracy but leaves intact the whole corrupt structure of capitalism.

Poll Tax Round-up

The new poll tax figures for those in the South West who are still paying have been announced recently. All the county councils have had to drastically cut services to avoid capping but bills are still substantially higher this year.

For instance, Gloucester county council have made cuts to the tune of £7 million, mainly on school meals provision and care for the elderly. The average bill for the county has gone up by £50 to £410, the poll tax for the Forest of Dean has risen by £68.

In Wiltshire the average county charge has increased by £55 to £366. In Thamesdown the bill has gone up by £60 to £400 per person. Not surprisingly Swindon has an official non-payment rate of 20%, which can only increase.

Somerset county council have made around £8 million cuts in total, with £4.5 million being axed from the education budget. However, the council still faces poll tax capping. The average county bill will be £400 — an increase of £50.

Avon county council is faced with having to make a staggering £26 million cut in its budget to escape capping, resulting in at least 100 job losses. Even then, the average county bill will be £436, an increase of £56 on 1990.

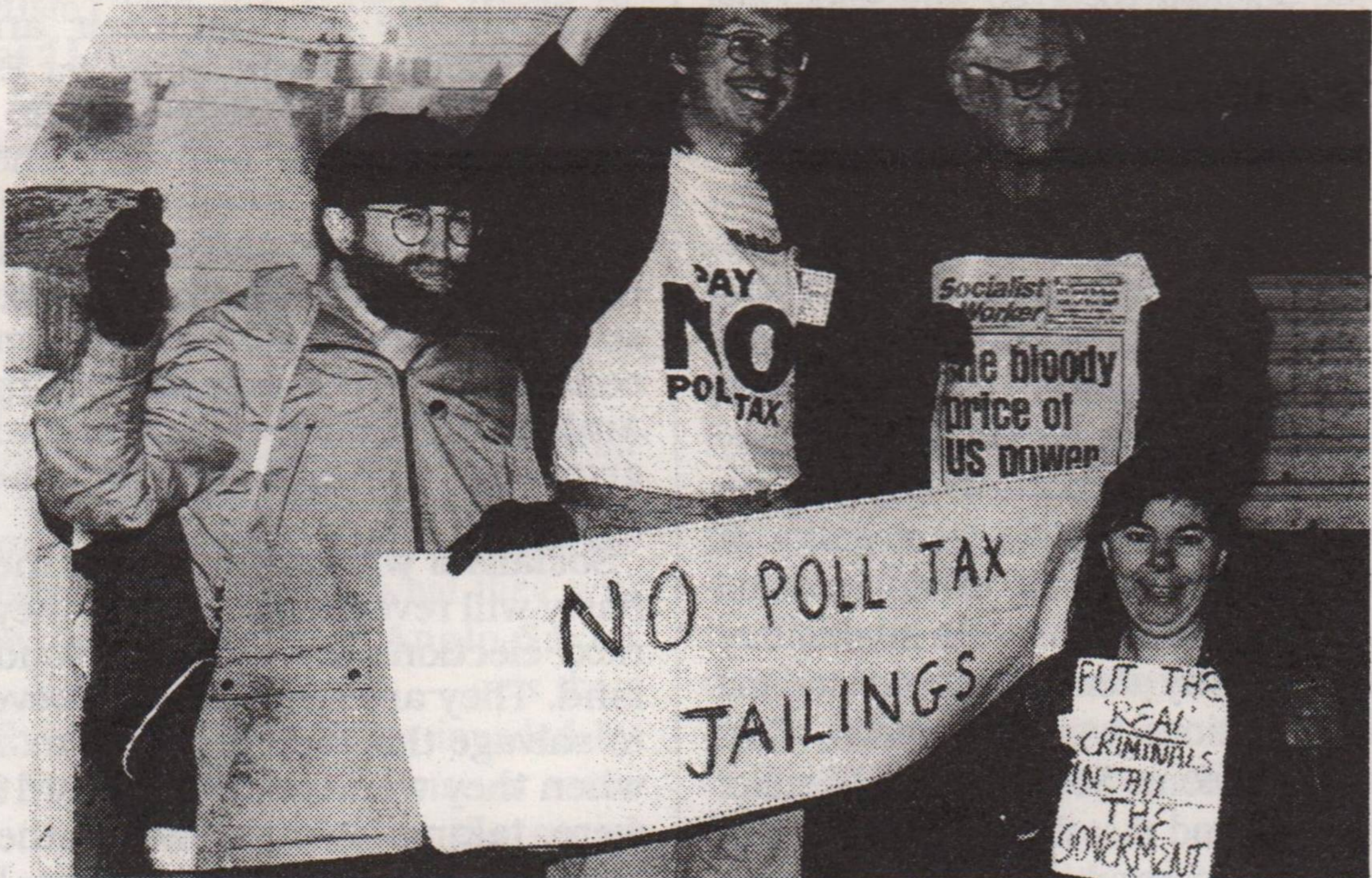
Bristol city council is expected to set a poll tax rate of around £550, an increase of £125. It is also facing capping from Whitehall. That's not the end of its problems. Collection is a nightmare. The collection office has had to install a letter-bomb detector, while staffing levels have doubled and are working seven days a week. Meanwhile 25% of people

haven't paid and 3,000 are being taken to court weekly. The council has had to borrow to meet this shortfall, adding £1.5 million onto this year's budget. Also the ruling Labour group are faced with having to make cuts of around £8 million. The opposition Tory group say this isn't enough, and want cuts of £9 million, with job cuts all round and the closure of council funded cultural and leisure facilities.

In Cardiff the Labour group (which is using the Bristol firm of bailiffs, Roach & Co.) has set a poll tax of £277 — up £24. However, certain areas will this year be liable for 'transitional relief' to 'ease' the burden — or put another way, bribe the electorate in an election year. This has resulted in Butetown, one of the poorer areas getting a super £5 off its bill. Riverside, which includes the relatively wealthy area of Pontcanna (home of BBC, HTV and S4C) gets £50 off its poll tax — so is effectively paying less this year.

The rates of 'transitional relief' have been determined by the Welsh Office, which is Wales' equivalent of Whitehall. To help you understand the logic of their 'transitional relief' calculations, bear in mind that Butetown has never voted Tory, in either local or general elections. The Riverside ward is more marginal, with the Pontcanna area being more Tory inclined. In effect, Butetown is subsidising Pontcanna by £45 a head, so that the latter will continue to vote Tory. Yet another illustration of how fair the poll tax really is.

EM
1st March



Protestors outside Croydon Town Hall: a non-sectarian comrade on the left.

Ribble Valley by-election

The recent Ribble Valley by-election looks like being one of the final nails in the coffin of the poll tax. The day before, *The Guardian* announced that over £1 billion of the poll tax remained uncollected in England and Wales, and demonstrations across the country had greeted councils setting the new poll tax. On 6th March 29,000 Liverpool council workers struck in protest at plans to cut 1,500 jobs, while 1,000 people besieged the city hall.

In Ribble Valley the Liberal Democrats were the recipients of a 25% swing away from the Tories, in one of their previously safest seats. Most political commentators agree the by-election was a referendum on the poll tax.

But it's important to remember that in Ribble Valley the political result was simply reflecting the reality across Britain, where the poll tax has been defeated by ordinary people refusing to pay and putting pressure on all levels of government. The initial disorders outside town halls across the country in 1990, followed by the March demonstration and riot and continued local activity, shook the complacency of the Tory establishment. Thatcher's flagship had politicised previously apathetic sections of the population and

galvanised them into opposition. This is something all governments fear and guard against.

It appears the question now is not whether the current poll tax will be abolished, but it what form it can be retained to save face in the most humiliating u-turn undertaken by a recent British government. To capitulate completely would be to set a dangerous precedent — that the government can be beaten by extra-parliamentary means. Therefore, the Tories are searching for a political 'fig leaf' to conceal the truth. Hence Heseltine's recent bedroom plus poll tax proposal.

With the government on the run over the poll tax (not to mention the state of the economy) we have to be sure to keep on the pressure, so that all escape routes are closed off. This means making the 23rd March protest a massive protest (and celebration) against this government and its poll tax. We also have to redouble our efforts at the local level so that implementation becomes even harder. Nor must we forget those imprisoned for the right to resist.

EM

IT'S OFFICIAL! 14 MILLION AREN'T PAYING!

A Radio 4 'Today' programme survey claimed today (6th March) that more than one third of those registered to pay poll tax in England and Wales (39 million people) either haven't paid a penny or are behind in their payments! Add to this the unknown but probably quite large number of people who aren't even registered and it's clear that the grass-roots revolt against the poll tax is as strong as ever!

The BBC also reported that the Glasgow march against the poll tax (9th March) had a poor turnout (the reporter claimed only 4,000). In the light of the staggering non-payment figures, it is obvious that this should not be taken as meaning that people have come to accept the poll tax. The initial fury may have died down a little, but the resentment and the will to resist are still there. Perhaps people don't feel the need to make a public show of non-payment to the government now; they simply know they can get away with it!

The 'Today' survey was carried out in January and the figure of up to 14 million is based on responses from 165 councils — 40% of local authorities. The survey claims that councils are £1,000 million behind in their collections! Fifteen million reminders have been sent out, as have 2.8 million summonses, and 1.8 million liability orders have been issued!

The survey claims wide regional variations in non-payment figures. Inner cities, where councils are having difficulty keeping registers up to date, have the highest numbers of non-payers (20% in London, for example).

The causal sequence currently being put about to explain what is happening is that

non-payment causes councils to take out loans which incur interest charges, leading to higher poll tax bills next time around. In Haringey, for example, which is said to have the highest poll tax, two thirds have yet to pay! The average poll tax bill nationally is estimated to be £368 — £10 on top of last year and £5 on top of the government's own estimate.

However, it must be obvious that one important element is left out of the causal sequence described above — the fact that the Tory government conceived of and foisted the bloody poll tax on us in the first place!

As is their wont, Tory, Labour and every other parasite in power are closing ranks in the face of the rebellion. Here in Brighton, the local rag has been running items arguing that conscientious objectors to the poll tax are being subsidised by paying pensioners. The journalists have been supported in this by the bleatings of Labour councillors, more interested in holding onto power than fighting Tory policies. We can only hope that people see through this crap at once (and join the non-payment campaign!) or that anti-poll tax unions put out effective propaganda.

The poll tax is back at the top of the political agenda. It is now a year since it was introduced, and people are acutely aware that councils have been setting their new bills. At Hove Town Hall, protesters were chucked out for disturbing the proceedings. At Brighton Town Hall, we were bored out of the building by windbags. The official non-payment figure for Brighton is 57,000 — 47% of those on the register! That'll teach them to switch from a tax on property to one on individuals in a town full of students, homeless and squatters!

Johnny Yen

Food for Thought ... and Action

Recent additions to Freedom Press Bookshop stock

Marxism and its Failures by the Anarchist Communist Federation, A5 pamphlet, 31 pages, 80p.

*Within the Shell of the Old: essays on workers' self-organisation** edited by Don Fitz and David Roediger, Charles H. Kerr, 107 pages, £5.50. "A tribute to George Rawick, libertarian socialist and one of America's most influential historians".

La Coordinadora: a union without bureaucrats by Don Fitz, WD Press, A5 pamphlet, 22 pages, 95p. Spanish dockers' union history.

*No Nukes: everyone's guide to nuclear power** by Anna Gyorgy and friends, Black Rose Books, 478 pages, profusely illustrated, £7.95. This massive book is a definitive survey of the nuclear issue, covering the inner workings of nuclear power plants, the rise of the movements against them and a survey of the alternatives. Easily written with contributions from experts worldwide, this important reference work ties together the most important aspects of the global energy crisis that is defining the future of our economy and society.

*Astrology: fraud or superstition** by Chaz Bufe, See Sharp Press, A5 pamphlet, 11 pages, 50p.

*Bankers, Bagmen and Bandits: business and politics in the age of greed** by R.T. Naylor, Black Rose Books, 166 pages, £11.50.

*Fed Up! the food forces that make you fat, sick and poor** by Brett Silverstein, Black Rose Books, 160 pages, £8.95. Silverstein exposes the lies and makes the connections between increasing food prices and decreasing food quality, between hunger throughout the world and obesity in our society ... it looks at food farming, processing, marketing, advertising,

technology, education and governmental regulation.

*One Step Beyond: or, smash the Revolutionary Community Party** published by Pirate/Phoenix Press, A6 pamphlet, 16 pages, 45p.

*France, Winter '86-'87 — the Railways Strike: an attempt at autonomous organisation** published by Echanges et Mouvement, A5 pamphlet, 23 pages, 60p.

*Wollaston: people resisting genocide** by Miles Goldstick, Black Rose Books, 315 pages, numerous photographs and illustrations, £9.95. Personal accounts of native peoples' struggles to protect their homes from the effects of uranium mining in Northern Saskatchewan, Canada, and to say how their lands should be used.

The Myth of Labour's Socialism, Anarchist Communist Federation, A5 pamphlet, 16 pages, 50p.

*The Mysteries of St Louis** by Henry Boernstein, Charles H. Kerr, 303 pages, £9.50. A lurid tale of terror — the first full length novel to be set in St Louis. The author, whose vehement anti-clericalism is emphasised in this book, was a radical freethinker and sometime socialist.

*On Anarchy and Schizoanalysis** by Roland Perez, Autonomedia, 144 pages, £7.95.

*The Case Against Religiosity** by Albert Ellis, Institute for Rational Emotive Therapy, A5 pamphlet, 14 pages, 35p.

Many of these titles will be reviewed in Freedom in due course.

As usual titles distributed by Freedom Press Distributors (marked *) are post free inland (add 15% towards postage and packing overseas). For other titles please add 10% towards postage and packing inland, 20% overseas. Cheques payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.

The Fantasists

Barbara Cartland, Dame of Grace of St John of Jerusalem and, among so many other personal triumphs, the founder of the first Romany Gypsy camp in the world, is a woman hipped to the gills on Royal Jelly who is treading gently to her glorious centenary yearwise. With thinning hair like silver sugar floss and an appearance of pale pink blancmange held together by the gift wrapping, she has given millions of people pleasure and written almost as many books. She has created a world of fantasy that she believes in and her millions of readers would love to inhabit. It is a world of men given to cynical smiles, high fashion from the Tailor and Cutter trade, with swords dangling next to the codpiece and but one desire in their misspent life and that is to despoil the fainting heroine, for Babs is the doyen of the 'bodice rippers' oeuvre. For Babs women are property for the marriage market and for that they must be virginal and if through force or weeping consent they surrender their Seal of Good Housekeeping then they become and must accept that they are the pariahs of their society and scorned by the very rotters or roués who played the bee to their flower. If you think that I am wronging Babs, in the literary sense, then I can but quote from *The Hell-Cat and the King* wherein the beautiful Zenka is forced by Royal decree into a loveless marriage with King Miklos of Karanya: "Could it really be now, the day she had dreaded, the moment when she must become the wife of a man she hated? A man who had married her because of her British Royal Blood and intended that she should produce his children without love." Yet is it really so mawkish when a thousand Hollywood films, cult or corny, have used that for their plots.

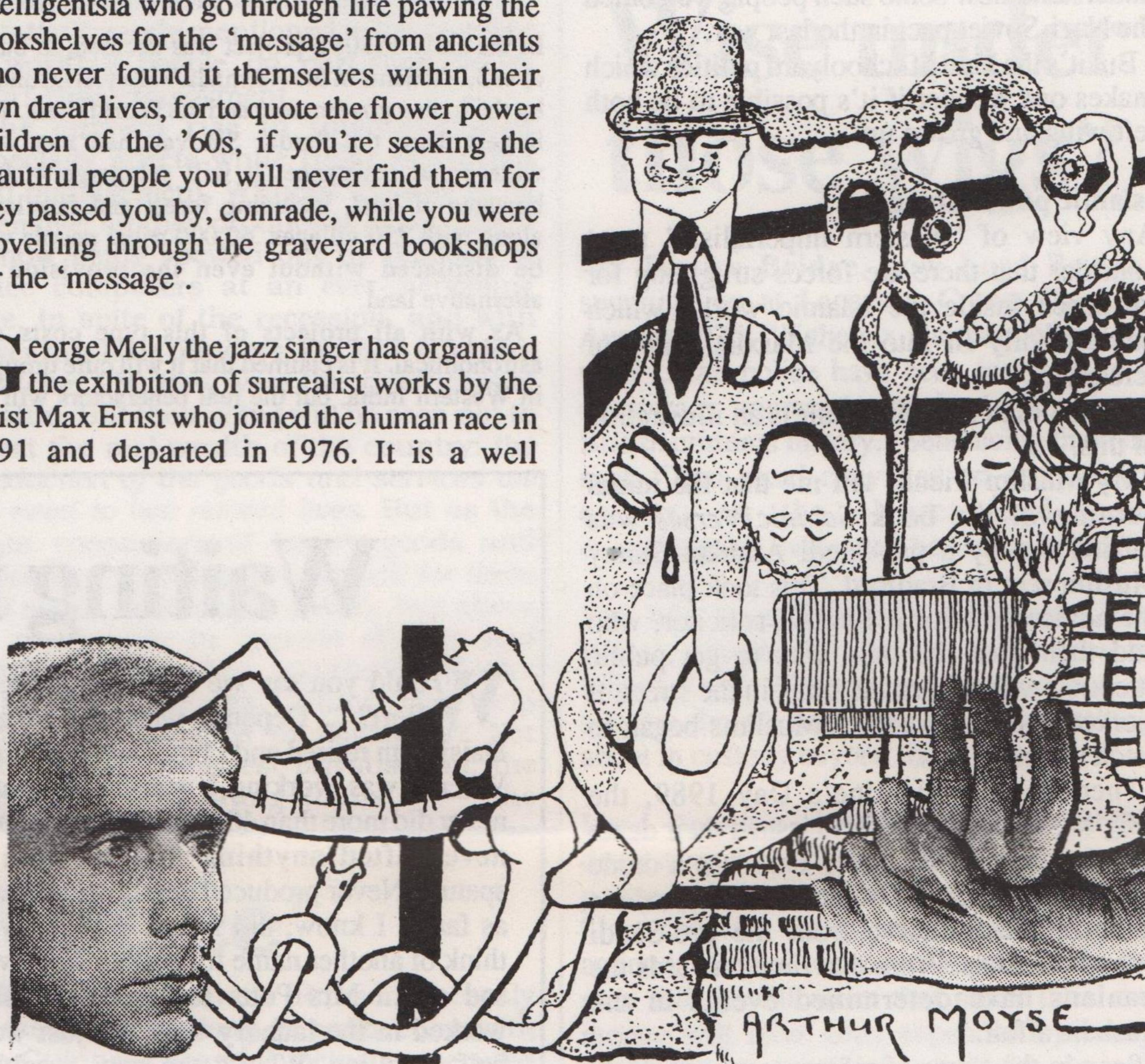
Yea even to Babs's final closing lines when Zenka gazes up at the King of Karanya's scarred face and "then she laughed up at him, he kissed her until everything was forgotten except the flames leaping higher and higher and the wonder and glory of their love which was both human and also divine", or to interpret 'keep your legs locked Lucy no matter what the struggle and you will win the jackpot'. Babs does no more than accept the social mores of entrenched societies all over the world in that women are cattle for the marriage bed and the buyer demands purity on the hoof, for Babs has sold 500 million books in 23 countries with a new deal worth

£250,000 to ship tens of thousands of her books to the Middle East where they have now passed the strict Arab censorship laws, for says Babs "My heroines always stay virgins until they marry". Never condemn her for the fantasies that she believes in and writes for her vast public harm no one for she has no desire to control anyone's life. For the men she offers them the fantasy of being Ronald Colman from the film 'The Prisoner of Zenda' and for the women to be Fay Wray, held within the loving but lecherous paws of King Kong, wondering on the wisdom of accepting a 'blind date'.

And yet for Barbara Cartland it is the public sneer from the humourless academic pseudo intelligentsia who go through life pawing the bookshelves for the 'message' from ancients who never found it themselves within their own drear lives, for to quote the flower power children of the '60s, if you're seeking the beautiful people you will never find them for they passed you by, comrade, while you were grovelling through the graveyard bookshops for the 'message'.

George Melly the jazz singer has organised the exhibition of surrealist works by the artist Max Ernst who joined the human race in 1891 and departed in 1976. It is a well

organised and, for the geriatrics, an exciting exhibition and all praise to George. Melly has a right to organise this exhibition for, for most of his adult life, he has been involved as a non-painting associate of the surrealist movements in Britain. It was a pleasure to talk with him on the press day for we were two ancients rabbiting about the exciting London Gallery off Bond Street when Melly warmed the front seat. Two ancients talking of old wars, for Melly now has his hearing aid and I have sciatica. It is rumoured, probably it is apocryphal, that a dumb jazz singer once sang in the Hampstead wine bars while the ex-members of the ol' Communist Party



jangled their beads and rearranged the daisies in their hair, but George is deaf and I still buy his cassettes. For the young attending this worthy surrealist exhibition the work in the main must be accepted as poorly painted, while the subject matter is no more than museum fodder. It was an exciting period, between the wars, when as with fluid abstract painting anyone could get into the act and the bourgeois took over their self-appointed roles as the boulevardiers of the barricades, but the barricades were no more than the wine glasses or the coffee cups in the street side cafés. They quoted Marx and Freud and Adler and Jung and joined and expelled each other from the revolutionary parties of the day, but always they kept within the confines of their bourgeois moral upbringing and the safety net of the commercial art galleries. Only André Masson broke the code to my knowledge, for when in 1941 he was forced to high-tail it to America the New York customs officials decided that a number of Masson's drawings were straightforward obscenity and they were confiscated for that reason. They are loosely sketched erotica in which the penetration of the vagina is the subject. Max Ernst and the others in those early days gave much pleasure for they broke away from the dry academic world of the day but never far away enough to break the chain. In the end we are left with the brilliant draughtsmanship of Dali, the empty cities of Paul Delvaux wherein naked women walk in their eternal trances, and Max Ernst. Bitter brooding clever workmanship whispering of de Sade but never committing himself with the pencil or the brush. Of all that period of minor art only Méret Oppenheim's, literally, 'Fur covered cup, saucer and spoon', 1936, seems to have lasted the course for the shudder stakes, but as they dribble in the House of Lords, 'dat's the way the cookie crumbles, comrades'. I watch them fingering the shelves within the bookshop for the message and it is not there, my friends, nor within the Tate if you seek it illustrated, for time has defeated you and my sad, sad friends it always will.

Arthur Moyses

The Hell-Cat and the King by Barbara Cartland (Severn House, £8.95)

Max Ernst exhibition at The Tate Gallery, admission £4.

Prince Charles, Christopher Alexander and A Pattern Language

"Christopher Alexander, the Californian based architect and theorist is to design a £5 million exhibition hall for the Tudor ship the Mary Rose. The commission follows intervention by Prince Charles, president of the Mary Rose Trust, who is understood to have put Alexander's name forward after seeing an earlier scheme for the hall by John Winter. The hall forms part of an ambitious £26 million scheme for Portsmouth Dockyard designed by Winter." (*Building Design* Jan 25 1991)

Given that Christopher Alexander is to lecture at the second Prince of Wales's Summer School in Civil Architecture later this year, Prince Charles must know exactly what he's doing allying himself with the author of *A Pattern Language* (Towns Buildings Construction), by Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa and Murray Silverstein, with Max Jacobson, Ingrid Fiksdahl-King and Shlomo Angel, published by OUP, New York, 1977.

The Timeless Way of Building and its handbook *A Pattern Language* imply a way of doing things that truly reflects the diversity and the ordinariness of everyday life. The book consists of 253 patterns, each of which describes a problem occurring repeatedly in the environment and proposes the core of a solution that can be used millions of times over without doing it the same way twice. It is a world of IDENTIFIABLE NEIGHBOURHOODS (14) and OLD PEOPLE EVERYWHERE (40), of CONNECTED PLAY (68), SELF-GOVERNING

WORKSHOPS AND OFFICES (80) and GARDENS GROWING WILD (127) of POOLS OF LIGHT (252) and of THINGS FROM YOUR LIFE (253).

The patterns are not isolated entities but can only exist embedded in and supported by other patterns in the structure of a network. No pattern is sacrosanct and any may be replaced. Many are so crucial and so correct that if they are missing the result is the buildings that currently surround us, touched by the dead hand of abstraction and already becoming the future slums of Toytown.

A Pattern Language constitutes the seeds of an extremely powerful moral, political and economic critique of our society which for its complete realisation requires the inevitable displacement of capitalism. Towns and buildings will not become whole unless all of the people use a pattern language to create their environment, and this language itself must be alive and continuously evolving. If that isn't a recipe for an anarchist society, I don't know what is.

More recently, Alexander has written of a battle between his architectural firm and construction company, the Centre for Environmental Structure's World-System-A and the present World-System-B, in the shape of the Japanese construction industry governed by money, machines and images. The New Eishin Campus, the scene of this clash includes a great hall that can seat 1,200, and a gymnasium, the second largest building

ANTIFILE

Professor Norman Stone

Norman Stone, hysterical historian, TV personality and writer of high class rubbish for the top people's paper *The Sunday Times*, is very much an establishment poodle. This academic ass is a remarkably atavistic phenomenon whose jingoism would be more acceptable had he come upon the scene two hundred years ago. The petrified professor has a rare gift for reading history and learning nothing from it. He lives in a world of romance where Britain is at the hub and Britons are its natural elite.

An obvious choice, he was one of Margaret Thatcher's notorious 'stink tank' which lent authenticity to Nicholas Ridley's famous

on site, that is the largest wooden structure built in Japan since the war.

The fact that priests invariably loathe prophets may explain why none of Alexander's works are on the RIBA List of Recommended Books, which this year contains more than 700 items. Nonetheless *A Pattern Language* is the single best guide to creating HEAVEN ON EARTH (0) currently available in environmental design theory and practice. It deserves a much wider readership but fourteen years later is still only available as a hardback for £38.00, OUP please note.

The largest pattern in the book is INDEPENDENT REGIONS (1). Something the size of Wales would be nice, I thought.

Sajjad

anti-German outburst shortly before the Iron Lady was discarded as an acute embarrassment to an equally despotic but less jingoistic establishment — for multi-nationalism has limits to its toleration of people like Maggie and Nick, whose mistake was to say such things when there was no war between Britain and Germany.

The potty professor's weekly column deserves to be read by all whose litter bins can cope with a small weekly rainforest, if only for the copious flow of Stonerisms, the best of which so far must be his description of the formation of the British Empire as a piece of "brilliantly engineered imperialism", leaving the reader with the impression that had we not nearly wiped out several foreign peoples in the process, history would have been the duller for it.

Crusading Norman, who must surely have had an ancestor in the Charge of the Light Brigade (the one who gave the order?) patriotically pilloried a bunch of strange 'pacifist' bedfellows, including Enoch Powell, Vanessa Redgrave and Bruce Kent, for warning that the war against Iraq could be a long drawn out affair with a terrible cost in British lives. We won a four-day war! Easy! Easy!, gloated Norm from the terraces where he belongs, forgetting the weeks and weeks of terrible blasting from the air that eventually made the result a foregone conclusion.

The outpourings of this Stone Age academic deserve to be read, learned and instantly rejected for the romantic nonsense that it is, for it can only further impair Britain's already ugly image in the eyes of his egocentric world.

EFC

The Factory and Beyond: Forget the theory, use common sense

Economic explanations

The hangover of Marxist ideas still prevails! In *Direct Action*, the anarcho-syndicalist paper, a writer claimed: "Clearly the United States has engineered this war for its own interests". This writer puts up the seductive case that the US intervention in the Gulf was simply about getting "an unshakeable influence over oil prices".

This approach to commenting on events is captured in the saying 'where your treasure is, there will your heart be also'. *Freedom's* own leader writer has largely made sense of the Gulf war using the same technique.

As a form of analysis it is not without flaws. Certainly the Gulf war may well have been about the price of oil. But if so, what was the Falkland conflict about — sheep?

The implication of the Marxist critique is that states act rationally in their own best interests. It's a flattering view of government, which assumes that they always know what their best interest is. In living memory the United States government has fallen on its face by trying to promote what it thought its best interest was — Saddam Hussein himself is an example of this handiwork.

The thing about a theory, like Marxism, is that it can't provide textbook explanations to all human events. Orwell said that it would be hard to fit the Dreyfus case (French anti-semitism) into the Marxist frame of analysis, and I doubt that the Salman Rushdie affair can be easily explained in those kind of terms either.

Ideas like Marxism are tools to be used to help us understand the world. But you can't mend a watch with a lump hammer.

The crackpot's chorus

If anything makes us question the Marxist critique it's the Marxists themselves.

In wartime it's easy to read the minds of the British Marxists, and predict what they will do. Whoever opposes the Anglo-Saxon powers — Britain and America — gets their support. Even if we were being invaded by men from Mars, the *Workers' Voice* or some such sheet without questioning the social system on the red planet would surely proclaim 'Down with Yankee imperialism — support the Martians!'

Here's a selection of headlines from some of the Marxist press last week:

Who can we trust?

The UK government?

- Devised on the spur of the moment and put into operation a manifestly unfair tax and cannot work out an alternative.
- Regularly produces depressions and ensure that millions are unemployed.
- Cannot house population properly. Build a large number of useless office buildings and house many in cardboard boxes.
- Health service, education, scientific research, public transport, etc., all run down as government policy.
- Undeclared war continued indefinitely in Ireland.
- Disgraceful prison conditions with many innocent people held on remand. A further number in prison due to corrupt police and legal system, for example the Birmingham Six. All legal services costly, ineffective and very slow.

None of the political parties likely to remedy

Workers' Power: 'Defend Iraq!'
The New Worker: 'Hands off Iraq!'
Workers' Voice: 'Down with Imperialist War!'
The Next Step: 'Take Sides Against the West!'

No matter that Saddam is gassing the Kurds or knocking shit out of the Shi'ites. The important thing is that he's against the Yanks or at least he was last week. With this kind of mentality amounting to anglophobia, one can understand how some such people welcomed the Nazi-Soviet pact in the last war.

But it's the kind of schoolyard politics which makes one wonder if it's possible to be both left wing and grown up.

Islamic power struggle

Any view of 'Western imperialism' must consider that there are forces struggling for influence inside the Islamic world, which don't readily fit into the Marxist frame of reference.

The Salman Rushdie affair is an illustration of this.

My Muslim friends tell me that the initial burning of the book *Satanic Verses* was carried out by a pro-Saudi Arabian Sunny Muslim sect in Bradford. This took place on the advice of a local English solicitor, who told them that the only way to get public attention was to burn the book in the street. It worked and the Bradford Muslims began to catch the headlines.

Then on St Valentine's Day 1989, the religious authorities in Iran issued their death sentence against Rushdie. This was a crude political move by the Iranian Shi'ite Muslims to seize the initiative from the pro-Saudi Sunny Muslims. From that time onwards the Iranians have determined events in the Rushdie affair.

Seen in the terms of reference of a struggle taking place within the Islamic world, it was a triumph for the Iranian Shi'ites. In the West the Rushdie affair has been seen as a moral conflict between the religious sensitivities of religious minorities and free speech. In reality it is a religious power struggle between factions within Islam.

It would not be impossible if we shed our Eurocentric blinkers, to view what has gone on, and is now going on, in the Gulf in a similar light.

these conditions.

The USA government?

- Massive balance of payments problem, i.e. running on credit.
- Airlines, banks, savings and loan (building societies) and the government insurance for their deposits, all in desperate financial state.
- Very poor housing for large segment of population, high unemployment and violent crime.
- President who knowingly lied about raising taxes and vice president who evaded war service telling others to fight.
- Serious minority problems including the native Americans.

The world government?

Actually a few multi-national corporations. The oil companies create massive pollution only noticed for war propaganda purposes. Food and agriculture companies dilute, water and poison their products. Drug firms show more concern for profits than for health.

Will the United Nations and the Common Market which are made up of representatives of such governments do any better?

Norman

Beggars strike

In one Muslim country the beggars are threatening to strike during Ramadan. The disruptive impact of such a strike could be considerable. Entrance in the afterlife to the Islamic paradise can be dependent on the rich being able to give generously to the poor.

If the poor withdraw their co-operation in this pursuit of paradise by burning their begging bowls, some rich Muslim souls may not make it. This offers the prospect of serious deprivation because the Islamic paradise provides for most of the sensual delights of this world, including the bonus of everlasting sex.

Mack the Knife

Sardar Sarovar Dam — India

In the early 1980s a project was decided, to build over 3,000 dams in the Narmada Valley. It is funded by the Indian government and the World Bank. The largest dam, the Sardar Sarovar, had met with widespread resistance. It will submerge 40,000 hectares of land, including forest and farmland, along with 250 villages, 60,000 tribal people will be displaced without even the provision of alternative land.

As with all projects of this type costs are astronomical. It is claimed that it will cure drought in Western India, but the real benefactors will be

multi-nationals gaining cheap electricity. Much of the drought-stricken areas will receive no water. A better solution would be small scale irrigation projects such as canals and wells, also at a fraction of the cost.

The dam has met with increasing resistance from the communities over the last five years. A 5,000-strong demonstration was broken up at Gujarat State border by armed police with many arrests being made on false charges. A government disinformation campaign through the local press has tried to discredit the marchers and create a state of hysteria amongst supporters of the dam.

Environmental studies have not been done and alternatives ignored. This hardly comes as a surprise. When the interests of governments and multi-nationals are ranged against the needs of people and the environment, the former will always win. However, resistance is growing, as is international solidarity. Bankers and politicians are coming under increasing pressure.

If we are able to create an ecological and free society, technology must be used to help communities develop in a progressive manner through improving the likes of irrigation. Small scale, simple solutions are far more effective at this. Unfortunately for the ruling classes, they require communal participation and are empowering. They also conflict with the multi-nationals need for cheap resources and labour. Time and again large projects have failed, devastating regions and communities, while obvious solutions are ignored.

The needs of the people and the ruling classes are not the same! Solidarity with the people of the Narmada Valley!

Andrew McGingle

Waiting for the Bus

Would you say we're working class, Bert? ... Depends what you mean, Daisy. I'm retired and I buy *The Guardian*. When I was working I was on the staff, never did more than 40 hours per week, and never lifted anything heavier than a spatula. Never produced anything; neither, as far as I know, did Marx. Wish they'd think of another name for people who own sod all ... Mrs Potts said someone she worked in the laundry with has just won half a million. What's she now, wealthy working class? ... Bit meaningless, isn't it. There's the sod all class and the filthy rich class and a lot of people on each other's backs in the middle ... What about the oppressed class, Bert? ... Dunno. I don't feel as oppressed as the royals and cabinet ministers who can't go anywhere without bodyguards ... That's right. We may have to wait for buses, but we don't have to look underneath for bombs every time we get on one ... Sod the classes. It's a person's outlook that matters. There's unselfish people and there's greedy sods. Compared with millions in the third world, we're all wealthy in Britain ... What do we do about the greedy buggers then? ... It ought to be simple, really, because it's plain that wealth doesn't bring happiness ... That Scud hitting an American barracks in Saudi Arabia was awful ... Did you hear the newsreader on TV saying that the barracks happened to be in a civilian area? ... So it was ... Yes, but if it had been an Iraqi barracks in Baghdad, the newsreader would have said Saddam had callously put it in a civilian area for propaganda purposes ... One of the Kuwaiti leaders said that when Kuwait is freed there will have to be martial law for a few months ... You bet there will. Plenty of law and order to make sure the Kuwaiti princes are safely installed with their money and power intact, as American agents ... Remember our old MP, Joan Lester, Bert? She's got a letter in the paper as Labour's Spokesperson for Children. I can't remember her saying a word against Labour's official line on the war. Wonder how many children were killed in the raids on Baghdad? ... That was all Saddam's fault as far as most of the politicians are

concerned. Tam Dalyell was right to say that we will be solemnly condemned for the actions of our Air Forces. It was like taking chocolate off a baby and then tipping it out of its pram ... That Nicholas Ridley is warning that the rich people will riot if the poll tax is done away with, and they have to go back to paying more rates on their mansions ... You wouldn't believe he went to the same school as Tam Dalyell ... Exceptions prove the rules. Shelley went to Eton too. So did Guy Burgess, for that matter, so whatever the rules, there's some exceptions, and if you see an Old Etonian on a bus, you don't have to fall out of your seat ... What about all those cuts for schools so that the council can keep the poll tax down, Bert? Eton College has got an all-weather athletics track, a rowing channel, and everything, and our state schools are short of text books and are asking for donations from parents to pay for extra teachers so that they don't have to send some of the kids home ... Guess who's been chosen to represent Windsor in the next general election? ... I know, Bert, the Honourable Michael Trend. Another greedy sod ... Stinking rich, I suppose. I know greedy sods are not confined to the wealthy, but if they showed a better example, perhaps the others would follow it ... What did you make of Bishop Graham Leonard on Question Time, supporting the war against Saddam? ... He came out with the old, old excuse. All wars are bad, but this is a fallen world. What he was really telling us is that until everyone else behaves decently, he doesn't see why he should. And when pacifists refuse to join in they say they admire them but you've got to live in the real world ... With kids being blown to pieces by bombs ... Exactly. Who's living in the real world? ... The government is talking about hauling Saddam before a tribunal to try him as a war criminal ... The thing is that since our government helped to promote Saddam financially, and by training thousands of his military officers and selling him materials which could be used for military purposes, they should be in the dock as accessories before the fact ...

EFC

Opposition in Opposition

Dear comrades,
Since Tony Gibson bases his reply to Nick Walter on a too literal interpretation of something I said; I had better elaborate; it also gives me an opportunity to comment on the theories of groups active in the same political arena as ourselves.

In saying that most Trotskyist groups supported Saddam Hussein in the recent war I did not intend to imply that they supported him in the sense that Mosley in 1939-44 supported Hitler. The general run of the argument in mainstream Trot papers (other than the SWP and Socialist Organiser ones, which shared our position) ran something like:

1. Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator who has massacred his own people, as we have said before (cf volume X issue Y of paper Z).
2. Saddam Hussein is also very obviously a capitalist.
3. Nevertheless Saddam Hussein — no doubt for his own devious reasons — is now opposed to Western imperialism.
4. The Arab masses know that Saddam Hussein is a butcher of their people and they, in due time, will deal with him; but in the immediate future they see him as a bulwark against imperialism.
5. The Gulf conflict therefore is not a struggle merely between rival capitalist powers, though in part it is that. It is a struggle between a sizeable section of the super-exploited third world masses and the main forces of imperialism.
6. In such circumstances the choice is clear; there can be no neutrality in the class war; pacifism is a petit bourgeois fallacy betraying the class, and those groups which say they oppose both sides in the war have sold out to it.
7. Therefore with no illusions about Saddam Hussein, we are forced to

support him, because the anti-imperialist masses support him.

That said there were one or two of the nuttier, aspirant Fourth Internationals — (the Spartacists, the Redgraveists and the Morenoists) — whose support for Iraq was less qualified; a position in which they were joined by some ex-Maoists, some 'tankie' hard-line Russian patriot-ex-CP, and a few similar Stalinists.

I think it only fair to say that the main current Trot position differs fundamentally from what Tony

understood me to be saying. (Incidentally an argument advanced against this by one anarchist group appeared to me impermissible. It said that workers in factories would not understand this; therefore it was a middle class argument and should not be posed. What if workers in Germany in 1942 had failed to understand why Jews should not be sent to gas chambers, should that argument not have been posed?) That said (though it is 45 years since I was a Trot, and then only for a few months) it strikes me as a somewhat curious position for Trotskyists to hold.

The fundamental basis of Trotskyism is the theory of the permanent revolution, a theory which flows from the basic

premise (made in 1902) that the time has passed in which the petit bourgeoisie can play a progressive role, either in the achievement of internal democratic reforms or in international anti-imperialist ones. That therefore, at all times the working class must remain independent of non-working class led movements.

It is on the basis of this theory, rather than on the grounds which motivated anarchists, that Trotskyists refrained from supporting the Popular Front government in Spain, and they opposed the war. It should be remembered that though some people broke with Trotsky on the class nature of the Soviet Union (and though Trotsky himself said that the theories should be re-examined if there was no world revolution at the end of the war) at the time of both Spain and the war; the Soviet Union was regarded as being progressive despite Stalin.

Nevertheless, both in Spain and during the war after Russia had been invaded, Trotskyists (we would say rightly, but for the wrong reasons) refused to support armed struggles supported by the majority of left-inclined workers, waged against fascism, on the reasonable

grounds that these were led by bourgeois, petit bourgeois and Stalinist parties. Why these precedents did not apply to the Gulf crisis, despite the fact that for all his villainy Stalin was presumably in Trotskyist eyes more progressive than Hussein, is not explained.

The explanation may lie in the fact that the main currents of Trotskyism have refused to consider the implications of their founder's testament 'The USSR in War'. Because they were not prepared to take on board Trotsky's prediction that if Stalinism survived the war it would no longer be progressive, the USSR would no longer be any sort of workers' state; the Fourth Internationalists were forced to redefine 'progressive', and jettison most of the criteria that Trotsky himself would have used in judging a course of action.

Though only one Trot current (and paradoxically the one to which the Secretary of the Committee to Stop the War in the Gulf belongs) has actually gone so far as to say that it no longer holds the theory of 'the permanent revolution', most of the rest, in practise, do not apply it.

Laurens

Anarchism and Education

Dear Editors,
Bob Potter's generally excellent article on 'Anarchism and Education' (*Freedom*, 9th March) is strong on philosophical analysis but weak on historical insight.

He accurately identifies the key importance that anarchists place on the learner being in control of the learning process but fails to locate the learning process in any real social or historical context. His depiction of traditional education is crude and ahistoric.

He writes: "In a nutshell the anarchist approach to education differs from the official view in that it is the *process* rather than the *content* that is primary". That sounds fine until you realise that as long ago as 1931 an official government report on education (the *Hadow Report*) itself stated: "The curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored".

The truth is that official education in Britain has been much influenced by libertarian ideas and practices. For many years schools were moving towards more freedom and autonomy for the learner. Now this movement has been kicked into reverse. With his speech at Ruskin college in 1976, James Callaghan signalled the new authoritarianism in education which has now culminated in the Tories draconian Education Act and the National Curriculum.

The state has for the first time taken direct control of what is to be learnt in

schools. Schools are obliged by law to teach what ministers have decreed, teachers must comply and are obliged to test all pupils at 7, 11, 14 and 16 and to publish the results.

If we just say all official education is cramming in facts and propaganda, always is and always was, then we throw out the baby with the bathwater. We don't even notice the changes from autonomy to authority.

Anarchists should not simply issue definitive critiques of institutions, outline their utopian alternatives and retire from the struggle. We should try to live out our politics and engage with the constantly changing forces that sometimes pull institutions one way, sometimes another, but first it is necessary to recognise those changing forces.

The National Curriculum represents a massive shift in the balance of power away from the individual towards the state. Surely this is a much greater threat to freedom than, say, the poll tax, yet it has received scant attention from anarchists.

It is impossible to deal with this fully in a letter but readers who want to consider this further are invited to the open meeting of the London Anarchists Forum on Friday 19th April at 8pm, which will be discussing 'The National Curriculum, Education and Anarchism'.

Chris Draper

News from Angel Alley

It wasn't that there was no 'News from Angel Alley' for the last issue of *Freedom*. Those of our readers and comrades who call at the bookshop are certainly made aware that a lot is going on in that old building. For technical reasons we had to go to press a few days earlier than usual and we didn't get around to the 'News' bit for page 8.

One of our less generous comrades asked us what had happened to *The Raven* number 13, which we anticipated would be dispatched by the end of February. There are always problems even when you have paid people to operate to a timetable. Take the railways. It's not because they are inefficient. They may be, but if a tree is blown onto the track, or there is a power failure, it happens and has to be dealt with. When you are producing a fortnightly and a quarterly depending on volunteers who have other jobs to do, dates are somewhat problematical. And this affects the printing and binding arrangements that can be made. With *Freedom* we can tell our printer comrades that it will be camera-ready on the Monday. But with *The Raven* we have not succeeded so far in making an appointment, as it were, for a definite date because, for instance, if we say to contributors that all material for number 14 'On Voting' must be in by the beginning of April what can we do if it doesn't come in? All this explanation is not an excuse but a statement of facts. But the good news is that *The Raven* number 13 will be dispatched any day now.

With the last issue of *Freedom* we sent out a batch of green first reminders. At the time of writing not as many as we expected have come back with your renewals. You are warned that we are in a ruthless mood! And this applies to those readers who get free copies and to whom we sent a note asking them to get in touch with us if they wished to go on receiving the paper. If we don't hear from you by the end of the month, regretfully we will stop sending *Freedom*.

Purpose of Life

Dear *Freedom*
Regarding the 'Purpose of Life' by Ernie Crosswell (*Freedom* 26th January 1991): There is no inherent fixed social difference between the male and female sexes of the human species. The only biological differences are of a reproductive nature. The female is only necessary to the child-rearing process during the suckling stage.

What Ernie Crosswell appears to be arguing is for a continuation of the 'elevation' of the female with a 'special' emphasis upon the females relationship with the child. Social history has proven that this elevation has led to a sense of lost magistics in the male which has resulted in the male looking for outside familial interests which have in turn culminated in the production of the make war machine. Only a debunking of the social process of the 'elevation' of the female can ultimately disarm the war machine and extricate male involvement in it. Rather than argue for a continuation of the 'special' privileges of a woman, males should be demanding their own rights in the field of childcare — a field which they are cruelly discriminated against within this country both socially and legally.

Groups such as Families Need Fathers and the Men's Liberation Front have attempted to put forward these arguments in a way which does not seek to destroy the inner mechanics of the social system but have still met with both derision and ridicule of a similar nature to that dished out to the early feminists when arguing for the right to work and the right to own property. The only future or the human race is one which accommodates a multi-genus mixture of differences which cut across sex as well as class barriers. When the male becomes dissatisfied with his ancillary role in domestic affairs it is never those males who pose a threat to the human race.

CA

Lawrence of Arabia

Dear editors,
Contrary to 'A War for Freedom' (page 4, *Freedom* 9th February), the Saudi rulers did not have anything to do with T.E. Lawrence. That was the Hashemite family, from which the former king of Iraq and the king of Jordan are descended. They were Protectors of the Holy Places, ruling the Hejaz.

Ibn Saud and his arch enemy Ibn Rasheed were rulers of the interior of the Arabian peninsula (the Hejaz is the western coast, the Hasa the eastern, the Yemen the south west).

Ibn Rasheed supported the Ottomans, so Captain Shakespeare, the resident in Kuwait, approached Ibn Saud with an offer of support if he would side with Britain. There was a indecisive and minor, but prolonged, border war in consequence between rival tribes in the Nejd. This had no effect on the conduct of the main war.

T.E. Lawrence, meanwhile, approached the Hashemites who drove the Turks out of the Hejaz and the Hasa and struck north into the Holy Land and Syria.

Meanwhile General Allenby drove up the coast. The war office did not like Lawrence, an amateur soldier, and so credited the main victories to Allenby, and then armed Captain Shakespeare's friend who after the war attacked the exhausted Hashemites and drove them out of the Hejaz. Britain gave them Iraq and Jordan as a placatory gesture.

Laurens Otter

Correction

In the review of Paul Avrich's book *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (23rd February), it was stated that Raffaele Schiavina ('Max Sartin') died in 1972; it was in fact in 1987.

Keep sending us your letters and donations!

CARDIFF
Independent
Book Fair
Saturday 8th June
11.00am to 6.00pm
at

Clwb Ifor Bach, Womanby
Street, Cardiff
Further information from
PO Box 368, Cardiff CF2 1SQ
or phone Eddy on 0222 237397

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

DONATIONS

10th February - 7th March

Freedom Fortnightly Fighting Fund
Newport NF & NHF £5, Plymouth Ma JB £15, Colchester BN £1, Chelmsford Ma DF £5, Birmingham EO £2, Littlehampton JW £5, Oxford MH £2, London E16 RV £1.50, New York SG £7, Wellington LO £6, Norwich JL £3, Derry IB £2, London SW11 MG £4.50, Colchester TO £5, Tunbridge Wells BL £2, Winchcombe AS £7, Fareham JB £3, Ripley DCM £3.50, Wolverhampton JL £2.

Total = £81.50
1991 total to date = £394.00

Freedom Press Overheads Fund
Liverpool RE £2, Westbury BEH £1, Newport NF & NHF £5, Basingstoke JTB £2, Saffron Walden ME £1.70, Glasgow JTC £3, Basingstoke JTB £1, Hillsborough Ca LM £7, London E16 RV £1.50, Stockholm OH £5, Teignmouth MD £5, Upper Gravenhurst PH £7, West Derby RE £1, Ripley DCM £3.50, Wolverhampton JL £2.

Total = £47.70
1991 total to date = £212.70

Raven Deficit Fund (5th list)
Plymouth Ma JB £7, Chelmsford Ma DF £5, Pencader RA £4.50, Colchester TO £4.50.

Total = £21.00
1991 total to date = £239.00

MEETINGS

Greenpeace (London) Public Meeting Riots and Wrongs

A discussion on the political importance of rioting from the Peasants Revolt to the Battle of Trafalgar. With a speaker from the Hackney Solidarity Group plus The Poll Tax Revolt video.

**Thursday 28th March
at 8.00pm**
6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1
(tube/BR: Euston or Kings Cross)

Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

1991 SEASON OF MEETINGS
22nd March - 'Anarchism in Spain: The '90s' (speaker J.M. Alventosa Ferri)
19th April - 'Anarchism and the National Curriculum' (speaker Chris Draper)
26th April - General discussion
3rd May - 'Race: The Problem for Libertarians' (speaker Peter Neville)
10th May - General discussion
17th May - A Poetry Evening with Dennis Gould

Volunteer speakers or discussion group leaders are wanted for the meetings from 24th May to 31st May 1991 — all at 8pm to 10pm.

FREEDOM
fortnightly
ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 7QX
Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

We hope to continue the meetings from 7th June to 14th July 1991 either at the same time or at the earlier time of 6pm to 8pm (if we are the only group using the Centre the staff may wish to close at 8pm).

Books from Michael E. Coughlin (publisher) St Paul, Minnesota

- **Nationalism and Culture** by Rudolf Rocker, 614 pages, hardback, £16.00. Rocker's major work, first published in 1937.
- **Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of Liberty: a centenary anthology**, 224 pages, illustrated, paperback, £5.50. A collection of essays on Benjamin Tucker, editor of the magazine *Liberty*, and other leading figures of individualist anarchism in late nineteenth century America.
- **A Voluntary Political Government: Letters from Charles Lane**, compiled and with an introduction by Carl Watner, 104 pages, paperback, £4.00. Written in 1843 to various American papers, these letters represent an important part of the libertarian tradition in America. Reprinted for the first time in their entirety.
- **The Dandelion**, volume 5 number 20, 48 pages, paperback, £1.00. Issue devoted to Joseph Ishill, printer, typographer, editor and publisher. Essays on Ishill by Michael E. Coughlin and Rudolf Rocker and reproduction of three of his pamphlets: *The Oriole Press* and *The Right of Workmen to Strike* by William Cullen Bryant, and *Manifesto* by Josiah Warren.

All available post free inland (overseas add 15%) payment with order please.

FREEDOM PRESS are the British distributors for Michael E. Coughlin

The Raven Anarchist Quarterly

number 13 on Eastern Europe
out now

Back issues still available:

- 12 - Communication: George Barrett's Objections to Anarchism / Cartoons in Anarchist Propaganda / Challenging the New Church
- 11 - Class: Camillo Berneri on Worker Worship / Class Struggle in the 1990s / Durham Coalfield before 1914 / Class, Power and Class Consciousness
- 10 - Libertarian Education / Kropotkin on Technical Education / Education or Processing
- 9 - Architecture / Feminism / Sociobiology / Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution: France / Russia / Mexico / Italy / Spain / the Wilhelms-haven Revolt
- 7 - Alternative Bureaucracy / Emma Goldman / Sade and Sadism / William Blake
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution / Architecture for All / Carlo Cafiero
- 5 - Canadian Indians / Modern Architecture / Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism / Rudolf Rocker / Sexual Freedom for the Young
- 3 - Social Ecology / Alexander Berkman's Russian Diary / Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism in England (part 1) / Vinoba Bhave / Walden School
- 1 - Communication and Organisation / Guy Aldred / History of Freedom Press

price £2.50 each from
Freedom Press

FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

	inland	abroad	abroad	abroad
<i>The Raven</i> (4 issues)				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	11.00	12.00	16.00	14.00
Institutions	13.00	15.00	20.00	20.00

Joint sub (24 x <i>Freedom</i> & 4 x <i>The Raven</i>)				
Claimants	18.00	-	-	-
Regular	23.00	28.00	40.00	37.00

Bundle subs for <i>Freedom</i> (12 issues)				
	inland	abroad	abroad	abroad
	surface	surface	airmail	airmail
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	20.00	20.00
5 copies x 12	25.00	27.00	42.00	42.00
10 copies x 12	48.00	54.00	82.00	82.00

Other bundle sizes on application

Giro account number 58 294 6905
All prices in £ sterling

FREEDOM CONTACTS

Sectional Editors

Science, Technology, Environment: Andrew Hedgecock, 9 Hood Street, Sherwood, Nottingham NG5 4DH

Industrial: Tom Carlile, 42 Gaston Avenue, Keynsham, Bristol BS18 1LT

Land Notes: V. Richards, c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

Regional Correspondents

Cardiff: Eddie May, c/o History Department, UWCC, PO Box 909, Cardiff CF1 3XU

Brighton: Johnny Yen, Cogs U/g Pigeonholes, University of Sussex, School of Cognitive and Computing Sciences, Falmer, Brighton, East Sussex BN1 9QN

Northern Ireland: Dave Duggan, 27 Northland Avenue, Derry BT48 7JW

North Wales: Joe Kelly, 28 Erw Llwyd, Rhosllanerchrugog, Clwyd LL14 2EL

Norfolk: John Myhill, Church Farm, Hethel, Norwich NR14 1HD

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for issues
- Please make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub for *Freedom* and *The Raven* starting with number 13 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for issues
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £2.50 per copy post free (numbers 1 to 12 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name.....

Address.....

.....Postcode.....