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# Freedom

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FIFTY PENCE

*"Liberty will not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to liberty."*

Emma Goldman

## The War Crimes Bill and War Crimes Witch-hunts BUT WAR IS THE REAL CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

Following the House of Lords' rejection of the War Crimes Bill a year ago it was recently debated a second time in the Commons and approved once again. On both occasions only about half the House voted. We mention it only because with the Gulf War the topic of 'war crimes against humanity' is very much on the agenda.

But for the zealots of the Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles whose life mission is to hunt down the Nazis involved in the mass murder of Jews in the concentration camps as well as in occupied Europe and the Soviet Union (for instance, they reported at the time of the Commons debate of a further eight Nazis living in Britain

who were responsible for the murder of 8,000 Jews in Lithuania in 1941) most people would have considered that there were enough crimes committed against humanity since then, without this grisly chapter in human history being kept alive by professional Nazi witch-hunters and sensational trials (such as that of Barbie in Lyons not so long ago).

Surely it is time that the holocaust was put in its proper context as a significant but not the *only* horror of World War Two and its aftermath. No one ever mentions, for instance, the 25 million Russians who perished, probably more civilians than military (just think of the siege of Leningrad lasting sixteen months, during which

thousands died of starvation). Yet American (Marshall Plan) Aid at the war's end included Germany. All Russia got was the Cold War!

In the Commons debate former Premier Ted Heath implied that there would have been no Bill had it not been for lobbying by the Los Angeles based Simon Wiesenthal Centre funded by American Jewry. He added, "This began with one of the biggest lobbies in history, highly financed in order not to bring justice but to bring revenge and retribution".

We would add, and naturally expect that some readers will accuse us of being anti-semitic, that the real reason for this witch-hunt is the hope that by keeping alive the horrors of the holocaust, public opinion will overlook the Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and South Lebanon and their continued persecution, deportations, killings and house-burnings of the Palestinians.

We are opposed to the call for war crimes trials for two main reasons. In the first place such trials are only organised by the victors over the vanquished. Thus in World War Two Europe, only Germans and their collaborators were put on trial. Yet who can deny that the carpet bombing of the civilian population of Dresden and Hamburg night after night by fire and high explosives was a crime against humanity. And what of the Katyn massacre of 30,000 officers by the Russians — to mention only two crimes committed by the allies. And since it is considered not too late to stage trials of Nazis after 45 years, what about a symbolic trial of the French and American military and political leaders responsible for the deaths by starvation of as many as 750,000 German POWs at the war's end? After all the facts are now

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## COUNCIL TAX: POLL TAX BY ANOTHER NAME

The unworkable, unpopular poll tax has been replaced by what will probably prove to be an equally unworkable, unpopular council tax. Already, a few days following its unveiling by Michael Heseltine, the Minister is suggesting that it will not be operational until 1994 and that the seven tax bands may have to be nine, adding one at the top and one at the bottom of the band in order to appear to make the rich pay their fair share. With the seven tax bands millionaires with housing to match their wealth will pay only 2½ times as much as someone living in a modest two-up two-down in the lowest tax band.

The other discriminatory aspect of the new tax is that the value of the property occupied will be based on its current market value. In the rural areas there are many low paid workers, retired people and others, living in cottages which have passed

on through generations and with the occupants having no intention of selling. Yet because those rural areas within easy reach of London or other large cities have in the past fifteen years been the hunting ground for commuters and second home city gents, house prices have soared to ridiculous levels. In fact the problem in rural areas is that young people, even if they can find work in the vicinity, cannot find a home of their own even to rent in their village because all accommodation is now beyond their means. To base the council tax on such criteria as market values for people who have lived all their lives in such modest cottages is just nonsense.

Still the council tax is for the distant future. The poll tax — with £140 sweeteners to coincide with the next General Elections — is still with us and public opposition to it must not be relaxed.



## SADDAM HUSSEIN & THE EMIR OF KUWAIT BIRDS OF A FEATHER

There has never been any doubt as to the nature and record of the Iraqi ruling clique led by Saddam Hussein: ruthless, dictatorial, violent. But only after the 'liberation' of Kuwait is the public being told a few home truths about the 'legitimate government' led by the Emir and the extended al-Sabah family happily restored to power thanks largely to the US military machine and the mass slaughter of some 200,000 Iraqis, Kuwaitis and Palestinians during the four-day carpet bombing.

Now the dirt about the Emir and his gang is surfacing. *The Independent* (ardent supporters of the war who are making amends with some of their revelations) has a whole front page of its Saturday 27th April edition on "Kuwait's

royal torturers" revealing that the Kuwaitis have no more difficulty in finding the personnel to carry out third degree interrogations of Palestinians and dissident Kuwaitis or to man the torture chambers or the firing squads.

*The Independent* adds an editorial comment on the front page. It is worth reprinting in full and asking those who condemned the minority in this country who opposed the Gulf adventure not as pacifists, but on the grounds that there was nothing to choose between the two regimes and in addition that war creates more problems than it solves — as well as costing the lives of thousands, and sometimes millions, of innocent human beings.

### The Emir must clean up his act

LAST AUGUST the United States and Britain pledged to restore the Sabah family to its hereditary throne in Kuwait. A great part of the rest of the world fell in line to help, with force or money. Not to put too fine a point on it, we pulled the Emir's chestnuts out of the fire.

It is said that the motive was more a desire for Kuwaiti oil than a wish to defend any particular set of principles. That is too cynical. True, the commitment to reverse Iraq's annexation of Kuwait was not predicated on any judgement that the Emir exactly shared our ideas of democracy. It was shaped by our outrage at the manner in which

#### THE INDEPENDENT

Saddam Hussein flouted international law.

But the revelations on this page raise a question which will now be asked in exasperation all over Western Europe and North America. In terms of human rights, was there a pennyworth to choose between the autocrat we fought against, and the autocrat we fought to defend?

While he was sheltering behind our armies in Saudi Arabia, the Emir was preparing to evict some 200,000 Palestinians from Kuwait with the greatest brutality, simply because they were

Palestinians. When we had restored him to his fief, his country was disgraced by barbaric acts of torture hard to distinguish from those ordered by Saddam Hussein himself.

A famous distinction has been drawn between acts of tyranny performed by "totalitarian" and by "authoritarian" governments. Over the former, the democracies have no say; over the latter, they can and sometimes do angrily exert themselves. If the authoritarian Emir does not clean up his act, he may learn that the Western democracies will not forever tolerate as an ally a ruler who so grossly offends their sense of decency.

## WAR IS THE REAL CRIME

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available in James Bacque's *Other Losses: an investigation into the mass deaths of German prisoners at the hands of the French and Americans after World War Two* (MacDonald, 1990, £13.95).

The war in the Far East also produced its crop of war crimes trials. But was not the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki a crime against humanity? Only recently some of the airmen engaged in the bombing visited the scenes of their crimes and had no regrets (the argument is that the atom-bombing shortened the war in the Far East in spite of the fact that the Japanese had already sued for peace). They were confronted by a young Japanese suffering (genetically) from the after-effects of the bombing though he was born years after the event.

The sinking of the *Belgrano* with the loss of 500 lives during the Falkland war was surely a war crime for which the then Prime Minister (Mrs Thatcher) was directly responsible. No one has been indicted. Indeed medals and a heroes' welcome was accorded to the licensed murderers, and Thatcher hailed as a great war leader.

And now for the Gulf War the Kuwaitis are calling for some 700 show trials of 'collaborators, torturers and murderers' among Iraqis and Palestinians while they themselves are at present indulging in killings, beatings and the full range of tortures of their captives, which has been publicly denounced by Amnesty.

The media are now concentrating on the fate of the Kurds, pulling out all the stops for our sympathy as well as working up public horror for the 'Hitler of Baghdad'. If the 'coalition' as the USA-dominated professional military machine (all paid for by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the reluctant Germans and Japanese with a few million dollars to spare) do in fact lay their hands on Saddam Hussein, they will certainly give him and his top military men a Nuremberg show trial with Mrs Barbara Bush and other militant ladies organising hanging parties.

But will the actions of the coalition air forces who unloaded 86,000 tons of high explosives on the cities of Iraq virtually destroying the country's infrastructure and creating a situation which the UN medical team visiting the country have suggested will lead to disease and death among the civilian population on a massive scale — will these actions deserve to be classed as war crimes?

And the carpet bombing of the retreating Iraqis during the 100-hour land war in which estimated deaths vary between 100,000 and 200,000 — will that qualify as a war crime?

Our second objection to war crimes trials is that war itself is the ultimate crime against humanity. All who directly or indirectly participate in war — from the workers in armaments factories to the armaments manufacturers and the scientists who think up these weapons, one more ghastly than the next; from the soldiers, airmen and marines to commanding officers who are legalised killers; and last but not least, the politicians. After all, who said war is "diplomacy by other means" with innocent people's lives?  
**THEY ARE ALL GUILTY!**

## The Sickness of the United Nations Organisation: Rodent Ulcer or Schizophrenia?

The United Nations Organisation suffers from an in-built and possibly fatal defect that becomes exposed every time war looms. The defect lies in the fact that the balance of power as between the Security Council and the General Assembly is contrary to what it should be.

Although the General Council is nominally the supreme authority, real power lies with the Security Council — so much so that the General Assembly does not meet except at the 'request' of the Security Council, and only for purposes decreed by the Security Council.

The five founder-members of the Security Council with real power are the USA, Britain, France, the USSR and China. The first three are capitalist states; the last two are soi-disant 'socialist' but in fact state capitalist states, differing from the first three only in retaining much more obviously centralised state powers over the whole economy and the rights of the individual. Their economic systems are not in principle different from one another; that was why Mrs Thatcher found Mikhail Gorbachev to be "a man I could work with". They differ only in their efficiency in reaching their economic goals, as we have seen in the struggles of the USSR and its efforts to become more like the Western powers. It maintained the pretence of socialism by over-manning its production to conceal the inefficiency of state capitalism in hidden and massive unemployment. The resources are there, but the people are prevented from sharing them fairly, for the same reason that the USA cannot cure its own poverty: both 'need' every-growing, costly and unproductive weaponry to deal with their self-induced nightmares.

The driving force of capitalism, blue or red, is profit. You make profit by cutting down on costs of production, of which the biggest is wages. The third world has to borrow money from the developed countries to produce food and materials for their money-lenders at such low prices that they cannot earn enough to educate their children, feed their poor or cure their sick as well as pay off their interest rates, as some of our own banks have found to their cost. Capitalism needs the third world and

rising poverty to maintain its power and dominance in a world of limited resources — what Conor Cruise O'Brien refers to as 'realpolitik' — exactly as Britain needs its cardboard cities, its slums and its underpaid and apolitical workers to maintain an 'upper class culture'. That is the source of the nightmares!

The General Assembly has given birth to a multitude of agencies which do good work over a wide field from feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, curing the sick and teaching the ignorant — all good religious objectives in the great faiths of the world — to improving the postal services, setting up a World Bank and maintaining the International Court of Justice, both vital institutions for capitalism.

Unhappily, when the good works interfere with realpolitik, i.e. when any of the five founder members of the Security Council — the great powers and their immediate allies — think that their own interests are being undermined, they withhold funds from the United Nations. As when Britain withheld funds from UNESCO and when both the USSR and the USA defaulted leaving the UN too poor to fully implement both its charitable work and its peace-keeping activities.

In effect the Security Council is a capitalist centre of power with a clique, called the General Assembly, summoned to appear when it suits the purpose of the Security Council to create the illusion that the third world countries have a fully democratic say in decisions affecting the condition and the future of the world as a whole. The mud thrown by *Lords of Poverty*? still sticks and cannot be washed away because corruption is endemic to capitalism itself.

Have we so soon forgotten our Guinness and Rover affairs, and they were just some of those who were caught our — or that so many of our public figures, including members of government, are up to their elbows in banking (moneylending) and the manufacture of arms? Scratch any member of our older landed gentry and see how much of their wealth does not come from imperial exploitation of the lands they so nobly administered for the good of the subject peoples! Today the same

thing is being done to the third world by the banking system, the Stock Exchange and the sanitised anonymity of faceless committees.

Of course, to paint the picture in such stark terms is slightly, but only slightly, to caricature the reality. Why did the British press and the general public refer to the Gulf war as a US rather than a UN operation? Why was neither Ulster nor the question of the Palestinians a matter for the UN? Why have both Britain and America such a long record of vetoing measures to prevent their mining the bed of the oceans for minerals in international waters and to prevent their planting and experimenting with terrifying devices in those same waters? Why have neither of them ratified the Law of the Sea, an agreement designed to make the sea safe, unpolluted and secure for future generations? Why has South Africa been able to resist all the efforts of the UN over so many years to get rid of apartheid, aided by Britain's vetoes? Interference with the internal affairs of sovereign states? What then of Grenada, Panama and the Contras? What about the Baltic states? Why is Germany, Japan, Israel or any Arabic representative not on the Security Council? Things have changed much since Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin split the world up into spheres

of influence. What would the General Assembly say about such problems if given the chance to consider what now needs to be done?

What has happened to the great conference designed to secure stability in the Middle East? Food, shelter and security for the Kurds is of the utmost urgency, but is not the instant prevention of their genocide at least as important? Who but George Bush and Saddam Hussein thinks that Saddam Hussein is the saviour of Iraq?

The Middle East is now even more of a hair-trigger for world war than ever before, if only because the USSR has lost influence in the area as a result of its domestic anguish, and American policy has been exposed as getting such control in the area that Arabic oil producers cannot sell without American permission. Would a Middle East conference ratify that? Is that why George has abandoned the idea so rapidly?

These are some thoughts of a member of the United Nations Association. I do not claim to represent the thoughts of others, but I do know that some are worried by what is happening to the United Nations.

MD

## Tell this to the 27 million starving Africans in Ethiopia and Sudan

Every morning on Radio 4, sandwiched between twenty minutes of factory farming and the half hour of bad news, is a five minute prayer for the day which is sometimes full of good down-to-earth common sense but more often than not could be hilarious were it not pathetic.

Recently one Rev Jeff Shattock, Director of the Latymer Christian centre, gave us a little talk on worrying about everything — about money, about food, about jobs, about housing, about relationships . . . about everything.

To the Rev Shattock this indicated a lack of faith in God. God will never let you down; he is the universal provider. Have faith in him. Obviously he expects you to work as well as praying. But in the

long run if we end up with 3½ million unemployed and half of them cannot pay their mortgage instalments and are threatened by the bailiffs (all God's chillun) he will not let you down.

So you know. On your knees for pennies from heaven.

And what should the starving millions in Africa — not due to being too many but because there has been no rain for years — do? They are on their knees and there's still no rain from the 'merciful' God.

The over-fed West with its food surpluses and responsibility for many of the problems of the third world must provide. Let Mammon cough up!



## Accountable Secrecy

Just lately, our newspapers have been full of the dreadful state of schoolchildren's reading abilities, but education experts could more usefully spend their time paying attention to some of the nonsense people are expected to read and accept when they open the pages of the so-called quality newspapers. What, for instance, is an 'accountable secret service'? On a moment's reflection, it can be seen that the words 'secret' and 'accountable' are adjectives having opposite meanings which could only come together, like the straight line and the circle in some imaginary, infinite sense — or in the shadowy world of politics, where everything is true if it is stated enough times. The accountable secret service is a holy grail for many otherwise sober reformers whose normal perspicacity is clouded by the constraints of their politically damaged brains.

In a recent *Guardian* report, Susan Greenberg seriously and, apparently innocently, gave an account of the ideas on that subject of Jan Ruml, former dissident and journalist, who has become Czechoslovakia's deputy Minister of the Interior. Ruml, says Susan, "has the permanent frown of someone who knows something the rest of us do not". It could be, on the other hand, that the poor chap wonders how long he can get away with taking people for a ride, because the Czechs, from bitter experience, have a better appreciation of what the secret service is all about.

It appears that Ruml is anxious that the old

Communist Statni Bespecnost (MI5 to us) should not be carried over, in method or personnel, to his 'democratic' replacement, the Federal Information Service (FIS). So, in order to solve the paradox, he has a few proposals to put to the new Czech democratic parliament. Not for Jan a secret service that is above the law, as it is in Britain.

Ruml proposes to hive off some of the dirty work to the Ministry of Defence and the Czech and Slovak regional governments, leaving the FIS as a federal police unit to deal with criminal cases only. The FIS would have 'double accountability' to both parliament and courts, and it would process information from open sources, its targets foreign espionage, terrorism and the protection of state secrets.

Another proposal is that a specially vetted (by whom?) parliamentary committee should have overall supervisory powers, but "it is not clear whether it will have access to all secret papers or be able to give approval of special operations" (you bet it isn't).

In order to make anything of such proposals, it matters not whether the reader is dyslexic or subnormal, because the whole business is based on the absurdity of 'accountable secrecy'. Jan Ruml and his faithful reporter must be aware of this? Ah, they are paid for presenting contradictory nonsense to you and me? They want us to believe in fairies? Order! Order! I must ask the honourable Member to withdraw that suggestion . . .

EFC

## Scottish Nationalism: Diverting the Discontent

The appearance of the poll tax in Scotland was greeted by the Scottish Nationalists loudly voicing their refusal to pay. They saw a wave of dissent and attempted to balance on the crest. When the poll tax went into its second year our local APT group asked the 'non-paying' councillors to reaffirm their stance, many were conspicuous by their silence.

Now the media is telling us that the poll tax has been scrapped and our local paper has been carrying pictures of smiling SNP councillors writing cheques to pay off their poll tax debts. Now that the party is over the party-goers can return, perhaps more relieved than tired, to their cosy homes. But what of the remaining non-payers? Will these councillors send the bailiffs into other's homes? If this is the case how will this compare with their previous role as the tartan-clad heroes leading us to freedom?

Nationalism is a con. It appeals to a knee-jerk reaction bred from a cultural myth that owes more to Sir Walter Scott's imagination than to the reality of Scottish history. Scotland and its people can be portrayed as ineffectual victims and so all problems can be blamed on the English and can be solved only by the SNP leading us

down the garden path to devolution. This is clearly shite.

The British government uses Scotland as a testing ground, most recently for the poll tax, just as the SNP have always used the English people as a scapegoat for Scotland's problems. Rising house prices as the English buy our homes cheap, rising unemployment as they close our industry, and don't forget it's our oil.

Scotland is, in parts, a beautiful country and many Scots feel proud of their roots. Nationalism feeds off these emotions. But we have been sold Bonnie Prince Charlie and tons of tartan; the romanticised views that adorn the shortbread tin lids have obscured the reality of Scottish history. The poverty, the exploitation and the brutality that made up the lives of the average person are forgotten as are the revolts and mob actions that were their voice, this was the culture of the majority of people. A more harmless and controllable culture is one based on a famous link to royalty that couldn't speak the same language as the people.

Scottish Nationalism is nothing more than a safety valve, used to divert the discontent in Scotland away from the root of the problems.

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## Tests for Tots

Tests for young children, starting at the age of seven, has now been forced on teachers against the wishes of an enormous majority and against the wishes of a surprisingly large number of even middle class parents. Let us be clear at once that teachers are not indifferent to the effects of their teaching on their pupils. Any teacher wants to know whether what he or she is doing in the classroom is a waste of time or not. What teachers object to is the bureaucratisation of what any normally competent teacher does anyway in the course of normal teaching, and above all they object to the introduction of quite irrelevant competition between schools and staffs that can only damage the openness and trust that is vital to good home and school relationships.

With secondary school pupils, especially when they are within a year of entering for public exams, the notion of a monthly or termly test, like the later 'mock O Levels', may be useful for those pupils who would like to know where they stand and what they need to revise. There is the further point that there are certain skills about answering exam papers that need to be learned. Few do not contain ambiguities, so it is important to be able to winkle all these out and make clear to whoever marks the paper that there is an ambiguity and that you are answering the version you choose to answer. There are other skills like reading all the questions first to find which are compulsory and which optional; allotting the time you are going to give to the different questions; checking each answer as you finish it and using any spare time you may have to revise the most difficult.

But all this has become necessary only because the current idiocy of schooling has forced it on teachers who are cursed by a large majority both politically too ignorant and too timid to understand that education in this country, as presently run, is the process of conditioning the young for entry to our great class system in order to carry out their pre-ordained functions within the economy. A united profession would have as its top priorities, especially for the youngest children, good health, self-confidence and the fostering of curiosity and understanding.

If you want to test skill, whether as a mathematician, a writer, a bricklayer or a doctor, you do it on the job. This both suits the requirements of the examiner and the pupil. It is, in effect, a kind of apprenticeship system that gives the pupil confidence as they find they progress from easy to more and more difficult work. It also keeps them in touch with the realities of life. I wonder how many A Levels or equivalent Christopher Wren has to pass before he was asked to build St Paul's.

In an earlier article in *Freedom* I quoted the discovery by a *Guardian* journalist of the phrase used in an internal memorandum within the Department of Education and Science under the then Sir Keith Joseph — the need to teach people "to know their place". The school examination system has two objectives. The first is to find out who qualifies for further education. Hence the excitement and the space allotted in the local press to the local O Level and A Level results. The second objective is to publicise failure. Remember the shame that so many people felt when their children did not pass the 11 Plus. The publication of success has its corollary — the corresponding 'publication' of failure.

The publication of the results of these new tests for tots is to make it clear that the children with poor results 'can't make it' and that their parents must be bad or stupid. Whether or not designed as a new social whip of shame, it has the effect of bringing home to them that they are inferior at even the most basic forms of achievement. It is the first official step in ramming home the lesson that they must 'know their place' so that they will not have the gall to think that their opinions have any value. So a sense of failure will be built into children even earlier than under the 11 Plus.

The start of that process begins from birth when their parents are paid low wages, have to occupy the cheapest and dingiest houses in overcrowded estates. It continues as they are crammed into over-large classes so that teachers are virtually compelled to treat them as a gang rather than as individuals ("quite suitable as their future work will need no brains — we have to have hewers of wood and drawers of water", as the then Tory MP, the wealthy Nigel Burch, said to me when we happened to meet on Winchester station and he was asking me what I had done after the war).

When sociology got its teeth into the British education system in the early '50s and up to the '70s — before Thatcher had it thrown out of university studies because it was subversive — it exposed, in a massive series of studies by Halsey, Floud, Glass, Jackson, Bernstein, Lambert and numerous others, its rigid class-based structure. The myth that we have a fair, objective system of selection and that all who 'deserve' good education get it, was peddled hard for a long time. Now it has been cynically abandoned. Now the doctrine is 'If you want good education, pay for it or put up with what you get!'

Among the sociological findings of those earlier days it was found that private nursery schools had thirteen tots to each teacher and an assistant; state nursery schools, if a local

authority had the sense to have them, had twenty six tots to a teacher, but the teacher was very lucky if she had even a part-time assistant. The rich *know* that good education can only be done in small classes, so they also have under ten pupils to one teacher in their public schools or in their progressive private schools. They also know that middle class, educated mothers who do not have to go out to work, or who, if they choose to do so, can hire a nanny, have much more time to spend on giving their small children a head start when they first find themselves in junior schools with non-middle class children.

The system is loaded against most of our children. So how is it possible that an 'objective' test can do other than discriminate against the poorer families. Don't tell me that the 'bright boys' of Smith Square have never heard of what the practical differences are in terms of academic skills when you compare working class homes against middle class homes. No, they are not ignorant. When they were younger some of them challenged me when I was invited to lecture at Oxford, Cambridge and elsewhere about Risinghill School and how sociology had altered my thinking about schools. When I produced the facts and figures, these then young sprigs, often members of the Young Conservatives, accused me of left wing bias. But then they would, wouldn't they! They are certainly not ignorant. They *are* cynical about the possibility of turning Disraeli's Two Nations into One, and they are very conscious of where their bread is buttered.

When you have ten children of seven years old in a class it is very easy to know every child personally and to have a very detailed knowledge of what he or she can and cannot do in the matter of reading, writing, maths, art and so on. When you have more than thirty children in a class in a junior school and no assistant, then it is much more difficult, especially if some of the children come from homes where English is not the mother-tongue. In middle class areas mothers are invited into schools to help. In working class areas they are not. If they were it could help in rendering school a less hostile place for very young children; hostile, not because most teachers are like that, but rather because the large numbers per teacher make for impersonal relations that may be felt as a threat by children fresh from the intimacy of home. Good teachers try to hang on to that sense of intimacy and trust in dealing with young children. Publishing the results of formal SATs (Standardised Attainment Tests) will rapidly destroy whatever trust now exists.

Michael Duane



## Working in Mass Movements

Johnny Yen's good article about the Anti Poll Tax (APT) movement and the national demonstration referred to the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign (TSDC) being "generously allowed by the All Britain Federation (ABAPTF) to speak from the platform". Rather than 'generosity' towards the campaign, the ABAPTF has attempted continuously to oppose, marginalise and discredit the TSDC from its conception last May — but have been forced to accept the massive backing the TSDC has received for its principled political and practical work to support every arrested protester from the two national APT demonstrations in London last year.

Initial attempts by the ABAPTF to publicly isolate and condemn those who fought back in the Battle of Trafalgar were overturned during the following months and culminated in the largest prison solidarity picket for nearly twenty years (3,500 people) at Brixton on 20th October, organised by the TSDC. Hence state attempts to attack, discredit and divide the movement (into 'respectable' and 'subversive/hooligan' tendencies) were successfully defeated, despite the ABAPTF. In fact, it was the government who became discredited and divided by the determination of the non-payment movement and its protests.

In all this, the Militant-run ABAPTF has tended to be either an irrelevant shell or an active obstruction to the communication, initiatives and discussions our movement needs ... despite efforts by local APT's and the TSDC to work with and influence its structures and policies. However, every APT organisation, including the ABAPTF, now has a public position of support for APT defendants — a massive victory for all those who've worked and argued hard for just that.

The TSDC's commitment to win over the whole movement to back the defendants and also to back the necessity for legal support and monitoring (and the right to self-defence) at all demonstrations, bore fruit on the 23rd March protest. Our legal back-up operation helped to inhibit the police from attacking the march. The ABAPTF had no choice but to co-operate with us and to allow us to speak from the platform.

However, the two of us chosen by the TSDC to speak (both reluctant) were stunned as we moved on to the platform to hear the ABAPTF chairperson denouncing hecklers (mostly anarchists) as 'paid police agents'. We almost walked off in disgust but decided we had a responsibility to remain to defend the hecklers and to advocate continuing solidarity for those on trial and in prison. It is true that I also stated that the TSDC had worked with the ABAPTF before the demo for all participants' benefit. However, in the light of the outrageous platform comments against hecklers and subsequent information about oppressive stewarding incidents, I wish to publicly withdraw the hasty remark I made about having no criticism of the Federation on the day.

### The future

What all this leads to is the need for anarchists (such as myself) to recognise that whilst working within mass movements and organisations is fraught with problems, it is still essential if we are to defeat the State's and the Left's efforts to marginalise us. But our activities must be effective and principled.

Much more needs to be said about all this, especially so that we can successfully build on the strengths of the APT struggle — the self-organisation and solidarity in the community, defiance of laws, refusal to pay, anti-government

(Labour/Tory, local/national) direction, opposition to police, courts and jails, etc.

I for one, as an active anarchist since the early '70s, am determined to see effective activity of an anarchist character with mass popular support and participation in our communities and workplaces.

In Haringey we have started discussions on developing ongoing solidarity organisation locally. It will require thought, patience and vision ... and commitment. We've heard that similar discussions are taking place around the country, especially

among libertarian APT activists determined to build on the work of the last three years. Let's work to make the country ungovernable.

Dave Morris (in a personal capacity)  
member of Haringey APTU and the TSDC

PS Support for the APT defendants and prisoners (thirty at the moment, doing up to four years) is more necessary than ever — they are in there (courts and jails) for us, we are out here for them. Contact the TSDC, Room 205, 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1. Tel: 071-833 8958.

## Conference Report: a feedback and personal response

Johnny Yen's conference report on the Class War meeting (*Freedom* volume 52, number 7) has some worthy conclusions. Whether anarchists should in some respects help with building a party-like organisation or continue with direct support of the class struggle.

I think the latter is perhaps more important, because anarchism is not a party based ideology and also because of the time and energy in creating what I feel would become a hierarchical organisation. My own experience of anarchist groups, especially the one in Hastings, was that the least amount of time spent on 'party lines', selling papers and recruiting people, and more time actively promoting anarchist ideas was more fruitful and rewarding. Admittedly in Hastings we ran a paper, but it was a local thing based on what was happening locally, and it helped put across anarchist views, it was not the be-all and end-all of our activities.

I am no longer in any anarchist groups and do feel rather isolated, but I subscribe to *Freedom* and that helps minimise the isolation. I have attended meetings in London and have enjoyed meeting others, but in no way do I feel the need to join a party and spend my time trying to build that party. For me anarchism is not about that.

I try to spread anarchist views amongst people who are not anarchists. It is hard work, but nevertheless rewarding in that it may bring about a change in people's views. For example, I am currently doing a course in social work and have seen people become shocked at the way governments and states behave towards people they dominate. I usually offer a libertarian perspective, and have been surprised at the positive reception of such ideas. Most seem to agree with my

philosophy, but these people are not in any way revolutionary and I would assume pro-establishment. I also try to involve myself in local issues such as community action groups and the like. I find it helps to work with people in this way rather than to try and 'lead' or organise isolated groups and pockets of like-minded individuals as Class War tries to do. I am not suggesting that they are wrong to do this, I don't feel it is likely to achieve anything. I have read Class War's paper and while the sentiment is good I felt I was being shouted at by them and badgered to think in a particular way. I prefer to be talked to as an intelligent person, not belittled and treated as an idiot.

This is not to say that we should not ever meet each other, this is important, but I do question the motives behind party building activities for their own sake. As an anarchist I cannot tell people what to do or think. I feel that this is a mistake Class War makes. Anarchism is about attitudes and approach to living. If people see or hear of violence and violent behaviour and this is attributed to anarchism, then they are likely to come to the conclusion that anarchism is a violent and dangerous thing, rather than being an opportunity to take control of their own lives and to feel free to express opinions without fear of being punished.

Obviously there are those who are going to want to join Class War and I would say to them okay, go on, but I think you're wrong. It is not my style, it is too similar to the Trotskyite groups for my liking. I prefer a more gradual approach. After all, people have got so used to the capitalist yoke that it will be difficult for them to change that easily.

Chris Platts

## Waiting for the Bus

Sir Robert Halpern is upset over the tabloids' nude pictures of him and a girlfriend. Says he's an ordinary boring person in a grey suit who has a right to privacy. What do you think, Bert? ... Well, he's got one thing that doesn't make him ordinary, Daisy, and that's millions in the bank, which is what the women find attractive. And he's got his millions the same way the tabloids got theirs — not caring a damn about those who can't afford a roof over their heads ... But he still has a right to privacy, surely? ... If he lived in flats like we do, he would get a fat lot of chance for that kind of skylarking anyway, so I can't find much sympathy for him. I can't understand how a refugee from the communists can come over here, make millions out of us, and then demand legal restrictions on the press when his privileged lifestyle comes under the spotlight ... Talking about bare bums, Bert, what about all that bonking going on on Channel Four's censorship programmes? ... It was just like Goal of the Month on Grandstand. We'd never seen any of those films, and just because we happened to have Channel Four switched on for another programme we see all the bits other people had sat through hours and hours of films to see, in the space of forty minutes — for free! ... They say it's Art, Bert ... Art my foot — it's money. Christ only knows what's going to go on when we get all that leisure time they keep promising us. The Jehovah Witnesses reckon the world will perish by fire — if you ask me, human beings are more likely to fuck themselves to death ... Keep your voice down, Bert ... Sorry, Daisy — love themselves to death ... Why do they call it making love? ... Don't know, Daisy, perhaps it's because it's the only time most of them can stand the sight of each other. More likely it's a male invention ... I can believe that. Mrs Potts says if she doesn't let her husband have it he'll leave her ... There's plenty of men left their girlfriends because they did

let them ... Isn't the world in a mess, with refugees all over the place and people starving because rival governments are fighting each other. I can't see how they can call anarchy chaos when it's governments causing all the trouble ... I can't help feeling sorry for the Kurds, especially the kids, but if what the Kurds want is to have their own country with a leader who will treat minorities like other leaders do, I don't see much hope for them. I can't see any future at all for people until they burn their national flags and join the human race ... They'll never do that, surely ... Maybe when refugees from governments outnumber the rest, they will think about it ... People seem to like being treated like dirt by governments, so long as it is their own government ... A lot of them are frightened or feel powerless to do anything about it. Don't forget half the population of the USA don't even bother to vote because there's nobody who would represent their interests. And that's in what is supposed to be the most democratic country in the world ... What's the difference between a socialist and a fascist, Bert? ... Not a lot in the end, Daisy. It's far more useful to choose between a libertarian and an authoritarian. That way you can sort out the national socialists and the communists ... What's Neil Kinnock? ... He's whatever it takes to become Prime Minister ... And what's a Christian? ... Someone who can turn ploughshares into swords when the government gives the signal ... I wonder what the world be like if God had made women bigger and stronger than men, Bert? ... What put that in your head, Daisy? ... Well, God would be a woman for a start, and the roads would be a lot safer, and the streets ... I wonder what a Mills & Boon novel would be like ... I wonder what they'd put on page three ... What about Art? I reckon it would spoil it for all the romantics. they'd have to find something useful to do ...

EFC

## Scottish Nationalism

(continued from page 3)

The only change they offer is that of the nationality of the politicians, as if trading the pinstripe for the tartan constitutes a fundamental change.

So as we see the politicians patting themselves on the back it's important to remember that the SNP didn't get rid of the poll tax, nor did Militant or any other self-publicising power-seeking group. People simply refusing to pay and making it unworkable forced the government to back-peddle. Now we know where the real power lies, and so will the power-seeking groups as the media back off from them and they realise that they were conned. They did not organise this massive following, it was merely a media trick developed in an effort to convince us that we are unable to affect our world unless we band together under a flag. More shite.

It was people who changed the situation, not flag waving nationalists or flag-waving lefties who, when we get down to it, want to be in John Major's position themselves, whether that be in Downing Street or Edinburgh.

Flett

## THE RAVEN

ANARCHIST QUARTERLY

13

Anarchists in Eastern Europe

Contents include:

East: a freedom workshop — Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, Yugoslavia, Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, France, Austria, United States and Canada, Belgium, Greece, Spain, Sweden, Italy, Great Britain

Nestor Makhno: a mini historiography of the anarchist revolution in Ukraine 1917-1921

David Koven Letter to an Old Friend

Paul Marshall Chomsky's Anarchism

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*"When the gas leaked, we were all sleeping. We started coughing and getting choked. My mother said it was some kind of gas. She asked everybody to stay indoors but my father would not listen. He opened the door and went out to see. Thick clouds of gas filled the room." — D.R. aged 16*

Put not your trust in princes they used to say, but the people of Bhopal would add and neither multinationals nor governments. On the night of 2nd December 1984 a cloud of poison gas passed over this town of one million inhabitants. 2,500 people died on the first day and now six years later the total has reached 4,000 and they are still dying at the rate of one a day. 300,000 people are sick with damage to their lungs, stomach, eyes or most ominously their immune system.

This was not the result of some tyrants oppression of the people, but the result of an explosion in a Union Carbide factory for the production of methyl isocyanide used in the production of a pesticide. The factory was built too close to the town and in India, because costs were low, wages were cheap and as it turned out so were the lives lost. The factory was of an inherently unsafe design, every fail-safe system failed due to rust, neglect or disrepair. It was losing money and up for sale and the last thing the owners

*"My husband died on 12th May 1990. After the gas he had difficulty in breathing. He never went to work after the gas." — S.B.*

wanted to do was spend money on it to improve safety.

When the disaster was headline news Union Carbide accepted "full moral responsibility" and spoke of paying "swift and fair compensation". When media interest died down a little they started to blame everyone else, a terrorist group that did not exist, sabotage by a disgruntled employee, and incompetent Indian staff; ignoring the fact that the safety manager had resigned 12 months earlier in frustration at not being able to improve safety.

## Voices from Bhopal

In the Indian courts the company used its financial strength to reject liability and the claim for compensation brought by the government, which eventually gave in and accepted the ludicrous offer of \$470 million in full settlement and agreed to indemnify the company against any future claims. This is about one-fifth of the amount Exxon paid for polluting the Alaskan coast without any loss of life. It works out at, say, £65,000 each if only lives lost so far are considered, or £900

*"A few months after the gas disaster, I had a son. He was alright. After that I had another child in the hospital, but it was not fully formed. It had no limbs and no eyes and was born dead. Then another child was born but it died soon after. I had another child just one and a half months back. Its skin looked scalded and only half its head was formed. The other half was like a membrane filled with water. It was born dead and was white all over." — S.B. aged 24*

per victim. Even so, not a penny of this compensation has yet reached any inhabitants of Bhopal and those too ill to work are surviving on a state allowance of about £5 a month providing they have successfully penetrated a bureaucratic machine that makes our social security system seem like the ante-chamber to paradise.

Union Carbide has now left Bhopal and its public relations department has recreated its environmentally conscious image. Profits have shot up too. In Bhopal with their main source of employment gone, the victims are making their own attempts to get better compensation. As a result the Supreme Court is considering an application to have the

*"I get breathless and often I am down with fever. Also I cough a lot. I go to school but I cannot study." — A. aged 14*

agreement between Union Carbide and the government set aside so that the original claim of \$3.3 billion can be pursued. It has been considering it for several months now; another case of *Jarndyce v Jarndyce* perhaps.

*Voices from Bhopal* (available from Freedom Press bookshop, £1.00) is a pamphlet that tells the story of some of the survivors in their own words. It has been produced by the Bhopal Group for Information and Action who for the past five years have been trying to help the people of Bhopal in their torment. They also are

campaigning to transform the institutional structures of society so that another Bhopal tragedy would be impossible.

HS

*"Ever since the gas, my head aches 24 hours a day. I have pain in my stomach and sometime I feel giddy. My daughter, Nasreen, cannot see properly, cannot thread a needle, and she is only eleven. My other daughter, Sofia, also stays sick and she is eight. I have three children from before the gas disaster and after the gas I have aborted thrice." — A.B. aged 30*

## Anarchism in Japan

Over the last few months we've been looking into anarchism in Japan. Japan seemed like such an unlikely place for anarchism that we were surprised to find any traces of it at all. Here are a few things that we've discovered and we think may interest you. Most of the information was gleaned from talking to two long-time Japanese anarchists, Eizaburo Oshima and Seiichi Miura, and from articles by John Crump of the University of York.

One of the early anarchists in Japan was Shusui Kotoku who helped organise a plot against Emperor Meiji. For this he was hung along with eleven comrades in 1911 (twelve others were jailed).

In the confusion and carnage following the Great Tokyo Earthquake of 1923, the police killed every anti-government activist they could lay their hands on. The most prominent anarchist in Japan at that time, Sakae Osugi, his wife and his six year old nephew were murdered by Lieutenant Amakasa of the military police.

Despite this, anarchism continued to flourish, reaching a peak at the beginning of the 1930s, when anarcho-syndicalist unions alone had a membership of 19,300.\* Due to increased government repression, anarchism

\*The Japanese Pure Anarchists and the Theory of Anarchist Communism' by John Crump in *Western Interactions with Japan*, P. Lowe and H. Moeshart, Japan Library Ltd., Folkestone, 1990.

went into slow decline until its virtual destruction with the mass arrests of anarchists in 1935-36. An important figure in the early '30s was the 'pure anarchist' Shuzo Hatta. The debate between the 'pure anarchists' and the anarcho-syndicalists, as documented by John Crump, was responsible for some of the most fruitful ideas to come out of Japanese anarchism.

Since the Second World War the marxists seem to have mostly dominated the anti-government protest. This is probably due to overwhelming financial and logistical backing from sympathetic marxist countries.

The two Japanese anarchists we were able to meet have both been active since the 1930s. Mr Oshima runs a printing shop in northern Tokyo, producing anarchist literature in Japanese. He is now establishing a library of anarchist works called the Kropotkin Library. His contemporary, Mr Miura, who translated Kropotkin, etc., into Japanese, publishes the Japanese anarchist periodical *La Libertere* in the eastern suburbs of Tokyo. There is also the 'Anarchist Renmei' (Anarchist Federation) in Kyoto (400 kilometres west of Tokyo) who publish a monthly newsletter *Free Will* in Japanese.

It's encouraging to see so much anarchist activity in modern Japan given its present orgy of capitalism, authoritarianism and materialism.

Gordon Kite and Tom Werner

## Anarchists in Hungary

After a relatively calm and uneventful summer we started having regular meetings again in the Eötvös Klub last September. On 29th September we organised an anti-militarist demonstration in the centre of town. In fact some punks had initiated it and we joined in the organisation enthusiastically. The issue was, of course, the abolition of all armies, and about 300 people demanded it out in the streets. The official press gave quite favourable accounts of this event.

Since last September we have been giving much thought to our own newspaper. We are going to publish it soon. Another concrete project is self-education, mainly through discussion. We're going to secure whole evenings to theoretical problems and political questions that have long been subjects of reflection in anarchist thinking. We'd like to found some kind of anarchist consciousness in order to be able to assess current events of our closer and wider environment.

On 23rd November 1990 we squatted the building of the German embassy symbolically (for five whole minutes) as a sign of our solidarity with the Berlin squatters.

On 9th October we participated in the solidarity demonstration organised by the Feminist Network, to protest against the Polish Bill to ban abortion rights in Poland. It was a small gathering of about 25 people in front of the Polish embassy, nevertheless our enthusiasm didn't stagger. Since abortion issues had been being discussed for a long time also in Hungary, this time the media didn't fail to give a rather ironic feedback of our common action, making sarcastic remarks of people's looks rather than seeing their point.

Back on the street. On 16th January we were only

seven to protest against the Gulf war in front of the Iraqi and American embassies. On 25th January we joined together with the Feminist Network for the world-wide rally against the Gulf massacre. It's important to know that this was the first demonstration for peace in the Gulf in Hungary. Unfortunately, we hadn't been able to mobilise many people (we were about 30); this was partly due to our still modest means of organisation, partly that pro-war propaganda had been dominating the media. However, our peace march (you have to walk about an hour to get from the Iraqi embassy to the American embassy) got on big national papers. Among the reports there were some objective and positive ones too. The IV didn't miss to comment mockingly on our action — proving their own corrupted narrow-mindedness.

We gave quite a number of interviews to various radio programmes, different papers, and we assume that there's definitely a growing interest in anarchist ideas in Hungary, even though prejudice and legends of chaos and terrorism still mar our image. Until the long-awaited publication of our own paper we consider it essential to spread our ideas so that people learn about anarchism from us.

We've got direct contacts with some groups, e.g. the Feminist Network and some ecology groups.

Our future projects: we'd soon like to set up a libertarian library, we'd finally like to find a place of our own (for an office), and we're going to make considerable efforts to launch our paper so as to spread our ideas in Hungarian society, a vital role.

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pf. 701/800 Hungary

## Direct Action in Swedish Armaments Factory

On 1st March three Plowshares activists entered Swedish Ordnance's armaments factory at Eskilstuna, Sweden, where they disarmed with hammers two so-called Carl Gustaf grenade-throwers and one AK5 automatic rifle. Swedish Ordnance is a major producer of Swedish weapons and the largest share of its production is for export. In particular, the Carl Gustaf grenade-thrower is distributed worldwide and was extensively used in the Persian Gulf.

The group, including Stefan Falk, Anders Grip and Per Hergren, calling themselves Armsfactory Plowshares, walked directly into the factory together with the morning shift's workers. To the surprise of the employees, the activists proceeded to disarm the weapons. While they were eventually hindered by the guards, the action was met by workers, guards, and later the police, calmly and without any trace of violence. The three were put under arrest, charged with unlawful entry and property damage, and later released. The three are awaiting trial.

On 2nd and 3rd March follow-up civil disobedience actions were carried out by the support group. On Saturday, to the accompaniment of song, theatre and a symbolic turning of the earth at the factory fences, four activists, Anders Grip, Per Hergren, Katarina Palmblad and Stellen Vinthagen, climbed over the fences and were promptly seized by the guards and later handed over to the police. On Sunday the action continued, this time the group built hot-beds at the fences and were later apprehended by the police while attempting to climb over the fences. On both occasions factory security, the police and the mass media were given exact times for the actions. The four were charged with unlawful entry and damage to the lawns and were later released pending trial.

On 5th March Linus Brohult, Lars Gustafsson and Johan Hammerstedt were tried in Eskilstuna's district court for the 20th March Plowshares disarmament of one Carl Gustaf grenade-thrower. They are awaiting the court's verdict.

Statement and Report submitted by Omega, Sandeslätt 5g, 424 36 Angered, Sweden

### ARMSFACTORY PLOWSHARES' Statement to the Press

*We live in a time where violence is romanticised, where many are willing to take the risk of war but few are willing to bear the risks for peace.*

*We live in a time when leaders from both east and west, north and south, demand loyalty, obedience and submission. Leaders have power over us as long as we obey. Let slogans be silenced so that we can see our own participation and responsibility for violence. Our government has incited war. Our United Nations has bombed people. We must meet face to face. What will this meeting tell us?*

*We live in a time when demonstrations and protests are ignored. It is time to resist the power of our leaders, to overcome our own fears and blind obedience. Our hope must triumph, not through the actions of others but through our own.*

*We recognise our fear and incapacity to act. Our disarmament action is not at first hand a challenge directed towards our leaders. We turn to each other, to you who protested against war. It is with you that we place our hope. As you do, we too feel our powerlessness. But it is your duty to show that disarmament must continue, as if justice were possible and as if peace were necessary. No one else will do it for us. Therefore our action is an invitation to you to continue the work that has begun.*



# News from Greece

In the wake of the war in the Middle East the Greek government is faced with a serious crisis. What sparked the current situation was the government's educational policies which were met by grave resistance, especially of high school students. Today, this struggle has taken on a clearly anti-government line with the potential to target the total of government policies. Since the outbreak of the 10th-11th January clashes in Athens and other cities, the government and opposition parties have been at a loss as to how to deal with the crisis. With the help of the mass media, a systematic effort was made to slander and deflate the situation. Greece's deep political crisis was once again highlighted. It was obvious that no opposition party dared to ask for the resignation of the government or move in that direction. No party is willing to take over power at a time when there are no alternatives to handling the crisis on the level of power politics. Their interest was therefore to diminish the unrest. It is a rule in power politics that whatever cannot be managed or manipulated is a threat.

Greece has been undergoing often severe changes in the last decade. The previous socio-democratic PA-SOK government paved the road for the unprecedented neo-conservative attack on all social fronts. Greek economy has been in a perennial state of crisis and has served as the pretext for a package of measures like: new improved austerity measures, lay-offs, privatisation or closure of 'bankrupt' public enterprises (with subsequent lay-offs), anti-strike laws; and in the schools, intensification of studies, the connection of university research and work with the needs of production, and finally, the introduction of privately owned universities. To seal all of the above and put society in a corner came an anti-terrorist bill as well. These measures, in total, are euphemistically referred to by the government as stabilising and modernising programmes or an

**The occupations spread all over Greece and quickly became a serious social issue. In the meantime, university students began to mobilise as well.**

attempt to deliver Greek society to the European family as passive and defenceless as possible.

The so-called stabilising of the Greek economy is primarily a readjustment of the priorities of a whole society to serve the interests of capital. Greek capitalism is striving to become a member of the new economic order under the best possible prospects. The institutional substructure that the government has been building for the last ten months with a series of bills, is aimed at creating the necessary climate for easy and total profit-mongering and exploitation. In November, and after austerity measures had already been in place, an anti-strike bill was introduced to curb any workers' resistance. The reaction of the unions throughout the ten months of conservative rule has been to call for repeated strikes — in fact, in this period more strikes have been called than at any other single time in the past. However, the unwillingness and treacherous stance of the syndicalist bureaucracy lead the workers struggles to isolation and a dead end. The lack of a political vision to escalate and dynamically confront those

policies created frustration and hopelessness among workers. By the time the anti-strike bill was introduced, only 1,000 workers gathered outside the parliament to protest. In the quagmire fed by the syndicalist bureaucracy, there were exceptions that managed to largely escape their control, but most often they were condemned to isolation.

The anti-terrorist bill was introduced to complement the anti-strike law. Targeted specifically at political groups, whose politics and practices the government considers dangerous, it is also directed at society as a whole by making it responsible for terrorism. Laws like these, wherever they have been implemented, are aimed at dividing society and rendering its defences obsolete. By redefining the limits of legality, and

**The press and the media in general tried to play down, misinform or slander the importance and scale of the unrest. The 'usual' 300 or so anarchists were held as responsible.**

thus stigmatising political ideas and choices, the government is attempting to channel any voice of opposition away from becoming a serious threat.

The excellence of parliamentary democracy if it cannot be proven, has to be imposed.

The student movement was begun primarily by high school students who moved in late October to occupy their schools in protest at the government's plan to institute a series of measures that would limit their freedom, exercise more control both inside and outside of the classroom (some of these measures included the reduced role of student councils, limiting the number of allowable absences as well as the registering of a pupil's behaviour as an important factor in the overall student assessment). The occupations spread all over Greece and quickly became a serious social issue. In the meantime, university students began to mobilise as well. The prospect of private universities, the decreased amount of funding for education as well as the connection of university studies and research to the needs of production were among some of the points of contention. Universities, especially in the countryside, were occupied by protesting students. Athens and other cities were rocked by large demonstrations, often organised jointly by high school and university students. The number of protesters soared to 50,000 and more in the demos. In mid-December one such protest was attacked by riot police outside the Ministry of Education. Firing a number of toxic gasses and wielding their batons with astounding ferocity, they managed to oust the students from the narrow streets surrounding the ministry. The government was not willing to back down and they meant it.

Over Christmas the government put forward a plan to break the occupations in the high schools. By now the high school student movement had become massive. In all of Greece, there were perhaps less than a handful of schools that were not occupied. Faced with this severe political and social crisis, the government (with the help of parents who opposed the occupations and party member thugs) planned to create disturbances in the high schools, kick out the occupying students and terrorise the rest. Teachers were called upon to proceed to their schools regularly and record absent students even

if they had to do so on the sidewalk. The teachers union refused to play that role and called for a three-hour work stoppage for a day. The government, however, proceeded as scheduled. Party thugs and 'indignant' parents stormed many high schools and beat up students, teachers and supporting parents.

In one of these attacks in Patra, a 38 year old leftist teacher was murdered by a known conservative party member thug. The response in Patra was swift. After a large demo the next night, a fierce riot erupted with clashes continuing into the morning hours. In Athens two days later more than 100,000 high school and university students turned out to express their outrage with the murder of the teacher. In the end, while high school students were blocking the entrance to the centre of the city, the riot police moved in. The clashes that ensued quickly spread all over the city. Police vans were attacked and burned down, fires and barricades burned in every street in the centre of the city. Unlike many other times, the participation of people in the riots was massive — 10,000 to 20,000 people were battling with the police. Athens was burning. This unprecedented unrest was most definitely reminiscent of other times. In front of this explosion the government and all official parties were panic stricken.

From the start of the episodes the press and the media in general tried to play down, misinform or slander the importance and scale of the unrest. The 'usual' 300 or so anarchists were held as responsible. Cries for their arrest and even execution were not unusual to be heard from radio announcers and other 'journalists'. What they all tried to hide and were afraid to admit was the fact that this rebellion and popular fury was large enough to crush them given the right circumstances.

Unable to control the large crowds the police engaged in a chemical war in order to disperse the people, but without success. Literally thousands of rounds of toxic CS and CN gas were fired that night,

**In these days of social crisis and war, this movement has potential — if the various party hawks and bureaucrats don't subvert it, as all signs indicate — to develop autonomously, spread and gather around it other social sectors.**

rendering Athens air suffocating. The terror of the chemical war was completed by a catastrophic fire in an apartment building which the police ignited, killing four people!

The next day another demonstration was called to protest at the climate of repression and the killings by the police the previous day. Participation was again massive, and at the end of the demo conservative party offices were attacked and burnt down. In the following clashes, again a large number of people battled with the police. Rocks and hundreds of Molotovs were used to repel the police, who again fired a generous amount of toxic gas, aiming them directly at the demonstrators! In the two and a half days of riots police buses, banks and government buildings were attacked. Even though the polytechnic school of the university and the surrounding area became the centres of the activities, barricades and clashes also occurred all

over the city. Hundreds of people were injured and many more suffered from the toxic gases. The second night, police arrested about fifty people at random and charged about 22 of them. While in police custody they were beaten up and severely harassed. Similar clashes, it should be noted, took place in Thessaloniki, where three people were arrested.

These events forced the government to retreat and take all the educational measures back. The anarchist presence in the universities, and especially in high schools, is substantial. Many of the slogans yelled, particularly in the later demonstration, were anarchist. Anarchists, as part of the wider social movement, have participated actively in these mobilisations and tried to give them their own radical stigma.

The outbreak of war and the government's retreat, especially in relation to the high school measures, has curbed the high school student movement. University students, however, are still going on. Attempts have been made to give their struggle an anti-war, anti-imperialist hue. Most universities remain occupied and a few days ago a large march protested outside the American Embassy.

In these days of social crisis and war, this movement has potential — if the various party hawks and bureaucrats don't subvert it, as all signs indicate — to develop autonomously, spread and gather around it other social sectors. Today when the world powers are trying to extend their dominance and control, and render most of the world subject to the profit-mongering of Western capitalists, it is important to strengthen social movements in order to rupture the heart of the beast everywhere. "Our dreams will become their nightmares" was a popular high school student slogan during the recent mobilisations.

We are a group of comrades working together for the past year in Athens. Our ambition is to spread our analysis and action to the wider social fronts in a sustained and responsible effort. For more information contact us at PO Box 31229, Athens, Greece 10035.

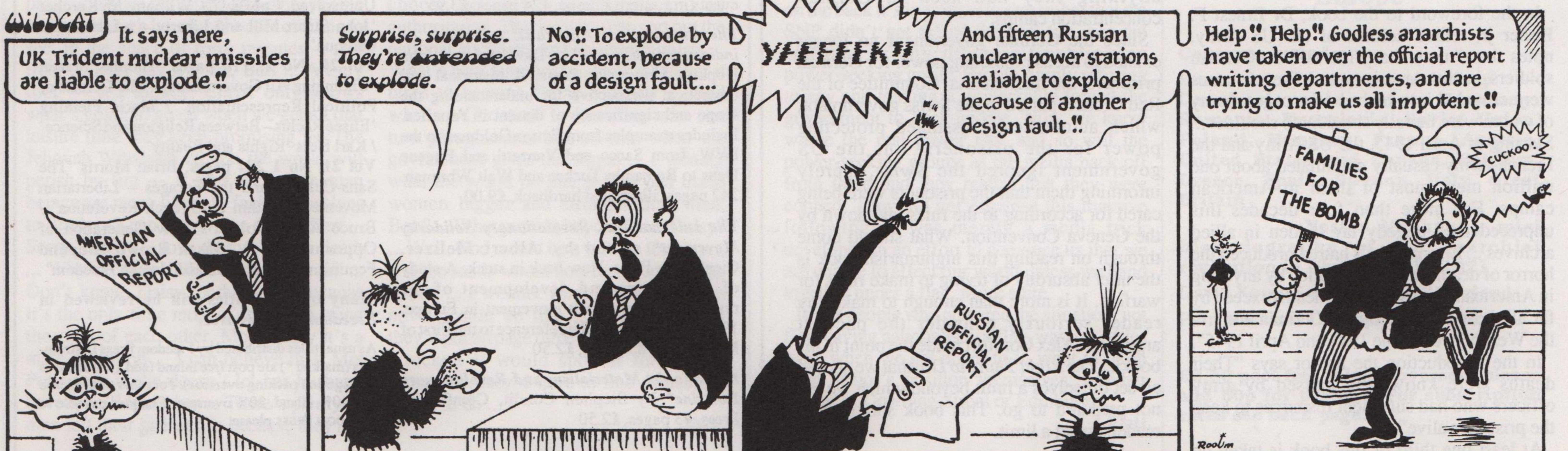
**Anarchists for Social and Class War  
31st January**

PS In recent days the mobilisations in the schools have ceased. The government's retreat dampened the enthusiasm to escalate the struggle. What remains important is that this three month confrontation was the first serious rupture in the conservative government's policies. Most importantly, this has occurred by a massive and largely autonomous movement — especially with high school students. This struggle has radicalised sectors of the students in universities and particularly in high schools.

In a climate of war, governments seek to impose discipline on the society. A favourable time to marginalise social resistance. The continuation of the struggle and support for social sectors that are mobilising is therefore important in times of crisis.

Recently the government arrested and jailed the anarchist Vardis Tsouris. On 23rd July 1990 in the town of Chania on the island of Crete, a demonstration against the American bases located there turned into a riot, after riot police ruthlessly attacked. The protest lasted for eighteen hours and after it was over more than fifty people were charged. Tsouris was arrested six months later. In a response to the authorities, he denounced his arrest and demanded his immediate unconditional release. Protests were organised in Athens and Crete. In Crete thousands turned out to protest against the American bases and demand Tsouris's release, which occurred in mid-February.

**25th February**





## Anarchists in Eastern Europe

The Raven anarchist quarterly no. 13: *Anarchists in Eastern Europe* 96 pages, Freedom Press, £2.50 (post free)

The larger part of this issue is devoted to a report of the conference 'East: a freedom workshop' held in Trieste, Italy, in April 1990, organised by Italian comrades with speeches from most of the Eastern European countries: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary, and more briefly from Western Europe and North America.

Andrew Hedgecock in his introduction ably puts into context the problems to be faced: this was the first such conference since that in Amsterdam in 1907; since then we have had two world wars, the Russian revolution, and the division of the socialist world into two camps; the cold war and the Berlin wall — now we are told we are in a new political era. Many in Eastern Europe have been sold the myth that a free market will mean prosperity for everyone. There are warnings of the tyrants who "crawl back out of the woodwork", and the dangers of nationalism, fascism and religion. An important question is the extent to which anarchists should participate in political processes. Hedgecock makes the point that apparent differences of opinion are often matters of terminology: communist administrations have misused expressions like 'class struggle' and 'socialism' to the extent that anarchists in those countries don't like to use them.

David Koven contributes a 'Letter to a Friend' who has lost faith in communism — this will, I think, be especially interesting to those in the East who can't see the problems of the West.

Then there are two long articles. Serge Cipko's 'Nestor Makhno: a mini-historiography of the anarchist revolution in the Ukraine 1917-1921' outlines Makhno's life and his peasant movement, and then surveys the most recent research. (You can read this even if you haven't read Arshinov or Voline.) Cipko says that the Soviet archives are still inaccessible, but this was, I think, written in 1988 and only now published. It might have been pointed out that this needs to be read in conjunction with the article by Alexander Skirda on the rehabilitation of Makhno in *The Raven* no. 8 'On Revolution', which suggests that the archives are now beginning to open.

Paul Marshall's article on Chomsky's anarchism (is he or isn't he?) links with Hedgecock's point on linguistics, looking at Chomsky's relation with anarchism, Marxism and council communism, with reference to the philosophical basis behind his politics ("Chomsky offers a modernised version of Cartesian rationalism"), but you don't need to be a philosopher to read this, as Marshall manages to explain it in straightforward language but without over-simplification.

Altogether this is an issue of *The Raven* which will leave you wanting to read more about the matters discussed. CC

## Surface and Symbol

Surface and Symbol exhibition  
5th May to 2nd June  
K Gallery, 101-103 Heath Street,  
Hampstead NW3 6SS.

'Surface and Symbol' is the name given to a group exhibition of four young artists who have nothing in common other than the fact that they live and work in London. Both H. Constant and S. Arif have been featured in *Freedom* previously, the Whitechapel Open



Exhibition in 1989.

For the last 2½ years the poetry of the French symbolist Rimbaud has been the source of inspiration for H. Constant's work. Rimbaud's work has retained all the freshness and vividness to date and Constant's interpretation and his use of strong vivid colours adds a new dimension. The use of quotes from Rimbaud's work incorporated into the paintings adds to the abstract nature of some of the paintings, not just as 'pictures' of text but visual parallels.

The use of symbols has always been present in Constant's work, from the earlier work concerning the processes of communication featuring telephones to the work on show here featuring the flags, 'the drunken boat', and rectangles to signify the bier Rimbaud was carried on during his illness whilst on expedition in Africa. One of the more interesting aspects of Constant's work is to force the viewer to look at familiar objects in a new light, a feature of the more interesting surrealist painters like Magritte; coincidentally Rimbaud was one of the original surrealist group's heroes.

The three other artists featured in the exhibition are:

Saleem Arif, whose work, although rooted in Indian culture links Eastern mysticism with Western intellect.

David Hugo, whose colourful constructions mix scientific and metaphysical metaphors.

Joanna Price, whose paintings of men and dogs are full of intrigue and disillusionment, typical of our agonising times.

Francis Wright

## WAR CRIMINALS?

Other Losses: an investigation into the mass deaths of German prisoners of war after World War Two

by James Bacque

published by Macdonald, £13.95

For many people, Hitler's concentration camps were the first and only example of this kind of man's inhumanity to man. The reality is that concentration camps were employed by the British in the Boer War, at the end of which they housed, separately of course, 120,000 Boers and 80,000 Africans. It has been calculated that as many as 26,000 Boer women and children died in those camps, which is almost as many as were killed on both sides in battle. Even Ramsay MacDonald could write "... where every other memory of the war will have faded away, the nightmare shadows of the camp will remain ... one of the saddest things I have ever seen in my life was a camp graveyard with its tiny crowded crosses; it looked like a nursery of crosses".

James Bacque's *Other Losses* is a meticulously researched account of the horrors undergone by captured Germans who were unfortunate enough to find themselves in the charge of Americans and French forces at the end of World War Two.

In the foreword to the book, Dr Ernest F. Fisher jr, retired colonel of the US Army, notes that "more than five million German soldiers in the American and French zones were crowded into barbed wire cages, many of whom were literally shoulder to shoulder ... Starting in April 1945, the US Army and the French Army casually annihilated about one million men, most of them in American camps. For more than four decades this unprecedented tragedy lay hidden in allied archives ... Eisenhower's hatred produced the horror of death camps unequalled by anything in American history ... These deaths exceed by far all those incurred by the German army in the West between June 1941 and April 1945".

In the introduction the author says "Their deaths were knowingly caused by army officers who had sufficient resources to keep the prisoners alive".

At least one third of this book is taken up

with notes, appendices, document copies and a selected bibliography.

Two photocopies of army reports show discrepancies which explain how prisoners were conveniently lost in an attempt to hide the fact that hundreds of thousands of them died from starvation and disease where there were enough resources available to save them. Commands were issued by "winks and nods, rather than written orders, to avoid incrimination. Relief agencies would be given permission to visit the camps, only to be denied the petrol needed to transport them there on the excuse that there was a shortage of fuel".

We are told that "the United States government refused to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross inside the camps to visit the prisoners, in direct defiance of American obligations under the Geneva Convention".

Using the devious expedient of changing the category of prisoners from 'Prisoners of War' to 'Disarmed Enemy Forces', the victorious American and French military authorities were able to buck the Geneva processes and lighten the burden of having so many prisoners by allowing hundreds of them to die from neglect. Some allied officers said that conditions in the camps were as bad as anything they had seen in German concentration camps.

Since the German government no longer existed to act as protecting power for German prisoners, the International Committee of the Red Cross reported to the Swiss government, which automatically assumed protecting power for the prisoners, but the US government ignored the Swiss, merely informing them that the prisoners were being cared for according to the rules laid down by the Geneva Convention. What should come through on reading this nightmarish book is the utter absurdity of trying to make rules for warfare. It is more than enough to make any reader seriously consider the pacifist argument. Alex Comfort made the point in his booklet *The Right Thing to Do*, that we should all set ourselves a limit beyond which we are not prepared to go. This book should help readers to set a limit.

EFC

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*Renewing the Earth: the promise of social ecology* edited by John Clark, Green Print. "A celebration of the work of Murray Bookchin" compiled by the author of *The Anarchist Moment*. "The first work to explore the many dimensions of social ecology, the most fully developed and visionary expression of green thinking today. It traces the ecological crisis to the destruction of the organic fabric of both nature and of human communities, caused by systems of hierarchy and domination." 219 pages, £7.99

*Hungary '56\** by Andy Anderson, Phoenix Press. A reprint of this fine history of the Hungarian revolution and the workers' councils, all the more relevant given current events in Eastern Europe. 124 pages, £3.95

*The American as Anarchist: reflections on indigenous radicalism\** by David de Leon, John Hopkins University Press. A historical and theoretical perspective for understanding the scope and significance of dissent in America. Includes examples from Emma Goldman to the IWW, from Sacco and Vanzetti and Eugene Debs to Benjamin Tucker and Walt Whitman. 242 pages, illustrated hardback, £9.00

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*Yugoslavery: Yugoslavia, capitalism and class struggle, 1918-1987*. Some basic ingredients of Yugoslavian ideology published by BM Blob, A4 pamphlet, 32 pages, illustrated, £1.50

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

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# When Common Sense Fails

In the last issue of *Freedom* (volume 52, number 8), Tony Gibson ('When Prophecy Fails') suggested, among other things, that the increased propaganda put out by Western Marxist-Leninists since the demise of most of the East European regimes could be explained in terms of a theory put forward by Leon Festinger and other (1955) to account for the increased faith and proselytising of a flying saucer group ('the Seekers') after their prophecies failed. This is an interesting argument, but some of its premises and conclusions do not deserve to go unchallenged. Three issues in particular seem to me to warrant critical discussion: the coherence of Festinger's explanation, the response of Marxist-Leninist hacks to the events in Eastern Europe, and the implied opposition between common sense and theory.

## When dissonance fails

The basic assumption of the theory Festinger (1957) put forward to explain the events he and other described in the book *When Prophecy Fails* is that two inconsistent thoughts are aversive and motivate people to do some 'cognitive work' to combat this 'dissonance'. In the case Tony Gibson described, the inconsistent propositions were, firstly, that a spaceship would land to rescue the Seekers when the floods came, and second, that these events did not occur as predicted. The cognitive work was the Seekers' attempt to get social support for their related views (e.g. the belief in flying saucers) by convincing other people of their validity. Strictly speaking, however, Festinger's 'cognitive dissonance' theory would predict that the Seekers would have tried to convince their people that the floods had occurred, and that they had been rescued in a spaceship. In the case described in *When Prophecy Fails*, one of the 'dissonant' thoughts is being given social support only in a very indirect way.

The first point to make about Festinger's theory, then, is that its explanations and predictions are not true deductions, but merely arbitrary selections from the many possible ways of thinking about events. The behavioural response of Festinger's followers to criticisms has itself appeared to support dissonance theory, for the goalposts have been constantly shifted about over the years, and the field of application whittled away, until the evolved dissonance theory no longer resembles the original proposition. But this 'cognitive work' that has come in

response to painful awareness of the glaring inconsistencies in the rag-bag of vaguely related ideas that constitutes dissonance theory is not, in fact, a piece of evidence in support of Festinger's original assertions, but is further evidence against them.

The second point to make about Festinger's so-called theory, then, is that it is surely wrong to assert that there is something *intrinsically* motivating about the individual awareness of inconsistency. Most people are quite happy to tolerate inconsistent thoughts. It may be only the awareness of others' perception of our inconsistency that motivates us to iron out our contradictions.

## When Marxist-Leninism fails

I don't have the evidence to dispute Tony Gibson's assertion that Marxist-Leninist groups have stepped up their propaganda since the changes in East Europe. But, if this is the case, I doubt whether it applies to all such groups, and I would suggest that the reasons for it lie closer to home. There are 57 varieties of Marxist-Leninism, of course (so Tony Gibson's analogy with Christianity is a good one). While the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) have suffered a well-publicised decline in numbers over the last five or ten years, other groups, such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have gained more members.

One important difference between these two parties lies in their respective views on the Soviet regime and its erstwhile satellites. The CPGB apparently regards the USSR as socialist, while the SWP have long described that country's system as state capitalist (because it economically exploits workers on behalf of the state). In fact, many Marxists (as well as anarchists) have described the Soviet Union as state capitalist rather than socialist since as far back as the 1920s. It may be, therefore, that the collapse of the East European regimes is not causing Western Marxist-Leninists to do any 'cognitive work' to reduce 'dissonance' since there is no contradiction or paradox to be resolved in this case. So even if Festinger is right, dissonance cannot be the explanation for any increase in Marxist-Leninist propaganda.

I would guess that it is economic and political struggles at home that have influenced people to join the SWP and similar parties, most notably of course the poll tax. (It is true that the CPGB have been involved in the anti poll tax struggle

too, but perhaps their more pro-parliamentary line puts potential recruits off and attracts them instead to the 'non-parliamentary' SWP.)

If Marxist-Leninist groups like the SWP are increasing their propaganda, therefore, it is likely that this is because they are getting more members, for without this such groups would find it difficult to expand their operations, financially and practically (motivated or not!).

## The dilemmas of common sense

Tony Gibson argues that we should "forget the theory" and use "common sense". However, common sense is not an unproblematic, neutral perspective or moral (and other) dilemmas; it is itself a repository of theories. And where do the theories and explanations that constitute common sense come from? I'm not sure whether Tony Gibson would agree with me were I to quote Marx's famous dictum in this respect ("The ruling ideas in every age are those of its ruling class"), but surely he would not disagree with the argument that the taken-for-granted assumptions and everyday explanations that predominate in our culture cannot but be influenced by the capitalist system in which we live (after all, if common sense was synonymous with a kind of primitive anarchism we'd be living in an anarchist society already!).

For many, if not most, people in Britain, it was a matter of common sense that war should be waged on Iraq; common sense would probably also suggest that governments, the police and power-hierarchy generally are necessary institutions. According to common sense, however, "two heads are better than one" yet "too many cooks spoil the broth"; in the same way, common sense dictates that killing is wrong at the same time as it justifies it in times of war. The comfortable co-existence of these contradictions inside individual heads undermines Festinger's theory and thus his explanation for the behaviour of the Seekers (not that I'm offering an alternative explanation!).

I am therefore arguing, firstly, that the solutions and explanations offered by common sense must be chosen selectively (using a coherent theory, I would suggest); and, secondly, that if a theory is counter-intuitive this should not count against it, for things are not always as they appear.

## Progress?

Some scientists would argue that one measure of the value of a theory is the amount of fruitful research and further theory it inspires. Dissonance theory was said to be an example of this, and maybe something similar can be said of Tony Gibson's article since it prompted me to write this response. This is how science is supposed to progress. But how do we progress towards a free society? I support Marxist-Leninism as little as Tony Gibson does, but I would question his assertion that "a step in the right direction has been made" in Eastern Europe. I doubt whether a market capitalist system brings us any closer to anarchy than does a state capitalist one.

Johnny Yen

## References

*When Prophecy Fails*, L. Festinger, H.W. Reiken and S. Schachter (Harper Torch Books, New York, 1955)  
*A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, L. Festinger (Harper & Row, New York, 1957)

Keep sending us your letters and donations!

## Friendly Reason

Dear Editors,

In 'Reason as Enemy' (*Freedom*, 6th April) Frank Antosen says that as an anarchist he wants a way of thinking more flexible than logic or reason (he uses these terms interchangeably), and proposes to find it by a 'marriage of opposites', joining reason and imagination. By thinking in this way he transcends the limitations of the type of logic mentioned earlier in his article, the formal logic that rigidly separates opposites, but if he realises that in doing this he is using another system of logic, one which has already been formulated, this does not appear from the article.

Formal or Aristotelian logic, having at its centre the Law of Contradiction (nothing can be both x and non-x) cannot be discarded. It gives the 'either/or' principle, that everything must be either this or that, and in many connections this makes for clear thinking and successful action. Every time we find it useful to treat something as this and not that, every time we choose one or the other of two alternatives (as of course we are constantly doing) we are using this rule and the Aristotelian formulation sets it out precisely, giving a dependable standard for reference. The trouble comes from the claim that this is not merely a general but a *universal* law (nothing can be both x and non-x).

It does not in fact exhaust reality, for many things are both x and non-x. Is a doorway a material object? If yes, then the (immaterial) space it surrounds is no part of it and the doorway will serve its function equally well if blocked up. If no, then the (material) timber framing and the wall can be no part of it and the doorway will remain if they are removed. Universal experience contradicts both

these alternatives; we have to accept that a doorway both is and is not material, both x and non-x.

But it is mainly where change, motion and development enter the question that formal logic breaks down. As the Greeks found long ago, to assert that a moving body must be either in or not in a given place at each instant leads to the conclusion that motion does not take place, which is absurd. Lumps of matter, however, can often be treated as stationary, and even when they move we rarely need to analyse the logical implications of their motion, so these failures of formal logic appear merely as oddities; the law stands. Living creatures, especially in their evolution, and even more so social affairs, particularly those which concern anarchists, are a different matter. Here change, motion and development are the norm, static conditions exceptional. And in social affairs change comes about mainly as the result of purposeful human actions (even though the outcome is seldom what anybody intended) so we do need to know the rules involved. If we are to think about things that are constantly being made other than they are, and to do so in a way likely to produce useful results, then we have to use rules of thinking that can cope not merely with being but with *becoming*. The Law of Contradiction states that nothing can be both x and non-x. The required supplement (we can perhaps christen it the Law of Transition) states that *every x is becoming non-x*.

This overcomes the sterilising effect which Frank Antosen rightly ascribes to formal logic; it offers scope for the exercise of imagination. Anarchists have no need to regard *this* type of reasoning as an enemy.

George Walford

## News from Angel Alley

No news is not necessarily good news! April has been a quieter month for orders and payments coming in than was March. On the other hand, our comrade distributor Chaz Bufe in San Francisco writes to say that he is surprised by the bookshop orders he has taken for *Freedom Press* titles — about £1,000 at published prices — in the past month. We have also had a large order from the alternative group Zwart en Rood in Gent, Belgium.

Meanwhile our spring list of new titles is making good progress. Apart from *The State is Your Enemy* already announced, we have two 40-page pamphlets about to be printed: Michael Duane's *Work, Language and Education in the Industrial State* and John Griffin's *A Structured Anarchism: an overview of libertarian theory and practice*. A new work by Colin Ward on transport (provisional title *Freedom to Go: after the motor age*) has been typeset and will make a volume of 112 pages. There is also another *Wildcat* about to be printed. This time Donald Room's theme is *Wildcat and the Bosses*. And the typesetting for *The Raven* number 14 'On Voting' is well advanced. We can still consider contributions to this issue — but hurry!

Most of our readers, we are sure, rarely consult the financial pages of the press to see how the £ sterling is faring against other currencies. Because we import books from Canada and the United States we do, and the bad news is

that these currencies have shot up in the last month by 10% against the £ sterling. For the time being we are not increasing the prices of Black Rose Books, though we have not yet paid for the last consignment. But if the situation does not change in the next month or so we may have to increase our prices for Black Rose Books titles. Thus a £9.95 book will have to sell at £10.95. Not yet, but you have been warned!

Donations to our funds have slowed down this month. Many thanks to those readers who have contributed and we hope that we shall be able to publish a healthier list next month.

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### Raven Deficit Fund (9th list)

London WC1 KAB £10, London W3 SGT £5.

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## Green Party and Anarchism

Dear Editors,

I am flattered that you chose to publish my article 'Work and Employment in a Green Society' in *Freedom* (6th April). I would like to point out, however, that I did not submit it for publication but for the interest of the editors in support of a piece I wrote some time ago, and which they published.

The anarchist society is my ideal, but I can see no way of achieving it other than by evolution through some transitional stage.

I see the Green Party's policies, as they are developing, as the best hope of moving in that direction, and my article was aimed at Green Party members and through them at the general public, to help with this process.

I see the Basic Income as an essential step towards an eventual anarchist society in which money has become redundant — but this is too big a leap of the imagination for most people to make,

and despite the Green Party's insistence on devolution of power to the lowest appropriate level — yes, there would remain 'an administration'.

The Green Party is not anarchist, but it is consciously examining the sources of power and privilege in present society, and trying to develop policies to counter them and 'empower' individuals against the institutions.

It sees this process as essential to survival, of humanity and the environment, and so it has actively working within it and for it a good few anarchists, myself included. But we all recognise that we can only seek to keep it moving in a libertarian direction and defend its 'philosophical basis' against the uneducated efforts of the new members continually joining it from the older political parties.

We could not make it fully anarchist without alienating all these people, and so denying it the chance of becoming a popularly supported party with some chance of implementing its policies and so working through that transition.

Brian Leslie  
Tunbridge Wells



# MEETINGS

## 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

- 10th May - General discussion
- 17th May - A Poetry Evening with Dennis Gould
- 24th May - A Talk from a Member of 'Spanner' (speaker John Howell)
- 31st May - General discussion

Volunteer speakers or discussion group leaders are wanted for the meetings. 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 (the Centre may wish to close at 8pm).

We are now booking speakers or topics for the new academic year. The precise dates have not yet been finalised, but are likely to be from late September 1991 to mid-July 1992. If anyone, including comrades from abroad, would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving a few alternative dates so we can start filling slots in advance. We meet on Fridays from 8pm as normal. Friday is the only night available as the centre is booked up on other nights.

Anyone interested in leading a discussion to contact Dave Dane or Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road, Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (Tel: 081-847 0203). Do not telephone or write to The Mary Ward Centre. The anarchist conference suggested for summer 1991 did not receive sufficient

## FREEDOM fortnightly

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support, but who knows what 1992 might bring? Details of this summer's anarchist picnic will be forwarded later. Any suggestions for venue? Not up a hill again please!

## The State is Your Enemy Selections from the anarchist journal *Freedom*, 1965-1986

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