

anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 52 No. 13

29 JUNE 1991

FIFTY PENCE

"A new form of economic structure will necessarily require a new form of political structure."

Peter Kropotkin

Forget about Thatcher and Heath **THINK ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT!**

The silly season has started with a vengeance, with the slanging match between the two ex-Prime Ministers with overweight egos, and with nothing to lose and only too happy to bask in the headlines favourable or otherwise for a brief half hour. For influence they have none. After all, both are ex Prime Ministers, and both suffer from feelings of grandeur, which are encouraged by some sections of the media.

Top Level French racists

One of the social effects of growing unemployment is to encourage the racists in our midst, and their main target nowadays are not the Jews but the coloured immigrant workers who in the '60s and '70s we were only too glad to have come to the 'prosperous' West to do all the dirty jobs that the white workers wouldn't touch.

In Germany, France and Britain the racist Right are raising their ugly heads confident that they will find support among the growing number of long-term white unemployed.

The latest disgusting example comes from France where Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist leader and Mayor of Paris as well as past and future Presidential candidate, told his followers at a dinner of the RPR (Rally for the Republic) of the 'plight' of a French working man in a low-income housing project living next door to an immigrant family:

"... with a father, three or four wives, about twenty kids, earning 50,000 francs [£5,000] a month in welfare without working. If you add to that the noise and the smell, the French worker goes crazy ... We don't reject foreigners, but there is an overdose. If, thanks to the Socialists, we continue to allow everyone to enter and do whatever they want in our country ... one shouldn't be surprised if extremist movements mobilise a majority of French people."

One report has it that Mrs Thatcher would turn down the job of Secretary General to the United Nations when the post comes vacant as not being 'important enough' for the lady. Another report assesses at £5 million the possible advance on her memoirs, and so on. And Heath is credited with the recent release of a British spy by Saddam Hussein.

All good political gossip to distract attention from the seriousness of the economic situation in this country, and what makes it worse is that the 'advanced' industrial countries are all feeling, more or less, the effects of the recession. So all talk of more investment in manufacturing, encouraged by a reduction in interest rates; more productivity and lower wage increases (except for top management); and a successful 'war' against inflation, is just wishful thinking. As anarchists have been repeating *ad nauseam* productive capacity in advanced capitalist countries far exceeds demand. So it is pointless to seek to increase efficiency, productivity — and thereby production — unless production is reduced by the

'inefficient' producers going to the wall. And this means more unemployed, and more unemployed means less purchasing power for them and their families which results in more shops, office workers, salesman, joining the unemployed and the process is repeated once again.

Both the Chancellor and the Prime Minister go on repeating that things are 'looking up',¹ that the second half of this year will see "an improvement in the economic situation" (the same thing was being said a year ago, and the situation has *(continued on page 2)*)

1. At the beginning of June, Chancellor Lamont cited signs of a house building revival — not confirmed by the building industry — as evidence of 'vague' and 'faint stirrings' of economic recovery for the second half of the year. In an article in *The Sunday Express* (Thatcher's favourite) Lamont declares that "this past week we've seen some very good news indeed. Inflation is clearly on the way down", and the whole article — "A war Britain must not lose" — is all about inflation. We will refer to it in the main article.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK IRAQ Inside Information from an Uprising

Readers of *Freedom* who have been dissatisfied with the official coverage of the conflict in the Gulf will welcome the following report, based on interviews with Iraqi dissidents. It comes from a highly recommended pamphlet available from BM Cat, London WC1N 3XX or PO Box 3305, Oakland, CA 94609, USA (send an s.a.e).

When Kuwait was invaded by Iraqi troops, there were protest demonstrations in Iraq. Such was the strength of feeling that the leaders were for a time obliged to follow. The ruling Ba'athist Party organised demonstrations under the slogan: 'No to Kuwait! We want only Saddam and

and Iraq!' in order to head off anti-war sentiment. With the dramatic rise in the price of necessities — food prices alone rose to twenty times their pre-invasion levels — there was little enthusiasm for war.

The Gulf war itself was ended by the mass desertion of thousands of Iraqi conscript soldiers. The mass refusal to fight for the Iraqi state was so overwhelming that not one allied soldier was killed by hostile fire in the final ground offensive to recapture Kuwait. On their return to Iraq, many of the conscripts turned their guns against the Iraqi state.

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(continued from page 1)

continued to deteriorate — the politicians count on the public having short memories) though all indications are that the recession is deepening as each day passes and more and more workers are being made redundant. *The Independent* quotes the unpublished figures compiled for the European Commission showing "Britain has the fastest rate of unemployment in Europe". What is most significant is that the number of unemployed men under the age of 25 rose in the year to March by 36% compared with a Community average of 3.6% and an actual decrease in Western Germany of 14.6%. General unemployment throughout the Community rose by 2% over the year compared with an increase of 26% in the United Kingdom.²

In his *Sunday Express* article Mr Lamont laments the fact that:

"Some people think that the Government has a choice between inflation and unemployment. These siren voices suggest that we should stop paying so much attention to inflation and should instead try to give an artificial boost to output. They argue we should 'kick start' the economy.

But that would be to repeat the mistakes of the past. Recovery will come not from Government but from the efforts of businesses, entrepreneurs and employees up and down the country.

British business, immeasurably stronger after the successes of the 1980s, is well up to the task. I have every confidence in the ability of our industry to meet the challenge."

Without repeating his now (in)famous statement that "rising unemployment and the recession have been the price we've had to pay to get inflation down. That is a price well worth paying", he admits that the government has no choice between inflation and unemployment. We anarchists agree with him but this is one of

2. The now notorious 'Lawson spending spree' which fuelled inflation and postponed the unemployment spree we are now enjoying, obviously exaggerates the differences. Unemployment started growing earlier in France and Germany and so the present rate is lower than it would have been if unemployment had been postponed with a Lawson-style spree in the '80s.

Forget about Thatcher and Heath THINK ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT!

the many reasons why we wish to see the capitalist system abolished!

Mr Lamont also admits that "recovery will come not from Government but from the efforts of businesses, entrepreneurs and employees up and down the country". So are we anarchists not justified in asking what useful purpose is served by Government if not that of giving legal

Government figures released earlier this month showed that the bleak outlook for investment has been mirrored by declining output from UK factories — now more than 5% down on a year ago. And although almost 100,000 jobs have been shed from manufacturing in the first three months of this year, the weakness of demand has meant productivity is 1.9% lower than a year ago.

status to the unequal society? His reply is that "the Government's task is to create the conditions in which the private sector can flourish". The "private sector" is the profit-making sector — capitalism, pure and simple.

The other 'must' for Mr Lamont is Interest Rates. He congratulates himself for a reduction of 3½% since last October. And he adds, "but I can only cut interest rates further when I am certain it is safe to do so". It is interesting to note that the Government which believes in the free market has the power to juggle with interest rates! Actually Mr Lamont takes credit for decisions which in fact are determined by forces over which governments have no control. In his article he doesn't refer to sterling's slide of more than 10% vis a vis the dollar in the past few weeks. Were he to reduce

The investment house Midland Montagu says it expects a record borrowing requirements in 1991-92 in nominal terms, even after privatisations. On current trends it forecasts a £9 billion shortfall this year, which would reach £18 billion but for the proceeds of privatisation.

interest rates, large scale currency speculators would transfer to more profitable markets and the £ sterling would slide further.

Mr Lamont was quoted in early June as

Of the 70,600 increase in seasonally-adjusted unemployment last month, 25,100 was accounted for by the south east where the total has jumped by 275,300 to 614,600 in the past fourteen months.

feeling "increasingly optimistic" about a United States recovery which would have "a very big impact on us".³ Again a weak £ sterling would make exports to the USA more attractive. Agreed. Since oil sales are quoted in US dollars Britain's oil exports will bring in more money. Alas! Since we now import almost as much oil as we export it won't help. But it will affect the price (upwards) of petrol at the pumps. It has already! And of course our large imports from the USA will cost 10% more, so one cannot expect an improvement in the balance of payments. It should also be noted that most raw materials are quoted in US dollars on world markets, and as importers this will add to the UK's bill. Mr Lamont assures his *Sunday Express* admirers that:

"As the interest rate cuts we have made take effect, people will spend more. And as spending increases, business will start to pick up."

As we have repeatedly pointed out, a reduction in interest rates does not affect

Unemployment will not fall substantially for several years after peaking at about three million before the end of next year, according to a report published recently by the Employment Institute.

the majority of the people of this country who anyway cannot afford to borrow from the banks. A large proportion of people paying mortgages will simply be less worried as to whether they can meet their obligations. A record number of people are six months in arrears with mortgage repayments, not to mention the thousands who have lost their homes because they cannot afford repayments since one wage-earner in the family may have been made redundant or sacked. And last, but

3. He was wrong on this too. The US has just published its trade figures showing a large deficit!

never mentioned by the Chancellor, is that in the capitalist world there are borrowers and lenders. The lenders, as a result of the 3½% cut in interest rates he boasts of, are getting that much less to spend. So what?

As anarchists we look forward to the bankruptcy of the capitalist system which will only be hastened by an active opposition to it by its victims who are still the majority of the people in all countries. The alternative to this Tory government is not Labour, Liberal, Green or any other government. So long as the alternatives offered are for a capitalist system with some of the rougher edges smoothed over, nothing will change between the haves

Car sales last month were down by 30.9% on May last year as demand was hit by rising unemployment and the impact of the budget, according to the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders. In the first five months of the year, sales were more than 28% down on the same period in 1990.

and the have-nots. The function of government is to legalise and perpetuate the privileged society. Anarchists seek to destroy privilege and to encourage co-operation in our day to day working lives while retaining our individuality as persons.

On Voting



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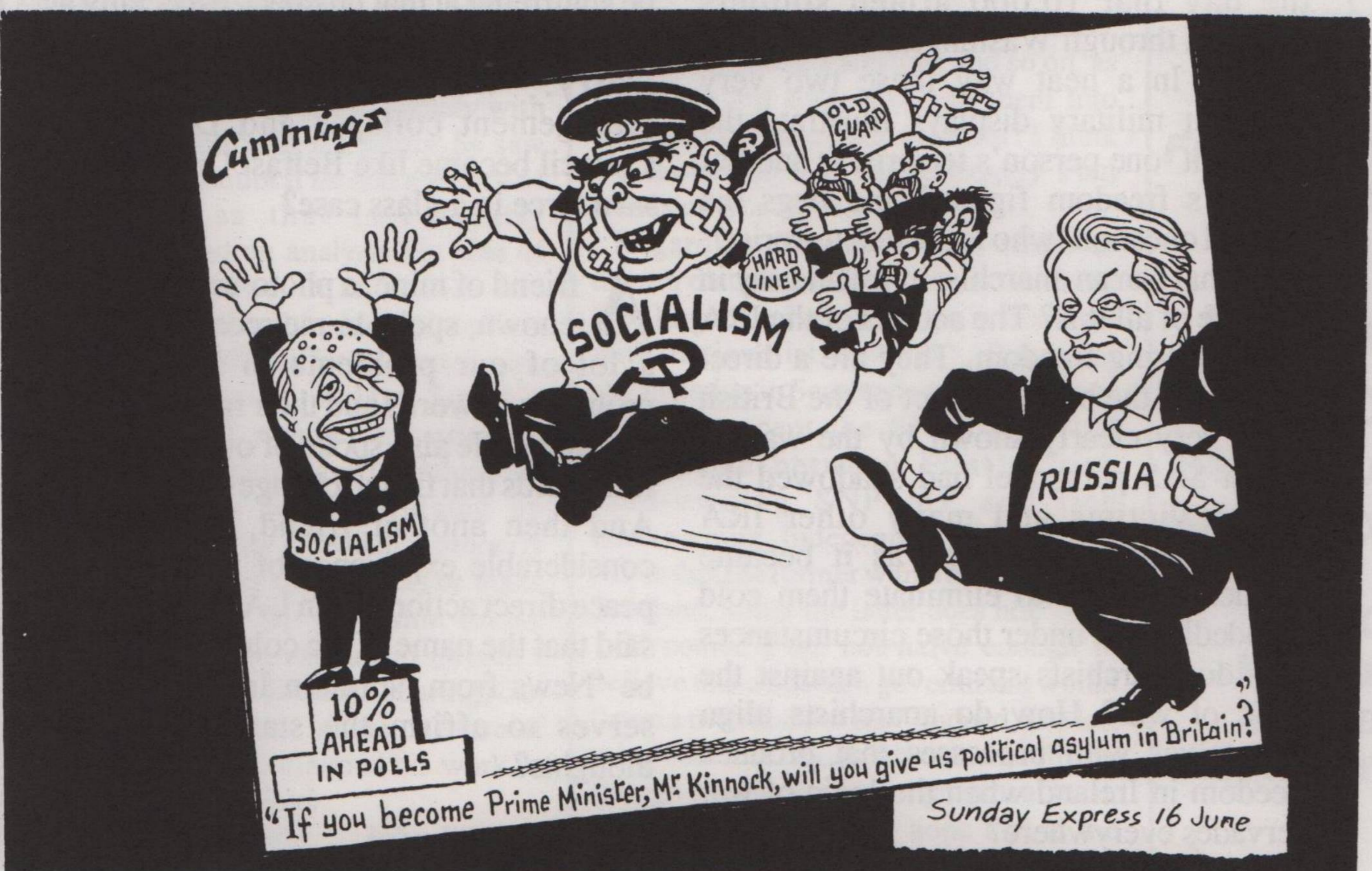
Dirty Tricks Department

Though the Prime Minister made it quite clear at the Tory old folks' Welsh conference recently that he was not going to call an election this year (*Freedom* had told him that he wouldn't some time ago) the anti-Labour Party campaign is actually gaining momentum with a typical dirty tricks propaganda war aided and abetted by the Tory Press. One has only to see the Tory front bench performing (thanks to television) to realise that gentle John Major is no more gentle than his predecessor. But what is particularly significant in the Tory electoral propaganda is that it presents the Labour Party as an extreme left wing socialist movement, when of course it is regrettably neither extreme nor socialist.

That awful drip the Minister of Labour Howard is a Newsnight television programme tried to scare viewers by declaring out of the blue that the Labour Party's minimum wage programme would add another two million to the ranks of the unemployed. This smarmy lawyer-turned-politician also warned viewers that under Labour there would be commissars! *The Sunday Express* (16th June) made its contribution to this image of a Soviet-style Labour Party with its Cummings cartoon.

The Tories are notorious for their dirty tricks propaganda with the active support of most of the national press.

And to think that they have the nerve to call themselves democrats!



YOU & the ECU

How many *Freedom* readers bombarded by the media about hard écus, soft écus, green pounds et alia, have bothered to consult their French dictionaries to find out a little more about the écu. What's in a name? Actually dictionaries can stimulate imagination as dreary academic treatises fail to do.

'Avoir des écus' according to the dictionary means 'to have plenty of money', 'a pot of money'. 'C'est le père aux écus' translates into 'he is rolling in wealth'. However, 'Je n'ai pas un écu vaillant' means 'I haven't a penny piece'. So écus means different things to different people. The poor couldn't care less whether what they haven't got are called pounds, francs, deutschmarks, etc., or écus. So why this public concern that if the EEC Twelve adopt a common currency we shall lose our sovereignty (we lost the sovereign years ago: it's all paper now)?

What sovereignty? Any currency which can be traded on the money markets as a commodity, which can be influenced by the Gulf war, by recessions, by the possibility of a change in government, and not just here, how less unfree would we be in this country if there were to be a common currency in Europe?

Today money is power — the means for a minority section of society to exploit the majority — and the écu, if adopted, would not change the situation. We can only assume that the intention of the European Commission is that eventually the écu will be the currency for trade and travel within the Community but that each country will retain its currency for internal use. Or are we mistaken?

As anarchists we can see the usefulness of money as a means of exchange. We oppose it as a means of exploitation of another person's labour, or in order to gain political power, which is the case worldwide today. As a means of exchange should not the 'money' have intrinsic value — as it once did, in gold or silver? If so then would these metals become the drugs of a non-capitalist society? Anarchists must try to be clear on these vital problems of the alternative non-capitalist society.

All the protestations of Major and Co. about the dangers to our sovereignty from the proposals of a common currency are simply nonsense. The money markets are outside of all government control and fortunes are being made every day by big-time speculators, including the multi-nationals, pension funds and insurance companies.

TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK IRAQ

Inside Information from an Uprising

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Religious and Nationalist Rebellions?

The western media have characterised the uprising in the south of Iraq as a Shia Muslim revolt, and the insurrection in the North as an exclusively Kurdish nationalist uprising. In fact, both could more accurately be described as working class uprisings. Basra, where the revolt in the south was centred, is one of the most secular areas in the Middle East. Almost no one goes to the mosques there. The whole region has a long tradition of open rebellion against both religion and the state.

The nationalist parties of the North — the KDP and PUK — are unpopular due to the repeated failure of their compromises with the Iraqi state. As in the South, the Communist Party is actually more popular. During the revolt in the North, people were openly hostile to the bourgeois policies of the Kurdish nationalists. In the early stages of the uprising, Ba'athist officials and secret police were executed, police files were destroyed and the prisons stormed. But in Sulaimania the nationalist peshmergas (guerrilla movements) were excluded from the city and the exiled leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), Jalal Talabani, was prevented from returning to his home town. When the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) leader, Massoud Barzani, went to Chamchamal, close to Sulaimania, he was attacked and two of his bodyguards were killed. The popular

feeling was that the nationalists were interested only in looting.

Shared Interests

Faced with open class conflict, the various bourgeois interests in the region had to suspend hostilities and unite to suppress the Iraqi working class. The Western ruling classes recognised that the Ba'athist Party, as a mass-based fascist party, was the only force in Iraq capable of containing the oil-producing working class. The American government and its allied clearly found it more convenient to back the existing state in Iraq than to engage in a prolonged military occupation of Iraq in order to suppress the uprisings. The carpet bombing of the fleeing Iraqi troops on the road to Basra can be seen as evidence for this. These troops no longer posed a military threat; killing them served only to preserve the Iraqi state from mutinous armed deserters.

Following this massacre, the allied ground forces, having swept through Southern Iraq to encircle Kuwait, stopped short of Basra, giving Saddam Hussein's loyal Republican Guard the freedom to inflict a decisive defeat on the Republican Guard and to proceed towards Baghdad to topple Saddam Hussein were quickly forgotten. In the ceasefire negotiations, the allied forces insisted on the grounding of all fixed-wing aircraft; but the use of helicopters, vital for counter-insurgency, were permitted 'for administrative purposes'.

Role of the Kurdish Nationalist Parties

Most Kurdish nationalist leaders come from very rich families. For example, Talabani comes from a dynasty originally set up by the British. His parents own luxury hotels in Baghdad. During the Iran-Iraq war, very few deserters joined the nationalists; the PUK received an amnesty from the Iraqi state in return for repressing deserters.

The Kurdish nationalist parties, like the international bourgeoisie, recognise the need for a strong Iraqi state to maintain capital accumulation against a militant working class. In the uprising, the nationalists did their best to defend the Iraqi state. They actively intervened to prevent the destruction of police files and state property, including military bases. They were able to gain control and bring to a halt the insurrection in Kurdistan because of their organisation and greater material resources, having long been backed by Britain and the USA, the

Kurdish nationalist parties were able to control the supply of both food and information.

Johnny Yen

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News from Northern Ireland

War logic rules! The recent round of military activity is of such an intensity and variety that it is very difficult to see a meaningful anarchist response. Our society is so polarised by war logic that a response that chastises one incident and not another runs the risk of 'side-taking', either with the 'terrorists' or with the 'establishment'. The murder of Eddie Fullerton, a Sinn Fein councillor in Donegal, by a UFF group, possibly with security force collusion, brought the response from a fellow county councillor that "if they had known him they would never have killed him". In this ingenuous remark we have the very kernel of war logic and that way in which it occludes all considerations of the humanity of the war victims. Military organisations such as the IRA and the British army would have us believe that war logic is the only logic we've got. Thus the killing of UDR soldiers at Glenane and the killing of IRA soldiers at Coagh have a certain balance — part of the deal when you get into a war situation. We have also had the bombing of housing estates and the killing of an informer in Derry, again consistent with the logic of war.

But the inconsistency of this idea of a balanced war logic becomes evident when you reflect on the row that has erupted over the display by unarmed IRA men at a funeral in Monaghan. This happened on the day that 10,000 armed soldiers marched through Washington in a victory parade. In a neat way these two very different military displays illustrate the quip that 'one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter' and begs the general question 'who is the real terrorist?'

So what can an anarchist in Ireland say in the face of all this? The actions of the IRA will not bring freedom. They are a direct product of the brutal impact of the British state, very clearly shown by the way in which SAS personnel had shadowed the Coagh victims and many other IRA activists until such time as it became politically useful to eliminate them cold bloodedly. But under those circumstances how do anarchists speak out against the logic of war? How do anarchists align themselves with processes that produce freedom in Ireland when the logic of war pervades everywhere?

The Industrial Development Board has been under attack recently for its strategies for encouraging inward investment. Obair, an independent group for the economic recovery of West Belfast, charged the IDB with "political bigotry"! A spokesperson for the group, university lecturer Bill Roulston, said that the decisions made about the siting of technology parks and the improvement of infrastructure were in effect decisions as to where US companies in particular should set up. Commenting on the report the minister in charge of industrial development produced his own brand of war logic when he said that people who made claims like the Obair group were no more than fronts for the IRA and Sinn Fein. What do you think he'd call anarchists who condemn the whole process of touting for inward investment!

Local politics in Belfast hit an all-time low recently when councillors discussed banning people from the public gallery — or at least being more strict on who could come into meetings. Another possibility being discussed is to surround the chamber with plate glass. Democracy at work! And at Derry City Council the prospect of a DUP mayor in 1992 emerged with the appointment of William Hay as deputy mayor for this year. The SDLP will be squirming at that prospect, especially as 1992 is earmarked as a big promo year for Derry. Will the power-sharing arrangement collapse and Derry City Council become like Belfast City Council — a farce in a glass case?

A friend of mine, a photo-artist of some renown, spoke to me recently of how a lot of our problems in Ireland are problems of words and their many-layered meanings. He also spoke of our inability to find words that fit and change our situation. And then another friend, a man with considerable experience of anarchist and peace direct actions from LA to Mannheim said that the name of the column shouldn't be 'News from Northern Ireland' as that serves to affirm the status quo. Any thoughts?

Dave Duggan

News from the Land of the Free

John Perotti, the IWW organiser and jailhouse lawyer, has recently been transferred following a 45-day hunger strike. During this protest his weight fell from 240lbs to 169lbs, he undertook this desperate measure so that he would either be released from isolation or transferred to Mansfield. He was transferred but is still in isolation, although he had a greater degree of contact with other comrades. His new cell is three times the size of his previous one and has a shower built in. He gets five hours recreation a week, some of it in the open air. These are positive improvements, the disadvantages he says is increased security, cell searches and petty harassment. The control unit which is his new home is crawling with microphones, closed circuit cameras and alarms — even alarms built into the cell lights to deter tampering — but whenever there is a storm it all goes haywire.

John is still waiting for news from the appeal court regarding the twelve years he was given

on a frame-up. It's been seven months now and he's unsure whether this is a good sign, or just a sign of bureaucratic backlog. If he loses, as well as the time he'll be landed with a big attorney's bill to keep it going.

In 1989 while John was in Lucasville, a fellow prisoner, Jimmy Haynes, was killed by twelve guards. One of the guards, Captain Brown, was one of those who also beat John and against whom he won a suit. Two weeks ago a civil trial took place at which the jury awarded Mrs Haynes, Jimmy's mother, \$1.22 million. A victory, though it doesn't replace the lost life.

John's weight is coming back — he's 195lbs now. His new address is: John Perotti, Mancini # A167712, POB 1368, Mansfield, Ohio 44901, USA. Letters of support are much appreciated as well as colourful cards to brighten the isolation. John attempts to answer all letters, although it might take a while.

Flett

Uri Geller silences the doubters

Uri Geller, who once convinced the incredulous that he could mangle cutlery with his mind, now appears on television magic shows among illusionists. I would have written 'among other illusionists', but Geller continues to insist that he is a genuine miracle worker, and evidently intends to stop people saying otherwise.

He has announced an intention to sue his most persistent disparager, the illusionist and psychic investigator James Randi, "in every state [of the USA] and in every country".

The objective is not to win the cases — though you never know with judges and juries — but to ruin Randi financially. Geller has made a fortune, out of which he can afford to pay court costs on the cases he loses. Randi as a defendant gains nothing from the cases he wins, and must pay his own expenses. So far two cases have been decided. Randi has won them both, and is \$155,000 (roughly £100,000) out of pocket.

Two more cases are currently pending, one in California and one in Japan. The California case concerns Randi's allegations in a newspaper interview that Geller had fooled some scientists, and that his tricks are "the same kind that used to be published on cereal boxes when I was a kid". Randi has no funds left, but he is not going to surrender his "right under the Constitution to say what I know to be true", so it looks as if he will be forced into bankruptcy. (Anyone wishing to contribute to his defence fund should contact Mike Hutchinson, 10 Crescent View, Loughton, Essex IG10 4PZ.)

If Geller wants to demonstrate convincingly that he is not a fraud, all he needs to do is perform one miracle which does not resemble a conjuring trick. The campaign to bankrupt Randi tells us nothing about whether Geller is a fraud, but demonstrates convincingly that he is a shit.

DR

Professionalised incompetents

After Cleveland, Rochdale, Orkney, Nottingham, Staffordshire and possibly other cases pending in Scotland and Wales, it will not have escaped the notice of readers that social service departments in this country are in some disarray.

The idea that social workers have become accident prone through overwork and underpay has been aired at every opportunity by the 'professionals' involved. In April *The Socialist Worker* bleated on that "social workers face an impossible task" and called upon the government to spend more funds on childcare, welfare and "the training and funding of social workers themselves", not to mention other calls for more state spending on "housing and transport" with an implied message that the state and its agencies should replace the family.

This is not a new idea. Social services were far more extensive in dictatorial Sparta, where the family was all but abolished, than in democratic Athens.

Clio in *Freedom* (1st June) also takes the view that social workers are having a run of bad luck, guilty only of the odd slip-up. My feeling is that we are just seeing the tip of the iceberg — not simply incompetence but professionalised incompetence. That is an idiocy built into the system of social service expertise.

Last month in this column I questioned the social worker establishments' pursuit of a proper professional status which would give them an air of unearned authority and shield

THE FACTORY AND BEYOND Social Worker Zealots

them from the criticism of riff-raff like myself. Why should we trust a social worker who purports to care for our children any more than a cowboy brickie who comes to work on our home?

Since I last wrote we have seen the Levy/Kahan report on the kind of residential care dished out by Staffordshire social services to the unlucky children in their charge. The 'pin down' regime, we are told, was worse than a military prison. Child cruelty presided over by a Labour controlled council.

Yet could such a regime survive for six years without the blind faith far too many people have in so-called experts and professionals?

The best tip when dealing with 'experts' of any kind has been provided by the 'anarchist' philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend who re-interprets an old Bakuninite message thus: "the advice in all cases is to use experts, but never to trust them and certainly never to rely on them entirely".

Illiterate professionals

Clio goes on to say "... with our society the way it is, we have a choice between adequately staffed social work departments (currently very understaffed, leading to overwork, too much responsibility too soon and burn-out) and allowing our children to be abused".

It's the same old war cry of the social workers. *The Socialist Worker* may proclaim the virtues of government by bureaucracy, but this is not an anarchist solution.

It is not only the bad results of social work which are being challenged. Nor is it merely the fact that, as Clio admits, "mistakes have been made". What the recent cases have shown is that social workers are using bad methods and bad working practices.

We have had social worker interviewers who ask leading questions and manipulate their clients; they have failed to keep proper records; they have not rigorously examined the evidence; and they have had a one-track minded approach to the job at hand. Then there has been the problem of their illiteracy: their failure to read vitally relevant reports such as the Cleveland investigation. One leading light of the social worker establishment recently even implied that social workers didn't need to read these reports because the reports only laid down guidelines and did not provide legal requirements.

It is a bit of a poor do that these illiterate functionaries need to have the government to pass laws and to tell them how to run their own social work departments, seemingly unable to learn from their own mistakes.

Witch-hunting

This month's report on the cruelty of some social workers at the Staffordshire 'pin-down' home for 'problem children' has emphasised that residential care tends to be a Cinderella service. In social work there seems to be more brownie points to be had for unearthing

something like 'satanic abuse' and consequently the social work departments seem to be putting more effort into these kind of headline-catching pursuits.

The social workers' obsession with 'ritual' or 'satanic abuse' seems to be derived from a talk given by an American, Pamela Klein, in

Nottingham. Impressionable Bristol social workers were told to look for indicators to spot the so-called 'ritual abuse' of children. Armed with tick-lists of 'ritual abuse' indicators these pioneers set out to discover dodgy occult behaviour in places like Langley council estate, Middleton.

Naturally, fired with such missionary zeal they soon encountered what they thought they were looking for. Yet such an approach has more to do with witch-hunting than with the serious investigation of a social problem.

Mack the Knife

Waiting for the Bus

Daisy, I bloody well give up! ... What's that you're looking at, Bert? ... *The Independent* arts page, about an exhibition at the Royal College of Art. This woman arts student has got four blokes dressed up as transvestites standing in front of some of her pictures on the wall ... Well, I can see that, but what's it all about? ... Search me, Daisy. She reckons it's a psychoanalytical study of fetishistic transvestites who are heterosexual, inspired by the love of her sado-masochistic transvestite boyfriend. She's hoping to get a degree for it. Then she plans to do a PhD thesis on women's perversions ... And there's millions of babies starving in Africa ... Ah, yes, but this is 'conceptual', so her professor says ... What's that mean, Bert? ... Dunno, Daisy, perhaps it means pissing about while the world comes tumbling down over our heads ... I thought women had something better to do than fantasise like some men do ... I suppose it's a case of if you can't beat 'em, join 'em ... Anything sensible in that paper? ... It says here that church attendances have dropped alarmingly in Poland since the communists were deposed ... That's odd, I thought the Poles were afraid to go to church under Jarelszewski ... Seems they were just using the church as a focal point for plotting his downfall. And they like a drop of vodka and a sing-song. Apparently the French gendarmes are partial to alcohol too. In 1988, four thousand officers were disciplined for drunkenness, and nearly half of them had previous records ... Our police aren't as bad as that, surely? ... Well, they don't shoot so many people because they don't carry guns all the time, but drunkenness is admitted to be a problem. Apparently, there was very little discipline in the Gulf war armies because they couldn't get booze out there ... I don't know what's worse, a drunken soldier with a gun or a sober one ... It says here that Britain has agreed to consider selling military equipment to Romania and to help modernise its armed forces, following a visit to London by the Romanian Defence Minister ... The sooner we get a Labour government the better ... It doesn't seem to make much difference which lot's in

power, Daisy. Remember Aneurin Bevan and the bomb? Same with Kinnock as soon as he got a whiff of becoming prime minister. Ditto Joan Ruddock when she was faced with demotion — and she used to be leader of CND! ... What's going on with the AIDS epidemic, Bert? They keep on about the spread to heterosexuals but they haven't released any AIDS deaths figures for three months. Are they hiding something? ... You bet they are. The figures for the last year were twice as high as the year before, and a recent report suggests that as many as 60% may be dying without having HIV diagnosed. When the cat comes out of the bag, as it must sooner or later, there'll be hell to pay, and the backlash will be ten times worse for it ... You're not anti-gay, are you, Bert? ... It depends what they get up to, Daisy. There's a few things I fancy doing sometimes, but I just wouldn't ... Like what? ... Like shooting some politicians ... Where's that bus got to? ... Yes, and some bus drivers ... You said just now that it doesn't make much difference who gets in power, things will still carry on the same — like we shall always have nuclear weapons and wars. Why do you bother writing to the papers, then, if nothing's ever going to change anything? ... I didn't say nothing's ever going to change anything. The first thing is to try and stop people voting for any politician who has anything to do with weapons and armies ... Who's going to run the country then if there's no MPs in Parliament? ... The same people who run it anyway, if we just do what we are told to do: the crown, Whitehall, the armed forces, the secret service, the police and the financiers ... You must admit that some MPs are worth voting for, like Tam Dalyell, Tony Benn and Frank Allaun — especially Allaun because he's a pacifist ... The fact that they take their seats in a Parliament that is nothing more than a talking shop with no power gives Westminster a credibility it doesn't deserve. They would do better to refuse to take their seats like the Irish Republicans do than take part in a farce ...

EFC

The Yuppie Party?

The Labour Party under Kinnock has been anxious to portray itself as the model of sobriety. The stage managed Labour Party conferences with the yuppies in grey suits along with the rest of the paraphernalia, are enough to make you want to throw up. The Labour Party has become the Yuppie Party with its own brand of beautiful people.

These days, those within the Labour Party who espouse notions about socialism and working class politics are seen as carriers of ideological baggage, rather eccentric, if not acutely embarrassing. To this end, I never fail to be amazed at the depths that the power-seeking professionals will stoop to in their ultimate quest to taste the fruits of office. However, in the case of one Tynesider, namely Norman Laws, the Labour Party has in my view reached a new nadir.

Norman is a 73 year old pensioner and a life-long socialist. As a teenager, Norman was active in the hunger marches during the 1930s, and he is a Labour Party stalwart. Like many people, Norman considers Thatcher's poll tax to be both iniquitous and unfair and he said he wouldn't pay a penny of it. After all, as Norman might say, "they'd hung Dick Turpin for less".

The staunchly Labour controlled South Tyneside Council took a dismal view of Norman's stubbornness and Norman was eventually hauled before the beak after South Tyneside Council instituted proceedings

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Where's there's Muck there's Money –

In the wash and wake of every revolution there is the momentary illusion of freedom in that the looter, the black marketeer, the arsonist and the artist are free to do their thing for the power that comes out of the barrel of the gun has more urgent and necessary problems to attend to and the prison cells and the jailers are waiting in the wings. Across Europe we were the television witnesses to the fall of all of the authoritarian governments and while the people of those countries collected their dead and wounded and the poets rhymed the political authorities of the West, right left and centre, waved their typewriters declaiming communism is dead and the people have spoken, the men and women are now free. It was 'the war will be over by Christmas' syndrome, but with Cassandra, daughter of Priam King of Troy, one had to correctly prophesy and be disbelieved for there are no ultimate ends in history and while we will always pray and hope to fight and defend our own conception of the common good one knows that ever waiting in history's shadows for the return match are the professional forces of evil and it is happening and the old professionals of the authoritarian left and right are creeping back to pick up the chains of office. It is the fundamentalists, be they puritanical or Islamic, who having absolute control over the might of the revolutionary killings state that their authority is in the name of God or vox populi, vox Dei authorised by God or the book on the bookshop shelf and in that closed circle there is no room for the artist be it *Satanic Verses* or the cathedral stained glass windows. It is only when there is a confusion of voices in the internal battles for the leadership of the revolution that the creative artist, be they painter or poet, are allowed to do their thing and in those little pools left by the surging tides of the revolutionary sea they played to the R&R troops, the political tourists and the lengthening breadlines. Out of all the pageantry of the French revolution we are left with David's 'Death of Marat' produced while the politicians decapped each other, from the Spanish civil war we got Picasso's 'Guernica', from the '30s agony of Germany we got George Grosz and Max Ernst, and from the French students' May '68 night out on the town some beautiful posters, and from the

1917 Russian revolutions nothing but a re-hash of all that the Russian intelligentsia learned from the Parisian intelligentsia.

And in that slaughter yard of millions they played their happy time games in the name of revolution, for for the West they produced their avant garde art as propaganda for the cause and comrades they were right and the greater glory that they claimed fades with the years in that all that they produced is of minimal importance in relation to the human struggle. But when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power and came to terms with the American Establishment in accepting China as the enemy of freedom that great sentimental liberal swelling that is the well-fed heart of the middle class took over and with glasnost and perestroika on the rubber stamps Russian painting was back on the walls. The area around St James' Palace is given over to quiet streets, high Tory art galleries and pubs with gentle alcoholics weeping into their BBC redundancy notices. I have always found pleasure in the quietness of their galleries for they eschew the brash quackery of the Bond Street mafia and its punter trade for the flower

pieces, Dutch seascapes and the nineteenth century portraits of ancient worthies dead rotting in tomb-happy dignity. It was here that I first met, those years ago, Roy Miles when wandering into his silent gallery in the quiet of the midday to view his display of Russian paintings for Roy boy had cornered the market in contemporary Russian soul. Miles perfected the American sell in that we were the only two within that midday gallery, he well dressed, I indifferent, and he came across the room to grasp my hand and moments later hand me a large glass of whisky and we talked and bullshitted about Art with a capital A and drank whisky. And how can you be honest when drinking someone's whisky?

Miles was importing by the square yard the type of contemporary Russian paintings that filled the walls of the Victorian Royal Academy Summer Exhibitions when Millais and the boys were churning out their great Cecil B. de Mille crowded canvasses for the nouveaux riches to hang on their William Morris wallpaper.

And Roy boy had blazed the trail into honest vulgarity and it was time for the Art

Establishment to crawl into the act for in 1988 Sotheby's held a major sale of the work of 'dissidents' and while one wished them well the work was no more than pastiche of western reproduced art and that was on a pretty low level. But according to Godfrey Barker, in his other hat as John the Baptist, working in Parisian exile was "an unknown genius" who could only be ranked with Solzhenitsyn and that, ladies and gentlemen, was Sergei Chepik. But the world did not have to wait long for the Enlightenment because in the October of 1990 Roy in his Mayfair Gallery exhibited the genius of, guess who, Sergei Chepik. Is it genius? Nay, lad, for to me it was a mish-mash of Pre-Raphaelism and Dickensian illustrationism done on the old super scale but with prices that ranged, then, from £1,500 to £100,000 one can only wish everybody in the act well but for me, Sergei boy, don't call me I'll call you. Yet there is gold, gold, gold in Russian Victoriana and the third-rate abstracts, collages and weak surrealism for revolution reared its ugly/noble head in Wodehouse's Drones Club in Mayfair for David Harrington has done the role of

BOOKCHIN & DEEP ECOLOGY

Ecology, Community and Lifestyle

Arne Naess

Cambridge University Press, hardback £25.00, paperback £14.95

This is the book of Arne Naess' ecophilosophy in which ecology becomes ecosophy to separate it from the "scientific world-view". Eco for "earth household" and sophy for wisdom — "a philosophical world-view or system inspired by the conditions of life in the ecosphere".

First published in Norway in 1976, it took thirteen years to appear here. It has been translated and edited by David Rothenstein, and its arrival is timely in the face of misrepresentation and contumely.

In 1972, Naess had coined the term 'deep ecology', and in the philosophical magazine *Inquiry* proposed "a remedy for scholarly cramp". He asked readers to refresh themselves with Chinese philosophy. Chuang Tzu's expression 'scholarly cramp' could certainly be made to apply to the attacks and absurd insults by Murray Bookchin who appears not to have understood the term 'deep ecology', and certainly could not have read this book to make them.

Deep ecology may frighten people because, as Naess says, "the essence of deep ecology is to ask deeper questions". Deep ecology's concern is with the root of truth, nor merely with the branches and leaves. Bookchin has taken up his cudgel against the seen-to-be usurpation of rationality, and would have disagreed with Bergsen who found that the analytical intellect cannot go beyond its assumptions. Bookchin has hijacked Chia Heller's expression 'Eco-la-la' which he uses contemptuously, like a fusing live wire, in his writing, and refers to "the muck of deep ecology" with "the depths of an ideological toxic dump".

In 1987 Bookchin declared war in USA's *Green Perspectives* with a broadside attack in an article headed "Social Ecology versus Deep Ecology — A Challenge for the Ecology Movement". Bookchin wants no common ground. The following representative quotes suggest the flavours of venom in Bookchin's slanderous repartee.

1. "Deep Ecology has parachuted into our midst quite recently from the Sunbelt's bizarre mix of Hollywood and Disneyland, spiced with homilies from Taoism, Buddhism, spiritualism, reborn Christianity and, in some cases, eco-Fascism."

2. "As Arne Naess, the grand pontiff of this mess, puts it: 'The basic principles within the deep ecology movement are grounded in

religion or philosophy' — as though the two words can be flippantly used interchangeably." He would have argued with Dean Inge who said, "I'm unable to distinguish between philosophy and religion".

3. "In philosophy, Spinoza, a Jew in spirit if not in religious commitment, is inter-mingled with Heidegger, a former member of the Nazi party in spirit as well as ideological affiliation." Bookchin's crude assertions are not balanced by Heidegger's change of heart. Nietzsche had said, "It is with thinkers as with snakes: those that cannot shed their skins die". Heidegger came to describe his philosophy as ultra-existential to distinguish it from simple existentialism!

4. "... Heidegger who earned his academic spurs in the Third Reich by repudiating his Jewish teacher, notably Edmund Husserl, in an ugly and shameful way."

Heidegger repudiated Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* point of view which Husserl shared. Heidegger's philosophy makes man not separate but part of the world, and takes him beyond relative thought, which would have made him unpopular! In an explanation of consciousness he becomes, like Aldo Leopold, the mountain he perceives, or the tree or the animal. Heidegger actually acknowledged the possibility of transcending the common state of existence to be beyond the reach of those stuck in their dualistic, materialistic mode! Husserl, in his later writings, cautiously shed his Cartesian mantle which enabled him to approach agreement with Heidegger. It suggests that he did not take Heidegger's "ugly and shameful repudiation" too badly.

Could Bookchin not do with a dose of the 'remedy for scholarly cramp'?

A book, *Simple in Means, Rich in Ends* by Bill Devall (Green Print) which appeared in 1990 is written from the American deep ecology position and claims "the long range ecology movement has interwoven with the reform environmental movement for over a hundred years". For him, Aldo Leopold's Land Ethic is an early exemplification of deep ecology. "Land ethic simply enlarged the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants and animals, or collectively: the land. That land is a community is the basic concept of ecology".

Devall enlightens us about what caused Bookchin to become so wound up over at the American Greens Conference in 1987. Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra joint-authored *Green Politics: The Global Promise*, and Spretnak regards Green politics as an aspect of deep ecology. She said, "surely

no Green, whatever his or her spiritual orientation could object to our structuring our groups according to the deep ecology principles of diversity, inter-dependency, openness and adaptability — as well as the spiritual of cultivating wisdom and compassion. These can be our guidelines as we evolve the ever-changing forms of Green politics". What's wrong with Bookchin?

A reason why Bookchin is so derogatory about deep ecology may be explained by him being at great pains to point out that he "helped to pioneer some thirty years ago ... the ecology movement". He invites the rejoinder: what a lot more should have been accomplished in those thirty years. It looks as if deep ecology has picked up the smouldering fuse and re-lit it. Bookchin says much in his latest book, *Remaking Society*, apart from pettifogging casuistry that is contradictory and suggests that, at heart, he would be a deep ecologist if only able to wriggle free of his Aristotelian straight-jacket. Classical history reminds us that Aristotle would not listen to Plato who might possibly have quoted Pythagoras: "Sacred Nature all things hid reveals". It is also Bookchin's limitation. As Eddington says, "the mind has but regained from nature that which mind has put into nature". Naess does go deeper.

Bookchin cannot have read Erik Dammann's *The Future in our Hands*, either, to say, "deep ecology, despite all its social rhetoric has virtually no real sense that our ecological problems have their ultimate roots in society and in social problems". Dammann's book refutes Bookchin utterly. Naess is actually among the distinguished signatories of the Manifesto which ends the book, and is a stirring call to action.

The reason why Bookchin's social ecology books affect attitudes but not practice is suggested by Arne Naess and other writers on deep ecology: they touch a neglected nerve which quickens the spirit. Logic can convince reason, but cannot overcome the inertia of dualistic thinking. To know to feel is not the same as feeling to know.

Heidegger's theory of existence is salutary here. Normal existence is for him an absurdity — it is being an interpretation rather than being lived.

It cannot have been an accident for CUP to have only recently published Arne Naess' book. The title says what it means: "Ecology, Community and Lifestyle". It is the seminal philosophical work on deep ecology, and will repay reading by giving a balanced understanding.

Rodney Aitchtey

The Yuppie Party?

(continued from page 4)

against him. The chairman of the magistrates, a retired trade union official and fellow Labour Party member, felt that an example had to be made of Norman and he sentenced him to two months imprisonment for not paying his poll tax. Upon hearing the sentence, Norman said "whatever happened to comradeship in the Labour Party". He was then taken down by two burly policemen to start his sentence.

During his incarceration, Norman has demanded that he be treated as a political prisoner. According to the secretary of the Tyne and Wear Trades Council, Norman as a civil prisoner is entitled to additional visiting rights — in fact three visits a day which members of the Trades Council ensure he receives by way of a rota. Norman also holds daily press conferences with his visitors and has been interviewed by the regional television network.

Alas, the likes of Norman are a dying breed in Kinnock's Labour Party of designer suits and £18,000 a year salaries. It's the yuppie vote that Labour is after. As one political columnist put it, "we're talking style, we're talking bland, we're talking politics-free politics, we're talking user-friendly clothing, big baggy shirts and wholemeal trousers, in short, we're talking CRAP, this is Kinnock's Labour Party".

Joe McCarthy

says Moyse about the Art Racket

Trotsky to Stalin in this battle for red gold in that Dave has opened his guaranteed pure real hand-painted Russian paintings gallery in Berkeley Square just a footstep for the Town and his democratic-loving comrade from Roy's new Mayfair gallery. And Roy is angry for when one has mounted a £6,000,000 exhibition with pink champagne and nine kilograms of caviare and pictures, one has a right to feel hurt when one has also bought the entire studio sweat and toil of Iveta Salganik and roped in the flower of the Russian Embassy to find that one's gallery 'odd-job man' is corpsing the song and dance act by displaying in 'his' gallery window the single Iveta Salganik sketch that escaped Roy Miles' roused eye. Almost all critics, from the crawling to 'I am outraged', felt that time at the Hayward Gallery exhibition of The Twilight of the Tsars was time wasted for, to quote Brian Sewell, and God I loved the man, "this exhibition has more to do with the hey-day of the Leningrad equivalents of Selfridges and Whiteleys" for there was nothing that one could say in praise of it, it was so banal, even to the set of eight 1910 Russian dolls on display. Everyone was upset and dismayed except for me for I love bad taste on exhibition and the humour of Bernard Manning for I knew that Stalin, Hitler and

Truman would have given this exhibition of flea market art their authoritarian seal of approval for while it pleases the eye it does not engage the mind for it it mind-deadening coloured wallpaper. Brian Sewell rages, as all good men and women should, that so much of the work on display is no more than a rip off of Western artists and one feels that those who



went to Paris arrived by a slow train and that the home-loving boys have seen too many coloured Johnny-come-lately coloured art magazine reproductions.

But for the Town and his foot-sore frau the Hayward has mounted another major

exhibition and this is 'Walking in Circles' by Richard Long who goes around the country laying out stone, mud, or what have you, circles. But for me I would suggest that hand in hand with Roy, David, Iveta and Sergei we load up with pink champagne, pork pies and caviare and with pipes playing and cymbals tinkling we tiptoe on midsummer's day to Stonehenge and talk to the trees, if permitted.

Arthur Moyse

Tony Gibson's article 'When Prophecy Fails' (*Freedom*, 20th April) and my response to it (*Freedom*, 4th May) have certainly provoked some impassioned criticisms, some of which have been more constructive than others. The present counter-response is largely an elaboration on and hopefully a clarification of my original article. My article made three main points:

1. That Cognitive Dissonance is not a valid theory.
2. That possible changes in the behaviour of

has been floundering quite seriously for years and struggles desperately in the face of empirical evidence.

For example, I wonder how the committed Dissonance theorist would stretch the theory to deal with the following example cited by the social psychologist Michael Billig (1984), an eloquent critic of Cognitive Dissonance and similar theories. A young Conservative who was being interviewed inveighed against the laziness of the working class (an example of a belief central to his ideology). In the next

Dissonance, Marxism and Common Sense: a meta-critique

Marxist groups could be explained other than by Cognitive Dissonance.

3. Since common sense is a repository of theories, it is not an unproblematic alternative to a problematic theory.

breath he commented on how much he enjoyed doing over-time because it allowed him to just sit around reading newspapers. No 'dissonance phenomena' resulted from the juxtaposition of these contrary views.

All versions of Cognitive Dissonance which can genuinely claim to be a recognisable development of Festinger's original statements describe 'dissonance reduction' as a basic individual motivation (like hunger, as Festinger said). But so-called 'dissonance phenomena' (such as attitude changes and the behaviour of the 'Seekers') might be more usefully seen as particular *strategies* rather than the result of universal *mechanisms*.

Accounting for Marxist Propaganda

I thought my distinction between Stalinist Marxists (e.g. the Communist Party of Great Britain) and other Marxist-Leninists (e.g. the Socialist Workers Party) might clarify the issues raised by Tony Gibson. Bob Potter seems to agree with me that the former are the only ones relevant to the discussion, but Tony Gibson is critical of Marxism in general and he attacks me for using some of the insights of Marx.

I am not sure he fully understood my arguments, however. I was making two separate points. First, a reason why some people still advocate Marxism here in the West is because it has long been accepted, even before the Soviet regime was widely condemned, that the Soviets do not hold the monopoly on readings of Marx. There is no *necessary* conflict, therefore, in faith in (a version of) Marxism (of which there are

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Food for Thought ... and Action

Recent additions to the Freedom Bookshop stock

Organise: for class struggle anarchism. Anarchist Communist Federation quarterly. A useful magazine and, from this issue (no. 23) it's properly typeset and much easier to read. Amongst the subjects covered in this issue are the council tax, the Greens, Kurdistan and Iraq, coal mines, the ANC and more. 16 pages, 40p.

The Blake Escape: how we freed George Blake and why by Michael Randle and Pat Pottle, Harrap (hardback) or Sphere (paperback). Now that they're both up before the beak and have been denied in advance the possibility of a political defence, interest in Randle and Pottle's exploits has soared. And quite right too, considering how these two amateurs managed to spring an MI6 'intelligence' agent turned Soviet spy from Wormwood Scrubs prison in 1966, and then proceeded to run rings round the police, MI6 and the entire British establishment, and smuggled him to Berlin in a camper van! Well worth reading. 298 pages, £4.99 (paperback), £12.95 (hardback).

Z magazine. The Institute for Social and Cultural Communications, monthly. This impressive US publication is described as "an independent political magazine of critical thinking on political, cultural, social and economic life in the United States". The March issue has plenty of good articles on the Gulf war, a piece on the legacy of the Panama invasion, and one on America's secret political prisoners, plus book reviews, features and loads of photographs and some good illustrations and cartoons. The April issue has pieces on the Gulf war aftermath and the 'Turkey Shoot', US foreign policy, black America, and Mexico. Contributors include Edward Herman, Lydia Sargent and Noam Chomsky. Approx 110 pages, £3.00.

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SURELY the time has come for a new approach to work. We are still thinking in terms of living to work when science and technology have made it more than possible to think in terms of working to live, not only for those of us in the industrialised half of the globe but for the thousand million human beings in the rest of the world crushed and humiliated by appalling man-maintained poverty.

"Full-employment" is the slogan of wage-slaves in an unfree society. It is an insane society which is embarrassed by too many willing and skilled hands, and food and industrial surpluses. In a free society there can be no unwanted surpluses because production will be geared to needs; no unemployed because the more of us there are in the world the lighter will be our task of providing for the needs of everybody.

But one cannot legislate for the free society. It can only be born by the actions of men and women who have understood what freedom is all about and desire it more than anything else that present society and the political wordspinners have to offer by way of consolation prizes in its stead.

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Dissonance, Marxism and Common Sense: a meta-critique

(continued from page 6)

many) and knowledge of the evident failure of the Soviet system.

Second, I suggest that if and when Western Marxists increase their propaganda it might be because they have simply gained more members (since propaganda is impossible without sufficient people willing to sell papers, etc.). From my own experience I have seen the SWP gain members amongst people whose first taste of politics has been the anti poll tax struggle. It is also the case that over 1,000 members were gained by the SWP during the short space of time covering the Gulf war. The commonly-found correlation between times of relatively overt class conflict and increases in the number of people joining Marxist parties in the West (and getting involved in anarchism, too) does seem to be in line with the materialist (i.e. Marxist) theory of consciousness. (If certain Marxist parties raise the money to put out extra propaganda — stickers, posters, etc. — at times of conflict *without* an immediately preceding increase in membership it is no doubt because they are trying to make the most of a situation which generally appears to work in their favour anyway.)

Maybe Marx was wrong in many respects (so were Bakunin, Kropotkin, etc.) but do his ideas have nothing useful to offer us? I would argue that, just as the body of his ideas should not become a religion, neither should they be ignored. Rather we can learn from aspects of Marx's writing — the critiques of capitalism and idealism, for example, and the libertarian and humanistic elements of his work.

Making sense of common sense

This brings me to the objections raised against my article by Mack-the-Knife (*Freedom*, 1st June). He says we should give up the "delusive

drug of theory" (particularly Marxism) and think for ourselves for a change. He argues that, in my critique of common sense, I advocate a recipe for self-deception since I suggest that we must choose selectively among the explanations offered by common sense (with the aid of a theory).

Again, I wonder if there is some confusion here. Common sense is the body of socially shared assumptions and lay theories usually contrasted with science. Surely thinking for ourselves involves a certain *questioning* of at least some of these generally accepted explanations. This does not have to involve accepting the assumptions of either science (as currently practiced) or even Marxism.

Will the theories we develop in opposition to those of common sense necessarily lead to dogma and mere assertion as Mack-the-Knife warns? Of course there is always the danger of us rigidly fitting the evidence to our theory. Motivation influences perception for *everyone*, so things are indeed not always as they appear. Hence we as anarchists must practice a *critical attitude* towards our own theory as well as toward the consensually-accepted world-view which speaks of the necessity of government.

Capitalism versus Stalinism

The background to this debate is the collapse of the regimes that once formed parts of the Soviet empire. As one of many who are relatively poor rather than comfortable, I regard the events in Eastern Europe with pessimism rather than disapproval. For many people, a change of masters, whether through popular action or through the manoeuvrings of elites, does not bring any relief from economic oppression.

Johnny Yen

Unfair Comment by Thought Afore Malice

It has long been my contention that a fool is more dangerous than a crook in politics. For instance a crook may talk about the 'evil empire', about 'better dead than red', as a way of boosting fear (and arms sales) and so keeping down dissenting opinions; but one knows that a Nixon or a Nancy Reagan would always draw back from using weapons which they knew would not only destroy the Soviet Union, but people elsewhere — leaving them no one else to exploit. It would take the moral majority, a Ronald Reagan, a Dan Quayle to be fool enough to actually press the button.

I had not, I must admit, appreciated until recently just how much this maxim applies also to the economy. If asset-strippers wish to take over the state, sell off all the profitable bits to themselves, and leave the population with the bill, the nonsensical economic theories of a Milton Friedman or a Hayek (and claims that moderate Keynesian distribution has forced all the 'men [sic] of initiative' to 'join the brain drain') provide a useful propaganda vehicle. But the true crook knows that if he or she is to keep the till open for pickings, he or she must know when to call a halt.

The trouble, as with the moral majority, comes when some supporters have been so indoctrinated by the monetarist slogans that they actually believe them. Then — as the Tory Party is seeing with its unreconstructed Thatcherites accusing others of disloyalty to their great leader — there is trouble. Believe it or not, there are actually some people on the Tory Right (often people who weren't even the beneficiaries of the twelve years of Tory plunder) who actually believe that the Thatcher measures were motivated by something other than pure selfishness, that its proponents really thought it was 'for the good of the country'.

They did not, of course, trouble to think what 'the good of the country' actually meant, plainly it did not mean 'good for the majority of the people of the country' for they were being told that they must tighten their belts for that 'good of the country'. But in some mystical way there was a good for which Thatcher stood (just as medicine used to be thought to be particularly therapeutic when it tasted nasty).

So, surprising as it may seem, they are shocked at her going. We need to understand this, as part of the struggle to explain the evils of capitalism.

Years ago *Peace News* quoted a story, which had originally appeared in Martin Walker's column in *The Guardian*. I haven't either version to hand, but others can check it.

At one of the not-infrequent occasions when — during the Wilson government — the more paranoid military, big business and security figures of the Establishment met to discuss destabilising the government, and then staging a coup; Lords Zuckerman and Mountbatten were present. The former got up saying: "This is treason, I am not stopping here for it, I am leaving, you shouldn't be here either Dickie" but the latter did not leave.

A reason perhaps why anarchists may not have been prominent amongst the 65 people present for the Earl Mountbatten Commemoration Assembly a week or so ago, sponsored by CND.

It appears that amongst those who had been impressed by the Earl's credentials as a peacenik was Lord Noel-Baker. It will be recalled that though a Quaker, Phillip Noel-Baker was a star speaker *against* CND and opponent of unilateralism, that he was an apologist for the regime of the Greek colonels who took power to prevent the election of an anti-NATO government, and that he too was named by Martin Walker as having been involved in putschist talks.

Yet nevertheless those who wished to commemorate Mountbatten were able to produce chapter and verse to show that he had very great reservations about the efficacy of nuclear weapons; from which they deduced that he was an advocate of peace, rather than that he argued against putting all 'defence' eggs in one nuclear basket.

Without necessarily sharing this deduction, this may be of interest. Could it be that within this Establishment Far Right (a somewhat more aristocratic Far Right than the Thatcherites) there is a modicum of intelligence capable of questioning — on purely pragmatic grounds — the sense of nuclear weaponry. It would be interesting to know more.

The Pottle-Randle Trial opens with attempt to gag defendants

As we go to press (22nd June) the trial opened at the Old Bailey of Pat Pottle and Michael Randle for their part in the successful escape from prison by the double agent George Blake 25 years ago.

The judge, Mr Justice Alliot, right from the word 'go' made it clear to the men in the dock who were carrying out their own defence that he would not allow them to make this into a political trial. All that he was concerned with was whether they committed the offences of which they were charged and not any political reasons for their action, they could do that in mitigation later — meaning that this important aspect of their actions would not be put to the jury for them to consider before arriving at their verdict, which clearly the judge took for granted would be one of 'guilty'. Only then could they appeal to the judge for mercy by explaining their reasons for what they did. One wonders what is the point of having a jury at all. Of course this country is notorious in maintaining that there are no such things as 'political trials'. That only happens in other countries. The fact that Pottle and Randle have been prosecuted 25 years after the event is due entirely to 100 Tory Members of Parliament singing a petition demanding that the DPP should prosecute!

The judge also refused to allow the defendants to occupy the more spacious area of the Old Bailey Court No 1 reserved for the defence lawyers in making their case. So they are now having to conduct their case — and one imagines that there are a lot of documents, etc. — from the restricted space in the dock.

Days two and three were spent by the jury reading Pottle and Randle's book on the escape.

When the case resumed on Thursday 20th June the defendants made it clear they were not to be

intimidated by the judge or British 'justice'. Richard Norton-Taylor in *The Guardian* reported that:

"Twice during exchanges with the two men the judge asked the jury to leave. The judge allowed the jury to remain after Mr Randle quoted a 1930 ruling by Lord Chief Justice Hewart that it was up to the defence to decide whether the jury should stay or go. 'That ruling is more honoured in the breach than in the observance', the judge remarked.

The row was prompted by Mr Randle's argument that the pair had a defence through the 'law of necessity' — against the background of Blake's unprecedented 42-year prison sentence — as well as on moral grounds.

In earlier exchanges Mr Pottle told the judge that prosecution evidence — a 1989 Thames Television film on the Blake escape shown yesterday to the jury in court — contained 'highly prejudicial' remarks. The film included a demand from a Tory MP, Graham Riddick, that the two should be prosecuted, and an interview with the former CIA director, Richard Helms.

Referring to the judge's ruling at the start of the case that he would not allow the pair to mount a political defence, Mr Pottle said: "There seems to be one rule for the prosecution and one for the defence."

Obviously the judge and prosecution are not going to have it all their own way. The spirited defence and the blatant hostility of the judge could well influence the jury in their favour.

Pat Pottle and Michael Randle, described as peace activists, were most active with the Committee of 100 who were involved in organising a number of sit-downs in London. For young readers of Freedom for whom this is unknown history, we recommend the Freedom Press volume Protest Without Illusions (168 pages with 31 photographs both of the Aldermaston marches and the sit-downs, £3 post free inland) — Editors

Vivent les Français but not so the poor

If you saw the figures for deaths from coronary heart disease in France published last week, you may have been as puzzled as I was.

In France in the 55-64 age group, 100 people per 100,000 died of coronary heart disease. Compare this 450 per 100,000 British and we must ask the question 'why the difference?'

The French drink more alcohol (mostly wine) per capita than the British. They smoke as much and use higher tar tobacco. Their fat intake must be quite high — full fat Brie and Camembert, pâté, pastries, croissants.

Another cause of heart disease besides diet and smoking is, of course, stress. Could an obvious conclusion be that alcohol and tobacco use actually do more good than harm? Could it be a fact that they alleviate stress, at least for active consumers, and could this be the reason for healthier French hearts?

Or perhaps it is because the French get on and enjoy the good things of life and worry less about health without perpetually chopping and changing their dietary habits in order to keep in line with current 'healthy eating' findings.

No, I'm not becoming an anti-health foods freak — but I do find it irritating to be told that after ten years of trying to prefer 'healthier' sunflower margarine, I am actually missing essential amino acids I used to get in lovely butter. It is also disillusioning to be told by the dentist to give up muesli as it dislodges fillings.

I have watched colleagues peel grapes and cherries and put drops of Dettol in the water they wash fruit in — I even know someone who won't wash her husband's clothes in the same machine load as her own, but that's another story.

The French pay for medical treatment by

contributing to job-linked medical funds — approximately 6.7% of their salaries. Most workers have a mutual fund over and above social security cover and receive a full refund of medical expenses.

Medical specialists can be consulted without referral from GPs and only difficult operations are performed in hospitals as private clinics cover routine ones.

Another interesting fact is that there are 60,000 surplus beds in France and 20,000 doctors too many. Could this be the real reason why deaths from coronary heart disease are so low in France? There's no need to worry about diet or drinking habits because there's no need to worry about health because there's no need to worry about health care.

An infinitely more serious fact discovered recently is that despite a dramatic rise in prosperity, class differences in death rates have not evened out in the post-war period. Income differentials must surely affect health by exacerbating differences between rich and poor, and consequently lowering the self-esteem of the worse off who have difficulty in maintaining basic living standards whilst some around them bask in the neon glow of conspicuous consumption. Here again we find stress to be a major cause of ill health and discontent. A more balanced distribution of income makes for a better quality of life as well as a longer one.

The major difference between rich and poor now compared with 100 years ago is that because of the spread of mass media, the poor can't avoid pressing their noses against the windows of the rich.

Silvie Edwards

What are 'Natural Feminine Qualities'?

Dear Freedom,
I write in response to Janelle Raynor's letter in the 15th June issue of *Freedom*, in which she attacked the idea that libertarian characteristics are natural feminine qualities. I am beginning to wonder if, in fact, there may be some truth in the assertion.

We see anarchism as a caring/sociable ideology, which also seeks a relatedness between humans and the natural world. Now, I have little knowledge of socio-biology, but my interest with its relationship to anarchism was stirred by the following ideas and observations:

1. Since all female animals suckle and protect their offspring on a purely instinctual basis, and humans are evolved from animals, it seems likely that caring tendencies are stronger in women. All males are far less directly involved in child rearing activities.
2. recent research reported on radio, shows that a greater proportion of girl babies smile compared with boys, suggesting greater innate female sociability.
3. Another radio programme some time ago, reported that a far greater proportion of women than men could reliably point to the north, after being blindfolded and spun around in a revolving chair. The results of this experiment suggest the existence of an empathic link between humans and the natural world, which is either naturally stronger in women, or alternatively, that many men had lost this ability after being more exposed to a culture stressing logical reasoned enquiry.
4. A report by a computer dating agency found that the greatest number of lonely males worked in scientific/technical occupations, i.e. those most exposed to logical rather than intuitive decision

Assumptions about Human Motivation

Dear Editors,
I am puzzled by Tony Gibson's comments on "the assumptions about human motivation central to Marxist thinking" in his reply to Johnny Yen. What are these assumptions? My own reading of Marx suggests that he regarded human nature as a set of potentials that was culturally variable, a view held by most sociologists and anthropologists as well. Marx was perhaps somewhat sceptical of the possibility of a science of psychology, as in his view individual human nature was created by social processes. There is nothing particularly reprehensible or indeed 'Marxist' about this, even if psychologists sometimes take a dim view of it.

With all the ambiguities and flaws which can be found in Marx I see little point in attributing to him assumptions which, if they exist at all, are certainly not central to his thinking. Such assumptions were central to Bentham, and Marx explicitly rejected them. Like Comte, John Stuart Mill and Spencer, he was reacting to massive social change and trying to create a science of society with the idea of rectifying the horror he saw around him. I doubt if he had a theory of motivation as that is currently understood. But on analysis his idea of the science of man, and his structural-functional model of society was not essentially different from theirs.

One final point. Adam Smith's celebration of market economics, whatever its inherent flaws (and there are some lusus) is not invalidated by Thatcher's inability to read him properly (see his comments on poll tax) or make his ideas work. By the same token, Marx's analysis of capitalism (which I seem to remember Bakunin sharing) can hardly be invalidated by the collapse of the despotisms that claimed his work as a legitimating ideology.

John Pilgrim
Woodbridge, Suffolk

making. This suggests conflict between scientific, usually male oriented pursuits, and sociability.

On the other hand, and in favour of social determinism, Emile Durkheim demonstrated the awesome power which societies can exert on the individual. In his famous study of suicide, he described how Hindu widows once cast themselves onto their dead husbands' funeral pyres, purely because of their acceptance of prevailing social norms. Frightening.

Whether men and women are what they are, because of biological or social influences, or (more likely) a mixture of the two, it seems to me that we are stuck with our biological tendencies. We can only advance the cause of anarchism in the sphere of the social. If women are indeed closer in their innate characteristics to anarchism than men, then they have much to offer the movement.

John Griffin
London

Reverse Sexism?

Dear Editors,
May I put the following points to Janelle Raynor, who would saddle me with 'reverse sexism' (Letters, 15th June):

1. Supposed differences in attributes (e.g. "black people have 'natural rhythm'") are in no way analogous to the actual biological difference between man and woman.
2. It is the childbearing function of the female that, in conditioning her outlook on life, is likely to make her more pacific and selfless than the man (this could explain why 50% of women MPs voted against Desert Storm, compared with only 15% of the males).
3. It is in that sense that I regard the pacifism and selflessness of women to be inherent, or natural.
4. Janelle's philosophical objections to pacifism and selflessness, and my

Anarchism and Nationalism

Dear Editors,
It is Flett's own fault (15th June) if I got his/her sex wrong, for writing under a pseudonym. Is it too much to ask him/her to come clean and reveal his/her true identity?

Anyhow, whatever gender Flett is, he/she seems very confused about the precise relationship between anarchism and nationalism. On the one hand, he/she seems to believe that the people of the Baltic states would be better off without the Russians, the Tibetans without the Chinese, and that the Kurds should have self-determination. On the other hand, he/she still appears to hold that nationalism is wholly wrong. Does he/she want to abolish the Baltic states, Tibet, Kurdistan, Palestine, and so on, as countries and somehow turn them into some kind of anarchist societies? I think we should be told where exactly Flett stands on this issue.

Regarding Scotland, Flett seeks to draw a distinction between the SNP and "the large number of people in Scotland with nationalist feelings". But what organisation in Scotland can satisfy these feelings except the SNP? The vital difference between Flett's "rich land-owning SNP MP and rich land-owning Independent prospective MP is that the former wants home rule for Scotland, while the latter does not".

Of course I am not naive enough to believe that a Scottish government would "cure a multitude of ills". Indeed, as a left wing socialist who holds that anarchism, though a noble ideal is, at present at least, totally impracticable, I hope that at the first General Election after independence

Dear Editors,
George Walford's piece 'People Without Freedom' (*Freedom*, 18th May) warrants some correction and comment. First, the corrections.

I nowhere use the term 'diffuse coercion'. The term I used was 'diffuse sanctions' and these are found in all human societies and all human relationships. In societies with the state and government penal sanctions prevail, and diffuse sanctions have a minor role. In stateless societies there are no penal sanctions.

Walford suggests my book *People Without Government* is about foraging societies. In fact, there are 16 pages devoted to them, but 66 pages on horticultural, pastoral and agricultural societies.

Now for some comments. In dealing with this topic I defined an anarchic polity simply as one where

The 'Mould Breaker' Broken

Dear Editors,
The Sunday Express (16th June) splashes across the front page an 'exclusive' bombshell: "Owen declares — I am ready to serve under Major". And he has not contradicted

own philosophical apologies for those ideas, probably have cultural explanations. I prefer to argue on general observations and probabilities.

5. By pacifism I mean the reluctance to prepare for and make war — not a reluctance to defend any unprovoked attacks upon self or family. Just watch the female animal when her brood is threatened!

Ernie Crosswell
Berkshire

the SNP will be soundly defeated. But at least home rule will be better than the present set-up, whereby England votes Tory, but a Labour Scotland is still saddled with a Tory government. Flett seems to believe that no bread is better than half a loaf. I disagree.

However, I entirely agree with Flett's sage remarks on Ireland. But I'd still prefer to live in an independent Eire than in the present Anglicised Scotland. "Why stop at the border?", asks Flett, and also, no doubt, the invaders of the Baltic States, Tibet and the West Bank. Why indeed, but nations do exist, and Scotland has been one for over 1,000 years. Does this mean nothing to Flett, be 'it' male or female?

John L. Broom
Stromness, Orkney

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People Without Freedom

government and the state were absent and on this basis most of the societies I described are anarchic. My book was intended to demonstrate the different strategies of anarchic organisation which have been tested in the past, including demonstrating the kinds of restraints which they imposed. Whether these restrictions were "narrower than those found in sophisticated [sic] societies today" depends on how on interprets the situation. Thus, for example, Walford overlooks the fact that nearly all of the societies I reported on are of a highly homogeneous 'folk' or Gemeinschaft type. If I may be allowed to quote from my book:

"Some may interpret these conditions as rigidly curtailing freedom. Freedom, it may be said, is measured by the number of choices open to an individual. And these are obviously fewer choices open to members of these small scale societies.

But perhaps we should question how much less freedom exists in such societies if all the members are unaware of a greater number of alternatives and if the same alternatives are available to all. How, indeed, would such societies compare to those more 'modern' ones in which there are presumably so many more choices, but in fact they are not freely available to everyone?" (page 22)

Walford seems to believe that a society can exist without rules and mechanisms to induce conformity. This is pure fantasy. I have suggested that an anarchist society is one guided by diffuse sanctions and one where penal sanctions are absent. I have never heard of any human being anywhere, including anarchists, who did not employ diffuse sanctions. If no one employed these, no one would ever reprimand anyone else; no one would be rewarded; no one could be ostracised. There would be no gossip, no protest marches, demonstrations, etc., etc.

Walford presents an utterly simplistic notion of witchcraft by equating it with non-conformity. Rightly or wrongly, north-west coast Indians believed that a witch practised arts which were deeply malevolent and a major threat to the health and well-being of the community. I agree, incidentally, that violence is highly unanarchistic. That's why I suggest anarchism implied pacifism and vice versa.

Walford advocates a doctrine of progressive evolutionism which might possibly be considered more suitable to the nineteenth century, but certainly is now discredited. How archaic anarchy leads to state organisation and the fact that history does not bode well for anarchist style society are issues I dealt with, although all too briefly, on pages 136-150.

Perhaps George should read them more carefully, and even read the whole book, before rushing off to publish.

Harold B. Barclay
Edmonton, Alberta

this 'exclusive' (after all, so often they are manufactured by zealous journalists). What he has made quite clear is that he would not join the Tories ("I am not one") but would consider joining the Cabinet and remaining a Social Democrat. "I want to see governments formed of more than one political party". He respected Mr Major: "I think a lot of what he is doing is right for this country and I am prepared to say so".

Mr Major is not as daft as some try to make him appear and he obviously looks upon David Owen as the 'evil eye'. After all, everything he has touched has gone sour. First the Labour Party, then as a member of the Gang of Four with the SDP, then the Alliance with the Liberals and holding hands with David Steel. That went sour and now he has ratted on his SDP rump. Not even the Tories trust him now!

AA
London

News from Angel Alley

We are glad to inform readers that the five new titles announced in *Freedom* are now available and that all advance orders for them have been dispatched. *The Raven* 14 has also come back from the binders as we write (21st June) and will be dispatched to subscribers this very day.

Freedom Press Bookshop had a book stall in Cardiff and also one at Friends House in London this month. Financially they were disappointing but useful contacts were made at both of these well-attended gatherings.

We are glad to help any comrade wishing to organise a mini book fair in their locality both with advice and with supplies of literature.

With this issue we are sending out pink final notices to readers whose subscriptions expired in April and have not yet renewed. Green reminders will also be going out for subscriptions expiring in May/June/July. Please deal with these reminders as a matter of urgency. Without your subscriptions

and donations we cannot maintain a fortnightly publication.

Many thanks to those of you who have contributed to the donations list below.

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In the list in the last issue the last item should have read 'Gateshead GD remembering Jack Robinson £20'. The total remains unchanged.

MEETINGS

Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

1991 SEASON OF MEETINGS

- 21st June - General discussion
- 28th June - General discussion
- 5th July - General discussion
- 12th July - General discussion
- 27th September - 'Anarchism and the Mexican Labour Movement' (speaker Dave Dane)
- 4th October - General discussion
- 11th October - 'The Orogen of Social Work' (speaker Peter Neville)
- 18th October - General discussion

We are now booking speakers or topics for 1991-92. The dates free are from 25th October to 13th December 1991, 10th January to 20th March and 17th April to 10th July 1992. If anyone, including comrades from abroad, would like to give a talk or lead a discussion, please make contact giving their names and proposed subjects and a few alternative dates so we can start filling slots. 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).

FREEDOM fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

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

Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

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This summer's anarchist picnic will be on the south side of Spanker's Wood, Richmond Park, at 2.00pm on Saturday 6th July 1991. Entrance from Putney LT or SR/NSE and bus to Roehampton thence a mile walk; Richmond LT or SR/NSE or BR/NL Line and a two mile walk via Richmond Hill; Mortlake SR/NSE and a mile walk via White Lodge. This picnic is an endurance test for car haters but it is worth it. Easy vehicle access from the South Circular or A3 (Robin Hood's Gate) and ample parking. Maps available at gates. Lots of nice places to stroll. A pond for children to bathe. Kites possible. Trees to shelter if raining. Try and keep the park green. Avoid the deer and the Royal Parks Police as both equally unpredictable. Toilet near Roehampton Gate where there is a refreshment room. Usual problem for early arrivers: spot the anarchist.

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