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FIFTY PENCE

"Do not waste your time on social questions. What is the matter with the poor is poverty. What is the matter with the rich is uselessness."

George Bernard Shaw

Scrap the Armed Forces we don't need ... BUILD THE HOUSES WE DO!

With 'detente' between East and West being official, some recognition of the new *status quo* had to be shown by even a token reduction in the arms racket. Fortunately for the hard-liners the Middle East crusade by the West for gallant little Kuwait has added justification for proceeding with caution on a wholesale disarmament programme. After all, you never know when the Iraqi dictator might want to invade Britain. We must be prepared for all such eventualities!

There has been a lot of talk about reducing the armed forces by some 40,000, but more time is being spent arguing about whether historic regiments can be scrapped or should they be pruned. The media have even dragged the Queen into this burning topic. She appears to be a Hussar (or some such regiment) fan and would like to see them retained. Surely the war business should be made of sterner stuff!

Meanwhile, for political reasons we suspect, the War Ministry awarded a £400 million contract for tanks to Vickers, thereby saving some jobs. Will these Mark 2 tanks simply get worn out playing war games against an imaginary enemy like their Mark 1 predecessors?

The Labour Party, were it to be more concerned with making good use of taxpayers' money than with appearing to defend jobs in the shipyards and armament factories, would propose a drastic cut in so-called defence and use the money saved to launch a massive house building programme for the public sector — not for sale but to rent. They should also use their powers to take over unoccupied houses (about 600,000 privately-owned properties are estimated to be empty), houses in disrepair and available land for housing at existing use values. As

well as providing housing for the homeless it would also have a salutary effect on house prices and rents in the private sector in the future.

FOR SALE

Flats with a Regal View
3a Kensington Palace Gardens, overlooking Kensington Palace and the park, 22 luxury flats are being launched on the market. Prices range from £2 million for the smallest three-bedroom flat to £13.5 million for the largest penthouse.

Labour could also collect a further £9,000 million over a number of years if they had the courage to cut out tax relief on mortgages (MITR). A lead has been given by a recent enquiry chaired by the Duke of Edinburgh
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Best News in June RANDLE & POTTLE ACQUITTED

Surely the best news last month was that of the acquittal of Michael Randle and Pat Pottle on charges of having assisted the double agent George Blake to escape from his 42-year prison sentence, in spite of the fact that they openly admitted to the 'crime' both at the Old Bailey and in their book *The Blake Escape: how we freed George Blake and why*.

We have no time for spies, least of all those like Blake who was employed in the first place by the British on activities concerned with destabilising Soviet society. Even less when he was seduced by those he sought to undermine. And our contempt extends to both his masters — MI6 and the KGB.

This writer would look upon Randle and Pottle, both committed pacifists

from the Committee of 100 days, as latter-day *Candides* not only for taking the enormous risk involved in getting Blake out of the country but then ten years later publishing the facts in their book, knowing that they risked prosecution and possibly a five year sentence. (Those who argue that they published the book for the money have conveniently omitted to take into account what they originally did, not for money but at great risk to their freedom.)

We are obviously delighted with the verdict in that it means that Michael and Pat are free. But what makes the verdict the "best news of June" for us is that a jury *unanimously* refused to follow the judge's ruling that:

"the men's claim that they had acted on humanitarian grounds was not a defence,

nor were their arguments about political abuse of the legal system. The only issue was whether they had helped Blake escape and spirited him out of the country".

The Independent report stated that:

"After three hours, the jury returned in front of an impassive judge and, to cheers from the public gallery, they gave verdicts of not guilty".

The 'perverse' verdict has obviously not pleased many in the legal profession. The most surprising reaction was that of Louis Blom-Cooper QC, who one has thought of as one of the more progressive lawyers. In a hostile article in *The Observer* (30th June) with the title "Juries that should be in the dock", while recognising that
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The Randle & Pottle Trial

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the jubilation over the unexpected acquittal "is understandable enough" he hastily adds that:

"for anyone to heap plaudits on the 12 jurors for their rank defiance of the law in face of the conclusive evidence of the accused's guilt is unconscionable".

While on the one hand he recognises the "exclusive right" of a jury to convict or acquit an accused of a serious criminal offence, on the other he questions whether it makes sense to support such a method. Though he regards trial by jury as a "healthy corrective to the pressures, subtle or unsubtle" that can be exerted by government or by the bias of the judiciary "against dissidents who oppose the social order" he nevertheless asks:

"Does that populist safeguard license a jury to act perversely and deliver an unchallengeable snub to the legal system?"

And he disagrees with those who say it should. The remainder of his article is a plea for some redress when a jury's verdict is obviously "perverse", as undoubtedly it was in this case. But then these poor legal experts can only see everything in terms of the law, the majesty of the law. And they just cannot accept it when two defendants, dispensing with the lawyers, convince a jury that in their particular case the law is an ass and it's on their motives that they must be judged. And the jury acquitted them.

Don't Believe the Politicians RECESSION'S HERE TO STAY!

We offer no apologies for making the recession and unemployment a permanent feature in *Freedom*, the more so when the Prime Minister and his cabinet go on declaring that the recession has 'bottomed out' and that industry will be 'looking up' in the second half of this year, to be followed by an increase in employment, though they emphasise that the two will not take place at the same time!

However, now not even the government's normal supporters in the media and in industry can hide the harsh realities. The main two-line headline plastered across *The Sunday Times* front page (30th June) reads: "Government hopes of economic upturn are dashed as jobless total heads to three million". The subhead includes a consolation prize: "Recession expected to last until next year — Labour lead narrows to 2%". But more important is the bad news from industry:

"Two of Britain's big car manufacturers, British Steel and the leaders of the engineering industry have all warned the government that there is no prospect of the early economic recovery promised by ministers.

The government was told bluntly that there was

little chance of a pick-up in manufacturing until the middle of next year, despite fresh claims from the Treasury yesterday that the recession had bottomed out.

The Engineering Employers' Federation, which accounts for 40% of manufacturing jobs in 5,000 companies, said yesterday that the economy remained in deep recession.

It predicted that the 7% plunge in output over the past 12 months would be followed by a 2% drop in the coming year.

Job losses — already projected at 200,000 from mid-1990 to mid-1992 — are expected to continue into 1993 as the industry struggles to remain competitive."

Of course the industrialists couldn't care less how many of their workforce join the dole queues. It makes those left work harder to keep their jobs and not be so insistent about wage claims even when the bosses give themselves generous rises (average last year was 19%), bonuses and golden handshakes. What the industrialists are interested in is seeing a reduction in interest rates, and not as they maintain in order to encourage investment in industry (and they are enthusiastically supported by the Labour Party), but to reduce their interest payments to the banks and in that way improve the look of their balance sheets and presumably the director's bonus on 'results' at the end of the year. For in no way will a reduction in interest rates increase investment. The worldwide recession is not only that the majority of people have less money to spend (and ½% off interest rates as hinted by the Governor of the Bank of England as we write these lines will make very little difference to most people's budgets), but that *production exceeds demand*.

There's no shortage of new cars in the car

manufacturing countries and as for freezers, fridges and washing machines, not to mention cameras, videos, CD music centres, the Dixons and the Halfords *et alia* are so anxious to get rid of them that they are offering them at reduced prices and on the never-never at 12-months interest free! Ford have just announced a £2,000 reduction on their more expensive models — and the situation is no different in all the G7 industrial countries. So there is no hope of an upturn in investment in the manufacturing industry even if interest rates are dramatically reduced.

The latest statistics show that the UK economy has contracted for the third successive quarter. According to the Central Statistical Office the slow-down in the third quarter was only apparent since it was caused by "a recovery in North Sea oil output". But excluding oil and gas production output fell from 0.7% in the third quarter of 1990 and 0.9% in both the subsequent quarters. The decline in output of 2.5% in 1990 was the steepest since the slump in the first years of the present Tory government. Even the so-called 'improvement' in the trade deficit (everything is relative in the money game. A reduction from £1,000 million a month to £875 million in the trade gap is greeted as a 'success story' by the government and the media) is quite illusory. Since February the £ sterling has lost 12% in the money markets against the US \$ which should have made this country's exports to the USA much more 'attractive'. But it hasn't. Why? Because the USA, like all the industrialised countries, is 'over-producing' in relation to 'demand'.

Before we are misunderstood we hasten to point out that we have been exposing the capitalist system at work, with which we anarchists have nothing in common. As we have written in the columns many times, we are looking forward to the capitalist system destroying itself by its own greed. But it won't so long as its victims — all people depending on one another for a living whether they earn £400 a week or £40 — spend all their time fighting among themselves for promotion, differentials, perks, and forget that the common enemy is *the boss who can hire and fire them at will*; who can go bankrupt having secured his future with some Swiss bank and leave a trail of bad debts and unpaid wages for which there is no redress if he has employed the right accountants to cook the books.

No political party in this country advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system (*pace* SPGB and SWP). They simply vie with each other to run it more efficiently if we give them our vote and abdicate the power that resides in each of us to run our own lives in concert with our fellows.

To our minds the only possible anarchist propaganda at present in the Western industrial world is to encourage people to opt out of the consumerist rat race consciously, politically, socially. Not hermits, not fundamentalists. On the contrary, we also hope that as they 'discover' their own philosophy of life (after all, we only have one for sure!) they will also feel impelled, as those of us at Freedom Press do, to propagate these ideas among their circle of friends and acquaintances. To create the alternative society initiative must come from below. Distrust all those who offer to bring it about on your behalf in return for a vote!

Highlights from Pat Pottle's address to the jury from the dock

This is the only opportunity I have of speaking directly to you. Sitting in the jury box must be boring and frustrating. If it is any consolation to you, I can assure you it beats sitting in the dock. Let's open the windows and let the fresh air in, and blow away the cobwebs. Let common sense, for once, be champion over legal technicalities.

This prosecution has come about because 110 MPs signed a motion calling for our prosecution — and because of a threat of a private prosecution from the inaptly named Freedom Association. We do not deny the things we are accused of doing. Not only do we not deny it, we say it was the right thing to do.

Your task would be a lot easier if this were a simple case of guilt or innocence, but it is not. It is a case of right and wrong. It is a case of politics, a case of how governments lie, cheat and manipulate, and then cover their tracks in a smokescreen of official secrecy.

This is not just a case of a man given an inhuman sentence and of us freeing him. This is a political trial. A political decision was taken in 1970 not to prosecute. When we were publicly named in 1987 it came as no surprise to the police: they had known since 1970.

The decision not to prosecute was taken before any basic routine enquiries were made ...

The judge has ruled our reasons for freeing George to be irrelevant. In law, he says, these people have no defence. You have no choice but to find them guilty. I disagree with the judge. The idea of a jury system is that you can look at the whole case, not just the legal mumbo-jumbo. You are twelve independent people.

Unlike most judges you exist in the ordinary world of everyday life. You are able to use your common sense and humanity and not have your hands and minds tied by legal technicalities. Common sense must tell you that our reasons for helping to free George from prison must be relevant. If you accept the narrow legal position that the judge may direct you to make, you diminish your own roles as jurors.

The moral indignation about George's work for the Russians is something I completely agree with. But moral outrage is only genuine when applied to both sides. Have our values become so perverted that we only claim moral outrage at the other side's activities and not our own?

What George did for British intelligence and the KGB was wrong — we have never tried to justify it nor whitewash it. But espionage is a dirty business, where rumour becomes fact and fact becomes fiction. The individuals involved in it are exploiters and in turn exploited. Even when caught they can still be used as international pawns in a game, some to be swapped, some to be given immunity, and the unlucky ones left to rot in prison. No one who supports this kind of thing can hold their heads up high.

What did George do that sets him apart from other spies uncovered at that time? He was not really British, was he? Not of the old school, not one of us. Deep down he was a foreigner, and half Jewish to boot. He was never part of that privileged undergraduate set at Cambridge in the 1930s. Not like dear old Kim, who was offered immunity, or dear old Anthony, who was not only given immunity but allowed to continue his work as Surveyor of Queen's Pictures.

A secret trial, a vicious sentence of 42 years, a secret appeal — is this democracy in action? Is this open justice? Are we not becoming the very thing we condemn?

George was no threat to you, me or our children. He had been caught spying for the Russians, just as they had caught people spying for the West. His usefulness was over, his spying activities at an end. What purpose was served by giving him such a sentence? It was, in the words of Lord Hutchinson: "so inhuman that it is alien to all the principles by which a civilised country should treat its subjects".

When the government and its judges allow themselves to be dictated to by mob hysteria you end up with a society whose laws and penal institutions are based on revenge and nothing else.

In the end it comes down to this: a fellow human being asked for help. That help meant breaking the law. I feel no shame in having done so, but I would have felt great shame had I turned down George's request for help.

Yes, I helped George Blake escape. I did it for purely humanitarian reasons. I think we were right to do so. I would do it again. I have no apologies to make and no regrets.

I will finish by quoting Bertrand Russell: "Remember your humanity; forget the rest".

BUILD MORE HOUSES

(continued from page 1)

and organised by the National Federation of Housing Associations and sponsored by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. The report rightly points out that MITR "is unfair because it is of greater benefit to the rich than the poor and it is also inefficient because much of the tax relief goes to people who would have housed themselves satisfactorily without it".

The report suggests that if MITR were to be phased out over a maximum period of ten years it would eventually save £9,000 million a year which could easily finance its other proposals including needs-related allowances. The report also stresses a nationwide rent-setting system based on the capital value of a property, as well as a package of new measures "to reverse the continuing decline of the rental sector".

And last but not least, the recession-hit building industry would be better employed building houses than going on building office towers that nobody wants.

FOR SALE

Des. Res. in Dulwich
This "superb detached neo-Georgian style residence", the retirement home bought by Mrs Thatcher for £400,000 five years ago now on sale for £675,000. Meanwhile Mrs Thatcher has paid a reported £700,000 for a ten-year lease on a five-bedroom house in Chester Square, Belgravia.

John Major, failed bus conductor

A routine item in a local free newspaper mentions in passing that in 1961, the present Prime Minister went on an eleven-day training course for London Transport bus conductors, but failed the test at the end of the course.

POLICE, MEDIA, ROGER COOK – LIARS ALL!

Telling lies about the miners' strike of 1984-85 almost became a national pastime as each commentator queued up to blacken both the miners and their leadership. Thus Scargill was a liar when he spoke of the extent of the NCB's pit closure plans and the strike was an attempt to hold the country to ransom, the miners being mindless thugs led by the nose by the N 'M leadership. Subsequently, Scargill and Heathfield were corrupt union officials accused of using hardship funds to feather their own nests.

Yet the most outrageous lies were those told about, and by, the police. In the 'popular' press they were the stout upholders of law and order, showing heroic self-restraint in the face of the picket-line violence perpetrated against them by the thugs of Arthur's Army. In no way could the police be charged with the use of excessive force or with infringing civil liberties — those who suggested otherwise were merely airing their anti-police prejudices. In the hundreds of court cases that followed the strike the police impartially produced the evidence that sent scores of miners to prison. Justice, always fair and impartial, was seen to be done.

Only very slowly has the truth begun to emerge about the real behaviour of the police and courts during the miners' strike. The first indication came with the collapse of the Crown's case in 1985 against 95 miners for riot and unlawful assembly at Orgreave. The evidence produced by the defence proved conclusively that the police had deliberately started the disorder at Orgreave when without warning and before any disturbances, the police launched a violent horse and baton charge against the defenceless pickets. The police video showed this and also recorded senior officers telling their men: "You know what you are doing. No heads. Bodies only." Interestingly, when the events at Orgreave were reported on television the same day, the sequence of events had been reversed, so that the police horse and baton charge is shown as a response to the miners throwing missiles at the police. In reality, the miners only threw stones at the police after the charges, in an attempt to defend themselves. Furthermore, in court police officers were rumbled as they gave false testimonies in evidence — constables' own notes of what

transpired that day were in fact dictated lies told to them by senior officers.

The most damaging case against the police version of events at Orgreave came recently when South Yorkshire police agreed to pay £425,000 plus costs to 39 miners arrested and/or beaten that day. The men had sued the police for assault, wrongful arrest, malicious prosecution and false imprisonment. Rather than face giving evidence in open court South Yorkshire police took the coward's option and settled out of court. Under the terms of the deal, no coppers will be charged for their disgraceful and violent actions at Orgreave.

The significance of this caving-in by the police is that they were unprepared to have their tactics discussed and criticised in court. When they have done so, they have often lost — Wiltshire police had to pay over £25,000 for their violent attack on travellers in the Battle of the Beanfield in 1985. The tactics used at Orgreave, the Beanfield, and at Wapping in 1987 and Trafalgar Square in 1990, were based upon a secret manual drawn up by senior police officers, called *Public Order — Tactical Options*. Based on observations of the tactics of paramilitary colonial police forces in Hong Kong and Northern Ireland, for example, this manual is about how to bludgeon peaceful protest off our streets. Combined with the powers to ban marches and impose travel restrictions on whole groups of people given to the police in the Public

Order Act, the police now have almost absolute power to adopt paramilitary tactics within the UK in the attempt to stifle political protest. This was clearly the case when high ranking police officers talked of banning anti-poll tax demos after the events of March 1990.¹

This reticence of the police to discuss their tactics publicly is because the reality of their actions belies their publicly stated role in such situations, which is to impartially maintain public order. Yet what events such as Orgreave demonstrate is that the police will trample underfoot all legal considerations and will suspend the rule of law in carrying out their true role — as defenders of the status quo.

Arthur again

The most vilified character of the miners' strike was undoubtedly Arthur Scargill. Abused by the press and politicians (including Labour) at the time, he was also pursued by the likes of Roger Cook who accused Scargill of corruption and dishonesty. Events have, in the end, proved that Scargill was in fact right all along. The NCB did have a massive closure plan in preparation — if Scargill was wrong about any of this, it was that he underestimated the scale of the closures. The Lightman Report cleared NUM officials of any hint of dishonesty and the recent attempt to charge Scargill and Heathfield by

the Certification Officer for Trade Unions ignominiously collapsed in court. This case was just the most recent attempt to harass Scargill for having the temerity to have challenged the Tory government. As Gareth Peirce, solicitor for the two NUM officials, concluded: "There is certainly the strongest suggestion that this prosecution was brought for political motives ..."

All equal before the law?

The fact that Scargill has been chased from one court to another clearly demonstrates that there is one law for those that challenge the government and another for those who defend the state. Numerous miners were jailed and fined in courts up and down the country solely on the evidence of the police. It's safe to conclude that in the vast majority of these cases the police lied in order to punish miners for their protest. The same thing happened after the Stonehenge, Wapping and Trafalgar Square police riots. No expense or effort was spared in tracking down people to charge and imprison.

Yet not one copper from any of these events has been charged and convicted — despite mountains of video and photographic evidence showing quite clearly the police attacking people. If you want to get away with GBH and murder, join the police force.

EM

1. Imbert has also now talked of banning neo-Nazi demos from 'sensitive' areas. We should remember, however, that the 1936 Public Order Act brought in after trouble caused by the British Union of Fascists' demos was used more extensively against the Left than it ever was against the BUF (see Jane Morgan, *Conflict and Order*, reviewed in *Freedom* vol. 51, no. 7).

In the week that we remember the storming of the Bastille (14th July 1789), let us not forget those whose Bastille day has not yet come. It is commonly known, not least by the police and judiciary themselves, that the number of crimes committed far outweighs the number of people convicted (except perhaps in the West Midlands). It is also widely accepted that prisons do not 'reform' those inside. The purpose of prisons is largely to frighten the rest of us into conforming to the law. Institutionalised violence is thus the keystone of the state, and every prisoner who the bastards fail to grind down represents a minor victory for the enemies of the state.

Jailed pensioners

The continuing efforts of local councils to wring money out of poll tax non-payers is a vivid illustration of these points. Jailing non-payers is expensive and functions to cancel out outstanding debts; but councils feel compelled to make examples of those who are wilful in their resistance to the poll tax.

In the last issue of *Freedom* we heard about non-payer Stormin' Norman Laws, a 71 year old pensioner jailed for two months by an ex-shop steward magistrate. Norman's grit and integrity is an example to all of us, as this comment by him illustrates:

"Don't be frightened about the prospect of prison. The whole set up is a paper tiger. Call their bluff and don't pay. If everyone does that the poll tax and the Tories will be out."

Recently, prisoners in Preston jail staged a one-day hunger strike in solidarity with 73 year old Harry Cunliffe, another non-paying pensioner, sent down by Accrington Council for fourteen days.

The Crichton Two frame-up

One way anti poll tax activists have been fighting the poll tax is by occupying bailiffs' offices. On 9th April, activists from London attempted a peaceful occupation of Crichton's bailiffs' office. These bailiffs are used by Brent and Camden councils. The bailiffs (whose address is The Old Police Station, 79 High Street, St Mary Cray, Orpington, Kent) have posed as council workmen and Telecom employees to try to gain entry to people's homes, and have sent people misleading threatening letters. On the day, fifteen people went to occupy their offices. Five of them got in, three of whom were assaulted by the bailiffs. Amid the confusion, a large fat bailiff pushed against a pregnant employee, knocking her to the floor, while trying to grab a demonstrator. The woman was obviously distraught, and the occupation was called off.

Instead of helping the woman, however, the bailiffs pursued and threatened the demonstrators. Now two of the demonstrators, George and Anna, are to be charged with violent disorder (Section 2 of the Public Order Act). A solidarity picket is planned for when these frame-ups go to court.

For further details of this case and of all poll tax prisoners (demonstrators and non-payers), contact

PRISONERS' ROUND-UP (and the one that got away)

the Trafalgar Square Defendants' Campaign. They have moved to Brixton Law Centre, 506 Brixton Road, London SW9. Their telephone number remains 071-833 8958.

Martin Foran on the run

In 1985, Martin Foran was sentenced to eight years in prison for armed robbery on the basis of contradictory evidence provided by the West Midlands Serious Crime Squad. The victim of the crime has himself denied that Martin Foran is guilty, and Martin denies making the confession the police have used as the key piece of evidence against him. Even the West Yorkshire police have said that they don't understand how Martin was convicted.

In prison, Martin was deliberately refused treatment for a serious medical condition. Happily,

however, he has now escaped from prison. His own statement explains why he is on the run:

"In prison nobody hears you cries for help ... so I will spend my time on the run to publicise my case and the plight of my family. I have no faith in the police inquiry which is not being held to find out if I'm innocent and does not have to make public any evidence they have found proving my innocence. Also I cannot and will not pay for medical treatment. I want the treatment in the NHS as I am entitled to, but I will not have the operations whilst at the mercy of the prison wardens. I will hand myself in when a date is set for my appeal."

Money is needed to campaign in Martin's behalf and to fund his appeal case later this year. Send whatever you can to the Martin Foran Defence Campaign (to whom cheques should be payable), c/o Box 7, 190 Alum Rock Road, Saltley, Birmingham B8.

Johnny Yen

More lies, damned lies and statistics

The government through its Employment Minister Michael Howard has sought to counteract the growing number of registered unemployed by maintaining that in fact the number of people in work has increased by 1.3 million since the Tories came to power in 1979. The Labour shadow employment spokesman also pointed out that the Tory 'fact pack' from Mr Howard's department said that since 1983 more than 3.75 million new jobs have been created.

All a lot of nonsense, says the Labour Party, which released a report last month showing that the number of people in jobs has increased by only 165,000 since 1979 in spite of an increase of nearly two million in the number of people of working age. The Labour spokesman referred to 331,000 part-time jobs that had been created since 1979, but did not include them with 165,000 full-time jobs. To which the Department of Employment (DoE) retorted that to dismiss part-time jobs as not being 'real jobs' was "an insult to the thousands who had and wanted to have part-time work".

Needless to say the DoE didn't take up the main charge that its main statistics were phoney!

The other crucial fact is that there are even less job vacancies at the same time as unemployment rises and all the forecasts point to it reaching officially the three million mark. So the government (Tory or Labour) has to face the fact that there are more people needing to have the money which a job provides than there are jobs.

One obvious solution is that of job sharing. But far from encouraging such an alternative the Major government has just rejected the proposal by the EEC to limit the hours in a working week to 48!

Another is that this is the ideal time to deal with the infrastructure. More cheap housing schemes for renting, more and better public transport, and last but not least, a better and more caring health service.

Poll Tax Prisoners

Just as the British state took revenge on the mining communities for their defiance during the 1984-85 strike, so the lower levels of the state continue to persecute those unwilling or unable to pay the poll tax.

Excluding those jailed after the Battle of Trafalgar Square, some thirty people have been imprisoned for non-payment and one married couple with three children have now both done time for non-payment. In the face of continuing collection problems, 53 councils across Britain are presently taking steps towards committal proceedings and at least 500 people have been threatened with imprisonment.

It would be understandable if the worst councils for sending in the bailiffs, etc., were Tory-controlled ones since it was their poll tax that we defeated. However, Labour-controlled councils have been just as eager to send in the bailiffs and threaten non-payers with imprisonment. Despite official denials, it's rumoured that Labour-controlled Cardiff City Council have sold-off 1,500 poll tax debts to Bristol based Roach & Co., while Swansea's Labour Council issued imprisonment threats to all its non-payers recently. In Labour-controlled Torfaen the bailiffs visited the house of a man when he was at work, ripped his

front door off its hinges and took some of his goods, leaving the house open for the burglars who subsequently stole over £2,000 worth of the man's remaining goods — with no apology forthcoming from the council!

This behaviour from Labour councils is particularly nauseating given the Labour mythology of their resistance to the bailiffs of the means test in the 1930s. Such memories are still alive in the ex-mining communities of the South Wales Valleys. Yet here the Labour councils have been just as bad as the Tories they profess to hate. This is because in the Valleys, Labour is the political ruling class and have no more desire to have their peasants revolting than do the Tory squires of the Home Counties.

The poll tax, both nationally and locally, has been an ideal opportunity for Labour to show how moderate and 'sound' it is to the barons of modern capitalism and the British state. While verbally opposing the poll tax Labour has done all that is possible to frustrate and disown positive resistance to the tax. They thus chose to break the poor rather than break the law.

Within the local context this has meant collecting

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This piece was prompted by a reader's letter objecting to an article by Mac the Knife on child abuse. I find myself in general agreement with the latter.

Why kids ain't no more

The obsession with children ranging from over-indulgence to molesting is a distinguishing characteristic of our time. Every parent claims to want to give his or her child 'the best' or at least 'a better start than I had'. You get the impression that childhood in the past must have been a disaster. Now it is as though 'the vulnerable' have become the most important, those worthy of the greatest public attention. But this indulgence masks also an exploitative order, a corner of which the abuse of children actually exposes. We are screwing our kids in every possible way, hell bent on killing off childhood.

Two parties dominate the ranks of 'the best for the children' brigade. As other markets contract, capitalists recognise the young as an under-exploited market. Perhaps more insidious are the hundreds of thousands of state employees and 'service' personnel who gain their bread from indoctrinating, coercing and generally 'caring' for young people. If we let kids be, most of the career carers would be out of a job. People who intervene

professionally on behalf of the vulnerable do more than any other party to preserve their immaturity, dependence and inexperience into so-called adulthood.

In the past few decades the spontaneous activities of children both inside and outside the home have fallen dramatically. Kids who once knew their locale intimately now live as though it does not exist. Indeed it is difficult to think of a simple innovation in transport, the media, education or community which has not been detrimental to the spontaneous association of children with each other and their environments — what used to be called play.

Once we might have warmed to the innocence or beauty of the child; admired the curiosity or mischievousness of youngsters, even envied the vitality or critical questioning of youth. Now we concern ourselves with children's rights, seduce them with our

material garbage, saddle them with our hopes and fears and idolise them in splendid isolation.

Yet at the same time we cripple kids with compulsory schooling, pacify them with television, force some into homelessness, incarcerate others in state institutions if they won't behave like us and eventually, with considerable success, drive the rest into sterile employment and the prison of home ownership. In short, we do all we can to deny them their youth and make them like ourselves.

The media too seduce us with the inane exploits of youthful heroes, real and invented — medicos, business folk, sports players, infant geniuses, musical prodigies. These dubious heroes have two things in common. All are adult poseurs — none are children. They generally owe their achievements to self-denying, exploitative parents who, while attending to the caring bit, keep the other eye permanently cocked on the chance to make money or obtain power out of their charges.

Such anarchy exalts human independence and the locating of authority in people and their relationships, no anarchist can offer the exemplar's mantle to the adult poseur. Children are, or ought to be, people in the making.

Of course the existence of an organised army

of exploiters does not alone explain why we all seem to play along with the phoney indulgence of children. This mania is but one illustration of how successful the state is in nurturing an immature, inexperienced and frightened citizenry which has lost its self-respect and has to dump all its emotional baggage on the kids to close the vicious circle. By killing off childhood we seek to ensure that nobody is left to expose our way of life and cry out: 'The emperor has no clothes'.

Denis Pym

Youth Fights Back!

Recently one of my neighbours and comrade lamented the lack of achievement of three young men he had set unsupervised to clean up his garden. They had had a good time but hadn't done much work. Commiserating, I recalled an identical experience which when related to a local countryman received a wry, knowing smile.

"Ah, a boy is a boy. Two boys is half a boy. Three boys is no boy at all", he said.

DP

Education not Training

Despite the rise of state schooling opening opportunities for a lot of people over the years I would argue that these opportunities for self-development are outbalanced by the indoctrination that education produces. This may seem patronising and an insult to people's intellect that they have not chosen their own destiny, but I would rather be insulting than suggest that state schooling and schooling in general allows you to choose your own path. I would argue that schooling is not education but training.

This may either be the training of the working class child to respect and obey authority and passively take their position in life, or to the public school person to take their place in the higher echelons of the state. I would argue that this 'training' rather than education even takes place at degree level and higher. Even those that are engaged in a PhD are not free to choose their own path but are limited by funding and by their tutoring 'professor'. The question has to be asked then

how can we give our children the benefits that education can bring without indoctrinating them. Well, the answer already exists.

Summerhill is a school set up in 1921 by S.A.S. Neill. The school is based on self-government and letting children choose their own destiny. The principle of the school and the way that success is measured is by the ability of a child when leaving to work joyfully and positively. This may either be as a road sweeper or as an academic. No level of hierarchical status is placed on either.

The pupils at the school are all boarders and thus it is a privately funded school. There is no uniform and the children do not have to attend any classes if they do not want to. It is reckoned that the average time spent away from lessons when a child enters the school is three months. The only timetable is for teachers. The school is there to fit the children, not the other way round which is true of state schools. All decisions apart from the everyday running of the school are decided by teachers and children who all have an equal vote, decisions taken by the school forum are decisions of discipline and anything that enters into the social life of the children. One example of how the school forum operates is when A.S. Neill complained about children breaking a bedtime rule. It was suggested by a child in response that a monetary reward should be given to any child who stays up an hour over the stipulated bedtime. A vote was taken and the motion was passed. This just demonstrates that although the children have equal status there is also no level of coercion.

The school clearly demonstrates that freedom works and children are free from the spoils of fear and hate. Neill has written that he "seldom hears a child cry, because children who are free have less hate to express".

I personally do not like the system of education in this country at the moment, especially with the status placed on different schools. I feel, though, that I would rather send my children to Summerhill although it could be perceived as elitist, than let them suffer the indoctrination of the state school system and the very tyrannical nature of a lot of teachers within the state system. The only answer to the elitism of Summerhill is to expand the principles on which it is based and set up our own versions.

D. O'Connor

POLL TAX PRISONERS

(continued from page 3)

the poll tax and being as nasty as possible in the process — thus demonstrating that Labour is no soft option. Thus Labour-controlled councils have been to the fore in using bailiffs and the threat of imprisonment.

Labour councillors plead in mitigation that they have a legal obligation to collect the poll tax, but they do have an alternative to using the bailiffs and imprisonment — attachment of earnings or benefits, for example. Their refusal to do so has been a political one — one to show who is boss, since Labour has no wish to see effective extra-Parliamentary opposition exist.

Yet even with their bully-boy approach, Labour-controlled councils are finding it no easier to collect the poll tax than their Tory counterparts. In Carlisle the Labour council has admitted that almost a quarter have not paid last year's poll tax — 17,204 people still owe £2,770,280. And the use of the bailiffs has not been cost effective — costing £50,520 to collect £16,800 (a case for the Ombudsman?).

The poll tax has been an effective reproof to those who used to tell us to join the Labour Party and work within the system for change. The illusion that the Labour Party is anything other than an alternative arm of the British state has been well and truly shattered. This is not a case of a temporary shift to the Right by the party — this is the way it has always been and always will.

EM

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Waiting for the Bus

I see the Church of England has been hit by the recession, Daisy. They are talking about freezing the clergy's salaries because of a fall in investment income, and suspending their £1 million contribution to the Urban Fund. And they plan to sell £150 million worth of their office buildings to balance the books ... What they need to do is work a few miracles. That would bring the customers back ... About all some of them are good for is turning wine into water, like your Mrs Potts' old man, only in his case it's Guinness ... What do you think of the bishops' support for the Gulf war because it was the lesser of two evils? ... Well, Daisy, in the first place, the lesser of two evils was apparently to sell arms to Saddam, because if they didn't the Balance of Payments would have suffered ... I can't understand how Christians can choose between two things that are both so evil that they don't bear thinking about. How do you think we will get on with the common currency, Bert? ... Won't make the slightest bit of difference. There'll be Ecu millionaires making lots of Ecu's, and others scraping along with hardly two Ecus to rub together, same as usual ... Would you say we're poor, Bert? ... Not now our kids are independent. It's kids that make you poor, or feel poor, because they want everything they see on the telly ... Mrs Potts can't understand why you never take me out for a meal, Bert ... well, I would if the cooker packed up or if we ran out of food. Perhaps her husband doesn't like her cooking ... She's gone to Ascot today. Did you see her in her hat? ... Bloody typical! Patronising the Sport of Kings. But there you go, *The Daily Worker* used to have a racing page to keep the circulation figures up, just like *The Sun* and its bingo ... Wouldn't you like to win the jackpot, Bert? ... Couldn't stand the bother it would bring. And look at the furniture I've made for the flat — you might chuck it out and buy something fashionable ... We wouldn't need our bus passes if we were rich ... And

we wouldn't know who our friends were either ... Did you see in the paper that medical research has found that smoking can stop people from getting senile dementia? ... So can infanticide ... Don't try to be funny, Bert, it's the nicotine. It doesn't mean you would have to smoke ... I know, Daisy, but before you start taking nicotine you had better find out what other diseases it can bring on. They tell us that alcohol thins the blood and relieves stress — and that's as good an excuse for a piss up as any I've heard in years ... Don't you think it's funny the government won't allow that woman RAF pilot to fly on a front-line squadron, yet the men are expected to drop bombs on civilian areas where women and kids are bound to be hit? ... Perhaps the government is afraid the women might refuse to do it ... I would, for one, Bert. If you were on holiday in Yugoslavia, would you take our government's advice and come back? ... I suppose it depends on where you come from. Like if you come from Belfast, what's the odds? ... How much longer is the Irish problem going to go on? ... As long as the people take notice of their leaders ... Liverpool is in a bit of a mess. Is it really the fault of those Militant Trotskyists? ... Well, if it is, there must be a lot of them in the USA. New York is over £2 billion in the red. California, Connecticut and New Jersey are also in the same straits. That's not to mention the USSR and the East Europeans. Chancellor Kohl is tearing what's left of his hair out over what's happening in East Germany. Nationalism is on the rise and minorities and migrant workers are in for a hell of a time. Christ known what Amnesty International are going to do when there's more refugees than natives in the world ... You bloody men ... You ain't seen nothing yet, Daisy ... Thank God, it's a woman bus driver. Let's get home for a cup of tea ...

EFC

EGOIST, ANARCHIST OR CRETAN?

In Bayreuth in 1845 Johann Kaspar Schmidt published a book. Why should this interest readers of *Freedom*? Because he used the pseudonym Max Stirner, the book was *The Ego and his Own*¹, and from its first appearance there has been a continuing argument: Does Stirner belong among the anarchists? He himself said not, and present-day Stirnerians say not, but they still have to argue their case a century and a half later, and this suggests a good deal to be said on the other side.

Stirner's title conveys his theme; he proclaims the independence of the individual human being, attacking all the social influences that would subordinate the person to themselves. God, mankind, truth, freedom, humanity, justice, nations and rulers; each of them, says Stirner, serves its own cause and demands that individual people sacrifice themselves to it: "community, family and so forth, as *natural* relations, are burdensome hindrances which diminish my *spiritual* freedom".² He refuses to submit:

"I for my part take a lesson from them, and propose, instead of further unselfishly serving those great egoists, rather to be the egoist myself... my concern is neither the divine nor the human, not the true,

good, just, free, etc., but solely what is *mine*, and it is not a general one, but is — unique, as I am unique. Nothing is more to me than myself."³

Stirner's egoist care nothing for chastity, religion, morals, ethics, love, sanctity, god, holiness, vocation or truthfulness,⁴ but does not limit himself to seeking freedom from them. Why strive for freedom? To release the ego from its bonds. So why bother about freedom at all? Go straight to assertion of the ego:

"Now why, if freedom is striven after for love of the I after all — why not choose the I himself as beginning, middle and end? Am I not worth more than freedom? Is it not I that make myself free, am I not the first? Even unfree, even laid in a thousand fetters, yet I am; and I am not, like freedom, extant only in the future and in hopes, but even as the most abject of slaves I am — present. Think that over well, and decide whether you will place on your

References

1. Max Stirner, 1982, *The Ego and his Own: the case of the individual against authority*, translated by Steven T. Byington, edited by James J. Martin, Chicago: Western World Press.
2. Stirner 24
3. *ibid* 4/5
4. *ibid* 56/65

Kropotkin in Bologna

"Thanks to the creativity of Kropotkin, anarchism, unlike Marxism, has not died".

The speaker was the veteran professor of town planning at Bologna University, Carlo Doglio, and he was introducing a day-long meeting organised by the local anarchists in an ancient palazzo in the city centre.

To me it was another sign of the academic rediscovery of Kropotkin, signalled fifteen years ago when David Stoddart, professor of geography at Cambridge, remarked that: "There has long been an inscription on the brickwork of one of the tunnels on the Cambridge-Kings Cross line which reads 'Kropotkin Lives': I now begin to believe it".

The *Comune di Bologna* was the right place to celebrate this rediscovery, in the light of Kropotkin's eulogy of the free cities of medieval Europe in *Mutual Aid*, and his vision of a post-industrial economy in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. Most people would agree that Bologna is the best administered city in Italy, an endless rebuke to the sheer dreadfulness of central government there, and I heard a lot of sympathy with the dilemmas of its rulers, who have changed their name from the Communist party to the Democratic Party of the Left, with its symbol of a very big tree growing out of a very small hammer and sickle.

True, I also met people who bitterly regretted this transition and yearned for that old-style Marxism-Leninism. But those I know are in implicit agreement with the view that the mayor, Renzo Inbeni, gave to *The Guardian*'s Ed Vuillamy: "We have sought to affirm in reality the idea of autonomy: that the worker, the artisan or peasant should be as free from intervention as possible".

As this *sounds* like the rhetoric of Thatcherism, though not its practice, I need to explain that it does *not* imply belief in big business and speculation, but the opposite: real support and co-operative institutional back-up for literally hundreds of thousands of small workshops and co-operatives, as well as for people who combine horticultural and industrial work.

The province of Emilia-Romagna has, as a result, become the most prosperous and economically healthy region of Italy. Cities like Bologna or Modena have endless difficulties with Rome, the precise equivalent of those experienced by cities like Sheffield or Leeds in their dealings with Whitehall, but they haven't become an industrial wasteland,

like British cities.

Marx and Lenin, with their contempt for the primitive economy of 'petty trades' were way off the target. Kropotkin was right. His views are confirmed in a new report from the International Institute for Labour Studies in Geneva, *Industrial Districts and Inter-Firm Co-operation in Italy* (edited by Pyke, Becattini and Sengenberger) that none of us are likely to read. A pity, because they cite the view of Jonathan Zeitlin that it is clear that "the economic development of the Third Italy has important implications for local industrial strategies in other advanced countries such as Britain". And they mention Sebastiano Brusco's opinion that in the small workshop economy of Emilia we might not find "the sharp split between *working* and *non-working* spheres of life that tend to occur in Fordist environments".

Bologna's Kropotkin Sunday only began to recognise Kropotkin's answer to the big problem of the 21st century: the humanisation of work, as we were so busy with related aspects of his thought. The educator Lamberto Borghi examined his views on technical teaching and the integration of brain work and manual work. The jurist Massimo La Torre attacked Kropotkin's excessive optimism, but failed to see the importance of his plea for "a new economy in the energies used in supplying the needs of human life, since these needs are increasing and the energies are not inexhaustible".

My own task was to put Kropotkin's federalism and post-imperialism into a contemporary context. For it was he who in 1919 drew to the attention of the British Labour Party's delegation to the Soviet Union the fact that "it is not only the capitalists who exploit the labour of others. They are not the only ones who aspire to conquer cheap manpower to obtain raw materials in Europe, Asia and Africa". And it was he who warned Lenin that year that "all attempts to bring together the constituent parts of the Russian Empire are doomed to certain failure. Their failure is directed towards a federation of independent units".

Doglio chose the right word for Kropotkin's anarchism. It is as relevant to the post-Marxist Soviet Union as to Bologna ... or Britain.

Colin Ward

(This piece was first published in *New Statesman and Society* and is reproduced by permission)

banner the dream of 'freedom' or the resolution of 'egoism', of 'ownness'.⁵

The approach seems bold, simple and straightforward, but when we look beyond Stirner's theorising to his practice complications appear. For all his proud declarations of complete independence he wrote a book expounding his ideas, thereby showing himself to exist in relation to the people around him and, more, to be concerned with those relationships.

The (very brief) account of his life in the preliminary pages⁶ shows him concerned wholly with intellectual activities. It presents him as student, critic, thinker, revolutionary, it does not suggest that he laboured to accumulate material possessions or economic power. In the realm of ideas he strove to assert himself, in the realm of material possessions he did not, and when considering what he means by individualism and ownership we need to bear this in mind. It shown that Stirner conceived the ego is primarily a spiritual and intellectual entity having for the most important part of what it possesses, for its 'own', *intellectual* property, theories and ideas. Stirner behaved very much as an individualist, but a political-intellectual rather than an economic-material one.

With this recognition his independence diminishes, because he cannot claim his ideas as entirely his personal creations. He speaks of the ego and its own, and the sense in which he uses these terms derives from nineteenth century philosophy. His indebtedness to Hegel permeates the work. He opposes Hegel, but without Hegel's work as both a source of ideas and an anvil against which to reshape them Stirner would not be the Stirner we know. And Hegel, self-subsistent as his work sometimes appears, sprang from the main stream of philosophy, relating directly to Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling and Kant, and behind them to Hume, Hobbes, Spinoza and their forebears, back to that forgotten genius who began the reduction of raw sensation to comprehensible and communicable form. All of these, and the society they helped to build, went into the production of Max Stirner and his ideas.

Overlook the making and shaping of Stirner by the society he lived in. Grant that all he knows and all he can do belongs to his separate ego. Then place him in the position of independence he claims to occupy, set him naked and alone in the natural world and let him make it his own by his unaided efforts. What sort of life will he live? What will his vaunted egoism be worth?

His book shows awareness of this, for it falls into two parts; it opens with bold assertiveness, leading up to:

"Take hold, and take what you require! With this the war of all against all is declared. I alone decide what I will have."⁷

With that declaration the self-contradiction in his position becomes apparent, for under the conditions he posits what 'I' shall have cannot be decided by this 'I' alone. All the others take part in the decision, all the other human beings, each of them equally an 'I', upon whom this 'I' has declared war. The man who *declares* the war of all against all, setting his opponents on guard, has gone beyond the simple egoism that cares for itself alone to become (partly at least) a collectivist feeling responsibility for the general welfare.

Stirner uses the assertion of brute egoism as a rhetorical device. Having provoked the reader's attention with the aggressive declarations of the first part of his book he speaks more seriously and thoughtfully in the latter part and here, when material possessions come into question, he abandons individualism for collectivism: "If men reach the point of losing respect for property, every one will have property".⁸ He claims that "Everything belongs to me, I am proprietor of everything that I require and can get possession of"⁹ and this may read like a denial of universal ownership, but this 'I' does not

mean just Stirner himself; he speaks for everybody. His statement: "I must rather have so much as I am competent to appropriate."¹⁰ reformulates the familiar slogan Lenin took from Etienne Cabet: "to each according to his needs". He tells us, by means of brilliant paradox, that he seeks a society in which everybody has all they want, and the reformists and revolutionaries pursue that same end. The moderate socialists see it as an eventual outcome in some indefinite future, the communists postpone it until after the proletarian dictatorship. The anarchists demand it here and now, and Max Stirner stands with them,

Practical, direct, unsophisticated egoists, young children and foragers for example, take what they want of material goods (so far as they safely can) and do not strive to develop ideas. For society to survive in the face of such tendencies God, love, truth, chastity, law, freedom and all the other principles and copybook maxims have to be established and enforced against the self-assertive individual. Stirner does not come forward as an egoist of this sort but as a sophisticated, theoretical one, asserting mental rather than material individuality. Rather than struggle to achieve economic power over people he writes his book in an attempt to render his *ideas* dominant over those of the other egos around him.

This type of individuality grows out of and depends upon the collectivity. It can only manifest itself by way of communication, and only by virtue of what he has in common with others can Stirner communicate with them. The farmers have a slogan: "If you criticise the farmer, don't do it with food in your mouth". Similarly, if you want to assert your mental independence of the collectivity, don't try to do it by using the collective product of language.

If Stirner does belong among the anarchists he stands out as a notably unorthodox one. Anarchists define themselves by their repudiation of the state, nations, god, rulers and coercion; many would add justice, chastity, sanctity, morals, ethics and vocation to the discard but few go all the way with Stirner, repudiating mankind, truth, freedom, humanity and love. How should we take his own claims to do this?

We cannot take them seriously, for by openly repudiating such qualities as honesty and reliability he warns us not to take his book as an honest and reliable statement of his beliefs. He stands as a modern equivalent of the famous Cretan, an egoist who tells us that all egoists will lie when it suits them. To take his book with complete seriousness is not merely difficult or ill-advised but *impossible*. Exactly and literally so, for the attempt requires that we disregard its repudiation of commitment to truth; in order to take it seriously we have to ignore one of its principal claims, thereby refusing to take it seriously.

George Walford

5. *ibid* 163

6. *ibid* 24

7. *ibid* 25

8. *ibid* 258

9. *ibid* 258

10. *ibid* 263

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Work, Language and Education in the Industrial State
by Michael Duane
Freedom Press Anarchist Discussion Series,
£1.00

Michael Duane, in his booklet in the Anarchist Discussion Series, argues that just as we get the politicians we deserve, so we are given the education that the industrial state needs. In his chapter on work, Duane presents a spectrum of occupations that ranges from the 6-7% that constitute the ruling class, to the “rather more obvious ‘wage slaves’, those who work or starve”. He shows how society is organised so that the first category that constitute the ruling class — “those who combine very great riches with positions of power, whether monetary or political” — are served by all other categories, be they professional workers, the semi-professional, or skilled and unskilled workers. Two of the most important factors in the operation of this class system are language and education. Language provides a method of communication within and between classes, whilst education reinforces class solidarity, especially amongst those educated in the boarding school sector of the country’s public schools, and strengthens class barriers.

Duane’s few pages on the nature of Britain’s boarding schools are interesting in that they begin to understand the psychologically damaging effects of such education. It is no longer true that such schools are single-sexed, but it is true that “by the time

Work, Language and Education

he [the public school boarder] reaches adolescence there is an inhibition on expressing feelings and ‘a tendency towards more strained relations with affective figures such as the mother’”. Public school boarders exist in a strange environment. Many of them feel betrayed by their parents (one of my former pupils used to say, only half-jokingly, that he couldn’t wait for his parents to get old so that he could put them in a home), and they all live in a very public environment with little or no private space for themselves. In such a situation they must learn to suppress much of their emotions in order to avoid embarrassment and ridicule at the hands of their fellows. The adoption of an outwardly casual attitude to important emotions such as those connected with love and personal happiness becomes second nature to most pupils. In fact, the suppression of such emotions is taken as good manners and part of the school ethos. What matters is the fortunes of the group, the house, the team, the school itself — not the emotional growth and security of the individual. Such schools often stress the value of character building through the emphasis on the team spirit. What this translates into is the suppression of the individual in the interests of, ultimately, their class; it is the emotional price they pay for

inclusion in the right ‘club’. The products of this educational mill are, indeed, “armoured personalities” who, whilst often charming are usually cold-hearted in their appraisal of the trials and sufferings of the less better off in society.

One thing intrigued me about this booklet. I was left wondering why Duane, who clearly sees how the education system serves the status quo and appears to be an admirer of A.S. Neill, became a head teacher? I suspect that reformers inside the education system are either busy fooling themselves or are condemning many of their pupils to a difficult life once they leave school. Formal education as it exists now is fundamentally opposed to individual freedom of choice. You are a little child of five, and you feel like taking a nap, but you can’t as it’s time for class singing. You want to spend the next two weeks finding out all you can about aeroplanes, drawing them, making them with Lego — well, you can’t, because school says that you must have lessons on different subjects in the next two weeks. You want to go for a pee, but you’ve got to ask someone else! Schools are built on this, they are built on the denial of individual choice, the denial of the right of people (even if they don’t have the vote, and it’s legal for parents to beat them) to choose what they want

to do with their own bodies and imaginations. No matter how much of a reformer you are, any school that involves the teacher in choosing what it is that the individual will do at any given time — and at all times between 9am and 4pm — is anti-freedom. As the current reforms of the Tory government recognise (as do the proposals of the Labour Party to “make Britain the best educated country in Europe”) the primary aim of the education system is to serve the industrial state, providing people with the necessary degrees of education that will enable them to function as unskilled, skilled, semi-professional and professional cogs in the great machine. The aim of formal schooling is not, *and has never been*, to free the individual’s imagination and innate interest in the world around him or her. Trying to be a libertarian reformer within such a system is like being a vegan butcher — you’re in the wrong business.

Duane’s booklet, then, nicely highlights some of the basic linkages between the class system and the role of language and education in restricting responses to that system, while enabling people to serve it in their largely pre-determined roles. However, even allowing for the fact that this is very much an introductory text, I feel that Duane could have followed up some of his more interesting statements, and the argument as a whole might, perhaps, have been better with the injection of a small dose of outrage, something at least that was a little less head masterly in tone.

Steve Cullen

The Raven on voting

The Raven no. 14, on voting
Freedom Press, £2.50 (post free)

Of those who would defend tactical voting in elections, “Do they really not realise”, asks the editorial, “that governments come and go but the permanent officials and civil servants, the police, the army go on ruling as before?” It would seem not, and that some of the contributors to this issue of *The Raven*, while obviously sympathetic to anarchist ideas (else they would not have contributed) simply cannot grasp what anarchism is about. The cover design comes from *Anarchy* 37 (1964), published, like *The Raven* when a general election was forthcoming and when all the old anarchist arguments were rehearsed; and when I recently edited a volume of selections from *Freedom* (*The State is Your Enemy*) I included a ‘Don’t Vote’ article from each of the succeeding general elections: 1966, 1970, two in 1974, 1979 and 1983, but it seems our arguments fall on deaf ears and something more is needed.

Of *The Raven* one can say at least that if you think you have heard it all before this issue will come as a surprise; the editors have risked something. And there’s always other things which make it worth the £2.50: a reprint of a classic in convenient form, or something that was out of print — in this case Kropotkin’s *Revolutionary Government*, newly translated by Nicolas Walter; and I also enjoyed the three editorials reprinted from *Freedom*’s palmy days in 1964 — one of them was included in the old reprint series *Selections from Freedom*, the other two were not (unaccountably, because they are certainly worth reprinting).

Anarchists have been fond of calculating how many people don’t vote in a general election — 24% or 27% etc. — but the fact remains that no other event in our national life can get three-quarters of the adult population, male and female, to act in unison — there’s a reason, and unless we know what it is our arguments will not be effective.

Here, Peter Cadogan goes some way towards an investigation with his historical approach; but in his conclusion calling for a revolution he then says that voting has a useful

marginal function. But anarchists don’t object to voting as such, but to voting for one or other of rival politicians in elections. Voting cannot take place unless one has a general agreement that the minority will go along with the majority decision, e.g. in deciding whether or not to go on strike. In politics, some may attempt to overturn the decision, by persuasion, and always by legal means, “otherwise we would have anarchy”.

Brian Leslie gives us the views of the Green Party, many of whose members express a kind of sympathy with anarchism, and shows I think how hopelessly confused they are. Michael Duane’s article takes on the form of fiction, developing into a sort of dramatic monologue, ending with an address by an old man who seems to remember “the yeoman of old England” and yet still be alive in the twentieth century. Did Michael tell stories like these in his school classes? I found them intriguing.

Two shorter articles follow: Jonathan Simcock advocates ‘tactical voting’; and Zeb Korycinska whose advocacy of ‘taking charge of your own life’ seems closer to anarchism than most of the contributors here.

Brian Martin contributes a study of compulsory voting in Australia, and concludes that “the most effective target for opposing state power are not necessarily the ones that seem obvious”. Marianne Enchell and Phillippe Tonnelier study Switzerland’s federal system of democracy with reference to the referendum, showing how nineteenth century ideals of democracy were used to institutionalise popular movements.

Then there is a long and very thorough piece of research by Tony Powell on Emma Goldman, the Spanish anarchists and the February elections of 1936, of great interest although I don’t think Powell would claim to be an anarchist, and his ideas of anarchism seem to be based on reading Alan Ritter, who based his ‘theoretical analysis’ more on a study of Proudhon than anyone else.

Taken together, a collection which raises more questions than it answers: the synthesis is made in the opening editorial, which is longer than is usual for *The Raven* and which I wish had been longer.

Charles Crute

Food for Thought ... and Action!

The Carbon Theory of Value: the political and ecological implications of global warming by Bob Finch, Green Flak. A lengthy and, at times, quite technical but well-written and thorough analysis of the global warming problem. Neatly produced by a desk-top publishing system, it is a bit too closely spaced to read much in one go, but is broken up by cartoons and illustrations. A4 pamphlet, 32 pages, £2.50.

The Poll Tax Revolt: highlights of the people’s revolt against the poll tax (so far!) from the town halls to Trafalgar Square to the West End. Not a book but a video tape, as seen at the anarchist book fair in London last year. A celebration, set to music, of the people’s defeat of the police riot, but also a valuable documentary record of some of the day’s events. Published by ACAB Press, running time 30 minutes, VHS format, £6 (all proceeds go to prisoners arrested on the demonstration).

*The Anarchist Age** published by Mutual Aid, Melbourne. Occasional (the latest edition being December 1990, no. 2) but well produced and full of interesting and useful material. Contents include ‘The Anarchist as Sexual Being’ by Cath Williams, ‘Anti-Electoral Strategy’ by Joe Toseano, ‘The Intifada and the 1990 Middle East Crisis’ by Benjamin Merhav, and several articles on anarchism in Eastern Europe (which would make good reading alongside *The Raven* no. 13), rounded off by a piece called ‘International Resurgence of Anarchism’ which lists publishing groups and their journals from all over the world. A4 magazine, 48 pages on recycled paper, £1.50

*Here and Now** no. 11, occasional, published by Here and Now, Glasgow. This issue, entitled ‘The Health Conspiracy’, contains articles on the NHS, satanic abuse, computer hacking, the merging of East and West Germany, Glasgow’s year of culture and much more from an anarchist/libertarian point of view. A4 magazine, 36 pages, £1.00

The Guillotine at Work: the Leninist counter-revolution by G.P. Maximoff, Cienfuegos Press. A few copies of this classic

have re-appeared at Angel Alley, marked volume 1 (but volume 2 never materialised). Originally sub-titled *twenty years of terror in Russia*. 337 pages, hardback only, £8.95.

*The Bigger Tory Vote: the covert sequestration of the bigotry vote** by Nick Toczek, AK Press. An investigation into the activities of eight right wing activists who between them are responsible for running dozens of supposedly independent organisations, many with innocuous sounding names, involved in a variety of ultra right wing campaigns/activities. They range from the well known to the obscure and include such groups as The Inter-City Research Centre, The Self-Help Organisation, The Monday Club, English Solidarity (Against Multi-Culturalism), The London and Counties Tenants’ Federation, and many more. Many have connections with prominent Tory politicians, and others with known fascist terrorists, such as Roberto Fiore of the NAR (Armed Revolutionary Nuclei). A pamphlet that could be productively used in conjunction with certain issues of *Lobster* magazine. A5 format, 47 pages, £2.00

Lobster 21 — *heavenly deceptions*, published by Robin Ramsay and Stephen Dorril. This issue contains revelations on the Moonies and their links with the World Anti-Communist league and the Korean CIA; details of the smear campaign against former ‘intelligence’ agent Colin Wallace conducted by right wing ‘journalist’ Chapman Pincher; and the organisation, history and politics of the ultra right wing Western Goals (UK), a group so authoritarian that it even managed to offend people in other right wing groups like The Committee For a Free Britain and the International Freedom Foundation! Hilarious. 28 pages, £2.00

KM

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News from Hungary

Stricter police: on 22nd February a non-violent anti-militarist demonstration was held against the recruitment for obligatory military or civil service due to take place at the end of February. The rally has been organised together with the 'Alba Circle', a group of conscientious objectors, and about 80-100 people were present. However, it was disturbed by the police that checked the identity of demonstrators at random and arrested about five to ten people.

On 1st February a handful of the Budapest Anarchist Group members demonstrated against the violent events in the Baltic states in front of the Soviet Embassy.

The first issue of our anarchist paper appeared in 1,000 copies in February, and we quickly sold them all.

On 6th March, our open day turned out to be quite popular, thanks to our paper. About thirty new people came to discuss issues and ideas. We had quite a good debate with lots of discussion. The 'guests' urged us to offer them ready-made answers and solutions to current specific Hungarian problems, but our group insisted on the fact that ready-recipes only came from parties; instead people have to think for themselves, organise their own lives. We emphasised the importance of self-management, personal involvement and responsibility, and also the values of collective decision making of communities living together. At the end we had the impression that several of them agreed, but others looked rather disappointed.

On 6th March our group started a series of lectures, mainly to study and discuss different theoretical issues that crop up, and on the whole between 7 and 25 people attend these meetings, depending on the subject. The issues are the

following: group organisation, work, prejudice and racism; hierarchies, order and chaos; anarchism and feminism; anarchy in Hungary; ecology and anarchism; social classes; work and right to laziness; the rulers of the world, governments' concerns, multi-national firms and banks; the economy of a self-managing society; Proudhon's ideas; sub-cultures.

The second issue of our paper was published in about 1,500 copies in March.

On 5th April we held a conference on the anarchist and revolutionary Kronstadt sailors' rebellion on its seventieth anniversary. About fifty



people were present and there were four lectures. The main point of discussion was the role and present situation of anarchism in Hungarian society. The group was criticised for the apparent contradiction between anarchist theory and everyday practice. Indeed, one of our main problems seems to be our incapacity to apply theory to practice — a major drawback is our lack of premises.

In Hungary today more and more people realise that Western democratic systems are glib, hypocritical and consequently, after communism crushed, people are searching for new ideals, something basically different. It is a profoundly sensitive moment since all known political systems and ideologies seem to have failed to win people's agreement and liking. That is why we consider that publishing our paper, spreading anarchist ideas and participating in social debates are of utmost importance. We would also like to support and help, if possible, all new social initiatives that show signs of self-management in order to strengthen the elements of anarchist mentality really present in a lot of people's minds.

On 1st May we took part in the celebration of the International Workers' Day organised by the Democratic League of Workers' Organisations. We put up big banners ('The real celebration is social revolution'), we distributed a manifesto about anarcho-syndicalist ideas and the importance of self-management, and we sold successfully a great number of copies of our newspaper.

Saunders is back

Ernest Saunders, the financier whose Eprison sentence was halved because his brain had deteriorated, last week called a press conference and announced, lucidly, that he was back in business. There are three possible explanations:

- His brain has made a miraculous recovery.
- It was never true that his brain had deteriorated.
- You don't need brains to be a financier, only ruthless dishonesty.

Address of the Moscow Union of the Anarchists to the anarchists and freedom campaigners of all the world

We ask for political protection for two young anarchists, A. Rodionov and A. Kuznetsov from Moscow. They are charged with 'the bandit armed action'. Rodionov and Kuznetsov have been behind bars for almost three months because of the case falsified by the powers.

On 12th March 1991, during the peaceful demonstration near the building of the KGB, unidentified men in civilian clothes suddenly started to beat cruelly Rodionov and Kuznetsov. As it turned out later, the men were officials of the KGB and MVD. Rodionov and Kuznetsov resisted them — one of the bandits had his jacket cut and another one had his face scratched. It was the only way to stop the bestial bandits of the KGB and

MVD harming the life and dignity of the young anarchists.

Now they face the court action. It means locking up in prison for seven years.

We ask you for protest actions near the Soviet embassies and consulates to make pressure on the Soviet powers. Please, propagate as widely as possible this information.

Thank you for your support. You can inform us about the actions by telephone (Moscow) 458-44-81 from 7.00-9.00am (Moscow time), or by post: USSR, 125195, Moscow, Belomorskaya Street, House 22, Corp 1, fl 123, Tikhomirova E.I.

Moscow Union of Anarchists

Vic Williams court martial date set

Vic Williams is a British soldier who, last December, went absent without leave from his Royal Artillery unit in Germany to avoid being sent to fight in the Gulf war.

He subsequently spoke out against the war from many a public platform. On 9th March, after the war ended, he gave himself up to military police in London and was sent to Woolwich Barracks, charged with desertion and held in detention in the Guardhouse at the Barracks.

On 4th June he was charged with two further offences against military discipline and released to await court martial on 16th July at Woolwich Barracks. These two additional charges were in connection with speaking from the platform at the anti-war rally in Hyde Park on 2nd February and with his appearance on the television programme 'Heart of the Matter' on his stand, broadcast on 10th March.

Meanwhile the Vic Williams Defence Campaign continues its work. Indeed, the great support Vic has received for his stand — over 500 letters for instance — has played a large part in getting him released.

The Campaign requests that people continue to send letters of support, addressing them to: Vic Williams, c/o 17th Training Regiment RA, Woolwich Barracks, Woolwich, London SE18 4BB.

Donations to the Defence Fund run by this Campaign should be sent to: The Vic Williams Defence Fund, c/o David Polden, CND, 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ (make cheques payable to 'The Vic Williams Defence Fund' please).

There will be a supporting demonstration at the court martial. For details contact David Polden on 071-700 2393.

More COs in Germany

According to the Berlin correspondent of *The Independent*:

"The number of conscientious objectors in Germany rose dramatically in the first four months of this year — a direct reflection of the strong pacifist feelings sparked off following the outbreak of war in the Gulf. Figures released yesterday by the ministry for women and youth in Bonn, between the beginning of January and the end of April more than 80,000 young men applied not to serve in the armed forces.

Peter Hintze, state secretary in the ministry, described the numbers as 'without precedent in the history of the German Bundeswehr'. Most of the objectors came from western Germany, where 74,000 opted out of doing compulsory military service — the same number as during the whole of last year. In the east, 7,000 requested not to have to serve. Throughout the Gulf conflict hundreds of thousands of Germans took to the streets calling for peace. Mr Hintze said that during the height of the war, in February, 33,000 men applied to become conscientious objectors, more than three times the number in February 1990. German men aged between 18 and 28 are obliged to spend either 12 months in the armed forces or 15 months engaged in civil duties. On average, 200,000 men choose military service each year, while 80,000 prefer to take the civil option."

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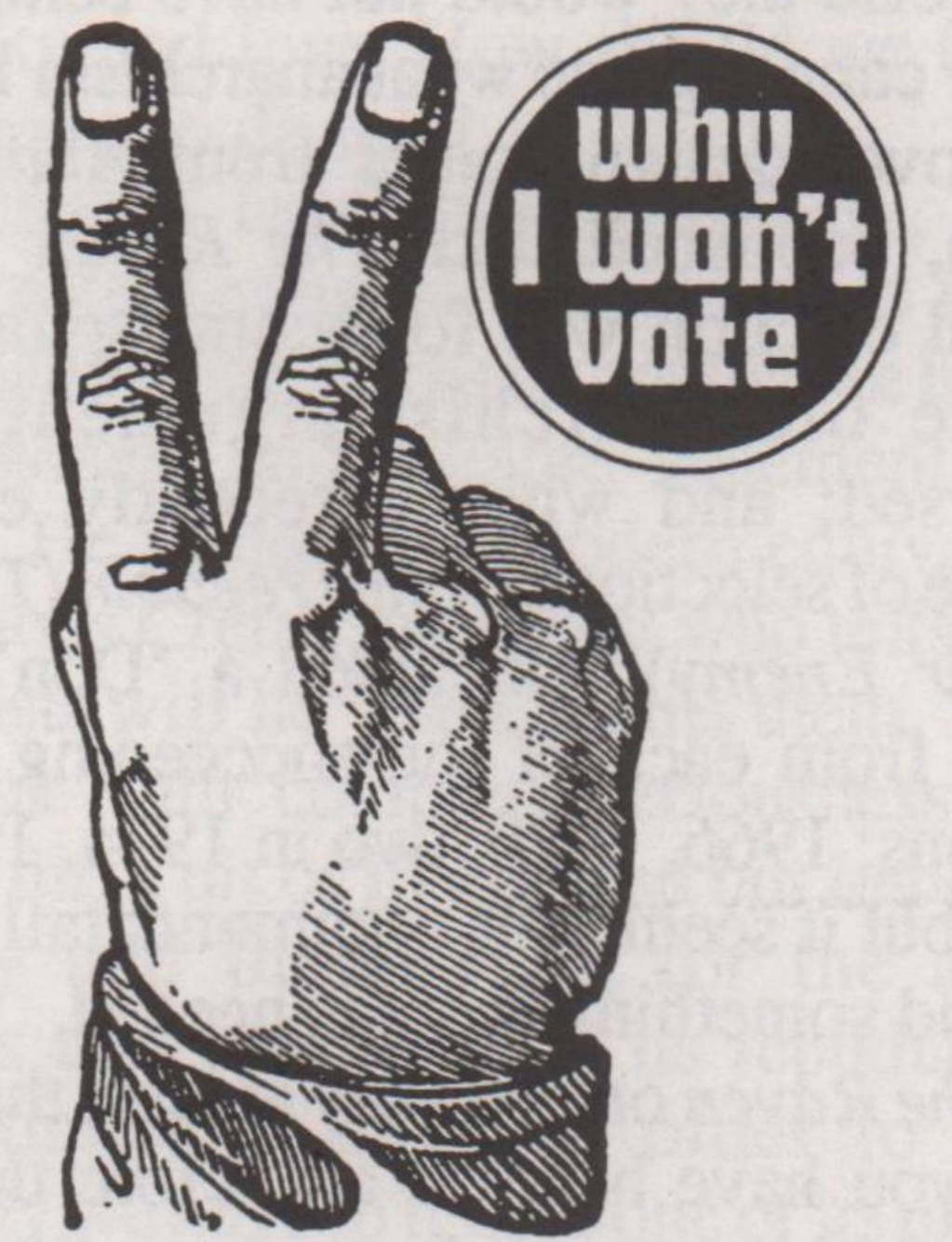
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States which spend most on weaponry, as a percentage of Gross National Product:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| 1. Israel | 6. Saudi Arabia |
| 2. Angola | 7. Iraq |
| 3. Oman | 8. Syria |
| 4. Yemen | 9. Egypt |
| 5. Jordan | 10. Libya |

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You're falling for the percentage swindle, Pussycat.

In terms of actual wealth, the seven richest states spend more on arms than all the rest added together.

And anyway, Angola isn't in the Middle East.



YOU AND THE ECU

Dear editors,
The 29th June issue of *Freedom* carried a small but interesting article entitled 'You and the ECU' in which it was said: "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 an 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".

Like the author of this article, I agree that money has a worthwhile use as a means of exchange, or as an accounting mechanism, as I prefer to regard it. However, I see little point in making money itself have an intrinsic value. Gold and silver have to be mined, smelted, formed into coins and distributed to the users; all very consuming of time and effort, and besides these rare metals have other more important *practical* uses. What's wrong with using money

made from cheap metals and paper, with cheques for large transactions as in contemporary societies?

I don't understand the suggestion that gold and silver might become "the drug of a non-capitalist society". If it is meant that future libertarians would gleefully hoard such a coinage for its own sake, then I would find it difficult to regard them as libertarians, since the tendency to hoard is very much bound up with the whole psychology of capitalism. Libertarian societies should be oriented towards freeing people from useless toil. What would be the point of beavering away to amass bags of gold and silver coins, which in themselves have no *practical* use? Well, you could use them as paperweights I suppose, but such behaviour is hardly rational.

Finally, I'm in complete agreement with the need for clarity in these matters. The issue of the use of money in libertarian societies is often debated by anarchists in a way which produces far more heat than light, and I reckon it's high time we got down to some serious thinking. Would it be out of place for me to suggest that those interested in the problems of libertarian organisation and economics might make a start by reading *A Structured Anarchism*, my recently published essay?

John Griffin

Prison Letter

Dear reader,
Is it possible for you to help me. I've been in prison since May 1974 and have no outside contacts. Obviously I feel very cut off from the 'real' world after so long in prison — and from 'real' people. It would be a big help, I feel, if I could make one or two social contacts.

Dougie Wakefield
677825
HMP Full Sutton
York
YO4 1PS

SCOOP

Dear editors,
I was strolling to the bus stop opposite the Kensington Hilton hoping to catch a bus to take me to my turf accountant, when I saw a pleasant sight. A coach superbly fitted out as a Pullman railway

carriage. The driver/conductor politely and gently ushering the ladies as they stepped down from the coach by gently but firmly grasping the elbow joint — which is the correct way to guide a blind person across the road or ascending or descending from a train. The Ascot crowd walked to the rear of the coach, looked both ways, then scampered across Holland Park Avenue. For years it's been the custom and practice of dodderly old dowagers to retired dustmen to do the same.

It is nice to see cars grind to a halt as Princess Diana, dressed top to toe in pink, and friends cross the road to the Kensington Hilton. What impressed me was the driver/conductor in clean but casual clothes, presumably what he felt most at ease in to cope with the traffic on our overcrowded roads. Have they read Colin Ward's latest book? With hope, I wend my way to the bookie and find my horse has lost.

Paul Rothwell-Hartmann

People without Government

Dear editors,
In reply to Harold Barclay's letter of 29th June, may I begin by correcting his correction of my correction of your reviewer's correction of the claims made for the new edition of his book, *People Without Government*. Criticising my piece 'People Without Freedom' (18th May) for suggesting that his book is about foragers, he goes on to confirm that it *is* about them. He adds that it is about other societies too, but I did not suggest otherwise. He rightly claims not to have used the phrase "diffuse coercion"; I had inadvertently compressed the phrase he did use: "the coercion of diffuse sanctions". My version brings out what remains partly implicit in the

original.

He says: "In stateless societies there are no penal sanctions". His book reports that in one such society a thief is sometimes collectively thrashed, while in another "witches accused of black magic were often slain and these killings weng [sic] unavenged". No penal sanctions?

Although inclined to question one or two of Barclay's more general statements, I regard *People Without Government* as a valuable and important book. I have quoted it, and relied upon information from it, in my own *Beyond Politics, an outline of systematic ideology*, and expect to do so in future work. It deserves to be even more widely known than it is, and I am happy to serve as a drum to be beaten on its behalf. But let us also keep the record straight. I have given no ground for saying that I overlook the homogeneity of Barclay's communities, equate witchcraft with non-conformity, imply a belief that a society can exist without rules and mechanisms to include conformity, or advocate an outmoded doctrine of progressive evolutionism.

In conclusion let us return to the substance of the issue. Barclay tells us he "defined an anarchic polity as one where government and the state were absent". This leads him, in his book, to "African anarchic polities are invariably characterised by the presence of slavery and sometimes of debased pariah castes". Anarchists notoriously vary in their conceptions of the anarchic polity, but a version of it which includes slavery and a debased pariah caste — that's a novelty. For the overwhelming majority of anarchists, and of writers on the subject, it has to exclude these features, and a major virtue of Barclay's book is its demonstration, with evidence, that this would require a good deal more than simply the absence of government and the state.

George Walford
London

JA

CHILD MOLESTING

Dear editors,
The question of child molesting which has appeared in your letters column (1st June) has particular relevance for anarchists.

Firstly the definition of what exactly is a child will, surely, not be based on the current law imposed by the state, i.e. an age of consent of 16. If we accept that there is to be some objective external control, which is not a self-evident anarchist position, there is no reason to take the current 'official' standard as in any way preferable to the many others, all I think based on lower ages which have been accepted in other times and in other places.

Secondly, as the original question suggested, there is obviously more to the actions of state officials than concern for children. I do not suggest that their actions are consciously based on a desire, for example, to undermine the institution of the family, or out of deliberate anti-male campaigning, although in some cases either or both may well be the case; but it is certain that with the attitudes amongst such people this will often be at least an unconscious starting point. Some anarchists are not happy with the family as an institution, but even they would surely find it preferable to complete state control of children.

Thirdly, it would not be expected that anarchists would accept without question the assumptions of people in general. For whatever reason, sexual activity with younger people is deemed to be unacceptable, with the assumption that it is harmful to them. Action that results from supposed detection of such activity would seem to cause far more harm to the children than any sexual activity is likely to cause. That such action in taken, in

spite of the consequences, seems to indicate that it is on the basis of some deeper motivation.

There are another two subjects which I want to comment on. As two articles point out, there never is going to be an anarchist state — even if you call it a 'community' it is still a contradiction, someone will be coercing other people. The lesson of the editorial about fraud in high places is not that capitalism encourages greed, but that all men are inherently corrupt and so must not be given power which will be misused, i.e. what should be the real basis of anarchism. The purpose of anarchism is not to succeed in creating an anarchist state, but the purely negative one of opposing authority in the hope that gradually authority will be reduced — even though this also leaves the problem that without 'official' authority 'unofficial' gang-lord authority will fill the gap ...

In the previous paragraph I wrote that 'all men' are corrupt. Of course I meant 'everyone': unlike the *two* letters from Ernie Crosswell I do not see women as all good, men as all bad. How appropriate is the statement in the correspondence on failed prophecy, that believers can hold mutually incompatible beliefs — I am sure Ernie Crosswell does not think of Mrs Thatcher (or Mrs Bandareneika or Mrs Ghandi) as possessors of the female virtues he extols, yet he writes that there will only be peace and plenty when women rule the world! The only times that I know of when women have been prime ministers, the three I mention, have shown what sexist nonsense this is.

Fiona Williams
Cheshire

Human Motivation

Dear editors,
What a hell of a lot of Marxists read *Freedom* — I had no idea. No doubt the collapse of the regimes in Eastern Europe has proved an embarrassment to people like John Pilgrim (29th June) who is 'puzzled' by my previous remarks about motivation, but if they don't appreciate that there was a sincere attempt to implement Marxist principles in those regimes, they have learned nothing by the events that have taken place. Of course they were 'despotisms', but how else could a Marxist planned economy be run? Lenin appreciated this, and therefore instituted a despotism. Of course one cannot blame Marx's *analysis of capitalism* for the collapse of these regimes — that is beside the point. Bakunin agreed with *some* aspects of Marx's analysis of capitalism — and they were both atheists for that matter — but if Pilgrim wishes to drag him into the argument about human motivation he should state, if he knows it, exactly what Bakunin's view of human motivation was, and how it differed from the orthodox, nineteenth century, utilitarian view that Marx held. What on earth does he think their difference was all about?

Tony Gibson
Cambridge

Anarchy When?

Dear editors,
I am writing with reference to George Walford's article 'Anarchy Now!' on page 4 of the 1st June issue of *Freedom*.

I would suggest that Mr Walford has created unnecessary complications because he has not understood who is being addressed by the aphorism "do what you will, provided it harms no one". This principle, which appears in many cultures in many different centuries, is supposed to be a *universal* rule — it is not addressed to the individual, but to all people. Anarchists will of course have something to say about the presumption of armchair philosophers telling all others how to conduct their lives, but that is not the central issue here. According to those philosophers who advocate the principle, if *everyone* follows it, we will have a free, peaceful and equitable society.

Those who seek to create monopolies, those who seek to tax others, those who seek to imprison others, all those and more are failing to live according to the principle. Unfortunately, as Mr Walford's article implies, the principle does not work very well unless everyone agrees wholeheartedly with it, and always does their best to live by it. Critics are apt to say that the same can be said for the basic ideas of anarchism: most non-anarchists that

Deep Ecology

Dear editors,
Rodney Aitchey (29th June 1991) seems to have been much affected by Arne Naess' literary style — both indulge in the presentation of a mish-mash of ideas liberally dosed with 'big' names, all cobbled together in a well-meaning but second-rate piece of green intellectualism. But it is not just the presentation that is objectionable. Though I too find Bookchin's invective a little excessive at times, his criticisms are definitely well aimed. Deep ecology is increasingly influential and there is undoubtedly much in its critique of Western, capitalist society with which anarchists would agree. However, though Naess himself sees some sympathy with anarchism, he adds that due to current world situations "it seems inevitable to maintain some fairly strong central political institutions" (*Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*, page 157). Such a viewpoint is not uncommon amongst deep ecologists. They are apparently all too willing to swap the tyranny of the capitalist market for that of the 'greater whole' of the ecosystem; individuals count for little other than to make their contribution to the functioning of the ecological 'state', and must be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order that it prospers (presumably, there would be suitable exceptions for the ecologically knowledgeable elite who would administer this green utopia).

Naess' ideas may be well-meaning and superficially attractive, but we should not be overly-impressed with its grand intellectual trappings. If we follow his advice and ask some 'deep questions' of deep ecology itself, what is found leaves a lot to be desired.

Stephen D. Morgan
Dorset

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N7 8DQ, tel: 071-700 2393

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18th October - General discussion

We are now booking speakers or topics for
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to 13th December 1991, 10th January to 20th
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Anyone interested in leading a discussion to
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